

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the review of related literature and studies on language choice, accommodation strategies, and code switching in intercultural communication. The first part of the chapter examines the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) proposed by Giles and Powesland (1975). The second part discusses the studies of foreign and local scholars on language choice, accommodation strategies, and code switching. To present an organized literature review, a thematic arrangement of studies is used in the entire chapter.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework strengthens the study and provides a strong foundation in the data gathering and analysis. This section examines the theories and issues that shape the development of the conceptual framework of the research. It reviews the development of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and its extension to family communication.

2.2.1 Communication Accommodation Theory

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) is widely used in various communication studies. It has been applied in areas like mass media (Bell, 1991), families (Fox, 1999), Chinese students (Hornsey & Gallois, 1998), the elderly (Harwood, 2002), works or jobs (McCroskey & Richmond, 2000), interviews (Willemyns, Gallois, Callan, & Pittam, 1997), and even with messages left on telephone answering machines (Buzzanell, Burrell, Stafford, & Berkowitz, 1996).

Giles and Powesland (1975) explained that CAT formerly known as Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) started from the premise that accommodation takes place when an interlocutor subconsciously changes the style of speech with the way the conversational partner speaks. In interactions between two interlocutors, there are chances that speakers may accommodate or change the way they speak in a given context. An instance of the occurrence of accommodation can be observed in an adult and child interaction. Adults normally adjust the way they speak and the words they use become more simplified to accommodate a child. On the other hand, when speaking to the elderly it is often observed that young speakers change their speech patterns and behaviors to show politeness (McCann, & Giles, 2006). Changing the style and patterns of communication helps both interlocutors in reaching certain agreement and liking. As a result, both speakers develop a positive attitude and mitigate face-threatening acts in conversations.

When one speaker tries to accommodate another speaker, convergent behavior is created. Convergence indicates an attempt to build solidarity and conformance, which is interpreted as a sign of being cooperative in conversation. In fact, convergence is considered as a polite speech strategy which implies that the addressee's speech is worth acceptable and imitating (Brown and Levinson, 1978:57).

Convergence occurs when an individual changes his or her speech pattern in interactions to build solidarity. However, the idea of changing the speech pattern has been extended to include the changes of behavior. For instance, in a job interview, an interviewee normally changes his or her manner of speaking, manner of dressing and becomes careful in his or her language choice in order not to be perceived negatively by the

interviewer. It shows that there are possibilities where individuals converge in interactions to gain the approval of the speech partner (Gibbons, 2005). Miller (2005: 155) argues that convergence suggests that we are attracted to people who we are similar to and that, concurrently, we want to be similar to those we like. It is also evident that convergence occurs in interactions when one interactant identifies with another and wants to be integrated with that other, the first interactant will converge toward the communicative behaviors of the other (Miller, 2005, p. 155).

The convergence of two interlocutors in interactions can be classified as downward or upward convergence. When a speaker simplifies the vocabulary and grammar in order to be understood by the other speaker, it is known as downward convergence. In downward convergence the other speaker adjusts his or her linguistic choice/s to accommodate the less proficient interlocutor. However, upward convergence occurs when a speaker uses a higher linguistic proficiency to accommodate another speaker who is more proficient (Giles and Powesland 1975).

Divergence is also emphasized in Communication Accommodation Theory. The occurrence of divergence in communication takes place when a speaker does not conform to the speech partner. This nonconformity may lead to the use of different linguistic code to emphasize the difference between the two speakers. Miller (2005) emphasized that it is common that there are instances where interlocutors are looking for differences in others.

Over the years, Communication Accommodation Theory has undergone some developments and has been extended to family communication, which focuses on

communication between husband and wife. Harwood, Soliz & Lin (2006) proposed that there are different strategies used in family communication, i.e. approximation, interpretability, discourse management and interpersonal control strategies.

Approximation accommodation strategy is described as an accommodation to the interlocutor's productive performance and focuses on the partner's speech style. It includes whether the speakers converge or diverge in communication. For example when a husband uses the language of his wife he signals his recognition and appreciation of his wife's language and cultural background. The husband's act of accommodation can be interpreted as convergence. On the contrary, a wife who does not use the husband's language intentionally dissociates herself and unwillingly builds solidarity in interactions which signals divergence.

Interpretability accommodation strategy involves accommodating the partner's perceived interpretive abilities, which refer to the ability to understand (Harwood, Soliz & Lin, 2006). Interpretability strategy is evident when a spouse adjusts his or her speech by simplifying the grammatical construction of a sentence or by lowering the rate of speech. However, too much downward convergence as a strategy because of the interpretive deficit towards the other speaker may result in over accommodation.

Discourse management accommodation strategy focuses on a person's conversational needs and are often discussed in terms of topic selection, face management, and the like (Harwood, Soliz & Lin, 2006). This strategy is applied when a spouse discusses his or her traditions and cultures and avoids issues that are sensitive to the

partner. The purpose of such careful interaction is to establish balance in intercultural communication.

Interpersonal control accommodation strategy attempts to direct the course of a particular conversation or more generally a relationship by strategies such as interruption or even direct power claims (Harwood, Soliz & Lin, 2006). This strategy is used to show power and dominance of the other speaker as dictated by culture or society. For instance in a highly patriarchal society, men are always perceived to be superior. Moreover, the extent of control can be evident when men attempt to interrupt the conversation.

Using CAT as the theoretical framework in examining the language choice of Filipino-Malaysian couples in verbal communication provides an explanation as to how and why couples choose a particular language in their interactions.

2.2.2 Conceptual Framework

Based on the Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles and Powesland, 1975), a conceptual framework of the study is formulated.

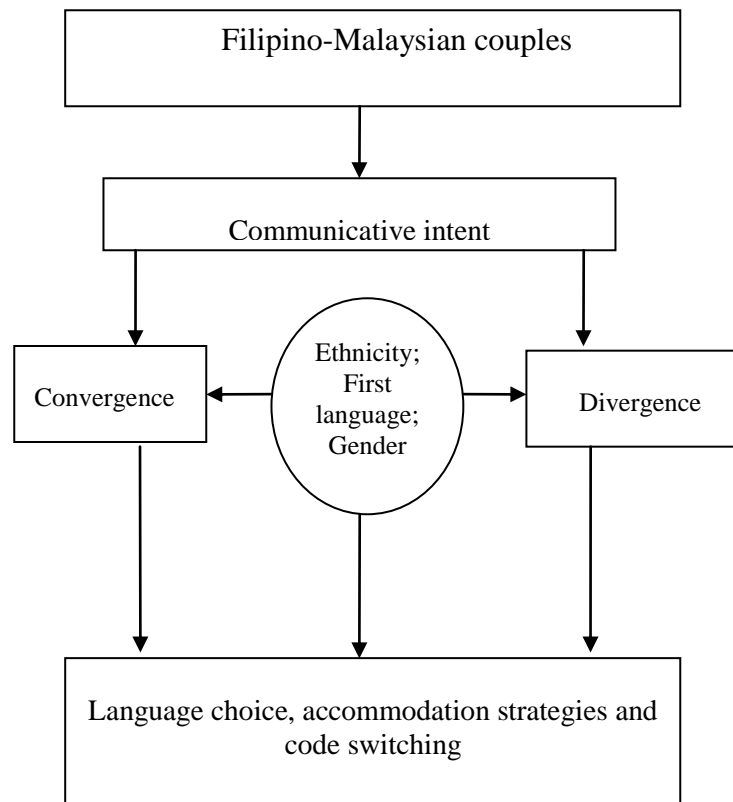


Figure 2.1 Language Choice, Accommodation Strategies, and Code Switching Patterns of Filipino-Malaysian Couples in Verbal Communication

Figure 2.1 explains the use of Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles and Powesland, 1975) to examine the language choice, accommodation strategies, and code switching in Filipino-Malaysian couples' verbal communication.

The conceptual framework of this research originates from the idea that language choice, accommodation strategies, and code switching are some of the common features in interracial couples' communication in the home domain. The framework shows that Filipino-Malaysian couples' language choice, accommodation strategies and code switching patterns can be influenced by some sociolinguistic factors such as ethnicity, religion, first language and gender. In communication, the tendency to converge and

diverge is expected depending on the spouse's communicative intent. Convergence occurs when couples try to build solidarity however divergence occurs when couples show difference in interactions.

