Dispelling myths of first-generation immigrant code-switching: Evidence from Thai marriage migrants in England

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is of my own composition. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Newcastle University, and it contains no material previously submitted for the award of any other degree, at any other universities.

Date: _____22 June 2018_____

Signed: _____

Abstract

Code-switching, i.e. the use of lexical items from Language A in stretches of Language B where there are equivalents in Language B, has long been at the centre of bilingualism studies. However, it has received little attention in the first-generation immigrant context, possibly due to its infrequency and insertional characteristic. Consequently, our knowledge of how first-generation immigrants adopt and adjust the host-country language in their intragroup talk is limited and possibly inaccurate. This thesis aims to systematically explore how and why first-generation Thai immigrants in England employ code-switching by: 1) investigating the frequencies, social distribution, sequential patterns and functions of code-switching, and 2) exploring Thai syntactic structures underlying the informants' code-switching.

Approximately 13 hours of audio-recorded conversations obtained from 36 first-generation female Thai immigrants, all of whom are marriage migrants, were analysed using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative analysis reveals that the informants' code-switching occurs infrequently, and that the informants' proficiency in English speaking and reading skills are the only social variables that are correlated with the frequency of code-switching. Nonetheless, the qualitative analysis demonstrates that the informants' code-switching is systematic and purposeful. It can be represented systematically as sequential patterns, each of which are associated with a variety of functions. The qualitative analysis also shows that the informants' knowledge of Thai syntactic structures contributes to communicative effectiveness of code-switching in a way that code-switching alone may not adequately achieve.

The overall finding of this investigation is that code-switching, despite its infrequency and insertional nature, is highly intricate and purposeful. This finding suggests that first-generation immigrant code-switching may have much more insights to offer than previously reported, and that code-switching, even single-word type, plays an important role in day-to-day interactions among first-generation immigrants. The finding also implies the need for more systematic and comprehensive studies of first-generation immigrant code-switching in relation to other language contact phenomena.

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Thai language in the conversations was transcribed based on Royal Thai General System of Transcription (RTGS) developed by the Royal Institute of Thailand.

A. Tone markers

Tone marker is placed above the vowel of the word.

Tone	Marker	Example
Neutral	No marker	kha (*to be stuck*)
Low	Grave accent (`)	khà (*galangal*)
Falling	Circumflex (ˆ)	khâ (*fee*)
High	Acute accent (´)	khá (*to trade*)
Rising	Breve (ˇ)	khǎ (*leg*)

B. Consonants

Letters	IPA	English approximation	Romanisation Initial	Final	Example
ก	/k/	**g**one	k	k	กา **k**a (*crow*)
ข ฃ ค ฅ ฆ	/ kʰ/	**c**ake	kh	k	ขา **kh**a (*leg*)
ง	/ŋ/	si**ng**	ng	ng	งา **ng**a (*ivory*)
จ	/tɕ/	**j**ade	ch	t	จ้า **ch**â (*bright*)
ฉ ช ฌ	/tɕʰ/	**ch**air	ch	t	ชา **ch**a (*tea*)
ซ ศ ษ ส	/s/	**s**oup	s	t	ซา **s**a (*to cease*)
ย ญ	/j/	**y**es	y	n	ยา **y**a (*drugs*)
ฎ ด	/d/	**d**oor	d	t	ด่า **d**à (*to scold*)
ฏ ต	/t/	s**t**eak	t	t	ตา **t**a (*eye*)
ฐ ฑ ฒ ถ ท ธ	/tʰ/	**t**ail	th	t	ทา **th**a (*to paint*)
ณ น	/n/	**n**ow	n	n	นา **n**a (*rice field*)
บ	/b/	**b**ed	b	p	บ้า **b**â (*crazy*)
ป	/p/	s**p**eak	p	p	ปา **p**a (*to throw*)
ผ พ ภ	/pʰ/	**p**lace	ph	p	ผา **ph**ă (*cliff*)
ฝ ฟ	/f/	**f**un	f	p	ฝา **ph**ă (*lid*)
ม	/m/	**m**oon	m	m	มา **m**a (*to come*)
ร	/r/	**r**aid	r	n	รา **r**a (*mould*)
ล ฬ	/l/	**l**ane	l	n	ลา **l**a (*donkey*)
ว	/w/	**w**eight	w	-	ว่า **w**â (*to say*)
ห ฮ	/h/	**h**am	h	-	หา **h**ă (*to seek*)

C. Vowels

Vowels	IPA	English approximation	Romanisation	Example
อะ, อา	/a/	cut, bra	a	ตา **ta** (*eye*)
อิ, อี	/i/	mid, mead	i	ตี **ti** (*to hit*)
อึ, อือ	/ɯ/	good	ue	ตึง **tueng** (*tight*)
อุ, อู	/u/	book, too	u	ตู **tu** (*I*)
เอะ/เอ็-, เอ	/e/	men, cane	e	เตะ **te** (*to kick*)
แอะ, แอ	/ɛ/	back, bear	ae	แตะ **tae** (*to touch*)
โอ, โอะ	/o/	go	o	โต **to** (*to grow*)
ออ, เอาะ	/ɔ/	door, lock	o	ตอ **to** (*stump*)
เออะ/เอิ-, เออ	/ɤ/	bird	oe	เต่อ **tòe** (*short*)
อัวะ, อัว/-ว-	/uaʔ/ /ua/	Joshua	ua	ตัว **tua** (*body*)
เอียะ, เอีย	/iaʔ/ /ia/	dear	ia	เตี้ย **tîa** (*short*)
เอือะ, เอือ	/ɯaʔ/ /ɯa/	-	uea	เตือน **tuean** (*to warn*)
ไอ/ใอ	/ai/	wifi	ai	ไต **tai** (*kidney*)
เอา, อาว	/ao/	down	ao	เตา **tao** (*stove*)

Key to transcription conventions

The following transcription conventions are based on Jefferson's (2004) conventions for conversation analysis.

(.)	Short pause less than a second
(1.0)	Length of pause (one second and longer)
=	Lack of gap between utterances
:	Elongation of vowel sound
(h)	Laughing or exhaling
(.h)	Inhaling
↑	Rising intonation; higher pitch
↓	Falling intonation; lower pitch
> <	Faster speech
< >	Slower speech
[ ]	Overlapping
[…]	Text omitted
° word °	Soft, quiet speech
WORD	Loud, shouted speech
word-	Abrupt stop
<u>word</u>	Stressed
© word	Word reduplication
"word"	Quoted utterance
T1	Unsuccessfully recalled Thai lexical item
word ← word, or word ⌐ word	Relationship between words
——----	Possible occurrence of repetition or collocation

List of abbreviations

ABL	Ablaut
AUX	Auxiliary verb
CA	Conversation analysis
CLF	Classifier
CONJ	Conjunction
CS	Code-switching
DM	Discourse marker
FP	Filled pause
INTERJ	Interjection
IS	Interactional sociolinguistics
L1	First language
L2	Second language
MLF	Matrix Language Frame
PP	Pragmatic particle
PREF	Prefix
PRON	Pronoun
SVC	Serial verb construction

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study is an exploratory mixed-methods study of Thai-English language choice behaviours among first-generation adult Thai immigrants in England[1]. The meaning of exploratory study employed in this investigation is based on that of Stebbins (2001), referring to a purposive and systematic undertaking designed to broaden and encourage new viewpoints on the topic at hand. This definition is deemed appropriate since language choice among first-generation immigrants is an area that has not received much research attention. The main aim of this study is to explore the processes (the *how*) and interactional/social motivations (the *why*) underlying first-generation Thai immigrants' language choice in their casual, day-to-day intragroup talk. This means that this study is largely qualitative in nature, as only qualitative methods can provide in-depth analysis of CS at the interactional level. However, quantitative methods are indispensable as it can reveal the overall picture of CS. My positionality is that of both outsider and insider: like the informants, I am a native Thai currently living in England. However, unlike the informants, I am a student rather than a first-generation Thai immigrant. How qualitative and quantitative methods are employed in this study and how my positionality is relevant to the analysis will be further discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.8.4.

In this study, the term language choice is used interchangeably with the term code-switching (CS). In the simplest definition, CS refers to the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same interaction (Scotton and Ury, 1977; Grosjean, 1982; Gumperz, 1982; Scotton, 1982; Ng and He, 2004; Gardner-Chloros, 2009a; see further Section 1.5). CS is one of many outcomes of language contact, i.e. a situation in which speakers of different languages interact and, by doing so, adopt certain elements of one another's language into their own language use (Thomason, 2001; Appel and Muysken, 2005; Matras, 2009). Other key language contact concepts that are relevant to CS in the context of this study include transfer and interference. Broadly defined, transfer refers to a systematic use of underlying systems such as semantic and syntactic features of one language in another, whereas interference refers to the erroneous use of underlying systems of one language in another (Marian and Kaushanskaya, 2007; Grosjean, 2011). However, CS, transfer and interference

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[1] By adult first-generation Thai immigrants (to which I will refer simply as 'first-generation Thai immigrants'), I mean Thai nationals who are the first of their family to have moved from Thailand to England in their adulthood (Li, 1994), that is, after the age of 20 (McCrae and Costa Jr., 2003).

are highly complicated concepts due to their similarities in regards to processing: all of them involve the use of certain elements of one language in another (Treffers-Daller, 2009). Thus, they need to be carefully defined and distinguished from one another. This is done in Section 1.5. My point here is that CS is a language contact phenomenon that exists not on its own but in relation with other language contact phenomena. While this point emerges from Odlin (1989, 2009) and Treffers-Daller (2009), it is applied to the context of first-generation immigrant CS for the first time in the present study. Therefore, although CS is the primary focus of this investigation, I will also explore other relevant language contact outcomes, especially transfer, and how they may advance our knowledge about language contact in general.

To explore the extent to which CS is used by first-generation Thai immigrants, the relationships between CS and selected social variables (to be introduced in Section 1.4), its sequential patterns, functions and its connection with other language contact phenomena such as transfer and interference, qualitative methods from conversation analysis (CA), interactional sociolinguistics (IS) and transfer theory and quantitative methods are combined. Specifically, my analyses will demonstrate that:

- ♦ first-generation Thai immigrant CS occurs rather infrequently and is largely insertional, i.e. occurring as a single word or short utterance within streams of Thai utterances, and only the informants' proficiency in English language reading and speaking skills are correlated with rates of CS. These findings which I will detail in Chapter 3 will contribute to our knowledge about the overall patterning of first-generation immigrant CS and how it may be affected differently by different social factors.

- ♦ despite being infrequent and insertional, CS in intragroup interactions among first-generation Thai immigrants is so systematic and purposeful that it can be arranged into new sequential patterns, each of which is associated with certain functions. In Chapter 4, I will outline these sequential patterns and identify functions of previously neglected CS sequential patterns. How they will impact our understanding of first-generation immigrant CS is also discussed. Moreover, I will also demonstrate the link between sequential CS patterns and functionality of insertional CS, which remains largely unexplored in the literature.

♦ first-generation Thai immigrant CS is not necessarily a simple insertion but may be underlaid by certain Thai syntactic structures which play an important role in how CS is utilised and interpreted. The analysis in Chapter 5 will show that not only does Thai syntactic transfer allow the informants to code-switch without violating the grammatical requirement of Thai, but also to enhance communicative effectiveness of CS in a way that an insertion of CS alone is unlikely to achieve. Moreover, although a number of studies have been carried out on first-generation immigrant CS (e.g. Backus, 1996; Yoon, 1996; Ben-Rafael, 2001; Sala et al., 2010) and CS in relation to transfer (e.g. Clyne, 1987, 2003; Odlin, 2009, and more recently, Sakel, 2011; Poplack et al., 2012; Olson, 2016), none has combined the two topics for a more comprehensive view on first-generation immigrant CS and transfer. This will be done in Chapter 5. My analysis will contribute to the argument that the studies of CS and transfer can be done simultaneously to advance our understanding of CS in relation to other language contact phenomena, and that there is much more to be explored in the area of first-generation immigrant CS.

1.2 Overview of previous studies on code-switching in immigrant communities

Research interest in CS first began in the 1950s in the works of leading scholars such as Weinreich (1953) and Vogt (1954). By the 1980s, CS had become fully established as a research topic in its own right. According to Auer (1984), the literature on CS can be categorised into the following three main perspectives:

1) *The grammatical perspective* focuses on the identification of grammatical aspects of the two (or more) languages that either prevent or allow CS to occur.

2) *The interactional perspective* seeks to explain the function of individual CS items in an ongoing interaction.

3) *The sociolinguistic perspective* aims to describe the motivations and organisations of talk that encourage CS to occur.

The majority of CS studies to date tend to approach CS from one of these three perspectives. This present study differs from previous literature in that it incorporates all three perspectives on CS (see further Section 1.5).

1.2.1 *Quantitative and qualitative approaches to immigrant code-switching*

CS in the context of immigrant communities has been approached from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives, although the latter tends to dominate much of the studies. The quantitative approach is a top-down, macro-societal approach that aims to explain the occurrence of CS through social stratification and statistical tools. Proponents of quantitative methods argue that such methods can provide overall CS patterns across speakers in a certain immigrant community. Some of the most classic, ground-breaking quantitative studies of CS are those of Poplack (1980, 1981), Zentella (1990, 1997, 2002) and Gardner-Chloros (1991) which demonstrated that speakers' language choice is not random but systematic and that CS patterns can be observed and predicted through their correlations with social categories in which the speakers are members. Although the quantitative approach has been criticised for its inability to delve deeper into functions of CS at the interactional level, it is still widely adopted in many recent studies, for example, Rosignoli (2011) and Korybski (2013), as well as the present study. The quantitative approach and its relevance to the study will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

In contrast to the quantitative approach, the qualitative approach provides in-depth analysis of CS at the interactional level. Some examples of qualitative CS frameworks are Gumperz's (1982) Interactional Sociolinguistics and Auer's Conversation Analysis (1984, 1995, 1998). In CS studies in an immigrant context, both frameworks are often employed to explain the functions of CS in immigrants' interactions, either within their household or with speakers from other social groups. For Gumperz (1982), functions of CS are indicated by contextualisation cues, that is, micro-interactional details which draw attention to the conversational intention underlying an utterance, for example, intonation, laughter and body gestures. He proposed six CS functional categories: quotation markings, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, massage qualification, and personalisation versus objectivisation (each functional category will be explained and exemplified in Chapter 4). Auer (1984, 1995, 1998), while agrees with Gumperz (1982) that CS should be interpreted at the interactional level using micro-level details, argues that CS functions emerge from the sequential characteristics of CS within a developing interaction. Based on CA, he proposed a number of CS sequential patterns. The qualitative approach will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 4.

While both the qualitative frameworks can indeed reveal the importance of CS as a communicative tool in immigrant communities, they cannot reveal the extent to which immigrants adopt CS, nor can they confirm the regularity of CS. Therefore, it is essential that

qualitative CS analysis be substantiated with quantitative analysis. This combinatory approach has been adopted by many CS researchers whose studies have provided insights regarding first-generation immigrants' CS behaviours from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives, many of which became the basis of my study, for example:

♦ Ng and He's (2004) study on Chinese-English CS in Chinese tri-generational immigrant families in New Zealand shows that speakers from older generations (parents and grandparents) employed more within-turn CS than younger speakers from grandchildren generation, and that CS is an important tool that assists communication between speakers from different generations.

♦ Bani-Shoraka's (2009) study on Azerbaijani-Persian CS in Azerbaijani families living in Tehran reveals that CS is a communicative strategy that may serve to include/exclude speakers from an ongoing interaction, express language preference (or resistance in Bani-Shoraka's (2009) term) and create Azerbaijani identity. More importantly, CS in her data also indicates language shift in the immigrant families.

♦ Smith-Christmas' (2012) study on Gaelic-English CS in a tri-generational bilingual family in Scotland shows that CS is utilised not only to facilitate communications between speakers from different generations and to achieve communicative goals, but also to maintain Gaelic as the heritage language in the family.

♦ Korybski's (2013) study on Polish-English CS among mostly first-generation Polish immigrants and some second-generation Polish immigrants in the UK shows that Polish immigrants tend to favour insertional switching, i.e. a switch that occurs without changing the language of interaction (to be further discussed and exemplified in Section 1.5.1), and that their CS behaviours are closely related to their language dominance and length of residence in the UK. Korybski (2013) also rightly points out that length of residence alone is insufficient to predict the occurrence of CS.

However, while previous studies such as those summarised above have no doubt broadened our understanding about CS in immigrant communities, they tend to focus on either conversations between speakers from different immigrant generations, or CS behaviours of young-generation immigrants who were born or raised from a young age in the host country (Akresh, 2007). This is possibly because intergenerational conversations and young-generation immigrants tend to offer rich CS data in which CS occurs frequently and lengthily across many turns, as demonstrated in Li et al. (1992), Li (1994), Backus (1996), and Chanseawrassamee and Shin (2009). CS behaviours of first-generation immigrants, on

the other hand, have been largely neglected in the mainstream research. This lack of studies on this topic means that our knowledge regarding first-generation immigrant CS is largely limited and possibly oversimplified. The present study is an attempt to present a more accurate picture of first-generation immigrant CS.

1.2.2 Code-switching among first-generation immigrants

Most considerations of first-generation immigrants' CS have been conducted as part of larger intergenerational CS investigations, where first-generation immigrants' CS are usually explained as a communicative tool for conversations between first- and younger-generation immigrants (for example, Myers-Scotton, 2002b; Ng and He, 2004; Chung, 2006; Bani-Shoraka, 2009; Smith-Christmas, 2012; Korybski, 2013; Vidal, 2015). This may be because it is widely known that first-generation immigrants tend to favour their first language (L1) in their intragroup talks, that their CS is often insertional, and that the frequency of their CS is low (Li, 1994; Alfonzetti, 2005; Korybski, 2013; Muysken, 2013; Finnis, 2014). These characteristics of first-generation immigrant CS probably lead to the assumption that first-generation immigrant CS has few insights to offer (Akresh, 2007). For example, in their study of CS among Chinese immigrants in England, Li et al. (1992, p. 199) state that CS behaviours of first-generation adult Chinese immigrants from a strongly Chinese-orientated network (the True Jesus group) reveal "very little" regarding the effects of social factors on CS. The severe lack of first-generation immigrant CS studies is problematic because it impedes a more comprehensive understanding of CS in immigrant contexts. Moreover, without systematic studies on first-generation immigrants' intragroup CS, we cannot be certain whether our current knowledge of this phenomenon is accurate and up-to-date. These reasons emphasise the importance of the present study, not only as a study that will fill a research gap in immigrant CS studies but also as a starting point that encourages new viewpoints on first-generation immigrant CS.

Closer inspection of the results in previous studies suggests that there is still much more about first-generation immigrant CS to be explored. For example, consider the following excerpt from Ben-Rafael (2001, p. 293, amended for exemplification purpose) which demonstrates a talk among three first-generation francophone immigrants in Israel. In line with the glossing system (to be introduced in Chapter 2, Section 2.8.1) and transcription system (see p. xiv) employed in this study, CS is marked with boldface and English translation of each original utterance is in italics.

Example 1.1

M: Qu'est-ce-qui brûle quelque part?
      'What is burning somewhere?'

E: Mais non, c'est l'odeur des **pilpelim**
      *'But no, it is the smell of **peppers**.'*

M: Ouais… c'est des **pilpelim** grillés ça?
      *'Yeah… this is grilled **peppers** this?'*

E: Voilà c'est ça.
      'That's it.'

Ro: Et vous les coupez en morceaux? Vous faites une salade?
      'And you cut them in pieces? You make a salad?'

E: Non, elle les épluche… on les mange en salade de **pilpelim**
      *'No, she peels them… one eats them as a **pepper** salad.'*

As rightly pointed out by Ben-Rafael (2001), the Hebrew switch *pilpelim* (English: *pepper*) used three times across different speakers serves to emphasise the topic being discussed and to retain coherence of the conversation. However, Ben-Rafael (2001) did not clearly explain how exactly the repetition creates conversational coherence, nor did she explicitly acknowledge the link or sequential structure that underlies the three instances of *pilpelim*. This observation suggests that first-generation immigrant CS may be more intricate and systematic than previously thought. It also highlights the importance of the identification of sequential patterns of first-generation immigrant CS in order to provide an accurate and systematic account of how and why this phenomenon occurs. This is done in Chapter 4.

1.2.3 *Code-switching and other language contact phenomena*

The intricacy of first-generation immigrant CS can be further observed if we take into consideration the relation between CS and other language contact phenomena, especially language transfer. However, while there is a large number of studies dedicated to the analysis of CS syntactic analysis, they often did not explain CS in relation to other language contact phenomena. Treffers-Daller (2009), Sakel (2011) and Treffers-Daller and Sakel (2012) have shown that a simultaneous study on CS and other language contact phenomena is an important step towards a better understanding of language contact in overall, as each can

benefit from the other's findings: CS studies could contribute the knowledge about how lexical items are integrated into the syntactic frame of another language, while studies of other language contact phenomena could contribute the knowledge of how speakers' choice of certain lexical CS items are influenced by other underlying systems of another language, e.g. semantic, pragmatic and conceptual frames. The intricacy of CS which calls for an integration with studies on other language contact outcomes, especially transfer, is demonstrated in the following excerpt from Backus' (1996, p. 149, adjusted for exemplification purpose) corpus of first-generation Turkish immigrants' CS in Maasstricht, the Netherlands. The Dutch switch is marked with boldface, and the utterance that is affected by Turkish syntactic transfer is marked with thick underline.

Example 1.2

<u>Nachttrein</u>-i	orda	Randstad-da	dolaşıp	duruyor
night-train-POSS	there	R.-LOC	go-around-and	keep-PROG-3sg

*The **night train** keeps going around there in the Randstad.*

According to Backus (1996), the addition of *-i*, is a Turkish possessive marker, reflects Turkish syntactic structure. However, in the context of the utterance in Example 1.2 where it is applied to the Dutch noun *nachttrein*, it serves to mark a compound noun: *nachttrein-i*. The distinctiveness of this excerpt is that *nachttrein* is already a compound noun, and thus does not necessarily require the Turkish compound noun marker *-i*. While Backus (1996) does acknowledge that this unexpected Dutch-Turkish morphological integration may be due to the influence of the speaker's L1 (Turkish), which is the immigrants' preferred choice of language in his Maastricht data, he does not elaborate further on this aspect, or further explore why the Turkish syntactic structure occurs despite not being required in the sentence. Nevertheless, Backus' (1996) finding adds evidence of the intricateness of CS. More importantly, it shows that CS can occur simultaneously with transfer, which opens an intriguing possibility and new directions for the analysis of first-generation immigrant CS.

To study CS syntactic integration, many studies, including Backus (1996), employed Myers-Scotton's (1988a, 1988b, 1993b, 2000, 2002a) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model which explains CS syntactic integration based on asymmetrical roles played by the participating languages. However, since the aim of my study is to investigate how L1 syntactic transfer contributes to the currently vague understanding of first-generation immigrant CS, it is necessary that I draw from theory of transfer instead of the MLF model. This is because the MLF model is designed specifically as a grammatical analytic framework,

and thus it does not enable us to explain CS in relation to other language contact phenomena. Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer identification framework is chosen for this purpose due to its rigorous criteria that clearly and objectively distinguish CS from transfer. Unsatisfied with how some previous studies seemed to identify transfer instinctively without clear criteria, Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) proposed the following three transfer criteria: intragroup homogeneity (speakers of the same L1 use L2 in the same way), intergroup heterogeneity (speakers of different L1s use L2 in a different way) and crosslinguistic performance congruity (the structural pattern that underlies L2 production must also exist in speakers' L1). These criteria allow us to observe both phenomena and how they affect each other more easily. Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer identification criteria and how they are applied to my study will be further discussed and exemplified in Chapter 5. The finding will show that the informants strategically apply certain Thai syntactic structures, namely the lack of inflectional system, pragmatic particle system and flexible serial verb construction to CS in order to optimise the communicative effects of English switches.

In the next section, I discuss another motivation behind this study which emerged from the unique status of English in Thailand and native Thai speakers' attitudes towards CS.

1.3 Linguistic context in Thailand

Thailand, like its neighbours Laos and Cambodia, has diverse minority languages, although Thai remains the only official language of Thailand to date (Kosonen, 2005). One of the minority languages in Thailand that is of great importance is English. Since its first introduction to Thailand in the reign of King Rama III (1824 – 1851) as the language of the royal court (Foley, 2005), English is now a mandatory subject at all educational levels in Thailand and has become greatly influential in many domains, for example, international organisations, audio and visual media, tertiary education and internet communication (Foley, 2005).

However, despite the important role of English in modern Thailand, English is still considered a foreign, or an outsider language (Glass, 2009). While English is positively associated with prestige and education, it is also associated with pretentiousness and a threat to the purity of Thai language. Such a negative view is reflected in the following segment of an interview given by Professor Karnchana Nacaskul, emeritus professor in Thai language

and literature and a representative of the Royal Institute of Thailand (Matichon, 2012, my English translation):

> […] and many people may mix Thai with English. [I] think [we] must understand that each language has its own identity and characteristics. When speaking English, we should speak it correctly. When speaking Thai, we should also speak it correctly, not mixing between the two. Eventually we would not know how much of [our] knowledge, [language] ability, and the message is correctly conveyed.

The following Facebook status update demonstrates how Thai-English CS is received with hostility by native speakers of Thai in Thailand (my English translation):

> (Facebook status update)
>
> I think those who speak one word in Thai and then a couple more words in English, you must have some kind of problem in communication maturity. Can't your brain distinguish between the two languages? Can't you just pick one? It's not cool at all. The more I listen to it, the more I feel uncomfortable.
>
> (Comment by a different Facebook user)
>
> When I talk to [them] [I] want to smash [their] mouth.
>
> (Facebook user, 2014)

The statements shown above are relevant to the present study in two aspects. First, they both reflect the monolingual ideology, i.e. the "one language only" (OLON) and "only one language at a time" (OLAT) ideologies (Li, 2013, p. 366), that strongly persist in Thailand. Second, the Facebook status update shows that the negative attitude is directed towards intra-sentential/insertional CS in particular (as evident in *[…] one word in Thai and then a couple more in English […]*). It is known among CS researchers that such notions of linguistic purity do not hold since language contact is a common phenomenon that can occur at any corner of the world where more than one language is spoken. It is also accepted that bilinguals cannot completely switch off one of their known languages while speaking the other (Grosjean, 1982, 1989, 1994). In other words, "a bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person" (Grosjean, 1989, p. 4). Moreover, evidence from previous studies on CS functions shows that CS serves a great variety of communicative functions (Bentahila, 1983; Nishimura, 1995b; Bailey, 2000; Angermeyer, 2002; Ben-Rafael, 2002; Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001; Albirini, 2011; Albirini and Chakrani, 2016). The statements quoted above,

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however, indicate that not all native speakers of Thai in Thailand fully embrace this understanding of the values of CS.

1.4 Rationale of the study

The brief literature reviews in Sections 1.2 and 1.3 inform us that our understanding of first-generation immigrant CS is veiled by certain misconceptions: 1) first-generation immigrant CS is a simple phenomenon that has few insights to offer; and 2) Thai-English CS, especially the insertional type, is a broken and inappropriate mode of communication. These misconceptions present us with a problem to be further explored. The rationale of the study is to: 1) dispel the misconceptions about first-generation immigrant CS and present a more accurate account; 2) to explore the complexity of first-generation immigrant CS that has been exhibited and/or acknowledged in previous studies but yet to be scrutinised; and 3) to reduce the negative attitude that many Thai speakers in Thailand hold toward insertional CS.

Because CS is reported to be highly context- and situation-dependent (Poplack, 1980; Cheng and Butler, 1989; Myers-Scotton, 1993a), one may question whether a study of Thai-English CS among first-generation Thai immigrants in England can be made relevant to attitudes towards CS of native Thai speakers in Thailand. However, I would argue that the findings in my study are an important means with which to challenge the monolingual ideology held by many native Thai speakers in Thailand. The findings are evidence that Thai-English CS, even the insertional type, is an effective tool with which creative communicative goals can be achieved, as well as an essential part of conversational development, even in intragroup talks where monolingual Thai is strongly preferred.

1.5 Research questions

This study is guided by four research questions, which emerged from the findings in previous studies on CS in immigrant community contexts, as well as my own observations of linguistic behaviours of first-generation Thai immigrants in England. First, to identify the overall CS behaviours of first-generation Thai immigrants, I asked the following research question:

> **Research question 1**: What is the dominant type of CS in the intragroup talk of first-generation Thai immigrants in England?

It is often stated that first-generation immigrants exhibit low rates of CS, and that they prefer intra-sentential CS/insertional CS to other types of CS (Pfaff, 1979; Li, 1994; Backus, 1996; Muysken, 2013). This claim appears to hold true in the case of Thai-English CS in Suraratdecha (2005) which shows how Thai residents in Hawaii, U.S., code-switched approximately only three words per every 1,000 words spoken. Based on the insights gained from these previous studies, I formulated the following hypothesis:

> **Hypothesis 1**: Intra-sentential CS is the dominant type of CS among first-generation Thai immigrants in England.

Most CS researchers agree that social variables may affect the CS behaviours of speakers in a given community, and thus they should not be ignored in CS research (Pfaff, 1979; Poplack, 1980; Milroy and Gordon, 2003; Gardner-Chloros, 2009b; Yim and Bialystock, 2012; Korybski, 2013). To explore whether Thai-English CS among first-generation Thai immigrants in England is affected by social variables, I chose four of the most classic and fundamental variables in immigrant CS studies, namely, age, length of residence, educational attainment and L2 proficiency (Li et al., 1992). The second research question asks:

> **Research question 2**: What is the effect on first-generation Thai immigrants' CS behaviours of these speaker variables: age, length of residence, educational attainment and English language proficiency?

The impact of age, length of residence, educational attainment and L2 proficiency on CS tends to vary across studies. In regard to the age variable, it is reported in de Bot and Clyne (1989) and Clyne (2003) that the older the immigrants are, the more likely they are to maintain their heritage language. Poplack (1980), on the other hand, found no significant difference between older (over 40 years old) and younger (21 – 40 years old) Puerto Rican immigrants in New York. Contradictory findings are also present in the case of the length of residence variable. It is argued in Mukherjee (2003) and Isurin (2007) that length of residence in the host country is a key factor for generating high degrees of CS. Korybski (2013) is more sceptical about the effect of length of residence on CS. He states that length of residence, while it appears to have some effect on CS behaviours of Polish immigrants in the UK, may not be the most accurate predictor of CS as it may be overshadowed by other factors. In contrast, Li et al. (1992) and Li (1994) found that the length of residence factor had very little effect on CS behaviours of Chinese immigrants in England. High level of educational

attainment is another factor that is often associated with high degree of CS (Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1983; Nartey, 1982; Ayeomoni, 2006; Ennaji, 2010). However, it is not always so in the case of immigrants. Zentella (2002), Rosignoli (2011) and Duany (2014) have shown that well-educated immigrants tend to perform less CS than those who are less educated, possibly because they are more likely to appreciat the value of their heritage language and associated ethnic identity and take it as their responsibility to pass them to the younger generations. Finally, the views on how bilingual proficiency may affect CS also tend to vary. Researchers such as Poplack (1980), Nortier (1990) and Yao (2011) argue that degree of CS is very closely related to speakers' bilingual proficiency, whereas Auer (1999) disagrees with such a view and argues that "although codeswitching bilinguals may be highly proficient in both languages, balanced proficiency is by no means a prerequisite. Indeed, codeswitching is possible with a very limited knowledge of the "other" language" (Auer, 1999, p. 312). Findings from previous studies and their relevance to this investigation will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

The conflicting findings mentioned above suggest that the literature remains largely inconclusive on the effect that each social variable has on CS. However, considering that my informants are similar to those in Poplack (1980) in terms of age, and to those described in Korybski (2013) regarding other social characteristics and their status as first-generation immigrants[2], I formulated the hypothesis for Research question 2 based on their results as follows:

> **Hypothesis 2**: Degrees of CS will exhibit a statistically significant increase with first-generation Thai immigrants' educational attainment, length of residence in England and English language proficiency, but not with their age.

Having asked questions about the overall patterning of first-generation Thai immigrant CS, it is now important to turn to a more in-depth consideration of the phenomenon. By addressing the next research question shown below, I aim to achieve a more systematic account of first-generation Thai immigrant CS, and to understand it not only as a social phenomenon but also as a product of an ongoing interactional process.

> **Research question 3**: What are the sequential patterns and functions of first-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup CS?

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[2] 22 out of 26 informants in Korybski (2013) were first-generation immigrants

In Auer (1995), a series of CA-based sequential CS patterns and the functions with which they are associated are identified. By adopting Auer's (1995) tradition of CA, I seek to identify sequential patterns of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS. It is evident in Ben-Rafael (2001), although not explicitly clarified by the author, that first-generation immigrant CS may exhibit sequential relationships with either other CS occurrences or the surrounding text, and in Angermeyer (2002) that insertional CS can be analysed in the context of conversational structure. The evidence in these studies suggest that first-generation Thai immigrants' CS, despite being largely insertional, may be arranged into CA-based sequential patterns. Therefore, I hypothesised that:

> **Hypothesis 3**: First-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup CS can be arranged into more sequential patterns than outlined in Auer's (1995) original CS patterns, and each of the new patterns is associated with certain CS functions.

As stated at the end of Section 1.1, this thesis also aims to explore CS in relation to other language contact phenomena, especially transfer. Works by Clyne (1987, 2003), Backus (1996), Treffers-Daller (2009) and more recently Sakel (2011) suggest that findings from CS and transfer studies may help complement each other. While I acknowledge that transfer may occur at any level (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Odlin, 1989; Jarvis and Pavlenko, 2008), for example, phonetic (Hammarberg, 1997; Major, 2008), semantic (Jarvis, 2000; Jarvis and Odlin, 2000; Jiang, 2004) or pragmatic (Kasper, 1992; Bou-Franch, 2013), the type of transfer on which the focus is placed in this study is syntactic transfer due to the insertional nature of first-generation immigrant CS. By incorporating a study of Thai syntactic transfer within a CS content, I will address the following research question:

> **Research question 4**: How is first-generation Thai immigrant CS affected by Thai syntactic transfer?

My expectations regarding the likely findings in connection with this question are determined by consideration of the findings and excerpts presented in previous studies. The evidence from Clyne (1987, 2003) and Backus (1996) suggests that syntactic transfer helps facilitate the occurrence of CS and ensure that the syntactic frame of the recipient language is not violated, resulting in syntactic congruence. Moreover, closer examination of the excerpts in Nishimura (1995a, 1995b), Backus (1996) and Tan (2005) suggests that syntactic transfer may also play a role in achieving certain communicative effects. Based on the studies, I proposed the following hypothesis to Research question 4:

Hypothesis 4: Thai syntactic transfer ensures syntactic congruence of first-generation Thai immigrant CS and may also create communicative effects that CS alone cannot adequately achieve.

To answer the four research questions posed above, Thai-English CS of first-generation Thai immigrants must be approached from all three perspectives on CS that I have introduced in Section 1.1, that is, sociolinguistic (Research questions 1 and 2), interactional (Research question 3) and grammatical (Research question 4). I combine quantitative methods and qualitative methods from CA, IS and transfer theory to analyse my data. Quantitative methods, consisting of frequency count, distributional analysis and correlational analysis, are employed to account for first-generation Thai immigrants' overall usage of intragroup CS and its relationships with social variables. On the other hand, Auer's (1984, 1995, 1998, 1999) CA and Gumperz' (1982) principles of IS are the qualitative methods employed to identify sequential CS patterns and associated functions. Moreover, insights from Jarvis' (2000a) and Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer theory will be employed to account for the effects of Thai syntactic structures on first-generation Thai immigrants' CS production. To ascertain the regularity of CS in my data and to explore its characteristics of occurrence in relation to the surrounding text, qualitative analyses will be complemented with quantitative analyses.

The combination of the two methods discussed above allows me to obtain a clearer, more accurate and more comprehensive picture of first-generation Thai immigrant CS. This is because the weakness of each method is compensated by the strength of another. Quantitative methods contribute to qualitative methods in that they provide a broad overview first-generation Thai immigrant CS at the social level. On the other hand, qualitative methods contribute to quantitative methods in that they provide extensive insights into first-generation Thai immigrant CS and transfer behaviours at the interactional level. The mixed-methods approach has often been employed in previous immigrant CS studies, with CA and/or IS being among the most popular qualitative methods to be combined with quantitative methods (for example, see Ihemere, 2006; Bani-Shoraka, 2009; Guerini, 2013). However, the mixed-methods approach in this investigation differs from that in the literature in that it incorporates quantitative methods not only with CS theoretical framework, but also with a theory of transfer. This allows me to approach first-generation immigrant CS from new angles and demonstrate its intricateness more effectively and in an innovative way.

Given the complexity of language contact concepts, which I have acknowledged at the beginning of this chapter, it is of paramount importance that the key terms in this study are first problematised and clearly defined from the outset (Corder, 1992; Selinker, 1992). This is

to avoid terminology confusion which may impede the reader's appreciation of the analysis in the subsequent chapters.

1.6 Definitions of key terms

The terms CS, borrowing, transfer and interference are highly elusive. First of all, there has never been general agreement over the definition of the term CS. Therefore, the meaning of CS varies across studies. Researchers such as Pfaff (1979), Bokamba (1988), Muysken (2004) and van Dulm (2007) reserve the term CS for the use of linguistic elements from Language A in Language B at a clausal boundary, and code-mixing for that occurring within a clausal boundary. For Auer (1999), CS refers to elements from Language A that encode certain local meanings or functions when embedded in Language B, whereas code-mixing refers to lexical items from Language A that have been accepted as part of Language B and do not serve any local functions. Terminology confusion is exacerbated when researchers attempt to incorporate findings from CS studies with other similar language contact phenomena, namely, transfer and interference. Although Jarvis (2000a), Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) and Grosjean (2011) have proposed criteria that can be used to distinguish transfer from interference, both terms remain largely ill-defined and are often used interchangeably in the literature where their meaning tends to be taken for granted.

The distinction between CS and transfer proposed in Treffers-Daller and Mougeon (2005) and Sakel (2011) serves as a useful starting point for the definition of language contact terminology in my study. For Treffers-Daller and Mougeon (2005) and Sakel (2011), CS and transfer are delineated at the lexical level. CS can be more narrowly defined as the use of lexical items from one language in stretches of another language, while transfer refers to the use of certain underlying systems of one language in the production of another. Two examples below illustrate this point. Example 1.3 from Akhidenor (2013, p. 33) demonstrates the case of English-Setswana (a South African Bantu language) CS in which a Setswana lexical item (marked with boldface) is embedded within an English utterance. In contrast, Example 1.4 from Tan (2005, p. 165) demonstrates the case of transfer in which a Chinese null subject, represented by Ø, is applied to an English utterance, despite English being a non-pro-drop language.

Example 1.3

16.   ##CU5.1#:   Me, I'm good. I always buy **meali** (meal made from maize) for you.

Example 1.4

Ø will inform you if anything happens.

Standard English: I will inform you if anything happens.

The definitions of CS and transfer introduced above are not definitive, and require further clarification in relation to the other two language contact phenomena: borrowing and interference.

Although borrowing is excluded from the analysis in this study, it is nevertheless necessary to clearly define and distinguish it from CS here to avoid confusion. This is because borrowing, like CS, occurs at the lexical level (Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1989, 1992b; Adalar and Tagliamonte, 1998; Hickey, 2009; Grosjean, 2011). Although there is still no generally accepted definition of borrowing (Winford, 2010), it is generally accepted that borrowing refers to a lexical item from Language A that is widely used consistently as part of Language B (Haugen, 1950; Poplack and Sankoff, 1984; Marian and Kaushanskaya, 2007). CS, on the other hand, is less likely to achieve the same level of acceptance and consistency (Myers-Scotton, 1992b). A set of more rigorous criteria was proposed in Poplack (1980), in which borrowing is distinguished from CS based on phonological, morphological and syntactical integration into the recipient language. However, these criteria were later shown not to necessarily hold (Sankoff et al., 1990; Mahootian, 2006), especially the phonological integration criterion which is ineffective in cases where speakers are heavily accented (Samar and Meechan, 1998). This is also the case in my study, and thus Poplack's (1980) criteria are deemed inappropriate.

The criteria that are considered most useful for distinguishing borrowing from CS in this study are Myers-Scotton's (1993c) qualitative criteria, which determine whether a certain lexical item from Language A is a borrowing on the basis of its availability and convenience in Language B. *Cultural borrowing* refers to a lexical item from Language A that does not exist in Language B, often due to cultural differences. Some examples of English cultural borrowings in Thai are *bàttoerî* (English: *battery*), *bút* (English: *boots*) and *phláttìk* (English: *plastic*) (Suthiwan and Tadmore, 2009, p. 612), all of which are Western inventions. *Core borrowing*, on the other hand, refers to a lexical item from Language A that also has an equivalent in Language B, but is used due to its intelligibility or convenience. For example, *kompíutôe* (English: *computer*), *sàtaem* (English: *stamp*) and *motoesai / mosai* (English: *motorcycle*) are widely used in Thailand since they are more convenient than their lengthier

Thai counterparts *khaníttàkon*, *trapraisaniyakon* and *rótchàkkàyanyon*, respectively. Based on these criteria, the definitions of borrowing and CS used in this study are given below. Note that CS can be further divided into three main types. Since they are one of the key foci in this study, they are discussed and exemplified in Section 1.6.1.

Code-switching

The use of lexical items from Language A in stretches of Language B,
when there are equivalents in Language B.

Borrowing

The use of lexical items from Language A in stretches of Language B,
when there are no equivalents in Language B, or when the lexical item
from Language A is more intelligible or convenient than its equivalents
in Language B.

The next two language contact outcomes that need to be distinguished and defined are transfer and interference. This is a challenging task, because unlike CS and borrowing, which tend to be clearly distinguished from each other in the literature (e.g. "codeswitching is not borrowing" in Poplack and Meechan, 1998, p. 132), the terms transfer and interference are sometimes used interchangeably. This is probably because both phenomena involve the application of underlying systems (e.g. phonetic features, syntactic structures, semantic and pragmatic patterns) of Language A to Language B and are thus difficult to delineate (Treffers-Daller and Mougeon, 2005; Odlin, 2009; Grosjean, 2011). However, as pointed out in Odlin (2009), it is important that transfer be distinguished from interference, as lumping them together implies that they are the same contact phenomenon when they, in fact, differ in many aspects.

Among the previous attempts to distinguish transfer from interference, Jarvis' (2000a) and Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer identification criteria and Grosjean's (2001, 2011) concepts of *static* and *dynamic* criteria were found to be the most useful for the present investigation. For the purposes of the present section, mention of just the key points of the two phenomena will suffice (they are described in greater detail in Chapter 5, where crosslinguistic examples are also provided). For Jarvis (2000a) and Jarvis and Pavlenko

(2008), a system from L1 that underlies L2 production[3] is considered transfer if: 1) it is used similarly in L2 by speakers of the same L1 (intragroup homogeneity); 2) it is used differently across speakers of different L1s (intergroup heterogeneity); and 3) it also exists in the monolingual L1 (crosslinguistic performance congruity). These transfer criteria will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. Moreover, Grosjean (2001, 2011) argues that an L1 structure or system that underlies L2 production is considered transfer if it occurs in a recurrent manner, reflecting its status as a "permanent trace of one language on the other" (Grosjean, 2011, p. 15). If it occurs inconsistently and in a temporary manner, it is classified as interference. This is illustrated in the following example from Jarvis (2002, p. 411) where the speaker inconsistently applies L1 Finnish null article to L2 English production (original spelling is preserved). This suggests that it is more likely to be L1 interference rather than transfer. For convenience, the null article and the definite article are marked with thick underline.

Example 1.5

One woman is hungry and alone.
Then she saw a bread car and she stoled some bread.
Ø Woman did saw it and she sayed it to the policeman.
Ø Police cacth the girl and arrested him.

Guided by the criteria proposed in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) and Grosjean (2011), I define the terms transfer and interference used in this study as follows:

Transfer

The systematic and recurrent use of certain underlying systems/structures
of Language A in the production of Language B that meets all three
criteria in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008)

Interference

The inconsistent and incidental use of certain underlying
systems/structures of Language A in the production of Language B that
fails to meet all three criteria in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008)

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[3] Note that transfer and interference effects may also occur in the reverse direction, i.e. from L2 to L1, or bidirectionally. However, they are not the focus of this study and will not be discussed.

1.6.1 *Types of code-switching*

Three main types of CS have been reported in the literature, namely, intra-sentential, inter-sentential and extra-sentential CS. The first type, intra-sentential CS, refers to an insertion of lexical items from Language A into streams of Language B WITHIN THE CLAUSAL LEVEL. It may appear as single words or phrases, but not as a full sentence. An example of intra-sentential CS is given in Example 1.6 below. The Chinese switch *koei-ge mooi* embedded in the English utterance is a noun phrase. From this point onwards, CS items are marked with boldface.

Example 1.6

A: His sister (.)   **koei-ge mooi** is my good friend.
                           (***his younger sister***)

                                            (Li, 1994, p. 158)

In contrast to the previous type of CS, inter-sentential CS is defined as the use of Language A AT THE CLAUSAL LEVEL in streams of Language B. This means that inter-sentential CS can stand independently as a complete clause. An example of inter-sentential CS is given in Example 1.7, where the speaker switches from English into a full Spanish sentence. Notice how the two sentences stand independently of each other.

Example 1.7

Janelle: Because yesterday I was mad, **de balde yo fui para allà.**
                                        '***I went there for nothing***'

                                        (Bailey, 2007, p. 34)

The final type of CS is called extra-sentential CS, or tag-switching (Poplack, 1980). CS of this type differs from the previous two in two main aspects. Firstly, it tends to comprise pre-fabricated forms of expression that are used as a whole chunk with no, or little, change in format. Included in the category of extra-sentential CS are question tags, idioms, fillers, discourse markers (Poplack, 1980) and affirmation/negation markers (*yes*, *no*) (Barredo, 1997; Sebonde, 2012). Secondly, extra-sentential CS, especially idioms, tends to be associated with biculturalism (Montes-Alcalá, 2007). This means that it requires speakers' familiarity with the host-country culture (McGlone et al., 1994) more than intra-sentential CS and inter-sentential

CS do. An example of extra-sentential CS is given in Example 1.8, where the English switch *anyway* embedded in a Thai utterance is a discourse marker that signals topic change.

Example 1.8

Speaker H: **Anyway**, thii choop phro…
                              that like   because
               'Anyway, I like it because…'

<div align="right">(Suraratdecha, 2003, p. 74)</div>

1.6.2 *Code-switching versus translanguaging*

In the past recent years, there has been a growing interest in translanguaging (see García, 2009, 2017; Creese and Blackledge, 2010, 2015; Busch, 2012; Lewis et al., 2012; Otheguy et al., 2015). Unlike CS which focuses on two or more distinct languages selected by speakers during interaction, translanguaging is defined as the flexible use of linguistic resources by bilinguals to construct meanings, without such resources being categorised on the basis of culturally and socially defined languages, e.g. English, Spanish, Thai and so on, (García, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2015; Otheguy et al., 2015). In other words, they are stored holistically in speakers' mind. Originated in the work of Williams (1994) in Welsh education context, translanguaging was first viewed as a pedagogical technique that can enhance students' language learning, for example, promoting deeper understanding of the language being learnt, enhancing the development of speakers' weaker language and facilitating the integration of proficient learners with those who are less proficient (Baker, 2011). However, the notion of translanguaging is now being applied to other contexts in bilingual's life such as cognitive processing, everyday bilingual interactions and preservation of linguistic practices that are considered valuable by speakers in minoritised communities (Lewis et al., 2015; Otheguy et al., 2015).

Although translanguaging is still developing and does not have a unanimous definition yet (Lewis et al., 2015), some researchers began to prefer it to CS. For example, Blommaert (2014) argues that the notion of CS is outdated and too simple to adequately explain language use in today's highly diverse linguistic environments, while Otheguy et al. (2015) argue that named languages are but socially and politically constructs that do not necessarily represent a linguistic system that an individual speaker knows and speaks. However, this does not mean that we should simply replace CS with translanguaging, as each theory explains bilingualism

from different aspects and thus, has different implications for the interpretation of language use in different contexts. This point is also supported by Otheguy et al. (2015, p. 298) who acknowledge that translanguaging "is not for all discussions of all topics at all times", and that there are situations in which CS theory is more ideally suited for the analysis of linguistic behaviours of bilingual speakers. The present study is one example of such situation. I admit that my data can be explained from a translanguaging perspective since they represent non-prescribed language use among speakers from a minority community. However, the aims of the study specifically require that linguistic features used by the informants be identified as either English or Thai so that the social connotations associated with each language and the effect of Thai on English production can be observed. Translanguaging does not allow us to do so since it separates linguistic features from social and cultural realms and views linguistic knowledge in speakers' mind as a holistic entity unlabelled by any named language. CS, on the other hand, enables us to achieve both aims. In short, while I acknowledge that translanguaging is a novel theory that could help broaden our understanding of linguistic behaviours of bilingual speakers and that my data may also explained from a translanguaging perspective, I would argue that viewing the data as a CS phenomenon is more appropriate in the context of this study.

1.7 Thesis overview

This chapter sets out the aim of this thesis: to explore how and why first-generation Thai immigrants employ CS in their casual, day-to-day intragroup interactions. The subsequent chapters are organised as follows: in Chapter 2, the sampling universe, sampling procedure and selected speaker variables are introduced and their rationale described. Then, I discuss data collection methods and procedures employed in this study. This includes brief outlines of data collection instruments, their strengths, drawbacks in the context of this study and how the drawbacks are overcome as far as practically possible. I also introduce the data collection process, including problems that emerged during data collection and solutions, and ethical considerations that applied. Data transcription and preparation for the analysis in the subsequent chapters is then described. At the end of the chapter, the quantitative and qualitative analysis methods employed in this study are briefly introduced. They will be discussed in greater detail in the relevant analysis chapters. The importance of Chapter 2 is that it sets out the nature and size of the corpus, as well as the methods that are essential for the testing of hypotheses posed in Section 1.5.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the quantitative analysis of Thai-English CS among the first-generation Thai immigrants. The chapter begins with a review of the quantitative approach, its advantages and shortcomings, and how it is applied in the context of the present investigation. This discussion is of great importance as it impacts upon how relationships between CS and social factors are explained in this study. Then, I report and exemplify types of CS found in my data. The overall distribution of each CS type will be provided, followed by the distribution and Spearman's rank correlation coefficient analysis of each type of CS across speaker variables, namely, age, length of residence, educational attainment and English language proficiency in listening, speaking, reading and writing skills[4]. The frequency count and distributional analysis show that first-generation Thai immigrants produce CS at a very low frequency, and most of them occur within a clausal boundary as insertions of single words or short utterances. The correlational analysis reveals that degrees of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS are statistically correlated with only the informants' English reading and speaking proficiency. Extra-sentential CS, while excluded from the correlational analysis, is not ignored. Its frequency of occurrence will be reported and discussed in relation to social characteristics of the informants in Section 3.6. However, while the quantitative findings provide the overall characteristics of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS behaviours and how they are related to the social world, they cannot adequately explain how CS is utilised at the interactional level. For this reason, the in-depth quantitative analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 are required.

Chapter 4 is concerned primarily with the qualitative analysis of sequential patterns and local functions of Thai-English CS in my data. First, I provide a review of the theoretical frameworks that underpin the analysis of the sequential CS patterns and functions, namely, CA in Auer's (1984, 1988, 1991, 1995, 1998, 1999) tradition and Gumperz's (1982) IS. Auer's (1995) sequential CS patterns are discussed in detail since they are the starting points for the identification of sequential patterns in this investigation. The qualitative analysis of sequential CS patterns and functions will show that CS of the first-generation Thai immigrants can be arranged into two main sequential patterns that largely correspond to two of Auer's (1995) original sequential patterns. However, the main contribution of this chapter is the identification of eight new sequential patterns of insertional CS and their functions. All sequential CS patterns identified in this study will be discussed and exemplified with excerpts from my data. Moreover, they will also be discussed in relation to types of CS identified in Chapter 3. This is to find out whether each sequential CS pattern is associated with any type

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[4] Only intra- and inter-sentential CS are included in this part of quantitative analysis; see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2, for explanation.

of CS in particular. The qualitative analysis in Chapter 4 is complemented by quantitative analysis. This part is of crucial importance because it ascertains that the identified patterns of Thai-English CS in this study are not random or speaker-idiosyncratic but regular occurrences across many speakers.

In Chapter 5, I offer insights into CS behaviours of the informants in relation to other language contact phenomena, especially transfer. The chapter begins with a brief review of Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 1997, 2000, 2002a) MLF model and its inadequacy in the context of the present study which leads me to adopt the theory of transfer instead. First, I provide a brief literature review on transfer which suggests a close relationship between CS and transfer, as well as reciprocal benefits that can be observed only through simultaneous analysis of CS and transfer. I also problematise the categorisation of Thai transfer in Thai-English language contact literature, and show that it can benefit from a systematic simultaneous study of CS and transfer in this study. Here, it becomes appropriate to discuss in detail Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) framework of transfer which underpins the analysis of transfer in Chapter 5. Before the analysis can commence, it is essential that the typological characteristics of Thai that are relevant to this study are introduced and exemplified in Section 5.5. This is because to understand how Thai syntactic structures contribute to CS production, it is important to first understand how they are used in monolingual Thai. This will allow us to predict how Thai syntactic transfer may affect the way CS is produced and interpreted.

The qualitative analysis in Chapter 5 provides two insights: firstly, the first-generation Thai immigrants in this study transfer two types of Thai syntactic structures to their CS production, which results in communicative outcomes that CS alone would not have adequately achieved; and secondly, the Thai syntactic structures also trigger certain Thai lexical items to accompany CS items. Each type of Thai syntactic transfer is discussed in detail and exemplified with excerpts from my own data. Other language contact phenomena are also discussed, and Thai transfer categorisation previously identified in the Thai-English language contact literature are revised on the basis of Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer identification criteria. The quantitative analysis, on the other hand, helps confirm that each type of Thai syntactic structure identified as transfer in this study occurs in a recurrent manner across at least half of the speakers, which indicates consistent and systematic integration. Overall, the highlight of the particular part of the analysis is that transfer brings to light the influence of L1 syntactic structures on the construction and interpretation of CS, while CS identifies the L1 syntactic structures that tend to coexist with CS. The major claims in this chapter are that CS and transfer are two co-existing, rather than separated, language contact

phenomena, and that our understanding of both phenomena can be furthered if we consider them in relation to each other.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I remind the reader of the aim of the study, the research questions that guided the study and the hypotheses that underpin them. This is followed by a summary of the key findings in Chapters 3 to 5 where answers to each of the research questions are provided. The findings are then synthesised and their research implications suggested. The occurrence of first-generation Thai immigrant CS in this study is affected by social factors, conversational structures and L1 syntactic structures, with the latter two playing more significant roles than the former. Despite its low frequency and insertional nature, first-generation Thai immigrant CS is highly systematic, intricate and purposeful, occurring in relation to conversational organisation and serving a great variety of functions. Its complexity is further evident in the underlying Thai syntactic structures that not only create syntactic congruence between Thai and English but also facilitate the creation of new semantic and pragmatic meanings through CS. In the final sections, the implications of my findings for the language contact literature and suggestions for further studies that could corroborate the arguments put forth in this study are provided.

Chapter 2

Data collection and analysis methods

2.1 Introduction

It has been acknowledged that CS is a highly complicated language contact phenomenon that a single perspective may not easily identify and/or adequately account for (Zentella, 1990; Gardner-Chloros, 1991; Auer et al., 2014), especially when it is studied simultaneously with other language contact phenomena (Odlin, 2009; Treffers-Daller, 2009). This calls for a multi-perspective methodology that can accommodate the complexity of CS and transfer in a systematic way. This present chapter focuses on the informants, data collection techniques and the mixed-methods analytical approach employed in the study.

Chapter 2 is structured as follows: Section 2.2 introduces the sampling universe selected for the study and clarifies the rationale for the selection. In Section 2.3, I discuss the informant recruitment technique, including an assessment of its limitation and how it is remedied in this study. Section 2.4 describes the characteristics of the informants. Section 2.5 is concerned with the data collection methodologies. How each instrument was chosen and designed to best suit the objectives of this study is described. In Section 2.6, the selected speaker variables are introduced and its rationale is explained. Section 2.7 outlines the data collection procedures and ethical considerations. In Section 2.8, the procedures of data transcription in preparation for the analysis in the subsequent chapters are discussed, and the methods of data analysis and interpretation are introduced. Finally, Section 2.9 concludes the chapter and clarifies the methodological contribution of this study.

2.2 Sampling universe

The sampling universe for this present study is first-generation Thai immigrants in England. In the following sections, I will provide general information about first-generation Thai immigrants in England, which is then followed by the discussion of their social and migratory characteristics that make them ideal for this study.

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2.2.1 *Thai immigrants in England*

Due to the lack of studies on Thai immigrants in England, it is unclear when Thai migration to England began, although we know that early migration was a privilege reserved largely for Thai elites. However, it was around the 1960s that a sense of Thai community in England began to emerge with the establishment of a Buddhist temple in London (Sims, 2008). One characteristic of the Thai community in England is that it is loosely knit, as Thai immigrants do not live in large ethnic enclaves such as immigrants from other Asian countries, for example, Chinese, Pakistani and Indian. Their sense of community becomes more salient when they occasionally gather in large groups to celebrate important Thai religious or cultural holidays such as *Songkran* (Thai New Year) and *Loy Krathong* (floating lantern festival).

The numbers of Thai immigrants in England are also much smaller than those of other ethnic communities. According to the 2015 census report, there are approximately 35,000 Thai immigrants in England (Office for National Statistics, 2016), while other ethnic communities boast a much larger number, for example, Indian: 751,000; Pakistani: 478,000; and Polish: 713,000. The small number of Thai immigrants in England may be one of the reasons why they have attracted so little research attention.

Further, the gender distribution of Thai immigrants in England is highly disproportional. The UK Office for National Statistics (2016) reports that in 2015 there were almost three times as many female Thai immigrants to the UK as there were male (29,000 females versus 10,000 males). Thai immigrants in England can be divided broadly into three categories: Thai marriage migrants, Thai migrant workers and Thai students. While this present study is concerned only with Thai marriage migrants, I will also briefly introduce the other two types of Thai immigrants since their differences from Thai marriage migrants are the reasons for my selection of the speaker sample.

1) Thai marriage migrants

The majority of Thai immigrants to England are Thai marriage migrants, defined here as Thai nationals (mostly women) who marry British nationals and move from Thailand to reside in England. The growing popularity of Thailand as a holiday destination for British tourists, many of whom are men in search of romantic relationships (Angeles and Sunanta, 2007), has resulted in the increasing trend of transnational marriage and migration of Thai spouses to England. In 2008, Thai female marriage migrants made up over 90% of all marriage migrants

to the UK, and 55%–75% of all Thai immigrants who were granted a settlement visa (Charsley et al., 2012). This transnational marriage-based migratory characteristic also distinguishes Thai migrants from other immigrant groups, for example, Chinese (Li et al., 1992; Li, 1994; Lo, 2008), Vietnamese (Sims, 2007), Moroccan (Cherti, 2010) and Greek Cypriot (Gardner-Chloros et al., 2005; Paraskeva, 2010), whose motivation for migration to England is often family reunification.

Another distinct characteristic of Thai marriage migrants is that their residence in England tends to be pre-determined by their British husband's place of residence. This results in the scattering of Thai marriage migrants across England and the lack of ethnic enclaves mentioned previously (Sims, 2008). Thai wives who have only recently arrived in England can easily find themselves completely isolated from others. Althought this is becoming less problematic with the power of social media, especially Facebook, where online communities for Thai marriage immigrants are easily accessible, Thai marriage migrants are still more isolated than Thai workers and students.

Contrary to widespread negative stereotypes, not all Thai marriage migrants are from socially deprived, uneducated and sex industry-related backgrounds (Charoensri, 2014). While I do not deny that there is any truth to this stereotype, I argue that it does not accurately represent Thai marriage migrants in England. Many Thai marriage migrants in England are from middle-class, elite backgrounds. Many of them first came to England to pursue postgraduate study before settling down with British nationals (Lapanun, 2010). This implies that Thai marriage migrants in England are not homogeneous, but vary greatly in terms of socio-demographic backgrounds that may affect their language use in different ways.

2) Thai migrant workers

England is one of the most desirable destinations for migrant workers (Geis et al., 2010). It attracts many Thai nationals who moved from Thailand to England specifically to seek employment, especially during the 1950s–60s. Most Thai migrant workers are employed in Thai restaurants across the UK (Thai Royal Embassy, 2011). A smaller proportion of Thai migrant workers are Thai elites who are very well educated and employed in prestigious occupations such as lecturers, researchers, doctors and business owners. Other occupations of Thai migrant workers in England include spa specialist, Thai language teacher, translator/interpreter and visa service agent.

3) Thai student migrants

Thailand is one of the top ten sending countries for non-EU students in UK higher education institutions (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2013). Most Thai students in England are enrolled in postgraduate courses (Royal Thai Embassy, 2011). They may be either self-funded or scholarship recipients. Of all three types of Thai immigrants in England, Thai students have received the most research attention, and their language characteristics have been the focus of many studies (e.g. Nomnian, 2008; Eaves, 2009; Kitikanan, 2016).

Thai students in England are characterised by their high levels of education and high proficiency in English, since they need to meet the language requirement of the institution they are attending. Moreover, because the tuition fees and living costs in England are much higher than those in Thailand, Thai students tend to come from relatively affluent backgrounds, especially those who are self-funded. These characteristics of Thai students contrast sharply with those of the previous two categories of Thai immigrants.

Although the various types of Thai immigrants in England are characterised by different social and migratory characteristics, Thai marriage migrants are considered the most attractive in the context of this study. This is further explained in the next section.

2.2.2 Why Thai marriage migrants?

My decision to choose Thai marriage migrants as the subjects for this study is based on the research aim and research questions proposed in Chapter 1. One of the questions that I aim to answer is how social factors affect first-generation Thai immigrants' CS behaviours (Research question 2). To answer this question, it is important that the subjects be diverse in terms of social characteristics. This can be observed in the case of Thai marriage migrants who may come from a variety of social backgrounds, varying from working-class to upper-class. Social backgrounds of Thai students, on the other hand, tend to be less diverse as they tend to come from middle- or upper-class families. In terms of educational attainment, Thai students are well educated with good command of English as required by the UK institutions they attend. This is not necessarily true of Thai marriage migrants whose educational attainment may depend greatly on their social class and areas of residence in Thailand prior to migration, as education may be less accessible in rural areas (Nitungkorn, 2001). Their English language proficiency may also vary greatly, especially among those who arrived in England prior to 2015 when the English language requirement had not yet become effective (Home Office,

2016). Age and length of residence are the other two social characteristics that distinguish Thai marriage migrants from Thai students. Marriage migrants may represent a wide range of ages, from young adult to elderly, and their length of residence may range from a few years to decades. Thai students, in contrast, are mostly young adults, and their length of stay in the UK is often determined by the duration of their academic courses. These diverse social characteristics of first-generation Thai immigrants offer us an opportunity to study CS in a relation to a wider range of social factors.

Because this study investigates first-generation Thai immigrant CS as the outcome of language contact between Thai and English during the immigrants' residence in England, it is essential to ensure that the subjects are exposed to real-life, day-to-day English on a regular basis. Here, the notion of social network, i.e. relationships that one maintains with others, both inside and outside of their ethnic group (Milroy and Milroy, 1985, 1992; Milroy and Li, 1995) becomes relevant. As discussed in the previous section, Thai marriage migrants in England are characterised by their loose-knit ethnic social network as their place of residence is determined by that of their British partner. Such loose-knit networks may increase possibilities of contact with English, which in turn may increase the degree of CS (Li et al., 1992; Daming et al., 2010). In the case of Thai students who come to England to pursue academic studies, much of their contact with English is in academic contexts such as textbooks, classroom discussions, supervisory meetings and academic conferences. Thai students also tend to form mono-national bonds to the point of exclusivity (Brown, 2009). Similarly, Thai migrant workers who come to England specifically to work, having arrived in England with a work visa rather than a spouse visa, have more opportunity to keep their English interaction with native speakers of English to a minimum. English is preserved mainly for work and Thai is used as their home language. These differences between Thai marriage migrants, Thai students and Thai migrant workers indicate that Thai marriage migrants are more likely to be exposed to day-to-day vernacular English, rather than a "meaningless drill" performed in a very "carefully controlled and simplified" way in "closed four walls" (Spolsky, 1998, p.171). Thus, their CS behaviours is considered the most representative of real, everyday language use, which corresponds to the aim of the study.

