AN ASSOCIATIVE MODEL OF CODE SWITCHING:

MANDARIN-TAIWANESE CODE SWITCHING IN

SPOKEN MEDIA DISCOURSE IN TAIWAN

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Abstract: This dissertation proposes an associative model of CS to analyze the phenomena of code switching (CS). Specifically, the associative model of CS is applied to speakers' use of Taiwanese in Mandarin-dominant spoken media discourse. Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) theoretical foundation is used as a basis for the associative model of CS. The associative model of CS emphasizes the important role of association in language switching and includes two types of language switching: code switching and utterance switching. With regard to the two types of language switching, the association Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has can occur at the community, activity, and individual levels. With regard to communicative effects, the association Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has at various levels is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance to create certain communicative effects, which in turn are realized by switching to Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance.

The associative model of CS is examined by 50 CS cases collected in this dissertation, along with the comparison with Gumperz's, Auer's (1984), and Myers-Scotton's theoretical notions, by the CS examples presented in previous CS studies in Taiwan, and by eight Taiwanese interviewees' responses to 10 CS cases collected in this dissertation.

The findings of the dissertation suggest that the associative model of CS can effectively explain various CS cases presented in this study and in previous CS studies in Taiwan as well as the interviewees' views about CS.

This dissertation contributes to the sociolinguistics field by proposing the associative model of CS and addressing the problem of applying various theories in different CS studies as well as to the CS research in Taiwan in a way that it provides another perspective in explaining speakers' use of CS in Mandarin-dominant spoken media discourse, which has not received sufficient research attention.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Purpose and Linguistic Practices Analyzed

1.1.1 Research Purpose

Code switching (CS) has been an important and much-studied behavior in the field of

sociolinguistics. This study focuses on the frequent uses of Taiwanese in Mandarin-dominant

spoken media discourse in Taiwan. Based on Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz,

1982) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) theoretical foundation, an associative model of CS is

proposed. Although Auer's (1984, 1995, 1998) prominent CS studies and Bell's (1984) Audience

Design model are not the basis for the associative model of CS, their notions related to CS will

also be discussed in this study. In addition, Schutz's notions of "in-order-to and because motives"

(1970, p. 45) will be discussed with regard to the use of CS to create certain communicative effects.

Specifically, this study argues that there are two types of language switching (i.e., code switching

and utterance switching). Speakers switch to Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance because the

associations it has help them achieve certain communicative effects. In terms of associations, CS

is, as Gumperz and Myers-Scotton assume, related to the association between a switched code

and certain social attributes, values, or meanings; however, their notions do not provide a

complete picture of CS phenomena. The associations, Gumperz and Myers-Scotton assume, are

considered to be at the community level in this study because the perceptions of Taiwanese or a

Taiwanese utterance are shared among people in a community. In addition to the associations at the community level, however, this study attempts to demonstrate that such associations also occur at the activity and individual levels. That is, fluent speakers of Mandarin switch to a less dominant code (i.e., Taiwanese) because certain associations Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has are formed by the way Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance is used in the local development of the interaction itself (i.e., the activity level), or certain associations Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has are formed as a result of hearer's and/or speaker's perceptions of individuals and cultural objects, or hearer's and/or speaker's personal use of the Taiwanese utterance (i.e., the individual level). In addition, the associations Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has might not be shared with or might be stronger than the dominant code (i.e., Mandarin). Because of a lack of association or a weaker association in Mandarin, speakers switch to Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance to achieve certain communicative effects. With regard to communicative effects, this study argues that the association is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance to create certain communicative effects, which in turn are realized by switching to Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance. Overall, this study expands Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's idea of association from the community level to the activity level and the individual level as well as from code switching to utterance switching. A more detailed discussion of the associative model of CS will be presented in section 1.2.3.3.

The study intends to contribute to CS research by providing another perspective in explaining CS phenomena by discussing associations Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterances has at three levels and by arguing that the association a switched code or a switched utterance has might be the basis for speakers' creative use of CS to create certain communicative effects. It also seeks to explore the understudied area of the use of Taiwanese in Mandarin-dominant spoken media discourse in Taiwan.

The rest of this chapter will first discuss the sort of CS analyzed in this study and then provide a literature review of CS studies in Taiwan, with reference to Bell's Audience Design as well as the theoretical explanations of CS provided by Gumperz, Auer, and Myers-Scotton. The theoretical

framework of this study (i.e., the associative model of CS) will then be elaborated along with the methodology used in this study. Chapter 2 will provide an overview of the geographic, historical, and language use backgrounds of the research site (i.e., Taiwan and a TV talk show from which Mandarin-dominant spoken media discourse was obtained), and Chapter 3 will provide more detailed descriptions of data collection and analysis. This chapter will also present exemplary data, discuss the efficiency of Gumperz's, Auer's, and Myers-Scotton's CS studies, and further justify the need for the associative model of CS. Previous CS studies in Taiwan using Auer's (1998), Goffman's (1981), Giles and Coupland's (1991), and Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai's (2001) notions will be discussed, and the associative model of CS will be applied to those studies as well. Chapter 4 will provide detailed descriptions of the data and analysis of eight interviewees' perspectives on CS occurring in the talk show. Interviewees' opinions will be discussed and used to examine the associative model of CS this study proposes. Chapter 5 will summarize the findings and point towards future research within the proposed framework.