Convergence in communication can be downward or upward depending on how the speaker accommodates other speakers. They converge when both of them accommodate each other and establish solidarity in conversation. This means that one speaker has to adjust to his or her linguistic style in order to be understood and liked by the other speaker. When a speaker changes the speech style to a more prestigious speech and accommodates another speaker of higher prestige it is regarded as upward convergence. On the other hand, there is a possibility that a speaker may diverge in communication. This happens when a speaker changes his or her speech style to accommodate a more informal and less standard speech (Holmes, 2008). In this context, a speaker may choose a language or switch to a language that is not favorable to the other speaker to show difference. For example when two interlocutors start communicating in English then suddenly the other speaker shifts to another language (ethnic language) to show disapproval (Romaine, 2000).

The framework of this research provides an understanding that the occurrence of language choice, accommodation strategies, and code switching is prevalent and follows a certain pattern in interracial couples' communication (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

2.3 Existing Research

This section examines the previous studies related to language choice, accommodation strategies, and code switching in intercultural communication. The literature review focuses on sociolinguistic factors mentioned in Chapter 1 which are identified to be influential in

determining a speakers' language choice. At the same time, studies on codeswitching are also reviewed to provide background knowledge on the occurrence of code switching in couples' interactions. The review specifically focuses on various sociolinguistics phenomena that influence language choice, accommodation strategies, and code switching.

2.4 Language Choice and Sociolinguistic Factors

Language choice is a careful selection of a word, phrase, clause or sentence of another language within the speakers' linguistic repertoire. For bilinguals, the occurrence of language choice seems natural, automatic, and unplanned (Coulmas, 2005). However, this also happens to mono-dialectal speakers who also face a wide range of linguistic choices (Coulmas, 2005).

Language choice occurs because every speaker chooses an appropriate register, genre, style, medium, or tone of voice in relation to the interlocutor (who), topic (what), context (where) and medium (how) in every talk. The language choice made by a speaker can be motivated by some factors such as social status, gender, educational attainment, ethnicity, age, occupation, rural and urban origin, speakers themselves, topic, place, media and formality of the situation (David 2006, Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001 and Ting 2001). This section specifically reviews the factors that influence language choice.

2.4.1 Social Status

One factor that influences language choice is the speakers' social status which is associated to income, education, occupation, wealth, religion, age, role, and race (Haslett in Giles and

Robinson, 1990). Social status serves as an indicator of a person's rank in society such as upper class, middle class, and lower class. The social categorization is considered to be influential in speaker's language choice because it helps in maintaining and identifying the individual's status in the community. In other words, language choice can be a basis for status symbol especially in multilingual and multiracial societies. This is evident in a study on language choice and social class in the transaction domain conducted in Singapore by Tan (1993). The findings showed that there is a correlation between the language choice and the perceived social status of speakers. The study specifically examined the relationship between the language choice of the interlocutor (shop assistant) and the perceived socio-economic class of the addressee (customer) in furniture shops and boutiques as the transaction domains. Thirty (30) shops were surveyed out of which 15 were located in an up market establishment and others were in the Housing Development Board (HDB) residential estates. The researcher pretended to be a customer and observed the linguistic behavior of the shop assistants. The findings further revealed that shop assistants tend to choose a language code that corresponds to the perceived social status of the customer. A high language status like English is used by shop assistants when a customer is perceived to be from a higher social class. Similarly, when a customer is perceived as someone from the lower class, the shop assistants tend to choose Mandarin, Hokkien, Teochew, and Cantonese. This shows that when there is a change in the perceived social status of customers, shop assistants (consciously or subconsciously) switched their language code accordingly (Tan, 1993). The notion that language choice is influenced by a speaker's social status also supports the claim that the choice of words, ways of speaking, and rules in conversation are determined by certain social requirements (Wardhaugh, 1992). In addition, language choice also proves that interlocutors vary in

their code choices or language preferences in various domains which according to Fasold (1996) is influenced by factors such as location, topic and participants.

In a study conducted by Nor Azni Abdullah (2004) in Malaysia on the factors that influence code choice and code-switching reveals that language choice is influenced by the role and status of an interlocutor in an organization or in a group. The status of language has reflected the speaker's status when the speaker uses that language. Nor Azni Abdullah's findings show that code choice in communication is institutionalized. In dealing with subordinates and sending official communication to the company, Bahasa Malaysia is preferred by the manager but when the subordinates communicate with their superior they use English. It can be said that English is used to communicate with people of higher rank or status while Bahasa Malaysia is used in dealing with people of lower rank. Similarly, Spolsky (2004) argued that in many groups, different linguistic choices are influenced by different role relationships which are evident in all types of talk. When dealing with people of higher social status, formal language is commonly used but when dealing with people of lower status, informal language is used. The dominance of English as the language of high status is already expected and perhaps this can be considered as the impact of colonialism in Malaysia. English is regarded as superior language and the language of educated individuals. It is evident that English becomes the language marker for superior status. Bonvillain (1993) also explained that speakers employ a variety of languages as markers of their status within a hierarchical order. This means that people of superior status may have different linguistic choices when communicating with people of subordinate status. This is possible because in a multilingual setting, they are exposed to different language varieties. Thus, language choice and manner of speaking can be understood as accommodation

strategies. In like manner, linguistic hierarchy is evident in Kenya in which English is used to gain prestige while Swahili is widely used in urban homes as a first language and in talking with the house help (Mungambi, 2003). This means that speakers choose languages that are appropriate to their social status.

Studies conducted by Tan (1993), Wardhaugh (1992), Fasold (1996), Nor Azni Abdullah (2004), Bonvillain (1993) and Mugambi (2003) have proven that social status can be an influential factor in a speaker's language choice. Based on their findings, speakers use language to accommodate others who have different status. For example, every interlocutor chooses a language in certain communicative event that would fit the linguistic need of another interlocutor like an interaction between customer-seller, superior (manager)-subordinate (ordinary employee) or master-house help. The aforementioned studies show that social stratification and language choice are evident in some multilingual societies.

Social stratification through language is common in many societies where people group themselves according to their social status (Wardhaugh, 2007; Labov, 1972; Fowler, 1986). Thus people of lower, middle and upper status are aware of their role in the society because their identity is revealed through their manner of speaking, behavior, manner of dressing, etc. In some societies, language choice can be considered as a determining factor of the speaker's status. This is possible because the choice of codes varies according to the status and role of the interlocutors involved in communication.

It is undeniable that when language gains status in a society there is a possibility that it becomes dominant. Consequently, the number of language users and the functional use of language increases within a speech community.

2.4.2 Dominant Language

The status of language determines whether it is dominant or weak. When a language becomes dominant, it gains more power and prestige and it attracts more speakers. For instance in the Philippines and Malaysia, speakers of English may continually increase because English is an index of dominance, power, and prestige.

In a speech community, there is always a dominant or weak language (Myers-Scotton, 2006). The dominant language is widely used and spoken in various domains of communication for instance in business, education, and government. It is a language that possesses power, authority, and superiority as compared to other languages. With such a status, dominant language can be regarded as superior and powerful.

Since dominant language possesses a high status in a community, multilingual speakers tend to choose it because using the dominant language provides an opportunity to enjoy more economic benefits (Bradley and Bradley, 2002). Such choices may help speakers to expand their social network and be socially accepted in the community.

At present English is regarded as important language in many parts of the world particularly in Malaysia and the Philippines. Even in countries like Japan, China and Korea in which English does not have an official status, people are learning the language

(Harnisch, David & Dumanig, 2009). This phenomenon has become a trend and perhaps will continue in future generations because of globalization. Consequently, the world is becoming a global village with one dominant language, which is English (Dumanig, 2008).

With the emergence of dominant languages other than English, people are eager to learn other languages. As a result, bilingual speakers have increased in number and multilingualism has become common. The expansion of multilingualism can also be a product of migration, intermarriages, economic, social, political, and demographic factors (Holmes, 2008). Frequent intermarriages between speakers of different languages may lead to fragmentation of speech communities and eventually endanger the minority languages (Wurm, 2002). Consequently, minority languages may become less important while dominant languages may continue to gain more importance and popularity. In most cases, dominant languages might be used as a tool to exercise power and authority over other interlocutors.

Kamwangamalu (1998) studied the use of “we-codes”, “they-codes” and “codes-in-between” in identities of English and code-switching in post-apartheid Africa which shows the power of dominant language over the weak. The dichotomy of “we code,” the language of the home, family and informal activities; “they-code,” the language of socio-economic advancement associated with more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations; and “code-in-between,” known as a neutral code were emphasized. The use of three codes was applied in different contexts through codeswitching. Such observation of linguistic codes was studied on a sample soap opera conversation. The findings reveal that during the ante-apartheid era, English was used as “they-code.” In that period, English was predominantly used especially in politics and eventually became the lingua franca.