Another reason for choosing Thai marriage migrants in this study is my personal relationship with some of them, which has given me a degree of insider status. Having lived in England since 2011, I have established personal contact with a number of first-generation Thai immigrants in a number of cities/towns. I have witnessed and even taken part in various activities connected with their daily lives (e.g. working at a Thai restaurant, gossiping,

clubbing and having lunch). This personal contact helps facilitate informant recruitment, as will be demonstrated in the following section.

2.3 Informant recruitment

In compliance with ethics considerations, I started recruiting the informants only after I was granted ethical approval from Newcastle University. A range of informant recruitment techniques were considered. One of the frequently adopted sampling methods in bilingualism studies is stratified random sampling, whereby a researcher first divides the population into social categories, i.e. strata, then randomly and proportionally selects representative members of each stratum from the population (Váradi, 2001; Lanza, 2008; Brown, 2013). However, the stratified random sampling method is inappropriate for this study due to the lack of detailed census data and research on first-generation Thai immigrants in England. While the 2011 UK census did report a total number of Thai immigrants living in England, it did not reveal demographic variables such as age, educational attainment and length of residence. Moreover, while there are studies on first-generation Thai immigrants in England, the majority of these are sociological and ethnological studies that focused on cultural assimilation, identity, and social stereotypes (e.g. Henry, 1988; Sipahechochai et al., 1989; Kitcharoen, 2007; Sims, 2008, 2010; Piayura, 2012) and revealed few insights about their bilingual behaviours. This makes the proportional selection of members from each stratum that is required by stratified random sampling unfeasible. Rosignoli (2011) and Korybski (2013) faced the same problem in their study of Italian-English CS and Polish-English CS, respectively. Their alternative choice of sampling was snowball sampling, which can be defined as a sampling method that "utilizes the social networks of participants in the study to recruit potential new participants" (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p. 32). Given the similarity in the nature of the populations in my, Rosignoli's (2011) and Korybski's (2013) studies, I have adopted the snowball sampling method for this present investigation.

Snowball sampling was chosen for this present investigation not only because it suits the nature of first-generation Thai immigrants who tend to be scattered all over England but also because of its time efficiency and ability to access hard-to-reach populations (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). However, snowball sampling has been criticised for its tendency to create biased, homogeneous samples in which informants are clustered within the same or similar social groups (Lopes et al., 1996; Heckathorn, 1997; Salganik and Heckathorn, 2004). This may be because people tend to introduce those who are from similar social backgrounds

(Lopes et al., 1996). Therefore, to avoid this problem, I initiated snowball sampling from as many people of various social backgrounds as possible. To maintain a degree of sample diversity, i.e. a variety in the informants' social backgrounds, is of great importance not only because it lessens sampling bias, but also because it makes possible the investigation of the informants' CS usage and its relationship with social variables.

I started snowballing by first asking friends and family whether they know any first-generation Thai immigrants in England. The potential informants were contacted via telephone, email and Facebook. The latter proved to be the most effective means of contacting potential participants. This combination of classic snowball sampling with modern social media technology thus offers a methodological improvement (see further Zhuravleva et al. (2016) for more on the usefulness of Facebook in snowballing). Moreover, to assure the potential informants of my trustworthiness, and that my intention in contacting them was purely academic, I introduced myself as a friend of their friend (Milroy, 1987a). By initiating snowballing from as many people from different social backgrounds as possible, I was able to maintain a degree of sample diversity, as will be demonstrated later in Section 2.6.

2.4 Informant sample

Through snowball sampling, I located many Thai marriage migrants across England. However, not all were selected for the study. To be able to clearly observe the effects of the selected speaker variables (age, length of residence, educational attainment, English language proficiency in listening, speaking, reading and writing; to be discussed in Section 2.6) on CS, it is important that the informants are as similar as possible in other aspects. Once I have located the potential informants, I further asked them about their age of arrival in England, the country in which they received their education, the nationality of their husband and the main language they use with their husband. Eventually, I have selected 36 first-generation Thai immigrants from across various regions in England, including North, South, and West Yorkshire; Tyne and Wear; London; and Bedfordshire. Only those who migrated to England after the age of 20, received their highest educational degree in Thailand prior to migration, and are married to British husbands were chosen.

The selection process discussed above means that apart from differences in age, length of residence, educational attainment and English language proficiency, all 36 informants are adult immigrants who share similar social backgrounds and regularly interact with native

speakers of English within their household. They are also similar regarding occupation, as most of them are employed in elementary service occupations such as bar staff, kitchen porter and cleaner according to the Standard Occupation Classification 2010 (Office for National Statistics, 2010). Moreover, most of the informants have at least one child with their British husband, which thus increases their daily English interaction. In short, my selection helps ensure the representativeness of the CS data, as well as reduce the interference of other irrelevant factors.

Due to the gender disproportionality characteristic of Thai immigration to England in which female Thai immigrants outnumber Thai male immigrants (Charsley et al., 2012: Office for National Statistics, 2016), only Thai female immigrants, all of whom are marriage migrants, were available for the study. This means that I am unable to investigate the effect of gender on CS behaviours of first-generation Thai immigrants. However, despite this limitation, I would argue that the 36 Thai marriage migrants in this study have contributed new and valuable knowledge for a better understanding of first-generation immigrant CS, as will be demonstrated in the subsequent chapters. Moreover, the informants are also interesting in terms of gender equality. Although this is not the main issue being tackled in this study, it is worth being noted how some of the informants reflected on the effects of gender equality/inequality in their post-migration lives and cross-cultural marriage. Some exhibited a desire to break away from the submissive role through the manipulation of power such as teasing and belittling their husbands (see Example 4.26 in Chapter 4, and Example 5.15, Chapter 5), while some voiced their vulnerability of having to financially rely on their husbands after moving to England (see Example 5.25, Chapter 5).

I realise that my sample size of 36 may be considered relatively small. However, according to Milroy (1987b) and Layder (2013), a large sample size is not necessary if a smaller sample can exhibit the linguistic feature in question in a clear and systematic way. While I acknowledge that a small sample size may impede the detection of statistical significance, I would argue that the quality of data and data analysis should be prioritised over considerations regarding sample size in respect of quantitative validity and reliability. For example, see Korybski (2013) who obtained data from only 26 Polish immigrants but revealed many important insights.

2.5 Data collection instruments

2.5.1 *Audio recording*

Naturalistic conversational data is often collected using either audio or video recording. Since this present study is concerned with the informants' speech and not their gestural expression, audio recording was deemed sufficient. It is also considered less intrusive than video recording (Deuchar et al., 2016). The two digital audio recorders employed in this study are a Sony ICD-PX312 (my own recorder) and a TASCAM DR-07mkII (borrowed from Newcastle University). Both recorders produce clear, high-quality audio recordings in MP3 format for digital processing and analysis.

In addition to the quality of audio recording devices, the number of speakers in each recorded conversation is another factor that may determine the quality of recorded data. Too many speakers in one conversation may result in greater chance of overlapping talk and interruption, which may affect the intelligibility of talk and thus the quality of the recording. Therefore, I decided to record informants in self-selected dyads. Moreover, as the focus of the present investigation is CS behaviour among first-generation Thai immigrants, the informants were also asked not to invite or allow any speakers from different generations or native speakers of other languages to join the conversation.

In line with Brown (2003) and Pichler (2013), I chose the informants' homes as the preferred location of recording (with the homeowner's permission) due to the associations with personal space, relaxation and sense of security they imply (Mallet, 2004). A relaxing atmosphere may also encourage the informants to perform CS more freely and naturally, especially the type of CS that is reserved specifically for in-group members (Myers-Scotton, 1993c) that I aim to obtain.

In terms of length of recording, I set the minimum recording time at 30 minutes. This decision was based on the infrequent nature of CS of native Thai speakers, as shown in Suraratdecha (2005) where CS occurred at a rate of only three instances per 1,000 words. Therefore, it was important to allow enough time for CS to occur (Meyerhoff et al., 2012). There was no limitation as to what the informants could discuss. I acknowledge that by not controlling topics of talk, the informants' interactional data may be less comparable at the inter-speaker level. However, my aim was to obtain naturalistic conversational data where all topics have an equal chance of being discussed, not to explore how certain topics of talk may

affect CS (see Backus (2001) and Càrdenas-Claros and Isharyanti (2009) for study on CS and topic specificity). Therefore, I did not control topics of talk in this study.

2.5.2 Questionnaires

In any CS studies that aim to explore the relationship between CS performance and speakers' social characteristics, questionnaires are an essential tool. While they are not ideal for the collection of language performance data on their own (Codó, 2010), questionnaires used in combination with other methods of data collection such as participant observation (Li, 1994; Zentella, 1997; Lo, 2008), matched guise technique (Chana and Romaine, 1984; Hoare, 2001; Ihemere, 2006) and audio recording (Valdés-Fallis, 1978; Tuc, 2003; Jinxia, 2010; Korybski, 2013) can gather contextually rich accounts of bilingual phenomena in a systematic way. In the present study, self-administered questionnaires were employed to collect the informants' information, namely, age, length of residence in England, educational attainment and English language proficiency in listening, speaking, reading and writing (see Appendix 1 for speaker information, and Appendices 2a and 2b for questionnaires) (justification for the selection of each speaker variable will be given in Section 2.6.1).

Before discussing the choice of social variables to be included in questionnaires, it is useful to first discuss the design of the questionnaires which was guided by the characteristics of informants to whom questionnaires were to be administered. This step is of great importance because it can greatly affect not only the validity of the data obtained but also co-operation on the part of the respondents. For example, complicated wording of questions may discourage respondents of low educational attainment from completing the questionnaire, as was the case in Reja et al. (2003). Similarly, questionnaires that are too formal may prevent the respondents from comprehending the questions and thus increase the risks of invalid responses (Mangen, 1999; Codó, 2010). In the case of my study, not all of the informants were well educated and proficient in English. With these characteristics of the informants in mind, I made sure that the questions were worded simply, yet still effectively conveyed the meaning (Jenkins and Dillman, 1995). I also translated the questionnaires, which were originally formulated in English, into Thai. This would not only ease the burden on the informants, but also encourage them to complete the questionnaire (Codó, 2010).

2.6 Selected speaker variables

2.6.1 *Age*

Age is among one of the most frequently studied variables in CS behaviours of adult speakers. Many studies have provided evidence that suggests correlation between age and CS. For example, de Bot and Clyne's (1989) longitudinal study of language behaviours of German and Dutch immigrants in Australia shows that as the immigrants became older, they were more likely to adopt their home-country language. This may be attributed to deterioration of lexical access and memory retrieval in old speakers. Clyne (2003, p. 30) also reports a similar finding, stating that "traditionally, the oldest age group is the one that maintains the community language most in the first generation". On the contrary, Schmid and Keijzer (2009), drawing from the CS data of German and Dutch immigrants in Canada and the Netherlands, report that older immigrants tend to code-switch more often. Although the findings in these previous studies are not consistent, they suggest correlation between age and CS that is worthy of further investigation.

In contrast to the studies mentioned above, Poplack (1980) found no difference in rate of CS usage in the speech of Puerto Rican immigrants in New York from two age groups: 40 years old and over, and under 40. Similarly, Li et al. (1992) also found that age was not significantly related to the CS behaviour of the Chinese immigrants in their study. The contradictory findings in the aforementioned studies may suggest that the relationship between age and CS patterns may vary from one immigrant community to another. This thus motivated me to include the informants' age as one of the variables in this study.

To investigate the effect of age on CS, I adopted Poplack's (1980) age criteria. It is deemed appropriate here for two reasons. First, my informants are similar to those in Poplack (1980) in terms of age. The youngest informant in Poplack (1980) was 21 years old at the time of study, while the age of the oldest informant is not revealed (but certainly 40 years old or over). In my study, the youngest informant is 26, and the oldest informants are 52 years old. Moreover, Poplack's (1980) age criteria divided my informants almost equally between the two age groups: 20 of the informants belong to the younger group (40 years old and under), and the remaining 16 belong to the older group (41 years old and over). This relatively balanced sample by age should enhance the validity of a correlation test.

2.6.2 *Length of residence*

It is generally believed that the longer immigrants stay in the host country, the more likely they are to perform CS. Examples of studies that support this claim are Mukherjee (2003), Isurin (2007) and Korybski (2013). In Mukherjee's (2003) study on the CS behaviours of female Bengali immigrants in Malaysia, it is reported that the longer the immigrants had resided in Malaysia, the more CS they would produce. Similarly, in Isurin's (2007) study of CS among Russian-English bilingual speakers working as Russian language teachers in the United States, the immigrants who had spent more time in the United States are reported to have a higher tendency to perform CS. Moreover, drawing from Polish-English CS data in the UK, Korybski (2013) also demonstrates a positive correlation between the Polish immigrants' length of stay in the UK and rate of CS (although he is sceptical of length of residence variable as a sole predictor of CS). On the basis of Mukherjee (2003), Isurin (2007) and Korybski (2013), it seems plausible to assume that the variable of length of residence is a factor influencing the immigrants' CS behaviours. However, the effect of length of residence on CS behaviours is questioned in Li's (1994) study on Chinese-English CS.

Based on his insightful observation that the Chinese immigrants who prefer English-dominant CS patterns have, in fact, spent less time in England than those who prefer Chinese-dominant CS patterns, Li (1994) concludes that length of residence is unlikely to influence CS behaviours. However, this may be due to the close-knit, family-based social networks characteristic of Chinese communities in England (Li et al., 1992; Li, 1994; Chan et al., 2007), which enables Chinese immigrants to keep their contact with native speakers of English to a minimum. This characteristic contrasts sharply with that of Thai marriage immigrants in England, whose immigrant communities are far more diffuse (Sims, 2008). They are thus less likely to avoid English interaction with native speakers. This difference between Chinese and Thai immigrants implies that the latter's CS is more likely to be affected by length of residence in England. The mixed results in previous literature regarding the effect of length of residence on CS and the distinct migratory characteristic of Thai marriage migrants suggest that the length of residence variable still needs further examination.

The data obtained via the questionnaires revealed that the informants in my study vary greatly in terms of length of stay in England, ranging from five months to 25 years at the time of the study. The stratification of the informants by length of residence was based on Waas (1996), Isurin (2007) and Cherciov (2011). These studies demonstrate that the length of 10 years is the point at which effects of immigrants' exposure to the host-country language are likely to be detected in their language use. While this 10-year benchmark may be problematic

in cases where immigrants come from concentrated ethnic communities that minimise their contact with the host-country language, such as the case of Chinese immigrants in Britain in Li et al. (1992), I would argue that it can be adopted appropriately for my study because all of my informants are married to British husbands and live at the same residence as them. This means that they are likely to be exposed to English on a regular basis.

However, given that some of the informants in my study are new arrivals who have spent less than a year in England, a finer grained calibration was also needed. Laufer's (2003) criteria are suitable for this purpose because they divide the sample into groups on the basis of smaller units of length of residence: 1–4 years, and 5–10 years, which fit perfectly within the 10-year criterion discussed above. The informants in this study were thus stratified into three groups: 1–4 years, 5–10 years, and 11 years and over. The distribution of the informants in each group is 11, 19 and 6, respectively.

2.6.3 *Educational attainment*

Another factor that needs to be considered is the informants' educational backgrounds. Unlike younger-generation immigrants, first-generation immigrants tend to vary greatly in terms of educational attainment. While formal education tends to be readily available to younger-generation immigrants (Flatau and Hemmings, 1991; Maani, 1994; Kao and Tienda, 2005), it is not necessarily so for first-generation immigrants. While some of them are from middle-class families and well educated, some are from families of a lower socio-economic bracket where education was either unaffordable or valued less than making a living (Brown and Park, 2002). In the case of first-generation Thai immigrants, less exposure to formal education also means less exposure to formal English instruction because English is not an everyday language among Thai speakers in Thailand (Glass, 2009).

The impact of educational attainment on CS behaviours of immigrants has been demonstrated in Mukherjee (2003), where educational backgrounds are found to encourage the use of CS among Bengali female immigrants in Malaysia. In contrast, Zentella (2002) and Rosignoli (2011), in their studies of CS among Puerto Rican immigrants in New York and Italian immigrants in the UK, respectively, found that well-educated first-generation immigrants tended to perform less CS than the lower-educated ones. Some plausible explanations are that well-educated immigrants tend to value their home-country cultures more than those who are less educated (Zentella, 2002), and that well-educated first-generation speakers may be more aware of social stigma associated with CS and thus avoid

using it (Rosignoli, 2011). The findings in these studies suggest that first-generation immigrants' educational attainment may play an important role in their CS behaviours, and that its effect may vary across communities. This makes educational attainment a variable worthy of investigation, and it was thus included as one of the variables in this study.

The informants were divided into three categories in accordance with their educational attainment. Since they were all educated in Thailand, the three categories were based on the Thai educational system; that is, primary, secondary and tertiary. The primary level includes those who have no more than primary school education; the secondary level includes those who graduated from secondary school, or received some secondary school education; and the tertiary level includes those who attended college and university. Using these criteria, I divided my 36 informants somewhat proportionally into three educational attainment categories: 14 have primary school education, another 14 have secondary school education and 9 have higher education backgrounds.

2.6.4 *English language proficiency*

The relationship between immigrant speakers' degree of host-country language proficiency and their CS performance is well documented in the previous CS literature. Poplack (1980) is often cited as the starting point from which wider research interest in the interaction of immigrants' bilingual proficiency, i.e. the ability to use two (or more) languages equally proficiently, and their CS behaviour emerged. Drawing from her Spanish-English CS data of Puerto Rican immigrants in New York, Poplack (1980) found a strong correlation between the variable bilingual proficiency and frequency of CS, especially intra-sentential CS. This led her to conclude that a high rate of CS is an indicator of high bilingual proficiency. This view, which is also supported in Nortier (1990), Bullock and Toribio (2009) and Yao (2011), reflects the traditional view that CS is a privilege enjoyed by proficient bilingual speakers only. This view stands in contrast with a more recent perspective that perceives CS as indexical not of high bilingual proficiency, but rather of communicative strategy and creativity (Auer, 1999; Chan, 2004; Atkins and Carter, 2014). For example, Auer (1999, p. 312) claims, "although codeswitching bilinguals may be highly proficient in both languages, balanced proficiency is by no means a prerequisite. Indeed, codeswitching is possible with a very limited knowledge of the 'other' language". This point is also supported in Lipski (2014). However, the debate is far from resolved. By including the informants' English

proficiency as one of the variables in this study, I hope to contribute to the understanding of how immigrants' bilingual proficiency interacts with their CS behaviour.

To gauge the English proficiency of the informants, I designed a self-assessment questionnaire based on the Common European Framework of Reference in Languages (CEFR). The CEFR is an international standard self-assessment of language proficiency that is most frequently employed in the education context to evaluate learners' language skills and plan course syllabi (Little, 2007; Glover, 2011). CEFR was chosen for this current study not only because of its detailed descriptions of each level of language proficiency, but also because the descriptions represent everyday activities to which informants may easily relate, thus enhancing the accuracy of their self-assessment.

CEFR comprises a descriptive scheme that distinguishes three main categories of language activity: understanding (listening and reading), speaking (spoken interaction, spoken production), and writing. Each of the categories consists of six levels of proficiency, each of which comprises a description of language ability. These six levels of proficiency are arranged in three bands: A1, A2 (basic user), B1, B2 (independent user), C1, and C2 (proficient user) (see Appendix 3 for the original CEFR self-assessment grid). However, as emphasised by the Council of Europe (2001), CEFR is not a ready-made assessment tool that can be universally applied to all kinds of communicative contexts but rather a framework that must be adapted to suit each individual context of study. In the case of my study, CEFR must first be adapted to best suit first-generation immigrants. Unlike students, first-generation immigrants are more likely to have literacy difficulties, and thus administering complicated questionnaires to them may increase the risk of incomplete questionnaires and invalid responses (Mangen, 1999; Reja et al., 2003; Codó, 2010). Therefore, with the informants' social characteristics taken into account, I simplified the CEFR scheme in the following respects:

1) *Category grouping*: The original categories of language activity – understanding (listening and reading), speaking (spoken interaction, spoken production), and writing – were grouped into simpler categories of *listening, speaking, reading* and *writing*. As non-linguists, and more importantly as imbalanced bilinguals, the informants may not necessarily understand the difference between spoken interaction and spoken production. The new categories that I proposed are deemed preferable because they represent the four most fundamental concepts of language activity in a more relatable way than the original categories. Categorising English language skills in this way is also essential because each of the skills requires

different levels of processing. Of the four English language skills, writing is considered the most difficult to acquire (Kellogg, 2008). Similarly, while the listening and reading skills are both receptive, the former is more challenging because it is constrained by time and may be affected by other factors such as the speaker's pace of talk, accent, pronunciation and noise from the surrounding environment. Therefore, their relationships with CS should be inspected individually.

2) *Wording simplification*: In line with Jenkins and Dillman (1995), I condensed the long, detailed descriptions of each level of language proficiency into shorter and simpler sentences while ensuring that the gist of each criterion remained intact. This is to ensure that the informants clearly understood the descriptions of each language skill. This is illustrated in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Comparison between the original description and simplified description of Listening skill, Level A2

Original CEFR descriptive item	Simplified descriptive item
I can understand phrases and the highest frequency vocabulary related to areas of most immediate personal relevance (e.g., very basic personal and family information, shopping, local area, employment). I can catch the main point in short, clear, simple messages and announcements.	I can understand words and phrases that I often hear in everyday conversations about personal topics such as family, shopping, local area, and job. I can understand clear and simple messages.

Through the adjustments discussed above, I developed a CEFR-based English proficiency self-assessment that is suitable for the informants in this study. The characteristics of my CEFR-based self-assessment are as follows: it consists of four main language activity categories (listening, speaking, reading and writing), as already noted. Each category contains six assessment criteria which represent different levels of proficiency: 1 and 2 represent Basic proficiency, 3 and 4 represent Intermediate proficiency, and 5 and 6 represent High proficiency. Table 2.2 below summarises the distribution of informants by levels of proficiency in each English language skill.

Table 2.2: Distribution of informants by levels of English proficiency

English language skill	Levels of proficiency		
	Basic	*Intermediate*	*High*
Listening	2	9	25
Speaking	0	23	13
Reading	11	15	10
Writing	13	14	9

2.7 Data collection procedures and ethical considerations

The data collection was conducted between July 2013 and March 2014 in compliance with the ethics guidelines set out by British Association for Applied Linguistics (2000). The data were collected by two fieldworkers. I adopted the role of the primary fieldworker, while Priya (pseudonym), a female Thai friend, helped with data collection in London and Bedfordshire. Priya first came to England to pursue her postgraduate study. After her graduation, she married an English husband and changed her immigrant status from student to marriage migrant. Having received postgraduate education in England means that Priya has some research experience and understands the importance of data collection and its procedures – both are desirable characteristics of a field assistant. Moreover, as a first-generation Thai immigrant, Priya has established close relationships with the informants in her area of residence, which proved beneficial in informant recruitment.

The data collection was conducted through three stages: *preparation*, *collection* and *conclusion*. The preparation stage included audio recording device check-up and ensuring that enough copies of the questionnaires and consent forms had been made (Clemente, 2010). After some casual conversations, the informants were asked to read the participant information sheet (see Appendices 4a and 4b) and sign two copies of the consent form (see Appendices 5a and 5b), one of which they kept. To ensure that the informants understood their role in the recording, they were reminded that:

♦ No third speakers were to be invited or allowed to join the recording.

♦ Any topics could be discussed.

♦ The minimum recording length was 30 minutes.

The collection stage started with audio recording, followed by questionnaire administration. Collecting data in this particular order helped mitigate the observer's paradox (Labov, 1981), or dilemma of distance (Hong and Duff, 2002): a situation in which the informants' awareness of being monitored affects the naturalness of their talk. Upon seeing questions about English proficiency, the informants might have guessed that the study was about English language use and sought to adjust their speech in line with assumptions about the researcher's objectives, but which may not have represented their usual language behaviour (Negrón, 2012).

To further reduce the observer's paradox, I decided that the fieldworkers would not take part in the recording. According to Cukor-Avila (2000), a researcher possesses numerous characteristics such as age, social status, social background, linguistic background and relationship with the participants that may trigger different reactions from each participant and affect the data in a most unpredictable way. The presence of a researcher during the recording means that the participants must adjust their speech to accommodate not only other participants but also the researcher in accordance with his/her social variations (Bell, 1984). This may affect the consistency and naturalness of the recordings, especially in the case of this study where the data were collected by two fieldworkers whose social status and relationships with the informants differed: I am a student who knows most of the informants through snowballing, whereas Priya is a first-generation Thai immigrant and Thai wife who personally knows some of the informants. Therefore, in line with Alam (2011), I argue that the best way to minimise such distortions is to exclude the researcher from the recording altogether.

In order to ensure the naturalness of the data, the fieldworkers did not disclose to the informants prior to the recording that CS was the phenomenon being investigated. Instead, the informants were informed only that I was studying the spoken interaction of Thai immigrants (see Korybski, 2013, for a similar case). The true focus of the study was later revealed to the informants in the conclusion stage (to be discussed in the paragraph after next).

After the recording, the fieldworkers asked the informants to complete the questionnaires. The informants were free to choose either the English or Thai version of the questionnaire. The fieldworkers remained present with the informants for this process to help answer any questions the informants had about the questionnaires, to make sure that the informants completed the questionnaires and to assist the informants in completing the questionnaires.

In the conclusion stage, the fieldworkers revealed the true focus of the study to the informants and discussed with them any issues about the study and CS. When the fieldworkers collected the data from more than one pair of informants at the same place and within the same day, I made sure that the true focus of the study was not "leaked" from the informants who had been recorded to those who had not by revealing the true focus only after every single pair of informants had been recorded. After I revealed that CS was the true focus of the study, the informants did not seem to be very surprised. Some of them said "*oh, that*" (comment translated from Thai), and none of them asked me to explain what CS is. This may show that the informants are aware of CS as part of their everyday intragroup interaction. Moreover, some informants began to discuss about CS after it was revealed as the true focus of my study. The discussions are highly beneficial because they provide a wider perspective on the CS situation among first-generation Thai immigrants in England. For example, while many of the informants agreed that CS has become an inevitable feature of their Thai language use, they still expressed strong negative attitudes towards first-generation Thai immigrants who code-switch "too much" in their Thai speech. The data collection procedure itself was also the subject of interesting comment. Upon being informed that the specific focus of the study was CS, one of the informants exclaimed, "*Oh, why didn't you say so? I could have spoken a lot more English*" (comment translated from Thai). This comment is evidence that a temporary withholding of information prior to data collection is of great importance in the study of certain linguistic feature in natural speech, but on the strict condition that the true focus be revealed post-data collection (British Association for Applied Linguistics, 2000).

Through the three stages of data collection (preparation, collection, conclusion), a total of approximately 13 hours of speech data was obtained. All 36 informants selected the Thai version of questionnaires, and the rate of questionnaire completion was 100%. Moreover, although I did not control the topics of talk, the following similar themes of talk recurred in the majority of the recorded conversations: daily life in England (e.g. driving, family, marriage, housing, visa), travelling and holidays, food and jobs. To protect their identity, the informants' names were changed into codenames such as 1A, 1B, 2A, 2B and so on. The preceding number represents the conversation in which they participated, whereas the letters A and B represent speakers in that conversation. For example, 1A refers to Speaker A in Conversation 1. Any pieces of information that may expose their identity in the recorded data such as place of residence, workplace and names of family members/acquaintances were replaced with random names.

2.8 Methods of analysis

2.8.1 *Transcription*

Since this present investigation is primarily concerned with frequency, functions and sequential patterns of CS and not phonetic realisation, the recorded data were transcribed using naturalised transcription method, meaning that the data were represented through standard orthography (Bucholtz, 2000). Whenever the phonetic values of the informants' speech became relevant to the analysis, the International Phonetic Abbreviation (IPA) symbols were adopted.

As one of the research objectives yj this study is to identify the proportion of English switches in the informants' Thai speech, it was necessary to transcribe each recording in its entirety, which I did myself. At the first stage, I followed Turell and Moyer (2010) and transcribed the informants' speech data without any non-linguistic information. Since at this stage the transcriptions were to be read only by me, utterances were transcribed in their original language for convenience: Thai orthography for Thai utterances and English orthography for English utterances. Example 2.1 illustrates the first-stage transcription of my data.

Example 2.1

15B: อ๋อ ไอ้ เหมือนกับ เค้าเรียก conservatory

The second stage of transcription took place when some segments of the transcribed data were selected as examples in the thesis. This stage involved the romanisation of Thai script, identification of non-linguistic features that were omitted in the previous stage and representation in interlinear format. The romanisation of Thai words in this study followed the Royal Thai General System of Transcription (RTGS), a standard transcription system developed by the Royal Institute of Thailand (see pages xi to xiii). However, while RTGS offers a broad system of Thai pronunciation transcription, it does not specify Thai tones. Since Thai is a tonal language, tonal markers should be added to the romanised transcription. As such, I marked low tone with a grave accent (ˋ), falling tone with a circumflex (^), high tone with an acute accent (ˊ), rising tone with a breve (ˇ), and no marker for neutral tone. It was also necessary to transcribe non-linguistic features, as they may signal how certain instances of CS should be interpreted. To do so, I adopted Jefferson's (2004) conventions (see page xiv). Finally, using Leipzig glossing rules, I presented each example in the interlinear, word-by-word glossing format. The first line represents the romanisation of a Thai utterance.

The second line provides word-by-word English translation. Finally, the third line provides full English translation of the Thai utterance. English switches were marked with boldface, unless specified otherwise. In cases where there is more than one token of CS, only those that are relevant to the current analysis will be in boldface. Example 2.2 shows the second-stage transcription of the utterance in Example 2.1. Notice how the utterance is now marked with paralinguistic markers: '-' indicates an abrupt stop, whereas '> <' surrounding an utterance indicates a fast speech style.

Example 2.2

1	15B:	ŏ:	âi-	mŭean	kàp-	>kháo	rîak<	**conservatory**
		INTERJ	FP	like	with	they	call	**conservatory**

*Oh, that-, [it's] like-, they call [it] **conservatory**.*

Several problems emerged during the transcription process. The first problem concerned the lack of an orthographic system for Northeastern Thai (Isăn) dialect, which means that it cannot be accurately written/transcribed (Draper, 2013). Therefore, for the sake of the present investigation, the Standard Thai orthographic system was used in the transcription of both Standard and Isăn dialects of Thai. The second problem emerged from the lack of intercoder. While I have enough passive knowledge of Isăn dialect to understand most of that in the recordings, I occasionally encountered unfamiliar Isăn words. An intercoder with knowledge of Isăn dialect would have helped remedied this problem. I also acknowledge that the lack of intercoder reliability testing may also affect the reliability and validity of the transcription. However, I would argue that these are minor limitations. With the carefully designed audio recording procedures (see Section 2.7) and appropriate audio recording equipments and environment, my data are highly clear and intelligible, facilitating accurate transcription even for a single transcriber. Moreover, when I encountered an unfamiliar Isăn word, I did not resort to guessing, which could result in erroneous transcription. Instead, I followed Bucholtz (2000) and consulted the speakers themselves directly. In cases where the speakers could not be reached, I consulted other native speakers of Isăn dialect, including my Isăn-born father. Doing so, I was able to maintain the reliability and validity of the transcribed data despite the lack of an intercoder.

2.8.2 *Theoretical frameworks*

Before I proceed to the discussion of theoretical frameworks employed in this study, it is useful to first consider the underlying epistemology which guided the study: ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967, 1986; Sacks et al., 1974). First originated in the field of sociology, ethnomethodology is now applied within a wider context of social science. The followings are its principles that guided the analysis of first-generation Thai immigrant CS in my study:

1) Ethnomethodology rejects the idea that meanings and functions of communicative actions (in this case, CS) are pre-existing categories determined by social structures, and that speakers merely "[act] in compliance with preestablished and legitimate alternatives of action that the common culture provides" (Garfinkel, 1967, p.68). Rather, meanings and functions of communicative actions arise from certain procedures that the speakers construct within ongoing interactions and share with other members in that particular community (Rawls, 2003).

2) Ethnomethodology focuses on the organisation of everyday life through detailed analysis of naturalistic social interactions. It asserts that speakers, in their daily lives, produce, interpret and negotiate the social order in the world they live in through various social processes (in the context of this study, spoken interactions) (Seedhouse, 2005; Marx and Nekula, 2015). In this sense, ethnomethodology overlaps with social constructionism which is concerned with "the ordinary, everyday procedures that society's members use to make their experiences sensible, understandable, accountable, and orderly" (Holstein and Gubriem, 2008, p. 375).

The importance of ethnomethodology in the present study is that it allows us to understand not only the meanings and functions of CS in first-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup social interactions, but also the underlying procedures and systems from which the meanings and functions emerge. We would not be able to achieve this understanding if we do not depart from the traditional analysis that assumes CS functions to be the direct product of social structures.

Ethnomethodology tends to prefer qualitative analysis methods (Dennis, 2011). Therefore, this study is mainly qualitative. However, to achieve a comprehensive understanding of first-generation Thai immigrant CS behaviours, it is important that quantitative analysis is also employed. This is because quantitative analysis methods can

unveal the overall picture of CS within a given community in a way that qualitative analysis methods are unlikely to achieve. Here, I briefly introduce the quantitative and qualitative frameworks utilised in this study. They are described in detail in relevant chapters.

2.8.3 Quantitative analysis methods

To uncover the frequency of each type of CS across the selected social variables, three quantitative methods were adopted in this study: frequency count, distributional analysis, and Spearman's rank correlation coefficient analysis, i.e. Spearman's *rho*. Each of these methods and how they are applied to the quantitative analysis are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

2.8.4 Qualitative analysis methods

Auer's (1984, 1995, 1998, 1999) CA, Gumperz's (1977, 1982) IS and theory of transfer (in particular, Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer identification criteria) are three fundamental frameworks that formed the foundation of qualitative analysis in this present study. The former two underpinned the identification of sequential patterns and functions of Thai-English CS, while CA and theory of transfer underpinned the analysis of how certain English items are underlaid by Thai syntactic structures and how such integration may affect the way CS is produced and interpreted. These qualitative analytical methods, along with how they informed the analyses and how they corroborate the quantitative analytical methods, will be discussed in greater detail when they become relevant in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively.

In addition to the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods to ensure validity of the analyses, I also reflect on my positionality. As a native Thai female student who shares enough cultural and linguistic backgrounds with Thai marriage migrants to be included in some of their daily activities but still excluded from their inner circle due to our immigrant status difference, my positionality is that of an outsider-insider. The insider status allows me to understand cultural implications underlying the informants' linguistic behaviours and thus facilitates both quantitative and qualitative interpretations of first-generation Thai immigrant CS. Meanwhile, as an outsider, I have a distance to the informants' linguistic behaviours which may provide useful overall insights and interpretations.

2.9 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to introduce the new population to which CS research has not been extended and the mixed-methods approach employed in this study. Approximately 13 hours of audio-recorded conversations of 36 first-generation female Thai immigrants in England were first analysed using quantitative methods to reveal the overall rate of occurrence and types of CS and their relationships with the informants' social characteristics, namely, age, length of residence, educational attainment and English proficiency (quantitative analysis will be provided in Chapter 3). Then, to uncover sequential patterns and functions of Thai-English CS, qualitative methods of analysis were adopted, namely, CA, IS and theory of transfer (qualitative analyses will be provided in Chapters 4 and 5). This mixed-methods approach that combines insights from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives is key to an extensive understanding of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS behaviours because it enables us to explain CS from both the interactional and social perspectives.

CHAPTER 3

TYPES, FREQUENCIES AND SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF CODE-SWITCHING

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to identify the dominant type of CS in intragroup talk among the 36 first-generation Thai immigrants, and to find out whether CS behaviours of the informants are affected by the selected social variables (age, length of residence, educational attainment and English listening, speaking, reading and writing proficiency). This chapter is developed as follows: first, a literature review on the quantitative approach to CS and how the quantitative analysis methods were applied in this study are provided in Section 3.2. In Section 3.3, I show how CS in my data was classified into three types in preparation for the quantitative analysis. Each type of CS is exemplified with excerpts from my data. Then, in Sections 3.4, frequency count and distributional analysis of CS instances reveal that intra-sentential CS is the dominant type of CS in my data. Section 3.5 provides a more detailed quantitative analysis, in which distributional analysis and correlational analysis demonstrate the extents to which CS is employed across speaker variable groups, and the correlations between extents of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS and selected social variables. Note that extra-sentential CS is excluded from the analysis in Section 3.5. However, it is not ignored in this study. Its types, frequency and characteristics of occurrence are reported in Section 3.6, with social characteristics of its speakers taken into consideration. Section 3.7 is dedicated to the discussion of the quantitative findings. The chapter is concluded in Section 3.8, and the rationale of the qualitative analyses in the next chapters are provided.

3.2 Quantitative approach to code-switching

The quantitative approach is a top-down, macro-societal approach that seeks to explain everyday speech through the study of social stratification and quantitative methods (Gordon, 2013). This is elaborated in Li (1994, p. 6) as follows:

> [The macro-societal approach] assumes that individuals' language behaviour is structured by social, situational context, and what activities individuals produce are seen to be the result of, or at the very least to be greatly influenced by, the organisation and structure of the society in which they live.

In CS research, the quantitative approach is often adopted to capture overall CS patterns across bilingual (or multilingual speakers) from different social brackets in a given community, for example, Spanish-English CS in Puerto Rican communities in New York (Poplack, 1980; Zentella, 1990, 1997, 2002), Alsatian-French CS in Strasbourg (Gardner-Chloros, 1991), Danish-Turkish CS of immigrant children in Denmark (Jørgensen, 1998), English-Polish CS in Polish communities in the UK (Korybski, 2013) and CS patterns of multilingual speakers of various ethnic origins in Dewaele and Li (2014). From these studies, the two main principles underlying the quantitative approach in the context of CS studies are summarised below. These principles also guided my investigation of the extent and patterning of Thai-English CS in relation to the selected speaker variables.

1) Speakers' choices of language do not occur randomly but are systematically affected by a number of social factors that reflect the social organisation of the community of which the speakers are members (Bayley, 2002, p. 117).

2) Patterns in the distribution of certain linguistic forms/features across social categories can be identified through correlation test (Bayley, 2002, 2013; Auer, 2005; Gordon, 2013).

The quantitative approach makes at least two important contributions to areas of CS research dominated by qualitative approaches, mainly anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics (Bucholtz and Hall, 2008). First, while the qualitative approach can explicate cultural and social values of CS through investigation of real-life speech events, the quantitative approach provides a wider social perspective on CS. It allows researchers to objectively observe CS at the community level and to predict patterns of CS in relation to macro-societal structures (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001; Coulmas, 2005; Gardner-Chloros, 2009b). Second, it identifies the dominant language within a given community (Myers-Scotton, 2002b). Third, the quantitative approach helps confirm that the CS patterns or functions being investigated are not random, accidental occurrences (Schegloff, 1993) and are thus promising as a topic for furthering our understanding of the phenomenon of CS. In other words, the quantitative approach allows us to make sense of CS within the social world in a systematic way (Cogo, 2009).

Early quantitative CS studies reflect much of the quantitative approach's top-down characteristics. Social categories are often described as the determining factors of CS behaviours, and correlational analysis is deemed adequate as an explanatory tool (Auer and Eastman, 2007). This has been demonstrated in Poplack's (1980) study on Spanish-English

CS among Puerto Rican immigrants in New York, one of the earliest and most often cited quantitative CS studies carried out. Through a combination of different quantitative analysis methods, namely, frequency count, distributional analysis and multivariate correlation test, Poplack (1980) finds a strong association between her informants' L2 English proficiency and the extent to which they produced intra-sentential CS: the more proficient in English one is, the more intra-sentential CS one produces. In support of this finding, Poplack (1980) also reports that none of the intra-sentential CS instances in her data violate the grammatical constraints of both English and Spanish. These findings led her to conclude that the types of CS produced by speakers are conditioned by their bilingual ability, with intra-sentential CS being the hallmark of balanced bilinguals. Poplack's (1980) ground-breaking study kick-started the debate on relationships between CS and a variety of social variables. For example, her claim that intra-sentential CS is the salient characteristic of balanced bilinguals was further examined and supported in Nortier's (1990) Moroccan Arabic-Dutch CS analysis, but was challenged by Berk-Seligson (1986), who found no statistically significant relationship between the speakers' level of bilingual ability and types of CS in her Jerusalem Spanish-Hebrew CS data.

The quantitative CS studies discussed above mark significant advances in the CS research and have inspired many other studies to consider a wider range of factors affecting CS, for example, social class, sex, age, education and length of stay in host country (e.g. Poplack, 1980; Li et al., 1992; Li, 1994; Gardner-Chloros, 1997; Zentella, 2002; Mukherjee, 2003; Cacoullos and Travis, 2010; Rosignoli, 2011; Korybski, 2013), including more novel variables such as emotions and personality traits (see Pavlenko, 2004; Dewaele and Li, 2014). As previously discussed in Chapter 2, many of the studies mentioned in this current section reveal important insights about relationships between CS and social variables. These studies guided my selection of social categories in the present study.

Although the quantitative approach does offer valuable insights into the CS phenomenon in relation to social constructs, it is not without flaws. For many researchers, most notably Gumperz (1977), Auer (1984), Zentella (1990) and Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001), the quantitative approach is problematic due to its heavy reliance on quantification, social stratification and correlational analysis. It pays very little attention, if any at all, to speakers' communicative motivations in an ongoing talk. Consequently, the quantitative approach cannot adequately capture the communicative values of CS in a given community, nor can it explain each CS as "an individually meaningful linguistic activity" (Auer, 1984, p. 2) in the local context of talk-in-interaction. In other words, while the quantitative approach

can provide an overall picture of CS in a given community, it cannot unveil *how* and *why* speakers, as individual actors, employ CS the way they do.

Another problem of the quantitative approach in the context of CS studies is its failure to recognise individual speakers' CS norms or preferences that may not necessarily correspond to the speakers' macro-societal backgrounds (Gumperz, 1977). It is likely that this problem emerged from the top-down perspective that considers CS as a product of larger social structures. As pointed out in Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001), this view is freighted with the implication that ALL members of the same social group will display homogeneous CS patterns, for example, 'all balanced bilinguals exhibit a high rate of intra-sentential CS' in Poplack (1980). However, this implication has been shown not to hold in some previous studies, where speakers from the same social group have been shown to display contrasting CS behaviours, and may adopt language choice patterns of other social groups with which they are not associated (see also the notion of *language crossing* in Rampton 1995, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2009, 2013). Examples can be found in Rampton (1995) where an English-monolingual white male teenager is reported to switch into Panjabi to express his familiarity with South Asian peers' culture despite knowing only a limited number of Panjabi words and phrases, and in Ihemere (2006) where some of the Ikwerre-dominant older speakers in Nigeria adopt Nigerian Pidgin English, a language associated with younger speakers. These CS behaviours would not have occurred if the same CS norms or preferences were homogenously applied to the whole community, as implied by the quantitative approach.

To overcome this limitation of the quantitative analysis, it is important that researchers integrate the qualitative methods that will enable more in-depth analysis of individual speakers' CS usage (Shegloff, 1993; Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001; Creswell and Clark, 2007; Martin, 2005; Gardner-Chloros, 2009a; Biber, 2010; Silverman, 2014; Mackey and Gass, 2016) (the qualitative approaches that are employed in this present study will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). Moreover, as pointed out in Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001), the overgeneralisation of the quantitative approach can also be mitigated if we view the quantitative approach as a descriptive rather than an explanatory tool. Its role in CS studies is to help identify overall CS patterns at the initial stage of the study and to link the interactional-level phenomenon of CS to the social world within which it exists. The same view is expressed by Gardner-Chloros (2009b, p. 98) who encourages the use of quantitative methods, especially correlational analysis, in CS studies, but warns CS researchers to refrain from "using sociolinguistic parameters in too direct a way as an explanation of CS".

For the purpose of the present study, the quantitative approach is adopted only as a descriptive tool to describe an overview of macro-patterns of Thai-English CS exhibited among first-generation Thai immigrants in relation to their social characteristics. The three quantitative analysis methods employed in this study are frequency count, distributional analysis and correlational analysis.

3.2.1 *Frequency count*

To identify the dominant type of CS in first-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup talk and to compare/contrast different types of CS in terms of frequency of use, the total number of instances of each CS type is counted and noted. For example, in Example 3.1, there is one instance of intra-sentential CS (marked in **boldface**) and one instance of inter-sentential CS (marked in **BOLDFACE UPPERCASE**).

Example 3.1: Frequency count of CS instances

3A:	rao	chà	bòk	kháo	pai	loei	bòk	wâ
	I	will	tell	them	go	pass	say	that

I would tell them that

sorry	ná	**IT'S** (.) **BUSY DAY OF THE WEEK**
sorry	PP	**IT'S** (.) **BUSY DAY OF THE WEEK**

"sorry, it's busy day of the week."

3.2.2 *Distributional analysis*

To be able to compare the proportion of English in Thai speech across the informants' socio-demographic variables, it was necessary that CS be counted in words, and the total number of words spoken by each informant was also identified. In other words, the unit of frequency count is now the word, rather than the instance of CS. Note that extra-sentential CS was excluded from the word count. This is because extra-sentential CS differs from intra- and inter-sentential CS in that it tends to be recalled as a single unit that often expresses one single meaning, rather than the speaker's own new production (Conklin and Schmitt, 2000; Wray, 2002). Moreover, extra-sentential CS is also "less intimately linked with the remainder of the utterance, insofar as [it] may occur freely at any point in the sentence" (Poplack, 1980, p. 596) (this will be demonstrated in Section 3.3). This means that extra-sentential CS does not necessarily require the same level of knowledge of both languages' syntactic structures on the

part of the speaker as do intra- and inter-sentential CS (Poplack, 1980; Joshi, 1982; Gardner-Chloros, 2009a; Sebonde, 2012). For the reasons discussed above, extra-sentential CS is not included in the distributional analysis in which each CS instance is broken down into words, as well as in the correlational analysis in which the total number of words in CS instances are calculated in relation to social variables, including English proficiency.

After distinguishing intra-sentential and inter-sentential CS from extra-sentential CS, all Thai and English items were counted using the Word Count tool in a Thai-localised version of Microsoft Word. Each English item was then categorised under intra- or inter-sentential switching. Due to the lack of punctuation and inter-word space characteristic of Thai (Slayden et al., 2010), it is inadvisable to perform word counts of Thai using the European version of Microsoft Word as it cannot accurately break down long Thai sentences into individual Thai words. The word count breakdown of the excerpt in Example 3.1 can be presented as follows:

Total word count = 16

Thai words: N = 9 (*rao*, *chà*, *bòk*, *kháo*, *pai*, *loei*, *bòk*, *wâ*, *ná*)

English word (intra-sentential): N = 1 (*sorry*)

English words (inter-sentential): N = 6 (*it's*, *busy*, *day*, *of*, *the*, *week*)

I calculated the percentages of CS in the Thai speech of each informant and across the selected social variables using the formula: $\frac{X}{Y} \times 100 = \%$, with X representing the number of English items and Y the total number of words spoken.

3.2.3 *Correlational analysis*

The bivariate test employed for the investigation of correlations between CS and selected social factors in this study is Spearman's rank order correlation coefficient (Spearman's *rho*). To understand the idea behind Spearman's *rho*, the notions of parametric and non-parametric correlation tests must first be discussed.

In the oft-cited work of Field (2002), the parametric correlation test is characterised as working on the assumption that there is a balance in the sample population. That is, speakers are distributed equally or near equally in each variable, and that data are normally distributed, i.e., a change in one variable is associated with a proportional change in another variable.

Pearson correlation coefficient (Pearson's *r*) is one example of a parametric correlation test that can readily be used in these circumstances. In contrast, a non-parametric correlation test does not take into consideration the distribution normality of the sample population. This means that it can be used in distribution-free contexts (Lieberson, 1964). Spearman's *rho* is one of the most frequently adopted non-parametric correlation test in bilingualism studies (e.g. Li, 1994; Ihemere, 2007; Paradis and Nicoladis, 2007; Al-Yaqout, 2010; Korybski, 2013). The idea behind the test is to achieve a ranking of the data and then use it to test for a rank order relationship between two variables, that is, measuring how much one variable varies with another (Fasold, 1984). Each variable is ranked from low to high, that is, 1 for a variable's lowest value, 2 to the next lowest and so on. For example, education variables can be coded into primary (1), secondary (2) and tertiary level (3). Due to the lack of normal distribution of the sample in this present study (as will be shown later in this chapter), Spearman's *rho* is an appropriate choice.

The attraction of Spearman's *rho* is that it can clarify not only the relationship but also the direction and strength of the association between two variables. For example, if the two variables are 1) price and 2) the size of cookies, being positively correlated (p-value towards +1) means that the higher the price, the larger the cookies will be. In contrast, if the two variables are negatively correlated (p-value towards -1), it means that the higher the price, the smaller the cookies will be. However, if the two variables are not related (p-value = 0), it means that the size of the cookies is not related to the price. Regarding correlation strength, correlation coefficient values above 0.70 indicate a strong relationship, those between 0.30 and 0.70 indicate a moderate relationship, and any values lower than 0.30 indicate a weak relationship between variables (Tokowicz and Warren, 2008).

Moreover, to bring the informants' role as active and creative actors in an ongoing interaction to the fore, I refrain from using the term *determine* when describing correlations between social and CS variables (e.g. *social variable X determines the rates of CS* in Sebonde, 2012). Instead, in line with Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001), the terms *affect* and *influence* are preferred (e.g. *social variable X affects/influences the rates of CS*) since they do not necessarily encode a direct relationship between variables. The definition of the terms affect and influence used in this present study is "to influence or encourage someone to do something, or react in a certain way". This way, I can take advantage of the quantitative approach (top-down, macro-societal) in a way that does not conflict with qualitative approaches (CA and IS: bottom-up, micro-interactional), but rather in which they are complementary of one another.

Having discussed the relevant literature on the quantitative approach, its importance and its relevance to this study, I now turn to the quantification of CS in my data. This process begins with the classification of CS instances into three different types: intra-sentential CS, inter-sentential CS and extra-sentential CS.

3.3 Types of code-switching in the data

The analysis shows that first-generation Thai immigrants performed all three types of CS reported in the literature: intra-sentential, inter-sentential and extra-sentential CS. The first type, intra-sentential CS, refers to the insertion of an English item into Thai speech WITHIN the clausal boundary. In my data, intra-sentential CS includes English nouns, verbs, adjectives, noun phrases and verb phrases. Some examples of intra-sentential CS from my data are given in Examples 3.2 to 3.6. I did not perform frequency count of syntactic categories of intra-sentential CS because it is not the focus of this study.

Example 3.2: Noun insertions

3.2a

1	1A:	Nate	kô	tham	ngan	phòn			**mortgage**		
		Nate	CONJ	do	work	pay in installments			**mortgage**		

*Nate works to pay for the **mortgage** in installments.*

3.2b

1	5A:	thâ	mâi	**emergency**	ching	ching	nîa	cha	mâi	pai	[...]
		if	not	**emergency**	real	real	PP	will	not	go	

*If it wasn't really an **emergency**, I wouldn't have gone.*

3.2c

1	15B:	tôn	năi	tai	kô	tai	**summer**	mài	kô	fãng	mài
		CLF	which	die	then	die	**summer**	new	then	bury	new

*If [the plants] are dying, then let it die. [We] can replant them next **summer**.*

2	15A:	súe	hŭa	ma	fãng	fãng	wái	pho	**summer**	púp	
		buy	bulb	come	bury	bury	keep	when	**summer**	as soon as	

*[We can] buy bulbs and bury them. As soon as it's **summer**,*

3		man	kô	rôem	thang	dòk	khûen	ma	[...]		
		they	then	begin	sprout	flower	ascend	come			

they'll begin to sprout flowers.

Example 3.3: Verb insertions

3.3a

1   10A: ma   pi   râek   kô   thâ   hâi   sămi   **support**   […]
             come year first CONJ wait give   husband   **support**
             *I relied on my husband to **support** me during the first year.*

3.3b

1   11A: láeu   tho   pai   **cancel** khăo   yang
             and   call   go   **cancel** they   yet
             *Have [you] called them to **cancel**?*

2   11B: tho   pai   lâeu   **cancel** khăo   nát   wanthî săm
             call   go   already **cancel** they   make an appointment date   three
             *I did call and **cancel** already. They gave me another appointment on the 3rd.*

3.3c

1   14A: kô   man   **squeeze**   ngai   […]
             CONJ it   **squeeze**   PP
             *It **squeezes**.*

Example 3.4: Adjective insertions

3.4a

1   3A: khon ní   **fussy**   nòi
            person this   **fussy**   PP
            *This one [= 3A's younger son] is quite **fussy**.*

3.4b

1   7A: […]   tàe   bang   khráng kae   kô   **lonely** koen (.)   […]
                  but   some   time   he   CONJ **lonely** over
            *But sometimes he gets too **lonely** […]*

3.4c

1   3B: mâi   **fair**   thâorai
            not   **fair**   much
            *[That's] not very **fair**.*

Example 3.5: Noun phrase insertions

3.5a

1   8B: ue::m (.)   tàe   wâ   kà   **good exercise** nó
              INTERJ   but   say   also   **good exercise** PP
              *Mm, but [cycling] is a **good exercise**, too.*

3.5b

1   11B: pai   hă   mŏ   nát   mŏ   **smear test**
              go   find   doctor make an appointment doctor **smear test**
              *[I] went to see a doctor. [I] made an appointment with a **smear test** doctor.*

3.5c

1   18B: **butterfly exit** nî   mi   sì   exit   ná
              butterfly exit PP   have   four   exit   PP
              *The **butterfly exit** has four exits.*

Example 3.6: Verb phrase insertions

3.6a

1   3A: […]   bang   khráng khăo- khăo- khăo   chà   **get more frustrated**
                      some   time   he   he   he   will   **get more frustrated**
              *[…] sometimes he- he- he would **get more frustrated**.*

3.6b

1   13A: […]   man-   man   **waste the money**   ná   […]
                      it   it   **waste the money**   PP
              *[…] it- it **wastes the money**.*

3.6c

1   16B: **pack lunch**   hâi   lûk   […]
              pack lunch   give   child
              *[I] **pack lunch** for my child. […]*

Each instance of insertional CS, especially noun insertion (Poplack, 1980), may be repeated over a stretch of dialogue by either the same or different speaker, as demonstrated in Examples 3.2c and 3.3b. From my perspective as an analyst, this may be a matter of lexical cohesion in which the same lexical item is repeated to build the overall structure of interaction. On the other hand, from the speakers' own perspectives, it may be that such repetitive use of the same English insertion is a matter of accommodation to another speaker's choice, or a matter of convenience in which repeating the same English insertion costs less

effort than finding its equivalent in another language. These possible interpretations will be discussed later in Chapter 4.

The second type of CS identified in this study is inter-sentential CS, which refers to the insertion of an English item into Thai speech AT the clausal level. In other words, it exhibits a sentence-like construction, showing subject-predicate relationship (McArthur, 1992) which distinguishes it from the English switches in Examples 3.2 to 3.7. Some examples of inter-sentential CS from my data are demonstrated in Examples 3.8 to 3.9

Example 3.7
Speakers 8A and 8B talk about how to explain Thai fermented fish to English people.

1	8A:	[…] ó:i	hét	changdai	ná	pla	ao	ma	sâe
		INTERJ	make	how	PP	fish	take	come	soak

Oh, how to make [fermented] fish? Soak [it],

2		ma	màk	wái=
		come	ferment	PP

ferment [it].

3	8B:	=**make fish for long time** (hahahaha)

     make fish for long time
Ferment the fish for a long time.

4	8A:	ue:m (.)		↑měn	měn	<u>hà</u>		khue	wa	měn	khue	khî
		INTERJ		stink	stink	INTERJ		be	that	stink	like	shit

Yeah. [It's] so stinky. Damn, [they] say [it] stinks like shit,

5		(.) wâ	sân	[…]
		say	that	

[they] say.

Example 3.8
Speaker 3A talks about being shocked after hearing other Thai immigrants' vulgar language.

1	3A:	faen-	faen	kháo	kô	săngkèt	hěn	nà	ná
		husband	husband	he	then	notice	see	PP	PP

[My] husband- husband then noticed.

2		faen	kháo	bòk (.)	°↑**what did she say?**°	(.)mâe	kô	thăm	bòk
		husband	he	say	**what did she say**	I	then	ask	say

*[My] husband said "**What did she say?**" I then asked,*

3		"**Why? What make you ask me that?**"	uh	kháo	kô	bòk	wâ
		Why? What make you ask me that?	FP	he	then	say	that

*"**Why? What make you ask me that?**" He then said,*

4   **"I s(h)aw your f(h)ace. I kn(hh)ow you didn't say anything but (.)**

5   **your face, it's kind of, like, quite shock"** (.)

The third type of CS, extra-sentential CS, or tag-switching in Poplack's (1980) term, refers to an insertion of an English formulaic expression, i.e. a fixed, or semi-fixed, expression (Wray, 2002) into Thai speech. Extra-sentential CS identified in my data includes interjections (mostly *Oh my God*/*my God*), idioms, formulaic expressions and negation markers. They are exemplified in Examples 3.9 to 3.12.

Example 3.9: Interjection

1   14B: thoe   pen   khon- hŏ::   >**my God, my God<, my Go::d**
              you   be   person INTERJ **my God my God   my God**
              *You are- whoa, **my God, my God, my God**!*

Example 3.10: Idiom

1   3A: khăo bòk   wâ   à: **jack of all trade but master of**
            they   say   that   FP   **jack of all trade but master of**
            *They call it, er, **jack of all trade but master of***

2   **none** (.)   khâo chai mái
           none   enter heart PP
           ***none**. Do you know what that means?*

Example 3.11: Other formulaic expression

1   9B: láeo   kô (.) súe- (.) /b/-   **buy one get one free** à
           and   then   buy   /b/   **buy one get one free** PP
           *and then (I) bought the b- **buy one get one free** [glasses].*

Example 3.12: Negation markers

1   3A: **No, no** ton   nán   yang   yù   mueang   thai   yù
           No, no period that   still   live   city   Thai   be
           ***No, no**, [I] was still in Thailand then.*

Examples 3.9 to 3.12 demonstrate how extra-sentential CS is not intimately linked with the utterance with which it occurs. In Examples 3.9 and 3.12, the interjections *my God, my God, my God* and negation marker *no*, respectively, do not interact with the syntactic structure of the surrounding Thai text. If we were to move both the interjections and negation

markers to a different position of the utterance, the message of the utterance would remain unchanged and its grammatical structure remains unviolated. The way extra-sentential CS tends to be recalled as a single unit that evokes one single meaning is demonstrated in Examples 3.10 and 3.11 where the expressions *jack of all trade but master of none* (which is probably altered from *jack of all trades is a master of none*) refers to a person who can do many things but is not an expert in any of them, and the expression *buy one get one free* is a widely known form of sales promotion.

Although CS in my data occurred at all three levels, most of them are insertional in nature, meaning that they occurred without changing the agreed language of interaction. This finding confirms Auer's (1999) argument that insertional CS need not necessarily be intra-sentential CS only. In contrast, it may occur as intra-sentential CS, inter-sentential CS or extra-sentential CS. I have illustrated this in Example 3.2 through to Example 3.12 (except Example 3.9, which demonstrates between-turn inter-sentential CS).

3.4 Overall frequency and distributional analysis

Frequency count reveals that there are 1,291 CS instances in my data. Of this number, 1,089 of them are intra-sentential CS; 134 are inter-sentential CS; and 68 are extra-sentential CS. The overall distribution shown in Figure 3.1 clearly demonstrates that intra-sentential CS is the most dominant type of CS in my data, constituting over three-quarters of all CS instances. In contrast, inter- and extra-sentential CS each constitutes less than one-fifth of the total.

Figure 3.1: Overall distribution of CS instances

Extra-sentential
5% (N = 68)

Inter-sentential
11% (N = 134)

Intra-sentential
84%
(N = 1,089)
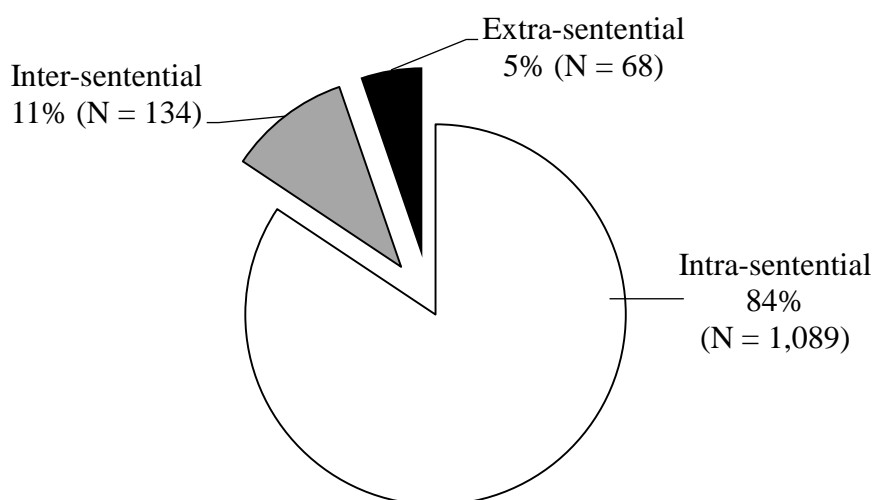
To investigate proportions of each type of CS in each individual informant's speech data and to perform correlational analysis, I first counted the total number of words in the corpus (N = 140,742). Then, I counted the number of English words contained within each instance of intra- and inter-sentential CS. Extra-sentential CS instances were excluded from this process, as well as the correlational analysis due to their tendency to be recalled as pre-fabricated single units that do not necessarily require bilingual proficiency on the part of the speaker. The results show that intra- and inter-sentential CS together make up 1,860 English words, constituting 1.32% of the total number of words in the corpus. Of the 1,860 English words, 1,343 of them belong to intra-sentential CS instances, making up 0.95% of the corpus. The other 517 English words belong to inter-sentential CS instances, making up 0.37% of the corpus. Overall, CS rates in my data are extremely low.

Table 3.1 demonstrates the highest and lowest rate of occurrence of each CS type at the individual level. Note that not all 36 informants produced CS in their speech. While all but one produced intra-sentential CS, only half the informants produced inter-sentential CS, and extra-sentential CS occurred in the speech of 17 informants.

Table 3.1: The highest and lowest rate of occurrence of each CS type at the individual level

	Highest rate			Lowest rate		
	%	**N / total words**	**Speaker**	**%**	**N / total words**	**Speaker**
Intra-sentential CS	4.23	146 / 3,449	18B	0.05	4 / 8,689	4B
Inter-sentential CS	3.12	147 / 4,717	3A	0.05	4 / 8,689	4B
Overall CS	6.06	209 / 3,449	18B	0.09	8 / 8,689	4B

The discussion of Figure 3.1 and the data in Table 3.1 clearly demonstrate that not only did intra-sentential CS instances occur more frequently than those of inter-sentential CS, but also that they accounted for a higher proportion of English words in the corpus than did inter-sentential CS instances. These results indicate with confidence that intra-sentential CS is the dominant type of CS among first-generation Thai immigrants, and that CS occurs very infrequently in their in-group interactions (see Appendix 6 for full results of CS frequency and distributional analysis).

