

# SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN THAI STUDENT'S CODE- SWITCHING<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

This paper examines Thai-English code-switching by eight Thai students at the University of Hawaii at Manoa by taking into account Bell's audience design factors (Bell 1984), speech accommodation theory (Giles & Smith 1979; Giles & Coupland 1991), and other psychosocial factors. Code-switching<sup>3</sup> is defined here as an alternation between one language and another made by a speaker within a sentence, sentences,

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<sup>3</sup> While some employ two terms, code-switching and code-mixing, to discuss such alternation, the single term, code-switching, is used here. Code-mixing is a switch of languages in the course of a single utterance. It is a common mode of code-switching. It serves the same functions as code-switching, e.g. to mark identity, to neutralize the utterances, and so on (cf. Wardhaugh 1986:103, and Sridhar 1996:57-58).

or a conversation. This paper proposes that code-switching is essentially an accommodative phenomenon; that is, speakers will switch into one language if they think it is appropriate to the topic or to their notions of self and addressee. Conversely, some speakers appear to actively resist code-switching, depending on their evaluation of their own linguistic skills and their perceptions of others. By bringing together observations about who favors code-switching and who resists it, the topic of conversation, among other factors, emerges as the most important social variable across individuals. The result runs counter to the audience design model proposed by Bell (1984), who claims that audience design factors are more influential than non-audience design factors in bilingual code choice.

The only official language in Thailand is Thai. English is a foreign language, mainly used in international situations. The English language was first introduced into Thailand as early as 1612 through contact with British people. It was taught to only the members of the royal family at the beginning (Ministry of Education, Thailand 1981:1-5). During the process of westernisation and modernisation in Thailand (1851-1960), a number of selected young men were sent to many foreign countries to extend their studies for the purpose of the country's development. As a result, there was an influx of English words during that time and we find the first attestations of switching and borrowing between Thai and English (Warie 1977:25). At that time, the ability to communicate in English had become the mark of educated people and the elite. It symbolised knowledge, power, sophistication, and modernism. It was



also a way to show one's ostentation as Warie (1977:25) states:

"In those days, when foreign advisors flourished and the students who returned from Europe wanted to display their superior knowledge of things, Europeanism, particularly English words and phrases, were imported wholesale..."

English is now formally taught in school and contact with the western world has increased, and code-switching is no longer restricted to the royal family and upper class people. Nevertheless, code-switching is not well accepted in Thai society. It is considered an 'improper' way to speak. It is deemed a 'flaw' or a 'corruption' of the language (Thonglor 1970 cited in Warie 1977). There has been a rise of linguistic 'purism' since the reign of King Rama VI (1910-1925), and such attempts to purify the Thai language have been successful in certain milieus (Warie 1977:26,35).

Even though there are many people who try to avoid code-switching, there are some who still code-switch, including those who have been exposed to English-speaking countries. Eastman (1992:1) says code-switching is unmarked.<sup>4</sup> in urban areas where there is a diversity of linguistic forms. This paper explores the possibility that code-switching is a norm, or unmarked elements, for Thai speakers living in Hawaii where there is a diversity of languages, specifically English and Thai; even though it continues to be

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<sup>4</sup> Unmarked elements are the elements that are more common, basic, and frequent than the marked ones (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Richards et al, 1992).

marked where there is no such linguistic diversity; e.g. in a marketplace in Thailand. In addition, Heller (1988: 100) says that "in communities where code-switching does exist not everyone code-switches; further, even among those who do, code-switching does not necessarily occur in all situations." It is clear that among Thai speakers who code-switch, some do it quite often while some do it rarely. What are the factors that can account for this? This paper examines Thai-English code-switching by eight Thai students at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, taking into account factors of audience design (Bell 1984), speech accommodation theory (Giles & Smith 1979; Giles & Coupland 1991), and other psycho-social factors, such as speakers' attitudes toward code-switching and their perceptions of self and interlocutors in terms of English proficiency. This paper attempts to answer these three research questions:

1. Does every speaker code-switch? How frequently do they code-switch?
2. Do audience design and non-audience design factors affect their frequency of code-switching?
3. How do speakers' attitudes toward code-switching, their own and their interlocutors' linguistic skills, and the expressiveness of Thai and English affect their speech style?

In the following sections, I will first outline the frameworks used in this paper. The Matrix Language Frame model is used to identify code-switching, and audience design and speech accommodation theory are used to analyse the findings. This is followed by



a discussion of the method of data collection and analysis. Finally, I will discuss my findings.

## Framework

### The Matrix Language Frame model (MLF)

As far as the identification of code-switching and borrowing is concerned, this paper makes use of the framework proposed by Myers-Scotton (1992). The model, called the 'Matrix Language Frame model' (MLF), requires the identification of a Matrix and an Embedded language (Myers-Scotton 1992:24). According to Myers-Scotton (1992:19), the Matrix language (ML) is "the language which sets the morphosyntactic frame for code-switching utterances." The Embedded language (EL) is the language that "appears in code-switching discourse in a frame provided by the Matrix language" (Myers-Scotton 1992:19). In this study, the ML is Thai and the EL is English.

The MLF model rests on three basic hypotheses and one supplementary hypothesis; these are the ML hypothesis, the blocking hypothesis, the EL trigger hypothesis, and the EL hierarchy hypothesis. Each hypothesis will be discussed briefly.

The ML hypothesis is concerned with the identification of the matrix language of a switch. It is based on the morphosyntactic distinction between the ML and the EL. A shift is considered a code-switch if its morphosyntactic or word order follows that of the ML. This hypothesis also holds that content morphemes, that is, elements in an open class such as noun and verb, are more

likely to be code-switched than system morphemes, that is, elements in a closed class such as articles.

The blocking hypothesis is concerned with constraints on possible switches. It states that code-switching can occur only when there is a congruency in the ML and the EL; EL non-congruent words will be blocked from appearing in the ML. The concept of EL trigger hypothesis is that EL non-congruent words can enter the ML in the form of an EL Island, or as a multi-word code-switch (Myers-Scotton 1992:24-7).