However, during the apartheid era, English was used as “we-code.” At that time, the Bantu Education Act was drafted to promote Afrikaans so as to reduce the influence of English in black schools, to improve the use of Afrikaans and English on equal basis as media of instruction and to extend the mother tongue education from grade 4 to grade 8. During this period there was an inclination towards choosing the Afrikaan language rather than English. Generally, in the post apartheid era, English was used as “code-in-between”. At this time, English served as a neutral language. In the same period, the use of English and other languages in Africa was given importance.

Language choice varies in different domains of communication which can be triggered by the idea of “we code”, “they code” and “code-in-between”. It reveals that language choice is influenced by the domain of communication and the large socio-political background (Kamwangamalu, 1998). Bilingual or multilingual speakers vary their linguistic choices depending on their attitudes towards the language they use. However, powerful or dominant languages have more chances to be chosen and used by many speakers. In fact, the emergence and continuous increase of speakers of dominant language may result to language change and language loss of minority languages. Therefore, the choice of the dominant language can be a contributory factor towards the abandonment of weak languages.

Heller (1995) conducted a study on language choice, social institutions, and symbolic domination. She explored the institutional exercise of symbolic domination through language choices which allow speakers to attempt to wield power and to resist it. The study was conducted in two classes; the Francias Avance, a class designed for students

who are expected to go to the university and Français General, a class for students who are expected to enter the job market or vocational training after high school. The teacher in Français Avance class used French while the teacher in Français general class used French and English. The findings reveal that the two classes differ both in terms of how the school's monolingual norm is presented and how students respond to it. In Français Avance, the norm is unified where all the teacher's practices and ways of organizing the classroom reinforces the message that the most highly valued form of language is the standard French which is based on the written variety. However, the Français General sends a message of ambivalence towards the norm. The value of French language is a recognized classroom practice which opens the door to code-switching in vernacular and other language varieties. The differences between the two classes are evident. In Français Avance class, students speak in French although most of them have English background and their peer group language is English. They switch to English if they do not know French words. Most students in class show their resistance to French language by switching from French to English through whispered conversations. On the other hand, in the Français General class most students code-switch openly from French to English because the classroom practice opens the door to code-switch from the vernacular and other language varieties. Most students deviate from monolingual norms. Students' resistance in French was shown by openly switching codes from French to English although the school is a French medium school. It is evident how language resistance and power wielding occur in communication. Speakers' loyalty to the ethnic language may lead to language resistance towards the dominant language. Speakers can display their resistance against another language by simply switching from one code to another.

Similarly Ferrer and Sankoff (2004) explored the effects of linguistic normalization after the removal of Franco's repressive measures against the Valencian language variety. They found that the language preference of a speaker is influenced by dominant languages. Most bilinguals and multilinguals may choose a dominant language as the medium of communication because it provides them greater advantage and better opportunities. The choice of dominant language may bring economic benefits to speakers. In fact, due to Castilian's predominance and prestige, Castilian is used by most nationalistic students as the language in public interactions outside school and other government associated contexts.

Speakers' preference for dominant languages can be triggered by the wider acceptance and functions of a language. Furthermore, dominant language may help a speaker expand his or her social network. For example if English is widely spoken in a certain speech community, those individuals who speak English would have an advantage of interacting with people in the community. However, those who cannot speak English will be disadvantaged because they will have limited interactions with people and professional mobility.

In the study conducted by Warshauer, El Said, and Zohry (2002) they found that English is the dominant language used online especially in formal communication among a group of early internet adopters while Romanized Egyptian Arabic is widely used in informal communication. English is commonly used because of the general dominance of English in the professional milieu. Lack of Arabic software standards, computer and internet and fluency in English motivated the participants to learn English. On the other

hand, code switching from English to Egyptian Arabic occurs only when speakers express highly personal content that they cannot express in English. Egyptian Arabic is frequently found in greetings, humorous or sarcastic expressions, food, holidays and religious expressions.

The emergence of dominant language nowadays is becoming inevitable because of its expansion in the cyberspace. Even if a country has a strong language policy with the expansion of internet technology, the intrusion of a dominant language like English seems inevitable. In fact, at present the use of English is common in online communications because of its dominance in the professional milieu and in information technology (Warshauer, El Said & Zohry, 2002).

In the study conducted by Jariah Mohd. Jan (2003) on formal talk exchange in the Malaysian context, instances of code switching in interactions between working adults were observed. The presence of linguistic power-wielding between male and female participants and how strategies of domination, negotiations of personal rights, and obligations and control are enacted in conversation seems to be evident in couples' communication. Twenty four government officers, 11 males (8 Malays, 2 Chinese and 1 Indian) and 13 females (11 Malays, 1 Chinese and 1 Indian) were involved in the study. Data were gathered through meetings which were considered as formal situations because they were meetings of high level officials in the management unit of a government sector where issues and policies are discussed. There were two departmental meetings that were tape recorded for 63 and 68 minutes respectively. The recordings were transcribed and rendered a total of 240 utterances. The findings show that conversations between HM, a Malay

chairperson and F, a Chinese subordinate reveal power difference between the two interlocutors. The head who had more power maintains the Malay matrix while the female subordinate switches to English to show her assertiveness and dominance. Such kind of language choice and code switching in interactions can be classified as power wielding. On the other hand, F (M) does not code switch according to topics or theme but used code switching to indicate the plan of action. HM code switches from Malay to English to immediately assign tasks for F (M) to undertake. This shows that English may appear to have greater linguistic power than the national language, Bahasa Malaysia and is eventually used as a tool to exercise power.

A dominant language signals power and authority. A speaker can assert his or her power by using a dominant language. In contrast a speaker can project a subordinate image by using a weaker language. In multilingual societies in which two languages function as official languages, language dominance reveals through the language choice of speakers. For instance if English is used in a particular society to show power and authority against the national language, it can be said that English could be more dominant and powerful than the national language.

Dominant language influences the language choice of a speaker. More prestigious language is usually favored as the medium of communication in various domains because of its wider social functions. In addition, dominant languages can be used in formal and informal domains of communication (Pillai, 2006). The preference of the dominant language can help to gain prestige; better economic access in the community, and authority and power (Piller, 2004).

The use of dominant language expresses impersonal messages which create social distance between speakers. On the other contrary, the choice of a less dominant language is useful to express personal messages because it helps the speakers to establish solidarity in interactions (Holmes, 2008).

In another study Managan (2004) conducted an ethnographic study from formal to informal events of voluntary organizations in a small Guadeloupean town with a population of 17,000 people. Most residents are agricultural workers, wealthy business owners, civil servants and workers who commute to the nearby urban centers. The study includes troisieme age (retiree) group, youth group, and traditional dance group. Managan (2004) examined the naturally-occurring speech practices of one youth group consisting of a core group of 6 friends, aged 16-20 years old. The study shows that French is considered as H (high variety) language which is often used in formal association activities like meetings and receptions and the “Kreyol” is considered as L (low variety) language which is often used in informal activities like group outings and casual conversation during meetings. It is evident that the participants’ language choice pattern varies among groups and individuals depending on factors such as content, tone of utterance, speaker’s background and political inclination. Similarly, the hiking club members prefer the “Kreyol” because of their political leanings although many of them had lived in Midland France. “Kreyol” is used by hiking club members because most of them actively supported an independent mayoral candidate. However, the retiree’s club usually of older members aged 50 years old and up was mostly former well-educated town leaders. These groups take pride in speaking formal French in meetings and “Kreyol” is used occasionally. However, in casual conversation most of them speak “Kreyol”. Sometimes they use French with those who had lived a long

time in France. In contrast, the youth group members are all fully bilinguals and they used both French and “Kreyol”. In meetings and formal group events, French is used however in informal events “Kreyol” is used. The study reveals that “Kreyol” is indeed undergoing change because it has acquired syntactic features and lexical items from French. It shows that “Kreyol” is shifting in favor of French monolingualism although it is also acquiring English lexical items.

In a highly diglossic society, dominant language is usually the H (high) variety which has always an edge in influencing people’s language choice. The H (high) variety provides people the prestige and the chance to socialize more with other people which leads to a possibility of expanding the social network and gaining more economic success. The need to enjoy the economic benefits and to be part of the dominant group can be rewarding to speakers even if it requires the members to conform to the norms and practices of the dominant group. When a person becomes a member, the group becomes his or her social network (Managan, 2004). Consequently, every member develops a sense of identity which can be revealed through language choice and manner of speaking.

