

Uncovering everything every where all at Once's Code-switching Instances

Dr. Inke Du Bois (tutor)
Ege Karaçam Matriculation
Universität Bremen

English-speaking Cultures; Language, Text and Media MAE-SC

Abstract

Code-switching has accumulated enough attention from the linguistics community that it gained recognition in the film industry as well. This study aims to contribute on the earlier research done by Chen and Liu (2023), which analyzes Everything Everywhere All at Once's code-switching examples and sheds light onto the film's linguistic aspect. Though Chen and Liu concluded an exhaustive study, their research left certain instances and reasoning's of code-switching uncovered. This study adds on Chen and Liu's research by exploring those unnoticed code-switching interactions to unveil their use cases displayed in the film. These use cases being; scolding, privacy, talking in inner voice and informing the audience about the developments regarding the characters.

Keywords

Code-switching, Everything Everywhere All at Once, Bilingual, Chinese-American

Literature Review

Code-switching, the act of converting between two or more languages during a discourse, coined presumably in 1954 by Hans Vogt (Benson 26), has been the topic of countless studies since the 1970s, when the phenomenon started to gain more traction than it has before the decade, though it is in the 1980s and 1990s when countless publications were issued on the subject matter, thus its significance in today's societies being recognized by the linguistics community (Auer 1). Code-switching is becoming a part of more and more people, as in the USA for example, the phenomenon is more apparent than before as the population is becoming ethnically more diverse (Cheng and Butler 293). The phenomenon is made use of for a plenty of purposes including but not limited to; self-expression, education, intimacy, unity, inclusion and even exclusion of people (Modupeola 92,93). As it can be obtained from this very paragraph, code-switching is an area in linguistics worthy of studying and exploring.

Due to its emerging importance and relevancy, code-switching, has been gaining recognition in the film industry as well, apart from the linguistic community. There are now numerous examples of movies involving multicultural identities and individuals code-switching across many nations. As Monti found, "multicultural and multilingual interactions" are "increasingly being represented in contemporary British and American films." (135). Si, in their research mentioned the frequency of code-switching in Bollywood movies (389), mean while Hendryaniet al. touched upon how code-switching can be found in Indonesian films as well (85). Movies with multilingual interactions are a great source for analyzing code-switching as they are recordings that can be replayed, paused and edited (Chen and Liu 175). The film this study is focusing on, Everything Everywhere All at once (EEAO), a movie described as "multi verse-hopping, genre bending movie" (Bates and Cunanan 2), is rich in terms of code-switching examples that can be observed and learnt from, hence the reasoning behind this very study. There is already a comprehensive study done on EEAO's abundance of code-switching examples by Chen and Liu. Though upon further investigation their research appears to be lacking in a few topics as the research does not make mention of certain significant code-switching instances and their reasoning's, which causes them to remain unexplored. This paper aims to elucidate the unmentioned code-switching examples in order to gain a deeper understanding into EEAO's relevance in the aspect of code-switching.

Introduction and Brief Summary of Everything Everywhere All at Once

Despite its relatively small budget, EEAO, won its spot in contemporary cinema's critically acclaimed movies. With its arbitrary storyline, depictions of multi-realities, 11 Oscar nominations, the movie attracted lots of attention and made quite a name for itself (Qin 94). EEAO follows a small Chinese American family that find out

the possibility of existing in and jumping through multiple universes. The mother of the family, Evelyn Wang, an ordinary middle-class Chinese American woman, is out of nowhere given the responsibility to save the entirety of universes, as well as save her daughter from cosmic damnation. The movie discovers the themes of family, generational drama, mother-daughter relationship, dreams and aspirations.

The protagonist of EEAO, Evelyn Wang, as Bates and Cunanan wrote on, is followed throughout the film as she struggles to juggle her main responsibilities in life as she runs a laundromat business, deals with her husband's wish to divorce, take care of paperwork and pay off her debt, look after her elderly father and cope with her daughter all the while when she is given the responsibility to save the universe and beat the antagonist Jobu Tupaki (1,2). Bates and Cunanan further continue that the film is "a multiverse-hopping, genre bending movie about realizing one's potential and choosing the life that is most authentic to oneself" (2). Through the 'universe-jumping' nature of the movie the audience gets to meet multiple versions of the characters' alternate selves. Each of them with a different background and upbringing, influencing their sense of self and cultural identity. Evelyn, through interacting with her alternate selves, realizes that her life could have gone in many directions if she dedicated herself to one of her many passions instead of marrying Waymond, her husband, and settling down. Through all the chaos and drama, Evelyn manages to beat the antagonist and stop her from dismantling existence (Bates and Cunanan 3).