Lastly, the supplementary hypothesis of the EL hierarchy is as follows:

1. The more peripheral a constituent is to the theta grid of the sentence (to its main arguments), the freer it is to appear as an EL Island.
2. The more formulaic in structure a constituent is, the more likely it is to appear as an EL Island. (cf. Myers-Scotton 1992:27).

As in all studies of code-switching, it is important to distinguish between borrowing and code-switching. I, again, adopt Myers-Scotton's qualitative and quantitative criterion. In qualitatively distinguishing borrowed words from code-switched words, Myers-Scotton argues that cultural loan words should be excluded. For example, the word 'combination lock' is not considered a token of code-switching in my study since the 'combination lock' is a cultural item that was not available in Thailand before and there is no Thai word for it. Additionally, loan place names and proper names are also excluded. According to Myers-Scotton, borrowing



and code-switching fall along a continuum, that is, at the beginning the EL constituents enter the ML as code-switched words. If those EL code-switched words are long-lived, they will become borrowings (Myers-Scotton 1992:28-30).

Another criterion Myers-Scotton used to distinguish code-switching from borrowing is the frequency of the word in question. Code-switching occurs with limited frequency while a borrowing may occur as often as an ML constituent. In other words, by this criterion if an EL constituent is used by only a few ML speakers, it counts as a code-switched word. On the other hand, if it is used by many speakers, it is considered a borrowing. This is called the 'absolute frequency hypothesis', and it is the quantitative criterion for distinguishing borrowing from code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1990:103 and 1992:35). There is a good example in the data I collected: the word 'anyway' in English was used by almost every speaker during the interviews; therefore, it is considered a borrowing and is not included in the counts of code-switching. Actual examples of these processes in the speech of Thai students will be given in the analysis section.

### **Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) and audience design model**

Giles & Smith (1979), and Giles & Coupland (1991) presented the Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) as a way of accounting for inter- and intra-speaker variations. The basic concept of the theory is that speakers will converge to or diverge from the speech style of their interlocutors, depending on

their social relationship, in order to maintain integrity, distance, and identity and to gain social approval or have successful communication. In their own words, "[convergence is] a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviours in terms of a wide range of linguistic/prosodic/non verbal features..." (Giles & Coupland 1991:63). They argue that its function is to reduce the interpersonal differences between speakers and their interlocutors.

Divergence, on the other hand, is "the way in which speakers accentuate speech and non-verbal differences between themselves and others" (Giles & Coupland 1991:65). When divergence occurs, other social factors, such as speakers' attitudes, are significant. If speakers do not have a positive attitude toward their addressees or certain linguistic features, convergence is less likely. On the other hand, if they have a positive attitude toward them, convergence is more likely to occur (Giles et al 1973 and Giles and Coupland 1991:64-5).

In 1984, Bell proposed that variation is caused by what he calls 'audience design', a notion that is built on the SAT of Giles and his colleagues. Bell proposed a model for audience design, which is composed of audience and non-audience design factors, and claimed that this accounts for variation within a language and bilingual or bidialectal code choices (1984:154). According to audience design, speakers will accommodate or design their styles according to their audience. In his words, "[audience design] assumes that persons respond mainly to other persons, that speakers take most account of hearers in designing their talk," (Bell 1984:159).



Audience design classifies audiences into four types: addressee, auditor, overhearer, and eavesdropper, according to whether or not they are addressed, ratified, and known by the speaker (Bell 1984:159). This study involves speakers and only the first two types of audience. The speaker is the first person, the addressee is the second person who is known, ratified, and addressed by the speaker, and the auditor is the third person who is known, ratified, but not addressed by the speaker. According to Bell (1984:160, 164-167), the audience role that has the most influence on speakers' speech style is addressee, followed by auditor, overhearer, and eavesdropper, respectively.

Besides these audience design factors, a speaker's style shifting can also be influenced by what Bell (1984: 178) calls, non-audience design factors, namely setting and topic. However, the influence of non-audience design factors is hypothesised to be less powerful than that of the audience design factors (1984:161).

My hypotheses for the present paper are the following:

1. The Thai students will code-switch because they live in a linguistically diverse location where code-switching is a norm. However, the frequency of code-switching by each individual will be different.
2. Frequency of code-switching in the Thai students' speech will be affected by audience and non-audience design factors. Specifically, informants will converge to their addressees' speech style, and have different frequencies of code-switching when talking about different

topics. I expected my informants to code-switch if their addressees code-switch and to code-switch more if their addressees have a high frequency of code-switching and vice versa. As far as non-audience design factors are concerned, setting is controlled in this study. The interviews were done in a casual setting, one of the informants' rooms. Regarding the influence of topic, I expected the informants to code-switch with different frequency when talking about different topics. However, the influence of topic, a non-audience design factor, was expected to be less than that of the addressee, an audience design factor, according to Bell's prediction (1984:161).

3. If divergence occurs, some other social factors are significant, such as (i) speakers' attitude toward code-switching, (ii) speakers' perceptions of self and interlocutors in terms of English proficiency, and (iii) expressiveness of Thai and English. Specifically, speakers will not code-switch (i) if they think their interlocutors have a lower English proficiency than them (ii) if they have a negative attitude toward code-switching, and (iii) if they think Thai is more expressive than English.