2.4.3 Social Network

The speakers’ social relationships with other people who they frequently meet can be considered as social network. Holmes (2008; 184) described the concept of network as a pattern of informal relationships of people involved on a regular basis which plays a role in mediating the speaker’s speech habit. Finch (2000) believed that networks operate their own group dynamics and influence speech in a subtle way. Due to the frequent meetings and interactions of people in a network they develop speech habits similar to other

members of their network. However, it has to be noted that people acquire a conglomeration of speech styles from different networks. This means that every speaker may have one or more networks. Holmes (2008) argued that networks can be plex network which measures the range of different types of transactions people are involved in with other persons in only one area. The plexity of social network can further be classified into uniplex network and multiplex network. Uniplex network refers to a single network that a speaker is involved while multiplex network refers to a relationship where the speaker is involved in interactions with others along several dimensions (Holmes, 2008).

The influence of social network to the speakers' language choice is also evident in the study on language shift in Oberwart, Austria which reveals that people who interact with the peasants prefer Hungarian as their primary language while those who interact with people engaged in industrial jobs prefer German (Gal, 1979). The peasant's preference of Hungarian signifies membership of the peasant group and it helps in building solidarity among the members of its social network. On the other hand, speakers who prefer German language are engaged in industrial jobs and their language choice helps them to differentiate their social networks with that of the peasants. The language choice of speakers in a particular social network helps to identify the speaker's membership based on the language they speak. It is evident that the speakers' social networks categorize their social status. As their language becomes established people tend to identify themselves according to their group membership. For example, Hungarian language signifies membership of the peasant group while the German language signifies membership of people in higher status.

Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) in his study on the urbanization of rural dialect speakers in Brazil found that the language used by people who moved to the city of Brazil differs from the people who stayed in the countryside. He found that most people who moved to the city use more standard Portuguese while those people who remained in the countryside use their own rural language varieties. The choice of standard or non standard language can be an indicator of speaker's social network due to mobility.

People in the rural areas and urban areas belong different social networks. Rural people are able to maintain their local language due to limited social networks. As a result, there are chances of maintaining the local language variety. However, people in urban areas have wider social networks and are more conscious of the standard language. Due to the wider use of the standard language, people will tend to favor and use the standard language variety (Holmes, 2008).

The studies of Gal (1979) and Bortoni (1985) show that speakers' network influences their language choice. In any speech event, speaker's network is sometimes revealed through language choice, which signals their group affiliation.

2.4.4 Gender

People of similar gender usually form their networks easily. For example most men are involved in a network where most members are men while women form their networks where most members are women. Cameron (1992) argued that the different preferences of networks between male and female are perhaps influenced by their differing gender identities and speech styles.

Men and women choose their words differently (Coulmas, 2005: 36). Such differences in language choice are culturally indexed where males and females speak and behave according to the acceptable norms in a society in order to maintain masculinity for males and femininity for females. These practices are expressed in the labeling of words, actions, and behaviors as masculine or feminine. Because of such categorization of status between men and women, they tend to maintain their roles as males and females according to the standard created by the society they live in. Eventually, such categorization has contributed in sustaining the unequal power relations between male and female (Fairclough, 1989). Males try to show their masculinity by using the non-standard speech and their physical strength as a sign of masculine supremacy (Bassoff and Glas, 1982; Cook, 1985). On the other hand, there is a possibility that women try to show their femininity by conforming to a more standard speech. In fact, women's conformity to the use of standard speech can be a form of compensation for their subordinate status in the society (Coates, 1998). Women tend to conform by being collaborative while men are less cooperative in most interactions (Holmes, 2008). According to Kavkava (1997) women used indirect strategies in showing their disagreement while men are more direct with less mitigating remarks. As a result, women are perceived to be more polite than men. Moreover, such politeness is expected from women because they are considered as guardian of society's cultural values (Holmes, 2008). The concept of gender and politeness is evident in the lexical choices and grammatical features used by males and females. This is evident in some Asian languages like the Javanese, Korean and Japanese (Coulmas, 2005).

Male and female differences are observed in the study of Trudgill (1972) on Sex and Covert Prestige that the Norwich male informants favored the non-standard speech known as "bad speech" to maintain their masculinity while women favored the standard

speech to maintain their femininity. Similarly, Fishman (1968) in his study of American English found that males showed a preponderance of non-standard (n) forms of speech compared to females. Fishman's finding is consistent with the findings of Trudgill and proves that males have a tendency to use non-standard speech.

2.4.5 Education

Gender is one factor that categorizes the speakers' group membership. In some instances, speakers categorize themselves according to their educational background. In the Asian context, people who are highly educated consider themselves as professionals while those people who are not highly educated like the non-degree holders are classified as non-professionals. This categorization of status according to education influences the social status of people. Having high educational attainment helps in raising a person's status in the society and eventually carries higher respect. A person of high status has to maintain the socially constructed status in order not to lose such respect. Maintaining the social status requires proper and appropriate use of language in various domains of communication. For instance, the use of English by educated speakers in a study conducted in Sarawak villages is regarded as a marker of "educatedness" (Cullip, 2000). The ability to speak English in some rural areas may signify that a person is educated because English is seen as a language of educated people.

In some societies, people speak a language that reflects their educational status. In a socially stratified society people categorize themselves according to the language they speak. The categorization is not ethnic-related but for status differentiation. Kioko and Muthiwii (2003) examined the attitude of Kenyan speakers towards three varieties of

English: ethnically marked Kenyan English (E-marked), standard Kenyan English (non E-marked) and Native Speaker English (British, Australian and American). There were 210 participants in the study who were classified according to their educational attainment (primary, secondary and tertiary), ethnic language, and urban and rural setting. The subjects were taken from 5 ethnic groups. Two methods were used for the data gathering such as tape-recording and direct measurement questionnaire. Questionnaires were used to analyze statistically the preferred language in formal domains such as school, law-courts, and media. The findings show that in the place of work, English is the preferred language both in urban and rural areas. It also reveals that differences in language choice are influenced by the educational attainment of the participants either in rural and urban areas. Those people who are educated have strong preference for English than those who are not. As a result, the use of the local language decreases as education increases. Primary and secondary school graduates prefer their mother tongue or L1 in their workplace. Some people who prefer to use English as the official language of the workplace believe that it fosters integration among people of different ethnic groups. Because English is not the preferred language of participants who are not fluent in English, they do not speak English when dealing with subordinate staff. As a result, Kiswahili is used as a unifying language in a multi-ethnic group.

In the school domain, Kenyan variety of English becomes the preferred language which is considered as E-marked English (ethnically marked Kenyan English) of students while the non E-marked variety of English is the preferred language of the teachers. The non-E marked English is regarded as a language of those who are more educated while the E-marked English is considered as the basilect variety of Kenyan English.

As discussed in the above studies, it is clear that language choice is influenced by the speakers' educational attainment. In some cultures, the status of a person is categorized according to the language that he or she speaks. It might be the language of educated versus the language of non-educated. People have the possibility of finding their own social network where they develop a feeling of belongingness. Moreover, their membership helps them to acquire a language competence of a group which eventually serves as identity marker of a person's social group membership.

2.4.6 Formality of Talk

The formality or informality of conversation determines the language chosen by the speaker. Apart from the topic and the speakers involved, conversation can be formal or informal through the speaker's language choice. Ledesma & Moris (2005) examined the patterns of language preference of children in a bilingual society. In her study, 81 middle class male bilingual children who studied in English medium schools were randomly selected from two schools in Metro Manila. The findings show that most students prefer English because of the media factors (language used in media, school activities, and formal institutions). Others prefer Filipino because of social factors (language used in informal conversation and social situations). In general, three preference factors like social, formal and media are identified in the kindergarten. Children prefer Filipino for social use, English for media and English or Filipino for formal purpose. In the first grade, children prefer English for media and formal use and Filipino for social purpose. The study illustrates that the choice of language varies according to the purpose of the speaker. If the intention of the speaker is to emphasize formality in a conversation, a formal language might be preferred.

Most multilingual speakers are perhaps aware which language standard will be used in certain communicative events. Some languages are categorized as language for formal communication while other languages are used for informal communication. Such categorization is also evident in the study of Mugambi (2003) on language choice and shift in Kenya where she analyzed the current language situation in Kenya. The findings show that Kiswahili is preferred by speakers in informal settings like in the home domain while English is used in formal situations. The use of English does not create a more convergent behavior among speakers but it creates social distance. However, in dealing with other colleagues and staff, they sometimes use Kiswahili. The preference for Kiswahili seems inevitable because it is the lingua franca in the workplace. Kiswahili is used to create symmetrical relationship of different hierarchical levels while English is used to create distance and difference resulting in asymmetry.