3.5 Social distribution and correlational analysis

Having established the overall frequency and distribution of intra- and inter-sentential CS in my data, I will now examine distributions of the two types of CS in relation to the selected variables in this study, namely, age, length of residence in England, educational attainment and self-rated English listening, speaking, reading and writing proficiency. Each distributional analysis is followed by a correlational analysis. The significance threshold is set at .05. Again, it is important to emphasise that correlational analysis in this study is used as a descriptive, exploratory tool and is not intended to be explanatory (Gumperz, 1977; Auer 1984; Zentella, 1990; Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001; Gardner-Chloros, 2009b). Correlations with certain social factors do not mean that such social factors directly determine degrees of CS, but only that they are influential on the informants' CS behaviours. Due to low rates of CS, the distributions were interpreted cautiously to avoid overestimating the results.

3.5.1 *Age*

The informants were divided into two age groups based on Poplack (1980): older speakers (age 41 and over) (N = 20) and younger speakers (age 40 and under) (N = 16). At the time of this study, the oldest informant was 52 years old, while the youngest informant was 26 years old (mean age: 39.5 years). Figure 3.2 displays the rates of CS in relation to age difference. The key for this figure, which is also applied to Figures 3.3 to 3.8, is as follows: the white, grey and black bars along the y-axis show the percentages of intra-sentential CS, inter-sentential CS and overall CS (intra-sentential CS + inter-sentential CS), respectively. The rate of each category of CS is presented in relation to variation of speaker variables listed along the x-axis. Figures in round brackets are raw numbers of words in each category of CS.

Figure 3.2: Distribution of CS across speaker age
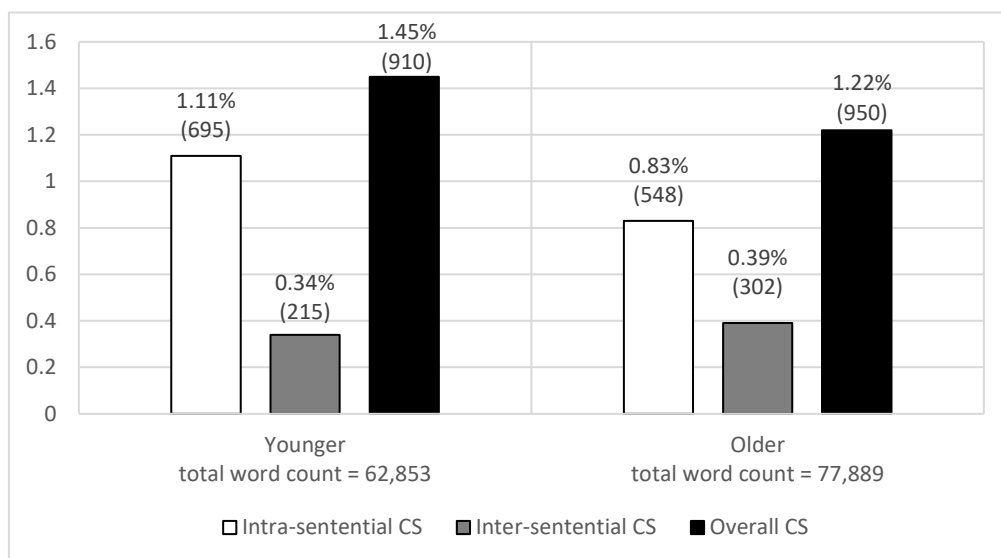
The white bars show that the older group produces intra-sentential CS to a lesser degree than the younger group does. Similarly, the black bars also show that the older group performs slightly less CS overall. However, both groups produce almost exactly the same amount of inter-sentential CS, represented by the grey bars. This suggests that the younger informants are more likely to perform a higher rate of intra-sentential CS and overall CS than the older immigrants, but as much inter-sentential CS. The fact that inter-sentential CS is used at an almost equivalent rate in both age groups also implies that the factor of age may not be implicated in rate of inter-sentential CS. Overall, the data shown in Figure 3.2 appears to support Clyne (2003), who states that older immigrants are more likely than younger immigrants to maintain their first language. However, the correlational analysis reveals otherwise: the observed differences in the frequency of CS across the two age groups are not statistically significant (age and intra-sentential CS: $p = .585$; age and extra-sentential: $p = .323$, age and overall CS: $p = .926$). This implies that age is unlikely to be a factor that affects the informants' decisions to perform CS. In other words, the younger and older first-generation Thai immigrants do not significantly differ in their use of CS.

3.5.2 *Length of residence*

Following Waas (1996), Laufer (2003), Isurin (2007) and Cherciov (2011), I divided informants into three groups based on their length of residence in England at the time of the study: four years and fewer (N = 13), five to 10 years (N = 17) and 11 years and over (N = 6).

The longest period of stay in my data is 25 years (Speakers 3A and 12A), while the shortest period is five months (Speaker 5A). Mean length of residence is 7.36 years. In Figure 3.3, the differences in the rate of CS according to the informants' length of residence are displayed.

Figure 3.3: Distribution of CS across speaker length of residence
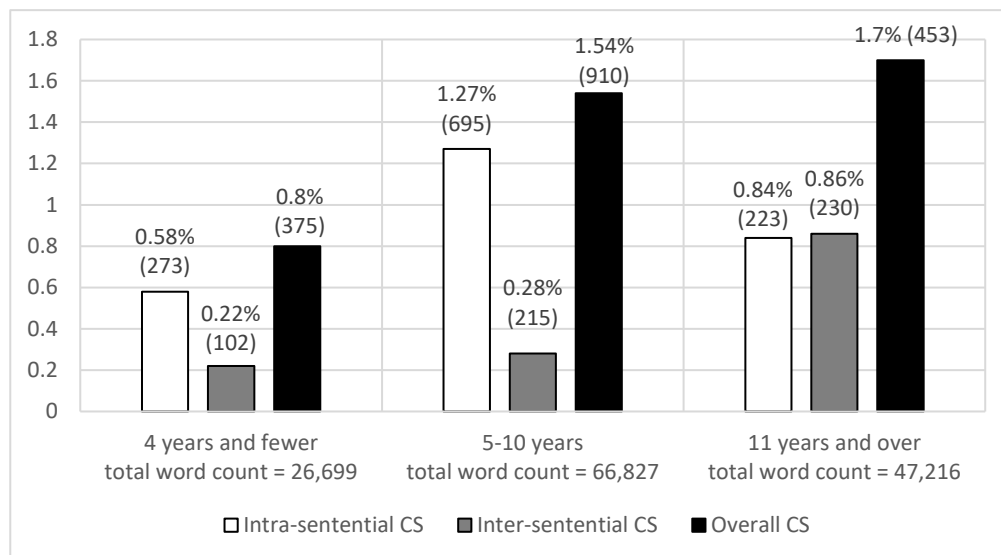
The data in Figure 3.3 shows different increasing and decreasing characteristics across three categories of CS. To start with, the white bars show no clear trend in the rate of intra-sentential CS across length of residence: the rate of intra-sentential CS in the 4 years and fewer group doubles in the 5 – 10 years group, before dropping almost exactly one-third in the 11 years and over group. Meanwhile, for inter-sentential CS and overall CS, an increase can be observed. The grey bars show that the rate of inter-sentential CS is constant between the 4 years and fewer group and the 5 – 10 years group, but rises in the 11 years and over group. Conversely, the black bars show that the rate of overall CS doubles in the 5 – 10 years group compared to the 4 years and fewer group, but then remains roughly the same in the 11 years and over group. These diversities of CS rates suggest two possibilities: that length of residence may affect each category of CS differently, or that informants from each length of residence bracket may prefer different types of CS. To elaborate the second point, the white bars along the x-axis show that intra-sentential CS is produced at the highest rate in the 5 – 10 years group, while inter-sentential CS occurs most frequently in the 11 years and over group. Therefore, while the results on the question of whether intra-sentential CS is related to length of residence factor remain inconclusive due to the unclear increase/decrease exhibited, the increase in the rate of inter-sentential CS and overall CS suggest that they may be linked with the informants' length of residence in England to a certain extent, as shown in Mukherjee (2003), Isurin (2007) and Korybski (2013).

The correlational analysis, however, reveals that there is no significant correlation between the informants' length of residence and rate of CS, regardless of types (length of residence and intra-sentential CS: $p = .323$; length of residence and inter-sentential CS: $p = .146$; length of residence and overall CS: $p = .195$). These results mean that although an increase can be observed in the rate of intra-sentential CS and overall CS used across the informants' length of residence variables, it is not statistically significant.

3.5.3 *Educational attainment*

Since all of the informants received their education in Thailand prior to their migration to England, they were stratified in accordance with the three levels of educational attainment in Thai education system. The Primary level group includes those who finished, or had some primary level education (N = 8); the Secondary level group includes those who finished, or had some secondary level education (N = 14); and the Tertiary level group consists of those who graduated from college/university, or had some higher education experience (N = 14). The distribution of CS across the three educational attainment groups is displayed in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4: Distribution of CS across speaker educational attainment
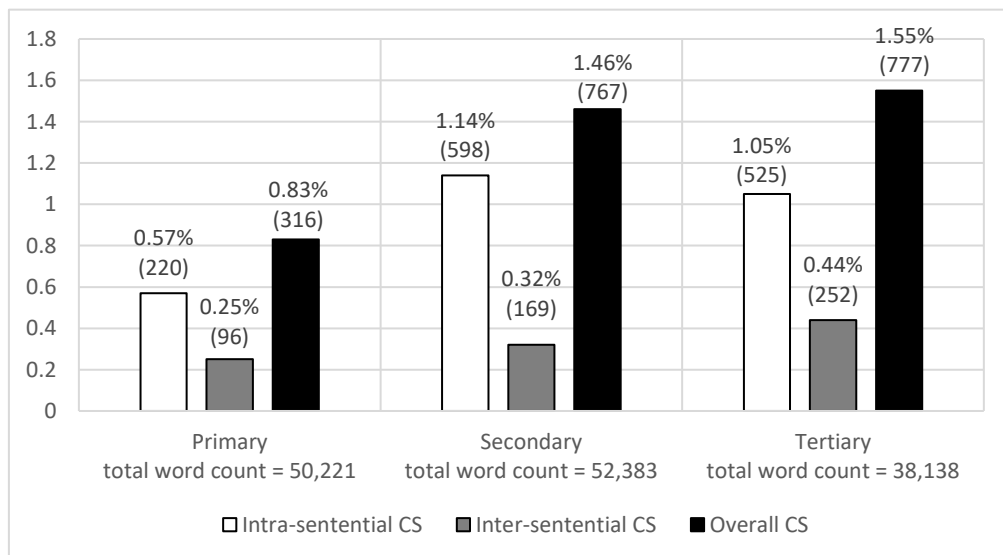
The first and most noticeable aspect about the data in Figure 3.4 is how the rate of inter-sentential CS (grey bars) remains constant across the informants' varying levels of educational attainment. The differences are so small we may say that the rates of inter-sentential CS have become stabilised. In contrast, the rates of both intra-sentential CS (white

bars) and overall CS (black bars) display an increase in a similar way. Both categories increase by about 50% in the Secondary group and become largely stabilised in the Tertiary group. The data in Figure 3.4 demonstrates an overall picture of rates of CS in relation to speaker education levels: CS, except inter-sentential CS, tends to occur more extensively in the speech of the informants from the Secondary and Tertiary groups than in the speech of the Primary group. Inter-sentential CS, on the other hand, is less likely to increase with the informants' educational attainment. This suggests that while the informants' level of education may be related to the rates of intra-sentential CS and overall CS to a certain extent, it is not related to inter-sentential CS. To find out if this is the case, the correlational analysis was carried out.

In contrast to the results in Poplack (1980), the correlational analysis in this study reveals that there is no statistically significant relationship between educational attainment variables and rates of CS (education and intra-sentential CS: $p = .323$; education and inter-sentential CS: $p = .146$; education and overall CS: $p = .195$). This result indicates that while the informants with secondary and tertiary educational backgrounds tend to perform intra-sentential CS and overall CS at a higher rate, such tendency is not statistically significant. In other words, the informants have equal chance of producing CS regardless of their level of educational attainment and CS types.

3.5.4 *English language proficiency*

As elaborated in the previous chapter, the 36 informants were asked to evaluate their own proficiency in four English language skills, namely, listening, speaking, reading and writing. In regard to each skill, the informants were divided into three groups on the basis of their self-assessed proficiency levels: Basic, Intermediat, and High (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6.4 for the assessment criteria). The distributional and correlational analysis of the informants' CS rates in relation to each individual English language skill are provided below.

1) Listening skill

The results from the self-assessment proficiency questionnaires reveal that the majority of the informants (25 out of 36) claimed to have High proficiency in English listening. Nine informants rated themselves as having Intermediate proficiency, while the other two assessed

their proficiency to be at the Basic level. Figure 3.5 displays the distribution of CS across the three levels of listening proficiency.

Figure 3.5: Distribution of CS across speaker English listening proficiency
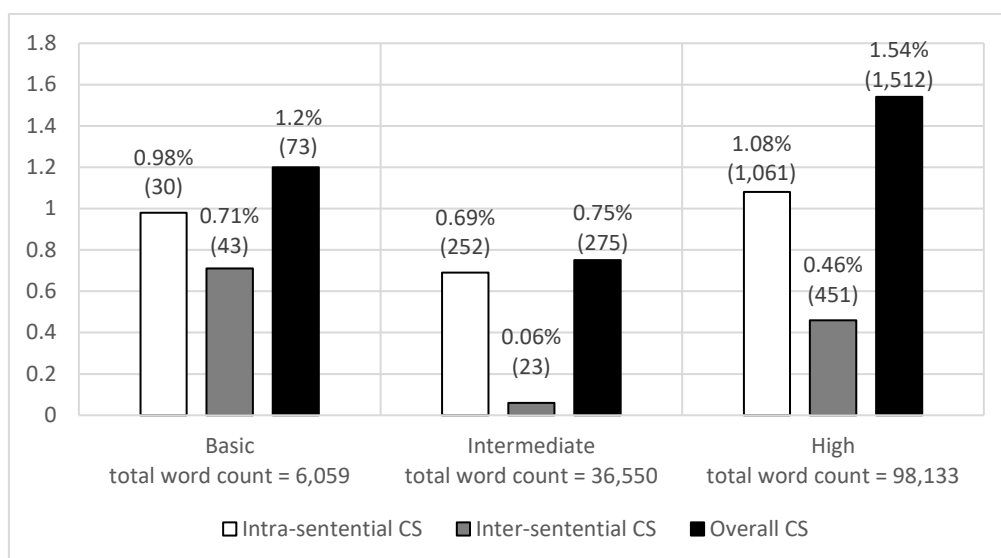
What stands out in Figure 3.5 is the lack of clear increase or decrease in the rates of all three categories of CS across speaker proficiency in English listening skill. The Intermediate group produces the lowest rate of CS: the rate of intra-sentential CS (white bars) decreases approximately one-third between the Basic and Intermediate groups, and increases again in the High group. A similar pattern can also be observed in the rate of overall CS (black bars), which falls from the Basic to the Intermediate group before increasing by almost exactly 50% in the High group. The dip is the most observable in the rate of inter-sentential CS (grey bars), where it drops to almost absolute zero before increasing by roughly seven times in the High group. These results show that the informants who have Intermediate proficiency in English listening skill tend to perform less CS, regardless of type, than any of the other groups.

The data in Figure 3.5 also shows that the informants from the High group produce higher rates of overall CS than those from the Basic group. However, when both groups are compared by their intra- and inter-sentential CS rates, it becomes apparent that both groups produce very similar degrees of intra-sentential CS, and the Basic group in fact produces a much higher proportion of inter-sentential CS than the High group even though the Basic group consists of only two informants: Speakers 5B and 16A. This may be because many of the informants who self-rated as having Intermediate and High level proficiency in English listening skill did not produce inter-sentential CS at all (only two out of nine informants from the Intermediate group and 14 out of 25 from the High group produced inter-sentential CS),

whereas both speakers in the Basic group produced a certain degree of inter-sentential CS. This may suggest that inter-sentential CS is the preferred type of CS among the informants with Basic level English listening proficiency. The fact that the two speakers from the Basic group differ in almost every aspect of social characteristics further suggests that their rates of inter-sentential CS are unlikely to be affected by other social factors included in this study (Speaker 5B is 46 years old, has been living in England for 11 years and received only primary level education prior to migration to England, whereas Speaker 16A is 35 years old, has been living in England for 2 years, and received secondary level education). However, because this suggestion is based only on two informants, it is necessarily tentative. More data is required to confirm this tentative suggestion.

The inconsistent association of CS across speaker proficiency in English listening skill suggests that there may be no correlation between the two factors. This is confirmed by the correlational analysis: the differences in rates of CS across the three groups of English listening proficiency are not statistically significant (listening proficiency and intra-sentential CS: $p = .232$; listening proficiency and inter-sentential CS: $p = .648$; listening proficiency and overall CS: $p = .516$). This result implies that the informants' English listening proficiency is not a significant factor in the rate of CS produced by the informants.

2) Speaking skill

In regard to English speaking skill, the majority of the informants (29 out of 36) rated themselves to have Intermediate proficiency, while the other seven claimed to have High proficiency. None of the informants assessed themselves as having Basic proficiency, which may suggest that the informants are more confident in their English speaking skills than they are in the other three English language skills. Figure 3.6 below shows the distribution of the rates of CS according to the informants' proficiency in English speaking.

Figure 3.6: Distribution of CS across speaker English speaking proficiency
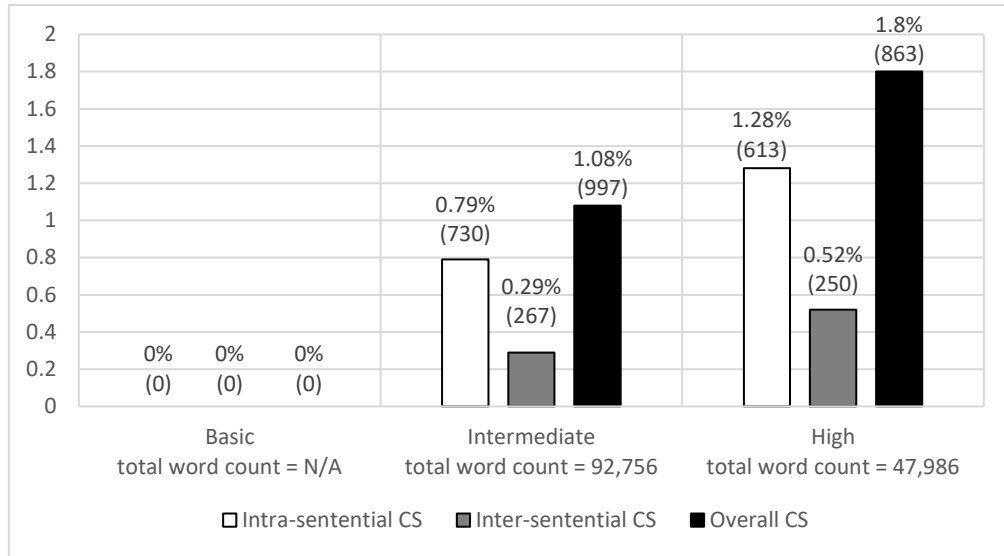
Figure 3.6 shows a clear increase in the rates of all three categories of CS across the Intermediate and High groups. The white bars along the x-axis show that the rate of intra-sentential CS increases by approximately one-third between the Intermediate and High groups, and the grey bars demonstrate that the rate of inter-sentential CS roughly doubles. Finally, the black bars show that the rate of overall CS increases by approximately 70% in the High group. These results suggest that informants who self-rated as having High English speaking proficiency tend to perform higher rates of CS than those whose English speaking skill is at the Intermediate level.

The correlational analysis reveals a moderate positive correlation between intra-sentential CS and English speaking proficiency (r_s = .348, p = .038). This means that the more proficient the informants are in English speaking, the more they will produce intra-sentential CS. However, no statistical significance was found between inter-sentential CS and English speaking proficiency (p = .890), or between overall CS and English speaking proficiency (p = .100). This means that although there is a tendency for the informants from the High group to perform higher proportions of inter-sentential CS and overall CS, this tendency is not statistically significant. To conclude, the correlational analysis results indicate that only the informants' rate of intra-sentential CS is affected by their proficiency in English speaking skill.

3) Reading skill

The distribution of informants' English reading proficiency is relatively balanced: the Basic proficiency group comprises 10 informants, the Intermediate proficiency group 16, and the High proficiency group 10. The rates of CS in relation to the informants' self-rated English reading skill are illustrated in Figure 3.7.

Figure 3.7: Distribution of CS across speaker English reading proficiency
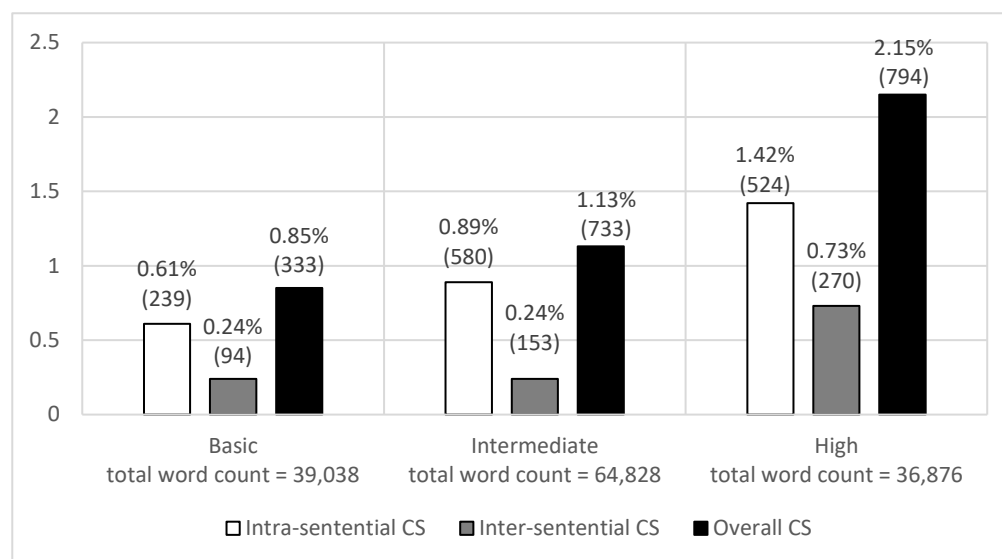
The bars along the x-axis in Figure 3.7 show an increase in the rates of CS across speaker proficiency in English reading skill. The white bars indicate a small increase in the rate of intra-sentential CS between the Basic and Intermediate groups, which then rises moderately in the High group. The increase across speaker English reading proficiency can be observed most clearly in the rates of intra-sentential CS and overall CS. The grey bars show that the rate of inter-sentential CS remains level across the Basic and the Intermediate groups, before increasing by almost exactly two-thirds in the High group. Similarly, the black bars indicate that the rate of overall CS first rises only slightly from the Basic to Intermediate group, then almost doubles in the High group. At 2.15%, the rate of overall CS in the High proficiency English reading group is the highest identified in this investigation. The results shown in Figure 3.7 suggest that the informants from the High group are more likely to perform CS than those from the other two groups, and that the informants from the Basic and Intermediate groups, while showing some difference in their use of intra-sentential CS and overall CS, do not differ in their inter-sentential CS behaviours.

A correlational analysis shows that the informants' rate of intra-sentential CS is moderately and positively correlated with their English reading proficiency (r_s = .357, p = .033). This means that the more proficient in English reading the informants are, the more they will perform intra-sentential CS. In contrast, the informants' English reading proficiency does not make a significant contribution to the rate of inter-sentential CS (p = .773) and overall CS (p = .076). These results suggest that while the rates of all three categories of CS tend to increase with the informants' English reading proficiency, this correlation is only statistically significant for that of intra-sentential CS.

4) Writing skill

In regard to English writing skill, nine informants self-rated as having High proficiency, 14 claimed to have Intermediate proficiency and the other 13 claimed to have only Basic proficiency. Figure 3.8 illustrates the distribution of rates of CS in relation to the informants' self-rated English writing proficiency.

Figure 3.8: Distribution of CS across speaker English writing proficiency
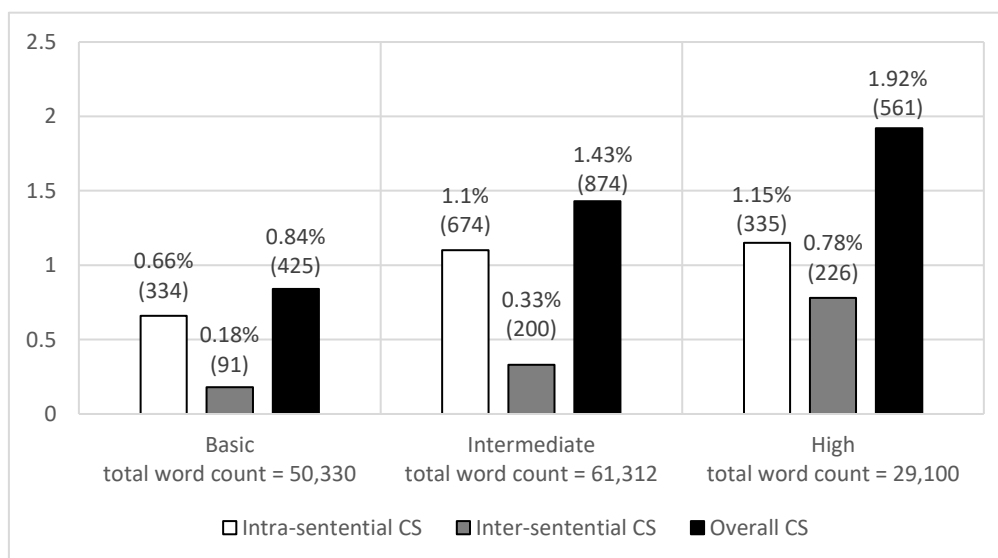
The data in Figure 3.8 show that the rates of CS, regardless of type, increase with the informants' level of proficiency in English writing. The most consistent increase can be observed in the rate of overall CS (black bars), as it increases in both in Intermediate and High groups. A similar increase can also be observed in the rate of inter-sentential CS (grey bars), in which it increases slightly in the Intermediate group, then sharply increases by over

half in the High group. In the case of intra-sentential CS (white bars), the most noticeable difference is between the Basic and Intermediate group, where it increases by approximately half. However, in contrast to the rates of the other two CS categories which increase in the High group, the rate of intra-sentential CS levels off between the Intermediate and the High group. These results demonstrate that the informants who perceive themselves to have a high level of English writing proficiency tend to use more inter-sentential CS and CS overall, whereas intra-sentential CS is equally favoured by the informants from both the Intermediate and High groups.

The difference in the rate of CS across the English writing proficiency variable, however, does not reach statistical significance (writing proficiency and intra-sentential CS: $p = .467$; writing proficiency and inter-sentential CS: $p = .670$; writing proficiency and overall CS: $p = .488$). This finding indicates that the informants' CS behaviours in general may not be affected by their English writing proficiency.

The correlational analysis results can be summarised as follows (see Appendix 7 for full correlational analysis results):

♦ Intra-sentential CS is the only type of CS that is affected by speaker variables.

♦ English language proficiencies (speaking and reading) are the only two speaker variables that are significantly correlated with the rates of intra-sentential CS.

♦ No statistically significant relationship is found between other types of CS and speaker variables.

3.6 Extra-sentential code-switching: Types and frequency analysis

Extra-sentential CS was excluded from the distributional and correlation analyses in relation to social factors because of its tendency to be stored and retrieved as one single unit regardless of the number of words it contains or speakers' L2 proficiency. However, its occurrence can nevertheless offer insights into first-generation Thai immigrants' CS behaviours. In this section, I describe types and frequency of extra-sentential CS found in this study, with the informants' social characteristics brought into consideration when possible.

Extra-sentential CS occurred 68 times in the entire corpus across the speech of 17 (out of 36) informants (Speakers 1A, 1B, 2B, 3A, 4B, 5A, 5B, 7A, 8A, 8B, 9A, 9B, 13A, 13B, 14B, 17A and 17B). It occurred the most frequently in the speech of Speaker 3A (19 times)

and the least in the speech of Speakers 1A, 1B, 5B, 9A, 9B and 13A (once each)[5]. The distribution of each type of extra-sentential CS, i.e. negative/affirmative markers, formulaic expressions, interjections and idioms, is given in Figure 3.9. It must be emphasised that the data must be approached cautiously since each informant did not spend the same amount of time talking, which means that those from long conversations might have more opportunity to produce extra-sentential CS.

Figure 3.9: Distribution of extra-sentential CS types
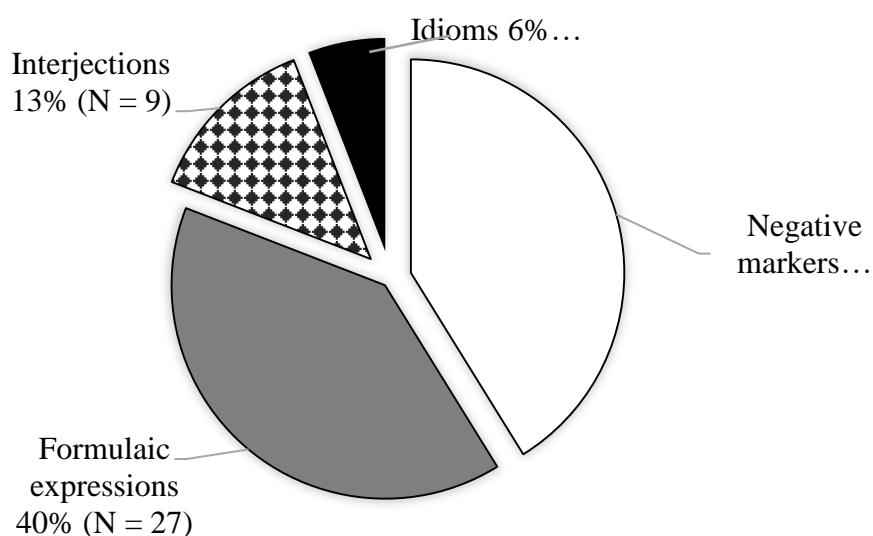
Figure 3.9 shows that negative markers and formulaic expressions contribute the most, and almost equally, to the occurrence of extra-sentential CS instances in this study. Interjections and idioms, on the other hand, occur at a much lower rate. The stark contrast between the rates of negative markers and formulaic expressions, and interjections and idioms, indicates that that the former two are more likely to occur in first-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup talk.

In Section 3.3, I have provided an example of each type of extra-sentential CS from my data. Some more examples of formulaic expressions and idioms are given here since they occurred in more various forms than negative markers (*no*) and interjections (mostly *oh my God*/*my God*). Examples 3.13 to 3.15 illustrate a variety of English formulaic expressions in the informants' Thai speech other than *buy one get one free* in Example 3.12.

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[5] This skewed distribution of extra-sentential CS across the 17 informants is another reason why the correlation analysis could not be performed.

Example 3.13

1	8A:	bò	**thank you**	wà	sân	[…]
		no	**thank you**	say	that	

*No, **thank you**, [I] said.*

Example 3.14

1	2B:	nûat	kô	mi	lăi	khanăeng	à	thoe
		massage	also	have	many	branch	PP	you

There are many kinds of massage, you know.

2		mi	nûat-	nûat-	nûat	**happy ending**
		have	massage	massage	massage	**happy ending**

*[There] are massage- massage- **happy ending** massage,*

3		nûat	bàep	sàbai	sàbai
		massage	like	relaxing	relaxing

relaxing massage.

Example 3.15

1	17A:	[…]	pho	thŭeng	wan	kòet	kháo	kô	tho	pai
			when	reach	day	be born	she	then	call	go

On her birthday, [I] called to

2		**happy birthday**	mâe
		happy birthday	mother

*[say] **happy birthday** to my mother.*

Examples 3.16 to 3.18 demonstrate the use of English idioms in Thai speech, other than *jack of all trade but master of none* in Example 3.10.

Example 3.16

1	3A:	oe	pai	pai	ma	ma	kháo	bòk (.)	ma	loei	ná
		INTERJ	go	go	come	come	he	say	come	already	PP

Yeah, eventually he [= 3A's husband] said "just come [to England] already,

2		**now or never** (hahahaha)
		now or never

*[it's] **now or never."***

Example 3.17

1	3A:	[…]	kháo	bòk	wà	tông	khon	thî	chûe	wà
			he	say	that	only	people	that	name	that

He said that only people who are called

2	**cream of the cream**	thâo nán		thî	chà	khâo	máhǎlai	dâi
	cream of the cream	only		that	will	enter	university	can

cream of the cream *can go to university.*

Example 3.18
Speaker 3A talks about the Thai restaurant where she used to work.

1	3A:	[…]	tàe	kô	thǔeng	bòk	wà	thî	rán	Thai House	nîa
			but	then	reach	say	that	at	restaurant	Thai House	PP

[…] but that's why [I] said that at Thai House restaurant,

2	**fair and square**	loei	làe	[…]
	fair and square	already	PP	

[it was] **fair and square**.

One striking finding is that while negative markers, interjections and other formulaic expressions tended to occur across the 17 informants, all idioms were produced by only one speaker: Speaker 3A. Closer examination revealed that length of conversation is unlikely to be the reason behind Speaker 3A's characteristic use of English idioms, since it is similar to that of the other 16 informants. To elaborate, the length of the conversation in which Speaker 3A participated is 46 minutes and 33 seconds, while that of Speakers 1A and 1B (who produced one instance of extra-sentential CS each) is 45 minutes and 30 seconds; that of Speaker 2B (who produced five instances of extra-sentential CS) is 42 minutes and 48 seconds; and that of Speakers 17A and 17B (who produced three and nine instances of extra-sentential CS, respectively) is 49 minutes and 13 seconds. This shows that Speaker 3A did not have much more time than other informants to produce idioms. Thus, I moved on to scrutinise the social characteristics of Speaker 3A in contrast to those of the other 16 informants.

Speaker 3A was 49 years old and had been living in England for 25 years at the time of the study. She received tertiary level education prior to migration, and self-rated as having high proficiency in all four English language skills. While her age, educational attainment and English language proficiency characteristics resemble those of the other informants who produced extra-sentential CS, the amount of time she has spent in England is uniquely higher than that of the other informants, which ranges between five months and 13 years. This tentatively suggests that Speaker 3A's length of residence may play a certain role in her

production of English idioms, which did not occur in the speech of the other 16 informants. More research is required to establish the importance of the length of residence variables on the use of idioms in the context of CS.

3.7 Discussion of findings

This chapter set out to identify the dominant type of CS in my Thai-English CS data, their frequency of occurrence, social distribution and correlations with selected social variables. This section discusses the key findings of the quantitative analysis and situates them in relation to previous studies of first-generation immigrant CS in different contexts and of different language pairs.

Systematic quantitative data analysis in Section 3.4 enabled me to demonstrate that of the three types of CS found in my data (intra-, inter- and extra-sentential CS), intra-sentential CS is the most dominant, contributing 85% to the total number of CS instances in the corpus. Moreover, the distributional analysis also revealed that the informants performed CS at a very low rate. Overall CS contributes only 1.32% to the entire corpus, while intra-sentential CS and inter-sentential CS together makes up less than 1% of the total word count. This low frequency indicates that CS in my data is insertional in nature, meaning that it occurs occasionally without causing the informants to change the language of interaction from Thai into English. These findings are consistent with those reported in previous studies on first-generation immigrant CS between different language pairs, for example, Li et al. (1992), Li (1994), Ng and He (2004), Lo (2008) (Chinese-English); Backus (1996, 1998, 2003a) (Turkish-Dutch); Ben-Rafael (2001) (French-Hebrew); Zentella (2002) (Spanish-English), Korybski (2013) (Polish-English) and Finnis (2014) (Greek Cypriot-English), as well as the point made in Alfonzetti (2005) and Muysken (2013): first-generation immigrants tend to strongly favour their first (often heritage) language, and their CS is largely intra-sentential CS/insertional CS and infrequent. While the low frequency of CS in my data may not be entirely unexpected, it is nevertheless worthy of note because it enables us to claim with more confidence that the strong preference for intra-sentential CS in intragroup interaction is a commonly shared feature among first-generation immigrants, regardless of their L1s.

The low CS rates in my study are unlikely to be an artefact of research design due to the following reasons: first, I allowed the informants to freely choose their preferred topics of talk. This means that their CS production was their own response to the topic that emerged at a given point in interaction, rather than to the topic restriction determined by the researcher.

This also implies that first-generation immigrant CS rates may be higher in other circumstamces in which speakers are required to talk about certain topics that are associated with the language into which the speaker switches (see *topic specificity* in Backus, 2001). Second, I did not reveal that CS is the true focus of the study until the data collection was finished. This thus lessened the likeliness of the informants intentionally performing CS in a way that does not necessarily represent their usual behaviours to impress the researcher (see Chapter 2, Section 2.7). Based on the findings in previous Thai-English CS studies, I would argue that low CS usage in my data reflects CS behaviours of native Thai speakers in general. This is supported by the findings in Kannaovakun (2000), Gunther and Kannaovakun (2003) and Suraratdecha (2005) which demonstrated that native Thai speakers, be it those residing overseas or in Thailand, tend to produce very low degree of English in their Thai speech.

Some other possible explanations as to why first-generation Thai immigrants in my study performed CS so infrequently and largely in insertional manner are as follows. First, it may be that the informants have spent at least the first 20 years of their life using Thai as the language of everyday interaction. Thus, Thai has been deeply integrated into the informants' linguistic repertoire and its importance is unlikely to be overshadowed by English which has become language of everyday interaction only after their migration to England. The second explanation, based on the informants' varying levels of English proficiency, may be that the informants were not adequately competent in English to produce more CS (see Appendix 1 for the informants' self-reports English proficiency). The informants' strong preference for Thai in their intragroup talk may also be explained as the result of the monolingual ideology in Thailand and the sense of nationalism that is associated with Thai language (Numnonda, 1978; Thananithichot, 2011).

The informants' strong preference for intra-sentential CS and low rate of overall CS usage in this study is similar to that reported in Suraratdecha's (2005) study on Thai-English CS among Thais in Hawaii, in which native Thai speakers were found to produce approximately three English switches in every 1,000 words spoken. This finding is interesting because the informants in Suraratdecha (2005) and this present study are very different in terms of socio-demographic and -economic backgrounds. Suraratdecha's (2005) informants were mostly highly-educated, as many were postgraduate students and permanent residents who had previously been students. In contrast, my informants are from a variety of social backgrounds. For example, Speaker 4B came from a working-class family in a rural part of Thailand and received only four years of education in primary school, while Speaker 1B came from a middle-class family in Bangkok and had studied to the postgraduate level. The

similarity in the rates of CS in my study and in Suraratdecha (2005) may suggest that a low rate of Thai-English CS is characteristic of Thai immigrants in English-speaking countries regardless of their social background or immigrant status.

The correlational test results in Section 3.5 showed that the informants' rates of intra-sentential CS were moderately correlated with their proficiency in English language reading ($r_s = .348$, $p = .038$) and speaking ($r_s = .357$, $p = .033$). These positive correlations mean that the more proficient the informants are in English language speaking and reading skills, the more likely they are to produce intra-sentential CS in intragroup talk. No correlations were found between the informants' intra-sentential CS and their proficiency in other English language skills (listening and writing). This may be due to the lack of variation in the informants' levels of listening proficiency (over two-thirds of the informants rated themselves as being highly proficient in listening), and their lack of proficiency in writing (less than one-third of the informants rated themselves as being highly proficient in writing). The latter reason resonates with Kellogg (2008) who identifies the writing skill as the most challenging for L2 language learners.

The correlations between the informants' intra-sentential CS rates and their proficiency in English speaking and reading skills, to a certain degree provide support for the idea that high proficiency in L2 promotes intra-sentential CS originally proposed in Poplack (1980) and later supported in Nortier (1990), Bullock and Torribio (2009) and Yao (2011). I say *to a certain degree* because only two out of four English language skills were correlated with the informants' rates of intra-sentential CS. The implication of this finding is that the proficiency in each individual L2 language skill may affect a speaker's CS behaviours differently. Therefore, it is essential that any sociolinguistic studies of first-generation immigrant CS examine the effect of L2 proficiency on CS by each individual skill, rather than lumping them into one broad variable. This way, we will be able to understand not only whether L2 proficiency is an influential factor on CS, but also which L2 skill(s) in particular is/are related to CS.

Another point worthy of discussion is how the two social variables found to be correlated with rates of intra-sentential CS in this study each represents a different type of language learning skill: speaking skill represents the productive (output) skill, while reading skill represents the receptive (input) language skill. This may suggest the process underlying the production of intra-sentential CS: that although the informants need not necessarily be highly proficient in all L2 skills to perform intra-sentential CS (Auer, 1999), they need to possess at least some level of proficiency in both the input and output skills. This

interpretation is in line with Grosjean (1997) who suggests that the co-operation between the speakers' L2 input and output skills may help facilitate intra-sentential CS. This is possibly because intra-sentential CS is more likely to entail integration of syntactic structures from two different languages (Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1993b, 1997, 2000, 2002a; Gardner-Chloros, 2009a, 2009b), which requires the speaker's L2 knowledge to a certain degree.

The correlational analysis also revealed that the other three social factors, namely, age, educational attainment and length of residence, were not statistically related to the informants' rates of CS, regardless of CS category (intra-sentential, inter-sentential and overall CS). This may be due to the lack of relationships between variables and small between-group variance (Fallon, 2016). It is possible that no correlations were found because there truly were no relationships between these variables. The evidence in support of this claim was the lack of clear increase/decrease of the distribution of CS across many of the selected speaker variables. For example, in the case of the educational attainment variable, the rates of intra-sentential CS increased between the Primary and Secondary group, but declined in the Tertiary group, whereas the rate of inter-sentential CS remained constant across the Primary, Secondary and Tertiary groups. Similarly, the rates of CS, both intra- and inter-sentential, across speaker proficiency in English listening dropped between the Basic and Intermediate groups, but then rose again in the High group. Such unpredictable trends hint at weak relationships between the variables and may explain why no correlations were found. Under this interpretation, we may tentatively conclude that first-generation Thai immigrants' social characteristics play a small role in their CS behaviours.

The lack of correlation between CS and speaker age is in line with the findings in Poplack (1980) and Li et al. (1992). According to these previous studies, the effect of age of immigrants on CS is likely to be overshadowed by other factors: L2 proficiency and age on arrival in Poplack (1980) and intergenerational social networks in Li et al. (1992). However, in the context of this study in which all the informants are adult immigrants, the lack of correlations between the informants' age and degrees of CS may be attributed to the fact that all the informants in my study migrated to England in their adulthood after the age of 20 years old. This means that their language use is likely to have stabilised (Klein, 1986) and less likely to exhibit change than that of younger immigrants (Ecke, 2004).

As is the case in Zentella (2002) and Rosignoli (2011), no statistically significant relationships were found between CS and speaker educational attainment in this present study. Zentella (2002) and Rosignoli (2011) explained that the lack of correlation may be caused by well-educated first-generation immigrants' sense of ethnic identity and responsibility to

maintain their heritage language. However, the same cannot be said for certain in the context of this study since ethnic identity and heritage language loyalty are beyond the scope of analysis. If we are to embrace Spolsky's (1998, p. 171) view that English through formal instruction is a "meaningless drill" performed in a very "carefully controlled and simplified" way in "closed four walls", and Weinreich's (2011) view that a sudden exposure to a new language in a new environment is likely to cause change in language behaviours of immigrants, then the lack of correlation between CS and speaker educational attainment in my study may be attributed to the difference between the English that the informants learn while receiving education in Thailand prior to their migration and the English they have learnt to use in everyday life contexts in England. This explanation implies that pragmatic and socially symbolic functions may have stronger impact on the informants' CS behaviours than educational attainment does.

The lack of correlation between CS and speaker length of residence is inconsistent with the findings in Mukherjee (2003) and Isurin (2007): it does not seem to be the case that the longer the immigrants have spent in England, the higher the rates of CS they produce. This finding is important as it adds to evidence that length of residence alone is not an adequate predictor of CS, as generally believed (Korybski, 2013). The lack of correlation between CS and the length of residence variable in this study, however, confirm the results reported in Li et al. (1992) and Li (1994). This result is striking, largely because my informants and those in Li et al. (1992) and Li (1994) differ greatly in terms of migratory characteristics and social networks which affect their exposure to English during their stay in England. In Chapter 2, I have described that Chinese immigrants in Li et al. (1992) and Li (1994) are largely close-knit and ethnic-orientated, which implies that they have more opportunity to keep interaction with native speakers of English to a minimum. First-generation Thai immigrants' social networks, in contrast, are loose-knit and intermarriage-based, meaning that they are more likely to encounter English on a regular basis during their stay in England. The fact that my result is consistent with that in Li et al. (1992) and Li (1994) also indicates that the power of social networks to predict CS may be questionable.

However, given the homogeneously low frequency of CS performed by the informants (mostly less than 1% of the total word count of each informant), we must also consider the second possibility – that the effect of age, length of residence and educational attainment are not strong enough to reach statistical significant. However, this interpretation should not be viewed as a failure, or dismissed as having no research importance. Rather, it may be viewed as indicative of social variables that still need to be further investigated in future work

(Nassaji, 2012; Fallon, 2016). Age, length of residence and educational attainment remain interesting factors since they showed a tendency to be related with rates of CS, although such tendency did not reach statistical significance in my study.

Despite the lack of correlation between first-generation Thai immigrant CS and most of the selected social factors, it does not mean that social factors should be excluded from future first-generation immigrant CS studies. In Chapter 3, I have shown that many of the speaker variables showed a tendency to be related to CS rates. Moreover, In Section 3.6 where I presented the frequency and distributional analysis of extra-sentential CS, I have shown that unlike other types of extra-sentential CS, all English idioms were produced by one single speaker whose length of stay in England is dramatically different from that of other informants. This led me to tentatively suggest that the informants' length of residence may facilitate idioms, possibly because the longer they stay in England, the more they become accustomed to English culture which motivates English idiom usage (McGlone et al., 1994).

The quantitative analysis in this chapter and discussion in the paragraphs above have shown us the overall picture of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS. We now know that their CS occurs extremely infrequently and that intra-sentential CS is the most dominant type of CS. We also know that the only speaker variable that affects the informants' CS is English language proficiency (speaking and reading). However, we are still left with the following question: if CS is hardly affected by the informants' social characteristics, what is it exactly that motivates them to perform CS? So far, we have learnt very little about how CS is utilised in actual conversations among first-generation Thai immigrants, and whether it carries any pragmatic or socially symbolic functions. This points to one overarching conclusion: that the quantitative approach alone is insufficient to explain first-generation Thai immigrants' CS behaviours, thus supporting the argument put forth by many researchers that quantitative analysis can benefit from more in-depth qualitative analysis (e.g. Shegloff, 1993; Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001; Creswell and Clark, 2007; Martin, 2005; Gardner-Chloros, 2009a; Biber, 2010; Silverman, 2014; Mackey and Gass, 2016). This will be the focus of Chapter 4.

3.8 Conclusion

I began this chapter with the aim of identifying the dominant type of CS employed in intragroup talk among first-generation Thai immigrants, and whether their CS is correlated with any of the variables age, length of residence, educational levels and self-rated proficiency in English language listening, speaking, reading and writing. The frequency count revealed that intra-sentential CS is strongly favoured by the informants. The distributional analysis across speaker variables showed that the informants performed CS at a very low rate, and that there are no clear increasing/decreasing trends in the rates of CS across many speaker variables. The correlational analysis revealed that of the seven speaker variables selected for this study, only the informants' English proficiencies in speaking and reading were found to be positively correlated with their intra-sentential CS. No correlations were found between other speaker variables and inter-sentential CS and overall CS. These results indicate the possibility that the informants' CS behaviours may not be significantly affected by their social characteristics. However, it is advised that these results be interpreted with caution, as the failure to identify a statistically significant relationship may be due to the low frequency of CS and the homogeneity between social groups.

The quantitative results in Chapter 3 support my argument, which is based on Auer (1984), Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) and Gardner-Chloros (2009b), that the quantitative approach to the analysis of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS behaviours is best viewed as a descriptive rather than an explanatory tool. While the quantitative account has provided an overall picture of Thai-English CS in my data and how the informants from different social backgrounds may exhibit different CS behaviours, it does not reveal how such social backgrounds are related to the informants' actual talk-in-interactions, and how CS is used as a "meaningful linguistic activity" (Auer, 1984, p. 2). To gain insight into these aspects of CS, it is crucial that more in-depth qualitative analysis also be employed. In the next chapter, I move on to the qualitative analysis and discussion of sequential CS patterns and local functions of CS in first-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup interaction.

CHAPTER 4
SEQUENTIAL PATTERNS AND FUNCTIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have demonstrated the frequency and types of first-generation Thai immigrant CS, as well as the correlations between CS and selected speaker variables, namely age, length of residence, educational attainment and English language proficiency (listening, speaking, reading and writing). Overall, the quantitative analysis reveals that CS is a rarity in the informants' intragroup speech, and that there are few relationships between the informants' CS behaviours and their social characteristics. In this current chapter, the focus is shifted towards the in-depth qualitative analysis of first-generation Thai immigrant CS in the areas that are beyond the quantitative analysis.

The aim of this chapter is to identify the processes and motivations behind first-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup CS, and how CS may encode social or cultural implications. To achieve this aim, I approach CS primarily from the CA perspective in the tradition of Auer (1984, 1991, 1995, 1998, 1999), which is then complemented by elements from IS (Gumperz, 1982) and quantitative analysis. This combined perspective is of great importance in this study, because it allows us to consider both the sequential organisation of the informants' interactions, functions of individual CS occurrences and the knowledge of the social world that may be associated with CS. This includes, for example, the symbolic value of the language used, social norms and linguistic backgrounds of conversation participants. Only through this combined perspective can the role of CS at both the local level of interaction and the global level of the social world be unveiled.

In Section 4.2, I will first provide a review of the qualitative frameworks that have been adopted in previous studies on patterns and functions of CS, namely IS and CA. Their advantages and limitations in the context of this study will also be discussed. Auer's (1995) sequential code-switching patterns are discussed in Section 4.3 since it is the foundation on which I based my own sequential CS patterns. Section 4.4 marks the beginning of the qualitative analysis of sequential patterns and functions of Thai-English CS in my data. The two main types of sequential CS patterns, namely Pattern A and Pattern B, are discussed and exemplified in Sections 4.5 and 4.6, respectively. The quantitative analysis which complements the qualitative analysis is reported in Section 4.7. The findings in this chapter

are then discussed in relation to previous literature in Section 4.8. Finally, in Section 4.9, I summarise the sequential CS patterns identified in the study and their implications.

4.2 Qualitative approaches to the analysis of code-switching patterns and functions

4.2.1 *Interactional sociolinguistics*

IS originally emerged in the influential works of Goffman (1955, 1969, 1974), but it was introduced into the field of CS in Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Gumperz (1977, 1982). Before the 1980s, CS, especially intra-sentential CS, was often dismissed as a random and deviant mode of talk (Poplack, 2001). However, the IS accounts of CS in Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Gumperz (1977, 1982) which are rooted in a variety of disciplines, for example, ethnography, linguistic anthropology, sociology, and pragmatics (Jaspers, 2014) have shown that each CS token may in fact be purposeful. The functions of CS from the IS perspective will be discussed later in this section.

The gist of IS, as pointed out in Schiffrin (1996), is that speakers do not always explicitly say everything they mean, resulting in talk as an incomplete action. For example, one may say "*it's cold in here*" when one really means "*I want you to close the window*" (Blum-Kulka, 1990, p. 266). To interpret the message underlying a certain utterance, or indexical meaning, IS asserts that we must not rely solely on the literal meaning of words, but also the context in which the utterance occurs (Toribio, 2004; Jaspers, 2014), as well as "the socioculturally informed quality of language" (Richland, 2014, p. 164; also Bassiouney, 2015) which includes social background knowledge, cultural norms and interpersonal relationships between speakers. In the case of the example from Blum-Kulka (1990) cited above, the true meaning of "*it's cold in here*" can be appreciated by another speaker if he/she considers whether the window is open at the time the utterance is delivered, and whether indirect request-making is the norm practiced within the culture to which the speakers belong.

Indexical meanings of talk may also be indicated by certain signalling channels. This includes prosodic cues such as intonation, speaking pitch, laughter, and body movements such as waving, shrugging and nodding. Gumperz (1982) refers to these signals as contextualisation cues. In Poplack (1980), they are called flags or flagging. Their key role is to suggest how a certain utterance should be interpreted at a given point in conversation, and what background knowledge, or "pool of common knowledge" (Cutting, 2000, p.1) amongst

speakers, should be evoked in the interpretation of that utterance (Chan, 2004). For example, a high pitch of voice often signals friendliness and politeness in many cultures, such as Dutch (van Bezooijen, 1995), Hebrew (Blum-Kulka, 1990), Japanese (Loveday, 1981; Ofuka et al, 2000; Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith, 2004; Burdelski and Mitsuhashi, 2010) and Thai (Luksaneeyanawin, 1995; Bilmes, 2001; Smyth, 2002). Shouting and fast speech, on the other hand, may signal the speaker's anger, vulgarity and impoliteness (Culpeper, 2005, 2011; Rampton, 2013). Contextualisation cues flag and draw attention to the propositional attitude underlying the utterance. This is possibly to ensure that the message is successfully conveyed and interpreted by the interlocutor. In this sense, IS resonates with the concept of communicative optimisation (Myers-Scotton, 1999; Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001; Bolonyai, 2005b; Meuter, 2009) which suggests that speakers plan CS to achieve the best communicative outcome possible. Communicative functions of CS are achieved by "[planning] the content of their next utterance, including the language in which they intend to utter their next sentence" (Meuter, 2009, p. 30).

Gumperz (1982) considers CS to be a type of contextualisation cue because it contrasts sharply with the surrounding talk and thus, draws attention to the underlying message. Based on this concept, Gumperz (1982) proposes six pre-existing categories of CS as contextualisation cues to which individual CS instances can be assigned. Each category is described and exemplified below. The examples are from my data.

♦ *Quotation marking*: CS reports speech from past events or imagined interaction (see also Hauser, 2015), for example:

Example 4.1

1	3A:	[…]	kháo	chà	bòk	wà	**your English is very good**
			he	will	say	that	**your English is very good**
		*He would say that **"your English is very good".***

♦ *Addressee specification*: CS directs the message to a particular speaker. In Example 4.2, Speakers 16A and 16B are about to begin the conversation. Speaker 16B's toddler is in the room at the time.

Example 4.2

1   16A: [16B] ao   námcha   măi   phî   chong kòn
                      take   tea   PP   I   brew   before
[16B], do [you] want tea? I'm making [it] now.

2   16B: ao   loei
                take   PP
Go ahead.

3   16A: cha   yù   trong nán   kafae yù   trong nán
                tea   be   at   there coffee be   at   there
Tea's there. Coffee's there.

[Speaker 16B's son coos]

4   16B: **Lay down, Tom, good boy.** (.) **Mummy make tea. Mummy make tea.**

- *Interjection*: CS marks speakers' expression of surprise or frustration. In Example 4.3, Speaker 2B is expressing her opinion on a sharp-tongued TV presenter.

Example 4.3

1   2B: ↑**Oh my God** phût   dâi   sàchai   mák   loei   […]
                Oh my God say   get   satisfying   very   PP
***Oh my God**! [She] said it so satisfyingly.*

- *Reiteration*: CS repeats a word of a different language that precedes it and emphasises what is said, for example*:*

Example 4.4
Speaker 12B talks about the value of a 50 pence coin.

1   12B: hâ sìp **fifty**   oe   nân   nà   phôeng chà   khâochai
                fifty   **fifty**   INTERJ that   PP   just   will   understand
*Fifty, **fifty**. Oh, that's it, [I] only just understood.*

- *Message qualification*: CS serves as a complement or argument of a sentence that precedes it. In Example 4.5, Speaker 8B's CS complements Speaker 8A's brief instruction of how to make fermented fish.

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Example 4.5

1   8A: […] ó:i   hét   changdai   ná   pla   ao   ma   sâe
              INTERJ   make   how   PP   fish   take   come   soak
              Oh, how to make [fermented] fish? Soak [it],

2   ma   màk   wái=
              come   ferment   PP
              ferment [it].

3   8B: =**make fish for long time** (hahahaha)
                make fish for long time
              Ferment the fish for a long time.

♦ *Personalisation versus objectivisation*: CS serves to either increase the speaker's involvement with or distance from the message or topic being discussed. None of the CS in my data exhibit this type of function. Therefore, an example from Tay (1989, p. 416-417) is provided here. According to Tay (1989), this excerpt demonstrates the case of personalisation in which an L1 Chinese speaker became more Chinese-dominant than he/she was elsewhere in the conversation when expressing his/her informed opinion about a particular topic: Miss Universe.

Example 4.6

At first /hɔ̃/, wà thăo tsīk pài thoĩ **Miss Universe** kái sí, wà sĭ júe dé i nàng hà é **blonde hair** /hɔ̃/, long tsŏng júe dè pẽ iõ meng /lɛ/ bālù sĭ dóng fang /hɔ̃/, kiòu tă iò the tshuì pẽ iò bɔ **so then later when** i é **final time**, wà thoĩ liòu, /wa/ **actually** sĭ i nàng iò ngìa **but** lï thoī, lï **glance through** /hɔ̃/ lï júe dé i nàng Western kái kiou pẽ iò mēng /hɔ̃/. **All the same**.

(**At first**, *when I first watched* **Miss Universe**, *I felt that those with* **blonde hair**, *I felt they all look alike. It is only the Easterners who may be said to stand out and don't look alike.* **So then later** *when it was* **time** *for the* **finals**, *I looked, and wow!* **actually** *it is they who are prettier.* **But** *when you look, when to* **catch a glimpse** *of them, you think that they, the Westerners, look more alike. Isn't that so?* **All the same**.)

The function categories proposed in Gumperz (1982) have inspired many researchers to explore communicative functions of CS from the IS perspective across other language pairs, for example, Moroccan Arabic-French (Bentahila, 1983), English-Japanese (Nishimura, 1995b), English-Spanish (Zentella, 1997), Dutch-Turkish (Backus, 2001), French-Hebrew (Ben-Rafael, 2001), Assyrian-English (McClure, 2001), English-German (Seidlitz, 2003),

Korean-English (Shin, 2010), Panjabi-Urdu (Alam, 2011) and Standard Arabic-dialectal Arabic (Albirini, 2011), giving rise to a variety of new CS functions. Some of the most commonly reported CS functions include:

♦ Lexical gap filling: CS is employed to solve word recall problem (Bentahila, 1983; Li, 2000; Seidlitz, 2003). Traditionally, this function of CS is often identified with hesitation and pausing, as demonstrated in Example 4.7 from my data. This identification criterion, however, is deemed unreliable in this study (this point will be discussed later in this section).

Example 4.7

| 1 | 10B: | […] i | phûyài | súe | òe:: | (.) | **THERmal** | rongtháo |
| | | PRON | man | buy | FP | | **thermal** | shoes |

*[…] [My] husband bought, er, **thermals**. Shoes [and]*

| 2 | | thŭngtháo | thî | kan | năo | máe | […] |
| | | socks | that | prevent | cold | PP | |

socks that are cold resistant.

♦ Topic shift/marker: CS is used to signal that the speaker wishes to terminate the current topic of discussion and shift to a new topic (Zentella, 1997; Ben-Rafael, 2001). CS with this function is not present in my data. Therefore, an example from Zentella (1997, p. 94) is provided here. It shows that the speaker switches from Spanish into English (marked in boldface) when shifting to the new topic: raining.

Example 4.8

"Vamo/h/ a preguntarle *(let's go ask her)*. **It's raining**!"

♦ Cultural specificity: A lexical item or expression from Language A is used in Language B due to its association with a certain cultural or social norm (Backus, 2001; Ben-Rafael, 2001; Watkhaolarm, 2005; Altarriba and Basnight-Brown, 2009; Bhatt and Bolonyai, 2011). Example 4.9 from my data shows how Speaker 13A uses the English phrase *English summer holiday*, rather than its Thai equivalent *pìt thoem nâ rón*, possibly due to its association with a specific type of English holiday in English culture.

Example 4.9

1	13A:	[…] Halbo	pen	chûang	**English summer holiday**	khà
		Halbo	be	period	**English summer holiday**	PP

*'[It's] Halbo's **English summer holiday**.'*

Having exemplified CS functions in the tradition of Gumperz's (1982) with excerpts from first-generation Thai immigrants in this present study, I have shown that IS can indeed be applied to my Thai-English CS data. However, it is not adopted as the primary qualitative method of analysis in this investigation because it is problematic in two aspects. First, Gumperz's (1982) classification of CS functions, while no doubt transforming the way CS is perceived and studied, lack clear and objective criteria (Auer, 1984, 1995; Nilep, 2006). It does not specify interpretive procedures that are used to assign functions to a given CS item (Auer, 1984). For example, no clear explanation is given as to how CS as reiteration (Example 4.4) and CS as message clarification (Example 4.5) are different. In fact, both may represent the same function, as both involve the action of further explanation (through word repetition/paraphrase and description, respectively). Similarly, CS as objectivisation and personalisation (Example 4.6) seems to be based on an observational basis without substantial evidence to show how exactly the speaker distances him/herself from, or immerses him/herself into, the topic being discussed. The lack of clear criteria also inevitably leads to a certain degree of superficiality in IS-based analysis of CS. The clearest example is the case of CS as lexical gap filler (Example 4.7) that is often identified primarily by pre-switch hesitation markers and pausing. This criterion, however, may not accurately differentiate CS as lexical gap filler from speech disfluency or tip-of-the-tongue phenomena (Gafaranga, 2000; Rosignoli, 2011). In the analysis in this chapter, I will demonstrate that the best predictor of CS as lexical gap filler is in fact the speakers' explicit comment that he/she is searching specifically for an L1 lexical item.

The second shortcoming of Gumperz's (1982) IS account of CS that undermines its appropriateness as the primary analysis method in this chapter is that it tends to provide an indeterminate number of anecdotal interpretations of CS. Since CS is highly context- and situation-dependent (Poplack, 1980; Cheng and Butler, 1989), speakers in individual communities may vary in their use of CS, making it very difficult to compare CS functions and to generalise them across other talks in different circumstances. These shortcomings lead Auer (1984, 1988, 1991, 1995, 1998, 1999) to call for a departure from the IS-based classificational approach toward CA, a procedure-based analytic approach that he claims can explain CS functions in a more precise, detailed and convincing way. In this investigation,

CA is the primary qualitative method of analysis. Its principles and how it is adopted in this present study are discussed in the next section.

4.2.2 Conversation analysis

CA originated in the field of sociology in the work of Garfinkel (1967, 1986), Sacks et al. (1974) and Goffman (1983). CA is, in fact, exists prior to IS and is the basis upon which IS was built (Gafaranga, 2007). However, in the context of CS studies, the influence of IS preceded that of CA. Unsatisfied by Gumperz's (1982) tradition of IS which tends to produce unexhaustive anecdotal interpretations of CS, Auer (1984, 1991, 1995, 1998, 1999) adopted CA into the field of CS. At the heart of CA is the meticulous examination of not just micro details, including contextualisation cues, at the interactional level but also the turn-by-turn organisation of talk. In the context of CS studies, CA demands that meanings and functions of CS emerge out of the sequential orderliness in interaction and must be established with evidence at the interactional level. The key concepts of CA that have considerable implications for the subsequent analysis of CS in this study are:

1) *Turn-taking mechanism* (Duncan, 1972; Schegloff, 1996; Heritage, 2005; Schegloff, 2000): The term turn-taking is defined here as the process through which speakers regulate their turn of talk, with only one speaker talking at a time. According to Duncan (1972), speakers may carry out the turn-taking mechanism by: 1) giving turn-yielding cue such as silence (Duncan, 1972) and falling/rising intonation (Hjarlmasson, 2011) to signal that their turn is finished, by doing so handing over the speakership to the next person; 2) continue talking, even when being interrupted, to signal that they are not ready to give up their turn; and 3) providing backchannel cues (e.g. *mm*, *oh*, *really*) to signal that they are paying attention to another speakers' talk but do not wish to gain the floor yet. In previous CS studies, the turn-taking principal has tended to be applied only to between-turn CS. However, it has been shown in Angermeyer (2002) that it can also be applied to insertional CS that occurs within a single turn of talk.