## Method

To elicit everyday naturally occurring speech, eight Thai informants were selected and divided into three groups of close friends. Informants were invited



to talk with their friends about the following topics: (1) Thai games and American games, (2) funny things they have seen since coming to the United States, (3) traveling, (4) the supernatural, and (5) study and future careers. The criterion used for selecting topics was whether they have been successful in other studies for eliciting natural speech. Each group of informants was interviewed twice in a casual setting in one of the informants' rooms. The interviews were recorded on a Sony recorder TCM-5000EV. Each interview was approximately one to two hours long. The first interview was among a group of friends with the Thai-English bilingual researcher who is an acquaintance of all members of the group. The second interview was one-on-one with the Thai-English speaking researcher. At the beginning of the interview, cards containing information about topics were distributed. The topics were written in both Thai and English. The interviews had no time limit. After the second interview, each informant was asked to complete an open-ended questionnaire. The purposes of the questionnaire were to elicit the following:

- (1) Informants' personal information, such as intended future career;
- (2) The informant's perception of self and his/her interlocutors in terms of English competence;
- (3) Stereotypes about the expressiveness and social status of English and Thai;
- (4) Informants' attitudes toward code-switching;
- (5) The accuracy of the result of the interviews by asking questions such as 'Did you try to speak only Thai during the interviews? If so, why?' Or 'if

your speech had not been recorded, do you think your choices of languages would have been different?'

Before the interviews, the informants were not informed about the purpose of the study. They were told after they completed the questionnaire that this study was to investigate Thai students' code-switching.

### Analysis

After the interviews, all instances of shift from Thai to English were transcribed. After a list of all shifted words was extracted, they were analysed as to whether they were code-switches or borrowings according to the MLF criteria. All code-switches were quantified over the length of the conversation and the conversation topics in terms of the number of code-switches per minute. Then, the frequencies of code-switching per minute by informants from each group were put into tables and charts to compare and display the patterns. The information from the open-ended questionnaires was used to supplement or further inform the quantitative analysis as well.

Here are some actual examples of code-switches found in the Thai students' speech. According to the ML hypothesis, the EL constituents follow the morphosyntactic or word order of the ML, and system morphemes are less likely to be code-switched.

(i) Speaker A:

rueng **dramatic** mii yue  
story have a lot  
'There are a lot of **dramatic** stories.'



(ii) Speaker E:  
choop len khoong **innovative**  
like play  
'They like to play with **innovative**  
things.'

Note: In the free translation, the switches to English are in bold.

As shown in examples (i) and (ii) above, the adjectives 'dramatic' and innovative' come after the element they modify in Thai, unlike in English.

In addition, constituents in closed classes, such as articles and auxiliary verbs, are not code-switched. Based on the Blocking hypothesis, the English article, considered a non-congruent word, is blocked in the ML, because there is no such thing as an article in Thai. However, both article and auxiliary verb can be found in the form of an EL island or an EL chunk as shown below.

(iii) Speaker C:  
khao **leave the island** pai naan  
laew  
3<sup>rd</sup> Pro go long  
Pst.  
'He **left the island** long time ago.'

(iv) Speaker G:  
welaa thamngaan **everything is a**  
**learning experience**  
when work  
'When you work, **everything is a**  
**learning experience.**'

The following are some more examples of code-switching found in this study:

(v) A conversation between Speaker H and Speaker R

Speaker H:  
khao book waa ao araikodai thii  
3<sup>rd</sup>Pro said that take whatever that  
mii avocado kap onion ring chai pa  
have avocado with onion ring Q  
she said anything with avocado and  
onion ring, didn't she?  
'**She said anything with avocado and**  
**onion ring, didn't she?** She said  
anything with avocado and onion ring,  
didn't she?'

Speaker R:  
chai ka  
yes part.  
'Yes.'

(vi) A conversation between Speaker H and Speaker R

Speaker D:  
ko baep phuen thii pay duay  
then like friend that go together  
nuu ko book waa thammai  
1<sup>st</sup>Pro then say that why  
khao mai truat bat thue  
khao  
3<sup>rd</sup>Pro Neg check card 2<sup>nd</sup>Pro  
3<sup>rd</sup>Pro  
ko book waa **my face is my ID**  
then said that  
'Like the friend who went along, I said  
why didn't they check your ID? He said  
**my face is my ID.**'

Speaker R:  
ror  
yeah  
'Yeah?'

So far as the identification of borrowing and code-switching is concerned, borrowed place names, and English borrowings are not included in the counts of code-switching.



(vii) Speaker D:  
pai **Daimond Head, Makapu'u Point,**  
go  
pai **Blow Hole**  
go  
'I went to **Daimond head, Makapu'u**  
**Point. I went to Blow Hole.'**

(viii) Speaker F:  
rien **urban planning**  
study  
'I study **urban planning.**'  
Lastly, almost every speaker in this study  
used the word 'anyway' during the  
interviews; therefore, it is considered  
borrowing.

(viii) Speaker H:  
**Anyway,** thii choop phro...  
that like because  
'**Anyway,** I like it because...'

## Results

Hypothesis 1: Thai students will code-switch because they live in a linguistically-diverse location.

Code-switching seemed to be unmarked among the eight Thai students in the sense that every speaker did code-switching. The open-ended questionnaires yielded a lot of valuable information about speakers' attitudes and perceptions. Many informants mentioned in the questionnaire that they avoided code-switching when they were in Thailand; however, they think it is normal to code-switch here in the United States. Patterns of code-switching in Thai students' speech, therefore, fit well with the claim made by Eastman (1992:1) that code-switching is unmarked in areas where there is a diversity of linguistic forms. Code-switching in Thai students'

speech is a norm or unmarked form in a setting where they are surrounded by a diversity of languages; conversely, it is marked for them where there is no linguistic diversity, e.g. when they are back home in Thailand.

Hypothesis 2: Frequency of code-switching in the Thai students' speech will be affected by audience and non-audience design factors. Specifically, informants will converge to their addressees' speech style, and have different frequencies of code-switching when talking about different topics.

Some support was found for the second hypothesis. In general, every speaker code-switched with different frequencies when talking to different audiences and when talking about different topics. Table 1 illustrates the average frequency of code-switching by each informant. Every informant, except Speaker F who has a constant rate of code-switching, has a higher frequency in interview II, as shown in Table 1. Unfortunately, the reason as to why informants have a higher frequency of code-switching in interview II does not seem to be driven by the addressee's speech style. In interview II, the only addressee is the researcher (R) who has "zero" frequency of code-switching (see Table 1). Apparently, the informants do not always design their speech style toward their audiences. If speakers were designing their speech to match their interlocutors, we would expect to see the lowest frequencies of code-switching in interview II when talking to someone who failed to code-switch.