Code-switching in Films and EEAO

Code-switching nowadays is integrated in films and its examples in movies play an important role in terms of the storyline, educating the audience on multilingual communities and being a rich source for linguistic researchers. The phenomenon is found in not only the American film industry, as EEAO is a production of, but also in films across the continents. There are Indonesian movies with code-switching interactions Hendryani et al. (84), as well as Bollywood movies (Si 389), and British and American movies (Monti 136). As code-switching started to gain attraction, its recognition resulted in its involvement in films as well. Similarly to other linguistics phenomena, code-switching can be better understood, observed and analyzed if they are recorded as they can be replayed, not to mention in movies the recordings are given in various contexts (Chen and Liu 175). As Monti argues, code-switching in films affects both the plot and the depiction of characters (137).

EEAO carries value in terms of code-switching as there are a total of 60 instances of code-switching instances between Mandarin and English (Chen and Liu 172). Though EEAO is rich in terms of the quantity and diversity of code-switching instances and types, it has to be mentioned that Chen and Liu noted in their conclusion, the film still does not have an enough number of code-switching examples for a full, comprehensive study to be done on it without 'errors' (175). As I have delved into the film and its 60 examples of code-switching, I noticed there were a few certain use cases for code-switching Chen and Liu did not touch upon on their research, nor did they mention about certain important instances of code-switching. With this I have two main intentions to achieve; the first intention is to shed more light onto the importance of EEAO in analyzing code-switching, meanwhile my second intention is to contribute to the existing research done by Chen and Liu, even though there is not much to contribute as Chen and Liu have done an informative and illuminating analysis on the topic. Though as I have mentioned previously, there are still a few gaps which could be filled in their findings.

EEAO's Significance on the Matter of Code-switching

The film employs code-switching for emotional expression while displaying the Chinese culture through different generations and walks of lives through multi-verses. As the alternate versions of the main characters from different realities are shown in the film, code-switching done by these alternate versions are also done accordingly to them. For instance, the audience gets to meet Evelyn as a cook, a celebrity, a professional fighter and such. The code-switching instances done by them are tailored to who they are. Moreover, the code-switching occurrences are provided with different accents and dialects according to the character and their alternate versions. This exposes the audience to the diversity and the complexity of the cultures represented in the movie. The code-switching is employed in the film in such a way to shift the plot of the film from saving the universe to family affection. Evelyn after fighting off her enemies might get sentimental and have a talk with her daughter or husband in English and Mandarin, switching between them to convey emotion and affection. Furthermore, the code-switching in EEAO does a good job of representing the Chinese-American culture, rather than representing the Chinese culture alone. The code-switching examples in the film

mirror the culture and experiences of Chinese-Americans as the code-switching reflects both the Chinese and the American culture in an integrated way (Chen and Liu 175).

Code-switching and its Relevance in Linguistics

Bilingual or multilingual people from the same multicultural or multinational backgrounds can utilize more than one language while conversing with each other. Switching between languages and their codes during conversation is termed as code-switching (Yohena 137). As John Gumperz pointed out, the code-switching phenomenon is similar to when monolingual people “style shift” or “change dialects” while speaking to each other (qtd. in Yohena 137). Code-switching, like multicultural identities, has been around for a long while. One of the first American studies done on code-switching was in 1947 by George Baker. Baker did research on the language use of Mexican Americans in Arizona (Nilep 4). This was before the term ‘code-switching’ was allegedly coined, as the term was found in 1954 by Hans Vogt: “Vogt’s first instance of fusing ‘code-switching’ was in reference to Meillet who he believed had little interest in individual cases of code-switching” (Benson 26). Code-switching used to not be of much importance until the 1970s. It was after this decade when extensive research started to be done on code-switching. In the 1980s and 1990s, the initiation of ESF (European Science Foundation) Network on Code-switching and Language Contact also gathered interest on the topic (qtd. in Auer 1). Consequently to the listed developments and more, code-switching’s reputation changed to a topic of interest regarding linguistics (Auer 1).

Code-switching, as mentioned above, is a linguistic phenomenon relating to multiculturalism that has become a subject of interest in linguistics. Though code-switching did not gain its fame by merely being interesting. Code-switching has multiple use cases amongst multicultural people.