Some languages are used to create formal interaction while other languages are used to minimize the formality of talk. If a speaker wants to establish solidarity in communication, informal language is preferred because it creates a relaxed and friendly environment for both speakers. On the other hand, if a speaker wants to establish social distance and emphasizes hierarchy in interactions, formal language can be preferred. The formality of talk makes interactions distant and speakers become careful in their language in order not to violate any norms.

The formality and informality of talk may influence the speaker's language choice. However, such categorization on the formality and informality of talk can be socially constructed by people in a certain speech community.

2.4.7 Community Language

In every speech community, people establish certain linguistic norms to signal their group membership and group identity. As a result, speakers tend to use a language that all members understand. When a language is widely spoken and understood by a group or a community it becomes a community language.

In a multilingual society, the language spoken by a larger community can be considered superior than those languages spoken by the minority. The community language is spoken by the majority and has a wider social function. Therefore using the community language serves more benefits to the speakers and it can be influential on the language choice of people in a multilingual society because it helps in expanding their social network. When a person belongs to a certain network he or she develops his or her identity which can be evident in the language that he or she speaks. Piller (2004) in her study on language choice in bilingual, cross-cultural interpersonal communication among couples argued that social construction approach contributes in the study of intercultural communication. In order to identify language choice as a major factor in the linguistic construction of cultural identity an experimental research design was used. It included two approaches in data gathering such as elicited data and naturally occurring data. The elicited data were gathered through sociolinguistic interviews and the naturally occurring data were gathered by tape-recording the couple talk. The questionnaire was in two languages: German and English to give couples the choice of their preferred language. The questions were classified into different sections: language usage and skills, language and culture, language and identity, perceived and self-reported attitudes towards intercultural couples and their children. There were 180 couples who returned the questionnaires and 51 tapes

were returned. The findings show that there were problems encountered in the language choice during inter-cultural encounters, like the choice of the medium and the interference of the mother tongue. It is found that there are factors affecting language choice such as the community language (the language of the monolingual area where the couples live), dominant language (the choice of more prestigious language if the couple lives in a bilingual area), non-native or less prestigious language (the language used to establish solidarity) and male partner's language. Out of 51 couples, 21 use German as their common language, 16 English and 14 mixed code. The use of the German language becomes dominant because it is the community language in the area where the couples live. German language becomes influential in their language choice because the majority in the area is German speakers.

Using the community language as the preferred language in the home domain is also evident in the study conducted by Johansson (1991) on language choice of bilingual couples when communicating with their partners and children. The findings show that most wives obtained a fair degree of fluency of their husbands' language. However, husbands did not have a similar degree of fluency with the language of their wives. It shows that the wives accommodated the husbands because they resided in their husbands' home country. Moreover, husbands' language is a widely spoken language (community language) in the community where the couples stay. The ability to speak the community language apart from the idea of accommodating the husband results in more opportunities for the wives to expand their social network and career opportunities.

In another study Durham (2003) found that the global community language which is English has greatly influenced the speakers' language choice. He examined how the language situation in Switzerland affects and may be affected by the choice of languages for Internet use within the country. Nine hundred ninety six (996) messages were collected from May 1999 until June 2002 over a total of 38 consecutive months. To achieve simplicity and ease in analyzing the data, all e-mails were sorted according to the calendar year, such as 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002. Moreover, all messages were sorted into three groups: monolingual messages (messages written plainly in one language); mixed-dominant messages (most of the message was in one language with a sentence or two in another language) and mixed-balanced messages (e-mails in which two or more languages were roughly equally represented). The emails were grouped because there are four national languages in Switzerland: German, French, Italian and Romans. Out of four languages, German, French and Italian are the common languages while English serves as the second language.

The findings show that English is the preferred language because it is easy to communicate and understand. Using the three languages such as German, French and Italian can be difficult for others to comprehend. English is seen by many in Switzerland as a necessary tool to further oneself in a society. Consequently, English is frequently used compared to other languages and is favored in email messages because French speakers do not understand German messages and German speakers do not understand French. English proves to be a readily accessible foreign language to both German and French speakers. During the first meeting English was frequently used although when French was used there was no request for a change in language but French was not easily understood by Germans. As a result, the use of code switching was prevalent in most interactions. Code switching

follows a pattern by starting in French then switches to German and ends in English. In fact, in email messages there was code switching. In the second meeting, there were a lot of French speakers as a result there was no change of language from French to German or English. This shows that if there are more French speakers than German or Italian, French will be used as the main language. A similar situation applies to German and Italian speakers. In case of heterogeneous groups English is used.

The preference of English shows that English has truly become an important language in various domains of communication. It has influenced a lot of speakers to interact with people in intra-national and international communication. English users benefit socially and economically. English does not serve only as a global community language but it serves as the lingua franca in multilingual countries.

In a multilingual society the importance of speaking the community language is essential to expand the speaker's social network and group membership. Having a wider social network also brings economic benefits such as in business and employment purposes.

2.4.8 Numeric Factor

Language becomes a community language when it is spoken by the majority. Therefore, the number of speakers is essential in maintaining the status of a language. The speakers' language choice can be influenced by the number of speakers of a language because if there are a number of speakers of a language, there is also the possibility that language would be

spoken in various domains of communication. Degefa (2004) conducted a study on the criteria for language choice in multilingual societies. She examined the language choice in Ethiopia which was reflected in the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The choice favors one language against all others despite the fact that there were other compelling languages and other major languages with a considerable number of speakers. The results of the study show that Oromo language has the largest number of speakers of about 17,080,318 (32.15%) and this was followed by Amhara consisting of 16,007,933 (30.13%) then followed by Tigray, Somali and Guragi. The use of Amhara as the national language did not really unite the people because of the larger number of native speakers of Oromo. Using Amhara as the working language in Ethiopia did not bring any advantage to the non-speakers of the language. It shows that people who have good knowledge of Amharic as stated in article 5(2) of the FDRE constitution would have more access to different opportunities like better jobs with the government. However, those who were non-native speakers of Amharic were seriously disadvantaged. In effect, speakers of the favored language continue to have an easy gateway to job opportunities at the Federal level. In making the language choice in Ethiopia, several factors should be considered, such as the numerical factor, economic and political position of the linguistic groups and neutrality of the language.

Language choice does not just occur naturally but it happens because of some underlying reasons such as the numeric factor, economic, and political position of the linguistic groups and neutrality of the language. The numeric factor, which refers to the number of speakers of a certain language, can be considered an influential factor in language choice. If there are a number of speakers of a particular language, it has a wider

social function and users will have an easy access in the community. Therefore, the use of such a language could be an advantage. However, the economic factor is also vital because it is easier for a person to look for a job and to start a business if he or she knows the community language (Degefa, 2004).

2.4.9 Habit

The number of language speakers can be influential in people's language choice. However, it is also evident that language choice can be developed through habit. The frequency of use on a specific language may result in habitual use of the language in the future. For instance the use of some expressions like "oh my God", "gosh" etc. may become part of the speaker's linguistic repertoire and eventually occur naturally because it has become a habit to express oneself.

In a wider context, language choice can be accounted in choosing the community language, national language or international language (Coulmas, 2005). The preference of any language can be developed through habitual language use (Piller, 2004). For example if English has become the preferred language at home, the family members will eventually use English most of the time because of the frequency of use. Eventually, the family members will become more familiar of the language in interactions.

In a study conducted by Piller (2004) on bilingual, cross-cultural interpersonal communication she argues that language choice in intercultural or interracial communication is influenced by habit. The habitual use of language can eventually lead to

permanent use of language. This language will later become part of the speaker's linguistic repertoire.

Habit starts with the frequency of use of a specific language. However, the choice of a particular language begins with the speaker's attitude towards the language (Piller, 2004). A person may not be comfortable using a language if he or she has negative attitude towards it. Consequently, there can be a feeling of resistance against the language.

2.4.10 Language Attitude

People classify different languages or varieties as elegant, expressive, vulgar, guttural, musical, polite, impolite, pleasing or unpleasing (Holmes, 2008). This categorization of language has influenced the users' attitudes towards the language because it reflects who they are and represents the social groupings they belong to. As a result, people develop either a positive or negative attitude to other languages based on how the community identify and label them.