Other variables seem to override the significance of audience. Those variables seem to be speakers' attitudes



toward code-switching and their attitudes toward the expressiveness of Thai and English, speakers' perceptions of their own and their addressees' English proficiency, and topic domain.

Table 1: Average frequency of code-switches per minute by each speaker in both interviews

Speakers	Interview I	Interview II
A	0.68	1.08
B	0.12	1.26
C	1.98	3.67
D	0.66	1.28
E	0	0.12
F	0.71	0.71
G	0.82	1.58
H	0.72	1.79
R	0	0

As mentioned earlier, in general, almost all speakers have a higher frequency of code-switching in interview II than in interview I. There are some possible reasons that can account for this, one of which is the speakers' perception of the researcher in terms of English proficiency. However, as will be shown in the next section, the speaker's perception of the addressee does not play a very important role in predicting the speaker's code choice. Another possible reason is that the speakers may have felt more relaxed with the researcher. Unfortunately, this cannot really be testified. Another possible cause for a higher frequency of code-switching in interview II is a topic related matter. This will be discussed below.

As shown in Table 2 below, informants have different average frequencies of code-switching when talking about different topics. Figures 2 and 3 show

that the topic of games (G) has the lowest frequency of code-switching in every informant's speech while the topic of study and future career (SF) has the highest.

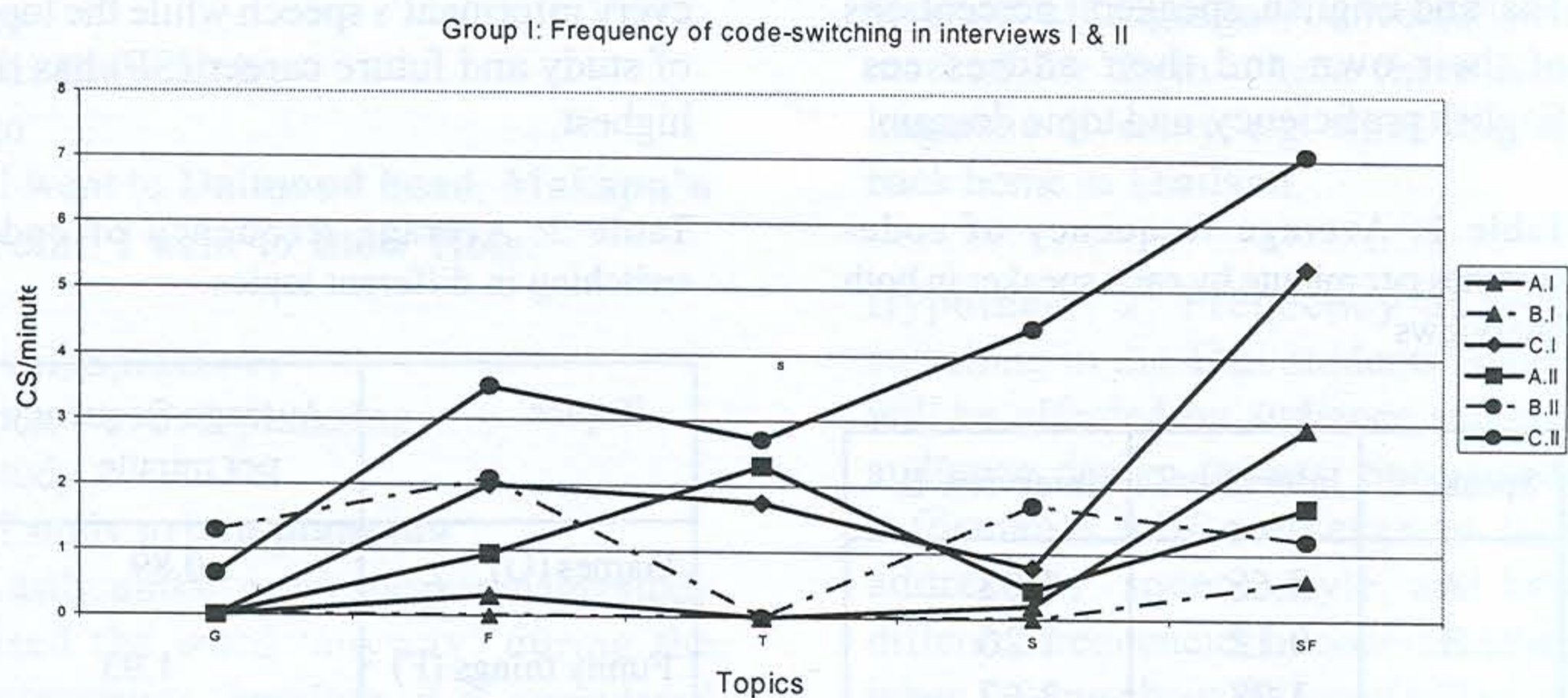
Table 2: Average frequency of code-switching in different topics

Topics	Average frequency per minute
Games (G)	0.89
Funny things (F)	1.93
Traveling (T)	2.15
Supernatural (S)	1.1
Study and future career (SF)	4.55

Topic and its language domain emerge as the most powerful variables among others. Figures 1, 2, and 3 below show the fall in code-switching in the game topic (G) and supernatural topic (S), and the rise with study and future career (SF) for every group of friends. In so far as the language domain is concerned, the domain is defined as a setting in which an event takes place. For example, if informants are talking about their experiences in Thailand or any matter related to Thailand, the domain of the language is considered 'Thai'. This factor seems to be the most influential of all factors. These findings cast doubt upon the audience design model. This will be discussed more fully in the next section.