People who utilize code-switching do so for the purposes of establishing intimacy amongst people with the same cultural and lingual background, creating unanimity between people sharing the same languages, exclusion of a person who does not speak the same language as the others involved in the conversation, self-expression, as doing it in one language or only in the second language (L2) might not be possible (Modupeola 92, 93). Modupeola even argues that code-switching, besides the listed use cases, can be employed for language teaching and language learning as well (93). The increasing relevance of code-switching is not a subject to dismiss as, for instance, in the USA, the number of families coming to the country from non-English-speaking countries has increased substantially the previous decades as the general population of the USA increased 26% while the population of Hispanics and Asians increased 295% between the years of 1960 and 1983 (qtd. in Cheng and Butler 293). This is still the case as population increase in the late 2010s came from mostly people of color (Asian, Hispanic, Black, Mixed Race) (Frey et al.).

The Types of Code-switching Found in EEAO

EEAO, as its multicultural dynamic might suggest, is a film of significance in terms of code-switching (CS), multiculturalism and linguistics in general. The film consists of topics concerning linguistics, such as; CS, immigrants, depictions of the values and cultures of USA and China, multilingualism, lexical borrowing, and such, which makes EEAO rich in research value. As the main characters portrayed in the film are a Chinese immigrant family living in USA, there are numerous instances of CS amongst the family members, which are worth a great deal for research purposes (Chen and Liu 171). As Chen and Liu found out in their research, in EEAO, there are instances of inter-sentential, intra-sentential and extra-sentential switching. Mandarin and English are used interchangeably as; English words are put in Mandarin sentences or sentences start with one of the languages and end with the other. There are also code-switching instances where the speakers switch between Mandarin to English multiple times in one or two back to back sentences (172). According to this research, Code-switching is practiced by the family mainly for the purposes of distinguishing between topics during a conversation, affective functions, lexical borrowing and metaphorical switching (173, 174).

Chen and Liu’s Findings

In terms of affective functions, code-switching is accustomed in several aspects for conveying emotion. During [00:07:59 – 00:08:09], Evelyn code-switches when talking with her daughter, Joy, even though Joy’s Mandarin is not up to par with her mother’s Mandarin skills. She does this for the purpose of attaining emotional sensitivity toward herself from her daughter. Another instance of code-switching for affective function that is pointed out by Chen and Liu is at [00:31:08–00:31:12], when Evelyn switches from English to Mandarin when she discovers that her husband, Waymond, wants to divorce her. As divorce is such a personal topic between two people, she wanted to

isolate herself and Waymond by excluding the people around them from the conversation by switching to Mandarin. This does not only serve as a means of privacy but there is also a sentimentality effect to it (173, 174).

According to the research, lexical borrowing happened for two main reasons; scarcity of compatible or appropriate words in the spoken language, and merely borrowing words out of habit. During [00: 07: 10 -- 00: 07: 16], Evelyn, while talking in Mandarin, borrows the English term 'google eyes' as there is not an equivalent saying for the term in Mandarin. The scene at [00:02:11 -- 00:02:17] is an example for borrowing words out of habit; in this scene Evelyn speaks in Mandarin but uses the English words 'laundromat' and 'apartment' as she has not used the Mandarin counterparts for them in a long time, which resulted in her being more familiar with the English versions of those words (174).

Lastly, there is metaphorical switching, which is code-switching that occurs when the topic, setting and participants of the conversation do not change, therefore the change of language can be interpreted as a metaphorical signal (Yohena 138). This type of code-switching in EEAO is done in [02:00:21 -- 02:00:52] to convey the importance of the last sentence; Evelyn switches from English to Mandarin while talking to her father, in the presence of her daughter and her daughter's girlfriend, in Mandarin. Evelyn's switch to Mandarin draws the audience's focus on the last sentence as well, which qualifies this instance of code-switching as metaphorical switching (Chen and Liu 175).

Methodology

To pinpoint instances of code-switching in EEAO, the manual annotation method was employed, which involved watching the movie several times and pinpointing the significant instances of code-switching which was not touched on by Chen and Liu. As from the research of Chen and Liu, it was ascertained that there are a total of 60 examples of code-switching in EEAO (172), therefore it is not efficient to write an analysis on every single instance of code-switching taking place. The pinpointed code-switching examples will then be analyzed in order to understand the reasoning behind them.

Findings

A case of code-switching I have come across in the film which was not touched on by Chen and Liu is code-switching for the purpose of covertly talking for privacy. In this scene at [00:06:08 -- 00:06:27], Evelyn while talking with her daughter is called to the cash register by a customer.