2) *Next-turn proof procedure* (Sacks et al., 1974; Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008; Seedhouse and Walsh, 2010): In order for the interaction to progress, it is necessary that speakers display their understanding of the previous speaker's utterance. Such understanding may be correct, which will then enable the conversation to proceed, or it may be incorrect, which will then require

backtracking and re-interpretation before the conversation can continue (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). The importance of next-turn proof procedure is that it enables researchers to observe and describe talk organisation from the speakers' perspective, and, in turn, ensure that such interpretation is not biased by the analyst's viewpoint.

3) *Topic-proffering sequence* (Shegloff, 1996b; Lindegaard, 2016): Topic-proffering sequence consists of two parts: the first part is *topic proffering*, in which speakers propose a certain topic of talk, and by so doing project a context on which the next speaker can design his/her next turn accordingly. The second part is *response to topic proffering*, where the next speaker either accepts or rejects the proposed topic. In the CS context, topic-proffering sequence helps direct the course of interaction, which may affect how the informants in this study make use of CS.

From the CA perspective, Auer (1995) also identifies a series of CS sequential patterns, each of which offers a reference point that suggests its function(s). Since Auer's (1995) CS sequential patterns provide an important foundation on which I identify new sequential patterns on the basis of my Thai-English CS data, they are discussed in detail in a separate section: Section 4.3.

CA is often criticised for its heavy reliance on the structural development of talk (ten Have, 1990, 2007; Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001; Li, 2005; de Kok, 2008). Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001), while accepting that CA is useful in that it uncovers the orderliness within a complex interaction, point out that CA pays almost no attention to the social aspects of the speakers such as their demographic characteristics and social relationships with other speakers. Although Auer (1998, pp. 6-7) has demonstrated that CS, especially insertional CS, may serve to index certain social background knowledge not explicitly stated in the interaction, such interpretation is still heavily based on the sequential position at which the switch occurs, rather than because the switch is socially meaningful in and of itself. Consequently, the conversation analytic account of CS is exceedingly flat, descriptive and largely disconnected from the social realm (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001; Li, 2005). Therefore, to overcome this limitation of CA, I follow Ihemere (2006), Chen (2007), Casas (2008), and Bani-Shoraka (2009) and utilise some principles of IS (Gumperz, 1977, 1982) as complementary tools in the analysis of insertional CS in my data.

The aspect of IS that is particularly useful for the sequential analysis of CS is the fact that it acknowledges "the socioculturally informed quality of language" (Richland, 2014, p.

164) in the data interpretation. As discussed in Section 4.2.1, IS seeks not only to explain CS in relation to forms and contents of utterances at the interactional level, but also to higher order social contexts such as interpersonal relationships, cultural backgrounds and demographic characteristics of speakers. In this respect, my insight as a native Thai speaker who shares the informants' linguistic and cultural backgrounds becomes useful in the interpretation of CS. Moreover, because the majority of CS instances in my data are insertional, embedded within a single turn at the intra-sentential level, their function cannot be adequately described under CA's terms such as adjacency pairs and preference organisation alone. This problem can be solved if we identify CS functions along the lines of the IS account, for example, quotation, emphasis and cohesion. However, to keep in line with CA principles, it must be emphasised that these functions are created by speakers as they develop the conversation, rather than being pre-existing functions as are originally conceptualised in Gumperz's (1982) tradition of IS.

4.3 Auer's (1995) sequential code-switching patterns

On the basis of CA principles, Auer (1995) argues that functions of CS are associated with the sequential pattern in which CS occurs. He proposes four main CS sequential patterns (Pattern I to Pattern IV; to be illustrated in the next paragraph), each of which suggests a different frame of reference for the interpretation of CS. He utilises numbers 1 and 2 to represent speakers, letters A and B to represent individual languages used, and double slashes (//) to indicate the point where CS occurs in each sequential CS pattern. Auer's (1995) sequential CS patterns represent an innovative and systematic way to identify and explain CS, serving as the foundation on which my own CS representation system is based. However, as will be discussed and exemplified in the next section, I did not simply replicate Auer's (1995) model, but also acknowledge the lexical items and prosodic cues accompanying CS and represent them in the new sequential CS patterns, along with a new transcription system developed from that of Jefferson (2004). By doing so, I further clarify the characteristics of each CS pattern and its function(s) in a way that has never been done before.

In what follows, each of Auer's (1995) CS patterns is described and exemplified. Since most of his patterns represent between-turn CS, they did not occur in my data due to the insertional nature of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS. Therefore, the majority of the examples given are from the literature. The first pattern, Pattern I, can be further divided into two sub-patterns. Pattern Ia, demonstrated in Example 4.10 with an excerpt from Ihemere

(2006, p. 279), represents cases of inter-speaker CS in which Speaker B selects a language that is different from the one used by Speaker A, and that language becomes the new language of interaction. Pattern Ib, demonstrated in Example 4.11 with an excerpt from Smith-Christmas (2012, p. 120), represents the case of intra-speaker CS that leads to a new language of interaction. Both patterns are often associated with the functions of speaker and topic change.

Pattern Ia … A1 A2 A1 A2 // B1 B2 B1 B2 …

Example 4.10 (IIkhwerre-**Nigerian Pidgin English** CS)

Two fathers talking about their mutual friend.

1   Father 1:   Chi-Chima si naya bu o: nye oru // bekee =<T (Looking up toward left at B)
                     (*Chima says that he is a civil servant.*)

2   Father 2:   // mu nwa bu kwa onye oru bekee (0.2) ↓ (Looking down at his feet)
                     (*I'm also a civil servant.*)

3   Father 1:   = **unu na aru na di-di sem <u>ofis</u>**?
                     (***Do you work in the same office***?)

4   Father 2:   **No** (.) > ↑ (Looking up toward right at A) °**no-no**° (.) **no bi for di sem ofis**...
                     (***No. [We do] not [work] in the same office***.)

Pattern Ib … A1 A2 A1 A2 A1 // B1 B2 B1 B2 …

Example 4.11 (**Gaelic**-English CS)

1   Aonghas: she was on Polly's piggy-back wasn't she=

2   Nana: was Dave there (.) no (.) **an robh Dave ann**?=
                             was Dave there?

3   Aonghas: =**siud David gabh pìos cèic eile**
                     there David have another piece of cake

4   Nana: @@ **an robh Dave ann aig an àm**?
                     was Dave there at the time?

Auer's (1995) second pattern is Pattern II, which is divided into sub-patterns IIa and IIb. Both patterns can be observed in Example 4.12 from my data. Pattern IIa can be observed

in lines 1 to 7, in which each of the two speakers consistently uses the language of their own choice (John uses English, and Speaker 6A uses Thai). However, as rightly pointed out by Li (1994), this type of CS is unlikely to persist and eventually one of the speakers will give up and accept the other speakers' language choice, giving rise to Pattern IIb (lines 8 to 10) where Speaker 6A finally stops using Thai and switches to English. These patterns are often associated with the function of language negotiation.

Pattern IIa … A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2 …

Pattern IIb … A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 // A2 A1 A2 A1 …

Example 4.12
John is a native speaker of English who has some basic knowledge of Thai (this information was later confirmed by Speaker 6A outside of the recording environment). He is the owner of the Thai restaurant where Speaker 6A works.

1   John: °**Alright**?°

2   6A: Húe?
             INTERJ.
             Yeah?

3   John: °**Jen needs (.) Duck toilet cleaning**-°

4   6A: arai   ↑ná
             what   PP
             What?

5   John: °Jen.°

6   6A: pâ   a   ná?
             aunt   PP   PP
             Auntie [Jen]?

7   John: °**She needs the toilet cleaner**.°

        (.)

8   6A: **She ↑doesn't! She told me that she doesn't need anythi:ng**.

9   John: (inaudible: 3.0) °**But she needs Duck**.°

10   6A: **↑Duck! (.) She doesn't need anything!** (inaudible: 4.0) **SHE JUST NEED A BIN BAG. Small bin bag.**

A speaker may also switch back and forth between two languages within the same turn, giving rise to Pattern IIIa, as shown in lines 1 and 2 of Example 4.13 from Jørgensen (1998, p. 246). On the other hand, if another speaker selects only one of the languages and both speakers continue talking in that selected language, then Pattern IIIb emerges (lines 2 to 4). The constant use of two languages within the same turn may suggest that a speaker is keeping language choice open so that another speaker can choose what he/she prefers or thinks is the most suitable language choice for the ongoing interaction (Li, 1994).

Pattern IIIa   … AB1 AB2 AB1 AB2 …

Pattern IIIb   … AB1 // A2 A1 A2 …

Example 4.13 (Danish-**Turkish** CS)

1   Sevinç: **he Nevin konuşma istiyom eh** jeg havde ikke det der **şeyim yoğdu fan** – ja fantasi eh energi **çok oynadım**.

(***eh Nevin, I wanna say something, too**, I didn't have **any of** that there **fan** – yes fantasy ah energy, **I danced a lot**.*)

2   Nevin: du har sgu da energi når du, du har sgu da energi når du øh Sevinç det hedder alts – det hedder altså ikke energi, **onun adı başka bir şeydi energi yaşayanlara**.

(*You do bloody well have energy when you, you do bloody well have energy when you eh Sevinç, it is called –, it is not called energy, **energy is about living things**.*)

3   Sevinç: **prateinim yok işte**.
(***I didn't have any protein**.*)

4   Nevin: **neyin yok**?
(***You didn't have any what**?*)

Patterns I, II and III are similar in that they show how CS may affect the agreed choice of language of interaction. This contrasts with the final pattern, Pattern IV, in which CS is inserted (often as a single word, but not always or necessarily) into streams of talk without affecting the language choice of interaction at all. This type of CS is what Muysken (2000, 2004) refers to as *insertion*. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, insertional CS is the most dominant type of CS in my data. In Example 4.15 (from my data), Thai remains the language of interaction after English switches occur. *Tortilla* is considered a cultural borrowing due to the lack of Thai equivalence.

Pattern IV   … A1 B1 A1…

Example 4.14
Speaker 13B is giving Speaker 13B a recipe for tortilla.

1	13A:	kháo	rîak	tothiyâ	châi	măi	**Spanish omelette**	okhe:=
		they	call	tortilla	yes	PP	**Spanish omelette**	OK

They call it tortilla, right? Spanish omelette, OK.

2	13B:	=tàe	wâ	rao	rîak	>**Spanish omelette**<	ao	ma	sài
		but	that	we	call	**Spanish omelette**	take	come	put

But we call it Spanish omelette. [We] put in…

3	13A:	=okhe	ao	ma	dàtplaeng	wâ	ngán	thòe
		OK	take	come	adapt	say	that	PP

OK, [we] adapt [it], right?

4	13B:	ue	khŏng	thî	man	yù	nai	tû yen
		INTERJ	thing	that	it	be	in	fridge

Yeah, whatever's in the fridge.

5		tôm	man	pho	man	sùk	láeu	kô	ao	pai	phàt
		boil	potato	when	potato	cooked	already	then	take	go	fry

Boil the potatoes. When the potatoes are cooked, fry them.

CS in Pattern IV may be associated with a variety of functions. It may reflect speakers' lack of proficiency in the language chosen for the interaction (in which case it is often flagged with contextualisation cues such as hesitation markers and filled pauses), or it may indicate certain communicative intentions such as reiteration, topic marker and textual coherence. These are likely to be the functions of CS in Example 4.14, since the English switch *Spanish omelette* is repeated twice (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Angermeyer, 2002; Tanskanen, 2006).

Pattern IV is the only sequential pattern that is linked to speakers' social and cultural knowledge in Auer (1998). This may be because CS at the lexical or phrasal levels tends to have high semantic specificity, that is, intimate relation with the culture with which the language of switching is associated (Backus, 2001; Ben-Rafael, 2001; Myers-Scotton, 2005; Altarriba and Basnight-Brown, 2009; Bhatt and Bolonyai, 2011). This has also been illustrated in Example 4.9.

Auer's (1995) sequential CS patterns have been discussed, adopted and replicated in many studies over the past decades. However, there has been very little effort to improve them. The patterns remain a product of the time of their formulation, while the world is

witnessing the emergence of new language contact situations and new use of CS on a daily basis (Bassiouney, 2006). Some revision of Auer's (1995) sequential patterns is thus required, not only to make sure that they are applicable to a wider range of language pairs, but also to extend its capacity to explain CS in modern-day multilingual settings and CS of first-generation immigrants which remain under-researched. To do so, I argue that researchers should view Auer's (1995) sequential CS patterns as flexible guidelines from which they can generate their own sequential patterns that best describe their CS data. To take Auer's (1995) CS patterns as a fixed, rigid set of patterns would sharply contradict the "bottom-up" nature of CA and would only re-introduce the classificatory system that Auer (1984) warns against. In this chapter, I intend to show that Auer's (1995) sequential CS patterns can be further developed to identify new sequential CS patterns that so far have been neglected, and to effectively identify the functions that are associated with new patterns. Special attention is given to Pattern IV (…A1 B1 A1…) since it represents the majority of CS found in my data.

In this investigation, two limitations of Auer's (1995) CS patterns can be identified: its omission of a third speaker and its representation of insertional CS (Pattern IV) as a random insertion. First of all, Auer (1995, p.125) claims that Patterns Ia (… A1 A2 A1 A2 // B1 B2 B1 B2 …) and Ib (… A1 A2 A1 A2 A1 // B1 B2 B1 B2 …) are associated with "change of topic [and] participant constellation", i.e. change in speaker configuration. However, both patterns acknowledge only two speakers (1 and 2). Thus, I would argue that while they can no doubt represent CS that is caused by topic change, they are inadequate to represent CS that is triggered by change in speaker configuration, such as when the conversation is interrupted by a third speaker. Drawing from my Thai-English CS data, I will show that Auer's (1995) Patterns Ia and Ib can be made more specific to CS that is caused by the third speaker through the addition of the number 3 (to be discussed in Section 4.4).

The second limitation of Auer's (1995) sequential patterns lies specifically within his Pattern IV (… A1 [B1] A1 …). While this pattern is broad enough to accommodate insertional CS in my data, the way it is presented implies that insertional CS is a simple embedment that is independent of other lexical items in interaction, which is often not the case. It has been demonstrated in Ben-Rafael (2001) and Angermeyer (2002) that insertional CS may form relationships with the surrounding texts and conversational structures in a way similar to that of between-turn, inter-sentential CS, and that its functions/meanings can be analysed in terms of the conversational sequence, rather than just accompanying contextualisation cues or social implications (Gumperz, 1982). An excerpt from Angermeyer (2002, p. 375; amended for exemplification purpose) illustrates this point:

Example 4.15
Mother (a native speaker of German) is talking about employee loyalty.

1   Mother: Das war furchtbar weil—Und den Eltern beibringen, daß—daß man auch, weißt du…
'That was awful because—And to teach the parents that—that one has To—you know'

2   **the idea of a commitment, that you say "I go and I…I…I—I stick it out for a year."**

3   (Und danach geh ich weg,) Das gibt etwa in—
'And then I go away. That exists in—'

4   Und es ist halt auch 'ne Sache, die immer schwächer wird.
'It's just one of those things that get weaker and weaker.'

5   Das merkst ja auch, wenn du dir überlegst mit Arbeitsplätzen und allem.
'You notice that too, if you think about jobs and all.'

6   Da ist kein **commitment** von 'ner **company** mehr da.
*'There is no **commitment** from a **company** anymore.'*

7   Daß die sagen "okay wir sind **your**—
*'That they say "okay, we are **your**—'*

8   Ja, ich verlang daß du **loyal** bist, aber ich bin's nicht."
*'Yes, I demand that you are **loyal**, but I'm not [loyal] ".'*

In the excerpt above, several contextualisation cues clearly inform us the functions of certain CS instances: the quotative markers in line 2 (*you say*) and line 7 (*die sagen*) inform us that the English switches they precede function as quotations. However, closer examination reveals that some of the switches are connected across the turns, and need to be analysed in relation to previous utterances to be purposeful. According to Angermeyer (2002), the switch *loyal* in line 8 forms a link with the switch *commitment* in lines 2 and 6, and *stick it out* in line 2 in that they are collocations, i.e. words that are different in form but are related in certain respects in terms of meanings (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Tanskanen, 2006). According to Angermeyer (2002), it is this link that establishes the topic of ongoing talk and allows Mother to contrast her attitude towards employee loyalty with that of the company more clearly, especially when her attitude is expressed in English, and the company's largely in German.

The discussion above shows that insertional CS is too intricate to be described adequately by Auer's (1995) Pattern IV. I would argue that this pattern is best viewed as the general pattern of insertional CS, which may be distinguished into sub-patterns on the basis of

the sequential position of insertional CS in interaction and its relationship with surrounding texts and conversational structures. While these relationships and their importance in the interpretation of insertional CS are acknowledged in some previous studies (e.g. Auer, 1998; Ben-Rafael, 2001; Angermeyer, 2002; Berk-Seligson, 2011; Myslín and Levy, 2015; Harjunpää and Mäkilähde, 2016), they have not been systematically represented as sequential CS patterns. As a result, they remain largely descriptive and difficult to compare and generalise across studies. In this study, the relationships between insertional CS and surrounding texts and conversational sequences are clearly represented in each insertional CS pattern through systematic transcription conventions developed from Jefferson (2004).

To summarise, in order to identify sequential patterns and functions of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS, I primarily adopted CA due to its systematic and objective methods of analysis, and complemented it with certain IS principles that acknowledge social values associated with CS. This combination of CA and IS has previously been adopted in Ihemere (2006), Chen (2007), Casas (2008) and Bani-Shoraka (2009). However, my study differs from these studies in two respects. First, it aims to identify sequential CS patterns and their functions that have been neglected in the literature on first-generation immigrant CS. Second, it focuses on the orderliness of insertional CS in relation to conversational structures – an area that has not received the attention it deserves.

4.4 Sequential patterns and functions of first-generation Thai immigrant code-switching

This section sets out to introduce the sequential patterns and functions of first-generation Thai immigrant CS in my data. On the basis of Auer's (1995) sequential analytical framework, I distinguished patterns of Thai-English CS in my data into two main patterns, Pattern A and B:

Pattern A: … T1 T2 // E3 E1/2 E3 E1/2 …

Pattern B: … T1 [E1] T1 …

Each of the patterns presented above arose in different situations. Pattern A only occurred when the informants were interrupted by an unexpected third speaker, while Pattern B was reserved exclusively for the informants' intragroup interaction. It is Pattern B that represents insertional CS and marks the characteristic of first-generation Thai immigrant CS. The fundamental points are as follows: numbers 1, 2 and 3 in each pattern represent each

individual speaker. The letter T and E represent a Thai and English item, respectively. The letter E is placed within square brackets ([E]) to indicate that it is an insertion into the stream of a Thai utterance. A single slash (/) between 1 and 2 indicates that either Speaker 1 or 2 may be the speaker of the turn, while double slashes (//) identify the point where switching occurs, either between turns or within a single turn. The unit of speaking represented via the letters T and [E] may vary from a single word to a whole sentence. I also extend Jefferson's (2004) transcription convention system so that I can more clearly represent each CS pattern in my data (e.g. faded T1, copyright sign ©, leftward arrow ←). The meaning of these special symbols is specific to the pattern in which they appear and the function with which they are associated. They will be explained as they become relevant. For the data transcription methods used in this study, see Chapter 2, Section 2.8.1. For transcription conventions and list of abbreviations, see pages xi to xv.

Although the analysis in this chapter is primarily qualitative, it is complemented by a quantitative analysis where possible. The quantitative analysis plays an important role in this chapter because it confirms that each CS pattern is used on a regular basis as part of the informants' linguistic repertoire and is not a random phenomenon (Shegloff, 1993).

4.5 Code-switching in Pattern A

… T1 T2 // E3 E1/2 E3 E1/2 …

Although attempts were made to elicit dyadic interaction between only first-generation immigrants in each audio recording session, some conversations were briefly interrupted by an unexpected third speaker who is not part of the informants' first-generation immigrant network, i.e. second-generation immigrants and native speakers of English, to whom I henceforth refer as outsiders. This gave rise to CS in Pattern A. It represents an inter-sentential, between-turn CS that the informants reserved especially for an interaction with an outsider. This pattern is similar to Auer's (1995) Pattern Ia (… A1 A2 A1 A2 // B1 B2 B1 B2 …). However, as mentioned in the previous section, while the presence of the third speaker is not clearly represented in Auer's (1995) Pattern Ia, it is made explicit in my Pattern A with the number 3. In Pattern A shown above, T1 T2 represent how Thai is the established language between the two speakers. The double slashes (//) then mark the point where an outsider (3) interrupts in English (E). Note that E is not placed in square brackets in Pattern A because it does not represent an insertion but utterances that lead to a change in language of interaction. Due to the change in configuration of the speakers, Speakers 1 and 2 both switch

into English (E1/2). This immediate acceptance of a new language of interaction is what Auer (1995) and Gafaranga (2009) call implicit language negotiation. That is, no negotiation period can be witnessed at the discourse level. This may be evident theough explicit question such as *what language should we speak?*, as occurred in Conversation 10 in my data. Rather, the process of language choice negotiation is implicitly agreed by both speakers. Note that I do not intend to reject Auer's (1995) Pattern Ia entirely. My argument is that his Pattern Ia can represent only CS that is motivated by change in topic and setting, but not change in configuration of speakers, which is more accurately represented through my Pattern A.

Pattern A is associated with two main functions: addressee accommodation and conversational halt. While the former has been reported in a large number of studies (e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993c; Li, 1994; Auer, 1995; Suraratdecha, 2005; de Fina, 2007; Shim, 2014), the latter function is characteristic to CS in my data.

The function of addressee accommodation or specification emerges when an outsider with a different linguistic background interrupts the ongoing interaction, or when the informants wish to momentarily specify a particular outsider as the recipient of their utterances. This is illustrated in Example 4.16.

Example 4.16
Speakers 17A and 17B are talking about their favourite TV dramas when Speaker 17A's English husband, Jack, interrupts them. *Yà Luem Chăn* (*Forget Me Not*) is a Thai drama that was very popular around the time of data collection.

1	17A:	↑uí	la-khon	năng	duaî		
		INTERJ	TV drama	film	too		
		Ooh, TV dramas and films, too.					

2	17B:	oe	oe				
		INTERJ	INTERJ				
		Yeah, yeah.					

3	17A:	hŏ:i	ton	ní	kamlang	b(h)â (hahaha)	
		INTERJ	period	this	AUX	crazy	
		Oh, right now I'm crazy [about]					

4		'Y(h)À	L(h)UEM	CH(h)ĂN'	·h	'yà-	
		don't	forget	I		don't	
		'Ya Luem Chan' [= Forget Me Not]. 'Ya-					

5		yà	l(h)uem	ch(h)ăn	(haha) (.)	há?	
		don't	forget	I		INTERJ	
		Luem Chan'. Huh?					

6	Jack:	°**What are you doing?**°					

| 7 | 17A: | **Just gotta wait** (.) ah |

| 8 | 17B: | **They just** (.) **do the** (.) **thing** (.) uh= |

| 9 | 17A: | =**We have to sit and talk**. |

| 10 | 17B: | Mm. |

| 11 | 17A: | ↑**Forty five minute, dar↑ling**.=   ↑eh! |

| 12 | 17B: | = hahaha |

13   17B:
| dir<u>ty</u> (.) | maî | yàk | chà | dà | ná | nîa |
| dirty | not | want | will | reprimand | PP | PP |

Dirty! Don't make me tell [you/him] off.

14   17B:
| Mm (.) | năi | à | nî | hŭa | khô | ní |
| INTERJ | where | PP | here | topic | | this |

Mm. Where were we? Well, this topic

15
| khui | săm | wan | mâi | chòp | ná | nîa |
| talk | three | day | not | finish | PP | PP |

can get [us] talking for over three days.

Here, CS is used as a tool to accommodate Jack, an English speaker, and to specify Jack as the recipient of Speaker 17A's utterance "*Just gotta wait (.) ah*", line 7. In lines 1 to 5, Thai is firmly established as the base language for both Speakers 17A and 17B. However, Jack's appearance in line 6 causes a change in the conversational group. As a result, Speaker 17A and Speaker 17B both switch into English to accommodate him. Speaker 17A's use of English in line 7 marks the switching point where the new language of interaction is introduced. This new choice of language signals that the conversation now includes not only the two speakers but also Jack, and that their utterances are now also available for him to process. After a short verbal exchange in English with Jack in lines 6 to 11, Speaker 17A switches back into Thai again in line 13. It is possible that she does so to exclude Jack from further interaction, signalling that she now wishes to continue talking to Speaker 17B. The hint is taken by Speaker 17B as she also switches back into Thai in line 14. Or it may be that Jack has simply left the recording environment, and thus Speakers 17A and 17B no longer need to accommodate him, hence their switching back into Thai.

More importantly, the switching into English between lines 6 and 11 can be said to put the conversation between Speakers 17A and 17B on hold while the speakers temporarily talk to Jack. I refer to this function as conversational halt. At the point of Jack's interruption (line

6), a new topic (activity that Speakers 17A and 17B are doing) is introduced. While Speakers 17A and 17B agree to shift to this new topic and engage in the conversation with Jack, they do not completely abandon their own discussion about the Thai drama, but rather leave it paused in the background with the intention to return to it. This is evident in line 14 where Speaker 17B almost immediately resumes the topic previously being discussed after the interruption is over. This function is characteristic of Pattern A in the context of my study because the informants were instructed from the outset not to invite or allow anyone to join their conversation.

Similarly, Example 4.17 demonstrates a case in which Speaker 3A switches from Thai into English to get the attention of her English-dominant son, and by doing so pauses her conversation with Speaker 3B.

Example 4.17
Speaker 3A is telling Speaker 3B about her first few years of marriage when she and her husband clearly specified chore responsibilities. Joe, Speaker 3A's English-dominant son is in the next room.

1 3B: ŏ: lâek   kan
        INTERJ   trade   together
        Oh, exchanging [responsibilities].

2 3A: lâek   kan   ue:m (.)   kháo kô   chà   pen   bàep ní
        trade   together INTERJ   he   then will   be   like this
        Exchanging [responsibilities], yeah. He's like that

3   phró   wâ (.) ton-   ton   tàeng kan   ma   râek   râek   à-   Joe
        because that   when   when   marry together come first first PP   Joe
        because, when- when I first married him- Joe?

4 Joe: **Yeah**?

5 3A: ((slightly louder)) **Can you turn the heat on? Just press, er, plus one, please**.

6   oe   phût thŭeng năi   ná
        INTERJ   speak reach where PP
        Er, where were we?

7 3B: oe: luem   pai   loei   (hahahaha)   ahăn
        INTERJ   forget go   pass   food
        Oh, [I] forgot. Food?

8 3A: o: ôe   kô   mŭean ton   tàeng-ngan râek   râek
        INTERJ INTERJ CONJ like moment marry   first first
        Oh, oh, [it's] like when [we] first married.

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It is clear that the agreed language choice between Speaker 3A and 3B is Thai (lines 1 to 3). The interruption begins at the end of line 3 where Speaker 3A explicitly identifies her son as the next interlocutor, and fully takes place in line 5 where Speaker 3A switches into English. The fact that the English utterance in line 5 is said slightly more loudly than the utterances said to Speaker 3B also supports that Joe is the addressee, as he is in a different room from Speakers 3A and 3B. Speaker 3A's switching back into the previous language of interaction (Thai) in line 6 indicates that she has finished talking to Joe and has now identified Speaker 3B as her interlocutor again.

In Example 4.16, the conversational halt function of CS is evident in how both Speakers 17A and 17B engage in the new topic of discussion with the outsider. However, in Example 4.17, the conversational halt function is evident in Speaker 3B's silence as Speaker 3A talks to her son. The fact that Speaker 3B does not try to take the next turn not only indicates that she knows that Speaker 3A's utterance in line 5 is not for her to process, but also that she realises that her conversation with Speaker 3B is currently paused. Only when Speaker 3A switches back into Thai and tries to resume the previous topic in line 6 does Speaker 3B continue speaking.

Having demonstrated cases of between-turn, inter-sentential CS that is motivated by an outsider, I will now turn to insertional CS which characterises intra-group CS behaviours of the informants: CS in Pattern B.

4.6 Code-switching in Pattern B

… T1 [E1] T1…

Pattern B, which resembles Auer's (1995) Pattern IV (… A1 B1 A1 …), represents insertional CS in which an English item (either intra-, inter- or extra-sentential) is embedded within a Thai utterance without causing the informants to switch to English in their next turn. However, since this basic pattern for insertional CS is too broad to adequately account for insertional CS in my data, as previously argued in Section 4.2.1, and insertional CS is the dominant type of CS found in my data, I distinguished CS in Pattern B into eight new sub-patterns in a way that reflects its relationship with surrounding texts as clearly as possible.

4.6.1 *Pattern B1*

… T1 "[E1]" T1 …

CS in Pattern B1 occurred when the informants reported an English utterance from a past event or an imaginary discussion. As illustrated below, an English switch may be preceded or followed (indicated by a curved double arrow) by explicit quotative markers.

Thai item / Thai quotative marker + English item / Thai item

    T1   T1   "[E1]"   T1
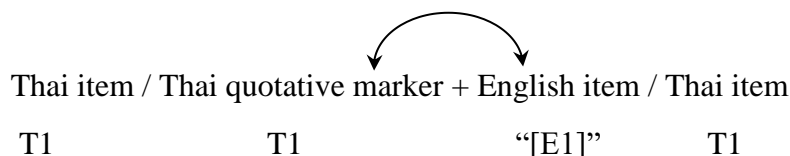
In my data, English quotations were marked by the Thai quotative markers *bòk wâ/phût wâ* (English*: say that*), *bòk/phût* (English*: say*), *wâ* (English*: that*), *thăm* (English*: ask*), *kô* (English*: then*), *sŏn wâ* (English*: teach that*), *bàep* (English*: like*) and *ma* (English*: come*). In Pattern B1, the reported English item, which may be at the intra-, inter-, or extra-sentential level, is represented as "[E1]" . However, CS in Pattern B1 is not always explicitly flagged with Thai quotative marker, but by prosodic cues such as higher/lower pitch, loudness, rhythm of talk, as well as the context of the interaction and the sequences of the utterances (Tagliamonte, 2012).

The function that is most commonly associatd with CS used in this way is *quotation* (Gumperz, 1982). It has been reported numerous times in the literature, and thus now considered rather unsurprising. Basically, CS as quotation points to "the 'real' language spoken by its 'real' speaker in a different context" (Chan, 2004, p.15), or their expected language choice in cases of imaginary conversations). This is demonstrated in Example 4.18. Thai quotative marker is marked with double underline.

Example 4.18
Speaker 4B quotes her English husband's views on her behaviour toward her mother.

1	4B:	faen	mâe	loei	<u>wâ</u>	châo-	châo-	**you spoil your mum**
		husband	mum	then	<u>say</u>	you	you	**you spoil your mum**

*My husband then <u>said</u> "you- you- **you spoil your mum**."*

2		sàdaeng	wâ	lao	wâ	khoî	tamchai	mâe	yù
		show	that	he	criticise	I	spoil	mother	still

[This] means that he criticised me that I spoiled my mum

3		bò	sao	maâe	kà	leoi	pen	nísăi	chang	sî
		no	stop	mother	then	PP	be	habit	like	this

all the time, so she behaved like this.

The quotative marker *wâ* (English*: say/speak*) preceding the inter-sentential switch clearly indicates that *you spoil your mum* in line 1 is a quotation. The interesting aspect of Example 4.18 is Speaker 4B's self-correction in line 1. After the quotative marker *wâ*, Speaker 4B starts quoting her English husband in Thai: *châo- châo-* (English: *you- you-*). However, instead of completing the reported speech in Thai, Speaker 4B stops and switches into the English utterance *you spoil your mum*. As the switch is preceded by the repetition of *châo* (English*: you*), which seems to indicate word recall difficulty, one may argue that the switching occurred because Speaker 4B does not know the Thai equivalent of the word *spoil* and thus, decides to resort to English as lexical gap filler (Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1992b; Nishimura, 1995b; Bullock and Toribio, 2009). However, this explanation does not hold in the case, as it is immediately clear in line 2 that Speaker 4B knows the Thai equivalent of the English word *spoil*: *tamjai*. Thus, it is likely that the self-initiated repair of Speaker 4B in line 1 is her attempt to use the language that corresponds to the original speaker's language choice when quoting him. Here, CS indexes the original language used by the original speaker.

While I acknowledge the basic quotative function of CS, as I have shown in the discussion above, I would argue that CS as quotation plays a much more significant role in ongoing talk other than just to quote a certain speaker. When the informants performed CS as quotation, they also *added details and vividness to a narrative*. In other words, CS as quotation is a narrative tool with which one can create "good stories, gripping drama, believable (though not necessarily 'true') historical accounts" (Bruner, 1986, p.13), making the narrative more flavourful. It also "[makes] events from other contexts 'come to life'" (Hauser, 2015, p. 871). Consider Example 4.19.

Example 4.19.
Speaker 2B talks about her argument with a South Asian-British taxi driver who expressed his discontent about living in the UK.

1	2B:	tàe-	tàe (.)	nó		kô	wâ	ma	yù	thî	nî
		but	but	INTERJ		then	think	come	stay	place	this

But- but [I] think that coming to live here,

2		rao	kô	tông	khaoróp-		khaoróp
		we	then	must	respect		respect

we must respect- respect

3	bân	mueang	khŏng		khăo	thâ	↑mâi	yindee
	home	city	of		they	if	not	willing to

their country. If [you're] not willing to

4	kô	klàp	pai	dí	phût	thŭeng
	then	return	go	PP	speak	to

then just go back. [I'm] just saying.

5	mŭean	yù	bon	taxi	à (.)	**I hate it here**.
	like	be	on	taxi	PP	**I hate it here**.

Like in the taxi, "I hate it here,

6	°**I don't like it here. I don't want to stay here**.°	↑áw !
	I don't like it here. I don't want to stay here.	INTERJ

I don't like it here. I don't want to stay here." Oh!

7	mai	tông	**stay here**	lá	↑kô	klàp	<u>bân</u>	mueng
	why	must	**stay here**	PP	then	return	home	you

*why must [you] **stay here**? Just go back to your country.*

8	pai	↑dí	yù	thammai	là
	go	PP	stay	why	PP

Why are [you] staying?

According to Speaker 2B, her entire conversation with the taxi driver was in English. By switching into English when quoting the taxi driver, she makes apparent that the utterances are not hers but those of the taxi driver. Therefore, the most basic function of CS in Example 4.19 is to report the language choice of the taxi driver. However, a closer examination revealed that Speaker 2B's CS may also serves other functions beyond simple quotation. Speaker 2B's use of Thai to express her own words, and English to express the taxi driver's words signals a change in speakership. Consequently, the two-party interaction between Speaker 2B and the taxi driver becomes more clearly illustrated, and thus the narrative becomes more alive. This is further enhanced through Speaker 2B's consistent use of Thai to express her positive attitude towards living in the UK (lines 1 to 4) and English to express the taxi driver's negative attitude (lines 5 and 6). By doing so, Speaker 2B strategically assigns different attitudes towards living in the UK to different parties in the narrative, as well as disclaims the negative attitude implied within the quoted English utterances.

How CS as quotation enhances a narrative is further illustrated in Example 4.20. Here, not only CS distinguishes different speakers in the narrative and identifies their language choice, it also creates new characters, or voices, that represent certain social communities

with which the switching language is associated. This type of quotation was probably first brought to light by Rampton (1995, 1998, 1999a, 199b, 2009, 2013) through his notions of language crossing and stylisation. Language crossing and stylisation occur when speakers adopt a language, and often phonological features and prosodic features such as change of stress, rhythm and tone, which are associated with a social group of which they are not members (Cutler, 1999; Bailey, 2000; Quist and Jørgensen, 2007; Chun, 2009; Rampton, 2013; Furukawa, 2015). For example, in Quist and Jørgensen (2007, p. 383), a white Danish teenage speaker is reported to have produced the Arabic switch *wallah* (English: *I swear*) and marked it with a change of intonation to mimic his friend from an ethnic minority background, and by doing so creating the character of "a foreigner who speaks a non-native variety of Danish". Similarly, in my data, the informants perform CS in Pattern B1 to imitate speakers of English in a way that invokes cultural values and stereotypical images associated with the English language and people being mimicked. Drawing on the notion of language crossing and stylisation in Rampton (1995, 1999a, 199b, 2009, 2013), I refer to this type of quotation as *stylised quotation*.

> Example 4.20
> Speakers 8A and 8B are talking about how the manners of English people are different from their expectations.

1   8B: ma   yù   mueang   phûdi=
                  come live   city   aristocrat
                  Living in the country of aristocrats (= England)…

2   8A: = ((gentle tone)) **Excuse me, plea::se** /ɪkskʰɪʊ mi, pʰli::s/
                            Excuse me, please
        Excuse me, please,

3   [mâen   ] bò   la   oe
            correct   PP   PP   INTERJ
            right?

4   8B: [ahahahaha]   bò   khoei dâi
                                      no   ever   get
            [I've] never

5   yin   chàk   thûea kham wâ (.) **excuse me**   chàk   thûea
            hear   even   once   word that   **excuse me**   even   once
            *heard the word **excuse me** even once, not once.*

6   8A: (huhuhahahaha)

| 7 | 8B: | (hhhh) | **sir** | kô | bò | ↑mi | chàk | thûea |
| | | | **sir** | also | no | have | even | once |

*Not even once of **sir**.*

| 8 | 8A: | (hahahahaha) | nai | năng- | bò | khue | nai | năng | mâen | bò= |
| | | | in | movie | not | like | in | movie | correct | PP |

In the movies- [it's] not like in the movies, right?

| 9 | 8B: | =bò | khue | năng | nai | năng | nîa |
| | | not | like | movies | in | movies | PP |

[It's] not like in the movies. In the movies,

| 10 | | ((slightly high-pitched)) ↑**Thank you, si:r.** ↑**Welcome, si:r** |
| | | **Thank you, sir.** **Welcome, sir** |

thank you, sir. Welcome, sir.

| 11 | 8A: | áw | nân | <u>nă:ng</u> | nó: (huhahahahahaha) |
| | | INTERJ | that | movie | PP |

Well, that's movies!

| 12 | 8B: | (hhh) | bàt | nî (.) |
| | | | moment | this |

Now,

| 13 | | ((almost screaming)) >**CAN I HAVE SOUP, (.) PLEASE!**< |
| | | **CAN I HAVE SOUP, PLEASE!** |

CAN I HAVE SOUP, PLEASE!'

| 14 | 8A: | (hahahahaha) |

| 15 | 8B: | ((tense)) ↑**COME ON, man!** |
| | | **come on, man!** |

Come on, man!

| 16 | 8A: | (hahahahahaha) |

| 17 | 8B: | (hhhhehe) |

| 18 | 8A: | hi:::u (heheheh) | o:::i (hehehe) |
| | | INTERJ | INTERJ |

Wooooo. Oooooh.

| 19 | 8B: | ↑**COME ↓DOWN, ↑COME ↓DOWN!** |
| | | come down | come down |

Come down, come down!

In the example above, English switches as stylised quotations create the voices of "a polite English person" (lines 2 and 10), and "an impolite English person" (lines 13, 15 and 19). First, it is likely that Speaker 8A's production of the English politeness expression *excuse*

me, please in line 2 is motivated by the topic "living in England" proposed by Speaker 8A in line 1. The first cue that informs us that *excuse me, please* serves the function of stylised quotation is how it is spoken in gentle tone – a prosodic cue that is often related to politeness (Ohala, 1983; Bani-Shoraka, 2009). Speaker 8A's creation of a native English speaker's voice is further supported by how the switch *excuse me, please* is pronounced in a way that resembles native English speakers' pronunciation: the final /s/ of the first and last syllable of the switch can be heard. This is certainly not a Thai pronunciation because Thai has no audible release of a consonant in the final position (Tingsabad and Abramson, 1993). The final consonant release, together with the prosodic cue that implies politeness, enables Speaker 8A to play with the politeness stereotype associated with English people (Condor, 1996) and create the voice of "a polite English person" in line 2.

The voice of "a polite English person" is successfully interpreted by Speaker 8B, as evident in her laughter response in line 4. Her production of the English switches *excuse me* (line 5) and *sir* (line 7) which are both politeness expressions also correspond with Speaker 8A's *excuse me, please*. The voice of "a polite English person" is enacted again in line 10, this time by Speaker 8B who produces the English politeness markers *thank you, sir* and *welcome, sir* in an exaggerated manner, speaking at a higher pitch and elongating the word *sir* in both switches. The relationship between higher pitch and politeness is supported by studies of pitch and politeness across a number of languages, for example, Dutch (van Bezooijen, 1995), Hebrew (Blum-Kulka, 1992), Japanese (Loveday, 1981; Ofuka et al., 2000; Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith, 2004; Burdelski and Mitsuhashi, 2010) and Thai (Luksaneeyanawin, 1998; Bilmes, 2001; Smyth, 2002). The fact that Speakers 8A and 8B talk about movies in the previous turns (lines 8 and 9) may suggest that the "polite English person" being imitated is modelled on "English people in movies".

A completely different voice is created in lines 13, 15 and 19 where the English switches produced by Speaker 8B are marked with prosodic cues that are associated with aggression, vulgarity and impoliteness (Culpeper, 2005, 2011; Rampton, 2013). In line 13, the English switch *can I have soup, please?* is heavily exaggerated with a number of prosodic cues, namely, shouting, extremely high pitch and faster pace of talk, while the switches *come on, man!* in line 15, and *come down, come down!* in line 19 are exaggerated with shouting. These prosodic cues, especially shouting, may also have social class connotations, indicating the lower socio-economic status of the person being mimicked (Rampton, 2013). This way, Speaker 8B contrasts all her switches in lines 13, 15 and 19 with those in lines 2 and 10, and thus creates the voice of "an impolite (probably working-class) English person" as opposed to

that of "a polite English person". This discussion of Example 4.20 emphasises the importance of analysing insertional CS in relation to both the micro-interactional details and macro-societal contexts, as both are key to the identification and interpretation of CS in Pattern B1.

Apart from the narrative function which creates more colourful storytelling, CS as quotation also contributes to the development of talk. Closer examination of the CS instances in Example 4.20 reveals that all the voices that are created and contrasted so vividly by Speaker 8B between lines 5 and 19 are in fact set off by Speaker 8A's *excuse me, please* in line 2. In other words, we may say that Speaker 8A's CS in line 2 sets the direction in which Speaker 8B perform her CS and develops subsequent utterances, first by mimicking a "polite English person" like Speaker 8A does, then further developing her own contrastive narrative by mimicking an "impolite English person". Moreover, the way Speaker 8B's CS behaviours in Example 4.20 are guided by those of Speaker 8A is evident in how Speaker 8B's CS choices in lines 5, 7 and 10 are all politeness expressions, making them collocations of Speaker 8A's *excuse me, please* in line 2 (collocations refer to words that commonly co-occur. The notion of collocations will be explained in Section 4.6.5).

The discussion in this current section supports my argument that CS in Pattern B1does not necessarily serve to quote speech from past or imaginary events alone. It may also have a stylistic function, as well as contributes to the construction and development of talk sequences. Based on this finding, I would suggest that it is no longer adequate to view CS as quotation merely as a tool to report speech and identify language choice of a certain speaker. Focusing only this function is likely to result in over-simplified and outdated interpretation of CS as quotation. Its importance in relation to stylistic narration and talk organisation should also be considered.

Another characteristic of CS in Pattern B1 that is worthy of note is its association with inter-sentential CS. Of the 134 instances of inter-sentential CS reported in Chapter 3, 132 instances are quotations (the other two instances are reiteration). This characteristic of CS in Pattern B1 contrasts sharply with that of other sequential CS patterns identified in this study, which are largely intra-sentential (to be demonstrated in the subsequent sub-sections). This may be because inter-sentential CS allows the informants to quote the original speaker's utterance in full, and therefore can clearly re-enact the informants' past conversations in which English was the language of interaction and distinguished between the current speaker's and the original speaker's utterances (e.g. Examples 4.18 and 4.19). Intra-sentential CS, on the other hand, is less likely to achieve those effects, since it is embedded within Thai utterances and thus, the quoted utterances are less observable.

4.6.2 Pattern B2

… T1 T1 ← [E1] T1 …

CS in Pattern B2 emerged when the informants encountered a word recall problem, defined here as a situation in which the informants were temporarily unable to retrieve a Thai word and thus, switched into English as a solution. In the pattern displayed above, the faded T1 represents the Thai item that the informants were unable to recall, and ← [E] indicates that the English equivalent is used in replacement of the missing Thai item. CS in Pattern B2 is associated with the function of *L1 lexical gap filling* (Bentahila, 1983).

It has been suggested in the literature such as Pfaff (1979), Bentahila (1983), Bentahila and Davies (1983), Lipski (2005), Paradis and Nicoladis (2007) and Yule (2010) that CS with the L1 lexical gap filling function can be identified primarily by contextualisation cues such as pausing, hesitation marker or filled pause and explicit word search comments such as *what do you call it?* Pre-switch cues in particular were taken as indicators of the L1 lexical gap filling function of a switch in many previous studies, although this is not explicitly stated. Pre-switch cues are demonstrated in Example 4.21 using an excerpt from my data. They are marked with double underline.

> Example 4.21
> Speaker 17A asks Speaker 17B whether the current lodger of Speaker 17B's house signed a contract.

1	17A:	ŏ <u>(.)</u>		láeu	khăo	mi <u>(.)</u>	<u>à:</u>	<u>àrai</u>	<u>ná</u>
		INTERJ		and	he	have	FP	<u>what</u>	<u>PP</u>
		Oh, and does he have - <u>*ah,*</u> <u>*what is it*</u>*?*							

2		<u>khăo</u>	<u>rîak</u>	<u>àrai</u>	**contract**	mái		là	wâ
		<u>they</u>	<u>call</u>	<u>what</u>	**contract**	PP		PP	that
		<u>*What do they call it?*</u> *- a **contract**?[One] that [says]*							

3		nân	kì		pi
		that	how many		year
		that [=renting] for how many years?			

In the example, several flags can be seen preceding the switch *contract* in Example 4.21: two short pauses which interrupt Speaker 17A's flow of speech, a filled pause *à:* and an explicit word search comment *àrai ná* (English*: What is it?*) in line 1, and another word search comment *khăo rîak àrai ná* (English*: What do they call it?*) in line 2. Since all of these cues are associated with word recall difficulty (Christenfeld at al., 1991), it seems plausible to

assume that the switch *contract* is used here as a Thai lexical gap filler. However, as mentioned in Section 4.2.1, I argue that such an account of CS as lexical gap filler is unsatisfactory. In Gafaranga (2000) and Rosignoli (2011), pre-switch hesitation markers are deemed problematic because they cannot accurately differentiate CS from established mixed code, which in turns makes it impossible to judge whether a certain lexical item serves to fill the L1 lexical gap at all. Similarly, in the context of this present study, pre-switch hesitation markers alone are inadequate as indicators of the lexical gap filler function because they cannot prove that the switched item is not the word that the speaker wishes to recall in the first place, or whether the speaker is simply experiencing tip-of-the-tongue phenomenon. In Example 4.21, it might be the case that Speaker 17A tries to recall the Thai word *sănya*, fails, and thus resorts to its English equivalent *contract* as a solution. In contrast, it is possible that the English word *contract* is what Speaker 17A tries to retrieve from the beginning. This argument can be supported by the fact that she continues talking as usual immediately after the switch without any further hesitation, which may be interpreted as her satisfaction with *contract* as the right word choice. To disperse the ambiguity such as that shown in Example 4.21, more evidence is required in the identification of CS with the L1 lexical gap filler function.

The criteria in Gafaranga (2000) and Rosignoli (2011) provide a useful starting point for my study. They suggest that repair sequences AFTER the switch such as post-switch hesitation markers, continued word search and elaboration of a switch are more important and accurate indicators of L1 lexical gap filling function than pre-switch hesitation markers. By engaging in further repair sequences, speakers make explicit that the L2 item is not the actual word they wish to recall. On the contrary, it is used only as a temporary replacement, or a "crutch" in Zentella's (1997) term, while speakers continue to attempt to recall the right L1 lexical item. This point is illustrated in an example from my data shown in Example 4.22. Post-switch repair sequence is marked with double underline.

Example 4.22
Speaker 1A talks about her co-worker's extra job.

1	1A:	khăo	bòk (.)	khâe	sì	chûamong		eng
		he	say	just	four	hour		only

He said [it's] only four hours,

2		thăeu	Stockton	nî	làe	tham	ngan	pen (.)	oe
		around	Stockton	here	PP	do	work	be	er

around Stockton. [He] works as, er,

3	**security guard**	<u>pen</u>	<u>àrai</u>	<u>òe</u>	<u>pen</u>	<u>yam</u>
	security guard	<u>be</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>FP</u>	<u>be</u>	<u>security guard</u>

security guard. <u>*What is it?, er, as a security guard*</u>.

4	phî	kô	núek	wâ	kháo	tingtóng	châi	mái	[…]
	I	then	think	that	he	mentally ill	yes	PP	

I thought he was mentally ill so… […]

In line 2, a short pause and a filled pause *oe* indicate that Speaker 1A is struggling to recall a certain word. The English switch *security guard* in line 3 seems to fit perfectly into her utterances. However, the repair sequences that occur immediately after the switch, i.e. a word search comment *pen àrai* (English: *What is it?*) and a Thai filled pause *òe* (English: *er*) in line 3 inform us that Speaker 1A does not consider *security guard* the correct word choice. Otherwise, she would have been satisfied with *security guard* in the same way that Speaker 17A is with *contract* in Example 4.21 and continues speaking as usual. Moreover, as soon as Speaker 1A recalls the Thai equivalent of *security guard* in line 3 (marked by double underline), she ends the word search and resumes her storytelling. This thus emphasises *security guard* as lexical gap filler, and identifies the Thai word *yam* as the word she tries to recall in the first place. The importance of repair sequences in the identification of the L1 lexical gap filling function is further highlighted in Example 4.23.

Example 4.23
Speaker 12A explains to Speaker 12B the purpose of a baptismal font.

1	12A:	àng	âi-	wái	wela	khon	pai	tham	**christening**
		bowl	FP	keep	time	person	go	do	**christening**

*The bowl, that-, is for people to do a **christening***.

2		àrai	à	dèk	râek	kòet	à
		what	PP	child	first	be born	PP

What is it? A new born baby.

[Speaker 12B's phone rings. She answers, quickly hangs up and returns to the conversation. One turn omitted]

3	12A:	pai	**christening**	ngai	khâo-	khâo	bòt	a
		go	**christening**	PP	enter	enter	church	PP

*[They] go and do a **christening**. [They] go- go to church.*

4		**christening**	kháo	oe:
		christening	they	INTERJ

*[They] do a **christening** [for] them [= babies], yeah.*

CS with lexical gap filling function in Example 4.23 differs from that in Example 4.22 in two respects. First, the English switch *christening* in line 1 is not preceded by any hesitation makers, meaning that the interpretation of its lexical gap filling function must be made solely on the basis of the repair sequences. Second, while Speaker 1A makes explicit the lexical gap filling function of *security guard* in Example 4.22 through post-switch word search comments and filled pause, Speaker 12A adopts a more complicated solution. Not only does she mark the switch *christening* (Thai: *phíthi sǐn chùm*) as a temporary replacement of a Thai word through a post-switch word search comment *àrai à* (English: *what is it*?) in line 2, but also by describing it with words and concepts that are associated with *christening* (i.e. *new born baby* in line 2 and *going to church* in line 3). Interestingly, despite not having found the Thai equivalent of *christening*, Speaker 12A decides to bring the sequence to a close in line 4 (indicated by the Thai interjection *oe* which is often used to mark a confirmation or conclusion in Thai language). A plausible explanation may be that the reference to *new born baby* (line 2) and *going to church* (line 3) have already conveyed much of what Speaker 12A means by *christening*, and thus it is no longer necessary for her to continue searching for the Thai equivalent, which will only further disrupt the conversation.

While I agree with Gafaranga (2000) and Rosignoli (2011) that repair sequences can mark the lexical gap filling function of CS in Pattern B2 more accurately than pre-switch hesitation markers, I doubt if they are the most accurate indicators. Drawing from my data, I argue that the most accurate indicator of the lexical gap filling function of CS is the speaker's explicit comment that they are searching specifically for an L1 lexical item. The fact that this type of evidence occurred only twice in my data does not affect its reliability since it expresses the speaker's intention in the most explicit way possible. This is shown in Example 4.24. Explicit L1 word search comment is marked with double underline.

Example 4.24
Speaker 18B talks about learning to drive.

1 18B: […]   thúk   kráng   thî (.)   rú   wâ   chà   rian   nà
every   time   that   know   that   will   learn   PP
Every time [I] knew that [I] would learn [driving],

2 mŭean **looking forward to it**   nà   mŭean   bàep   **look**- (1.9)
like **looking forward to it**   PP   like   like   **look**
like, [I'm] **looking forward to it***, like, look-*

3 °àrai   wá   phasǎ   thai°   ô-hŏ   du   sì (h.hhh)
what   PP   language   Thai   INTERJ   look   PP
<u>*what is it in Thai*</u>*? Wow, look [at me]!*

[The conversation is briefly interrupted by Speaker 18A's daughter and resumes when she leaves.]

4	18B:	OE	thî	bôk	wâ	**look forward**	nà
		INTERJ	that	say	that	**look forward**	PP

*Oh, when [I] said **look forward**,*

5		phasǎ-	phasǎ	thai	à	khue	mǔean	kàp (1.0)
		language	language	Thai	PP	well	like	with

in language-, Thai language, well, [it's] like,

6		mǔean	kàp	bàep-	yàk	tham	à	yàk-	yàk	khàp
		like	with	like	want	do	PP	want	want	drive

like, like [I] want to do. [I] want- want to drive.

7		oe	pràman	nán	[…]
		INTERJ	approximation	that	

Yeah, something like that.

The first repair sequence occurs immediately after the English switch *looking forward to it* in line 2, where Speaker 18B's struggle with Thai word recall can be clearly observed through the Thai filled pause *mǔean bàep* (English: *like*), the abrupt stops after the switch *look* (presumably part of the previously stated switch *look forward to it*), a 1.9-second-long pause, and most importantly, her explicit statement in line 3 that she is unable to recall the Thai equivalent of *looking forward to it*. Speaker 18B's determination to find the right Thai word continues into lines 5 and 6. After referring back to the English expression in need of the Thai equivalent in line 4, Speaker 18B starts her second repair sequence with the explicit L1 word search statement *phasǎ- phasǎ thai* (English: *language- Thai language*), which is then followed by multiple hesitation markers: a one-second pause, Thai filled pauses *khue* (English: *well*), *mǔean kàp* (English: *like*), *bàep* (English: *like*) and some abrupt stops. Finally, Speaker 18B manages to provide some descriptions of the English switch *looking forward to* in line 6: *yàk tham à* (English: *[I] want to do*) and *yàk- yàk khàp* (English: *[I] want- want to drive*). Although these descriptions are not the exact Thai equivalents of *look forward to it* (Thai: *tâng ta khoi*), they are deemed similar enough by Speaker 18B, who then draws an end to the search via the utterance *àrai pràman nán* (English: *something like that*) in line 7.

In this section, I have demonstrated that repair sequences, especially those that explicitly state speakers' intention to recall a word in their L1, are clearer indices of CS as lexical gap filler than pre-switch hesitation markers. However, this does not mean that I completely reject the possibility of pre-switch cues as indicators of the lexical gap filling

function of CS. My point is that caution must be exercised to avoid making inaccurate interpretation of switches such as that in Example 4.21. However, for the purpose of clear categorisation in this study, only English switches with repair sequences are considered to have the lexical gap filling function, whereas the English switches that are accompanied only by pre-switch hesitation markers is marked as having unclear functions.

4.6.3 *Pattern B3-a*   … T1 ← ©[E1] T1 …

Pattern B3-b   … T1 [E1] ← ©T1 …

The key characteristic in the two patterns displayed above is the immediate, or almost immediate, repetition of a lexical item by the same speaker, and oftentimes within the same turn. In Auer's (1995) original Pattern IV (… A1 B1 A1 …), the relationship between the repeated and repeating items is not immediately obvious. This is made clear in my Patterns B3-a and B3-b where the repetition is marked with the leftward arrow: the lexical item left of the arrow is the repeated item, while the one to the right is the repeating item (indicated by a preceding copyright sign ©). The function associated with CS in Patterns B3-a and B3-b is *emphasis* (Gumperz, 1982) or *reiteration* (Auer, 1995, 1998). Note that what is emphasised is not simply the switched item itself, but also discourse intentions underlying that particular switched item, for example, expression of preferred topic of talk (Example 4.25), identification of the key information in common ground negotiation (Examples 4.26 to 4.29) and urging response from another speaker and requesting word choice confirmation (Example 4.29). The distinctive feature of Patterns B3-a and B3-b that distinguishes them from similar types of CS in previous studies is that both patterns demonstrate that reiteration can occur bi-directionally, rather than from L1 to L2 only.

In Pattern B3-a, a Thai word is repeated with its English equivalent or synonym. Note that the majority of CS in Pattern B3-a occurred at intra-sentential level. Only one instance of inter-sentential CS (out of the total of 134 instances) occurred in this pattern. This reflects the informants' strong preference for English intra-sentential CS, which they reserve mainly for their intragroup interaction. Some examples of CS in Pattern B3-a from my data are displayed in Examples 4.25 and 4.26. The repeated word/phrase is marked with double underline.

Example 4.25
Speaker 14B talks about viewing real estate online.

1   14B: ói: <u>yàk   du   bân   yàk   du   bân</u>
            INTERJ   <u>want   look   house want   look   house</u>
            Oh, <u>[I] want to look at houses</u>. <u>[I] want to look at houses</u>.

2   ***I wanna look house.***

Example 4.26
Speaker 18A talks about taking a driving theory test.

1   18A: […] nai chûang   sòp   <u>khon   thî   khăo   khum khôsòp   à</u>
                in   period   take an exam <u>person that   he   control exam</u>   PP
            […] During the exam, the <u>examiner</u>,

2   **examiner**   nà   khăo   kô   chà   phût   khăo   kô   chà
            examiner   PP   he   then will   speak he   then will
            *the **examiner**, will speak. He will*

3   bòk   wâ   chà   tham   ngai   […]
            tell   that   will   do   how
            tell [you] how to do [things]. […]

Example 4.25 demonstrates CS in Pattern B3-a at the inter-sentential level. Prior to this CS instance, the topic that Speakers 14A and 14B are discussing is "job". The switch *I wanna look house* serves as a contextualisation cue that is used to reiterate Speaker 14B's desire to talk about a new topic: viewing real estate online. This is evident in how this pragmatic meaning has already been conveyed through the repetition of the Thai sentence *yak du bân* (English: *[I] want to look at houses*), yet Speaker 14B still employed English to repeat the exact same message. This helps further strengthen her desire to guide the direction of talk towards "real estate online" more strongly.

Example 4.26 shows CS in Pattern B3-a at the intra-sentential level. It differs from CS in Example 4.25 in that the repeated Thai item is not the exact equivalent but a synonym of the English item. However, they both serve similar emphatic function. In Example 4.26, the English switch *examiner* (line 2) serves to emphasise Speaker 18A's intention to mark *khon thî khăo khum khôsòp* as the key information in her utterance. This is further supported by the fact that *examiner* is followed by *nà*, a Thai pragmatic particle (PP) that identifies a word or message that is the key points of talk in monolingual Thai interaction (Higbie and Thinsan, 2002) (Thai PP system will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5). Another possible function of the English switch in this example is to ensure that another speaker understands what she

means by *khon thî khǎo khum khôsòp* by providing extra information in English. However, due to the lack of further evidence, this interpretation is only tentative.

I now turn to CS in Pattern B3-b. This pattern represents cases where an English switch is repeated by its Thai equivalent or synonym. It gives rise to an emphatic effect similar to that of CS in Pattern B3-a, and occurred largely at the intra-sentential level. Examples of CS in Pattern B3-b from my data are shown in Examples 4.27 and 4.28.

Example 4.27
Speakers 15A, who is pregnant, and 15B are planning summer holiday.

| 1 | 15A: | oe | tàe | ton | nán | rao | khlôt | | láeu |
| | | INTERJ | but | period | that | I | give birth | | already |

Oh, but I will have given birth by then,

| 2 | | (1.0) | [°mâi | pen | rai° |] |
| | | | no | be | thing |

that's fine.

| 3 | 15B: | [mâi | summer |] | [15A] | yang | mâi | khlôt | nî |
| | | DM | summer | | [15A] | yet | no | give birth | PP |

But you're not due in summer, are you?

| 4 | 15A: | khlôt | **July** | kàrákkàda |
| | | give birth | **July** | July |

*[I'll] be due to give birth in **July**, July.*

Example 4.28
Speakers 15A and 15B talk about having a conservatory built in their garden.

| 1 | 15A: | ô | tông | mi | bai | ànúyât | dûai | chà | tham | nà |
| | | INTERJ | must | have | sheet | permit | too | will | do | PP |

Oh, [you] must have a permit document [if you] are doing [that] [= having a conservatory built]

| 2 | 15B: | ǒ: | | bai | ànúyât | chàk | khrai |
| | | INTERJ | | sheet | permit | from | who |

What? Permit document from who?

| 3 | 15A: | **council** (.) | thêtsàban |
| | | **council** | council |

*The **council**, council.*

Example 4.27 demonstrates the use of CS as emphasis to identify a piece of information that is of great importance to the process of common ground establishment between Speakers 15A and 15B. In line 1, Speaker 15A mentions that she will have already given birth by the time summer holiday takes place. How Speaker 15B contradicts this

information with her own understanding in line 2 suggests that the common ground between the two speakers need to be re-established, as they do not seem to share the same information about Speaker 15A's due date. Consequently, Speaker 15A, who is pregnant and presumably has better knowledge of her expected due date than Speaker 15B does, explicitly states the month in which she expects to give birth in line 3, in both Thai and English. Here, the repetition of the English switch *July* with its Thai equivalent *kàrákkàda* marks the month as the information that Speaker 15B needs to notice and take in for common ground to be successfully established.

Example 4.28 also demonstrates how CS as emphasis is employed to mark the process of common ground negotiation. It is obvious in line 2 that Speaker 15B does not know that to have a conservatory built on one's own property, one must first seek permission from his/her city council. As a result, she requests further information from Speaker 15A as part of common ground re-establishment. Speaker 15A then provides the answer in line 3, then repeats it with its Thai equivalent *thêtsàban*. This is probably to emphasise *council* as the information requested by Speaker 15B in the previous turn, and to mark it as the key information in common ground establishment.

What I have shown in the analysis of Example 4.25 to 4.28 is how Patterns B3-a and B3-b need not be interpreted solely in terms of contextualisation cues. Rather, they may be interpreted in the context of conversational structure over multiple turns. This aligns with the argument advanced in Harjunpää and Mäkilähde (2016) that CS as reiteration should be explained in terms of resources in the sequential organisation and not simply just a contextualisation cue. The important role of CS as emphasis, both Patterns B3-a and B3-b, in the sequential organisation of talk is further illustrated more clearly in Example 4.29.

Example 4.29
Speaker 2A talks about her English husband who insisted on eating dinner outside the house during the summer.

1	2A:	rao	mâi	kin	dĭeau	ní	kháo	tông	kin	khâo
		I	not	eat	moment	this	he	must	eat	rice

I don't eat. These days he [=2A's husband] must eat

2		tro:ng	àrai	ná
		on	what	PP

on, what?

3	2B:	trong	wela	[rŏe
		on	time	PP

On time?

4	2A:	[thǎeu bân kháo rîak àrai makanî rǒe
		around house they call what makanî PP
		What do they call it around here? Makani?

(1.0)

5	2B:	lâo rǒ?
		liquor PP
		Liquor?

6	2A:	kin <u>khâo</u> nôk <u>bân</u> phró man rón ngai
		eat rice outside house because it hot PP
		Eating, outside the house, because it's hot.