Figure 1: Group 1's frequency of code-switching in interviews I & II



Note: A. I and A. II stand for Speaker A: Interview I and Speaker A: Interview II, respectively. The same reading applies to other speakers, such as B. I, B. II, and so forth

Figure 2: Group 2's frequency of code-switching in interviews I & II

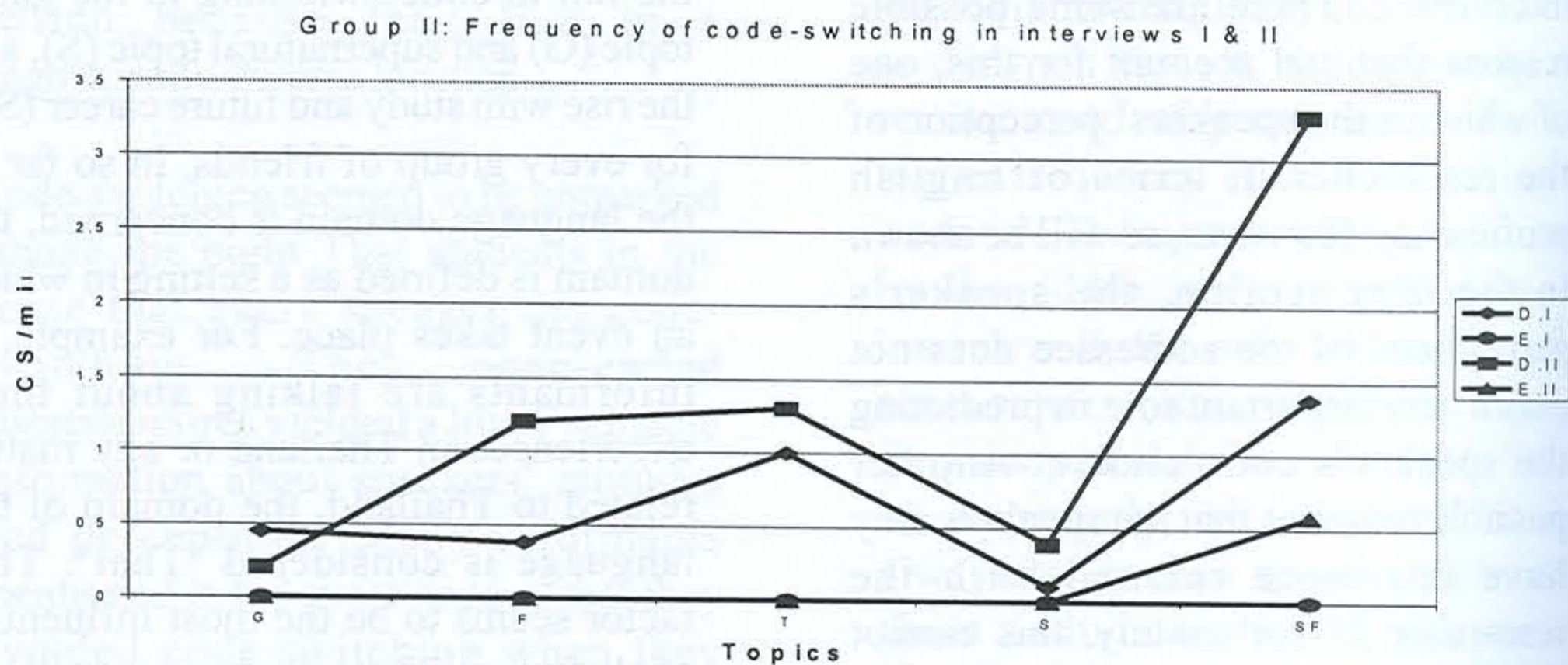
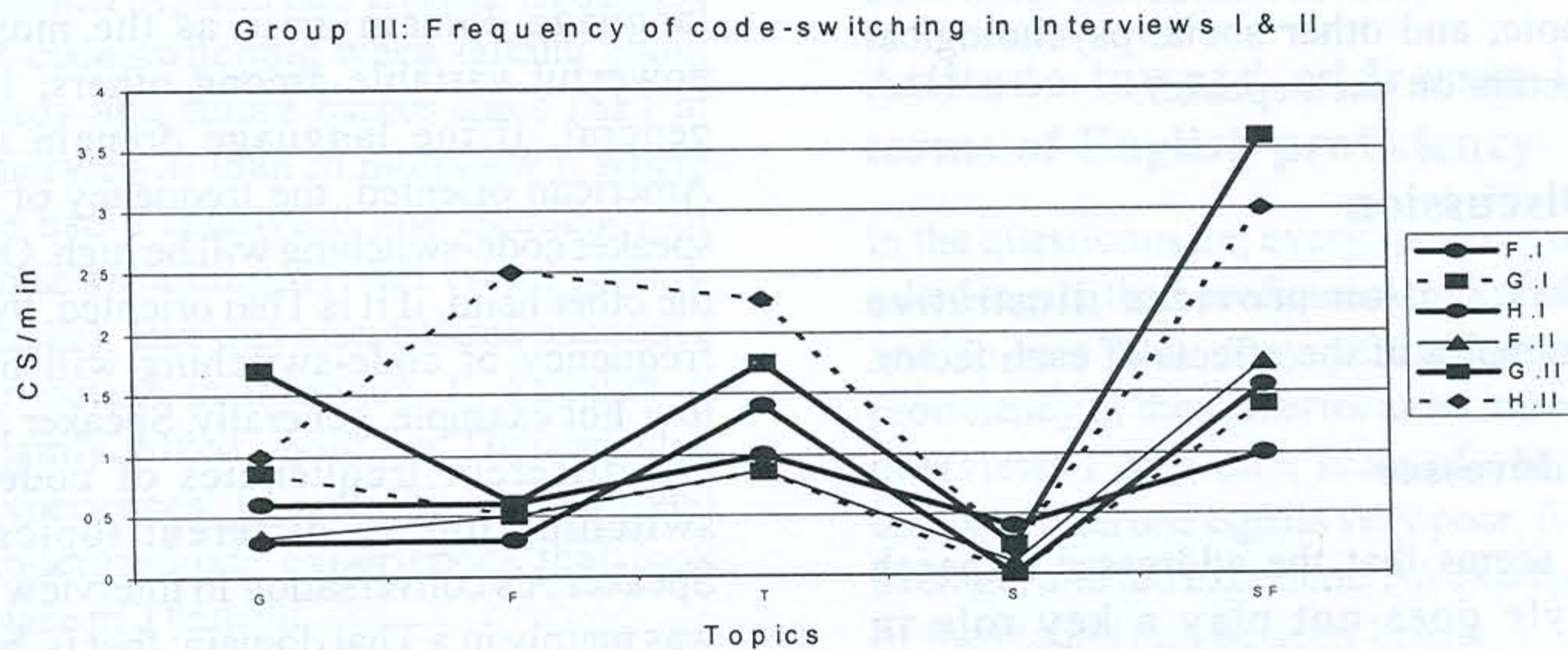