Evelyn while dealing with the customer notices that she, the customer, has a 'big nose' which she tells to her daughter in Mandarin right in front of the customer. Evelyn tries to sell it as if she is speaking to her daughter about an unrelated subject in their native language. As Bista observed in her research, people in an international or foreign environment utilize code-switching for the purpose of keeping people around them in the dark, in terms of the subject matter they are conversing about (13). We can concur from Evelyn's interaction with the customer that she preferred to keep her comments private, hence the switch to Mandarin.

Code-switching is utilized in the film for a quite intriguing yet necessary purpose, mainly for the audience; when an alternate version of a character takes control of the actual character's body, the audience can tell from the personality shift, but the personality shift is not the only indicator as the language characters use also change. In the scene at [00:13:09 -- 00:15:59], Waymond, after partially covertly switching consciousness with his alternate version, starts speaking to Evelyn in English, which is not usual for him as he speaks with her wife in Mandarin when they are alone. This instant switch of languages hints the audience that the person inside Waymond is someone besides original Waymond. Waymond going back to speaking in Mandarin with his naive personality indicated that his original self took back control of his body. In this case, code-switching is employed so that the audience can keep with the progression of the storyline, which means code-switching can have different use cases tailored for movies.

Another code-switching instance which fits the above mentioned case is the scene at [01:02:00 -- 01:02:12], when alternate Gong Gong enters original Gong Gong's body. The arguably biggest giveaway of alternate Gong Gong's presence is him starting to speak English, as his original self cannot. The code-switching adds the scene an unexpected, random moment, as in the previous scenes Gong Gong is introduced to the audience as an elderly Asian man who only speaks his native language and not English. Therefore, the switch from Mandarin to English catches the audience off guard.

As obvious from the above paragraphs, EEAO integrates code-switching into the interactions between characters for more motives than Chen and Liu touched upon. Though the above mentioned are not all, as another reason code-switching is brought into play in the film is to display a character (Joy) talking to herself through her inner voice. As Raman and Yiğitoğlu noticed in their research, bilingual people can consciously and unconsciously code-switch

to their dominant language in their inner voice when having an interaction in L2. If the bilingual people were presented with a question, they would think about the question in their first language. They would code-switch in their minds. On the other hand, the reasoning for unconsciously code-switching in their inner voice is because of unforeseen responses coming from the person(s) they are talking to. The unexpectedness of a response can cause a bilingual person to code-switch in their inner speech as a 'natural reaction' (9). Thus it can be concluded that people can resort to their more dominant language in their inner voices. The phenomenon Raman and Yiğitoğlu discovered is particularly similar to Joy's instance of code-switching; during the scene at [00:09:45–00:10:16], Joy switches from Mandarin to English to express her frustration to herself. Specifically the code-switching in the scene takes place at [00:10:02 – 00:10:09]. Joy switches to English while talking to herself as English is her dominant language, meanwhile in Mandarin, she does not have the capability to express herself without struggling. Therefore she (presumably unconsciously) retreats to English to put her emotion into words.

The last use case for code-switching I have come to notice is switching for scolding purposes. Shin noted in her research that code-switching can be employed for asserting authority, as she observed an authoritarian figure, an English teacher in South Korea, switch from English to Korean when one of her students were being a distraction in the classroom. Jane, the teacher, stopped talking in English and started scolding the student in Korean, which leads to the student taking her teacher more seriously. The teacher does this not only to assert the authority, but also to elicit an apology from her student (106). A scene in EEAO with a code-switching instance similar to Shin's findings is when Evelyn, in the scene at [00:53:30 – 00:53:59], scolds her daughter Joy in Mandarin while they two and a few police officers were interacting with each other in English. Evelyn switches to Mandarin to establish authority over her daughter because she was misbehaving.

Conclusion

In summation, Everything Everywhere All at Once has an abundance of code-switching instances. There are tens of examples of code-switching, employed for multiple purposes, including code-switching interactions adapted for film audiences. For observing and analyzing code-switching, the film is a top prize for linguistic researchers. The study done on EEAO by Chen and Liu is quite comprehensive, hence it should not come as a surprise that they managed to shed light on the effort put into the film's code-switching instances. Chen and Liu informed people with their research about how EEAO is educational on code-switching for its audience. Though as it can be deduced from my study, I found their research improvable and open to contribution. With what I built upon their research, I discovered code-switching is utilized in the film for more purposes brought upon by Chen and Liu. Specifically, these purposes are in short; scolding, talking to one's self through inner speech, privacy and keeping the audience active and interested. Chen and Liu's research combined with this study's findings, it can be argued that a broad work has been done on examining EEAO and its use of code-switching from a linguistics perspective.

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