7	2B:	ǒ:: <u>khâng nôk bân</u> **balcony**
		INTERJ <u>side out house</u> **balcony**
		*Oh, <u>[the place] outside the house</u>, a **balcony**.*

8	2A:	[laughter]

9	2B:	**balcony** âi <u>chan</u> khâng nôk à ná
		balcony PREF <u>terrace</u> side out PP PP
		***Balcony**, <u>a terrace</u> outside the house?*

10	2A:	oe romantic romantic
		INTERJ romantic romantic
		Yeah, romantic, romantic.

Example 4.29 consists of CS in both Patterns B3-a (line 7) and B3-b (line 9). While the cross-language repetitions may indicate the emphatic function of CS in lines 7 and 9, they do not clarify why Speaker 2B needs to adopt CS with the emphatic function. To explain this, we must return to the beginning of the present example. First, a word search comment in lines 2 suggests that Speaker 2A is facing word recall problem. This is realised by Speaker 2B, who begins to help by proposing a word that she thinks Speaker 2A is trying to retrieve. However, this is not successful, as evident in how Speaker 2A proceeds to search for the right word in line 4. This time, she tries, unsuccessfully, to produce the word herself, resulting in a nonsensical word *makanî* which is neither Thai nor English. Together with another unsuccessful attempt of Speaker 2B to help fill Speaker 2A's lexical gap in line 5 and Speaker 2A's further clarification of the missing word in line 6, we may say that the exchange so far indicates the process of word choice negotiation between the two speakers as a result of common ground breakdown.

Finally, after Speaker 2A provides further clarification of *makanî*, Speaker 2B realises what Speaker 2A tries to convey (line 7), as indicated by the elongated Thai interjection *ǒ::*

which functions similarly to *I see* in English. In line 7, Speaker 2B then proposes the concept *khâng nôk bân* (English: *[the place] outside the house*), and reiterates it with the English word *balcony* (Pattern B3-a). At this point, it becomes clearer that Speaker 2A's nonsensical word *makanî* may be her failed attempt to code-switch, as *makanî* is more phonetically similar to balcony than the Thai equivalent *rábiang*. However, *balcony* is not received with any relevant feedback from Speaker 2A (line 8). This lack of feedback leads Speaker 2B to repeat her suggestion again in line 9. However, this time she produces the English switch *balcony* first, followed by its Thai equivalent *chan* (Pattern B3-b). These two instances of CS as emphasis are of great importance due to their roles in the sequential development of talk. Not only they emphasise Speaker 2B's intention to help fill lexical gap, but also they are part of word choice negotiation that is crucial for the establishment of common ground. Moreover, they serve to urge Speaker 2A to respond whether *balcony* is the right word so that the conversation can move forward. The overall process of lexical gap filling and common ground re-establishment come to an end in line 10 where Speaker 2A finally accepts Speaker 2B's word suggestion with an affirmative marker *oe* (English: *yeah*).

To summarise, CS instances in lines 7 and 9 of Example 4.29 are part of the larger process of word recall. Their functions in the context of conversational structures include: 1) common ground re-establishment; 2) word choice negotiation, and; 3) request for sequential feedback information. Analysis such as this is important because it allows the researcher to understand the role of insertional CS not only within the turn it occurs, but also in the context of conversational sequence.

4.6.4 *Pattern B4-a*   ... T1 [E1] T1 [...] T1 ©[E1] T1 ...

Pattern B4-b   ... T1 [E1] T1 [...] T2 ©[E2] T2 ...
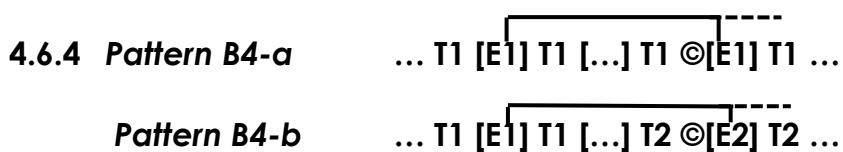
CS in Patterns B4-a and B4-b emerge when an English switch is repeated (indicated by a copyright sign © preceding the switch), either within the same turn or across a number of turns (represented by the ellipsis points in square brackets). Pattern B4-a represents intra-speaker repetition, while Pattern B4-b represents inter-speaker repetition, that is, a certain English switch is first used by Speaker A, and is later copied by Speaker B. The relationship between each English switch is marked with a connector line, while the dashed line (---) indicates the possibility of further repetition of the same English switch in future turns.

CS in Pattern B4-a has been reported to serve the reiteration function, while CS in Pattern B4-b is associated with multiple functions, for example, reiteration, topic marker and other functions of convenience that reduce the speaker's effort to express agreement, approve word choice, express attentiveness, comprehend the ongoing talk. Since these functions have been amply discussed in previous studies, for example, Zentella (1997), Auer (1998) and Bailey (2000), I will discuss them only briefly. More space will be devoted to the function of lexical cohesion (Angermeyer, 2002), which has received much less attention and remains largely unexplored.

Consider Example 4.30 which demonstrates how CS in Pattern B4-a is used for the emphatic function. Here, the English switch *hygiene* is repeated by the same informant.

Example 4.30
Speaker 12A and 12B are talking about UK food safety regulations.

1   12B: […] khâo   nî   hŭng   wan   diao   kô   tông   kin
                      rice   this   cook   day   one   CONJ must   eat
[…] Rice must be eaten on the same day it's cooked.

2   12A: thî-   thî   nî   kháo   **hygiene**   ngai
                  here   here   this   they   **hygiene**   PP
*Here- here they [= English people] are **hygienic**.*

3   12B: hă
                  INTERJ
Huh?

4   12A: kháo   **hygiene**   ngai   thî   nîa   angkrìt   nîa
                  they   **hygiene**   PP   here   this   England   this
*They are **hygienic**. Here, in England,*

5   kháo   **hygiene**
                  they   **hygiene**
*they are **hygienic**.*

6   12B: ue: khâo nî   hŭng   koen   wan   nueng   thoe   yà   kin   ná
                  INTERJ rice   this cook   over   day   one   you   do not eat   PP
Yeah, you must not eat cooked rice that is older than one day.

7   man   mi   bàekthiria
             it   have   bacteria
It has bacteria.

While talking about food safety, Speaker 12A mentions the English word *hygiene* in line 2. Note that the English noun *hygiene* is this example functions as an adjective to describe English people's stereotypical hygienic habits. The conversation stalls momentarily in line 3

with Speaker 12B's Thai interjection *hǎ* (English: *huh?*), which not only indicates that she is unsure of what Speaker 12A says but also functions as a request for clarification. This leads Speaker 12A to repeat the switch *hygiene*, not only once but twice in lines 4 and 5, giving rise to CS in Pattern B4-a. Its functions are twofold: first, to emphasise that *hygiene* is what she has just said; and second, to make sure that Speaker 12B catches it this time. Her emphatic attempt is successful, as evident in line 7 where Speaker 12B responds with the Thai interjection *ue* (English: *yeah*), which indicates agreement and acceptance (Higbie and Thinsan, 2002), and she then proceeds to talk further about food safety in continuation from line 1. In short, CS in Pattern B4-a between lines 2 and 5 in Example 4.30 is key to the successful development of talk. Had Speaker 12A not confirmed with Speaker 12B that *hygiene* is the word she said, Speaker 12B's confusion might still remain and lead to further disruption of interaction (e.g. Speaker 12B may ask for further clarification) or even interactional breakdown.

More extensive functions can be found associated with CS in Pattern B4-b. In Example 4.31, I will show that CS in Pattern B4-b may not only serve to emphasise, but also to express one's word approval, attentiveness and comprehension of the switch previously used by another speaker which, in turn, enable the conversation to progress.

Example 4.31
Speaker 12B tells Speaker 12A about places in town she has visited.

1   12B: Outlet (.)   láeu   kô   pai   doen   pai   thăeu ní
               Outlet   and   then   go   walk   go   around this
               Outlet, and then [I] went to walk around here,

2   láeu   kô (.) (.hh)   pai   wát   mâi   dâi   pai   wát   thai
               and   then   go   temple no   have   go   temple Thai
               and then [I] went to the temple. Not the Thai temple,

3   tàe   wâ   faen   pha   pai (1.0) <**chu:rch**>   pai   <u>bòt</u>
               but   that   husband take   go   **church**   go   <u>church</u>
               *but [my] husband took me to **church**, went to <u>church,</u>*

4   pai   àrai   na   phî
               go   what   PP   older sister
               went to what?

               (2.0)

5   12B: pai-   pai   **church**   pai   <u>bòt</u>
               go   go   **church**   go   <u>church</u>
               *Went- went to **church**. Went to <u>church</u>.*

6	12A:	pai	**church**	nà				
		go	**church**	PP				

*Went to **church**.*

7	12B:	châ	pai	**church**	láeu	kô	di	yù (.)
		yes	go	**church**	already	then	good	be

*Yeah, [I] went to **church** already. [It] was good.*

8		khăo	pha	pai	tham	wâi	yang	khăo
		he	take	go	do	pay respect	like	he

He took me [there] to pay respect the way he does.

One interesting aspect of the English switch *church* in line 3 is that it is heavily marked with a number of hesitation markers that are associated with word recall problem, namely, a pre-switch one-second-long pause, elongated vowel and slower pace of utterance compared to the surrounding talk (line 3) and explicit word search comment (line 4). However, we are not dealing with the case of word recall problem here, since it is obvious in line 3 that Speaker 12B knows the word in both English and Thai. Rather, the aforementioned flags and Speaker 12B's repetition of *church* with its Thai equivalence *bòt* suggests her uncertainty of her English word choice *church*. The lengthy two-second pause after the word search comment in line 4 may be interpreted as Speaker 12B's implicit turn-yielding cue for Speaker 12A to take the next turn and help choose the correct word choice. When Speaker 12B does not do so, Speaker 12B thus repeats the switch *church* and its Thai equivalent *bòt* again in line 5, possibly to further express her uncertainty with word selection, and to urge Speaker 12B to provide a response that will settle the frustration. Finally, Speaker 12A takes up the hint and selects the word *church* in line 6, giving rise to CS in Pattern B4-b. By doing so, she shows that she has been paying attention to Speaker 12B's utterances (expression of attentiveness), that she understands the local meaning of *church* within the context of the ongoing interaction (expression of comprehension), and that she confirms that *church* is the appropriate word choice (expression of word choice approval). Satisfied with Speaker 12A's verdict, Speaker 12B immediately discards the Thai equivalent and adopts only the English word *church* in line 7 and continue to talk as usual in line 8.

But why is Speaker 12B so uncertain about her word selection in the first place? Since Speaker 12B never explicitly reveals this information in the conversation, it is unlikely that this question can be answered with micro-interactional analysis. However, if we take into consideration the informants' social characteristics and social knowledge beyond the interactional level, we may reach a plausible explanation. Considering that Speaker 12B has

spent only six months in England at the time of data collection, it is possible that she has not acquainted herself with the concept of Christian churches in England and is thus unsure what the religious building she visited is called. Her use of both the English word *church* and its Thai equivalent may also reflect her confusion in the concepts of Christian church and Buddhist church (*bòt*), as both are referred to in English as *church* despite their difference in appearance and religious functions (Platz, 2003). This may be the reason why word choice uncertainty emerges in Example 4.31.

The most striking function of CS in Patterns B4-a and B4-b is lexical cohesion – a finding in line with that of Ben-Rafael (2001) and Angermeyer (2002). Drawing from the CA principles and the notion of cohesive tie first proposed in Halliday and Hasan (1976) and later revised in Hoey (1991), Angermeyer (2002) argues that when the same or similar insertional switches are used repetitively, not only next to each other but also across a large number of turns, they create cohesive ties that bind each switch together and enhance the coherence of talk at both the interactional and social levels. This function distinguishes CS in Patterns B4-a and B4-b from other CS patterns identified in this study (except for Patterns B5-a and B5-b, which are discussed in the next section). The cohesive link function differs from the function of emphasis, expression of approval, attentiveness and comprehension, in that it does not necessarily convey speakers' propositional attitudes. Rather, it contributes to the development of talk sequences. The identification of CS in Patterns B4-a and B4-b in this present investigation not only endorses the findings in Angermeyer (2002), but also clearly represents the role of insertional CS in conversational structure development in a clear and intelligible format that is not offered in Angermeyer (2002), or any previous studies of insertional CS as cohesive link.

Note that the function of lexical cohesion is analysed in retrospect of an analyst's perspective, as this function may not be realised by the speakers while they talk. While this may not fully agree with CA which aims to analyse the data from the speakers' own point of view, I would argue that it represents the overall function of CS in Pattterns B4-a and B4-b more effectively, as it covers all other functions analysed from the speakers' point of view, for there must first be some cohesion between word choices of the two speakers before agreement, word choice approval, expression of attentiveness and comprehension to occur. Therefore, I identified lexical cohesion as the primary function of CS in Pattterns B4-a and B4-b.

CS in Patterns B4-a and B4-b can simultaneously function as quotation, emphasis, expression of approval/attentiveness/comprehension and cohesive link. CS as lexical cohesion

is further demonstrated in Example 4.32. However, for the sake of the analysis of lexical cohesion, no other functions will be discussed in detail from Example 4.32 onwards.

Example 4.32
Speaker 10A and 10B talk about using TomTom, a GPS device, while driving.

1   10A: kô   mûean fang TomTom   **sharp left, sharp right**
                then   like   listen TomTom   **sharp left, sharp right**
                *[It's] like listening to TomTom, **sharp left, sharp right**.*

2   tammai   man   maî bòk   rao   hâi   **turn left**   rũe
            why   it   no   tell   we   give **turn left**   or
            *Why does it not tell us to **turn left** or*

3   **turn right**   tammai man tong bòk   **sharp** khue   ngong
            turn right   why   it   must tell   **sharp** be   confused
            ***turn right**? Why must it say **sharp**, [I]'m confused,*

4   tâng tâng thî   man- rao   kô   **turn**   ná
            though though that it   we   then **turn**   PP
            *even though it- we **turn**.*

5   10B: **sharp left**   kô   khûe líao   khóng kràthanhãn
            sharp left   then be   turn   curve sudden
            ***Sharp left** is turning all of a sudden.*

6   10A: ŏ:
            INTERJ
            Oh.

7   10B: líao   sái   kràthanhãn **sharp curve** kô   khue khóng antàrai
            turn   left sudden   **sharp curve** then be   curve dangerous
            *Turning left all of a sudden. **Sharp curve** is a dangerous curve.*

8   10A: ŏ:
            INTERJ
            Oh.

9   10B: thâ   **sharp left**   páp   sàdaeng wâ   trong ma   láeu
            if   **sharp left**   suddenly show   that   straight come then
            *If **sharp left**, [it] means that [you] drive straight and then*

10   líao   sái   loei   thũeng rîak wâ   **sharp left**
            turn   left already to   call   that   **sharp left**
            *immediately turn left, [that's when you] call it **sharp left**.*

11   10A: ŏ:
            INTERJ
            Oh.

| 12 | 10B: | kháo | hâi | ráwang | lá | thâ | **sharp** | páp | | nîa |
| | | they | give | be careful | PP | if | **sharp** | suddenly | | PP |

*You have to be careful if it's suddenly **sharp**.*

| 13 | 10A: | thâ | **sharp** | hâi | ráwang |
| | | if | **sharp** | give | be careful |

*If [it's] **sharp**, be careful.*

| 14 | 10B: | oe: | | ráwang | **sharp left** | ráwang | sàdaeng | wà |
| | | INTERJ | | be careful | **sharp left** | be careful | show | that |

*Yeah, be careful. **Sharp left** [means] be careful. [This] means*

| 15 | | trong | ma | páp | líao | sái | loei | | […] |
| | | straight | come | suddenly | turn | left | pass | | |

'[you] drive straight then suddenly turn left.

In Example 4.32, Speaker 10A expresses her confusion about driving instructions given by TomTom, a GPS gadget, in lines 1 to 4. First, she quotes the GPS gadget using the English switches *sharp left* and *sharp right* in line 1, then repeats them in slightly modified forms *turn left* (line 2) and *turn right* (line 3), followed by a partial repetition *sharp* (line 3) and *turn* (line 4). This intra-speaker repetition gives rise to CS in Pattern B4-a, which enables Speaker 10A to emphasise *sharp left*, *sharp right* as the main point of discussion and to create continuity to her argument regarding why the GPS device gives driving instructions the way it does. CS in Pattern B4-b emerges when Speaker 10B clarifies by adopting Speaker 10A's choice of the English switches in almost all of her turns, that is, *sharp left* and *sharp right* in lines 5, 9, 10 and 14, and their variants *sharp curve* in line 7, and *sharp* in line 12. By repeating Speaker 10A's English word choices, Speaker 10B accepts "GPS driving instructions" proposed by Speaker 10A as the topic of discussion and helps further extend the skeleton that holds the stream of talk together under this particular topic, which in turns strengthens the coherence of the ongoing talk. Note that both speakers continue to use the switches *sharp*, *sharp left* and *sharp right* in 10 more turns beyond the excerpt cited in Example 4.32. Although these turns are omitted here due to limitations of space, they can be found in Appendix 8.

Another example of CS as lexical cohesion is given in Example 4.33. While this example demonstrates only CS in Pattern B4-a, it shows that CS as lexical cohesion may arise even when the repeating English switch does not form cohesive relationships with the repeated switch in the immediately preceding turns, as is the case in Example 4.32. Instead, it "leaps over a number of sentences to pick up an element that has not figured in the

intervening text" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, p. 16). CS in Pattern B4-a in Example 4.33 also indicates co-preferentiality, meaning that both the repeated and repeating switches make a reference to the same, specific thing.

Example 4.33
Speaker 13B is recommending a restaurant in a specific hotel to Speaker 13A.

1   13B: rongraem (.)   kháo   chà   mi   rán   ahăn=
                    hotel   they   will   have   shop   food
                    There is a restaurant in the hotel.

2   13A: =rŏe: ngán   dĭao   pai   chék   pai   chék   phùea phrûngní
                    INTERJ   then   moment   go   check   go   check   in case tomorrow
                    Yeah? [I]'ll go check it out, check it out, in case tomorrow

3   pai   kin   rán   The Hive   wan   săo
                    go   eat   shop   The Hive   day   Saturday
                    [I] go to eat at The Hive, on Saturday.

4   13B: **<u>posh</u> fish finger**   nîa   **posh fish finger**
                    posh fish finger   PP   **posh fish finger**
                    ***Posh fish fingers, posh fish fingers**.*

5   13A: rŏe:
                    INTERJ
                    Yeah?

6   13B: Jed- (=13A's son) Jed chà   tông   [chô:p]
                    Jed-   Jed will   must   like
                    Jed- Jed will definitely like [posh fish fingers].

7   13A: [phró]   wà   Palfrey nîa (.)
                                            because   that   Palfrey PP
                    Because in Palfrey,

8   hă   rán   ahăn   thî   bàep   di   di   nîa-
                    find   shop   food   that   like   good   good   PP
                    [it's] hard to find good restaurants.

9   13B: Granville Ar:ms   thî   nueng   nà
                    Granville Arms   place   one   PP
                    Granville Arms is one place.

10   13A: mâi   di: châi   láeu- =
                    no   good   yes   and
                    Not good, yeah, and-

11   13B: =nî   ngai   rán   ní   ngai   thî   pen-   pen-   pen   rong-
                    Here   PP   shop   this   PP   that   be   be   be   building
                    Here, this restaurant that is- is- is a ho-

12
    rongraem
    hotel
    hotel.

13   13A: oe: sŭai   sŭai   chaî thî   hěn   yù   nai   Facebook
                 INTERJ beautiful   beautiful yes that   see   be   in   Facebook
                 Yeah, [it's] beautiful. Yes, [it's] what I saw before on Facebook.

14
    sŭai   yù
    beautiful   be
    [it's] quite beautiful.

15   13B: **posh fish finger**   pràman   sìp   pon   káo   pon   kwà   kháo   kô
                 posh fish finger   about   ten   pound   nine   pound over   they   then
                 ***Posh fish fingers**, [they] cost about nine or 10 pounds. They will*

16
    chà   ma   hâi   kháo   chà   mi   oe: chip   ma   hâi
    will   come   give   they   will   have   INTERJ chip   come   give
    bring them [= fish fingers] to you. They will give you chips

17
    pen   tàkrâ   ná   sài   tàkrâ   chip   ma   [tàe   wâ-   ]
    be   basket PART   put   basket chip   come   but   that
    in a basket, in a chip basket. But-

18   13A: [ahăn túk   yàng]
                                                    food every thing
    Every dish is

19
    [sŭai   ngam
    beautiful   beautiful
    beautiful.

20   13B: [tàe   wâ   pla-   tàe   wâ   an   ní   kháo   chái
                 but   that   fish   but   that   thing this   they   use
                 But the fish- but for this dish they use

21
    pla   sòt   ná
    fish   fresh   PP
    fresh fish.

22   13A: rŏe: [an   thî   lûkchai chôp]
                 INTERJ   thing that   son   like
                 Yeah? [That's] what [my] son likes.

23   13B: [mâi châi frozen]mâi châi   frozen ná   láeu   kô (.)
                       no yes frozen no yes   frozen PART and   then
    Not frozen, not frozen, and then

24
    kháo   ma   tham pen   **fish finger**   ngai tàe   wâ   tham
    they   come do   be   **fish finger**   PP   but   that   do
    *they make it into **fish fingers**, but as*

25		bàep	**posh one**	nóe (.)	Jed	tông	chôp	nâe
		like	**posh one**	PP	Jed	must	like	certain

***posh ones**. Jed will certainly like [them].*

26	13A:	nà	kin	sǔai	rongraem	kô	sǔai	The Crown	châi	mái
		inviting	eat	beautiful	hotel	also	beautiful	The Crown	yes	PP

[They] look delicious, and beautiful. The hotel is also beautiful. The Crown, right?

27		chûe	The Crown
		name	The Crown

[It's] called The Crown.'

The conversational sequence reproduced above begins with Speaker 13B's suggestion of a hotel restaurant to Speaker 13A in line 1, and is followed by her suggestion of one particular dish, *posh fish finger*, in line 4. The immediate repetition of *posh fish finger* here may suggest Speaker 10B's strong recommendation of this dish, presumably because she thinks Speaker 13A's son would enjoy it (line 6). However, before Speaker 13B can elaborate any further on the restaurant and the dish, Speaker 13A deviates from the topic currently being discussed ("*a restaurant with posh fish fingers*") to a new one ("*lack of good restaurants in Palfrey*") in lines 7 and 8. The deviation can be further observed in line 9, where Speaker 10B also starts deviating towards Speaker 13A's new topic, and in line 10, where the Thai conjunction *láeu-* (English: *and-*) suggests that Speaker 10A is about to continue with the new topic. This probably leads Speaker 13B to quickly cut in and draw Speaker 13A's attention back to the discussion about the hotel she mentions earlier (lines 11 and 12) and reintroduces *posh fish finger* in line 15. And when Speaker 10A is about to deviate from the particular topic of *posh fish finger* again in lines 18 and 19 towards a broader topic "*all the food is beautiful*", Speaker 10B ignores her, and again repeats parts of *posh fish finger* in line 24 (*fish finger*) and line 25 (*posh one*). This repetition not only identifies *posh fish finger* as central to this segment of conversation, but also allows Speaker 10B to clearly and continuously signpost the gist of her talk to Speaker 10A, possibly to impede the latter from deviating from the topic being discussed. This is evident in lines 26 and 27 where Speaker 10B finally pays her full attention to the hotel Speaker 10A tries to recommend. Moreover, CS in Pattern B4-a in line 19 also creates co-referentiality, which indicates that all of the English switches *posh fish finger* in this conversational sequence refer to the same dish at a specific hotel restaurant, not just any fish fingers at any restaurants.

Overall, Examples 4.32 and 4.33 show that the repetition of the same English switch (or its variants) in Patterns B4-a and B4-b enables the speakers to develop conversational sequences for both discourse continuity and communicative effectiveness, and that language consistency of insertional switches is also key to conversational coherence (Auer, 1984). However, repetition is not the only way to create cohesion between insertional switches. It can also be established through the use of collocation. This is further discussed in the next section.

4.6.5 *Pattern B5-a* ... T1 [E1] T1 [...] T1 [E1] T1 ...

Pattern B5-b ... T1 [E1] T1 [...] T2 [E2] T2 ...
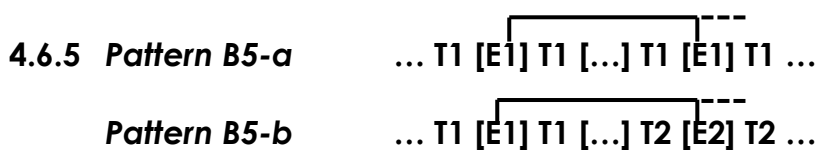
Patterns B5-a and B5-b emerge from the use of English switches that are completely different in form (and thus no copyright sign © is presented in the patterns shown above) but that are related in certain respects in terms of meanings (represented by a connector line linking each switch together, with the dashed line indicating further relations that may be established as the interaction progresses). CS in Patterns B5-a and B5-b may occur within the same turn, or across a number of turns (indicated by the ellipsis points in square brackets). It may also occur intra-speaker (Pattern B5-a) or inter-speaker (Pattern B5-b). Similar to CS in Patterns B4-a and B4-b, CS in Pattern B5-a and B5-b is characteristic in that it creates lexical cohesion that contributes to conversational coherence, although it also serves other pragmatic functions, especially the emphatic function. Since I have amply discussed the pragmatic functions of CS repetitions elsewhere in this chapter, I will focus solely on the lexical cohesion function in the analysis of CS in Patterns B5-a and B5-b. Following Halliday and Hasan (1976), Hoey (1991) and Tanskanen (2006), I refer to English switches that occur in Pattern B5-a and -b in my data as collocation.

Tanskanen (2006) divides collocation into three main types: order-set, activity-related, and elaborative. The first type, order-set collocations, refers to lexical items that belong in the same lexical set (e.g. *rose*, *lily* and *orchid* are in the *flower* set). Activity-based collocations, on the other hand, refer to lexical items that are held together on the basis of action or activity (e.g. *drive – car*, *drink – wine*, *read – book*). And lastly, elaborative collocations refer to lexical items that set the frame of interpretation for lexemes in different contexts. For example, when the word *jacket* is accompanied with the word *clothing*, its meaning would be *a short coat*. However, when *jacket* is accompanied with *firearms*, its meaning becomes *a*

metal case of a bullet. Only order-set collocations were found in my CS data. This may be because this type of collocation is the most straightforward of the three types (Tanskanen, 2006). In the context of CS, it is likely that switches that are order-set collocations require the least effort to construct, identify and interpret – a characteristic ideal for the first-generation Thai immigrants in my study, many of whom are unbalanced bilinguals. By switching into English when using items from the same lexical set, the informants created a cohesive link that is immediately clear to their interlocutor. Since it requires minimum effort in interpretation, it is unlikely to disrupt streams of Thai utterances. This finding indicates that Tanskanen's (2006) categories of collocations may be more applicable to monolingual data similar to that on which they were originally based than to spoken data of first-generation immigrants where CS occurs at a low rate.

The first example of English switches in Pattern B5-a is presented in Example 4.34 below.

Example 4.34
Speaker 2B talks about how different seasons affect restaurant business.

1   2B: **summer** nâ rôn fàràng chôp babikiu (.)
            summer season hot foreigner like barbeque
            ***Summer**, summer, foreigners [= British people] like barbeque.*

2   rán ahăn ná chà ngîap doi pòkàtì láeu ná
        shop food PP will quiet by usual already PP
        Restaurants will be quiet. Usually,

3   thúk thúk **summer** làe rán ahăn chá ngîap
        every every **summer** PP shop food will quiet
        *every **summer**, restaurants will be quiet.*

4   thâ chà yûng busy kô khue **winter**
        if will busy busy CONJ be **winter**
        *If [they're] to be busy, busy, [it will] be [in] **winter**.*

5   **winter** man năo oe […]
        winter it cold INTERJ
        *[It's] cold in **winter**, yeah.*

Two switches can be noticed in Example 4.34: *summer* (lines 1 and 3) and *winter* (lines 4 and 5). Both *summer* and *winter* refer to a certain period of the year and, thus, are members of the same lexical set that one might refer to as *seasons*. With both items being highlighted via CS, lexical cohesion is established, and it becomes apparent that *season* is the central theme of the ongoing discussion. This is further evident through Speaker 2B's

English-Thai reiteration of *summer* in line 1 (Pattern B4-a), the English-English reiteration of *summer* in lines 1 and 3 (Pattern B4-b) and repetition of *winter* in lines 4 and 5 (Pattern B4-b). Example 4.35 presents a similar case of CS in Pattern B5-a, but this time the switches are also embedded with cultural connotations.

Example 4.35
Speaker 8A and Speaker 8B talk about working the breakfast shift.

1   8B: phû   sôi   kúk   kà   hét   tàe   **dinner** lâen   pai   phún
                person help chef then do   just   **dinner** go   go   there
                *[I'm] an assistant chef. [I] cook only **dinner**. [I] go there,*

2   òk   khâng nôk hâi   khăo thúk   wan   athít=
                exit   side   out   give   they   every day   Sunday
                doing off-site catering for them every Sunday.

3   8A: =ôe: di   túa   lá   nó   wáo   thûeng wâ=
                INTERJ   good PP   PP   PP   speak to   that
                Oh, that's good.

4   8B: =yam   sáo   kà   hét   ahăn   **breakfast**
                moment   morning   then   make food   **breakfast**
                *In the morning, [I] cook **breakfast**.*

(Three turns omitted)

5   8B: ta   khák ta   nài   yù   oe::   ahăn   **breakfast**
                PREF much PREF boring be   INTERJ   food   **breakfast**
                *[It's] quite boring. Yeah, **breakfast** food [is]*

6   nà   nài   yù   dòk
                PP   easy be   PP
                boring.

7   8A: khài dao   lá   kà   tôm   kh(hh)ài=
                egg   star   and   then boil   egg
                Fried eggs, and then poach eggs.

8   8B: =thôt khài lá   kà   òp   **bean** lá   kà   **sausage** (.)
                fry   egg   and   then bake **bean** and   then   **sausage**
                *Fry eggs, and then bake **beans**, and then **sausage**,*

9   oe: lá   kà   **toast** ní   ûeai
                INTERJ   and   then **toast** this   sister
                *yeah, and then **toast**.*

The first series of collocations comprises the English switch *dinner* in line 1 and *breakfast* in lines 4 and 5. Both *dinner* and *breakfast* can be classified under the same lexical set of *meal*. More collocations emerge when Speaker 8B elaborates on what she has to do in the breakfast shift (lines 5 to 9). Since *bean* (line 8), *sausage* (line 8) and *toast* (line 9) are components of a meal, and *breakfast* is a type of meal, it is plausible to infer that *breakfast* is the central theme of talk in Example 4.35, whereas *bean*, *sausage* and *toast* are members of the *breakfast* set. The interesting aspect of CS in Pattern B5-a that distinguishes it from that in Example 4.34 is that the lexical set (*breakfast*) is explicitly stated from the outset. Its contribution to the ongoing interaction is probably to help the interlocutor establish lexical cohesion with greater ease.

The analysis of Example 4.35 can be extended even further if we go beyond the text and take into consideration the informants' social characteristics obtained as part of quantitative analysis in Chapter 3 and cultural knowledge relevant to the switches *breakfast*, *bean*, *sausage* and *toast*. First of all, breakfast food varies across cultures. In this case, *bean*, *sausage* and *toast* are three common components of a traditional English breakfast (Fieldhouse, 1995). We can assume that Speakers 8A and 8B possess the information as both work the breakfast shift at a restaurant. Therefore, it is likely that Speaker 8A is making a reference to traditional English breakfast in particular, although she never explicitly says so. The association of *bean*, *sausage* and *toast* with traditional English breakfast may explain why *bean*, *sausage* and *toast* appear in English, whereas fried/poached egg (lines 7 and 8), which is less culturally specific, appears in Thai. A culture-related interpretation such as this is important because it bridges the gap between micro-interactional and macro-societal analysis and contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of CS (Li, 2005).

The next example illustrates a case in which both speakers take part in building lexical cohesion through insertional English collocations.

Example 4.37
Speaker 3A is telling Speaker 3B about her husband's personality.

1	3A:	[…]	ching	ching	láeu	faen		nî	pen	khon	thî
			real	real	already	husband		this	be	person	that

In fact, [my] husband is a person who

2		**lay back** (.)	mâk	loei	°à↑rai	kô	dâi
		lay back	very	pass	what	CONJ	get

*[is] really **laid back**, [like] whatever,*

3		yang-ngai		kô	dâi°				
		how		CONJ	get				
		however.							

4	3B:	ue:m
		INTERJ
		Mm.

5	3A:	a:m	mûea	kòn	mâe	kô	**lay ba:ck** (.)	pho	ma	yù
		FP	when	back	mother	also	**lay back**	when	come	live
		*Erm, I used to be **laid back**, too. When [I] came to live*								

6		dûai	kan	láeu	man-	é	thâ	both	nî	**lay back**
		also	together	and	it	INTERJ	if	both	this	**lay back**
		*with [my husband], and it-, eh, if both of us are **laid back**,*								

7		tháng	khù	nî	mâi	dâi	rûeang ((laughter))	châi	mái
		all	pair	this	no	get	matter	yes	PP
		both of us, then that's not good, right?							

8	3B:	tông	mi	khon	**active**	khon	nueng
		must	have	person	**active**	person	one
		*[There] must be one **active** person.*					

9	3A:	oe:	rao	kô	loei	tông	tham	phró	wâ	faen	rao
		INTERJ	I	then	pass	must	do	because	that	husband	I
		Yeah, so I have to do it [=be active] because my husband									

10		kô	↑oe:	**↑doesn't matter**, **↑whatever**, **↑when**ever
		CONJ	INTERJ	**doesn't matter, whatever, whenever**
		*[is like,] "Yeah, **doesn't matter, whatever, whenever**,*		

11		àrai	yàng	ngía
		thing	like	this
		something like that.		

Speaker 3A's use of *lay back* in line 2, and then again in lines 5 and 6 represents a case where insertional CS establishes lexical cohesion by repetition (Pattern B4-a). This repetition allows Speaker 3A to develop the conversation while maintaining *lay back* at the centre of discussion. CS in Pattern B5-b (intra-speaker collocation) occurs in line 8 when Speaker 3B produces the English word *active* in response to Speaker 3's use of *lay back*. The presence of *active* and *lay back* illustrates what Halliday and Hasan (1976) refer to as the opposite-pair. Although the meanings of *active* and *lay back* in this context are diametrically opposed, they both describe personality, and can thus be classified as collocations. Moreover, the consistency of language choice of *active* and *lay back* also increases lexical cohesion, as it allows the two terms to be compared and contrasted more clearly (Auer, 1984). Speaker 3A's

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English switch *doesn't matter, whatever, whenever* in line 10 illustrates what Hoey (1991) refers to as complex paraphrase, that is, it elaborates on the switch *lay back* previously used in lines 2, 5 and 6 (CS in Pattern B5-a). This elaboration establishes another cohesive tie that is related to *lay back* and *active* that further steers the current conversational sequence further towards the topic of *personality*.

Example 4.37 also demonstrates how first-generation Thai immigrants establish power relations that are part of their everyday life. According to Morsy (1978), gossiping is one way through which women can establish power in the household. Therefore, by gossiping about her English husband, not only does Speaker 3A provide insights into her life in England as Thai wife, but she also establishes her power in a husband-and-wife relationship, i.e. power to criticise her husband.

The examples of CS in Patterns B5-a and B5-b demonstrated in this section can also be explained from the perspective of schema theory. Originated in philosophy and later developed in psychology, schema refers to the interconnected network of information which is built on past experiences (Bartlett, 1932). In other words, schema theory is concerned with "pre-existing knowledge structures stored in the mind" (Nassaji, 2002, p. 444). This knowledge allows speakers to organise their ongoing interaction by selecting certain schemata, i.e. information relevant to the content and topic of the interaction, that are important for the sense-making process. For example, in Example 4.34, *summer* and *winter* are lexical items that are closely related to *seasons*. Therefore, they can be considered its schemata. Similarly, *breakfast* in Example 4.35 also implies schemata *bean*, *sausage* and *toast*, all of which are parts of traditional English breakfast being referred to by Speaker 8B. These schematic patterns allow the informants to make sense of the topic at hand with greater ease. This resonates with my CA-based interpretation that collocations facilitate overall comprehension of the ongoing interaction.

4.6.6 Back to basics: Pattern B

Some English switches in my data cannot be arranged more specifically than the most basic insertional CS pattern, i.e. Pattern B (… T1 [E1] T1…), which corresponds to Auer's (1995) original Pattern IV (… A1 B1 A1 …). This is either because: 1) the contextualisation cues by which the switches were accompanied could not conclusively indicate the discourse-pragmatic function of the switches; or 2) they were not marked by any contextualisation cues. Each case will be discussed in turn.

A switch cannot be arranged in a clear pattern when it is accompanied by ambiguous contextualisation cues that make the interpretation of CS functions inconclusive, specifically pre-switch hesitation markers. I have introduced this problem in Section 4.6.2 in connection with CS with the L1 lexical gap filling function (Pattern B2). The ambiguity of pre-switch hesitation markers means that one cannot accurately specify whether it is an L1 or L2 lexical item that the speaker attempts to recall in the first place. Such ambiguity is further exacerbated in cases such as that shown in Example 4.37 in which pre-switch hesitation markers may indicate not so much word recall problem as the speakers' speech disfluency and unease with the topic under discussion (Cameron, 2008).

Example 4.37
Speaker 3A expresses her opinion about some Thai people in England.

1	3A:	khue	khon	thai	man (.)	à		phût	trong	trong	à		nó (0.6)
		DM	person	thai	it	INTERJ		say	direct	direct	PP		PP

Well, Thai people they, er, to say it frankly,

2	kâosìp	poesen	thî	ma	yù	nîa (1.0)		man	mâi-	man (.)
	ninety	percent	that	come	live	here		it	no	it

90% of those who live here, they aren't- they,

3	**background**	man (.)		mâi	khôi	di	à
	background	it		no	quite	good	PP

*[their] **background**, it's not very good.*

At first glance, it appears that *background* in line 3 may function as a lexical gap filler, as indicated by a one-second pause, an abrupt stop and a short pause in line 2, and an abrupt stop in line 3. However, note that the hesitation markers are not applied exclusively to the switch, but to the whole segment of interaction shown above from line 1 through to line 3. This suggests that Speaker 3A may encounter difficulty in expressing herself, which in turn affects the fluency by which she produces the switch *background*. In this case, *background* is

unlikely to serve the lexical gap function. Moreover, the hesitation markers and pauses may be indices of Speaker 3A's unease with the topic under discussion since it is strongly negative, i.e. judging backgrounds of other Thai immigrants in England. The analysis of Example 4.37 illustrates the highly ambiguous nature of pre-switch hesitation markers, which enables multiple interpretations of the same switch (see also Bialystok, 1990, regarding the ambiguity of these markers). In other words, function(s) of English switches that are accompanied solely by pre-switch hesitation markers remains inconclusive, and thus a clear CS pattern cannot be generated more specifically than the most basic Pattern B (… T1 [E1] T1 …).

The English switches that occurred without any contextualisation cues, e.g. prosodic cues, quotative markers or repetition, also cannot be arranged into a specific sub-pattern. They are referred to as unmarked switching (Myers-Scotton, 1993c; 1998), and are unlikely to have any local meanings or functions. Examples 4.38 and 4.39 illustrate this type of CS in my data.

Example 4.38
Speaker 1A is helping Speaker 1B choose a mobile phone package.

1	1A:	ao	thî	mi	**contract**	intoenèt	nà	phró wâ
		take	that	have	**contract**	internet	PP	because

*Take the one that has an internet **contract**, because*

2		man	mi	**free call** (.)	Tango	wídìo	ngai […]
		it	have	**free call**	Tango	video	PP

*it has **free call** [allowance], Tango [= a chat programme] video. […]*

Example 4.39
Speaker 3A talks about her first-born child.

1	3A:	pho	sì	athít	púp	ná	wang	long	non
		when	four	week	INTERJ	PP	lay	down	lay

When [my first-born baby] was four months old, [I] laid [him] down,

2		**kiss goodbye**	kháo	kô	làp
		kiss goodbye	he	then	sleep

*kissed [him] **goodbye**, and then he slept.*

The commonality shared by the English switches *contract* and *free call* in Example 4.38 and *kiss goodbye* in Example 4.39 is the fluency with which they are produced. The speakers in these examples switch from Thai into English without any hesitation, and once they have produced the switches, they continue talking as usual without any further repair sequence. The English insertions shown above are also not part of CS in Patterns B4-a, B4-b,

B5-a and B5-b, meaning that they are not a repetition or collocation of another switch, and neither are they repeated elsewhere in the conversation to create lexical cohesion. Unmarked switches such as these are considered to have become part of speakers' everyday interaction (Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1993c; Auer, 1995, 1998, 1999; Backus, 1996, 2003; Zentella, 1997; Gafaranga, 2000; Gafaranga and Torras, 2001; Rosignoli, 2011). If they occur in a recurrent manner, they may also indicate a transition process from CS to a new mixed variety (Auer, 1999; Backus, 2003a; Verschik, 2005; Guerini, 2013). However, given the low frequency of CS in my data, the latter is unlikely to be the case.

Section 4.3 is concluded with Table 4.1, which provides the summary of the CS patterns identified in this study and the functions with which each CS pattern is associated. In cases where a single CS pattern is associated with more than one function, its most fundamental function will be mentioned first.

Table 4.1: Sequential CS patterns and associated functions

Type	Pattern	Associated function
A	… T1 T2 // E3 E1/2 E3 E1/2 …	Addressee accommodation, conversational halt
B	… T1 [E1] T1 …	Unmarked, unclear
B1	…T1 "[E1]" T1…	Quotation
B2	… T1 T1 ← [E1] T1 …	L1 lexical gap filling
B3-a	… T1 ← ©[E1] T1 …	Reiteration
B3-b	… T1 [E1] ← ©T1 …	Reiteration
B4-a	…T1 [E1] T1 […] T1 ©[E1] T1 …	Lexical cohesion by repetition, reiteration, topic marker,
B4-b	…T1 [E1] T1 […] T2 ©[E2] T2 …	Lexical cohesion by repetition, reiteration, topic marker, expression of approval/ attentiveness/comprehension,
B5-a	…T1 [E1] T1 […] T1 [E1] T1 …	Lexical cohesion by collocation, reiteration, topic marker
B5-b	…T1 [E1] T1 […] T2 [E2] T2 …	Lexical cohesion by collocation, reiteration, topic marker, expression of approval/attentiveness/ comprehension.

4.7 Frequency and distributional analysis of sequential code-switching patterns

This section aims to establish the regularity and distribution of CS patterns in my corpus. An example of how frequency count of CS patterns was performed is illustrated in Example 4.40 below. The intra-speaker repetitions (marked with solid black circles and connector line) of the English switch *snow* in lines 2 and 3, and *exciting* in lines 5 and 7 give rise to two instances of Pattern B4-a, while the inter-speaker repetition (marked with dotted black circles and connector line) of snow in lines 3 and 4 gives rise to one instance of Pattern B4-b. Note that the instances of CS in Pattern A (N = 21) are excluded from the analysis because they were motivated by an unexpected presence of an outsider, and therefore do not represent the informants' actual intragroup CS behaviours.

Example 4.40
Speaker 7A and 7B talk about the first time they saw snow in England.

1   7A: tàe   man   khăo   man   bàep (.)   láeu-   láeu-   láeu
                    but   it   white   it   like   and   and   and
                    But it's white, it's like, and- and- and

2   pai   lên   (snow) âi   nân   kan   khâng   nôk   nà (.)
                    go   play   **snow**   PREF   that   together   side   out   PP
                    *[we] went to play in the **snow** together, outside,*   Pattern B4-a

3   lên   (**snow**)
                    play   snow   Pattern B4-b
                    *played in the **snow**.*

4   7B: [↑ói]   phî   ma   phî   hĕn   (**snow**) pi   râek
                       INTERJ   I   come   I   see   **snow**   year   first
                    *Oh, the first year I saw **snow** here,*

5   phî   (exciting)   chà   tai
                    I   **exciting**   will   die
                    *I was extremely **excited**.*

(two turns omitted)   Pattern B4-a

6   7A: sŭai   ue:m   sŭai
                    beautiful   INTERJ   beautiful
                    Beautiful, yeah, beautiful.

7   7B: (**exciting**)   yàng   khák   loei
                    exciting   like   very   PP
                    *[I was] very **excited**.*

The frequency count reveals a total of 926 instances of CS in Pattern B and its sub-patterns. The overall distribution of CS patterns is presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Distribution of sequential CS patterns

Patterns		Number of speakers (N = 36)		Number of occurrence (N = 926)	
		%	N	%	N
B (unmarked)	… T1 [E1] T1 …	92.66	33	29.27	271
B (unclear function)	… T1 [E1] T1 …	61.11	22	5.72	53
B1	…T1 "[E1]" T1…	69.44	25	20.95	194
B2	… T1 T1 ← [E1] T1 …	13.88	5	0.65	6
B3-a	… T1 ← ©[E1] T1 …	50	18	4.64	43
B3-b	… T1 [E1] ← ©T1 …	41.66	15	3.89	36
B4-a	…T1 [E1] T1 […] T1 ©[E1] T1 …	94.44	34	22.35	207
B4-b	…T1 [E1] T1 […] T2 ©[E2] T2 …	75	27	7.24	67
B5-a	…T1 [E1] T1 […] T1 [E1] T1 …	52.77	19	4	37
B5-b	…T1 [E1] T1 […] T2 [E2] T2 …	25	9	1.3	12

Table 4.2 indicates that the three most common CS patterns in my data are:

♦ Pattern B (unmarked), which lacks local meanings;

♦ Pattern B1, which is associated with the quotation function; and

♦ Pattern B4-a, which is primarily associated with the function of intra-speaker lexical coherence by repetition.

CS in Pattern B2, which is associated with the function of L1 lexical gap filling, occurs at the lowest rate (less than 1% of the total instances). Other CS sequential patterns, i.e. B3-a, B3-b, B4-b, B5-a and B5-b are also used at a relatively low rate compared to Patterns B (unmarked), B1 and B4-a. This means that these three CS patterns may be the most

established in the informants' everyday intragroup talk. However, this interpretation remains tentative due to the following reasons: first, because the informants were free to talk about any topics, it is possible that the rates of CS patterns vary across topics (Càrdenas-Cloros and Isharyanti, 2009), although the informants were found to discuss very similar topics such as jobs, family and marriage. Second, as the length of talk differed across the informants, those in longer conversations may have had more opportunity to produce more sequential CS patterns.

Despite the tentativeness, the quantitative results in Table 4.2 do confirm that each type of CS pattern occurs relatively regularly and is not a speaker idiosyncrasy. Although some of the CS patterns occurred relatively infrequently in the speech of less than half the informants, namely, Patterns B2, B3-b and B5-b, I would argue that these patterns did not occur by mistake. A series of sequential analysis in this chapter has shown how these CS patterns play an important role in a successful development of talk in a way that erroneous language use is unlikely to achieve.

A distributional analysis of CS patterns across speaker variables and correlational analysis could not be carried out due to: 1) limited number of instances of some CS patterns (Pattern B2: N = 6; Pattern B2: N = 12); 2) uneven distribution of CS patterns across the informants; and 3) skewed social distribution of individual CS patterns. Nevertheless, the frequency and overall distributional analysis play an important role in unveiling the overall CS behaviours of first-generation Thai immigrants in a way that the qualitative analysis could not adequately achieve.

4.8 Discussion of findings

The investigation into the patterns and functions of intragroup CS of the informants was performed using the principles of CA (Auer, 1984, 1995, 1998, 1999) and IS (Gumperz, 1982), as well as quantitative analysis. The analysis revealed that while most of the English switches, despite occurring extremely infrequently and being largely insertional, were in fact recurrent and systematic to the extent that they could be arranged into sequential CS patterns. Unlike Li (1994) and Ihemere (2006) who identified up to seven and 11 sequential CS patterns, respectively, I found only two main CS patterns in my Thai-English CS data: Pattern A (… T1 T2 // E3 E1/2 E3 E1/2 …) and Pattern B (… T1 [E1] T1 …). This is because I focused on CS behaviours of first-generation immigrants in particular, whereas Li (1994) and Ihemere (2006) worked with CS data from three generations of bilingual speakers.

Nonetheless, CS patterns in my data offer a number of important theoretical implications for CS research.

First, despite their lack of diversity in CS patterns, the informants exhibited clear-cut preferences for exclusive use of different CS patterns in specific interactional situations. CS in Pattern A is reserved exclusively for conversations with an outsider, as demonstrated in Example 4.16 where Speakers 17A and 17B switch from Thai into English when interrupted by a native speaker of English, and in Example 4.17 where the speaker 3A temporarily pauses the conversation with Speaker 3B to ask her English-dominant son to turn on the heater. CS in Pattern B, on the other hand, is reserved exclusively for their intragroup interaction. This finding contrasts with that in Li (1994), Ihemere (2006) and Al-Yaqout (2010) where the informants were found to employ similar CS patterns in both intra- and inter-generation interactions. This suggests that the CS behaviours of the first-generation Thai immigrants in my study are less flexible than those reported in previous literature: each type of CS is reserved specifically for each interactional situation (intra-generational and inter-generational).

Second, the CS patterns in this present study offer revision to Auer's (1995) original sequential CS patterns, Pattern IV (… A1 B1 A1 …). While this pattern is general enough to account for insertional CS in my data, it represents insertional CS as a simple insertion that holds no relationship with the surrounding text. I have shown in this chapter that English insertions do, in fact, form highly systematic relationships with the surrounding utterances and these relationships are key to how individual English insertions are interpreted by the informants and how talk develops. The reason why this point is not acknowledged in Auer's (1995) CS patterns may be because CA pays most attention to between-turn, inter-sentential CS, rather than to within-turn, insertional CS. In this study, I overcame this limitation of CA by identifying eight new sub-patterns of Pattern B (… T1 E1 T1 …) on the basis of their sequential characteristics, relationships with other lexical items or contextualisation cues and associated functions in discourse (summarised at the end of Section 4.3).

Revising and extending Auer's (1995) original CS patterns in the manner discussed above enabled me to bolster the argument at the very heart of this study that both first-generation immigrant CS and insertional CS do, in fact, offer a wealth of knowledge to be discovered. It also helped dispel the myth that first-generation immigrant CS is simply insertional and has only few insights to offer, as implied in some previous studies (e.g. Li et al., 1992; Muysken, 2013). On the contrary, I have been able to show that it is varied and complicated – an argument in line with that in Ben-Rafael (2001). Despite its insertional

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characteristics, its role in talk-in-interaction is not limited to contextualisation cues, but may be extensive across a large number of turns and play an essential role in the development of the ongoing talk. Pattern B and its sub-patterns identified in this study thus do justice to the intricacy of insertional CS by thoroughly capturing the characteristics of each type of insertional CS and presenting them in a systematic way primarily from the CA perspective. Overall, I believe that the CS patterns and the transcription conventions in this study can be a starting point from which more innovative CS patterns can be constructed in future CS research.

The great variety of communicative functions of CS in my data indicates that first-generation Thai immigrants' CS is highly purposeful. The first and perhaps most important implication of this finding is that it shows that first-generation Thai immigrants' CS is not a broken mode of talk as perceived by many native speakers of Thai, but a creative and strategic tool with which the informants optimise the communicative effectiveness in their day-to-day intragroup interaction. The functions of their CS range from the classic, oft-reported functions such as emphasis, quotation and lexical gap filling to the less explored functions such as word choice approval and lexical coherence. Secondly, the fact that each sequential CS pattern, especially the sub-patterns of Pattern B, is associated with different functions indicates close relationships between sequential orderliness and functions of CS, which are rarely explored in the traditional IS-based analysis. I have demonstrated that the informants repeated the same English insertion many times not only to create an emphatic effect but also to constitute a turn-yielding cue (Example 4.31), or to control the direction of talk (Example 4.33). This thus supports the finding in Angermeyer (2002) that insertional CS can be analysed in the context of conversational sequence in a manner similar to between-turn, inter-sentential CS. Finally, the relationships between CS and conversational sequences also support the finding that first-generation Thai immigrants' CS is more complicated than previously reported, and that we can learn much more about insertional CS if we combine CA with IS and analyse the local functions of CS in relation to conversational structures within which it is embedded.

From the above discussion, it is evident that it is no longer adequate to interpret CS, especially insertional CS, solely on the basis of contextualisation cues and macro-level knowledge in the IS tradition. It is true that macro-level knowledge (e.g. social and cultural values, speaker socio-demographic backgrounds, interpersonal relationships) is an important part of the interpretation of CS. However, failure to take sequential characteristics of CS in ongoing talk into consideration means we would simply fall back into the classificatory analysis method that produces unexhaustive anecdotal interpretations of CS, making cross-

study comparison difficult if not impossible. The multi-dimensional perspective based on both CA and IS is the key to a more comprehensive understanding of CS mechanisms, allowing us to observe the role and importance of CS at both the interactional and social levels. One of the examples in which the combination of the IS and CA analysis provides an in-depth, insightful account of CS is Example 4.35 where the English switches *bean*, *sausage* and *toast* occur. From the CA perspective, these three English insertions could be interpreted as collocations that create continuity of talk under the topic of *breakfast*. Moreover, when taking into consideration the social characteristics of the speaker (e.g. a cook at an English restaurant, a Thai immigrant who has lived in England for over 10 years) and knowledge of English food culture, we can infer that the three switches refer to *traditional English breakfast* in particular.

The qualitative analysis of patterns and functions of English insertions in my data was then complemented by the quantitative analysis, including frequency count and overall distributional analysis. The frequency count revealed a total of 926 insertional CS pattern instances (21 instances representing CS in Pattern A were excluded from the count since they do not represent intragroup CS). The three patterns that occurred the most frequently were Patterns B (unmarked) (29.27%, N = 271), B4-a (22.35%; N = 207) and B1 (20.95 %; N = 194). Given that CS without local function (Pattern B, unmarked) contributed slightly over a quarter of all CS pattern occurrences, it can be said that the majority of CS instances in my data serves at least one function. This supports the purposefulness of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS.

While unmarked CS in my data is unlikely to be indicative of a new linguistic variety due to its low frequency, I would argue that it can at least be considered an integral part of the informants' L1 repertoire. This interpretation supports the idea that unmarked CS has become a speakers' language habit, which explains why it occurs fluently, possibly unconsciously, with the surrounding utterances (Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1993c; Auer, 1999; Gafaranga and Torras, 2001). Moreover, in line with Akresh (2007), the presence of unmarked CS in my data may also be considered a sign of language change in process. In this respect, CS in my data is similar to that of Verschick (2005) and Guerini (2013) in which small degree of unmarked CS is considered indicative of transition from CS into a new mixed variety.

Disregarding CS in Pattern B (unmarked) which serves no particular function and CS in Pattern B (unclear function), the sequential CS pattern that occurred the most frequently is Pattern B4-a. This pattern entails the repetition of the same English insertion by the same speaker. It is associated with the functions of lexical coherence, emphasis, topic marking, expression of agreement/approval, expression of attentiveness and expression of

comprehension. The fact that CS in Pattern B4-a is the most effective way to build the structure of talk by drawing the interlocutor's attention to the point or topic being developed may explain its frequency of occurrence. This finding is important because it shows that insertional CS is accepted by the informants as a common tool with which to establish conversational structure. This thus emphasises the need to depart from the traditional analysis of insertional CS that focuses largely on its role only within the turn in which it appears, and engage in a more extensive analysis in which insertional CS is also studied in the context of the conversational sequence.

Turning now to Pattern B1, which is associated with the function of quotation. Its frequency of occurrence may be attributed to two reasons. First, quotation is one of the most common features in everyday language use (see the volume edited by Hauser, 2015), and also a fundamental motivation behind CS (Gumperz, 1982; Bentahila, 1983; Bailey, 2000). Second, as stated in Chapter 2, the first-generation Thai immigrants in this present study are wives of British husbands, and many of them work in a context where English is the primary language of exchange such as supermarkets, English pubs and restaurants, and clothing stores. This close contact with native speakers of English means a higher degree of exposure to English, which possibly facilitates their production of CS as quotations. This finding suggests that the occurrence of CS patterns and functions among immigrant speakers may be affected by their social network and migratory characteristics.

The association between CS in Pattern B1 and inter-sentential CS is another point that deserves our attention. I have stated in Section 4.6.1 that inter-sentential CS is reserved almost exclusively for the function of quotation in the informants' intra-group talk. This finding is of great importance because it suggests that not only the informants decided as to which type of CS to perform based on type of interlocutor (between-turn, inter-sentential CS when talking to an outsider versus within-turn, intra-sentential CS when talking to other first-generation Thai immigrants), but also on the pragmatic function that they wish to achieve.

The pattern that occurred the least frequently was CS in Pattern B2, which is associated with the lexical gap filling function (0.65%; N = 6). This finding contradicts that reported in previous studies such as Bentahila (1983), Li (2000) and Seidlitz (2003) in which lexical gap filling was identified as one of the most common motivations behind CS. The lack of occurrence of CS as lexical gap filler in my study may be because first-generation Thai immigrants are strongly Thai-dominant, and thus they rarely encountered Thai word recall problems. Another possible reason may be that the criteria for the identification of CS as L1 lexical gap filler used in this present study is much stricter than those used in previous CS

functional analysis studies. Only those insertions that were followed by further repair sequences were considered to have the lexical gap filling function, whereas many previous studies were satisfied with only pre-switch contextualisation cues, especially hesitation markers, as indicator of CS as lexical gap filler). Much of what previous studies would have classified as CS as lexical gap filler was in my study classified as CS with unclear function. This finding, in line with that reported in Gafaranga (2000) and Rosignoli (2011), raises an intriguing question regarding the validity of CS as lexical gap filler in the literature and indicates that a substantial revision of the criteria of CS as lexical gap filler is needed. Drawing from my data, I would argue that the speaker's explicit L1 word search comment, e.g. *àrai wá phasă thai* (English: *What is it in Thai?*) (Example 4.24) is the most accurate predictor for CS as lexical gap filler.

Since the data were drawn solely from home domains, the influence of different domains (homes, community, workplace etc.) on the rates of first-generation Thai immigrant CS could not be observed. However, it is possible that different topics may influence first-generation Thai immigrants' CS behaviours differently. The topics related to life in the UK are likely to encourage CS. This tentative suggestion is based on how CS in my data, as shown in Chapter 4 as well as other chapters, tended to occur when topic of interaction was about life in the UK, e.g. marriage life, work, visa, and UK culture, rather than Thailand and Thai culture. This is in line with Backus (2001) and Càrdenas-Cloros and Isharyanti (2009) regarding the relationship between topics and CS.

The frequency analysis of CS patterns and functions was necessary because it confirmed that each pattern did not occur randomly, but in a recurrent manner across speakers, which indicates that it is an established pattern (Schegloff, 1993). Without the frequency analysis, it would have been impossible to know whether a pattern in question was the speakers' established creative language behaviour, or the result of an ephemeral, speaker-idiosyncratic process. Similarly, the overall distributional analysis showed that Patterns B1 and B4-a are more prevalent than others. Although it was not possible to carry out distributional analysis of CS patterns across the speaker variables and correlational analysis due to unequal length of speech across the informants and skewed sub-sample of each CS pattern, the overall distribution of CS patterns shows that the insertional CS sub-patterns are not equally established in the informants' intragroup interactions. This means that not including the frequency and distributional analysis of insertional CS in this study would have misleadingly implied that all insertional CS patterns are equally common in the data, which in turn would have led to misrepresentation of the informants' intragroup CS behaviours.

4.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented an in-depth qualitative analysis of patterns and functions of Thai-English CS in my data. The analysis was conducted primarily within Auer's (1984, 1991, 1995, 1998, 1999) CA perspective, which is complemented by some principles from Gumperz's (1982) IS perspective. I have shown that both CA and IS can benefit from each other when employed together: The sequential organisation of CA offers a more systematic and convincing way to assign functions to individual CS items in the tradition of IS, while IS bridges CA interaction-based analysis of CS to the larger macro-societal backgrounds. The combination of CA and IS enabled me to arrange first-generation Thai immigrants' CS into a variety of sequential CS patterns, many of which have never been reported elsewhere, and to establish the link between sequential characteristics of insertional CS and its local functions.

The three most striking findings in Chapter 4 are: 1) insertional CS, the dominant type of CS preferred among the informants, can be arranged systematically into eight more specific sub-patterns, which indicates a complexity rarely acknowledged in previous literature; 2) CS plays a crucial role in first-generation Thai immigrants' day-to-day intragroup talk; and 3) insertional CS can also contribute to the development of talk-in-interaction in a manner similar to within-turn, inter-sentential CS. The frequency count and overall distributional analysis at the end of the chapter help confirm that each type of CS pattern occurred as a regular norm, with the CS in Patterns B (unmarked), B2, and B4-a being the three most common CS patterns in my data.

In this chapter, I have incorporated the interactional and sociolinguistic perspectives on CS through an in-depth analysis of the sequential patterns and functions of Thai-English CS. However, one more perspective on CS, the grammatical perspective, still awaits further exploration. The underlying syntactic structures of Thai-English CS will be the focus of discussion in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

GRAMMATICAL INTEGRATION OF CODE-SWITCHING:
A TRANSFER PERSPECTIVE

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I identified two main patterns of CS through the sequential analytic method: Pattern A (… T1 T2 // E3 E1/2 E3 E1/2 …), and Pattern B (... T1 [E1] T1 ...) and its eight new sub-patterns. Both patterns are associated with a variety of communicative functions. In this chapter, I turn to the analysis of syntactic integration between Thai and English. The aim is to identify Thai syntactic structures that underlie first-generation Thai immigrants' CS and enhance its communicative effects.

A large body of literature has been dedicated to the examination of how grammatical characteristics of two languages either prevent or allow CS to occur (Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1993b, 1997, 2000b, 2002a; Belazi et al., 1994), or whether there are any grammatical constraints at all (Mahootian, 1993, 1996; MacSwan, 2000, 2005a, 2005b, 2013). This present study breaks away from such traditional analysis of CS syntactic structures, investigating not only Thai syntactic structures that systematically underlie CS in my data, but also how such structures may contribute to communicative effectiveness of CS. More importantly, I will also analyse the syntactic integration of CS simultaneously with other language contact phenomena, especially transfer, to further demonstrate the intricacy of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS. In short, through the investigation of the underlying structure of CS, its contribution to communicative effects and relationships with other language contact phenomena, this study provides a dimension of enquiry not touched on in most other CS syntactic integration studies.

For convenience, the definitions transfer and interference in contrast to that of CS are restated here. Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer criteria will be discussed in detail in Section 5.4). New key terms that are relevant to the analysis in this chapter are also introduced.

Transfer

The systematic and recurrent use of certain underlying systems/structures
of Language A in the production of Language B that meets all three
criteria in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008)

Interference

The inconsistent and incidental use of certain underlying
systems/structures of Language A in the production of Language B that
fails to meet all three criteria in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008)

Code-switching

The use of lexical items from Language A in stretches of Language B,
when there are equivalents in Language B.

Other terms that will be discussed in relation to the language contact phenomena defined above include nativisation, hybridisation and conversion. In Kachru's (1981, 1983, 1986, 1992) influential works on non-native varieties of English, nativisation is said to occur when English is used in a non-native sociocultural setting, and as a result is systematically assimilated into the recipient country's native language(s) with which English comes in contact in a way that differs from how it is used in native English-speaking contexts and in a way "that creates the localised linguistic identity" (Kachru, 1992, p. 6). This implies that nativisation involves L1 transfer to a certain degree, which may be why transfer is often explained as part of nativisation (e.g. Pandharipande, 1987; Cheng, 1992; Gao, 2002; Kannaovakun and Gunther, 2003). However, some language contact outcomes can occur in almost any language pairs, making them common nativisation processes rather than L1 transfer in Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) sense. Hybridisation is one example. Hybridisation can be defined as the combination of English words or morphemes with words from speakers' native language (Kachru, 1981, 1983; Lowenberg, 1986; Ahulu, 1995; Ngula, 2014; Senaratne, 2016), for example, *poruva ceremony* (Sinhala Sri Lankan *traditional marriage* + English *ceremony = traditional marriage ceremony*) (Senaratene, 2016, p. 108). Although hybridisation is one outcome of nativisation and is sometimes explained as an L1 transfer effect (e.g. Watkhaolarm, 2005; Ngula, 2014), it is not considered transfer in this investigation. In my study, transfer is clearly distinguished from nativisation to avoid confusion. This will be elaborated in Section 5.7.1.