Figure 3: Group 3's frequency of code-switching in interviews I & II



Previous work by Youssef (1993) and Ying (1997) has also shown that audience design factors are not always the most powerful ones in predicting code-choice. Both of the studies question the validity of Bell's audience design model. In her study on children's linguistic choices, Youssef found that speakers' code choice is not always primarily conditioned by addressee, but is more often a product of the speakers' discernment of their interlocutors. Ying tested the audience design model by investigating Mao Zedong's conversational style with different interlocutors. Her results repeat those of Youssef. That is, Mao's conversational style did not seem to vary in a way that suggests design toward different interlocutors; instead, the power differences in the speaker's relationship with his interlocutors seemed to be a more important design factor (Ying 1997:368).

Hypothesis 3: If divergence occurs, some other social factors are significant, such as speakers' attitude toward code-switching, self and interlocutors, and expressiveness of Thai and English.

The results also support the third hypothesis, that is where divergence occurs, some other social factors appear to be significant, such as the speakers' attitude toward code-switching, self and interlocutors in terms of English proficiency, and expressiveness of Thai and English. Those who have a positive attitude toward code-switching tended to code-switch more, while those with a negative attitude tended to code-switch less. Speakers' perception of self and other audiences in terms of English competency and their attitude toward the expressiveness of Thai and English also have some effect on speakers' code-switching frequency. Details of this will be discussed more fully in the next section.

In sum, among the factors determining different frequency of code-switching, topic of conversation and its association with particular language domain appear



to be the most influential ones. In the following section, I will discuss and elaborate on the effects of addressee, topic, and other social-psychological factors on each speaker.

## Discussion

This section provides illustrative examples of the effects of each factor.

### Addressee

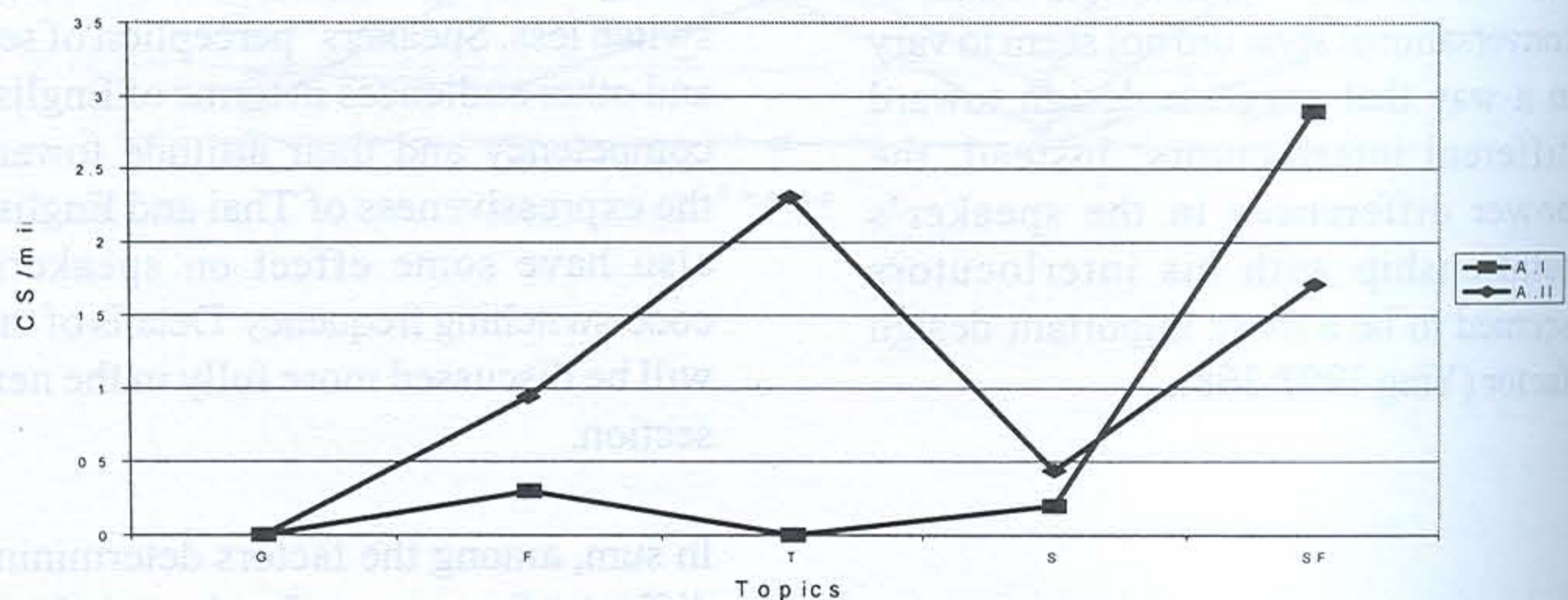
It seems that the addressee's speech style does not play a key role in determining degree of code-switching in the Thai students' speech. It is obvious that most informants have a different frequency of code-switching when talking to different addressees. However, their higher frequency is not driven by the speech style of their addressees. As shown in Table 1 above, every informant has higher frequency of code-switching in interview II in which their only addressee, Speaker R, has zero frequency of code-switching in her speech style.