Fasold (1984) reported that the French language spoken in Europe is considered more prestigious as compared to the French language in Canada. This is despite the fact that those people who speak French in Canada are native speakers of French. Similarly, in the US, people differentiate the General American English (GE) from that of the African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Speakers of AAVE are labeled to be speakers of non-standard English variety while those who speak General American English are labeled to be the standard speakers of American English (Jenkins, 2004). People's categorization

of language as standard or non-standard, pleasing or not pleasing, formal or informal influences speakers' perception and attitude towards a language. To some extent speakers' attitude to a language influences their language choice. They develop either positive or negative attitude towards the language depending on how their respective communities perceive it. A language becomes appealing to the speakers who have positive attitude towards it. As a result, people may prefer a language in most interactions. On the contrary, if speakers have negative attitude towards the language, they develop resistance in using it.

In another study, Adegbite (2003) described the effect of enlightenment on attitudes of Nigerian elite to the roles assigned to English and indigenous languages in Nigeria. There were 200 undergraduate students from Obafemi Awolowo University who took part in the study. Questionnaires were used to gather data on the preferred language for personal communication, social interaction and official transactions at the local, state and national levels. Student participants were also asked their reasons for such preferences. The findings show that before the lectures on multilingualism all students preferred English. After the lecture, students shifted their preference and they preferred Hausa, a local language in Nigeria. The lectures resulted in shifts of attitudes of students towards languages. Moreover, enlightenment has brought change to the participants' attitudes towards the language they use.

Prior to the talk, many bilingual or multilingual speakers preferred English. However, after the lecture, participants realized the importance of their own ethnic language. Enlightenment influences the speaker's attitudes and behavior towards the

language they use and increases their ethnic language loyalty. Moreover, frequent exposure to ethnic language can also motivate speakers to use their own language at home.

2.4.11 Ethnicity

The ethnicity of a speaker can also be a factor that influences the speaker's language choice. If speakers want to emphasize their ethnic identity, using their ethnic language completely may not be possible; they might use short phrases, verbal filters, or linguistic tags to signal ethnicity (Holmes, 2008). For example in Malaysia when people use English inevitably they use the particle "lah" which signals their identity as Malaysians (Dumanig, 2007).

Asmah Haji Omar (1993) examined identity and its linguistic correlation at various levels: the community, the group and the individual. In her study, she collected data using three methods; the first was an in-depth interview, the second was a questionnaire and the third was a survey of small group to determine a speaker's language choice. Twelve (12) respondents were interviewed consisting of 4 Malays, 4 Chinese and 4 Indians. The questionnaire was administered to a group of 83 students at the University of Malaya. There were 53 Malays and 30 non-Malays (Chinese and Indians). The questionnaires were categorized according to self-categorization, attitudes toward certain identity features and language choice in different situations. Furthermore, 65 students of the researcher were asked to carry out a survey of a small group of speakers so as to get a picture of language choice. The analysis of the study was based on the interview conducted which was also supported by the quantitative analysis to support statements of identity at the group, national and supra-national level. The participants did the self-categorization. Most

respondents considered their ethnic group as the nucleic component. From the questionnaire (67%) or 57 out of 85 students placed the national category of “Malaysian” as the nucleus of their self-categorization and more than half of the 57 people answered that they were Malays. The results show that Malaysians have ethnic-centered self-categorization which is evident in the age group and educational background of two groups of respondents. It also turned out that many Malaysians are cued by the word *Keturunan* (descent) where many younger groups have been attuned to the phrase *Orang Malaysia berketurunan Melayu/Cina/India* etc. (Malaysians of Malay/Chinese/Indian descent). Another reason for their ethnic centeredness is an influence from their position in the Malaysian society particularly in terms of being a member of the majority group with certain privileges being given to them. Their membership gave them a sense of security and had a bearing on their self-categorization. In their language choice, the participants are influenced by their linguistic and social background. One proof is the use of English which serves as determinant factor that identifies people in the higher social status. On the other hand, the choice of another language is triggered by an effort to accommodate other speakers depending on the ethnic group they belong to. The participants’ language and identity feature show that they have different identity features when they speak Malay and English. When they speak their national and ethnic language, they project a national and ethnic image; however they project a different identity when they speak English. Asmah Haji Omar’s (1993) study shows that language helps the speakers to construct their identity. The participants’ linguistic expressions and ethnic heritage show that most of them use different languages in expressing themselves. In some cases they use their second language but they are expressing their cultural values in that language. This is evident in the varieties of English used in Malaysia and the Philippines. When people from these countries speak

English, their ethnicity is reflected in their lexical, phonological and pragmatic features of their own English variety (David & Dumanig, 2009; Dumanig, 2007).

It can be said that language represents the speaker's cultural, ethnic, linguistic and social backgrounds. A speaker chooses a language because he or she wants to exhibit his or her own ethnic identity.

2.4.12 Referee

Aside from the speaker's ethnicity, people choose a language because they want to send a message to others and not directly to the person they speak. For example, a mother talks to her younger daughter but the message is actually intended to her elder daughter. It is one way of avoiding a direct attack towards the person concerned which can be deemed as a polite strategy. It can be said that the mother's language choice is influenced by the referee (Yau, 1997).

Aside from the speaker's ethnicity, referee is also a factor that influences language choice. A person may use a language in order to encourage the hearers to use similar language, to accommodate the listeners, to gain acceptance and favorable treatment and to build solidarity. Yau (1997) examined the language choice of the legislative councilors and government officials and their code switching behaviors in the meeting of the legislative council of Hongkong during 1991-1995. All the data used were extracted from the government Hansard both the English and Chinese versions. The English version of the minutes was used in the first 10 sittings of each legislative year from 1991-1995. A total of

40 sittings were analyzed. The study focused on three aspects such as choice of language by councilors and officials, code switching of bilingual officials, and code switching of councilors in interactions with the President.

The findings show that the directly elected members used Cantonese and only 37% of the non-directly elected members used Cantonese in 1991 but the percentage increased in 1995. The directly elected officials speak to their colleagues in the council but they are actually directing their speech to their constituents “the referee” to show that they are living up to their election promises to fight for the rights of the people they represent. To get the message across they use Cantonese, the mother tongue of the constituents. The non-directly elected officials use English because their referees are business and professionals who receive western education and are fluent in English. Yau (1997) argued that the preferred code choice depends on community norms, or individual life histories, which might be a result of a set of social and educational factors.

It is undeniable that speaker’s language choice is sometimes influenced by the referee. The interlocutor who is impliedly targeted by the speaker is identified as the referee. A person maybe speaking face to face to another interlocutor but the language used is not intended to the person who is actually involved but the person who is not directly involved in the conversation. It is evident that the presence of a third party who acts as the referee may trigger a speaker’s language choice.

2.5 Language Choice and Code Switching

Previous studies show that language choice is influenced by some sociolinguistic factors such as social status, gender, educational attainment, ethnicity, age, occupation, rural and urban origin, speakers themselves, topic, place media and formality of the situation (Piller, 2004; Johansson, 1991; Burhanudeen, 2003; Warshauer, 2002; Tan, 1993 & Degefa, 2004). It is evident that language is chosen in various ways which can be done by simply borrowing some lexical items from another language or by switching from one language to another.

2.5.1 Code Switching and its Background

At present, code switching has become a trend in many parts of the world. In multilingual countries like the Philippines and Malaysia code switching has emerged as a new language variety (Bautista, 2004 & David, 2003).

Code switching has continually developed its scope of study since 1950 up to the present. It was initially perceived as a peculiar act and has developed into a subject matter which sheds light in understanding the fundamental linguistic issues from universal grammar to the formation of group identities and ethnic boundaries through verbal behavior (Auer, 2003).

In the past, several studies on code switching emphasized more on the regularities in alternating the use of two or more languages in a specific speech community which is considered as rights and obligations. Moreover, the focus was on the syntactic constraints which include the intersentential and intra-sentential code switching (Bautista, 2004). However, these concepts fail to consider the speaker's ability to process the language and

the code selection during the actual conversation. At present, code switching has been explored on how to create a communicative and social meaning in a specific communicative event (Auer, 2003).

It can be considered that code switching in some aspects provides a built-in sensibility that conversational regularities are both content-independent and context-sensitive (Auer, 2003:4). Therefore code switching can be studied and analyzed by looking at the discourse-related code switching, discourse-related insertion, and preference-related switching. Discourse-related code switching refers to the use of code switching to organize the conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance (Auer, 2003:5). This means that speakers alternate the code in a sequential order. In addition, code switching can be considered as discourse-related insertion (Auer, 2003:6).