Finally, conversion refers to the use of English lexical items for grammatical functions that differ from the original in native sociocultural settings (Igboanusi, 2001; Bakker, 2003). An example of conversion is the use of the English noun *success* as a verb by a Thai speaker: *thâ rao success* (English: *if we succeed*) (Kannaovakun and Gunther, 2003, p. 74). While I agree that conversion may be influenced by speakers' knowledge of L1 syntactic transfer, as

implied in Kannaovakun and Gunther (2003), I would argue based on Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) criteria framework that conversion is not transfer in the context of this study. This will be elaborated in Section 5.7.3.

Chapter 5 is structured as follows: Section 5.2 outlines how the syntactic integration of CS has been studied in the past. The focus is placed on Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 1997, 2000b, 2002a) MLF model and the reasons why it was not adopted in the analysis in this chapter. In Section 5.3, I provide the background of transfer studies and its relevance to CS studies. I will also review current transfer studies in the Thai-English contact literature and identify areas that need attention. Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer framework, its rationale and its criteria of transfer that underpin the identification of transfer and other language contact outcomes in my data are discussed in detail in Section 5.4. Then, in Section 5.5, I describe the typological characteristics of Thai that contrast with those of English, and are of relevance to the analysis in this chapter. The analysis will commence in Section 5.6, in which the Thai syntactic structures that are applied to CS production are discussed and exemplified with my data. Other language contact outcomes that are found in the data will be discussed in contrast to transfer in Sections 5.7. Then, in Section 5.8, I explore the relationship between Thai syntactic transfer and Thai lexical items, and carry out the frequency analysis which will reveal as to what Thai lexical items tend to be triggered by Thai syntactic transfer in the process of CS. The key findings in this chapter are discussed in Section 5.9. Finally, Section 5.10 summarises this chapter.

5.2 The study of grammatical integration of code-switching

The study of the underlying structure of CS began with Poplack's (1980) pioneering work on syntactic restrictions on CS (Boztepe, 2003). Among the constraints proposed over the past decades, Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 1997, 2000b, 2002a) MLF model is the most powerful (Backus, 2003b; Bhatia and Ritchie, 2013) and is adopted in a large number of CS syntactic studies (for example, see Backus, 1996; Schmitt, 2000; Bolonyai, 2005a; Verschik, 2005; Türker, 2005; Deucher, 2006; Smith, 2009; Koban, 2013). However, the MLF model is not adopted in the present study. In the following, I briefly discuss the key concepts of the MLF model and justify why such concepts are not ideal for the purpose of the present analysis.

The MLF model[6] is concerned with the asymmetry of the roles of participating languages. The most notable distinction within the MLF model is that between *matrix language* (ML) and *embedded language* (EL). ML refers to a dominant language that sets the overall morphosyntactic frame of utterances in discourse. EL, on the other hand, refers to a language that plays a subordinate role, supplying morphemes to the morphosyntactic frame laid by the ML.

Thai-English CS in my data clearly exhibits the ML and EL distinction. Thai, being the dominant language of the informants, serves as ML, while English is EL as evident in its insertional nature and its infrequent occurrence. However, while the MLF model can be applied to my CS data, the model is not adopted in this present chapter for the following reasons. First, the model strongly focuses on morpheme classification, morpheme hierarchy and word order to the point that the speakers' motivations are largely neglected. I do not deny that the MLF model does acknowledge speakers' discursive and pragmatic motivations as the starting point of insertional CS (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 2005; Finlayson and Slabbert, 1997; Callahan, 2002; Hebblethwaite, 2007; Meng and Nakamoto, 2016). However, because the MLF model is designed specifically as a grammatical analytic model (Poulisse and Bongaerts, 1994; Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993b, 1997, 2002a; Boussofara-Omar, 2003; Ihemere, 2016), its priority is to meticulously analyse the structural configuration of intra-sentential CS. This contradicts my aim to investigate how the informants apply certain Thai syntactic structures to CS in order to optimise communicative effectiveness.

To overcome this limitation of the MLF model and to achieve the aim stated in the paragraph above, I need a theoretical approach that:

♦ brings speakers' motivations to the forefront;

♦ effectively explains the interplay between such motivations and the Thai syntactic structures underlying English insertions; and

♦ elevates the role of the informants' L1 in their production of L2 by viewing it not only as the provider of the overall morphosyntactic frame to which English insertions are assimilated, but also as a means through which communicative outcomes can be achieved.

Theory of transfer, while considered uncommon in the study of CS, meet the three criteria listed above and is thus selected for the analysis in this chapter. Before I elaborate on

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[6] Later extended into two sub-models: *the 4-M model* and *the Abstract Level model* in Myers-Scotton (2002a) and the volume edited by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000).

the transfer framework employed in this study, which is that of Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008), it is important that we first look at a brief background of the study of transfer. This will help the reader understand how it can be made relevant to CS and how incorporating the study of transfer into that of CS can offer benefits not only to language contact studies but also other studies in other linguistic disciplines, especially second language acquisition (SLA).

5.3 Transfer and code-switching

To avoid terminology confusion, it is essential to reiterate that the term transfer used in this study should not be confused with *transfer* in Auer's (1998) sense, as his definition of transfer corresponds to what I call insertional CS: *the insertion of lexical items from Language A into streams of Language B speech, without changing the agreed language of interaction between speakers*. All of the CS in Pattern B and its sub-patterns presented in Chapter Four are examples of transfer in Auer's (1998) sense.

Transfer studies originated in SLA and language learning/teaching research, most notably in Lado's (1957) contrastive analysis that asserts that speakers' knowledge of L1 may affect their L2 learning. During its early phase, transfer is often viewed negatively as an influence from L1 that impedes L2 learning/acquisition (Jarvis and Pavlenko, 2008). However, researchers soon realised that transfer does not necessarily lead to L2 errors. A number of studies began to show that transfer may in fact be a resource on the basis of which speakers formulate new communicative and language learning strategies (Kleinmann, 1977; Krashen, 1977; Cohen and Aphek, 1978; Meisel, 1983; Wode, 1986; Ringbom, 1987; Odlin, 1989; Ard and Homberg, 1992; Corder, 1992; Schachter, 1992; Dörnyei, 1995). Regarding syntactic transfer, Verschik (2005) and Marian and Kaushanskaya (2007) have demonstrated that bilingual speakers' knowledge of L1 syntactic structures may be part of how L2 expressions are prepared and produced. While contrastive analysis slowly lost its impact, the phenomenon of transfer continues to thrive and was established as a research topic by the 1990s (Jarvis and Pavlenko, 2008), which is around the same time that CS studies flourished.

Despite transfer and CS both being language contact phenomena (Sankoff, 2001; Muysken, 2013), there is still little empirical research on how CS can be made relevant to transfer, and vice versa. To date, the majority of transfer studies have been conducted from the SLA perspective, while CS studies have been carried out largely within the ambit of theoretical linguistics (Sakel, 2011). As a result, transfer and CS studies are developing in different directions, as if they are two unrelated linguistic phenomena, when in fact they have

always been looking at the same outcome of language contact, that is, how elements of one language occur in streams of utterances in another language (Paradis, 1998; Treffers-Daller, 2009; Sakel, 2011). It has been suggested that CS and transfer can be explored simultaneously (Wode, 1986; Moore, 2002; Clyne, 1987, 2003; Bolonyai, 2009; Bullock, 2009; Müller and Cantone, 2009) and that both can benefit from the other's findings: CS studies could contribute to transfer studies with knowledge about how lexical items are integrated into another language and what L1 syntactic structure is required for such integration, while transfer studies could contribute to CS studies with knowledge about how speakers' lexical choices are influenced by certain underlying systems of other languages (e.g. syntactic, semantic, conceptual frames) (Meisel, 1983; Sakel, 2011). This has been demonstrated the most clearly in Clyne (1987, 2003) and his notion of convergence.

In the context of CS, convergence refers to the process in which speakers transfer certain underlying structures (in the case of this study, syntactic structures) of one language to another language that they are switching into (Clyne, 1987, 2003). By doing so, they make both languages more similar and compatible, thus enabling them to perform CS without violating the grammatical structures of both languages. In other words, convergence facilitates syntactic congruence between the two languages and "ease [CS]" (Clyne, 1987, p. 753). For example, consider the following example from Clyne (1987, p. 753, adjusted for exemplification purpose). As explained by Clyne (1987), the speaker applies English progressive verb structure to Dutch as he/she performs CS, as Standard Dutch does not permit progressive verb form in this context. By doing so, he/she manages to code-switch without being ungrammatical.

Example 5.1

Want wij war [waren]… **coming to Australia**.
*For we were **coming to Australia**.*

Standard Dutch:	Want	wij	kwamen	naar	Australïe
	because	we	came	to	Australia

For we came to Australia.

The notion of convergence certainly offers insights into the interrelation between CS and syntactic transfer, as shown in Savić (1995), Verschik (2005) and Dimitrijević-Savić (2008). However, it tends to focus only on syntactic characteristics of syntactic transfer to CS, and much less on the discourse-pragmatic facet associated with such syntactic transfer. As pointed out in Toribio (2004), it is important that this aspect of transfer in CS context is not

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ignored, for narrative and/or discourse functions may also affect how transfer is utilised in CS. The analysis in this present chapter is motivated by this point.

In Chapter 4, I have shown that first-generation Thai immigrants' CS in intragroup talk is highly purposeful. In this current chapter, I intend to show that the purposefulness of their CS did not arise solely from social or discourse motivations, but also from the transfer of certain Thai syntactic structures to CS which allowed the informants to maximise the usefulness of CS. Integration of CS with transfer studies in this manner helps raise new questions that may lead to new understandings of both phenomena and encourage simultaneous study on CS and transfer that is currently being demanded (Isurin et al., 2009; Treffers-Daller, 2009; Sakel, 2011; Treffers-Daller and Sakel, 2012).

5.3.1 *Transfer and code-switching in Thai-English contact literature*

In Thai-English contact literature, studies of transfer in Thai-English CS are scarce. So far, transfer studies in Thailand have tended to focus on Thai transfer to monolingual English production of native speakers of Thai – for example, Watkhaolarm's (2005) and Bennui and Hashim's (2014) analysis of novels written in English by Thai authors, and Richards and Sukwiwat's (1983) and Wannurak's (2008) study of Thai students' transfer of the Thai politeness system to English. Some of the very few existing studies of transfer in Thai-English CS are Kannaovakun's (2000) and Kannaovakun and Gunther's (2003) analysis of Thai-English CS in Thai television programmes, in which they identify and explain a variety of Thai features in English switches, although they do so largely in terms of nativisation. The Thai-English CS data from online chatrooms in Tagg and Seargeant (2012) also exhibited some Thai transfers to English, although the authors did not elaborate much on them. Thai transfers to English (or Thai-styled English in Kannaovakun and Gunther, 2003) that have been identified in previous studies are summarised in Table 5.1. Note that types of transfer that are similar are collapsed under one category. For example, Trakelkasemsuk's (2012) category of *style shift*, i.e. the import of Thai proverbs and cultural notions into English, and *translation*, i.e. the direct translation of Thai expressions and concepts into English) are collapsed into one category of *direct translation*.

Table 5.1: Summary of the existing types of Thai transfer in English

Type	Definition	Example
Sociocultural transfer	Transfer of Thai social or cultural notions/concepts to English.	Transfer of Thai politeness system to English, resulting in overproduction of English honorifics (Richards and Sukwiwat, 1983) and indirect refusals (Wannurak, 2008)
Direct translation	Translation of Thai expressions directly into English, which may not make sense to native speakers of English.	You, a *golden flower*: from the Thai phrase *dòk thong* (English: *golden flower = a loose woman*) (Watkhaolarm, 2005, p. 149)
Reduplication	Application of Thai lexical reduplication pattern to English lexical items, often to alter the meaning of the English word.	yom ráp khwam pen ching *optimum optimum* (English: *accept the truth so optimally*) (Kannaovakun, 2000, p. 61)
Hybridisation	Combination of Thai and English lexical items in accordance with Thai rules of word-formation.	kan *balance* (Thai: *doing* + English: *balance = balance*) (Kannaovakun and Gunther, 2003, p. 73)
Conversion	Use of English items for grammatical functions that differ from the original.	rao *action* di (English: we *action* well) The English noun *action* is used as a verb. (Kannaovakun and Gunther, 2003, p. 74)

The existing categories of Thai transfers to English listed above are problematic in several respects. First, previous researchers did not specify clearly how they arrived at a conclusion that what they identified was indeed transfer and not interference. For example, let us consider the example of conversion presented in Table 5.1. I do not deny that the noun-to-verb conversion of the English word *action* in the sentence *rao action di* (English: *we action well*) may be the result of conversion, as is the case in established world English varieties (Baumgardner, 1990; Biermeier, 2009). However, without clear criteria of identification, there is also a possibility that the use of *action* as a verb is the result of the speaker's lack of English proficiency. Although some studies do perform frequency counts to show regularity

of occurrence of certain Thai features in English, the lack of clear criteria of Thai transfer identification inevitably affects the credibility of the existing categories of Thai transfers. Second, the identification of the Thai transfers focuses mainly on discourse and sociocultural aspects, leaving open the question regarding the interplay at the syntactic level between Thai and English, which to my knowledge has rarely been explored. Based on these problems, I would argue that the study of Thai transfer to English needs be refined in terms of method of identification and scope of analysis. This is what I intend to achieve in this chapter through the application of Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer identification criteria to my first-generation Thai immigrants' CS data.

5.4 Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer identification criteria

Over the past decades, a number of transfer theoretical frameworks have been proposed. However, the most rigorous transfer criteria to date is that of Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), originally proposed in Jarvis (2000a). Unlike previous theories which tended to treat transfer as a "you-know-it-when-you-see-it" phenomenon, i.e. something that can be identified instinctively (Jarvis, 2000a, p. 246), Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) theory offers a clear set of transfer criteria: intragroup homogeneity, intergroup heterogeneity and crosslinguistic performance congruity (to be discussed in upcoming sub-sections). According to Jarvis (2000a), Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) and Treffers-Daller (2011), the lack of well-defined criteria for identifying transfer impedes the development of the language contact field, as it prevents comparison of findings across studies and exacerbates the confusion in language contact terminologies (CS, borrowing, transfer, interference). This problem is of critical importance in this present study because unclear distinction between CS and transfer, which are the two main contact phenomena being investigated, may lead to ambiguity and misinterpretation of research findings. Many studies have employed statistical analysis as the basis for identifying transfer (e.g. Lowie, 2000; Navés et al., 2005; Wrembel, 2010). However, while Jarvis (2000a) and Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) agree that statistical analysis is indeed useful, they argue that more evidence and more systematic criteria are necessary if the phenomenon of transfer is to be theorised and identified in a systematic and rigorous manner.

According to Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer framework, L1 features that appear in L2 production are considered transfer only when they meet all three of the following criteria: *intragroup homogeneity*, *intergroup heterogeneity* and *crosslinguistic performance congruity*. Each criterion and its role in the analysis in this chapter are discussed in turn.

5.4.1 *Intragroup homogeneity*

The first criterion requires that the use of a certain L1 structure in L2 production must occur in a largely uniform manner by the same group of speakers of the same L1. Some examples of intragroup homogeneity can be found in Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002), in which the majority of their L1 Russian participants exhibited some Russian structural features, such as word order and article system, in their L2 English usage. Similarly, Tan (2005, p. 165) also reports how L1 Chinese speakers of English in Singapore tended to omit the subject of a finite clause (e.g. *will inform you if anything happens* in contrast to the Standard English sentence *I will inform you if anything happens*), as well as the definite/indefinite English articles (e.g. *if Ø hospitals do not collect Ø fees* in contrast to *if the hospitals do not collect the fees* in Standard English).

In the context of this present study, I interpret intragroup homogeneity as the uniform and apparently systematic use of Thai syntactic structures in CS production. However, I use the term "uniform" in a different and more specific way than Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) do. For Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), "uniform" is equated with "statistical significance" (see also Jarvis, 2000a). In other words, the L1 feature is question must occur sufficiently abundantly to be tested statistically. This is because Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) framework is designed largely for either emerging or stable linguistic varieties and interlanguage in which transfer is common, thus no minimum frequency for transfer is specified. However, in the case of my data in which CS occurred at a low frequency, certain Thai syntactic structures underlying CS must be used by at least half of the speakers (18 out of 36) to be considered "uniform". This specific meaning of "uniform" used in this study is motivated by Sankoff (1980) who remarked in her study of linguistic variability that that a linguistic feature can be said to have reached consistency when it is used by half of the speakers. Failing to meet this minimum frequency threshold means that the Thai structures in question are more likely to be interference. I acknowledge the possibility that infrequent instantiation may be due to a small dataset. To avoid misreporting, I exercised caution and did not include any Thai features underlying CS that occurred only once in the entire corpus in the analysis, as it is unclear whether they are interference or whether their limited appearance is a function of the limited size of the corpus.

5.4.2 *Intergroup heterogeneity*

Intergroup heterogeneity is based on the assumption that the underlying L1 feature in question is "not something that every learner does (to the same degree or in the same way) regardless of L1 background" (Jarvis, 2000a, p. 255). According to Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), intergroup heterogeneity can be established through three methods:

1) Comparing L2 usage across speakers of different L1s. For example, Ringbom (1987) and Odlin (2012) compare L2 English production of L1 Swedish speakers with that of L1 Finnish speakers. The English use of the latter group is characterised by the lack of prepositions, which corresponds to the lack of article system and limited number of prepositions in Finnish.

2) Comparing L2 usage of bilinguals with that of monolingual speakers. For example, Treffers-Daller (2011) compares the French of Dutch-French bilinguals with that of French monolinguals. The results show that the bilingual group exhibits the Dutch grammatical collocation structure, that is, a lexical word used with a grammatical word such as *chercher après* (English: *to search for*) and *recevoir dehors* (English: *to get out*) in their use of French.

3) Comparing L1 usage of bilinguals with that of monolingual speakers. This method overlaps with the next criterion, *crosslinguistic performance congruity*, and will thus be discussed in the next section.

Of the three methods, the second method is the most suitable for this study because it focuses on language behaviours of one single group of bilingual speakers (in the case of this study, first-generation Thai immigrants) rather than comparison across groups of speakers of different L1s. Moreover, it involves only one L1 and L2 each, meaning that the effect of a particular L1 on L2 production can be observed more clearly. Note that intergroup heterogeneity does not mean that the underlying structure in question must be unique only to the Thai language (which is highly unrealistic, as languages, even those from different families, can share common features). Moreover, as pointed out in Sakel (2011), "contact phenomena between languages are often very similar, irrespective of L1 and L2s involved (e.g. Matras, 2007) for a variety of reasons". Therefore, for a certain Thai syntactic structure underlying CS to meet the requirements for intergroup heterogeneity in this study, it simply needs to be shown that the structure in question does not exist in English, or is used in a different way from when it is used in monolingual English.

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5.4.3 *Crosslinguistic performance congruity*

The third criterion of transfer demands that the structural pattern that underlies L2 production must also be found in the speakers' L1 (and not in L2, in accordance with the criterion of intergroup heterogeneity). The most important aspect of crosslinguistic performance congruity is that it links patterns that underlie L2 production to their original source pattern in L1, and thus explains the occurrence of intragroup homogeneity. In other words, it represents the relationship between L1 and L2 within the same group of bilingual speakers in a way that the other two criteria, intragroup homogeneity and intergroup heterogeneity, cannot do. For example, the omission of English articles and plural inflections by L1 Chinese speakers in Singapore corresponds to the lack of article and inflectional systems in Chinese (Platt et al., 1984; Tan, 2005). Similarly, Allami and Naeimi (2011) report how the refusal pattern found in L2 English of L1 Persian speakers corresponds to that of Persian rather than English. Failing to meet the crosslinguistic performance congruity criteria suggests that the underlying feature in question may be the result of speech error, emergence of an interlanguage, or a new mixed linguistic variety if it occurs frequently enough (for example, see the case of Gurindji Kriol in McConvell and Meakins, 2005; Meakins, 2010).

To test whether certain Thai structures underlying English insertions meet the crosslinguistic performance congruity criterion, the structure in question is compared with that in the informants' monolingual Thai utterances in the audio-recorded data, which are available in abundance due to the informants' strong preference for Thai. Moreover, further examples from the 2007 Thai National Corpus II[7] are also provided to further confirm that the Thai structure identified in the audio-recorded data do not result from L1 speech errors or speakers' idiosyncrasies but are an established feature of Thai. The 2007 Thai National Corpus II was chosen as a reliable reference because it is the most comprehensive corpus of modern Standard Thai assembled to date, compiled by Chulalongkorn University, one of the most prestigious universities in Thailand which was included in World University Rankings 2016-2017 (Times Higher Education, 2017).

Any Thai structures underlying CS that fail to meet the criterion of crosslinguistic performance congruity (except those that occur only once, which are excluded from analysis) would be considered the result of speech error. While the occurrence of an underlying structure that does not exist in both the speakers' L1 and L2 could be taken as an indicator of a new linguistic variety, as in the case of Gurindji Kriol (McConvell and Meakins, 2005;

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[7] http://www.arts.chula.ac.th/~ling/TNCII/

Meakins, 2010), it is unlikely to be the case in this present study due to the low CS frequency, as clearly demonstrated in Chapter 3.

To summarise, for a certain Thai structure underlying English insertions of first-generation Thai immigrants to be considered a transfer, it must meet all three of Jarvis and Pavenko's (2008) criteria: first, it must be used in the same manner by at least half of the speakers (intragroup homogeneity). However, any Thai structures underlying English insertions that occurred only once in the corpus are excluded from the study, as it is inconclusive whether they are caused by L1 interference or my small dataset; second, it must not exist in English, or if it does, it must be used differently than it is normally used by native speakers of English (intergroup heterogeneity); and third, it must also exist in monolingual L1 Thai (crosslinguistic performance congruity). Failing to meet the first criterion indicates that the Thai structure in question is not transfer, but rather interference, language universal or speech error. On the basis of the three transfer criteria proposed in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), I represent the process of transfer identification employed in this present study as follows (Figure 5.1):

Figure 5.1: Transfer identification process

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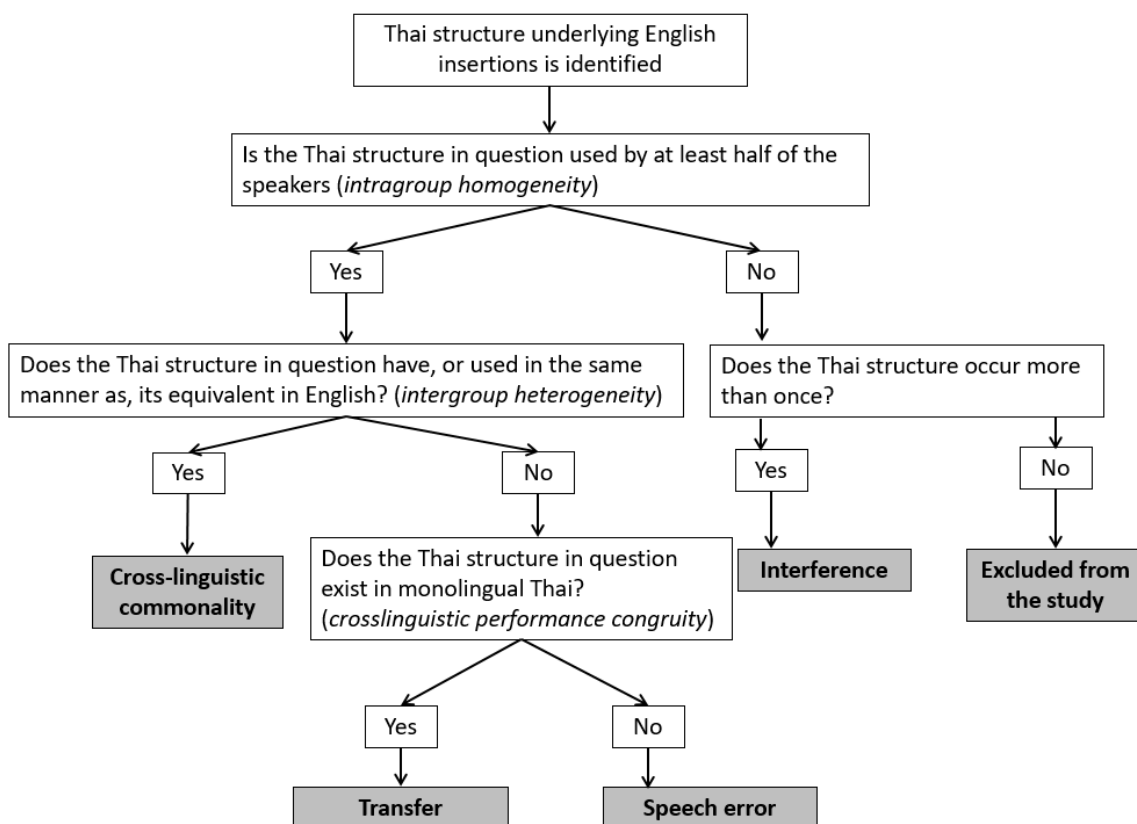
5.5 Typological characteristics of Thai

To broaden the scope of the study of Thai transfer from discourse and sociocultural functions to structures underlying CS, a review of typological characteristics of Thai is required. While Thai is an SVO language like English, it differs from English in many significant ways. In this section, only the characteristics of Thai that do not exist in English and that might affect the underlying structures of CS are discussed.

5.5.1 *Lack of verb/noun inflectional system*

Thai is an isolating language. This means that 1) each Thai word contains only a single morpheme (except words derived from foreign languages such as Pali, Sanskrit and English) (Suthiwan and Tadmore, 2009); 2) Thai has no inflectional system – a feature it shares with other Southeast Asian languages such as Laotian, Cambodian and Vietnamese (Tuc, 1997, 2003; Migenishi, 2011). These characteristics of Thai clearly distinguish it from English, which allows multiple morphemes in a single word (e.g. *overindulging*, from prefix *over* + verb *indulge* + suffix *-ing*) and noun/verb inflection. In a Standard English sentence, a verb must be modified in accordance with the time reference and subject of the sentence to be well-formed. However, Thai verbs never change their forms. Instead, the point of time that an event occurs is indicated with tense markers such as *chà* (English: *will*), *kamlang* (English: *currently*), and *dâi* (English: *receive, get*), and time words such as *wan ní* (English: *today*), *phrûng ní* (English: *tomorrow*), and *mûea wan ní* (English: *yesterday*). The examples from the 2007 Thai National Corpus II given in Example 5.1 show that the Thai verb *pai* (English: *go*) (marked with boldface) remains in the same form across all three verb tenses, whereas the English verb *go* (marked with a thick underline) is inflected. The Thai time words are marked with a double underline.

    Example 5.1

    Present tense

Thai:	wan ní **pai**	rian	kì		mong
	today **go**	study	how many		hour
English:	*What time do [you]* **go** *to school today?*				

<u>Past tense</u>

Thai: <u>mûea wan</u> **pai** hǎ faen   thî bân
        yesterday **go** find boyfriend at home
English: *[I] __went__ to see my boyfriend at his house <u>yesterday</u>.*

<u>Future tense</u>

Thai: mâe   <u>chà</u> **pai** nǎi rǔe há
        mother   will **go** where PP PP
English: *Mum, where are you __going__?*

Thai nouns are transnumeral (Rijkhoff, 2008). While English requires that the plural markers *-s* or *-es* be added to plural nouns (with an exception of irregular nouns), plurality of Thai nouns is indicated through numbers, classifiers and reduplication. This is illustrated in Example 5.2 (Smyth , 2002, p. 25). The Thai nouns are marked with boldface, the English nouns with a thick underline, and Thai numbers and classifiers that indicate the plurality of the Thai nouns are marked with a double underline.

Example 5.3

<u>Singular noun</u>

Thai: chǎn hâi ahǎn **mǎ** <u>tua</u> <u>nùeng</u>
        I give food dog CLF one
English: *I fed a <u>dog</u>.*

<u>Plural nouns</u>

Thai: chǎn hâi ahǎn **mǎ** <u>sǒng</u> <u>tua</u>
        I give food dog two CLF
English: *I fed two <u>dogs</u>.*

<u>Plural nouns (by reduplication)</u>

Thai: chǎn hâi ahǎn **mǎ** **mǎ**
        I give food dog dog
English: *I fed some/many <u>dogs</u>.*

5.5.2 *Pragmatic particle system*

Thai has a rich and complex pragmatic particle system (subsequently referred to as pragmatic particles, or PP), which includes the addition of small words after a word, phrase, or clause in order to achieve a great variety of communicative goals (Cooke, 1989; Iwasaki and Horie, 2000; Higbie and Thinsan, 2002; Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005). Drawing on this characteristic, I represent the overall frame of the Thai PP as LEX / PH / CL + PP, with LEX referring to word, PH to phrase, CL to clause, and PP to pragmatic particle. Meanings and functions of Thai PPs can change with phonological variations, position of occurrence and type of sentence in which they occur (e.g. statement, question and imperative). Given this complexity of the Thai PP system, and its importance to the analysis in this present chapter, it is necessary to introduce and exemplify it. Due to limitations of space, I will cover only the aspects of the Thai PP system and the PPs of relevance to this study.

First, the Thai PP frame LEX / PH / CL + PP enables speakers of Thai to establish common ground with another speaker with greater ease. The Thai PP that is often used for this purpose is *ná*, which denotes the speaker's request for agreement, or his/her proposition of a certain piece of information that can be challenged as part of common ground building. In Example 5.3 (and elsewhere in this study), the Thai PP in each example is marked in boldface and thick underline, while the lexical/phrasal/clausal unit to which the PP is attached is marked with square brackets [ ] and a subscript that identifies the unit type. For example, [X]$_{LEX}$ indicates that the item in square brackets is a single word.

Example 5.4

[wan ní   năo]$_{CL}$ **ná**
today   cold   PP
It's cold today, isn't it?

(Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005, p. 189)

The underlying frame of the utterance above is CL + PP, which enables the speaker to combine the Thai PP *ná* with the Thai clause. In this context, *ná* serves to urge a response from another speaker in a similar way to the English tag question (Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005). Therefore, it signifies that *it's cold today* is the information that she wishes to establish as common ground.

The Thai PP frame also allows the combination of a word, phrase, or clause with Thai PPs to reinforce the emphatic meaning. The PPs that are commonly used for this purpose are those such as *nà*, *à*, *nâ*, *nî*, *nîa*, *ngía*, *nânlà* and *nânlàe*, all of which primarily encode

emphasis to the items after which they appear. In other words, the main function of these PPs is to signal that a certain noun, phrase, or clause is of "striking [and] critical relevance to the situation at hand" (Cooke, 1989, p. 21), that it is key to the point being made (Higbie and Thinsan, 2002). Some examples are given Example 5.4.

Example 5.4

[kunchae]$_{LEX}$ **nà** choe rŭe yang
key PP find or yet
The key, have you found it?

(Higbie and Thinsan, 2002, p. 291, my translation)

Nà indicates that the speaker wishes to place extra emphasis on *kunchae* (English: *key*) rather than on the overall process of finding the key. If the latter were the case, the utterance would have been:

[choe khunchae rŭe yang]$_{CL}$ **nà**
find key or yet PP
Have you found the key yet?

The next example also demonstrates how the underlying PP frame enables the speaker to place emphasis on a certain item through the Thai emphatic PPs *nî* and *nân làe* (*khráp* is a male-specific particle that reflects the speaker's politeness and adds formality to the entire utterance).

Example 5.5

A: [[sàmùt]$_{LEX}$ **nî** khŏng khrai]$_{CL}$ khráp
notebook PP of who PP
Whose notebook is this?

B: kô [khŏng khun]$_{PH}$ **nân làe**
CONJ of you PP
[It's] yours/your book.

(Higbie and Thinsan, 2002, p. 293)

In Speaker A's utterance, the PP frame LEX + PP enables Speaker A to combine the word *sàmùt* (English: *notebook*) with the Thai PP *nî*. As a result, the notebook is emphasised as the key information of the utterance, and it becomes explicit that Speaker A is referring to *this*

particular notebook and not just any notebook. In this respect, *nî* is similar to the English demonstrative *this*. The Thai PP *nân làe*, embedded in the PP frame PH + PP in Speaker B's utterance, serves a similar function, adding emphasis to Speaker B's response (that the notebook belongs to Speaker A).

The other two Thai PPs that are commonly used in the PP frame are *ngai* and *sì*, which often enhance confirmation of the item it follows, and may also imply that the information encoded in the item is a self-evident fact that should be obvious to all parties in interaction (Cooke, 1989). This is illustrated in Example 5.6a in which the presence of the PP *ngai* in the pragmatic particle frame PH + PP adds the *exactly* aspect to the utterance it accompanies. Similar functions are also served by the PP *sì* in Example 5.6b in which it alters the pragmatic meaning of *ao* (English: *to take*) from being just Speaker B's simple answer to Speaker A's question into a strong confirmation (that the speaker does want some beer). It also implies that *to take* is the answer that Speaker B should have known even before asking. *Măi* is a question-making particle.

Example 5.6a

[khon ní]PH **ngai** thî ma hă khun mûea wan ní
person this PP that come find you yesterday this
It was he/she who came to see you yesterday.

(Higbie and Thinsan, 2002, p. 42)

Example 5.6b

A: [ao bia]CL măi
take beer PP
Would you like some beer?

B: [ao]LEX **sì**
take PP
Of course.

(Higbie and Thinsan, 2002, p. 296-297)

Moreover, when *sì* is combined with an imperative, it not only adds emphasis but also signals urgency and a tone associated with the command (Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005). This is illustrated in Example 5.6c where *sì* encodes the urging tone to the action *bòk ma* (English: *tell me*).

Example 5.6c

mi	àrai	mâng	[bòk	ma]CL	**sì**
have	what	any	tell	come	PP

Do tell me what you want to say.

(Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005, p. 194)

Examples 5.4 through to 5.6a – c have demonstrated the complexity of the Thai PP system that distinguishes it from the English particle system. While English does allow the addition of a particle, particularly a preposition, to a lexical item, resulting in grammatical collocation (Jackendoff, 2002; Gyllstad, 2014), this particular English particle frame does not necessarily allow speakers to reflect their propositional attitudes in the same manner that the Thai PP frame does. Rather, it serves to establish a syntagmatic relation between the lexical item and the particle, producing a phrase that represents one single meaning, for example, *write up* and *freak out*.

5.5.3 *Flexible serial verb construction*

Another characteristic of Thai that distinguishes it from Standard English is the serial verb construction (SVC). SVC can be defined broadly as the concatenation of at least two verbs (and their complements, if any) into a verb chain that reflects one main action or event (even though each verb describes an individual action) without being interrupted by conjunctions (Thepkanjana, 1986; Baker, 1989; Collins, 1997; Muansuwan, 2002; Migenishi, 2011). In Standard English, a verb chain is considered uncommon, and when it does occur, it almost never contains more than two verbs (Slobin, 2004; Winskel and Luksaneeyanawin, 2009; Roberts, 2012), as shown in Example 5.7. The underlying SVC is marked with a thick underline.

Example 5.7

<u>Go see</u> who's at the door.
Kim will <u>come cut </u>the grass every week.   (Zwicky, 1991, p. 127)

Mary <u>stopped crying</u>.
Sam <u>helped run</u> the tournament.   (Roberts, 2012, p. 216)

In contrast to English, Thai allows a much more flexible construction of SVC that may contain up to six verbs (Thepkanjana, 1986, 2008). Here, I represent the pattern of Thai SVC as V + V [+ 4 V^{MAX}], where the letter V represents a verb. The first pair of Vs outside of the

square brackets represents the requirement of a minimum of two verbs, while [+ 4 V$^{\text{MAX}}$] represents the fact that a maximum of four more verbs can be added to the verb chain. An example from Muansuwan (2002, p. 47) is given in Example 5.8:

Example 5.8

Mali   <u>doen   òk   won   klàp   yón   pai</u>   dûai   fítháo   bao
Mali   run   reverse return   exit   circle   go   with   footstep   light
Mali walked out, circling, back away with light footsteps.

Another characteristic feature of Thai SVC is that it allows a greater range of verbs to be combined. The most common ones are directional and aspectual verbs (to be exemplified below) (Thepkanchana, 1986; Muansuwan, 2002). This means the Thai SVC can give rise to a much greater variety of semantic patterns than the English SVC could (Diller, 2006). The most common types of Thai SVC are directional and aspectual SVCs. Thai directional SVC encodes pattern or direction of motion (Muansuwan, 2002). Example 5.9 represents the case in which the Thai SVC structure accommodates the three Thai verbs *doen* (English: *to walk*), *won* (English: *to circle*), and *òk* (English: *to exit*) which are joint as a single verb chain. Here, the direction of the main action (*doen*) is further clarified by *won* and *òk*. Together, they give rise to a directional SVC.

Example 5.9: Directional SVC

Nari   <u>doen   won   òk</u>
Nari   walk   circle   exit
Nari walked, circling, out.

(Muansuwan, 2002, p. 88)

Other directional Thai verbs that are commonly used by native speakers of Thai include:

- ◆ *ma* (English: *to come*)
- ◆ *pai* (English*: to go*)
- ◆ *trong* (English: *to go straight*); and
- ◆ *long* (English: *to descend*).

The second common type of Thai SVC is the aspectual SVC, which emerges when speakers activate the Thai SVC frame and combine the main action with aspectual verbs such as:

♦ *sèt* (English: *to finish*), which encodes the perfective aspect to the action

♦ *yù* (English: *to stay*), which encodes the continuous aspect to the action

♦ *dâi* (English: *to get*), which encodes the receiving and past tense aspect (but can also indicate inward direction) of the action; and

♦ *wái* (English: *to keep*), which encodes the maintenance aspect to the action

Example 5.10 shows the case of aspectual SVC in which the aspectual verbs *sèt* and its complement *phâ* indicate that the main event (i.e. *washing clothes*) happened in the past and has already ended. *Pai*, on the other hand, is usually recognised as a directional verb. However, when applied to a non-motion related verb, it encodes the metaphorical notion of *long gone* or *long finished* to the main verb.

Example 5.10

Pìtì   sák   phâ   sèt   pai
Pìtì   wash   clothes finish go
Piti finished washing clothes.

(Muansuwan, 2002, p. 185)

Although only several typological characteristics of Thai can be discussed in this section, they represent specific areas that may reveal insights into the process of CS that is motivated by the characteristics of a particular language pair. I conclude this section with a summary of typological differences between Thai and English in Table 5.2, before moving on to the analysis of how certain underlying features of Thai are transferred to English insertions in my data.

Table 5.2: Typological differences between Thai and English

Languages Features	Thai	Standard English
Verb/noun inflection	✕	✓
pragmatic particle frame	✓	✕
Serial verb construction	✓ Maximum of six verbs	✓ Maximum of two verbs

5.6 Thai syntactic transfer to code-switching

This section provides systematic analysis of Thai syntactic structures that underlie CS in my data[8]. By employing Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) criteria of transfer identification, I was able to identify two types of Thai syntactic transfer underlying the informants' English insertions: the Thai PP frame and the Thai SVC frame, as well as distinguish them from other language contact outcomes. The principles of CA were also applied to the analysis when applicable. One point worthy of note is that all of the English switches that received the Thai PP and SVC frames already functioned as contextualisation cues. In some cases, Thai syntactic transfers corroborate the contextualisation functions of CS, and in some they add a new function altogether.

5.6.1 *Thai pragmatic particle frame*

The analysis reveals that the informants sometimes applied the Thai PP frame LEX / PH / CL + PP to their CS. Once underlaid by the frame, English switches could be combined with Thai pragmatic particles, resulting in the alteration of the pragmatic meanings of the switches. It must be emphasised that only the application of the Thai PP frame to CS is considered transfer. The combination of Thai PPs with switched items, on the other hand, is not. This is because it involves the application of lexical units from one language to another and is thus considered CS. Simply put, CS is made possible by the transfer of the Thai PP frame to English insertions.

It is also important that the analysis does not ignore information in previous and subsequent turns, including the surrounding texts within the same turn, as it may be essential for the interpretation of Thai syntactic transfers. The turn-by-turn, sequential analysis in the tradition of CA is employed for this purpose. This way, I could also observe not only how the Thai PP frame affects semantic/pragmatic meanings of CS, but also how it contributes to the sequential development of talk.

Table 5.3 summarises the Thai PPs that are combined with English insertions in my data. Note that the associated functions of each Thai PP shown here are not exhaustive. Only those that are relevant in the context of this study are mentioned.

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[8] Note that syntactic transfer is not the only type of Thai transfer found in my data, but also phonetic transfer. Almost all the English switches in my data are heavily Thai accented. However, since phonetic transfer is not the focus in this study, it will not be further discussed.

Table 5.3: Thai pragmatic particles and variants used in combination with English insertions

Thai pragmatic particle	Variants	Function(s)
ná	*nà* *à*	Common ground negotiation, emphasis
nî	*nîa* *ngía* *nî làe*	Emphasis
nân	*nân nà* *nân nàe* *nân mǎe* *nân làe*	Emphasis, anaphoric reference
sì	*tì*	Emphasis of a positive response and obvious fact, emphasis of urgency
ngai	-	Emphasis of a positive response and obvious fact

I realise that many Thai PPs can be observed in this example. However, to maintain our focus on the transfer of the Thai PP frame to CS, only those that are combined with English insertions are discussed, highlighted in boldface and thick underline. Let us begin with Example 5.11.

Example 5.11
Speaker 1A talks about the high living cost in the South of England where Speaker 1B is moving to.

1   1A: thâ   thoe   dâi   sǎm   mùen   kwà   thî   London   oe:
            if   you   get   three   ten thousand   over   in   London   FP
            If you earn around £30,000 in London, er,

2   chǎn   chà   bòk   hâi   khâ   khrong   chîp-   thî   thoe   wâ
            I   will   tell   give   fee   maintain   life   that   you   say
            let me tell you. The living cost- that you said

3   phaeng   thî   nî   rǒe   thî   **down south**   [**double**]LEX   **<u>ná</u>** (.)
            expensive   at   here   PP   at   **down south**   **double**   PP
            expensive here? ***Down south***, *[the living cost]* ***doubles*** *up,*

4   chà   bòk   hâi (.)   mâi   châi   wâ   thûk   dôe: (.)   mâi   ngán
            will   tell   you   no   yes   that   cheap   PP   no   that
            let me tell you. [It's] not cheap, you know. Or else

5		chăn	kàp	Victor	kô	pai	yù	tâng	nan	láeu
		I	and	Victor	then	go	stay	over	long	already

Victor and I would have moved there already.

6	1B:	mâi:	chăn	kô	mâi	dâi	yù	nai	London	châi	pào
		no	I	then	no	get	stay	in	London	yes	PP

No, I won't be living in London, you know.

7		chăn	yù	khâng	nô:k
		I	live	side	out

I will live outside [of London].

8	1A:	khâng	nôk	nânlàe	[**down south**]PH	**nà**	yîng	phaeng
		side	out	PP	**down south**	PP	more	expensive

*Outside [of London] exactly. **Down south,** [the living cost] is even more expensive.*

9		Kent-	bân	lăng	ní	săen		chèt
		Kent	house	CLF	this	hundred thousand		seven

Kent- this house [= 1A's house] is about £170,000 –

10		săen		pàet	pai	yù	dâi	khâe
		hundred thousand		eight	go	stay	get	only

£180,000. [You] go and live [in Kent] [you] can only get

11		flàet	sŏng	hông	non	thî	**down south**
		flat	two	room	sleep	in	**down south**

*a two-bedroom flat **down south**.*

In Example 5.11, two instances of English insertions within the Thai PP frame can be noticed in lines 3 and 8. In line 3, the frame LEX + PP enables the English insertion *double* to be combined with the Thai PP *ná*. Given the common ground establishing function of *ná*, we may interpret that *double* is the key aspect of the discussion on *the living cost in Southern England* that Speaker 1A wishes to establish as common knowledge from which the conversation proceeds. This is evident in lines 2 and 3 where *double* contrasts sharply with Speaker 1B's assumption quoted by Speaker 1A, line 4, where Speaker 1A continues to reiterate that the living cost is not cheap, and in line 5 where she uses this knowledge to justify why her husband and she decided not to move to the South of England. It is likely that Speaker 1A does not apply the Thai PP frame to *down South* as soon as it appears in line 3 because *double* is currently the more prominent aspect of the discussion on *the living cost in Southern England* (lines 1 to 5). However, the fact that *down South* occurs multiple times in this example (lines 3, 8 and 11) suggests its importance in the ongoing talk. This is elaborated in the next paragraph.

In lines 6 and 7, Speaker 1B's utterances imply that she interprets *down South* as an exclusive reference to London (possibly because Speaker 1A mentions "*earnings in London*" in line 1). However, this turns out to be a misinterpretation, as Speaker 1A immediately points out at the beginning of line 8 that the cities outside of London are *exactly* (indicated through the Thai emphatic PP *nân làe*) what she means by *down South*. The misinterpretation identifies *down South* as the concept that needs to be brought into attention and more clearly defined, which Speaker 1A accomplishes through the application of the Thai PP frame PH + PP to *down South* in line 8. By combining *down South* with the Thai PP *nà*, Speaker 1A brings the English insertion to Speaker 1B's attention, marking it as the current topic. The importance of *down South* as the key point being discussed is evident in how it occurs again in line 11 (see also Section 4.6.4 in Chapter 4 regarding coherence by repetition), and how it is further elaborated through Speaker 1A's example of the living cost in *Kent*, which clarifies that *down South* does not refer exclusively to London, as understood by Speaker 1B.

Although *ná* and its variants largely accompany intra-sentential CS, as shown in Example 5.11, they can also accompany inter-sentential CS. They are the only types of Thai PPs that do so in this study. This is illustrated in Example 5.12a to 5.12c. Note that all of the utterances are quoted speech, which may suggest that *ná* and its variants emphasise not only the message being conveyed but also the fact that they are someone else's utterances.

Example 5.12a
Speaker 8B quotes an English-speaking customer's food request.

1   8B: phôen wâ **chicken** à **chicken** nânnà
           he say **chicken** FP **chicken** PP
           *He said "**Chicken**, er, that **chicken** [thing].*

2   [**You can- you make bread chicken cheese for me**]CL   **nà**
           You can- you make bread chicken cheese for me?"

Example 5.12b
Speaker 8B quotes her English boss' request.

1   8B: […] châokhŏng rán (.) [8B], [8B], **I'm very busy**.
           owner shop **I'm very busy**
           *The restaurant owner [said] "[8B, [8B], **I'm very busy**.*

2   **Can you put pizza in the-** (.) **here for me** **à** **nă**
           Can you put pizza in the- **here for me** PP PP
           Can you put pizza in the- here for me?"

Example 5.12c
Speaker 16A quotes her English husband's teasing that she spends too much time with
their son.

1   16A: **I marry you** <u>**ná**</u>   mâi   châi   Phil   **marry you**
              I marry you PP   no   yes   Phil   **marry you**
              ***I married you**, not Phil **married you**.*

The next example shows how the PP frame LEX + PP accommodates the English
insertion *England* with two common Thai PPs, *nî* and *nîa*, in lines 3 and 4, respectively. In
this context, these PPs serve primarily to add emphatic meaning to the item they follow rather
than to establish common ground, as is the case of *ná* in Example 5.13:

Example 5.13
Speaker 12A talks about economic crisis.

1   12A: sàmăi kòn   nî   ngoen o-khe ná   tàe   dĭao   ní
              period previous PP   money OK PP   but   moment PP
              Back then, money was OK, but nowadays

2   ngoen hă   yâk   láeu   lá (1.0) thúk   pràthêt
              money find   difficult already PP   every   country
              [it's] hard to earn money. Every country

3   mâi   mi   ngoen ná   dĭao   ní (.)   [**England**]_{LEX} <u>**nî**</u>
              no   have money PP   moment PP   **England**   PP
              *has no money these days. [In] **England**,*

4   tàe   kòn   nî   hă   ngoen <u>ngâ:i</u> mâk   [**England**]_{LEX} <u>**nîa**</u>
              but   previous PP   find   money easy very   **England**   PP
              *[it] used to be so easy earning money, [in] **England**.*

5   dĭao ní-   dĭao   ní   thúk   pràthêt   là
              moment PP   moment PP   every country   PP
              Nowadays- nowadays, every country,

6   mâi   wâ   àmerika rŭe   àrai   man   mâi   mi   ngoen
              no   that   America   or   thing   it   have   no   money
              even America or other [countries], has no money

7   ton   ní
              moment   PP
              right now.

In lines 1, 2, and the beginning of line 3, Speaker 12A talks about economic crisis as a
general fact and a worldwide phenomenon. However, at the end of line 3, she shifts her focus

specifically to *England*. Here, it is likely that Speaker 12A transfers the PP frame to *England* and combines it with the Thai PP *nî* to place extra emphasis on *England*, notifying another speaker that she is now talking about *England's economy*. Then, at the end of line 4, she repeats the English insertion *England*, and again applies to it the PP frame, followed by the Thai PP, *nîa*. The fundamental function of *England nîa* in line 4, like that of *England nî* in line 3, is emphasis. However, notice how the first *England + PP* is used just before Speaker 12A starts talking about *England's economy*, while the second *England + PP* is used after she has finished doing so, and returns to the topic of *worldwide economic crisis* again in lines 5 to 7. This repetition of *England* in the same PP frame possibly serves as a marker of side comment, indicating that *England's economy* is mentioned only momentarily and is not the new topic of discussion. In other words, the English insertions in lines 3 and 4 function in a manner similar to brackets, which circumscribe the additional comment and prevent topic drift (Hobbs, 1990).

The PP frame LEX / PH / CL + PP also enables some English insertions in my data to be combined with the Thai PPs *nân* and its variants. Their fundamental function is to place emphasis on the utterance they follow, as shown in Examples 5.14a to 5.14b.

Example 5.14a

1	8A:	hăm-	hăm- (.)	[**PUSHchair**]ₗₑₓ	**nânmâe**	↑lo:ng	kràdai
		carry	carry	**pushchair**	PP	descend	stairs

[I] carried- carried- the **pushchair** down the stairs,

2		láeu	kô	↑khûe:n	kràdai
		and	then	ascend	stairs

then up the stairs.

Example 5.14b

1	9B:	kô	[**holiday**]ₗₑₓ	**nânnàe**	súe-	súe	tŭa	khrûeangbin
		CONJ	**holiday**	PP	buy	but	ticket	plane

'The **holiday**, [you] can buy- buy plane ticket

2		ma	long	dâi
		come	descend	get

to come [here].'

However, the Thai PPs *nân* and its variants may also play a more complex role in talk-in-interaction. For example, as shown in Example 5.15, they can indicate that the item it

follows is the "sole alternative" (Cooke, 1989, p. 13), and establishes anaphoric reference across a number of turns.

Example 5.15
Speaker 12B is telling a story about how her English husband was frightened by a spider.

1   12B: láeu   kô   phût sámsâk (.)   pràman   sìp   nathi
    and   then   speak repeatedly   about   ten   minute
    And then [he] kept repeating. About every ten minutes,

2   >kô   phût   khûen ma   ìk<   ↑o:i   **I scare ↑I scare very much**
    then   speak ascend come   again   INTERJ   **I scare I scare very much**
    *[he] would say again, "Oh, **I'm scared. I'm scared very much***

3   **I scare spider** tua   khâe   ↑nía   tua   yang kà   cháng   klua
    I scare spider body   just   PP   body   like   elephant be scared
    ***I'm scared [of] spiders**. [The spider] was so tiny! [He's] as big as an elephant, but [he's] scared*

4   málaengmum tà↑lòk
    spider   funny
    [of] spiders. [That's] funny.

5   12A: fàràng   man   klua   phûak nía
    Westerner   they   be scared   group PP
    Westerners are scared of things like this.

6   12B: bân rao à   kin   tua   phûak nán   nà   phî   nóe
    home we PP   eat   body group PP   PP   you   PP
    At home [= Thailand], we eat things like that, right?

7   12A: bûeng
    tarantula
    Tarantulas.

8   12B: oe: tua   bûeng
    INTERJ   body   tarantula
    Yeah, tarantulas.

(three turns omitted)

9   12B: nân làe khǎo rîak- bân   ní   khǎo rîak àrai   ná
    exactly they call   home PP   they call   what   PP
    Exactly. they call- in England, what do they call [bûeng]?

10   12A: hǔe:m   man   kô   [**spider**]_{LEX}   <u>**nân làe**</u> phî   wâ
    INTERJ   it   also   **spider**   PP   I   say
    *Hmm, just **spiders**, I think.*

This segment of talk begins with Speaker 12B's story about her husband and his fear of spiders, in which she quotes him in English (lines 2 and 3). The discussion on fear of spiders gradually leads to the emergence of a new topic about *bûeng*, a type of spider eaten in certain parts of Thailand (lines 7 and 8). Then, in line 9, Speaker 12B becomes intrigued by what *bûeng* may be called in England. In responding to Speaker 12B's question, Speaker 12A reuses the English insertion *spider* from line 3. However, she does not simply repeat the word, but applies to it the PP frame LEX + PP, followed by the addition of the Thai PP *nân làe*. This process is important in two respects. First, it emphasises *spider* as the only possible answer (Cooke, 1989; Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005), at least from Speaker 12A's perspective. In other words, it adds precision to Speaker 12A's answer to Speaker 12B's question. Second, it establishes an anaphoric link between *spider* in line 10 and *spider* that is part of a quoted speech previously mentioned in line 3. The linkage implies that Speaker 12A's guess is based on what Speaker 12B's English husband calls animals of this type.

Power relations within a household can also be observed in Example 5.15. Here, Speaker 12B changes the balance of power dynamics by mocking her husband's fear of spider (lines 2 to 4) in an almost belittling way ("*[He's] as big as an elephant but [he's] scared*"). By doing so, she challenges her husband's authority status and positions herself as the "braver" one.

Moving now to the Thai PPs *ngai* and *sì*, which similarly serve to confirm a response and identify a self-evident fact. For example, in Example 5.16, Speaker 13B combines the English adjective *soft* with *ngai* (line 3) to explain the most obvious characteristic of the haircut to Speaker 13A (*măi* in line 4 marks rhetorical question).

Example 5.16
Speaker 13B is trying to explain her haircut preference to Speaker 13A.

1	13B:	phŏm	man…	khue	man…					
		hair	it	be	it					
		The hair… it's like…								

2	13A:	man	chà	mâi-						
		it	will	not						
		It's not-								

3	13B:	khue	man	[**soft**]LEX	**ngai**	khue	wela	man	chà	pen
		DM	it	**soft**	PP	DM	when	it	will	be
		*Well, it's **soft**. Well, it's*								

4 **layer** châi măi
 layer yes PP
 layered.

Similarly, in Example 5.17, the English insertion *summer* is combined with the Thai PP *sì* not only to confirm Speaker 9A's response but also to reflect it obviousness as the only sensible answer.

Example 5.17
Speaker 9A and 9B are talking about seasons in England.

1 9B: phî [9A] chôp nâ năi là
   older sister [9A] like season which PP
   Which season do you like?

2 9A: ô kô [**summer**]LEX **sì** chá mâe khun thun kràmòm
   INTERJ CONJ **summer** PP PP lady   over head
   *Oh, of course [it's] **summer**, my dearest darling.*

3 9B: (ahhhhh)

4 9A: thô óei thî nî năo chà tai yù lá
   INTERJ place PP cold will die be PP
   Come on, [it's] unbearably cold here.

At first, the excerpt above may seem to be an ordinary question-and-answer interchange: Speaker 9B asks a question (*Which season do you like?*, line 1), to which Speaker 9A then answers (*summer*, line 2). However, closer inspection reveals that the English insertion *summer* is in fact encoded with pragmatic meanings, namely, emphasis and self-evidence, that are made possible through the application of the PP frame LEX + PP and the Thai PP *sì* to *summer*. The emphatic aspect of *sì* adds strong confirmation to *summer*, that it really is Speaker 9A's favourite season. Moreover, *sì* also denotes the self-evidence of the statement. Not only does it reflect Speaker 9A's assumption of Speaker 9B's knowledge, but it also changes the pragmatic meaning of *summer* from a simple, straightforward answer into an intentional statement of the obvious (the PP *chá* that appears after *sì* is an affection-marking particle that reflects Speaker 9A's familiarity with Speaker 9B and does not affect the meaning of *summer*). Further evidence indicating that *summer* is treated here as a fact that should be obvious to Speaker 9B are: 1) the use of *thô óei* (line 4), a Thai exclamation that is commonly said by native speakers of Thai when their expectations are violated (in this case, expectation that Speaker 9B already knows/could assume what Speaker 9A's favourite season

is); and 2) Speaker 9A's negative comment on the cold weather at the time of the data collection in the rest of line 4, which implies that it is unpleasant, and to assume that she likes winter would be absurd.

Another example of the combination of *sì* with CS is shown in Example 5.18. However, it alters the meaning of CS in a completely different way from *summer* in the previous example.

Example 5.17
Speaker 18A quotes her English driving instructor.

1   18A: bang   thi   pho-   pho   khǎo bòk   wâ   âo (.)
                 some time when when he   say   that   INTERJ
                 Sometimes, when- when he says that, "OK,

2   [**turn in road**]CL   **sì**   […]
           turn in road   PP
           ***turn in[to the] road** now […]*

The English insertion *turn in road* in line 2 is an imperative clause quoted from Speaker 18A's English driving instructor's speech. Similar to *summer* in Example 5.17, *turn in road* is underlaid by the PP frame CL + PP, and is combined with the Thai PP *sì*. However, as discussed in Section 5.5.2, when *sì* is combined with an imperative, it becomes a marker of urgency and adds a sense of pressing importance to the item it follows. Therefore, *turn in road* in line 2 is not marked merely as a quotation of a command given by the driving instructor, but also an important action that needs to be performed immediately at the time the conversation between Speaker 18A and her driving instructor took place.

In Examples 5.11 through to 5.18, I have demonstrated that the application of the PP frame to English insertions is an important strategy through which the informants optimise the communicative usefulness of the English insertions and develop the ongoing interaction in an effective and orderly way. I will now turn to the testing of the PP frame LEX / PH / CL + PP underlying English insertions in my data against Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) criteria of transfer identification. The analysis reveals that the process meets all three criteria, and can thus be considered transfer in their sense. Because the application of Thai PP frames to CS occurred across 26 informants (out of 36), it meets the criterion of intragroup homogeneity (the frequency count of this type of transfer will be presented in Section 5.8). The PP frame LEX / PH / CL + PP also does not exist in English, meaning that it meets the criterion of

intergroup heterogeneity. Moreover, the Thai PP frame can be identified in abundance in the monolingual Thai utterances from my data, as demonstrated in Examples 5.19a to 5.19c

Example 5.19a
Speaker 15A and 15B are talking about expensive fruits at a certain market in Thailand.

1   15A: [tàe   kô   phaeng   mâk]CL **ná**
            but   also   expensive   very   PP
            But [the fruits] are also very expensive.

2   15B: oe   phaeng   mâk
            INTERJ   expensive   very
            Yeah, very expensive.

Example 5.19b

1   2A: ayú   mâk   láeu   [khon   chûe   Nan]PH **nîa**
            age   much   already person name   Nan   PP
            The person called Nan is old.

Example 5.19c

1   7A: pai   thîao   kàp   Poppy sànùk măi
            go   hang out   with   Poppy fun   PP
            Was it fun hanging out with Poppy?

2   7B: ǒ: [sànùk]LEX   **sì**
            INTERJ   fun   PP
            Oh, of course it was.

To further ascertain that the PP frame identified in this study is truly a feature of Thai language and not an artefact of my data corpus, I provide some evidence from the National Thai Corpus II in Examples 5.20a to 5.20c

Example 5.20a

            [wîng   tháng chât   kô   mâi   dâi]CL **ná**   [khwamsùk]LEX **nà**
            run   all   life   CONJ no   get   PP   happiness   PP
            [You] can run all [your] life, but [you] will never find happiness.

Example 5.20b

nâ fŏn **nîa** tòk ngan
season rain PP fall job
In the rainy season, I lost my job.

Example 5.20c

mâe mâe [du lûkmǎ]$_{CL}$ **sì**
mum mum look puppy PP
Mum, mum, look at the puppy!

In this section, I have shown how first-generation Thai immigrants transferred their knowledge of Thai PP frames when producing CS, which allowed them to combine the CS with the Thai PPs and creatively modify the pragmatic meanings of those insertions. However, the PP frame is not the only type of Thai transfer to English insertions in my data. In the next section, I discuss the second type of transfer.

5.6.2 *Thai serial verb construction*

In Section 5.5.3, I introduced the key characteristics of Thai SVC, that it allows up to six verbs in a single verb chain (in contrast to English, which allows a maximum of only two), and that it allows the lexical verb that represents the main event/action to be combined with a wide range of verbs (e.g. directional, aspectual, causal). The Thai SVC, which can be represented as $V + V [+ 4 V^{MAX}]$, is found to underlie the production of many English verbs in my data. This construction allows the English verb to be combined with a variety of Thai verbs, most commonly directional and aspectual verbs, in a way that not only complies with the Thai morphosyntactic frame (i.e. convergence), but also enhances the communicative effectiveness of the English verbs in talk-in-interaction. Again, it must be emphasised that what is considered transfer here is the structure of Thai SVC that underlies the English verbs. The combination of the English verbs with Thai verbs, on the other hand, is the process that occurs only after the transfer is already in place. In this study, I refer to English verbs that received the Thai SVC frame $V + V [+ 4 V^{MAX}]$ and are then combined with the Thai verbs as *hybrid SVC*: a sequence of verbs that consists of verbs from both Thai and English. Two main types of hybrid SVC that emerged in my Thai-English CS data are hybrid directional and hybrid aspectual SVCs.

1) Hybrid directional serial verb construction

The hybrid directional SVC occurred when the informants applied the Thai SVC frame to English verbs, and then added Thai directional verbs to encode patterns of motion to the English verbs. This results in a clearer and more vivid representation of the action represented by the English verbs. Consider Example 5.21.

Example 5.21
Speaker 13B talks about discount designer bags in a certain shopping centre.

1   13B: <u>ao   ma   **dump** long</u>   nai   nán
               take   come **dump** descend   in   there
               *[They] brought [the bags] and came to **dump** [them] in there.*

The English verb *dump* can in fact appear in the utterance above without the help from the Thai SVC. The utterance would appear as *dump nai nán*, and would still convey the main message that the bags are dumped in the shopping centre. However, the transfer of the Thai SVC to the English verb *dump* allows Speaker 13B to combine the English verb with three more Thai verbs, all of which imply the manner of direction. *Ao* (English: *to take*) indicates that the action *dump* in fact begins when the objects that were being dumped (discount designer bags) were brought *into* the shopping mall from elsewhere. This *inward* direction is further clarified with the Thai verb *ma* (English: *to come*). And although *dump* already signals unloading in a downward direction, Speaker 13B still adds the Thai verb *long* (English: *to descend*) to it. One plausible reason for this partial repetition may be to emphasise the final movement of *dump* and mark the ending of the action.

Another similar example of hybrid directional SVC is given in Example 5.22. However, in this example, more than one direction is encoded in the action *takeaway* (the English noun *takeaway* is used as a verb in this context, meaning *to get takeaway food*). *Take-awong* in line 3 is a rhythmic word play on *takeaway* through the alteration of the vowel, i.e. ablaut, and partial reduplication. Both features can be found in monolingual Thai (Haas, 1945; Williams, 1991).

Example 5.22
Speaker 11A talks about a regular customer at the Thai restaurant where she works.

1   11A: […]   khǎo sí   kàp   âi   Silas ʈláeu ma   thî
                    he   be close to with PREF Silas and   come at
                   He's a close friend of Silas. [When he] comes to

2		rán	kô	ma	kin	khâo	bòi	bòi
		shop	CONJ	come	eat	rice	often	often

the restaurant, [he] comes to eat some food quite often.