### Topic

After a thorough analysis, topic and its language domain arise as the most powerful variable among others. In general, if the language domain is American oriented, the frequency of a speaker code-switching will be high. On the other hand, if it is Thai oriented, the frequency of code-switching will be low. For example, generally, Speaker A has different frequencies of code-switching due to different topics. Speaker A's conversation in interview I was mainly in a Thai domain; that is, he talked mainly about Thailand and his experiences there. By contrast, most of the conversations on each topic in interview II gravitated toward American themes. This seems a more plausible explanation for his increased code-switching in interview II than any other single factor.

Figure 4: Speaker A's frequency of code-switching in interviews I & II

Figure 4: Speaker A's frequency of code-switching in interviews I & II



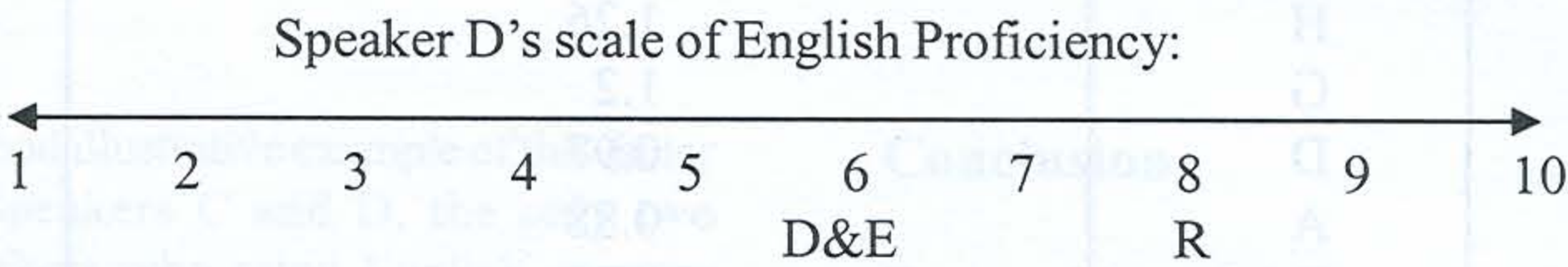


The one exception to the general trend is the code-switching frequency of Speaker A, who had a lower frequency of code-switching when talking about study and future career topic (SF) in interview II than in interview I, where he had a relatively low frequency of code-switching overall (see Figure 4 above). But this also fits the account I proposed. In interview II, Speaker A mainly talked about his Thai-oriented experiences, like his high school and undergraduate experiences that took place in Thailand.

This sort of pattern was repeated in the Thai-oriented topics of conversation by most other informants as well.

Attitude toward addressee in terms of English proficiency

In the questionnaire, every speaker was asked to rate their proficiency in English and to rate how they perceived the proficiency of their interlocutors in both interviews I & II on a scale of one to ten, on which one equals very poor, five average, and ten excellent. An example of the results can be seen below.



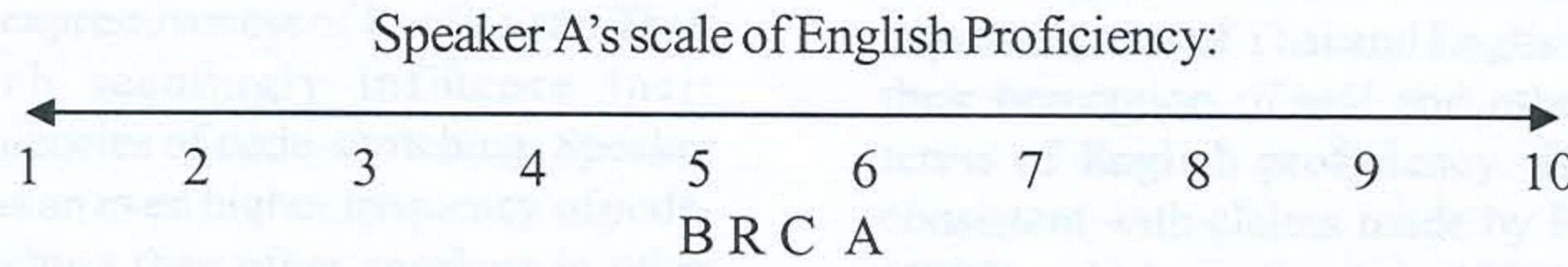
This rating scale indicates that Speaker D rates herself equal to her peer, Speaker E at a proficiency level of 6.0 and she rates Speaker R higher at 8.0

The influence of a speaker's perception of English proficiency in self and others can be seen in the results from Speaker D's two interviews.

Speaker D: Frequency of CS from both interviews:  $D > E > R$

Speaker D has a lower average frequency of code-switching in interview I (0.66) where she rates her addressee equal in

English proficiency than in interview 2 (1.28) where she perceives her addressee to be higher in English competence. She code-switches in interview II twice as much as she does in interview I. Presumably, the speaker's attitude toward the addressee in terms of English proficiency is influential in this case. However, the importance of this factor varied across all individuals, and for some it did not seem to be a major factor. For instance, consider the results for Speaker A.



That is, Speaker A rated himself 6.0, Speaker B 5.0, the researcher (R) 5.25, and Speaker C 5.75



Speaker A has a higher code-switch frequency in interview II (1.08) than in interview I (0.68) despite the fact that he graded his addressee comparatively low on the scale of English proficiency. From this, we can infer that the speaker's perception of interlocutors' English proficiency is not the key factor in determining code-switching frequency across all individuals.

**Attitude toward code-switching**

Every informant in this study has a positive attitude toward code-switching, except Speaker E. Table 3 shows that Speaker E has the lowest frequency of code-switching in this study.

Table 3: Speaker's average frequency of code-switching from interviews I & II

Speaker	Average frequency from both interviews
C	2.83
H	1.26
G	1.2
D	0.97
A	0.88
F	0.71
B	0.69
E	0.06

Speaker E's attitude toward code-switching seems to be an important constraint on her behaviour in this case. She mentioned during interview I and in the questionnaire that she finds code-switching 'embarrassing and annoying'.