2.5.2 Code Switching and its Functions

Code switching occurs when an interlocutor switches from one language to another. There have been a lot of studies that examine the factors that influence code switching and the different patterns of code switching in verbal communication. Bautista (2000) examined how and why Tagalog-English speakers code switch. An analysis on the functions of Tagalog-English code switching was given emphasis. One corpus was studied because the email shows the most masterful use of Tagalog and English code switching. R is 49 years old who grew up and was educated in Manila but now is a resident of the U.S, where she has lived for 13 years. She has mastered the colloquialism of English while still being adept at using the idioms of her native Tagalog. The messages were written from November 1- 20, 1996 consisting of two pages of single-spaced type. Each message was

read carefully, with each code switched passage highlighted. Each instance of code switching together with the sentence before it and after it, then copied onto the index card. The function of codeswitching was identified using the framework of John Gumperz in 1982. The study reveals that the fastest and easiest way of saying something is through code switching. The occurrence of code switching commonly appears using the function words, content words, idioms, and linguistic play. The findings also show that there are two kinds of codes switching; deficiency driven code switching which refers to a speaker who is not competent in L2 and has to go back to L1, and proficiency driven code switching refers to a speaker who is competent in two languages and competent in two codes making one aware that the other language has a better way of expressing a particular idea. These reasons provide an explanation why code switching commonly occurs in multilingual societies. A speaker switches from one language to another for emphasis and clarification which can be classified as proficiency-driven code switching. Saville-Troike (2003) states that code switching occurs for other reasons such as group identification, solidarity, and distancing.

Code switching is also used to clarify certain vague statements in communication. Tan (1992) examined the teacher's reasons in code switching in the teaching of English as a second language where two classes at UITM Shah Alam were observed. An ethnographic and interview approaches in gathering the data were used. The findings show that the teacher's code switching patterns in classes were meaningful and had not simply occurred at random. Code switching from English to Bahasa Malaysia took place when the use of the former did not appear to be effective. The findings further show that the reasons for

choosing a language are for precision and ease of expression, for metaphoric reasons which include emphatic, emotional utterances and social reasons.

Ng and He (2004) examined the code switching pattern of tri-generational members of Chinese immigrant families in New Zealand. The study used a corpus-based approach to code switching and the analysis used both quantitative and qualitative methods. The data were collected from Chinese-speaking families in New Zealand. The families selected could at least communicate 30% of utterances in English in every conversation. Each conversation consists of 6 speakers; two young, middle and old generations. The ages of participants were from 10-25, 30-59 and beyond 60 years old. The findings show that code switching is common among Chinese immigrant family conversations. “Between-turns code switching” is significantly lower than that of “with-in code switching.” There is a higher “between-turns” than “within-turn code switching” among grandchildren and grand parents. Ninety percent (90%) of the grandchildren use “between-turns code switching” in English. On the other hand, 91% of the grandparents use “between-turns” in Chinese.

For immigrants, code switching has become a favorable language variety nowadays. Although, most first generation immigrants try to maintain their ethnic language it is undeniable that they still have to use the host country’s language for some economic, social and political reasons. As a result, the ethnic language may not be passed on to the next generations particularly to younger generations. Ng and He (2004) believed that code switching is influenced by a speaker’s age. Speakers of different ages may have varying language exposure. They may have different idioms or different ways of saying things.

This can be the outcome of a generation gap among speakers. Age difference helps to determine if speakers use “between-turn code switching” or “with-in turn code switching.”

Bautista (2004) studied how Taglish is used as a subject of linguistic inquiry. The study used the data from various researchers on Tagalog-English code switching. Data of previous research were analyzed according to code switching structures and code switching functions. The findings reveal that whenever there is a point in the utterance where structures of two languages converged, it is possible for two interlocutors to converge. The study shows that the sentential unit leads the code switch to participial, infinitive, relative phrases and noun relative, adverbial, main, independent clauses in Tagalog and English. It is also evident that Tagalog-English code switching is also labeled as constituent insertion, an insertion of grammatical constituent in a sentence of other languages.

Generally, code switching is made for some reasons such as for precision, transition, comic effect, atmosphere, bridging or creating social distance, snob appeal and secrecy (Bautista, 2004). Goulet (1971) found in his study on English, Spanish and Tagalog, that code-switching is done for ease in understanding, brevity, lack of indigenous terms, emphasis and clarity.

Code switching also occurs in various domains of communication. In fact, it is used even in the courtroom. David (2003) argued that code switching is common in Malaysian courtrooms and occurs for some metaphorical and pragmatic reasons specifically in giving directives, quoting someone, emphasizing a point, achieving legal communicative tasks at

hand and to coerce the witness to provide the required answer. It can be said that code switching is triggered by some goals in communication.

For Malaysian speakers, code switching seems to be a normal phenomenon because of the various ethnic groups such as Malay, Chinese, Indians and other minorities who preserve their own language and culture. Morais (1995) emphasized that code switching in Malaysia is often practiced to show group identification of various ethnic groups. Code switching is used to show the speaker's identity. For instance, switching from English to Malay, Chinese or Indians may reveal the ethnic affiliation of the speaker. Venogopal (2000) explained that code switching in Malaysian context particularly from English to Bahasa Malaysia signals a conscious act of group identification.

This study on language choice, accommodation strategies and code switching of interracial couples may provide an explanation which will help in understanding the occurrence of codeswitching in interactions. It shows that the competence of the speaker in both languages could also be identified through the structure in code switching. A speaker can be considered competent in both languages when he or she does smooth code switching or switching at equivalence from one language to another (Myers-Scotton, 1983).

2.5.3 Competing Models in Code Switching

Several competing models have emerged like the Markedness Theory of code switching, Language Matrix Frame (MLF) Model and the Conversation Analysis (CA) approach to conversational code switching. These models provide the analyst some ideas on how to

examine the occurrence of code switching in different context. Of the three models, CA approach to conversation analysis code switching is appropriate in analyzing the occurrence of code switching in intercultural and interracial encounters. The approach provides a comprehensive model in analyzing the occurrence of code switching in conversation for some reasons.

(1) “The sequential implicativeness of language choice in conversation, i.e. the fact that whatever language a participant chooses for the organization of his or her turn, or for an utterance which is part of the turn, the choice exerts an influence on subsequent language choices by the same or other speakers” (Auer, 1984:5).

(2) “It limits the external analyst’s interpretational leeway because it relates his or her interpretations back to the members’ mutual understanding of tier utterances as manifest in their behavior” (Auer, 1984:6).

It is essential to focus in the entire conversational discourse to analyze code switching in conversation. Therefore, adopting the CA approach in analyzing a conversational code switching, three fundamental points have to be considered such as relevance, procedural consequentiality and the balance between social structure and conversation structure (Li Wei, 2003:162).

There is relevance in conversational code switching when the analysis is demonstratively relevant to the participants. This means that the analyst must understand thoroughly the language and context of the entire conversation. On the other hand, the procedural consequentiality in conversational code switching requires the analyst to understand how the extra-linguistic context influences the outcome of the conversational interaction. This is essential because the context influences the sequence of interaction which is shaped, maintained, and changed by the speakers in the entire conversation.

Understanding the context contributes in explaining the reasons why speakers switch from one code to another. The analyst must also maintain the balance between social structure and conversation structure. This means that it is not appropriate to assume that a speaker switches in order to index his or her identity, ethnicity or attitude but the analyst must explain how identity, ethnicity, and attitude are presented, understood, accepted or changed throughout the conversation (Li Wei, 2003).

Using the CA approach in analyzing code switching in interactions specifically in this study requires a thorough understanding of conversation analysis.

2.6 Code Switching and Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysis can be a good model in analyzing code switching patterns in interactions. Observation in interactions between two multilingual speakers will provide an idea in understanding the way in which language figures in everyday interaction and cognition (Ochs, Shegloff, and Thompson as cited in Chad Nilep, 2006). It is believed that to analyze code switching in interactions there is a need to examine the entire discourse to find out the occurrence of code switching. Auer (1984) argued that code switching is not essentially semantic but it is embedded in the sequential development of the conversation. Various studies have been conducted on the sequential patterns of code switching which captures the entire discourse.

The occurrence of code switching in interactions may function in various ways. Li Wei (1998) found that code switching is used to enhance turn selection in conversation. This means that the switching in every turn is influenced by the previous turn made by the

speaker. Therefore, it can be difficult to isolate the entire discourse in code switching analysis.