3		<u>ma</u>	take-awong	**takeaway**	<u>pai</u>
		come	ABL	**to takeaway**	go

*[He] comes to **get a takeaway** [and leave].*

Similar to the English verb *dump* in Example 5.21, *takeaway* (as a verb) in line 3 of Example 5.22 already implies a certain manner of direction: the adverb *away* in the internal structure of *takeaway* carries the semantic implication of *outward* direction. However, with the underlying Thai SVC, speaker 11A can further clarify the manner of direction of the action *takeaway*. By applying the Thai SVC frame and combining *takeaway* with the Thai verbs *ma* (English: *to come*) and *pai* (English: *to go*), Speaker 11A encodes both the *inward* and *outward* direction to the action *takeaway*. In other words, the action *takeaway* involves the *inward direction* (when the customer comes into the restaurant) and *outward direction* (when the customer leaves the restaurant with the food to take home). This contrasts sharply with the Thai directional SVC *ma* in the monolingual Thai utterance *ma kin khâo bòi bòi* (English: *[he] comes to eat some food quite often*) in line 2, which signals only the inward direction of the action *kin* (English: *to eat*), possibly because the action *kin* occurs and finishes inside the restaurant and thus no outward direction needs to be encoded.

The final example of hybrid directional SVC in given in Example 5.23.

Example 5.23
Speaker 18B talks about bay parking.

1	18B:	tàe	wâ	rao	wâ	**bay park**	rôem	yâk	khûen	à
		but	that	I	say	**bay park**	begin	difficult	ascend	PP

*But I think **bay parking** is becoming more difficult,*

2		mâi	rú	pen	rai
		no	know	be	PP

[I] don't know why.

[a short pause]

3	18B:	**bay park**	thî	man	[**reverse-**	]	<u>**reverse**</u>	khâo	à
		bay park	that	it	**reverse**		**reverse**	enter	PP

***Bay parking**, [the one] that [you] **reverse- reverse** into [a parking bay].*

4	18A:				[°**ba:y pa:k**°]				
					bay park				

Bay park[ing]…

5	18B:	<u>**reverse**</u> (.)	<u>khâo</u>	<u>pai</u>	nai	**bay**	nai	**park-**	**park**	à
		reverse	enter	go	in	**bay**	in	**park**	**park**	PP

*Reverse and go into the [parking] **bay**, into the **park**[ing]- **park**[ing bay].*

This segment of interaction begins with Speaker 18B talking about *bay parking* (lines 1 and 2). However, Speaker 18A does not take up the next turn, but instead stays silent. This may suggest to Speaker 18B that Speaker 18A does not understand what she means by *bay park*. This probably motivates her to elaborate the meaning of *bay park* in lines 3 and 5. First, she makes explicit the action involved in bay parking, that is, *reverse* (this also demonstrates the case of CS in Pattern B5-a: coherence by collocation). Then, although *reverse* already implies backward direction, she further clarifies the pattern of motion associated with the action *reverse* through the application of the Thai SVC frame and combination of *reverse* with the Thai directional verbs *khâo* (English: *to enter*) in lines 3, and *khâo* and *pai* (English*: to go*) in line 5. As a result, the English verb *reverse* is not associated with only the backward motion, but both the *backward* and *inward* directions. Analysis of the excerpt in Example 5.23 suggests that the Thai SVC frame not only enables a creative modification of English verbs, as shown in Examples 5.21 and 5.22, but also aids the problem-solving process in interaction and establishes common grounds between speakers.

2) Hybrid aspectual serial verb construction

The application of the Thai SVC frame to English verbs also enables the informants to combine English verbs with Thai aspectual verbs (i.e. verbs that reflect certain aspects of the event being described such as time reference and metaphorical implication). Hybrid aspectual SVC is the result of this process. Thai aspectual verbs that accommodated CS in hybrid SVCs include *dâi* (*to get*), *hâi* (*to give*), *yù* (*to be/to currently occur*), *thŭeng* (*to have arrived*), *khoei* (*to use to*), *wái* (*to keep*), *ao* (*to take*) and *dan* (*to push*). Space does not allow for the exemplification of every Thai verb in hybrid aspectual SVCs. Therefore, only the most illuminating cases are presented in this section. The first example is given in Example 5.24.

Example 5.24
Speaker 11A talks about her late afternoon shift at a Thai restaurant.

1	11A:	ue:m	châi	khue	wan	angkhan	khâo	sî	mong
		INTERJ	yes	be	day	Tuesday	enter	four	PM

'Mm, yes. [I] go in at four PM on Tuesdays.

2		man	kô	chà	<u>dâi</u>	**relax**	<u>pai</u>	ìk
		it	then	will	get	**relax**	go	again

*It will **relax** more.' [= I get to relax for a longer period of time].*

Example 5.24 exhibits not only a hybrid aspectual SVC in line 2, but also how the Thai directional verb *pai* can be used to encode the metaphorical meaning. First, the aspectual *dâi* (English: *to get*), when preceding a verb, conveys the *getting to do* aspect of the action (in this case, *relax*). The literal meaning of *pai*, most commonly used as a directional verb, is *to go*. However, as demonstrated in Example 5.10, when *pai* is used with a non-motion verb, it does not encode the movement in an outward direction, but rather the continuous flow of the action (Higbie and Thinsan, 2002). In this case, the semantic meaning of *relax* is modified from *to take a rest* to *taking a rest for a longer period of time*.

The next example illustrates another use of *dâi* with CS to form hybrid aspectual SVC. However, note how *dâi* appears AFTER an English verb, rather than before. As a result, it no longer encodes the *getting to do* aspect of an action, as is the case in Example 5.25, but rather the *ability* or *possibility* for that action to be successfully performed by someone (Smyth, 2002).

Example 5.25
Speaker 9B complains about her marriage.

1	9B:	[…] láeu	kô	ma	dâi	phũa	thî	mâi	mi	kàtang
		and	then	come	get	husband	that	no	have	money

[…] and then [I] got a poor husband.

2		mâi	sămât	**sup-**	**support**	rao	<u>dâi</u>
		no	can	**sup-**	**support**	I	get

*[He] couldn't **sup- support** me.*

Similarly to Example 4.36 and 5.15 where the Thai wives establish power over their husband through gossip and mockery, Speaker 9B in Example 5.25 undermines her husband's power through her complaint about his incapability to provide for her.

Another Thai aspectual verb that was added to CS is *hâi*. In general, *hâi* means *to give*. However, when combined with another verb, it can evoke and/or alter many aspectual meanings of that verb. In Example 5.26 in which Speaker 1B is talking about claiming benefits in the UK, *hâi* is shown to encode the *let/allow* aspect to the action it precedes.

Example 5.26
Speaker 1B talks about claiming benefits in the UK.

1 1B: […] kháo <u>mi</u> <u>hâi</u> **claim** kô **claim** […]
     they have give **claim** then **claim**
     *They [= UK government] have [benefits for us] to **claim**, then **claim** [them].*

Hâi indicates that the action *claim* does not simply happen, but is allowed to happen by someone, in this case, the UK government. This is further confirmed by another aspectual verb *mi* (English: *to have*) which identifies the UK government, here referred to as *kháo* (English: *they*) as the possessor of benefits, and thus the authority to allow people to perform the action *claim*. Moreover, because the aspectual SVC in this example is required by the Thai syntactic structure for the utterance to make sense, it also demonstrates the case of convergence (Clyne, 1987, 2003) in which Thai syntactic transfer helps facilitate CS: Speaker 1B can convey the message in only three words, rather than having to construct a lengthy and complex English utterance.

Hâi can also be placed after an English verb in a hybrid aspectual SVC. In such cases, it signifies causative relationship between the subject and the verb: that the subject "[instigates] an action (either intentionally or unintentionally) or behave or act in a certain way" which causes a certain outcome (Thepkanjana, 1986, p. 29). Example 5.27 from my data provides an excellent example.

Speaker 5.27
Speaker 17A talks about how her husband booked driving lessons for her without her knowledge.

1 17A: […] kháo <u>dan</u> <u>pai</u> **book** <u>hâi</u> rao à rian kòn […]
      he push go **book** give I PP study before
     *He just went ahead and **booked** [driving lessons] for me.*

The presence of *hâi* after the English verb *book* informs us that the action *book* is performed by someone, for someone else. To elaborate, Speaker 17A's husband is the instigator of the action *book*, which results in the event in which Speaker 17A is made to take

driving lessons. Moreover, the Thai aspectual verb *dan* (English: *to push*) also suggests that the action *book* is done without Speaker 17A's knowledge or permission. In general, *dan* means *to push*. However, when it precedes the main verb in a hybrid aspectual SVC, it reflects that the action is done when it should not be (Office of the Royal Society, 2011). A directional verb *pai* is also present in this example. It indicates that the action *book* involves Speaker 17A's husband going somewhere to perform such action (outward direction).

The next example demonstrates how the current state of a certain action represented by an English verb is made clear through the combination of CS with the Thai aspectual verb *wái* (English: *to keep*) in a hybrid aspectual SVC.

Example 5.28
Speaker 11B talks about how she needed her friend, Kâeu, to set up her phone because she does not know how to do it.

| 1 | 11B: | khànàt | chà | ao | thorasàp | | lên | ná | tông | hâi |
| | | even | will | take | phone | | play | PP | must | give |

Even when [I] want to use the phone, [I] had to let

| 2 | | phî | Kâeu | khǎo | **set** | **set**- | phî | Kâeu | khǎo |
| | | PRON | Kâeu | he | **set** | **set** | PRON | Kâeu | he |

Kâeu *set set*- Kâeu

| 3 | | >**set set set**< | wái | loei | âo | phî | [11B] | kót | an | ní |
| | | **set set set** | keep | PP | | | | | |

set [up] [phone settings]. "Here, [11B], press this [button]

| 4 | | yàng | diao | ná | phî | [11B] | mâi | tông | kòt | àrai | îk |
| | | thing | one | PP | PRON | [11B] | no | must | press | thing | again |

only. You don't need to press anything else".

The function of *wái* in the excerpt above is that it adds the aspectual meaning of *being kept/maintained* to the action it modifies (Higbie and Thinsan, 2002). This is illustrated in the following examples from the 2007 Thai National Corpus II:

Example 5.29a   Example 5.29b

thǔe   kâeu   *thǔe   kâeu   wái*
hold   glass   hold   glass   keep
Hold a glass.   *Keep holding a glass.*

Returning to Example 5.28, had Speaker 11B used the English verb *set* independently without modifying it with the Thai SVC frame and the Thai aspectual verb *wái*, *set* would

simply mean *to set up [phone settings]*. However, by modifying *set* with the Thai SVC frame and *wái*, *set* achieves a new semantic meaning, referring to *to set up [phone settings] and keep them set that way*. This is further evidenced at the end of line 3 through to line 4, where Speaker 14B quotes Kâeu's suggestion that after the phone is set, she should not press any button, presumably because doing so will change the settings that Kâeu has already set. Another interesting aspect of the English verb *set* is how it is reduplicated in a way commonly done by native Thai speakers in their monolingual Thai speech to alter the word's meaning, for example, to emphasise, approximate, and mark the individuality and successiveness of the action (Higbie and Thinsan, 2002; Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005). The latter explains the case of *set* in Example 5.28, indicating that the action *set* is done in a one-by-one, or step-by-step, manner.

Example 5.30 also illustrates how the Thai SVC frame allows an English verb to be combined with a Thai aspectual verb to specify the current state of the action. This time, the Thai aspectual verb *yù* (English: *to stay*) is used.

Example 5.30
Speakers 14B tries to ask Speaker 14A about real estate while Speaker 14A is searching for the information.

1   14B: rŏe   mi   arai-
             INTERJ   have   what
             Yeah? What is-

2   14A: nîa   **search** y̲ù̲   **search** y̲ù̲
             this   **search** be located   **search** be located
             *Here, [I'm] **search**ing, [I'm] **search**ing.*

The literal meaning of the Thai verb *yù*, when used as a main verb, is *to be*, *to live* or *to be located*. However, when it is used as an aspect-marking verb within the Thai SVC frame, it encodes the imperfective aspect of the main action (Muansuwan, 2002; Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005). In the case of Example 5.30, the addition of *yù* after the English verb *search* encodes that ongoing aspect of the action *search*, indicating that such action has not yet finished and is still progressing when the utterance is delivered by Speaker 14A. Note that the Thai SVC frame underlying *search* and the Thai aspectual verb *yù* are required for the indication of the progressive aspect. In this respect, *yù* is similar to the English continuous participle *-ing*.

To explain why the speakers employs Thai syntactic transfers in their CS production, even when such structures are not required by the morphosyntactic frame, it is useful to take into consideration the informants' English language proficiency variables. Since the majority of the informants are unbalanced bilinguals, it is possible that Thai syntactic transfers are employed to reduce processing burden. This is because Thai syntactic transfers allow the informants to maintain the well-formedness of spoken Thai by excluding the English feature that is incongruent with the Thai syntactic structure, i.e. verb inflection (see also the Hebrew-English bilingual data in Dagut and Laufer, 1985). How Thai syntactic transfers help lessen processing burden is especially clear in Example 5.30. Given that Speaker 14A self-rated as having a high level of proficiency in all four skills of English (listening, speaking, reading and writing), it is unlikely that her choice of the Thai SVC frame is caused by her lack of proficiency. However, another interlocutor, Speaker 14B, is less proficient in English (High proficiency in listening skill, Intermediate proficiency in speaking and reading skills, and Basic proficiency in writing skill). While *searching* can clearly indicate the progressive aspect of the action search, it involves the English inflectional system, which has no equivalent in Thai and may require more effort for Speaker 14B to interpret. Therefore, we may assume that Speaker 14A employs the Thai SVC frame to adjust her use of CS in accordance with Speaker 14B's level of English proficiency.

In Examples 5.21 through 5.30, I have shown how the informants applied the Thai SVC frames to English verbs to create hybrid directional and hybrid aspectual SVCs and encode new semantic and metaphorical meanings to the English verbs. In certain cases, the hybrid SVCs may also help establish common ground between speakers (Example 5.23) and reduce processing burden on the interlocutor's part (Example 5.30). Further analysis based on Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer criteria indicates that the application of the Thai SVC to English verbs in my data can be considered transfer. First, it meets the criterion of intragroup homogeneity because it occurred among at least half of the informants (23 out of 36 informants) (the frequency of this type of transfer will be presented in Section 5.8). Second, while both Thai and English have the SVC feature, that of Thai is much more flexible than that of English. This difference thus marks the intergroup heterogeneity of the Thai SVC. And third, the SVC frame underlying English verbs meets the criterion of crosslinguistic performance congruity because the same SVC can also be identified in the monolingual Thai utterances, both from my data (Examples 5.31a to 5.31b), and from the National Thai Corpus II (Examples 5.31c and 5.31d).

Example 5.31a

1   5B: aî   Dan   doen   ma   thŭeng bân
            PREF Dan   walk   come   arrive home
            Dan walked all the way home.

(*ma* is a directional verb, encoding the *towards the house* direction to the action *doen*. *thŭeng* is an aspectual verb, encoding the completed state of walking.)

Example 5.31b
Speaker 14B is trying to convince Speaker 14A to visit London.

1   14B: pai   thòe   dâi   pai   thîao London   dûai
            go   PP   get   go   travel London   also
            [You should] go. [You] get to go sightseeing in London, too.

(*Dâi* is an aspectual verb, encoding the *getting to do* notion of the main action *thîao*. *pai* is a directional verb, encoding the *outward from the house* direction to the action *thîao*.)

Example 5.31c

        sài   noei   long   pai
        put   butter descend   go
        Put butter into [the pan].

(*Long* and *pai* are directional verbs, encoding the *downward* and *outward from the speaker* directions to the action *sài*).

Example 5.31d

        pho   tâng   phoeng   tò   fai   sèt
        when   build   shed   connect   fire   finish
        When [they] finished building the shed and connecting the electricity

(*Sèt* is an aspectual verb, encoding the finished state to the actions *tâng* and *tò*.)

To summarise, two main types of Thai transfer to English insertions that are found in my data are the PP frame and the Thai SVC frame. The former can be represented as LEX / PH / CL + PP. Its importance is that it enables CS to be combined with a variety of Thai PPs, reflecting the speaker's propositional attitude associated with the switch and facilitating talk development. The second type of transfer, the Thai SVC frame, can be represented as V + V [+ 4 V^{MAX}]. By underlying some English verbs with the Thai SVC frame, the informants could combine CS with Thai directional and aspectual verbs in ways that encode new

pragmatic or semantic meanings to the English verbs. These findings are important because they further reflect the intricate links between CS, L1 syntactic knowledge, conversational structures and social characteristics which affect the way CS is utilised and interpreted by first-generation Thai immigrants. In the next section, I discuss other Thai-English contact outcomes found in my data.

5.7 Other Thai-English contact outcomes

5.7.1 *Hybridisation*

Hybridisation refers to the combination of English words or morphemes with words from speakers' native language (Kachru, 1981, 1983; Lowenberg, 1986; Ahulu, 1995; Ngula, 2014; Senaratne, 2016). In the Thai-English language contact literature, hybridisation refers to "[the combination of] a Thai word with an English one" (Trakulkasemsuk, 2012, p. 106). The result is hybrid compound. The underlying structures of hybrid compounds are most commonly *noun + noun* and *noun + verb*, although other combinations such as *verb + verb* and *verb + noun* are also possible (Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005). This is illustrated in Example 5.32 which shows cases of monolingual Thai and hybrid compounds in the literature. *Kan* is a Thai quasi-prefix, i.e. a free morpheme that is often used as a prefix, which in English means either *work* or the act of *doing* more broadly.

Example 5.32

Thai compounds

kan	rian		kan	khít
doing	study		doing	think
Studying			*Thinking*	

(Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005, p. 28)

Hybrid compounds

kan	**balance**		kan	**record**	sĭang
doing	**balance**		doing	**record**	sound
Balancing			*Sound **recording***	

nùm	**hot**		nák	òkbàep	**design**
young man	**hot**		person	design	**design**
A ***hot*** guy			A ***designer***	

(Kannaovakun, 2000, p. 25)

saríka	**bird**	**silk**	pânûng
magpie	**bird**	**silk**	wrap-around skirt
Magpie		*Silk wrap-around skirt*	
yang	**tree**	jampa	**flowers**
rubber	**tree**	champak	**flowers**
Rubber tree		*Champak flowers*	

Notice how hybrid compounds from Watkhaolarm (2005) are different from those in Kannaovakun (2000) presented above in that they follow the English word order in which a modifier is placed to the left of the item it modifies. This may be because the hybrid compounds in Watkhaolarm (2005) are from monolingual English literature written by Thai authors for an English-speaking audience, whereas those in Kannaovakun (2000) are from television programmes for a Thai audience. Due to the same reason, hybrid compounds in Watkhaolarm (2005) are more likely to reflect Thai cultural notions, probably to create aesthetic effects and cultural authenticity: *saríka* is a specific type of magpie that is associated with charm and prosperity in Thai culture (Srichampa, 2014), and *pânûng* is a type of Thai traditional clothing. Similarly, *rubber tree* and *champak flowers* are considered common to Thailand and are related to Thai ways of life (the main income of many Thais, especially those in the South, are from rubber plantations, and champak flowers are associated with Buddhism). In my data, first-generation Thai immigrants were also found to employ hybridisation to create new hybrid compounds. Some examples are given in Example 5.33.

Example 5.33

ahǎn	**breakfast**	kan	**detox**
food	**breakfast**	doing	**detox**
Breakfast		*Detoxification*	
tû	**oven**	duean	**July**
cabinet	**oven**	month	**July**
Oven		*July*	
khâ	**deposit**	nâ	**summer**
fee	**deposit**	season	**summer**
Deposit fee		*Summertime*	
tingtóng	**benefit**		
crazy	**benefit**		
Benefit for mentally-challenged people			

The striking characteristic of hybrid compounds found in my data is that they tend to represent concepts in everyday life, especially those associated with globalisation and technological advancement. Therefore, they are more similar to those in Kannaovakun (2000) than Watkhaolarm (2005). However, despite the similarity between hybrid compounds in my data and the literature, I did not consider hybridisation to be transfer because it fails to meet Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) second criterion of transfer identification: intergroup heterogeneity. This means that the same hybridisation process can also be found in English, as will be demonstrated below.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, for a certain Thai feature underlying English production to be considered an instance of transfer, it must meet the three criteria intragroup homogeneity, intergroup heterogeneity and crosslinguistic performance congruity. Hybridisation meets the criterion of intragroup homogeneity since it occurred 40 times across 20 speakers in my data. It also meets the criterion of crosslinguistic performance congruity, as its underlying structure can also be identified in monolingual Thai produced by the informants (indicated by double underline). Some examples are given below.

Example 5.34

1   14A: […] khàp   rót   khâo pai   phî   kô   tông (.) nùeng
                  drive   car   enter go   you   then   must   one
                  Driving there, you will, firstly,

2   pluang   <u>khâ námman</u>   song phî   kô   tông   sǐa
               waste   fee   oil   two   older sister   then   must   pay
               waste [money] on <u>petrol fee</u>. Secondly, you will have to pay

3   <u>khâ **underground**</u> ôe: [inaudible] sǐa   <u>khâ   chòt   rót</u>
               fee   **underground** INTERJ   pay   fee   park   car
               *[for] the **<u>underground</u>** <u>fee</u>, pay [for]<u>the parking fee</u>.*

Example 5.35

1   17A: mâi   châi   <u>klòng fom</u>   ná   <u>klòng phlátsàtìk</u>
               no   yes   box   foam   PP   box   plastic
               'Not a <u>foam box</u>. [It's] a <u>plastic box</u>,

2   <u>klòng **air**</u>   nà
               box   **air**   PP
               *an **<u>air</u>**[tight] <u>box</u>.'*

In Example 5.34, the construction of *noun + noun* that underlies the hybrid compound *khâ underground* (English: *underground fee*) also underlies the monolingual compounds *khâ námman* (English: *petrol fee*) in line 2 and *khâ chòt rót* (English: *parking fee*) in line 3. The same construction is also found in Example 5.35, underlying both the hybrid compound *klòng air* (English: *air[tight] container*) and the monolingual Thai compounds *klòng fom* (English: *foam box*) and *klòng phlátsàtìk* (English: *plastic box*) in line 1. Notice how hybrid compounds shown above can also be identified as part of a collocation set (i.e. *type of fee* in Example 5.34, and *type of container* in Example 5.35), that contributes to the coherence of the ongoing talk (see also CS in Patterns B5-a and B5-b discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.6.5). This adds to evidence that hybridisation is influenced by the context of talk and surrounding texts.

While having met the intragroup homogeneity and crosslinguistic influence congruity criteria, hybridisation fails to meet the intergroup heterogeneity criterion as the underlying structure of hybridisation (particularly *noun + noun/verb* in this study) is also possible in English. Consider Example 5.36 from Nishimura (1995b). Although Nishimura (1995b) is not concerned with the analysis of hybridisation, the data nevertheless shows how a Canadian-born English-Japanese bilingual creates a hybrid compound *hakujin guys* (English: *Caucasian guys*) by combining the Japanese word *hakujin* (English: *Caucasian*) with the English noun *guys*.

Example 5.36

Midori: […] And then, ***hakujin* guys**, they're all lined up, and they're sitting and eating. […]

Similarly, a comedic narrative analysed in Furukawa (2015) also shows how a Hawaiian comedian (DeLima) uses Hawaiian-influenced American English to create new hybrid compounds: *ulua fisherman* (Hawaiian: *giant trevally* + English: *fisherman* = English: *fisherman who hunts for giant trevally*) and *suji line* (Hawaiian: *nylon fishing line* + English: *line* = English: *nylon fishing line*), as shown in Example 5.37.

Example 5.37

DeLima: got   [caught in one] Japanese ***ulua* fisherman**
?:   [((laughter))   ]
DeLima: ***suji* line**

Hybridisation can also occur between English and many other languages from different language families, for example:

- ♦ Japanese (Japonic family): **chōneku**tie (Japanese *butterfly* + English *tie = bowtie*) (Kay, 1995, p. 71);

- ♦ Swedish (Germanic Indo-European family): *spot**marknaden*** (English *spot* + Swedish *market = the spot market*) (Sharp, 2007, p. 234);

- ♦ German (Germanic Indo-European family): ***kartoffel****chips* (German *potato* + English *chips = potato chips*) (Gnatchuk, 2016, p. 22); and

- ♦ Italian (Italic Indo-European family): ***giacca****-gadget* (Italian *jacket* + English *gadget = gadget jacket*) (Lopriore and Furiassi, 2015, p. 208)

These examples suggest that hybridisation is not a transfer phenomenon unique to a specific language or family of languages. Rather, it is more likely to be a common nativisation process that can be found in any situations where two (or more) languages come into contact. Therefore, it is not considered transfer in the present study.

5.7.2 *Interference*

In contrast to transfer, interference is defined in this study as *the inconsistent and incidental use of certain underlying systems/structures of Language A in the production of Language B that fails to meet all three criteria in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008).* A certain Thai structural feature underlying the informants' English is considered interference when it fails to meet the criterion of intragroup homogeneity. Although this study is not primarily concerned with the grammaticality of the informants' English production, it is important to pay attention to interference since it is also a result of language contact. By observing not only transfer but also interference in this present study, I can delve deeper into the complexity of the language contact situation among first-generation Thai immigrants. Two types of interference, namely inappropriate bare form (Tarone et al., 2007; Tarone, 2010) and conversion (Igboanusi, 2001; Bakker, 2003; Bolonyai, 2005a), are identified in my data.

1) Inappropriate bare form

Inappropriate bare form occurs when speakers incorrectly produce verbs and nouns without the morphological markings that are required by the syntactic structure of target language (Tarone et al., 2007; Tarone, 2010). In my data, inappropriate bare form can be divided into two types: bare verb form and bare noun form. The former occurred when the informants did

not give an appropriate inflection to English verbs in accordance with time reference, subject and plurality, while the latter occurred when English nouns lacked plurality inflection when the inflection was required. Each type of bare form is discussed in turn. First, let us consider some examples of inappropriate bare verb forms from my data in Examples 5.38a and 5.38b. English verbs are uninflected despite being the predicate of a singular third-person pronoun. In Example 5.38c, the verb remains in its simple bare form where the passive simple present tense is required. And in Example 5.38d, the verb is in its bare form where the present continuous tense form is required. An inappropriate bare form is marked in boldface, while the correct form is in italics surrounded by square brackets.

Example 5.38a
Speaker 6B responds to her employer's request for a cleaning kit for another employee.

6B: […] She just **need** [*needs*] a bin bag (.) a small bin bag.

Example 5.38b

Speaker 13A tells Speaker 13B's husband that her son is grateful for the gift Speaker 13B's husband gave him.

13A: Charlie **want** [*wants*] to say thank you.

Example 5.38c
Speaker 12B quotes her English husband's expression of his fear of spiders.

12B: […] I **scare** [*am scared*]. I **scare** [*am scared*] very much.
I **scare** [am scared] [of] spider.

Example 5.38d
Speaker 16B tries to calm Speaker 16A's toddler son while Speaker 16A is making tea in the kitchen.

16B: No, mummy **make** [*is making*] tea. Go to the kitchen. She **make** [*is making tea*] for us, for auntie and for her, (.) ok?

Instances of inappropriate bare verb form in my data are similar to those reported in previous Thai-English contact studies, for example, Bennui (2008), Ting et al. (2010) and Watcharapunyawong and Usaha (2013). Some examples from Ting et al. (2010, p. 62) are given in Example 5.39:

Example 5.39

I had **ask** [*asked*] her about it.

I'm not **cancel** [*cancelling*] the birthday party.

I **plant** [*planted*] a dragon fruit.

The use of bare verb form where an inflection is required may be considered the outcome of the nativisation process where non-native speakers strategically generalise the syntactic rules of Standard English based on their native language (Lowenberg, 1986) if it occurs in a systematic and consistent manner, as is the case in Singaporean and Malay English (Platt et al., 1984; Zhiming, 1995; Tan, 2005) and Jamaican English (Platt et al., 1984; Patrick, 2004; Hebblethwaite, 2007). Bare verb forms in my data, however, do not achieve such a state. Their occurrence is inconsistent and unpredictable. While some of the informants exhibit inappropriate bare verb form, some could generate correct subject/tense-verb agreement and produced well-formed Standard English sentences, as shown in Examples 5.40a to 5.40c.

Example 5.40a
Speaker 3A quotes herself asking her English husband about his days as a university student.

3A: How **did** you get away with it when you **were** at university?

Example 5.40b
Speaker 13A thanks Speaker 13B's husband for the gift he gave her son.

13A: Yeah, you **made** a little boy happy.

Example 5.40c
Speaker 18B responds Speaker 18A's daughter who interrupts the audio recording.

18B: We're **having** a conversation here.

The variability of verb inflection among first-generation Thai immigrants in my study was not just inter-speaker but also intra-speaker, as demonstrated in Example 5.41. English verbs that are not appropriately inflected are marked in boldface, while those that are inflected correctly are marked with a thick underline. This further emphasises the instability and unpredictability of verb inflection patterns in my data, which justified it being classified as interference in this study.

Example 5.41
Speaker 2B talks to her English husband on the phone.

1   2B: Yeah, I'm not **finish** [*finished*] yet. >I finish about< maybe: half past-

2   half past seven, I think. (1.0) Yeah, if finish early I'll let you know, yeah? (1.5)

3   O:kay > (inaudible) <? (2.0) You don't know. (.) Mm, mm, ah (.) Par↑don? (.)

4   U:h she **sound** [*sounds*] what- she **sound** [*sounds*] like a drunk or she

5   **sound** [*sounds*] normal? (.) ah, um (1.0) o:kay (.) What about Luke? What's

6   he <u>doing</u> then? Oh, Luke at home? You're <u>going</u> to take Hayley home? […]

Similar inconsistency of inflection can also be observed in the informants' use of English nouns, although to a lesser degree. An example of incorrect plural noun inflection in my data are given in Example 5.42. Note that in line 2, Speaker 3A can correctly formulate the plural form of the English noun *pound*. However, in line 5, despite repeating the same phrase from line 2 as part of a new utterance, Speaker 3A now uses it without the appropriate plural inflection. Interestingly, the English word *portion* (line 5) also lacks plural inflection despite following a plural number *two*. A well-formed phrase in Standard English would be *two portions for six pounds*.

Example 5.42
Speaker 3A talks about cheap ready meals at a certain supermarket.

1   3A: mâi   rú-   mâi   rú   man   tham   khăi   dâi   ngai   ná (.)
            not   know   not   know   they   make   sell   get   PP   PP
            '[I] don't- don't know how they sell it [at that price].

2   two for…   dĭao   ní   **six pounds**   lá   […]
            two for   moment   PP   **six pounds**   PP
            *Two for… Now it's **six pounds**.'*

(four turns omitted due to irrelevance)

4   3A: thùk   dûai   **portion**   nueng   nî (1.0)tem   nî   loei   ná
            cheap   also   **portion**   one   PP   full   here   PP   PP
            *'[It's] also cheap. One **portion** [is] big.*

5   láeu   **two portion for six pound**   thùk   mâk
            and   **two portion for six pound**   cheap   very
            *And **two portions for six pounds**. [That's] very cheap.'*

From a language contact perspective, the inappropriate use of bare English verbs and nouns in my data may be attributed to the typological differences between Thai and English in terms of inflectional system. Thai is an isolating language in which subject and tense are denoted by adverbs or nouns instead of the direct inflection of the verb (Migenishi, 2011), while English has both nominal declension and verbal conjugation. Given that Thai is the dominant language among the informants, it is possible that its no-inflection rule overshadows the English inflectional system.

The inappropriate use of bare English verbs and nouns illustrated in this section may also be explained from a SLA perspective. Considering that the informants in my data are largely imbalanced bilinguals, inappropriate bare forms may be considered as a compensation strategy which enables the informants, especially those who have low English proficiency, to perform CS and convey the intended message without having to produce complicated and grammatically correct English utterances. This may be the case of the English switches *I scare*, *I scare very much* and *I scare spider* in Example 5.38c, as closer examination of Speaker 14B's self-rated English proficiency reveals that she has intermediate proficiency in English listening and speaking, and only basic proficiency in English reading and writing. Her lack of English proficiency may have prevented her from producing grammatical English switches, which would have been *I'm scared*, *I'm scared very much* and *I'm scared of spiders*.

Erroneous inflection of English verbs and nouns in my data may also be caused by the language mode adopted by speakers at that particular moment of talk, as pointed out in Grosjean (1998, 2011), Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002), Toribio (2004), Treffers-Daller (2005) and Hong (2008). However, this aspect of bare verb/noun form is beyond the scope of my study and will not be further discussed.

3) Conversion

Conversion (or zero derivation) refers to the use of lexical items from Language A for grammatical functions that differ from those originally used by native speakers of Language A in native sociocultural settings (Igboanusi, 2001; Bakker, 2003). For example, the English noun *senior* is used as a verb in Nigerian English, meaning '*being older than*', as in *he seniors me* (Vaccarelli, 2010, p. 166). Some examples of conversion in Thai-English contact literature are the use of the English noun *action* as a verb, meaning '*to act*' (kannaovakun and Gunther, 2003, p.74), shown previously in Table 5.1, and the use of the English adjective *sad*

as a verb, meaning 'to be sad' (Likhitphongsathorn and Sappapan, 2013). Conversion may occur because Thai has a flexible word class system (Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005; Rijkhoff, 2007) that allows many lexical items to be used as a different part of speech. Some examples of conversion in my data are given in Examples 5.43a to 5.43c.

Example 5.43a
Speaker 12A and 12B are talking about UK food safety regulations.

1	12B:	[…] khâo	nî	hŭng	wan	diao	kô	tông	kin
		rice	this	cook	day	one	CONJ	must	eat

[…] Rice must be eaten on the same day it's cooked.

2	12A:	thî-	thî	nî	kháo	**hygiene**	ngai
		here	here	this	they	**hygiene**	PP

*Here- here they [= English people] are **hygiene** [= hygienic].*

Example 5.43b
Speaker 13A talks about arranging a night out.

1	13A:	úi	↑ngán	rao	tông	pai	kan	**tag team**	pai
		INTERJ	then	we	must	go	together	**tag team**	go

*Oh, then we must go [out] together. [We] **tag team** [= go out as a tag team]*

2		ìk	rôp	nueng	à::
		again	round	one	PP

again one more time.

Example 5.43c
Speaker 3A talks about her supermarket preference.

1	3A:	[…] tàe	ton	ní	thî	mâe	**favourite**	mâk	loei
		but	moment	this	that	I	**favourite**	very	PP

*But right now, what I really **favourite** [= favour]*

2		khue	Aldi
		be	Aldi

is Aldi.

In Example 5.43a, the English noun *hygiene* is used as an adjective, meaning *hygienic*, to describe a certain trait of English people as perceived by Speaker 12A. Similarly, in Example 5.43b, the English noun phrase *tag team* is used as a verb, meaning *to go out as a tag team*, as evident in how it is accompanied by a Thai directional verb *pai* (English: *to go*), forming hybrid directional SVC. Finally, in Example 5.43c, how the English adjective *favourite* is preceded by the Thai subject pronoun *mâe* and Thai adverb *mâk* indicates that in

this context, *favourite* is used as a verb, meaning *to favour*. I acknowledge that these two instances of conversion may be the results of nativisation, as argued in Kannaovakun (2000), Kannaovakun and Gunther (2003) and Likhitphongsathorn and Sappapan (2013). However, with Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer criteria taken into consideration, I would argue that conversion in this study is more likely to be interference than transfer, as it fails to meet the intragroup homogeneity criterion (only 10 out of 36 informants exhibited conversion in their speech). Moreover, because this study is not concerned with grammaticality of English utterances, it is unclear whether the informants know the original part of speech of the switches being converted. Therefore, while I do not deny that conversion may have the potential to be transfer, evidence in this study indicates that it has not yet reached that stage. More research is needed before conclusions can be drawn.

To summarise, the only two Thai typological features that I considered transfer in this study are Thai PP frame (LEX / PH / CL + PP) and Thai SVC frame (V + V [+ 4 V^{MAX}]). Inappropriate bare verb/noun form and conversion are considered interference, whereas hybridisation is considered a common nativisation process unspecific to any languages in particular.

5.8 Frequency and distributional analysis of Thai syntactic transfer

The purpose of this section is to summarise the frequency of each type of transfer, and to analyse the frequency and distribution of Thai PPs and verbs that accompanied CS. These quantitative analyses are necessary for two reasons. First, they will further confirm that what I have identified as transfer was not the idiosyncratic linguistic behaviour of an individual speaker, and that it occurred in a recurrent manner across the informants (Schegloff, 1993). Second, the frequency and distributional analysis of types of Thai PPs and verbs will identify the Thai PPs and verbs that are the most likely to occur with CS within Thai PP and SVC frames, respectively. The results will contribute to our understanding of how the informants' Thai syntactic knowledge and English and Thai lexicon work cooperatively towards the optimisation of communicative effects of CS.

First, let us begin with the overall frequency and distributional analysis. The frequency count revealed a total of 168 instances of Thai syntactic transfer, which were distributed as shown in Table 5.4. Considered in conjunction with the fact that each type of transfer

occurred across half of the informants, we can claim with more confidence that both the PP and SVC frames are the transfer effects from Thai to CS.

Table 5.4: Frequency and distributional analysis of the Thai syntactic transfer

Frequency Type of Thai transfer	Number of speakers (N = 36)		Frequency of occurrence (N = 168)	
	%	N	%	N
Pragmatic particle frame	72.22	26	64.29	108
Serial verb construction	61.11	22	35.71	60

However, caution must be taken in the interpretation of the results presented in Table 5.4. Although the numbers of informants who produced each type of transfer are similar, they do not necessarily consist of the same informants (i.e. some informants produced only one type of transfer but not the other). This means that the social distributions of the two types of transfer are not the same. This skewed sub-sample also impedes further distributional analysis in relation to speaker variables because it underrepresents some social groups. In the case of the Thai PP frame transfer, the most skewed distribution is present in the English listening skill proficiency groups, where only one informant representing the Basic proficiency group produced only one token of the Thai PP frame transfer, while six and 19 informants representing the Intermediate and High proficiency groups, respectively, produced as many as 24 and 83 instances, respectively. A similar skewed social distribution can also be observed in the case of the Thai SVC frame transfer, where only two informants representing the Basic listening skill proficiency group produced only three Thai SVC frame transfer instances, whereas those representing the Intermediate and High proficiency groups (five and 15 informants, respectively) produced up to 18 and 39 instances. Due to these limitations, distributional analysis of transfer across speaker variables and correlational analysis could not be carried out. However, this does not mean that the data do not offer any insights, as they show a tendency for the PP frame to occur more frequently. Consider the frequency and distributional analysis of Thai PPs (N = 115) provided in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2: Frequency and distributional of Thai PPs
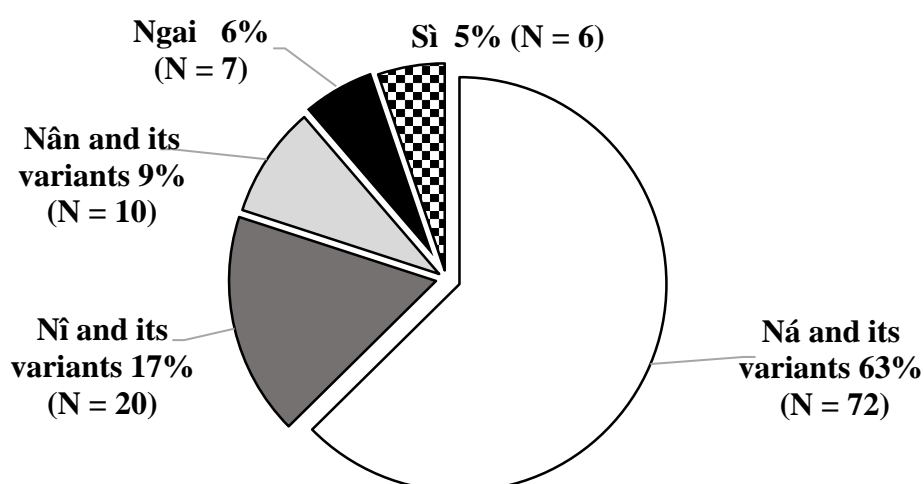
Figure 5.2 shows that *ná* and its variants (*nà*, *à*, *nǎ*), which serve to emphasise the switches they follow, make up the majority of Thai PPs that accompanied CS in Thai PP frames. *Nî* and its variants (*nîa*, *ngía*, *nîlàe*), while serving a similar emphatic function to *ná* and its variants, occurred at a much lower rate. The remaining Thai PPs, namely *nân* and its variants *nânnà*, *nânnàe*, *nânmăe* and *nânlàe* (which add emphatic and anaphoric referencing functions to CS), *ngai* and *si* (which add emphasis to a positive response, urgency or an implication of the self-evidence of the statement represented by CS), occur only minimally at a similar rate (10% and fewer). The dramatic difference between *ná* (and its variants) and other Thai PPs suggest that they are more likely to occur with CS in Thai PP frames. Closer examination also revealed that *ná* and its variants, and *nân* and its variants tended to co-exist with English insertions that already serve the functions of quotation, emphasis and emphasis/coherence by repetition (e.g. Example 5.11). *Ngai* and *sì*, on the other hand, are more likely to be combined with CS that primarily serves to emphasise a response confirmation or to state an obvious fact that the speaker expects the interlocutor to know (e.g. Example 5.17). This suggests a relationship between the informants' selection of Thai PPs and the functions that CS performs in discourse.

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 present the frequency and distributional analysis of Thai verbs that were combined with CS to form hybrid SVCs (N = 69): 47 of them are parts of hybrid directional SVCs, while the other 22 are parts of hybrid aspectual SVCs. Note that I do not suggest the results in a comparative manner (i.e. comparing the extent of Thai directional verbs in hybrid SVCs against that of Thai aspectual verbs). Such comparison is not feasible here due to the unequal length of conversations across the informants and skewed sub-sample.

In other words, Tables 5.5 and 5.6 are primarily intended to demonstrate the distribution of the various types of Thai verbs in hybrid SVCs and their characteristics.

Table 5.5: Frequency and distributional analysis of Thai verbs in hybrid directional SVCs

Directional verbs	%	Frequency (N = 47)
ma (*to come*)	46.81	22
pai (*to go*)	44.68	21
long (*to descend*)	4.26	2
klàp (*to return*)	2.13	1
khâo (*to enter*)	2.13	1

Table 5.6: Frequency and distributional analysis of Thai verbs in hybrid aspectual SVCs

Aspectual verbs	%	Frequency (N = 22)
dâi (*to get*)	31.82	7
hâi (*to give*)	27.27	6
yù (*to be, currently occur*)	13.64	3
thŭeng (*to arrive*)	4.55	1
khoei (*to use to*)	4.55	1
wái (*to keep*)	4.55	1
mi (*to have*)	4.55	1
ao (*to take*)	4.55	1
dan (*to push*)	4.55	1

The data in Table 5.5 shows that the the most frequently used Thai directional verbs are *ma* (English: *to come*) and *pai* (English: *to go*). The former encodes an inward direction to the CS it accompanies, while the latter encodes an outward direction. In Table 5.6, the Thai aspectual verbs that contribute the most to the construction of hybrid aspectual SVCs are *dâi* (English: *to get*) and *hâi* (English: *to give*). The former, when placed before an English verb, reflects the *getting to do* aspect of the action (e.g. Example 5.24). The latter, on the other hand, reflects the *affecting* aspect of the action on someone or something else (e.g. Examples 5.26 and 5.27). Although we cannot compare the frequencies of the top two Thai directional verbs in Table 5.5 with those of the top two Thai aspectual verbs in Table 5.6, we can observe

the similarity between them in terms of semantic meanings. Although *dâi* and *hâi* are classified primarily as aspectual verbs (Muansuwan, 2002), they also imply *inwards* and *outwards* directions, respectively, to/from the subject. This tentatively suggests that verbs that entail directional aspects are more likely to be combined with CS to form hybrid SVCs. This may be because directional aspects cannot always be clearly represented in English due to its rigid SVC frame that allows only a maximum of two verbs, whereas up to six directional verbs can be combined in Thai (one main verb + five directional verbs), allowing for a more vivid description of an action.

5.9 Discussion of findings

Chapter 5 set out to account for the Thai syntactic structures underlying CS in my data. Qualitative analysis has provided a detailed analysis of how certain Thai syntactic structures affected the way CS was utilised and interpreted in first-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup talk. Quantitative analysis, on the other hand, has unveailed the overall frequency and distribution of each type of Thai syntactic transfer and Thai lexical items that tend to co-occur with CS. The purpose of this current section is to discuss the key findings in relation to previous studies.

The analyses in Sections 5.6 and 5.7 have shown that Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) framework of transfer and their transfer identification criteria (intragroup homogeneity, intergroup heterogeneity, crosslinguistic performance congruity), while considered unorthodox in the context of CS studies, were useful in this investigation. With slight adjustments of the criteria to best accommodate the informants' characteristics and corpus size, the criteria enabled me to identify the following Thai syntactic structures underlying some English insertions in my data as transfer: the Thai PP frame (LEX / PH / CL + PP) and Thai SVC frame (V + V [+ 4 V^{MAX}]). Although only two types of Thai syntactic transfer were identified in my data, they enhanced our understanding of both CS and transfer phenomena in two important ways. First, they are evidence that transfer may also occur in CS, even when CS is intra-sentential and insertional, rather than exclusively in monolingual L2 speech and new varieties (e.g. Selinker, 1969, 1972; Ringbom, 1987; Mous, 2003; Treffers-Daller, 2005, 2011; Odlin, 2012). The implication of this finding for CS research is that speakers' L1 syntactic knowledge may also play a role similar to contextualisation cues, social context and conversational structure in how CS is constructed and interpreted. This is the research area that to date is relatively underappreciated and demands further studies.

Second, the analysis has established the important role that syntactic transfers play as communicative strategies that enhance the effectiveness and purposefulness of CS. In the literature on transfer as an established feature in either speaker interlanguage or emergent linguistic varieties, transfer tends to lack local functions since it has already been accepted as part of the stabilised linguistic system. However, in the case of my Thai-English CS data which is still far from becoming interlanguage or an emergent linguistic variety due to its infrequency, the two Thai syntactic transfers introduced above were highly purposeful. Not only do the Thai PP and SVC frames enhance the function already encoded within English switches, they may also facilitate a new CS function that CS alone may be unable to achieve. The status of transfer as communicative strategy is further evident in how the informants applied Thai syntactic structures to CS production even when the structures were not required by the Thai grammatical frame. This thus indicates intentionality and purposefulness. However, considering that many of the informants are not fully competent in English, the Thai syntactic transfer to the English insertions may also be explained as a compensation strategy which allows the informants to convey the intended message efficiently and conveniently without having to produce complicated and grammatically correct monolingual English sentences.

Based on the findings discussed above, it may be said that Thai syntactic tranfers helped optimise the communicative effectiveness of the English switches. This relationship between syntactic and discourse-pragmatic aspects of CS supports Toribio's (2004, p. 169) argument that the analysis of syntactic transfer in CS "must go beyond the syntactic and semantic confines of isolated sentences to analyse linguistic forms in relation to the narrative or other discourse functions that they perform within a given text". Moreover, this finding also advances previous accounts which have tended to explain transfer in the CS context based on Clyne's (1987, 2003) notion of convergence and Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 1997, 2000b, 2002a) MLF model which focus mainly on how L1 syntactic structures help facilitate syntactic integration between two languages and avoid syntactic incongruity.

The overarching finding that emerged from the qualitative analysis is the intricate relationship between CS and transfer. My analysis provides compelling evidence that transfer and CS are not two independent language contact outcomes, but rather two interrelated phenomena that play an integral part in shaping linguistic behaviours of bilingual speakers and which can be studied simultaneously (Odlin, 1989, 2009; Treffers-Daller, 2009; Sakel, 2011). I have demonstrated how CS research can be made relevant to other language contact phenomena and how CS and transfer studies can benefit from each other's findings: the

transfer theory contributed to the analysis of insertional CS by bringing to light the influence of the L1 syntactic structures on the construction and interpretation of insertional CS in my data. Moreover, it also distinguished the strategic use of L1 syntactic structures in insertional CS production from the L1-induced errors, i.e. interference, and in turn helped resolve the ambiguity between transfer, common nativisation processes and interference in Thai-English contact literature. On the other hand, the CS theories contributed to the transfer analysis by identifying the L1 syntactic structures that are likely to be transferred to L2 production in bilingual conversations. CA in particular offered insights into the transfer phenomenon by revealing when and where in ongoing interaction that transfer is likely to occur, e.g. during common ground establishment, and how it can affect the sequential development of talk. Overall, my findings offer a more extensive account of both transfer and CS and contribute to the call for the interdisciplinary research on CS made by Isurin et al. (2009) and Treffers-Daller (2009), which remains nascent.

Having discussed the findings of this study in relation to previous CS and transfer studies in general, I now turn to the comparison of the Thai transfer identified in this study with that reported in previous Thai-English contact literature. As stated in Chapter 5.6, two types of transfer found in my CS data are in fact phonetic (almost all English switches were Thai accented) and syntactic transfers. However, the former is not the focus of this study and will not be further elaborated. The presence of syntactic transfer in my CS data contradicts the findings in Watkhaolarm (2005) and Bennui and Hashim (2014) that most Thai transfers denote Thai cultural elements. This difference may be because their data were taken from English language novels written by native speakers of Thai, whereas mine were obtained from Thai-dominant casual intragroup talks among first-generation Thai immigrants. Literature on Thai-styled English can be seen to benefit from Thai cultural transfer, as this type of transfer can convey Thainess and aesthetic effects that are key elements of the novels more effectively than Thai syntactic transfer could. However, in the context of the first-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup talk, in which Thai is the dominant language, there was no need to transfer cultural values to English, as they could be explained perfectly adequately in Thai. Thai syntactic transfer, on the other hand, played a more prominent role in my data, possibly due to the insertional characteristic of English produced by the informants.

My findings regarding Thai syntactic transfer are more similar to those in Kannaovakun (2000) and Kannaovakun and Gunther (2003) in which effects of Thai syntactic structures on English usage were also reported, namely word order shift (which did not occur in my data) and conversion (which I identified as interference rather than transfer due to its

lack of intragroup heterogeneity). This similarity may be attributed to the fact that their data were also obtained from spoken interactions among native speakers of Thai, although they represented CS in television talk rather than casual, day-to-day interactions. The differences and similarities of Thai transfer between the previous studies and mine suggest that differences in contexts of study and communicative purposes of L2 in the data being investigated may evoke L1 transfers at different levels.

The qualitative analysis of transfer in this study was complemented by the frequency analysis in Section 5.8. First, the overall distributional analysis provides evidence that Thai syntactic transfers identified in this study met the *intragroup homogeneity* criterion of Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), and that they occurred in a recurrent manner, which distinguishes them from interference (Grosjean, 2001, 2011). Moreover, although unequal length of recorded conversations and low frequency of CS impeded distributional analysis across speaker variables and correlation tests, I was able to perform frequency and distributional analysis of Thai PPs and verbs that were combined with CS within the Thai PP frame and SVC frame, respectively. This quantitative analysis, which serves to establish the distribution and characteristics of Thai PPs and verbs accompanying CS, shows that some Thai PPs and verbs occurred with CS more frequently than others, and that they tended to occur with specific CS functions and type of syntactic transfer. This analysis offers important new insight into the intricate relationship between lexicon, discourse functions of CS and L1 syntactic structure, and in turn further confirms the complexity of first-generation immigrant CS for which I have argued throughout the study.

5.10 Conclusion

On the basis of Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) framework of transfer and the minimum frequency threshold which I developed from Sankoff (1980), I identified two types of Thai syntactic transfer in my Thai-English CS data: Thai PP frame (LEX / PH / CL + PP) and Thai SVC frame (V + V [+ 4 V^{MAX}]). In the qualitative analysis, I have demonstrated that the Thai PP frame enabled the informants to combine English insertions with a variety of Thai PPs in a way that reflects the speaker's propositional attitudes or pragmatic meanings associated with those English insertions. Similarly, the underlying Thai SVC frame allows the informants to combine English verbs with Thai directional and aspectual verbs, resulting in new semantic and pragmatic meanings of the English verbs. Moreover, by utilising CA's sequence-based analytical method in the interpretation of the English insertions in this chapter (when

possible), I have shown that the Thai syntactic transfers are also an essential part of the development of the ongoing talk. The qualitative analysis was complemented by quantitative analysis (frequency and distributional analyses), which enhanced the Thai syntactic transfers' intragroup homogeneity. Quantitative analysis also revealed that the informants tended to demonstrate a preference for some particular Thai PPs and verbs over others in a given type of transfer. In short, detailed qualitative and quantitative analyses of CS in relation to other language contact phenomena further confirm the complexity of first-generation immigrant CS, in addition to the identification of sequential CS patterns and their functions in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This thesis was an exploratory study on the frequency and patterning of Thai-English CS in intragroup interactions among first-generation female Thai immigrants in England. Its main objective was to explore the processes and motivations (the *how* and *why*) that underlie first-generation Thai immigrants' CS in their casual, day-to-day intragroup talk by: 1) investigating the social distribution, sequential patterns and functions of CS, and 2) exploring Thai syntactic structures underlying the informants' CS. As stated in Chapter 1, this study was guided by four research questions which were formulated based on previous studies. The research questions and hypotheses are restated here for convenience.

Research question 1: What is the dominant type of CS in the intragroup talk of first-generation Thai immigrants in England?

Hypothesis 1: Intra-sentential CS is the dominant type of CS among first-generation Thai immigrants in England.

Research question 2: What is the effect on first-generation Thai immigrants' CS behaviours of these speaker variables: age, length of residence, educational attainment and English language proficiency?

Hypothesis 2: Degrees of CS will exhibit a statistically significant increase with first-generation Thai immigrants' educational attainment, length of residence in England and English language proficiency, but not with their age.

Research question 3: What are the sequential patterns and functions of first-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup CS?

Hypothesis 3: First-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup CS can be arranged into more sequential patterns than outlined in Auer's (1995) original CS patterns, and each of the new patterns is associated with certain CS functions.

Research question 4: How is first-generation Thai immigrant CS affected by Thai syntactic transfer?

Hypothesis 4: Thai syntactic transfer ensures syntactic congruence of first-generation Thai immigrant CS and may also create communicative effects that CS alone cannot adequately achieve.

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The sampling and data collection methods were described in Chapter 2. The data were collected from 36 first-generation female Thai immigrants of varying social backgrounds and levels of English proficiency, all of whom are marriage migrants residing in England at the time of the study. The data collection instruments included audio recording and questionnaires: the former was employed to collect the informants' spoken data with another first-generation Thai immigrant, while the latter was employed to collect the informants' personal information that may affect their CS behaviours (age, length of residence in England, educational backgrounds and proficiency in four aspects of English use: listening, speaking, reading and writing). To analyse the collected data, I adopted a mixed-methods approach that exploited the strengths of both a quantitative approach (frequency count, distributional analysis and Spearman's *rho*) and a qualitative approach (CA, IS and theory of transfer). This mixed-methods approach enabled me to obtain important insights into CS behaviours of first-generation Thai immigrants that have not been systematically reported before.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 each began with a critical review of the literature relevant to each aspect of first-generation Thai immigrant CS under investigation: the quantitative approach to CS in Chapter 3; IS and CA approaches to CS in Chapter 4; and the theory of transfer in the context of CS in Chapter 5. This was followed by detailed analyses and discussion of findings. In Chapter 3, the focus was on the frequency, social distribution and correlations between CS and speaker variables. The results of the analysis in Chapter 3 showed that first-generation Thai immigrants' CS is characterised by its low frequency and insertional nature. It answered *Research question 1* and confirmed *Hypothesis 1*: insertional, intra-sentential CS is the dominant type of CS among first-generation Thai immigrants. The results of the correlational analysis partially confirmed *Hypothesis 2*: intra-sentential CS is the only type of CS that is correlated with social factor, namely, English language proficiency in speaking and reading.

In Chapter 4, the sequential patterns and functions of CS were the focus of analysis which revealed the fact that the informants performed CS in an orderly and purposeful way. The analysis of sequential CS patterns and functions in Chapter 4 differs from that in previous studies in that it explained CS not only through the notion of contextualisation cues, but through sequential development in talk-in-interaction. The results in Chapter 4 thus provided answers to *Research question 3* and confirmed *Hypothesis 3*: first-generation Thai immigrants' CS can be arranged into more sequential patterns than previously proposed in Auer (1995). This is especially true of insertional CS which can be further divided into eight new sub-patterns (see Table 4.1 in Chapter 4, p. 134). I demonstrated that each sequential

pattern is associated with specific local functions, many of which are important for the development of interactive talk.

Finally, the results of the analysis in Chapter 5 answered *Research question 4* and confirmed *Hypothesis 4*. The analysis of syntactic transfer from Thai into English by examining the phenomenon in the light of other theoretical approaches to language transfer in contact situations – alongside CA – revealed that the informants transferred certain Thai syntactic structures to their CS production not only to help establish syntactic congruence between Thai and English, but also to add or alter new semantic and/or pragmatic functions to English switches. One striking finding was that Thai syntactic transfer, when applied to CS production, may also activate certain Thai lexical items to accompany CS so that the communicative effectiveness of CS is maximised.

Other new findings that emerged from the analysis in this study are summarised as follows:

♦ Proficiency in different L2 skills may affect the production of first-generation Thai immigrant CS differently.

♦ Social variables play a minimal role in first-generation Thai immigrant CS.

♦ Insertional CS can be, and should be, explained in relation to conversational structures.

♦ L1 transfer does not occur exclusively in monolingual L2 speech, interlanguage and stable mixed languages but also in insertional, intra-sentential CS.

♦ L1 syntactic structures play a similar role to contextualisation cues in that they affect how CS is produced and interpreted.

♦ Interference, hybridisation and conversion are not transfers. The former is erroneous, non-systematic use of L1 underlying system in L2, while the latter two are common outcomes of nativisation. However, these phenomena may occur simultaneously with transfer and CS.

In Section 6.2 of this final chapter, I synthesise and discuss the key findings from Chapters 3, 4 and 5 in relation to the extant literature. In Section 6.3, I introduce the procedural model of first-generation immigrant CS that I have constructed based on the findings in my study. The advantages of the complementary approach employed in this study

are evaluated in Section 6.4. In Section 6.5, I discuss the implications of the study. Finally, the study is brought to a close in Section 6.6 where directions for future research are offered.

6.2 Synthesis of key findings

6.2.1 *Orderliness and purposefulness of first-generation immigrant code-switching*

The results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses revealed that CS amongst first-generation Thai immigrants, despite its low frequency and insertional nature, is not random but is highly systematic and purposeful. The quantitative analysis in Chapter 3 showed that the informants perform CS at a very low rate, mostly less than 1% of the total number of words spoken. The highest proportion of overall CS performed by an individual informant is 6.06%. Intra-sentential CS occurred at 4.23% and the inter-sentential type is less frequent again at just 3.12%. These findings accord with the results reported in previous studies such as Li et al. (1992), Li (1994), Backus (2015), Ng and He (2004), Korybski (2013) and Muysken (2013), i.e. first-generation immigrant CS is characterised by its low frequency and is largely insertional in nature. I have pointed out that such characteristics may thus be the reason why first-generation immigrant intragroup CS has not received much research attention. However, the results in Chapters 4 and 5 provided evidence that first-generation immigrants' CS is, in fact, highly systematic and goal-directed. It plays an important role in first-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup talk.

The important roles of first-generation Thai immigrant CS in intragroup interaction, which were demonstrated through the CA- and IS-based analysis in Chapter 4, are twofold. First, it conveys specific pragmatic meanings that Thai utterances alone may not adequately achieve. For example, quoting a native English speaker in English makes the quotation more vivid and accurate than doing so in Thai. Second, it systematically constructs sequential development of talk. The second point has rarely been reported in the literature. First-generation Thai immigrant CS in my data can be arranged into sequential CS patterns that so far have not been described in the literature. Here, I remind the reader of the two main sequential patterns of first-generation Thai immigrant CS: Pattern A (… T1 T2 // E3 E1/2 E3 E1/2 …) and Pattern B (… T1 [E1] T1…). Numbers 1, 2, and 3 in each pattern represent each individual speaker. The letter T and E represent a Thai and English item/utterance, respectively. A single slash (/) between 1 and 2 indicates that either Speaker 1 or 2 may be the

speaker of the turn, while double slashes (//) identify the point where switching occurs, either between or within a turn.

My Pattern A is specific to cases in which CS was triggered by an outsider, which was not represented in Auer's (1995) original sequential CS patterns. My Pattern B, which represents insertional CS and corresponds to Auer's (1995) Pattern IV (…B1 A1 B1…), can be further divided into eight new sub-patterns based on its relationship with the surrounding text (summarised in Table 4.1, p. 142). While the relationship between insertional CS and conversational structures has been previously acknowledged in Ben-Rafael (2001), Angermeyer (2002) and Backus (2015), my study is the first to propose a systematic representation of insertional CS in relation to the organisation of talk more broadly. Through my Pattern B and its sub-patterns, I have established what other researchers have begun to recognise but have not yet adequately demonstrated, that is, functions of insertional CS do not emerge in a random, unpredictable manner. Rather, they emerge systematically in relation to specific sequential positions of insertional CS within ongoing interaction. For example, when an English switch occurs in repetition of a Thai lexical item (Pattern B3-a: … T1 ← ©[E1] T1 …), it functions as reiteration. When two or more English switches occur as members of the same lexical set (Pattern B5-a: …T1 [E1] T1 […] T1 [E1] T1 …), their primary function is to establish lexical cohesion by collocation. By explaining insertional CS not only through the notion of contextualisation cues but also as conversational structures, I have improved studies of sequential CS patterns and showed that insertional CS is worth being investigated more extensively from the CA perspective.

My argument regarding the orderliness and purposefulness of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS was further supported by the analysis in Chapter 5. I have demonstrated that the informants apply the Thai PP frame (LEX / PH / CL + PP) and Thai SVC frame (V + V [+ 4 V^{MAX}]) to CS not only to maintain the syntactic congruence between Thai and English as suggested in Clyne (1987, 2003), but also to achieve certain propositional attitudes and/or alter the semantic or pragmatic meanings in a way that English switches alone are unlikely to adequately achieve. For example, in the utterance *kháo dan pai **book** hâi rao à rian kòn* (English: *He just went ahead and **booked** [driving lessons] for me*) in Example 5.27 (p. 189), the application of the Thai SVC frame allowed the speaker to alter the semantic meaning of the English verb *book* from *to reserve something* to *to reserve something by someone for someone else*.

The findings summarised above highlight the intricacy, purposefulness and importance of CS in first-generation immigrants' intragroup talk: despite its rare occurrence,

as evident in Chapter 3, first-generation immigrant CS is not simply or randomly inserted into streams of L1 speech, but is carefully planned and managed to achieve both syntactic congruence and communicative optimality. The informants use CS very efficiently, making the most of it when it occurs in intragroup talk.

6.2.2 Social influence versus discourse-pragmatic motivations

The analysis suggests that the impact of social factors on the production of CS among first-generation Thai immigrants may be less important than that of discourse functions. In Chapter 3, I introduced the selected social factors that are likely to affect first-generation Thai immigrants' CS: age, length of residence, educational attainment and English proficiency. The distributional analysis revealed that the informants, when stratified according to their social characteristics, exhibit different extents of CS usage (although the differences are naturally relatively small due to CS scarcity). For example, older informants perform less CS than younger informants; informants with secondary and tertiary level education tend to perform more CS than those with primary level education. Similarly, informants who are highly proficient in English speaking tend to perform CS at a higher rate than those who reported intermediate level of proficiency. The correlational analysis, however, revealed that the differences in CS rates across speaker groups are mostly not statistically significant. Only the rate of intra-sentential CS was correlated with speaker variables, namely, proficiencies in English speaking and reading. This means that the more proficient the informants are in English speaking and reading, the more likely they are to produce intra-sentential CS.

It was suggested that the lack of correlation between CS and most of the selected social factors is because there is really no relationship between the variables, as evident in the lack of clear increase/decrease of the distribution of CS across many of the selected speaker variables, namely, length of residence in England, educational attainment and proficiency in English listening (see distributional analyses in Chapter 3, Section 3.5)[9]. From these distributions, it does not seem to be the case that the informants' intragroup CS is influenced by social factors to any great extent.