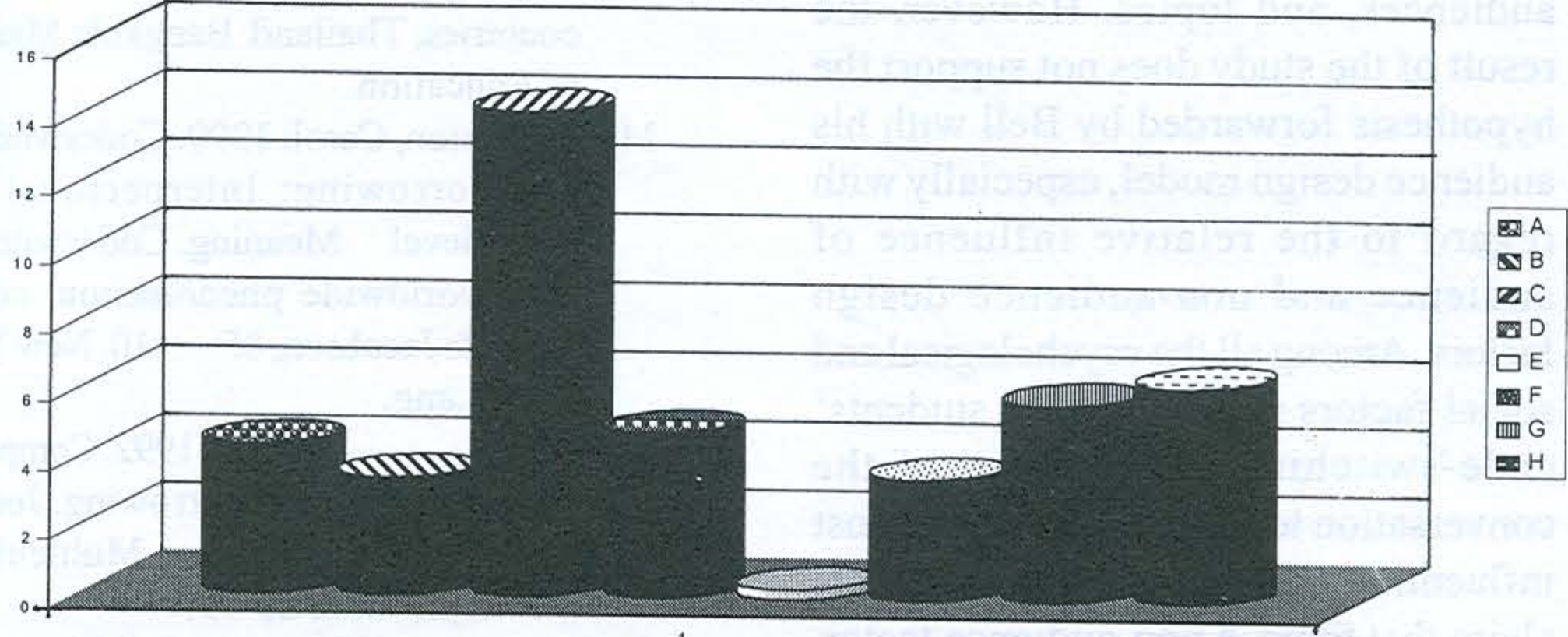
**Attitude toward Thai and English in terms of expressiveness**

In the questionnaire, every speaker was asked to rate English and Thai in terms of expressiveness on a scale of ten, in which one equals inexpressive and ten very expressive. An example of the results can be seen below.



Figure 5: Thai speakers' average frequency of code-switching from both interviews I & II

Figure 5: Speakers' average frequency of code-switching



A good illustrative example of this factor is Speakers C and D, the only two speakers who rated English as more expressive than Thai. Figure 5 shows that Speaker C has the highest frequency of code-switching in this study. In the questionnaire, he rated Thai and English as both being highly expressive, giving them ratings of 7.0 and 8.0, respectively. Speaker D has a comparatively high frequency of code-switching when compared to her peer, Speaker E. Both Speakers D and E just arrived in the U.S. a few months ago. In addition, this is their first time in an English-speaking country. Both speakers share a similar educational background, that is, both of them are from the same department in a university in Thailand. The only differences that they have are their attitudes toward code-switching and expressiveness of English and Thai, which seemingly influence their frequencies of code-switching. Speaker D has an even higher frequency of code-switching than other speakers in other groups.

Conclusion

Having observed the practice of code-switching in Thai students, I found the following results: code-switching seemed to be unmarked, or a norm, for Thai people who currently live in a linguistically diverse place: Hawaii, in this case. This, along with their self-reports of avoiding code-switching in Thai fits well with Eastman's claim (1992) that code-switching is unmarked where there is a diversity of linguistic forms and it is marked where there is no linguistic diversity. I suggested that besides the situational factors (of where speakers are), the fact that some Thai students code-switch but some resist it also reflects the influence of psychological and social factors such as their attitude toward code-switching, expressiveness of Thai and English, and their perception of self and others in terms of English proficiency. This is consistent with claims made by Heller (1988) and Myers-Scotton (1998).



As far as the audience and non-audience design factors are concerned, the code-switching frequency of the eight Thai students depends on the speaker's personal history, their audiences, and topics. However, the result of the study does not support the hypothesis forwarded by Bell with his audience design model, especially with regard to the relative influence of audience and non-audience design factors. Among all the psychological and social factors involving Thai students' code-switching, the domain of the conversation topic seems to be the most influential. This runs counter to Bell's claim that topic, a non-audience factor, is a weaker influence than audience-factors (Bell 1984:178). This study yields support to the work done by Youssef (1993) and Ying (1997), who claim that non-audience design factors are not always the most powerful ones. In the Thai students' code-switching case, conversation topic and its domain are apparently the most influential factor constraining code-choice.

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