On the other hand, code switching has multiple functions and it can be used to soften refusal (Bani-Shoraka, 2005; Li Wei, 2005), to perform repair in a conversation (Auer, 1995; Sebba and Wooten, 1998), to show dispreferred remarks (Li Wei 1998; Bani-Shoraka, 2005) and to show speakers' identity (Li Wei 2002; David 2006).

2.6.1 Conversation Analysis as an Approach in Analyzing Code Switching

It is necessary to understand that conversation analysis (CA) is an approach to the study of talk in interaction that grew out of the ethnomethodological tradition which was developed by Harold Garfinkel (Liddicoat, 2007). CA describes the orderliness, structure, and sequential patterns of interaction, in an institutional or casual conversation. The word conversation seems to be confusing to call this disciplinary movement. As a result, Emanuel Schegloff (1979) discovered and identified talk-in-interaction as one of the CA's topics. Since it has been identified as talk-in-interaction other practitioners who used CA called themselves discourse analysts.

Inspired by ethnomethodology, conversation analysis was developed in the 1960s and in the early 1970s led by the sociologists Harvey Sacks, Emmanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. Harvey Sacks has made contributions in the development of CA. However, after his death there were a number of sociologists like Irvin Goffman and David Sudnow who explored it. CA is now an established method in many areas such as sociology, anthropology, linguistics, speech-communication and psychology. It has also become influential specifically in interactional sociolinguistics and discourse analysis.

Using conversation analysis as an approach in analyzing conversational code switching requires an understanding on turn-taking and adjacency pairs in conversation (See Chapter 1, Section 1.1)..

2.6.2 Turn-taking

In conversation analysis, turn-taking plays an important role for it serves as one of the fundamental organizations of conversation. It is essential in analyzing conversations particularly in analyzing the communicative patterns. Turn-taking is a process by which interactants allocate the right or obligation to participate in an interactional activity (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). It consists of two components like the turn constructional component and the turn allocational component (Liddicoat, 2007) which are helpful in understanding how turn-taking works in conversation. The turn constructional component describes the basic unit known as turn constructional unit (TCU) which refers to a grammatical unit which can be a word, phrase, clause or sentence (Liddicoat, 2007). It is a context-sensitive and a decision about what constitutes a TCU can only be made in context.

However, there are some instances in which a turn cannot be considered as TCU particularly if it is not recognized as a complete turn in an ongoing talk. Moreover, a turn can be classified as an allocation component if it describes how turns are allocated among participants in a conversation in which the current speaker selects the next speaker by using certain strategies such as using the pronoun “you”, mentioning a person’s name, and self-selection of the next speaker. In short, the turn allocational component consists of three ordered options such as current speaker selects next speaker; next speaker self-selects as next; or current speaker continues (Liddicoat, 2007).

Turn-taking organization can be described as the simplest systematic for the organization of turn-taking in conversations (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). It is one of the most noticeable features when one speaker changes his or her role as listener or speaker. It helps in making the conversation more organized because it signals the speakers when to talk and when not to talk. However, it is still inevitable that in a conversation both interlocutors overlap during the conversation specifically if both speakers are very much involved in the conversation. Overlap seems to be a common feature, however gaps in conversation also occurs.

In a conversation both interlocutors take turns when one is selected or nominated by the current speaker or if no one is selected, one of them may speak in their own accord (self-selection) (McCarthy, 2002). Therefore, it is essential for the speakers to be familiar with the specific linguistic devices that will help the individual in getting the turn. This is necessary especially when one of the interlocutors is unable to enter the normal flow of turn-taking or when the setting demands that specific conventions must be followed (McCarthy, 2002).

There are also some linguistic devices that are useful in order not to take turns but still attending to the speaker's message. These linguistic markers or back-channeling devices like *yeah*, *right*, *no*, *yes*, *sure*, *mm*, and *ah-ha* signal that the listener is paying attention to what the speaker is saying.

Turn-taking can be considered as a socially constructed behavior and not a result of an inevitable process (Liddicoat, 2007). When one overlaps or creates gap in a conversation, it does not mean that it occurred due to some physical or psychological

constraints but they are used unproblematically to make the conversation more understandable and to signal laughter, greetings, etc. that the interlocutor clearly gets the point of the other speaker.

2.6.3 Adjacency Pairs

In a conversation many turns of talk occur in pairs like greeting- greeting, question-answer, or request-acceptance/rejection. These paired utterances are called adjacency pairs (Schegloff and Sacks (1973). Adjacency pairs are the basic unit in conversation where an organization or sequence of talk is built (Liddicoat, 2007). Moreover, it can be easily recognized because it has certain features. Liddicoat (2007) emphasized some features of adjacency pairs; it has two turns (turns are from different speakers) and it follows an order (pairs are differentiated into pair types).

The sequence of the pairs does not follow at all times in the same order because some insertions within the pair may occur. The insertion is called as the insertion sequence which can sometimes be a lengthy stretched of talk.

Using conversation analysis in analyzing conversational code switching may provide a comprehensive analysis on the occurrence of code switching in interactions. It is essential to analyze the occurrence of code switching by examining the entire discourse rather than focusing only in the alternation of lexical items in every utterance.

2.7 Synthesis of the Reviewed Studies

All the reviewed studies on language choice, accommodation strategies, code switching, and conversation analysis bear relevance to the present study.

David (2006), Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001), and Ting & Sussex (1999) argued that language choice is triggered by factors such as social status, gender, educational attainment, ethnicity, age, occupation, rural and urban origin, speakers, topic, place, media and formality of situation. These findings are supported by Haslett in Giles and Robinson (1990), Tan (1993), Wardhaugh (1992), Fasold (1996), Nor Azni Abdullah (2004), Spolsky (2004), Bonvillain (1993) and Mugambi (2003). In short, language choice is influenced by several factors, specifically the speaker's social status. It means that language choice varies depending on the social, economic and political factors that motivate the speakers to choose a particular language.

Some studies also emphasize that the presence of the dominant language in a community influences the language choice of speakers (Coulmas, 2005). It shows that most speakers have higher chances of choosing the dominant language over the weaker languages because of personal and economic benefits it brings (Bradley and Bradley, 2002, Wurm, 2002, Kamwangamalu, 1998, Heller, 1995, Ferrer & Sankoff, 2004, Warshauer, El Said & Zohry, 2002, Jariah Mohd. Jan, 2003, Piller, 2004, and Johansson, 1991). Moreover, language choice is also influenced by the social network, education, formality of talk, community language, language identity, referee and numeric factors (Gal, 1979, Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985, Cullip 2000, Ledesma & Moris 2005, Mugambi 2003, Managan 2004, Piller 2004, Adegbite 2003, Durham 2003, Yau, 1997, and Asmah Haji Omar,

2004). The various factors examined in the aforementioned studies have shown that language choice can be considered as a complex sociolinguistic phenomenon. It can be influential in causing language change, language shift, language loss and to some extent language death.

The occurrence of language choice can be a speaker's conversational intent in order to accommodate other interlocutors. Multilingual speakers choose a particular language to converge or diverge in communication. The occurrence of convergence or divergence in communication in Giles and Powesland's (1975) Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) has been explained earlier in the theoretical framework of the study.

It is also evident that in interracial or intercultural communication especially in multilingual societies, the occurrence of code switching can be one of the common features. The reviewed studies show that code switching occurs for emphasis, clarification, precision, transition, comic effect, bridge or create social distance, snob appeal and secrecy (Bautista 2004, Tan 1992, Ng & He 2004, Poplack & Sankoff 1998, Goulet 1971). In conversational interaction, code switching can be analyzed using the Conversational Analysis (CA) approach because it captures the occurrence of code switching in the entire conversation.

This present study on language choice, accommodation strategies, and code switching of interracial couples' communication in the home domain is based on the concept of the previous studies. Applying the theoretical framework of Giles' (1979) Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and the Conversation Analysis approach

in analyzing the code switching patterns, this research explains how language choice, accommodation strategies and code switching occur in interracial couples' communication.

2.8 Conclusion

The reviewed literature on language choice, accommodation strategies, and code switching has provided some insights in examining language choice in interracial communication. The factors identified such as age, gender, social status, social network, education, ethnicity, community language, first language of the speaker, national language and international language have made language choice a complex sociolinguistic phenomenon. These factors that emerged in many studies have contributed in constructing the conceptual and methodological framework of the study which will be described in Chapter 3.