My analysis clearly demonstrated that first-generation Thai immigrants' CS behaviours are strongly influenced by discourse motivations. As discussed in Chapter 4 and Section 6.2.1, CS in my data is highly purposeful. The informants used CS to perform a wide range of functions in discourse, including addressee specification, quotation, lexical gap

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[9] The issue of the small dataset should also be taken into consideration.

filling, reiteration, lexical cohesion by repetition and collocation, topic marker and expression of approval, attentiveness and comprehension. Of all 1,223 CS instances in the corpus, only 271 of them are unmarked, serving no function in particular. In Chapter 5, I reported that the Thai PP and SVC frames are applied to English switches that already served as contextualisation cues. I argued that this is the informants' attempt to further maximise the communicative effectiveness of CS. These findings indicate that first-generation Thai immigrant CS is strongly driven by discourse-pragmatic motivations, thus emphasising the importance of CS as a discourse strategy rather than as a reflection of the informants' social characteristics. If it was the case that speaker variables are more influential on first-generation Thai immigrant CS than discourse motivations, there would have been clear and consistent increases or decreases with changes in variables. The finding discussed in this paragraph supports those in Auer (1984), Zentella (1990), Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) and Gardner-Chloros (2009a): CS cannot be adequately explained through correlational tests, but in-depth qualitative analysis in relation to discourse contexts is required.[10]

In short, social factors and discourse-pragmatic motivations both affect first-generation Thai immigrant CS, but it is the latter that plays a much greater role. However, due to the low frequency of CS and a small dataset, more research is needed before the impact of social factors on first-generation immigrant CS can be explained with more confidence.

6.2.3 *Incorporation of code-switching and transfer studies*

This study shows that new insights can be gained by combining CS with transfer studies. The first new insight is that the orderliness and functions of CS emerge not only from contextualisation cues, conversational structures and intersubjective social knowledge as demonstrated in Chapter 4, but also from the informants' L1 syntax knowledge. L1 syntactic structures contribute to CS in that they ensure syntactic congruence between Thai and English and enhance the communicative effectiveness of CS by freeing English switches from the English syntactic rules that are more restrictive than those of Thai. For example, English SVC structure allows only two verbs in a sequence (V + V), while that of Thai allows up to six verbs (V + V [+ 4 V^{MAX}]) and thus, enables the informants to alter the pragmatic/semantic meanings of CS more freely. This finding is important because: 1) it illustrates the intricacy of

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[10] I do not intend to downplay the impact of social factors on CS. In Section 3.6, I have tentatively suggested how length of residence may affect the occurrence of English idioms in Thai speech. More research is required to establish the effect of the length of residence variables on the production of idioms.

first-generation immigrant CS and 2) it demonstrates the relationship between CS and transfer. The second point is elaborated below.

My analysis provides compelling evidence that CS and transfer are not two independent language contact outcomes, but rather two interrelated phenomena that play an integral part in shaping the linguistic behaviours of bilingual speakers and should thus be studied simultaneously (Odlin, 1989, 2009; Treffers-Daller, 2009; Sakel, 2011). In line with Sakel (2011), I showed how CS research can be made relevant to other language contact phenomena, especially transfer, and how these sub-disciplines of language contact can benefit from each other's findings. In particular, transfer theory contributes to the analysis of first-generation immigrant CS by bringing to light the influence of the L1 syntactic structures on the construction and interpretation of CS. Moreover, it distinguishes the strategic use of L1 syntactic structures in CS production from the L1-induced errors, i.e. interference. This, in turn, helps resolve the ambiguity between transfer, common nativisation processes and interference. It also allows us to focus on each individual language contact phenomenon more specifically and thoroughly. In the context of Thai-English language contact, we can now say with more confidence that hybridisation and conversion, although may exhibit certain effects from Thai, should not be considered Thai transfer since they can be found in any community where more than one language is used, rather than exclusively among Thai-English bilinguals.

Vice versa, the CS theories contribute to the transfer analysis by identifying the L1 syntactic structures that are likely to be employed as communicative strategies in bilingual conversations. CA in particular offers insights into the transfer phenomenon by revealing that transfer is likely to occur with CS instances that already function as contextualisation cues, and that transfer can affect the organisation of talk since it helps clarify the speaker's pragmatic/semantic intention at a given point of interaction. This, in turn, guides the direction of the conversation. For example, consider the following segment of Example 5.11, restated here as Example 6.1.

Example 6.1

1	1A:	khâng nôk	nânlàe	[**down south**]PH	**nà**	yîng	phaeng
		side out	PP	**down south**	PP	more	expensive

*Outside [of London] exactly. **Down south**, [the living cost] is even more expensive.*

2		Kent-	bân	lăng	ní	săen	chèt
		Kent	house	CLF	this	hundred thousand	seven

Kent- this house [= 1A's house] is about £170,000 –

3	săen	pàet	pai	yù	dâi	khâe
	hundred thousand	eight	go	stay	get	only

£180,000. [You] go and live [in Kent] [you] can only get

4	flàet	sŏng	hông	non	thî	**down south**
	flat	two	room	sleep	in	**down south**

*a two-bedroom flat **down south**.*

Together, the English switches *down south* in lines 1 and 4 exhibit Pattern B4-a, which indicates their contextualisation functions: lexical cohesion by repetition and reiteration. In addition, Speaker 1A also applies the Thai PP frame PH + PP to the English switch *down south* in line 1. As a result, the lexical cohesion and reiteration functions of the switches are further emphasised, and *down south* is explicitly marked as the information that is key to the ongoing discussion regarding house prices in England.

The second new insight that emerged from the integration of CS studies with transfer studies, along with the application of Jarvis and Pavlenko's (2008) transfer identification criteria to my CS data, is that CS can also be explained not only from the language contact perspective but also from that of second language acquisition. I have illustrated this with Example 5.38c which is restated here as Example 6.2 for convenience.

Example 6.2
Speaker 12B quotes her English husband's expression of his fear of spiders.

12B: […] I **scare** [*am scared*]. I **scare** [*am scared*] very much.
I **scare** [am scared] [of] spider.

I have explained that Speaker 12B's use of inappropriate bare verb forms which result in ungrammatical English utterances *I scare*, *I scare very much* and *I scare spider* instead of *I'm scared*, *I'm scared very much* and *I'm scared of spiders* may be considered a compensation strategy for Speaker 14B who has intermediate proficiency in English listening and speaking, and only basic proficiency in English reading and writing. Alternative explanations such as this further support the argument that CS is multi-dimensional and should not be approached from one single perspective (Zentella, 1990; Gardner-Chloros, 1991; Auer et al., 2014).

Overall, the simultaneous study of CS and transfer in this thesis demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between the two phenomena and contributes to the more extensive research on CS in relation to transfer called for by Isurin et al. (2009), Treffers-Daller (2009) and Sakel (2011) which to date remains nascent.

6.3 Procedural model for first-generation immigrant code-switching

In the discussion of key findings in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 in Sections 6.2.1 to 6.2.3 above, I have shown that first-generation immigrant CS is systematic, occurring in a recurrent and orderly manner in relation to some social factors, contextualisation cues, pragmatic motivations, conversational structure/contexts, L1 syntactic transfer and L1 lexicon. Based on these findings and Meuter's (2009, p. 30) argument that speakers "plan the content of their next utterance, including the language in which they intend to utter their next utterance", I constructed a procedural model which illustrates the intricate process underlying first-generation immigrant CS. The model is presented in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: Procedural model of first-generation immigrant CS production

Stage 1: Contemplation

Motivations

Pragmatics
Quotation, lexical gap filling, reiteration, topic marker, word choice approval etc.

Conversational structures/ Conversational contexts
Turn-taking, next-turn proof procedures, topic proffering, cohesion

Mental consideration

CS

+

Stage 2: Preparation

Facilitators

Contextualisation cues
Prosodic cues, explicit comments, repetition, sequential position etc.

L1 syntactic Transfer
(+ L1 lexicon)
+ Syntactic congruence
+ Communicative effectiveness

Social information
+ Speakers' social characteristics
+ Social knowledge

CS
Verbally articulated

Stage 3: Action

The model visualises the processes that underlie first-generation immigrant CS production by dividing them into three stages: *contemplation* (white boxes), *preparation* (grey boxes) and *action* (black boxes). The identification of the contemplation stage (Stage 1) was supported by Meuter's (2009) argument stated in the paragraph above, which indicates that CS requires planning and consideration before it can occur. At this stage, first-generation

immigrants are motivated by pragmatic intentions and conversational structures/contexts and consider CS as a potential strategy of communication. Since this stage takes place in the speaker's mind, it can be referred to as "mental consideration" of CS (Chen, 2007, p. 296). Based on the results in this study and the literature, I would argue that the contemplation stage may play the most important role in first-generation immigrant CS. This is because first-generation immigrants are strongly L1-dominant, and their CS tends to be reserved for specific functions and used in the most efficient manner. This means that first-generation immigrants must first evaluate the discourse-pragmatic demands before deciding to perform CS in order to "make the most" of their CS usage, as demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5.

Once first-generation immigrants have decided to employ CS, they embark on the preparation stage (Stage 2). The goal at this point in the talk is to carefully design CS so that it achieves the desired communicative outcome in the most efficient way. To do so, first-generation immigrants may exploit what I call *facilitators* – additional means to achieve communicative effectiveness of CS. Speakers may accompany CS with contextualisation cues that clearly identify functions of CS, for example, adding explicit quotative markers such as *he/she said that…* to emphasise the quotation function (e.g. Example 4.18, p. 107). Moreover, they may also take into consideration information at the social level such as differences in social characteristics between themselves and their interlocutor, as well as their social knowledge as members of a given community (e.g. Example 5.30, restated as Example 6.3 in the next paragraph). There are indications too that speakers in CS contexts activate their L1 syntactic knowledge when performing CS to create new pragmatic/semantic meanings (e.g. Examples 5.24 to 5.28, pp. 188 – 190). The latter may also trigger certain L1 lexical items to occur in the process, further enhancing the communicative effectiveness of CS (see Section 5.8, Chapter 5).

The dashed lines that link the three types of facilitator indicate that they are not mutually exclusive but interrelated, meaning that more than one can be activated at a time during the construction of CS utterances. For example, let us return to Example 5.30, restated here as Example 6.3 for convenience. Speaker 14A is highly proficient in all four English skills, whereas Speaker 14B is less proficient, especially in the English writing skill (see Appendix 1 for their self-rated English proficiency).

Example 6.3
Speakers 14B tries to ask Speaker 14A about real estate while Speaker 14A is searching for the information.

1	14B:	rŏe		mi	arai-
		INTERJ		have	what

'Yeah? What is-'

2	14A:	nîa	**search** yù	**search** yù
		this	**search** be located	**search** be located

*'Here, [I'm] **search**ing, [I'm] **search**ing.'*

The underlined English switches exhibit two types of facilitator: social information and L1 (Thai) syntactic transfer (which also activates the Thai progressive marker *yù*): it is likely that the speaker takes into consideration the interlocutor's low English proficiency and educational attainment and adopts the English verb in its simplest form, within the Thai SVC frame, to reduce the hearer's interpretative burden. However, in the case of first-generation immigrant CS which is largely insertional, it is likely that L1 syntactic transfer (+ L1 lexicon) is the most important type of facilitator, since it is key to the grammatical insertion of CS into Thai speech (Clyne, 1987, 2003).

Another point that needs to be clarified is the identification of only L1 syntactic transfer as facilitator in Figure 6.1. Since L1 syntactic transfer is the only type of transfer investigated in this study, I avoid using the term *L1 transfer*, which would lead to a greater generalisation than is warranted by the evidence in my data. I do not intend to claim that L1 syntactic transfer is the only type of transfer that can facilitate first-generation immigrant CS. According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Odlin (1989) and Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), any elements from one language can be transferred to another. This means that other L1 systems at the underlying levels such as phonetic, semantic and conceptual elements may also affect first-generation immigrant CS. However, there is insufficient evidence in this study to support this claim. More research is needed to investigate the impact of other types of L1 transfer on first-generation immigrant CS.

Finally, after having strategically planned CS in the preparation stage, CS is verbally produced in the action stage (Stage 3), marking the end of a single CS production sequence. However, if a particular CS instance recurs or collocates with other CS instances that follow in subsequent utterances or turns, it marks the beginning of the next CS production sequence. Such cases can be observed in Example 4.35 (p. 136) where *bean*, *sausage* and *toast* are motivated by the speaker's attempt to establish the theme of discussion (pragmatic motivation)

and lexical cohesion in ongoing talk (conversational structure motivation) in relation to the switch *breakfast* in the preceding turn (see also other examples of CS in Patterns B4-a, B4-b, B5-a and B5-b in Chapter 4).

Note that the procedural model in Figure 6.1 contains a mixture of what is in the informants' heads (e.g. pragmatic motivation, mental consideration, social information) and my CA-based interpretation as a researcher (e.g. conversational structure motivation, sequential position, syntactic congruence). According to Hopper (2011), speakers do not necessarily possess an overall view of talk, which suggests that they are not always aware of CS effects at the conversational structure level. They are also not always aware of their own contemplation process that underlies their language choice (Meuter, 2009). In my study, the contemplication process sometimes reflected through the informants' hesitation during interaction. By integrating the researcher's perspective into the model, I was able to present the model in more details and also from multiple angles.

6.4 Complementary approach to first-generation immigrant code-switching

In this study, I have shown how different theoretical frameworks from different perspectives can complement each other in the analysis of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS. First of all, in Chapter 3, the quantitative approach was employed to capture the overview of CS, including its frequency and relationships with social factors. In Chapter 4, it helped confirm that each sequential CS pattern occurs regularly as part of the informants' everyday conversational norms and not as individual speakers' idiosyncratic linguistic behaviour (Schegloff, 1993). In Chapter 5, the informants' social characteristics also offered alternative explanations for certain cases of CS in addition to the CA- and transfer theory-based accounts. For example, in Example 6.2, I have demonstrated how taking into consideration the speakers' self-rated English proficiency helped explain why the Thai SVC frame and Thai verb *yù* that indicates progressiveness were applied to the English verb *search* instead of using the English progressive form (*search yù* versus *searching*): to accommodate the interlocutor who is less proficient in English than the speaker. Furthermore, the quantitative approach also enabled me to identify Thai lexical items that are likely to occur with CS within the Thai PP and SVC frames. Although it was not always possible to carry out correlational analysis in this study due to the low frequency of CS and skewed sub-sample, the quantitative approach is one of the necessary tools with which the qualitative CS analysis in the subsequent chapters can be enhanced. My study makes an important contribution to both CS

and transfer studies, since it reflects the interface between L1 syntactic transfer and L1 lexicon that makes CS possible. L1 syntactic structures help pave the way for CS, allowing it to occur without violating the morphosyntactic rules of the dominant language among first-generation immigrants, while L1 lexical items that are triggered by the L1 syntactic structures "chaperone" the switched item, making sure that they are embedded into the L1 syntactic frame appropriately, and at the same time maximise its communicative potential.

The analysis of sequential patterns and functions of CS was informed primarily by CA (Auer, 1984, 1995, 1998, 1999), and complemented by IS (Gumperz, 1977, 1982). The CA-IS complementary approach employed in this study interprets CS systematically based on its sequential position in ongoing interaction while fully acknowledging its social and cultural values. This has been demonstrated in the case of *church* in Example 4.31 (p. 126) which may reflect the speaker's confusion in cultural differences between English and Thai churches, and *bean*, *sausage* and *toast* in Example 4.35 (p. 136) which suggest the speaker's knowledge of traditional breakfast in England. This characteristic of the complementary CA-IS approach makes it more desirable in the context of this study than either of the two alone: traditional IS interprets CS based largely on the researchers' assumptions, which may be subject to bias; and traditional CA interprets CS largely on the basis of sequences of talk without considering much information beyond the interactional level, e.g. speakers' intersubjective social knowledge.

The combination of transfer theory and CA represents another useful framework for the analysis of both CS and transfer in my data. Through this complementary approach, it becomes clearer not only which L1 syntactic structures are being transferred to CS production and how they affect the local function of certain CS instances within the turn it occurs, but also how L1 syntactic transfer contributes to the organisation of talk at the conversational structure level. For example, in Example 5.11 (p. 174) the Thai PP frame enabled the speaker to add the Thai PP *nà* to emphasise *down south* as the key topic of discussion, which in turn guided the development of subsequent turns. Moreover, I have also demonstrated in the quantitative analysis towards the end of Chapter 5 that Thai syntactic structures, when transferred to CS, tend to activate particular Thai PPs and verbs to accompany CS. I argued that in the preparation of insertional CS, speakers activate a certain L1 syntactic structure to ensure syntactic congruity and communicative effectiveness of CS, and that L1 syntactic structure also activates certain L1 words that are most likely to help a switch achieve the desired communicative effect that English alone cannot adequately achieve. This finding is important in several respects. First, it supports the argument put forth in Clyne (1987, 2003),

Verschik (2005), Marian and Kaushanskaya (2007) and Meuter (2009) that L1 syntactic structures are part of how CS is designed and produced. This leads to the second implication: there is mutual dependency between L1-L2 syntactic structures and L1-L2 word selection in the process of CS (Toribio, 2004). Finally, the finding offers compelling evidence for the complex processes behind first-generation immigrant CS that makes this phenomenon worthy of continued discussion in future research.

6.5 Implications of the study

Since my data were drawn solely from 36 Thai marriage migrants in England, I do not intend to generalise about CS behaviours of all first-generation Thai immigrants or all Thai speakers. However, despite this limitation, I believe that the findings in my study offer a number of implications for future research in the field, as discussed below.

Firstly, based on my findings, I propose that first-generation immigrant CS is more complex than previously reported and deserves to be explored more thoroughly. While some previous studies did acknowledge communicative functions of first-generation immigrant CS, they tended not to explain the phenomenon in detail other than to speculate that it is infrequent and insertional (Li, 1994; Alfonzetti, 2005; Muysken, 2013; Finnis, 2014). The analysis in this study confirmed the infrequency, insertional characteristic and communicative functions of first-generation immigrant CS reported in the literature. Furthermore, it also provided evidence that first-generation immigrant CS is not only highly purposeful, but it is also systematic and entwined with many other aspects of language use such as conversational structure, L1 syntactic structures and L1 lexical items, as illustrated in Figure 6.1. This intricate relationship contributes greatly to indexical meanings and functions of first-generation immigrant CS. This led me to argue that first-generation immigrant CS should be viewed as a complex, multi-dimensional construct, rather than a simple insertion. The evidence in my study suggests that first-generation immigrant CS offers new knowledge that can further our understanding of how two languages interact in the process of CS, and how first-generation immigrants are likely to adopt and adjust the host country language in their intragroup talk. Therefore, researchers should not be discouraged by its low frequency and insertional nature, and first-generation immigrant CS should receive much more research attention than it currently does.

Secondly, the findings in this study suggest that the combination of quantitative with qualitative methods is not optional but mandatory in first-generation immigrant CS studies. I

have demonstrated that both social factors and discourse-pragmatic motivations both influence first-generation immigrant CS, although the latter plays a more prominent role than the former does. This means that to employ only quantitative or qualitative methods in the analysis of first-generation immigrant CS may possibly lead to a less accurate representation of the phenomenon.

Through the mixed-methods approach employed in this study, I was able to show that the relationship between quantitative and qualitative analyses is not unidirectional but rather reciprocal. While the complexity of first-generation immigrant CS calls for qualitative analysis to underpin quantitative analysis, its low frequency means that qualitative analysis needs to be substantiated by quantitative analysis to ensure the regularity of CS. Quantitative analysis, which revealed that the majority of CS instances in my data are intra-sentential, also had an implication for the identification of sequential CS patterns in Chapter 4: most patterns were formulated in a way that reflects the insertional, intra-sentential characteristic of first-generation Thai immigrants' CS as clearly as possible. These findings further reflect the symbiotic relationship between quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis that should not be neglected in first-generation immigrant CS studies. This claim would be further enhanced with more mixed-methods research on first-generation immigrant CS in other communities.

Thirdly, the findings in this study highlight the value and importance of a complementary approach that exploits the strengths of various theoretical frameworks (in the case of this study, IS, CA and theory of transfer). I have shown that first-generation immigrant CS, despite occurring infrequently and being mostly insertional, is unlikely to be adequately explained from just one perspective due to its intricate relationships with other aspects of language use (see Figure 6.1). A multi-dimensional, complementary approach that is thus recommended, for it is probably the most efficient way to understand the importance of first-generation immigrant CS in the context of intragroup talk, and to depart from a flat, descriptive CA account of CS that ten Have (1990, 2007), Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001), Li (2005) and de Kok (2008) warn against.

Fourthly, the findings in my study support the call for the integration of CS with transfer studies (see Isurin et al., 2009, Treffers-Daller, 2009; Sakel, 2011). I demonstrated how our understanding of first-generation CS can be furthered by taking into consideration its relationship with transfer (and other language contact phenomena). Also, by demonstrating how CS and transfer can be studied simultaneously and how they can benefit from each other's findings, I hope to have shown a new research avenue that future studies could pursue.

Moreover, based on the findings in Chapter 5, I would argue that it is no longer adequate to study CS and transfer in isolation from speakers' linguistic knowledge, social contexts and conversational structures, or to identify transfer in an impressionistic manner as a "you-know-it-when-you-see-it" phenomenon (Jarvis, 2000a, p. 246). The intricate relationship between CS and transfer also means that language contact terms must be clearly defined. Failing to do so will lead to ambiguity and misinterpretation of findings, as well as prevent comparison across studies.

In addition to the implications for existing CS research and bilingualism theories, my study also has implications for the informants themselves, as well as educators and organisations whose aim is to improve Thai marriage migrants' English so that they can integrate into life in the UK and communicate with their British husbands more effectively (see Sims, 2008, 2010). Firstly, the informants can benefit from learning that intragroup, insertional CS is an effective communicative tool that they can use to maximise communicative outcomes. This may help enhance the effectiveness of their interactions, as well as maintain their intragroup membership considering that insertional CS is reserved almost exclusively for first-generation Thai immigrants. Since I still keep in contact with the informants, I can easily communicate this implication to them via email which contains a summary of findings, with an emphasis on their relevance and importance of CS in the informants' daily intragroup conversations. Moreover, the importance of CS at both the interactional and sociocultural levels may also positively change the informants' negative attitude towards CS, which was reflected in their informal chats outside of recording environment (see Chapter 2, Section 2.7). Note that this implication remains tentative due to the lack of attitude interview in this study. However, this limitation does not have important consequences since attitude towards CS is not one of my foci.

Secondly, educators teaching English to Thai marriage migrants and organisations promoting effective cross-cultural communication between Thai wives and their British husbands such as the Federation of Thai and Foreign Spouse Networks Association of Thailand may also benefit from the findings in this study. The CS patterns that I have identified in Chapter 4 indicate that first-generation Thai marriage migrants prefer Thai over English, and that English is used largely for its contextualisation purposes. This suggests that they may learn English more effectively if they are instructed dominantly in Thai, with Englished reserved for key points. For example, educators can use CS in Pattern B3-a, in which an English item is repeated in Thai, or vice versa, to teach new English words and emphasise their meanings. They can also use English when introducing words and concepts

that are associated with British culture, e.g. *English summer holiday* in Example 4.9. I can communicate this implication to educators and organisations working with Thai marriage migrants via email, offering my findings as useful information for their teaching or training programmes.

Although we cannot generalise about CS behaviours of all Thais based only on the data obtained from 36 first-generation female Thai immigrants in this study, I would argue that the data have an implication for the monolingual ideology persisting in Thailand. I have mentioned in Chapter 1 that native speakers of Thai tend to react negatively to Thai-English CS. Insertional, intra-sentential CS in particular is often denounced as a broken mode of talk or a pretention. However, my findings have shown that CS is, in fact, employed systematically as a valuable communicative tool in day-to-day intragroup interactions. This means that monolingual ideology is unrealistic and outdated, and thus needs to be changed. If the findings of this study were to be disseminated in Thailand, be it in the contexts of formal education, academic symposia, or non-academic publications, they may help lessen the prejudice toward CS held by many native Thai speakers, as well as enhance their understanding and appreciation of Thai-English CS as a creative practice in today's globalised world.

6.6 Directions for future research

In this thesis, I have explored intragroup CS behaviours of first-generation Thai immigrants in England from three perspectives, i.e. grammatical, interactional and sociolinguistic. Although the analysis has revealed many new insights into first-generation Thai immigrants' intragroup CS, this phenomenon deserves further investigation. For example, future research can investigate the degree of applicability of the sequential CS patterns I have developed, especially the sub-patterns of Pattern B that are proposed for the first time in this study, to CS data from other immigrant communities elsewhere in the world, and perhaps other contexts of CS that are currently receiving extensive research attention (e.g. social media, linguistic landscape, and political speech). My CS patterns and their CA-based construction also offer a convenient framework for further studies on both first-generation immigrant CS and insertional CS in general. Further research can usefully explore whether speakers from different communities, or of different social and linguistic backgrounds, differ from first-generation Thai immigrants in their production of and preference for CS patterns and functions.

Future research may apply the procedural model of first-generation immigrant CS proposed in Figure 6.1 to first-generation immigrants from different ethnic communities to test the generalisability of the model. It would also be interesting to see whether the model can be applied to CS data of younger-generation immigrants. This gives rise to many new questions: Can the model explain younger-generation immigrant CS? Do the processes underlying CS production of first-generation immigrants and younger-generation immigrants differ at all? What other types of L1 transfer rather than L1 syntactic transfer may occur during the process of CS production? This is a research avenue that needs to be undertaken, for it allows us to observe CS as a creative process in today's multilingual world, as well as the values of CS across communities, cultures and generations.

The relationship between the informants' social characteristics and CS and transfer patterns is another area that calls for further investigation. Due to skewed social distribution of the informants which precluded any correlational analysis in Chapters 4 and 5, the relationships between these variables remain inconclusive. Future studies may benefit from adopting an alternative research design. For example, rather than employing snowballing sampling, which was necessary in this study due to the lack of a detailed census of first-generation Thai immigrants in England, further research may employ stratified random sampling, which allows researchers to evenly stratify speakers across social categories from the outset. This way, the relationships between speaker variables and CS pattern and transfer variables can be observed more clearly.

A symbiosis between CS and transfer reported in this study also points to the need to depart from the traditional, single approach to CS in favour of a multi-dimensional research orientation to CS which explains the phenomenon as a component of linguistic contact more broadly. Future research can replicate this present study with a different dataset to further investigate the role of transfer in CS production and how the activation of different types of transfer, for example, syntactic, cultural and conceptual elements in CS is influenced by grammatical characteristics of each language as well as social/cultural backgrounds of speakers. Moreover, to my knowledge, there is to date no systematic research in the Thai-English contact literature that incorporates CS and transfer. This study can thus be viewed as the gateway to a more diverse body of future Thai-English language contact studies.

Finally, because of the presence of a small degree of unmarked switching, i.e. unmarked, fluent switching that serves no conversational function, together with the finding in Akresh (2007), it is conceivable that we are witnessing the very first glimpse of language change/shift among immigrant speakers. Longitudinal studies in which researchers investigate

the rates and characteristics of first-generation immigrants CS over time are required to determine whether language change is taking place in the first generation.

APPENDIX 1: Speaker information

Number of conversation	Length of conversation	Speaker code	Age	Length of residence	Education
1	45 min 30 sec	1A	32	8 years	SEC**
		1B	33	10 years	HE**
2	42 min 48 sec	2A	39	6 years	PRI**
		2B	44	13 years	SEC
3	46 min 33 sec	3A	49	25 years	HE
		3B	26	4 years	HE
4	39 min 50 sec	4A	42	4 years	SEC
		4B	43	11 years	PRI
5	57 min 05 sec	5A	42	5 months	SEC
		5B	46	11 years	PRI
6	40 min 22 sec	6A	38	5 years	HE
		6B	31	6 years	HE
7	39 min 16 sec	7A	32	11 years	HE
		7B	36	4 years	PRI
8	52 min 12 sec	8A	43	5 years	PRI
		8B	42	10 years	PRI
9	53 min 53 sec	9A	52	2 years	HE
		9B	41	4 years	PRI
10	38 min 38 sec	10A	37	4 years	SEC
		10B	46	5 years	HE
11	56 min 59 sec	11A	44	9 years	SEC
		11B	50	10 years	SEC
12	30 min 00 sec	12A	52	25 years	SEC
		12B	43	6 months	SEC
13	36 min 05 sec	13A	36	9 years	HE
		13B	48	10 years	SEC
14	52 min 30 sec	14A	34	5 years	HE
		14B	39	6 years	PRI
15	33 min 13 sec	15A	36	7 years	HE
		15B	32	7 years	SEC
16	30 min 00 sec	16A	35	2 years	SEC
		16B	40	1 year	HE
17	49 min 13 sec	17A	36	8 years	HE
		17B	35	1 year	HE
18	30 min 00 sec	18A	35	10 years	SEC
		18B	32	6 years	SEC
Total: 36	**Total: 12 hr 51 min**				

***   PRI – Primary education, SEC – Secondary education, HE – Higher education

APPENDIX 1: Speaker information (Continued)

Number of conversation	Speaker code	English language proficiency			
		Listening	*Speaking*	*Reading*	*Writing*
1	1A	3*	3	3	2*
	1B	3	3	3	3
2	2A	3	2	1*	3
	2B	3	3	2	3
3	3A	3	3	3	3
	3B	3	3	3	3
4	4A	2	2	2	2
	4B	3	3	3	2
5	5A	3	2	2	2
	5B	1	2	2	2
6	6A	3	2	1	1
	6B	2	2	2	2
7	7A	3	2	1	2
	7B	2	2	2	1
8	8A	3	2	1	1
	8B	3	2	1	1
9	9A	2	2	2	2
	9B	3	2	1	1
10	10A	3	3	2	1
	10B	3	3	2	3
11	11A	3	2	2	1
	11B	2	2	1	1
12	12A	3	3	2	2
	12B	2	2	1	1
13	13A	2	2	2	2
	13B	3	3	3	2
14	14A	3	3	3	3
	14B	3	2	2	1
15	15A	3	3	3	3
	15B	2	2	1	1
16	16A	1	2	1	1
	16B	3	2	3	2
17	17A	2	2	2	2
	17B	3	2	2	3
18	18A	3	3	3	2
	18B	3	2	2	2

*1 = low proficiency; 2 = average proficiency; 3 = high proficiency

APPENDIX 2a: Questionnaire (English)

English language proficiency questionnaire

Please specify your English proficiency according to the statements below. Tick the box in front of the statements that best describes your English ability.

	Listening
	I can recognize familiar words and very basic phrases when people speak slowly and clearly.
	I can understand frephrases related to my personal issues such as basic personal and family information, shopping, local area, and employment when they are clear and simple.
	I can understand the main points of clear standard speech on familiar matters regular encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. when they are clear and simple.
	I can understand extended speech and lectures and follow complicated argument if the topic is familiar. I can understand news and films in general.
	I can understand extended speech even when it is not clearly structured. I can understand TV programmes and films without too much effort.
	I have no difficulty in understanding any kind of spoken language, whether live or broadcast, even when delivered at fast native speed.

		Speaking
		I can speak in a simple way provided that the other person can repeat or rephrase things slowly and help me with what I want to say. I can describe simple things, ask and answer simple questions about familiar topics.
		I can communicate in simple tasks, exchanging information on familiar topics and activities. I can handle very short social exchanges, even though I don't usually understand enough to keep the conversation going myself. I can use phrases and sentences to describe myself, my family, my education and my job.
		I can enter unprepared into conversation on topics that are familiar, connect phrases in a simple way to describe experiences, personal opinions and plans
		I can interact in English with enough degree of fluency and can take part in discussion in familiar contexts and express my viewpoint on a wide range of subjects of my interest
		I can express myself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions for social and professional purposes. I can present clear, detailed descriptions of complex subjects.
		I can take part effortlessly in any conversation. I can express myself fluently and know how to use different meanings precisely. If I have a problem I can backtrack and restructure around the difficultly so smoothly that others are hardly aware of it.

		Reading
		I can understand familiar names, words and very simple sentences, for example, on notices, posters and catalogs.
		I can read very short, simple texts such as advertisements, bus schedules and letters or short personal emails.
		I can understand texts that consists mainly of high frequency every day or job-related language such as letters, work and family and understand everything
		I can read articles and reports in which the writers adopt particular viewpoints about contemporary issues
		I can understand long and complex factual and literary texts, appreciating distinctions of styles.
		I can read with ease virtually all forms of the written language.

	Writing
	I can write short texts such as postcard or holiday greetings and filling in forms.
	I can write short, simple notes and messages about general things such as personal letters or emails, notes and memos.
	I can write simple connected texts on familiar topics or of personal interest, describing experiences and impressions
	I can write clear, detailed texts on wide range of subjects related to my interests, giving information in support of or against a particular point of view.
	I can express myself in clear, grammatical, well-structured text, expressing points of view at some length in different styles such as letters, essays or reports.
	I can write clear, smoothly-flowing in an appropriate style with logical structure and significant points clear for the reader. I can also write summaries and reviews of professional or literary works

APPENDIX 2a: Questionnaire (English) (Continued)

Speaker information

1.   Full name: _____
    (Your name is only for the referencing purpose during the study only and will not be mentioned in the thesis.)

2.   Age: _____

3.   Age of arrival to England: _____

4.   Length of residence in the UK: _____

5.   Highest educational qualification _____

6.   Country you received your educational qualification from _____

End of questionnaire

Thank you very much for your cooperation

APPENDIX 2b: Questionnaire (Thai)

English language proficiency questionnaire

โปรดระบุความสามารถในการใช้**ภาษาอังกฤษ**ของท่านโดยใช้เกณฑ์ด้านล่างนี้ กรุณาทำเครื่องหมายถูกในช่องว่าง ด้านหน้าข้อที่อธิบายความสามารถสูงสุดของท่านได้เหมาะสมที่สุด

	การฟัง
	ฉันเข้าใจคำและวลีสั้นๆ ที่ง่ายมากๆ แต่ต้องพูดช้าๆ และชัดๆ
	ฉันเข้าใจข้อความที่ง่ายๆ สั้นๆ และเกี่ยวข้องกับตัวฉัน เช่น ข้อมูลส่วนตัว ครอบครัว การซื้อของ การทำงาน เป็นต้น แต่ต้องพูดชัดๆ
	ฉันจับใจความการพูดคุยทั่วไปเรื่องต่างๆได้ เช่น การเรียน อาหาร และข่าวสาร หรือรายการ โทรทัศน์ แต่ต้องพูดชัดๆ
	ฉันเข้าใจการถกเถียง อภิปรายเรื่องที่ซับซ้อนหากเป็นเรื่องที่ฉันคุ้นเคย เช่น ภาษี วิชาการ ธุรกิจ และฉันจับใจความข่าวและรายการโทรทัศน์ได้โดยทั่วไป
	ฉันเข้าใจการพูดคุยถกเถียงยาวๆ แม้ว่าจะไม่ชัดเจน และฉันเข้าใจรายการ โทรทัศน์และภาพยนตร์ ได้โดยมีฟังไม่ทันหรือไม่เข้าใจบ้าง
	ฉันเข้าใจได้ทุกอย่าง ทุกเรื่อง แม้ว่าจะเป็นการพูดคุยด้วยความเร็วแบบเจ้าของภาษา

	การพูด
	ฉันพูดคุยหรือตอบเรื่องง่ายๆได้ เช่น แนะนำตัว แต่ต้องพูดช้าๆ และชัดๆ และอีกฝ่ายช่วยพูดซ้ำให้ฟัง
	ฉันพูดคุยเรื่องง่ายๆในชีวิตประจำวัน เช่น ครอบครัว การศึกษา งาน ได้ แต่มักจะสั้นๆ และไม่ต่อเนื่อง
	ฉันพูดคุยในสถานการณ์ที่ไม่ได้เตรียมตัวมาก่อนหรือเล่าเรื่องแบบไม่ต้องเตรียมตัวได้ เช่น ถามทาง บอก ทาง ขอความช่วยเหลือ
	ฉันพูดคุยกับเจ้าของภาษาได้คล่องพอสมควร และสามารถอธิบายความคิดเห็นในเรื่องที่ฉันคุ้นเคยและ สนใจได้
	ฉันพูดคุยกับเจ้าของภาษาได้คล่องมาก และคุยได้ในเรื่องที่ซับซ้อน เช่น วิชาการ ธุรกิจ สังคม และอาชีพ
	ฉันพูดคุยได้อย่างคล่องแคล่วและถูกต้องทุกเรื่อง สามารถร่วมคุยกับใครๆก็ได้โดย ไม่ติดขัดหรือใช้ความ พยายามเลย แม้ว่าจะเป็นภาษาหรือสำเนียงท้องถิ่นหรือแสลงก็ตาม

การอ่าน
ฉันเข้าใจชื่อ คำศัพท์ และประโยคง่ายๆที่คุ้นเคยได้ เช่น บนป้ายประกาศ โปสเตอร์ และเมนู
ฉันอ่านเนื้อหาสั้นๆ ที่เกี่ยวกับชีวิตประจำวันได้ เช่น โฆษณา ตารางรถเมล์ และจดหมายหรืออีเมล์ส่วนตัวสั้นๆ
ฉันอ่านเนื้อหาที่เกี่ยวกับชีวิตประจำวันได้ เช่น จดหมายส่วนตัว งาน ครอบครัว และเข้าใจทุกรายละเอียดในเนื้อหานั้นๆ
ฉันอ่านบทความหรือรายงานเกี่ยวกับเหตุการณ์ปัจจุบันได้เข้าใจดี เช่น ข่าวหนังสือพิมพ์ บทความในอินเตอร์เน็ท
ฉันอ่านเนื้อหาที่ยาวๆ และซับซ้อน เช่น บทความเฉพาะด้าน บทวิเคราะห์วิจัย นิยายขนาดยาวได้แม้จะไม่ใช่หัวข้อที่ฉันสนใจ
ฉันอ่านเนื้อหาได้ทุกอย่างโดยไม่มีปัญหาเลย

การเขียน
ฉันเขียนข้อความสั้นๆ เช่น คำอวยพร กรอกข้อมูลส่วนตัวได้
ฉันเขียนข้อความสั้นๆเกี่ยวกับเรื่องทั่วไปได้ เช่น จดหมายหรืออีเมลส่วนตัว หรือจดโน้ต
ฉันเขียนข้อความที่ยาวต่อเนื่องกันเกี่ยวกับเรื่องที่ฉันคุ้นเคย และอธิบายประสบการณ์และความรู้สึกได้ เช่น จดหมายหรืออีเมล์ บันทึกไดอารี่
ฉันเขียนเกี่ยวกับสิ่งที่ฉันสนใจได้โดยสามารถให้ข้อมูล ข้อดี และข้อเสียได้อย่างชัดเจน
ฉันเขียนแสดงความคิดเห็นได้อย่างถูกต้องหลักไวยากรณ์ภาษาอังกฤษ และเขียนจดหมาย รายงาน หรือเรียงความได้ในหลายรูปแบบ
ฉันเขียนงานที่มีเนื้อหายากและซับซ้อนได้หลายอย่าง และเลือกวิธีการเขียนได้เหมาะกับงานเขียนนั้นๆ และยังสรุปหรือวิจารณ์บทความและวรรณกรรมได้อย่างเป็นระบบได้อย่างถูกต้องตามไวยากรณ์ภาษาอังกฤษ

APPENDIX 2b: Questionnaire (Thai) (Continued)

ข้อมูลทั่วไป

1. ชื่อสกุล-: _____ชื่อเล่น_____

    (ชื่อของท่านจะถูกนำไปใช้เพื่อการอ้างอิงระหว่างการทำวิจัยเท่านั้นและจะไม่ปรากฏในงานวิจัยชิ้นสำเร็จ)

2. อายุ: _____ ปี

3. อายุเมื่อย้ายมาอยู่ที่สหราชอาณาจักร: _____ ปี

4. ระยะเวลาที่อาศัยในสหราชอาณาจักร: _____ ปี

5. ระดับการศึกษาสูงสุด _____

6. ประเทศที่ท่านสำเร็จการศึกษา _____

สิ้นสุดแบบสอบถาม

ขอขอบพระคุณเป็นอย่างยิ่งในความร่วมมือ

APPENDIX 3: Original CEFR criteria

		A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
UNDERSTANDING	**Listening**	I can recognise familiar words and very basic phrases concerning myself, my family and immediate concrete surroundings when people speak slowly and clearly.	I can understand phrases and the highest frequency vocabulary related to areas of most immediate personal relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local area, employment). I can catch the main point in short, clear, simple messages and announcements.	I can understand the main points of clear standard speech on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. I can understand the main point of many radio or TV programmes on current affairs or topics of personal or professional interest when the delivery is relatively slow and clear.	I can understand extended speech and lectures and follow even complex lines of argument provided the topic is reasonably familiar. I can understand most TV news and current affairs programmes. I can understand the majority of films in standard dialect.	I can understand extended speech even when it is not clearly structured and when relationships are only implied and not signalled explicitly. I can understand television programmes and films without too much effort.	I have no difficulty in understanding any kind of spoken language, whether live or broadcast, even when delivered at fast native speed, provided I have some time to get familiar with the accent.
	Reading	I can understand familiar names, words and very simple sentences, for example on notices and posters or in catalogues.	I can read very short, simple texts. I can find specific, predictable information in simple everyday material such as advertisements, prospectuses, menus and timetables and I can understand short simple personal letters.	I can understand texts that consist mainly of high frequency everyday or job-related language. I can understand the description of events, feelings and wishes in personal letters.	I can read articles and reports concerned with contemporary problems in which the writers adopt particular attitudes or viewpoints. I can understand contemporary literary prose.	I can understand long and complex factual and literary texts, appreciating distinctions of style. I can understand specialised articles and longer technical instructions, even when they do not relate to my field.	I can read with ease virtually all forms of the written language, including abstract, structurally or linguistically complex texts such as manuals, specialised articles and literary works.
SPEAKING	**Spoken Interaction**	I can interact in a simple way provided the other person is prepared to repeat or rephrase things at a slower rate of speech and help me formulate what I'm trying to say. I can ask and answer simple questions in areas of immediate need or on very familiar topics.	I can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar topics and activities. I can handle very short social exchanges, even though I can't usually understand enough to keep the conversation going myself.	I can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. I can enter unprepared into conversation on topics that are familiar, of personal interest or pertinent to everyday life (e.g. family, hobbies, work, travel and current events).	I can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible. I can take an active part in discussion in familiar contexts, accounting for and sustaining my views.	I can express myself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. I can use language flexibly and effectively for social and professional purposes. I can formulate ideas and opinions with precision and relate my contribution skilfully to those of other speakers.	I can take part effortlessly in any conversation or discussion and have a good familiarity with idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms. I can express myself fluently and convey finer shades of meaning precisely. If I do have a problem I can backtrack and restructure around the difficulty so smoothly that other people are hardly aware of it.
	Spoken Production	I can use simple phrases and sentences to describe where I live and people I know.	I can use a series of phrases and sentences to describe in simple terms my family and other people, living conditions, my educational background and my present or most recent job.	I can connect phrases in a simple way in order to describe experiences and events, my dreams, hopes and ambitions. I can briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans. I can narrate a story or relate the plot of a book or film and describe my reactions.	I can present clear, detailed descriptions on a wide range of subjects related to my field of interest. I can explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.	I can present clear, detailed descriptions of complex subjects integrating sub-themes, developing particular points and rounding off with an appropriate conclusion.	I can present a clear, smoothly-flowing description or argument in a style appropriate to the context and with an effective logical structure which helps the recipient to notice and remember significant points.
WRITING	**Writing**	I can write a short, simple postcard, for example sending holiday greetings. I can fill in forms with personal details, for example entering my name, nationality and address on a hotel registration form.	I can write short, simple notes and messages relating to matters in areas of immediate needs. I can write a very simple personal letter, for example thanking someone for something.	I can write simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. I can write personal letters describing experiences and impressions.	I can write clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects related to my interests. I can write an essay or report, passing on information or giving reasons in support of or against a particular point of view. I can write letters highlighting the personal significance of events and experiences.	I can express myself in clear, well-structured text, express-ing points of view at some length. I can write about complex subjects in a letter, an essay or a report, underlining what I consider to be the salient issues. I can select style appropriate to the reader in mind.	I can write clear, smoothly-flowing text in an appropriate style. I can write complex letters, reports or articles which present a case with an effective logical structure which helps the recipient to notice and remember significant points. I can write summaries and reviews of professional or literary works.

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APPENDIX 4a: Participant information sheet (English)

Participant information sheet

You are invited to participate in a project on interactional behaviour of Thai immigrants in the UK which is conducted by Narawan Promprakai as a part of her PhD thesis at Newcastle University. Before you decide to participate, you need to understand why the project is being conducted. Please take time to read the following information carefully before you decide whether to take part. Do not hesitate to ask questions if you would like more information.

Purpose & objectives

The purpose of this project is to investigate the interactional behaviour of Thai immigrants in the UK. Thai minority groups in the UK have barely been the centre of research interest, especially in the field of linguistics. Most of the studies focus on Thai students who are in different environments and situations from Thai immigrants. This study focuses on how Thai immigrants in the UK interact with each other in their everyday life.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form to confirm your voluntariness. You have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without any consequences or any explanations. If you withdraw from the study, your data will be used only if you give explicit written permission to Narawan Promprakai to do so. Otherwise, your recording will be destroyed.

What is involved?

If you agree to participate in this project, your participation will consist of having conversations with other Thai immigrants (you can stop the conversation whenever you want.) This session will be recorded using a digital recorder, and will take place in a location of your own choosing.

Risks & benefits

Participation does not involve any known risks for you. Benefits of your participation include getting to socialise with other Thai immigrants in your area and broaden your social network and friendship groups. Your cooperation will contribute to a more accurate understanding of interactional behaviour of Thai immigrants in the UK, such as how languages are used to create and maintain social relationships with other Thai immigrants. The researcher, Narawan Promprakai, will be happy to discuss the results of the study with you once the study has been completed.

Anonymity & confidentiality

Recordings will always remain anonymous. All names and personal information which may identify your identity will be anonymised before being used in the study.

Confidentiality & access to the data

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will always be protected, accessible only to the researcher and her supervisors.

Dissemination of results

The results of this study will be used in Narawan Promprakai's PhD thesis. They might be used in published materials and academic presentations in the future.

Further information and contact details

If you have any questions or would like more information about this project, or to raise any concerns you might have, please do not hesitate to get in touch with the researcher or her supervisors:

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APPENDIX 4b: Participant information sheet (Thai)

เอกสารชี้แจงรายละเอียดสำหรับผู้ให้ข้อมูลแก่งานวิจัย

โครงการนี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของวิทยานิพนธ์ในระดับปริญญาเอก มหาวิทยาลัยนิวคาสเซิล โดยนางสาวนราวัลลภ์ พรหมประกาย ก่อนที่ท่านจะสมัครใจให้ข้อมูล ท่านจำเป็นต้องเข้าใจจุดประสงค์ของงานวิจัยนี้ โปรดใช้เวลาอ่านข้อมูลต่อไปนี้โดยละเอียดก่อนตัดสินใจให้ข้อมูล หากท่านมีคำถามใดๆ หรือส่วนใดของเอกสารนี้ให้ข้อมูลไม่กระจ่างพอและท่านต้องการข้อมูลเพิ่มเติมโปรดติดต่อผู้วิจัย

จุดประสงค์

จุดประสงค์ของโครงการนี้คือเพื่อสังเกตการณ์พฤติกรรมการปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างชาวไทยในสหราชอาณาจักร ประชากรผู้ย้ายถิ่นฐานชาวไทยในสหราชอาณาจักรนั้นมักไม่ได้รับความสนใจในงานวิจัย โดยเฉพาะในสาขาภาษาศาสตร์ งานวิจัยที่มีอยู่มักเน้นศึกษากลุ่มนักเรียนนักศึกษาซึ่งอยู่ในสภาพแวดล้อมและสถานการณ์ที่แตกต่างจากผู้ย้ายถิ่นฐาน งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้มุ่งเน้นไปที่ผู้ย้ายถิ่นฐานชาวไทยในสหราชอาณาจักรเพื่อศึกษาการใช้ภาษาในการปฏิสัมพันธ์และความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างผู้ย้ายถิ่นฐานชาวไทยด้วยกัน

การเข้าร่วมโดยสมัครใจ

การเข้าร่วมงานวิจัยนี้เป็นไปโดยความสมัครใจของท่านทั้งสิ้น หากท่านตัดสินใจที่จะร่วมให้ข้อมูล ท่านจะต้องลงชื่อในแบบฟอร์มแสดงความสมัครใจให้ข้อมูลเพื่อแสดงว่าท่านตกลงใจที่จะเข้าร่วม ท่านมีสิทธิที่จะยกเลิกสิทธิความสมัครใจและยุติการให้ความร่วมมือเมื่อใดก็ได้โดยไม่มีผลลัพธ์ใดๆและไม่จำเป็นต้องให้คำอธิบาย หากท่านถอนตัวจากงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ ข้อมูลจากท่านจะถูกนำมาใช้ก็ต่อเมื่อท่านได้อนุญาตอย่างเป็นลายลักษณ์อักษรแก่นางสาวนราวัลลภ์ พรหมประกาย เท่านั้น หรือไม่ข้อมูลเสียงของท่านจะถูกทำลายทิ้ง

ต้องทำอะไรบ้าง?

หากท่านตกลงใจที่จะให้ความร่วมมือในงานวิจัยนี้ ท่านจะทำการพูดคุยสนทนาในภาษาไทยกับผู้ย้ายถิ่นฐานชาวไทยคนอื่นๆซึ่งอาจใช้เวลาได้ถึง 60 นาทีต่อครั้ง (ท่านสามารถยุติการสนทนาเมื่อใดก็ได้ตามสะดวก) การสนทนานี้จะถูกบันทึกไว้ด้วยไมโครโฟนและอุปกรณ์บันทึกเสียงดิจิตอลในสถานที่ที่ท่านสะดวกที่สุด

ความเสี่ยงและผลประโยชน์

การเข้าร่วมในงานวิจัยนี้ไม่เกี่ยวข้องหรือปรากฏว่ามีความเสี่ยงใดๆสำหรับท่าน ผลประโยชน์จากการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัยนี้ได้แก่การได้พบปะสังสรรค์กับผู้ย้ายถิ่นฐานชาวไทยท่านอื่นๆในพื้นที่ของท่าน รวมถึงขยายวงคนรู้จักให้กว้างขวางขึ้น ที่สำคัญคือ ผลลัพธ์จากการวิจัยนี้จะช่วยเสริมสร้างความเข้าใจในกลไกการปฏิสัมพันธ์ของผู้ย้ายถิ่นฐานชาวไทยในสหราชอาณาจักร นอกจากนี้ยังช่วยให้ท่านเข้าใจและตระหนักถึงด้านต่างๆในการใช้ภาษาเพื่อที่ท่านจะสามารถนำไปปรับใช้ให้เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ได้ในอนาคต ผู้วิจัยยินดีอย่างยิ่งที่จะพูดคุยเกี่ยวกับผลของงานวิจัยนี้หลังจากงานสำเร็จเสร็จสิ้นแล้ว

นอกจากนี้ ในอนาคต ชาวไทยที่เพิ่งย้ายถิ่นฐานมายังสหราชอาณาจักรและพบว่าชาวไทยที่นี่มีการปฏิสัมพันธ์ที่ต่างจากชาวไทยในประเทศไทยก็ยังสามารถได้ประโยชน์จากงานวิจัยนี้ด้วย เพื่อช่วยให้ชาวไทยเหล่านี้ปรับตัว ความเข้าใจเกี่ยวกับการปฏิสัมพันธ์ในแบบต่างๆเป็นสิ่งสำคัญมาก และการที่ท่านเข้าร่วมในงานวิจัยนี้ก็จะช่วยสร้างความเข้าใจที่ดียิ่งขึ้นเกี่ยวกับการปฏิสัมพันธ์ของชาวไทยในสหราชอาณาจักรแก่ทั้งผู้ที่เพิ่งย้ายถิ่นฐานมาใหม่และชาวไทยโดยทั่วไป

การรักษาตัวตนและความลับ

ตัวตนของผู้ให้ข้อมูลเสียงจะถูกเก็บเป็นความลับเสมอ ในการพูดถึงหรือเขียนถึงงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ นามสมมติจะถูกนำมาใช้แทนชื่อจริงของท่าน นอกจากนี้ ชื่อของบุคคลที่สามซึ่งมีการเอ่ยถึงในบทสนทนาก็จะถูกแทนที่ด้วยนามสมมติ

ความลับและการเข้าถึงข้อมูล

ข้อมูลของท่านจะถูกปกปิดเป็นความลับตลอดเวลาและมีเพียงผู้ทำการวิจัยและคณะอาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาเท่านั้นที่เข้าถึงได้

การใช้ข้อมูล

ผลจากการศึกษาในครั้งนี้จะถูกนำไปใช้ในงานวิทยานิพนธ์ระดับปริญญาเอกของนางสาวนราวัลลภ์ พรหมประกาย และอาจถูกนำไปใช้ในเอกสารตีพิมพ์หรือการนำเสนอทางวิชาการในอนาคต

ข้อมูลเพิ่มเติมและการติดต่อ

หากท่านมีข้อสงสัยใดๆ หรือต้องการข้อมูลเพิ่มเติม ท่านสามารถติดต่อบุคคลซึ่งเกี่ยวข้องกับงานวิจัยได้ดังต่อไปนี้

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APPENDIX 5a: Participant consent form (English)

Participant consent form

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PTO →

By signing this consent form:

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the study.

2. I have been given the opportunity to have my questions answered by the researcher or supervisor (face-to-face, via telephone or e-mail).

3. I agree to take part in the project and be recorded during conversations.

4. I accept that I will receive no payment for my participation in this project.

5. I understand that my anonymity will be guaranteed.

6. I agree that the recording of my conversation may be:

(i) stored indefinitely in password-protected files;
(ii) quoted in published work or used in public presentations;
(iii) used for teaching and research training purposes.

7. I understand that my participation is completely voluntary and that I can withdraw from participation at any time without any consequences and without giving any explanation.

Name of participant giving consent	…………………………………………….
Signature of participant giving consent	…………………………………………….
Date consent was given	…………………………………………….
Name of researcher taking consent	…………………………………………….
Signature of researcher taking consent	…………………………………………….

APPENDIX 5b: Participant consent form (Thai)

<div align="center">

แบบฟอร์มแสดงความสมัครใจให้ข้อมูลในงานวิจัย

</div>

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<div align="right">

พลิกด้านหลัง →

</div>

จากการอ่านแบบฟอร์มเพื่อความสมัครใจให้ข้อมูลในงานวิจัยนี้:

1) ข้าพเจ้ายืนยันว่าข้าพเจ้าได้อ่านและทำความเข้าใจเอกสารซึ่งให้ข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้แล้ว

2) ข้าพเจ้ามีอิสระในการสอบถามข้อมูลและรายละเอียดจากผู้วิจัยและคณะอาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา ทั้งโดยพบเป็นการ
   ส่วนตัว โทรศัพท์ หรืออีเมล์

3) ข้าพเจ้ายินดีที่จะร่วมเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของงานวิจัยนี้และยินยอมให้บันทึกเสียงสนทนา ทั้งนี้ หากมีบทสนทนาใดที่
   ข้าพเจ้าไม่ต้องการให้บันทึก ข้าพเจ้าสามารถแจ้งและปฏิเสธไม่ให้บันทึกเสียงได้ทันที

4) ข้าพเจ้ายืนยันว่าจะไม่ได้รับอามิสสินจ้างเป็นค่าตอบแทนจากการให้ข้อมูลแก่งานวิจัยนี้

5) ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจชัดเจนว่าตัวตนของข้าพเจ้าในงานวิจัยนี้จะถูกเก็บรักษาเป็นความลับโดยยิ่งยวด

6) ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจและยอมรับว่าข้อมูลเสียงสนทนาของข้าพเจ้านั้น:

   (i) อาจถูกจัดเก็บโดยถาวรในฐานข้อมูลที่มีรักษาความปลอดภัยด้วยรหัส
   (ii) นำไปใช้ในงานตีพิมพ์หรือการนำเสนอข้อมูลเชิงวิชาการ
   (iii) นำไปใช้ในการสอนและ/หรือการฝึกวิจัย

7) ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจว่าการให้ข้อมูลของข้าพเจ้านั้นเป็นไปโดยความสมัครใจและข้าพเจ้าสามารถถอนตัวจากงานวิจัยชิ้น
   นี้ได้ทุกเมื่อโดยไม่จำเป็นต้องให้คำอธิบายและไม่มีผลใดๆต่อข้าพเจ้าภายหลัง

ลายมือชื่อของผู้แสดงความสมัครใจให้ข้อมูล ……………………………………………………………..

ลายเซ็นของผู้แสดงความสมัครใจให้ข้อมูล ……………………………………………………………..

วันที่ที่ลงนามแสดงความสมัครใจให้ข้อมูล ……………………………………………………………..

ลายมือชื่อของผู้ทำการวิจัย ……………………………………………………………..

ลายเซ็นของผู้ทำการวิจัย ……………………………………………………………..

APPENDIX 6: Code-switching frequency and distributional analysis results

Speaker	Total words	INTRA CS			INTER CS			TOTAL CS			EXTRA CS
		instance	words	%	instance	words	%	instance	words	%	instance
1A	3254	39	49	1.51	5	18	0.55	44	67	2.06	1
1B	663	4	4	0.6	0	0	0	4	4	0.6	1
2A	3069	7	7	0.23	1	4	0.13	8	11	0.36	0
2B	5035	39	45	0.89	10	48	0.95	49	93	1.85	5
3A	4717	96	127	2.69	31	147	3.12	127	274	5.81	19
3B	2477	5	5	0.2	0	0	0	5	5	0.2	0
4A	749	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4B	8689	2	4	0.05	1	4	0.05	3	8	0.09	5
5A	7348	12	13	0.18	2	3	0.04	14	16	0.22	2
5B	4506	16	17	0.38	7	28	0.62	23	45	1	1
6A	4003	11	12	0.3	0	0	0	11	12	0.3	0
6B	3494	13	18	0.52	0	0	0	13	18	0.52	0
7A	2598	7	7	0.27	1	3	0.12	8	10	0.39	3
7B	2846	24	25	0.89	0	0	0	24	25	0.89	0
8A	6055	32	41	0.68	3	10	0.17	35	51	0.84	3
8B	4802	67	76	1.58	14	46	0.96	81	122	2.54	6
9A	7436	44	48	0.65	0	0	0	44	48	0.65	1
9B	3922	22	22	0.56	0	0	0	22	22	0.56	1
10A	4425	28	32	0.72	0	0	0	28	32	0.72	0
10B	3201	35	46	1.44	0	0	0	35	46	1.44	0
11A	5439	24	24	0.44	0	0	0	24	24	0.44	0
11B	6769	39	40	0.59	0	0	0	39	40	0.59	0
12A	1154	21	23	1.99	0	0	0	21	23	1.99	0
12B	3750	12	13	0.35	6	16	0.43	18	29	0.77	0
13A	3507	38	47	1.34	2	7	0.2	40	54	1.54	1
13B	4317	83	109	2.53	0	0	0	83	109	2.53	3
14A	4502	48	62	1.38	9	27	0.6	57	89	1.98	0
14B	4249	20	28	0.66	1	4	0.09	21	32	0.75	3
15A	2928	21	24	0.82	0	0	0	21	24	0.82	0
15B	2517	8	8	0.32	0	0	0	8	8	0.32	0
16A	1553	10	13	0.84	8	15	0.97	18	28	1.8	0
16B	2705	45	57	2.11	17	68	2.51	62	125	4.62	0
17A	5482	47	53	0.97	0	0	0	47	53	0.97	9
17B	2508	14	15	0.6	0	0	0	14	15	0.6	4
18A	2624	58	83	3.16	4	6	0.23	62	89	3.39	0
18B	3449	98	146	4.23	12	63	1.83	110	209	6.06	0
TOTAL	140,742	1089	1343	0.95	134	517	0.37	1223	1860	1.32	68

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Appendix 7: Full correlational analysis results

Correlations

		AgeGroup	LoRGroup	EdGroup	ListenGroup	SpeakGroup	ReadGroup	WritGroup
Spearman's rho	IntraCS	Correlation Coefficient	-.094	.169	.126	.204	.348*	.357*	.125
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.585	.323	.465	.232	.038	.033	.467
		N	36	36	36	36	36	36	36
	InterCS	Correlation Coefficient	-.006	.247	-.177	.079	-.024	.050	.073
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.973	.146	.301	.648	.890	.773	.670
		N	36	36	36	36	36	36	36
	TotalCS	Correlation Coefficient	-.016	.221	.030	.112	.278	.300	.119
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.926	.195	.862	.516	.100	.076	.488
		N	36	36	36	36	36	36	36

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
Non-parametric test

APPENDIX 8: Omitted turns from Example 4.32

Speaker 10A and 10B talk about using TomTom, a GPS device while driving.

16   10B: kô   thăm   faen   faen   kô   athíbai bàep (.)
    then   ask   husband   husband   then   explain like
    [I] then asked [my] husband, [he] then explained, like,

17   ngong   ngong   na=
    confusingly   confusingly   PP
    very confusingly.

18   10A: =oe: thâ   pen   **sharp right**   kô   khue   >khun-
    INTERJ   if   be   **sharp right**   then   be   you
    *Yeah, if [it]'s **sharp right**, then you-*

19   khun   trong   ma<   láeu   líao   loei
    you   straight   come   and   turn   PP
    you go straight and then abruptly turn.

20   [an   ní   ráwang]
    this   PP   be careful
    [You] must be careful.

21   10B: [phró wa   (.)   ] phró wa   nai   khwam rúsùek rao
    because   because   in   feeling   I
    Because- because how I understand it,

22   ↑kháo   kô   bòk   hâi   turn   thammai   tông   bòk   **sharp**
    it   also   tell   give   turn   why   must   tell   **sharp**
    *it tells [me] to turn. Why must [it] says **sharp**?*

23   thammai   mâi   chái   sàp   mŭean kan (hh)
    why   not   use   vocabulary   same   also
    Why doesn't [it] use the same word?

24   10A: oe: sàdaeng   wâ   khóng antàrai   pho   sŏmkhuan
    INTERJ   show   that   curve   dangerous   enough appropriate
    Oh, then it means that curve is quite dangerous,

25   thâ   bòk   wâ   **sharp left**
    if   say   that   **sharp left**
    *if it [TomTom] says **sharp left**.*

26   10B: kô   ton   pai   Glasgow (.)   choe   âi   **sharp**   bòi   mâk
    DM   when   go   Glasgow   find   PREF   **sharp**   often   very
    *Well, when [I] went to Glasgow, I found a lot of **sharp** [curves/turns].*

27   sharp (hhh)
     sharp
     Sharp.

28 10A: oe: rao du thànŏn nòi trong pai páp
     INTERJ you look road little straight go immediately
     Yeah, you have to look at the road. As soon as [you] go straight,

29   ↑get thanti   oe:
     get immediately INTERJ
     [you'll] get it immediately, yeah.

30 10B: páep diao kô mi (.) âi nân ìk lá
     shortly one then have PREF that again PP
     Shortly there was that thing again.

31 10A: oe   ráwang=
     INTERJ be careful
     Yeah, be careful.

32 10B: =turn láeu **turn** ìk (.) kô khue **sharp** à   púp
     turn already **turn** again so be **sharp** PP immediately
     *Continuously **turning**. So, as soon as [it's] **sharp**…*

33   ŏ: sàdaeng   wâ
     INTERJ   show   that
     Oh, so [it] means that…

34 10A: mâi châi líao thammada mi páp   man chà
     no yes turn normal   have immediately it   will
     [it's] not a normal turn. Out of nowhere, it will

35   ma yàng ní (.) ráwang (.) thâ- thâ **sharp** nîa
     come like PP be careful if if **sharp** PP
     *come like this. Be careful. If- if **sharp**,*

36   ráwang
     be careful
     [you have to] be careful.

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