1.1.2 Language Practice Analyzed

1.1.2.1 CS between Mandarin and Taiwanese

This study analyzes CS from Mandarin to Taiwanese. Although there is inconsistent usage of the term, the underlying property of CS is the use of more than one variety in the same conversation. For the purpose of this study, Myers-Scotton's definition of CS is adopted: "Codeswitching is the term used to identify alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation" (1993a, p. 1). Like many others, Myers-Scotton identifies two types of CS: "intersentential" and "intrasentential" (p. 4). The former refers to "switches from one language to the other between sentences," while the latter involves switches "within the same sentence, from single-morpheme to clause level" (p. 4). Both types were considered in this study.

1.1.2.2 CS and Borrowing

This study also adopts Myers-Scotton's notions of borrowing to distinguish borrowed forms from CS and exclude them from data analysis. According to Myers-Scotton, "B forms [borrowed forms] and CS forms differ in their status in relation to the ML [Matrix Language] mental lexicon. B forms are entered in this lexicon, but CS forms are not" (1993b, p. 207). In addition, she suggests that "B forms (as part of the ML) can be identified as occurring with more relative frequency than CS forms" (p. 194) and that "CS forms differ from all B forms in their lack of predictability" (p. 193). That is, since borrowed forms have entered speakers' mental inventory of words in the dominant language, they are preferred and will be more frequently accessed; thus, their appearances can be predicted. (A more detailed discussion of the exclusion of borrowed forms from this study will be presented in Chapter 3.)

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Review of the Literature on CS Studies in Taiwan

The previous studies of CS between Mandarin and Taiwanese, along with other languages, in Taiwan explore people's attitudes towards CS, language ideologies related to CS, and the use of CS in different discourse domains. Although there is no clear-cut boundary among these three research areas (and they might be all considered in one study), the main focus of each is on one of these areas. This section looks at the use of CS in the last of these: the area of different discourse domains because it is more closely related to the research focus of this study (i.e., the use of CS in spoken mass media).

One such study was conducted in the domain of family discourse, exploring the general patterns and communicative functions of CS between Mandarin and Taiwanese in three telephone

conversations (Su, 2009). By using Auer's (1998) and Goffman's (1981) approaches, Su (2009) provided insights into how a fluent bilingual Taiwanese speaker switched between Taiwanese and Mandarin to organize the discourse structure and manage interpersonal relationships when dealing with a face-threatening situation with her relatives on the phone.

In a former Mandarin-dominant domain, Tien (2009) investigated the switch between Mandarin, Taiwanese, and English in two English classrooms in a university in the south of Taiwan. Although Taiwanese was less frequently spoken in educational settings, it was still used for certain purposes. Using Accommodation Theory (Giles & Coupland, 1991) as a general theoretical framework, Tien (2009) indicated switching to Taiwanese as an "accommodative acts" (p. 179). Tien (2009) mentioned that Taiwanese was used by the teachers to ease the classroom atmosphere and establish solidarity with students. She suggested that one reason that Taiwanese was used by the teachers for the effects of easing the classroom atmosphere and building solidary might have been that Taiwanese was considered "a language with lower status than Mandarin" (p. 184). Tien (2009) also suggested that the switch might have been based on the fact that Mandarin was considered "an official/formal language" (p. 184) and that when the teachers used Taiwanese in classrooms, the CS helped create a humorous atmosphere and sense of solidarity. Tien's use of Accommodation Theory (Giles & Coupland, 1991) as a general theoretical framework and her view of the use of Taiwanese as an accommodative act are somewhat problematic because it was not the switch to Taiwanese that helped the teachers move toward students as the theory would suggest (Giles & Ogay, 2007). That is, the teachers did not achieve the goal of moving toward their students by changing their language to the one that helped them copy the students' language behavior. Instead, it was the humorous and solidarity effects created by Taiwanese that helped the teachers achieve the goal. Perhaps switching to Taiwanese could be considered an accommodative acts because the humorous effects and the sense of solidarity created by Taiwanese helped the teachers move toward their students; however, the

Accommodation Theory (Giles & Coupland, 1991) does not seem to be the appropriate theoretical framework used to explain the reason for achieving the communicative purposes.

Looking at another former Mandarin-dominant domain, Liao (2000) discussed language use in the politics and indicated that politicians who spoke Mandarin as their native language and were not familiar with Taiwanese might insert Taiwanese in their public speeches to accommodate to voters and show their friendliness. However, Liao (2000) did not provide any theoretical background to support his observation and analysis. On the other hand, Wei (2003, 2008) explored the political speech of a previous Taiwanese president (Chen, Shui-bian) who was a native speaker of Taiwanese and used Taiwanese in his political discourse, but strategically switched to Mandarin for certain purposes. Wei (2003, 2008) collected Chen's political discourse at various events in the 2001 legislative and city magistrate election. Although she claimed to have used the Rational Choice Model (Myers-Scotton & Bolonvai, 2001) to explain Chen's code choices, only one out of twelve examples was referred to this model. Instead, she mainly discussed the functions CS served, indicating that Chen switched to Mandarin to avoid inaccurate or even missing Taiwanese equivalents, to attract the audience's attention, to perform his identity as an authority figure, to increase the tension between himself and other politicians, to make indirect negative comments, to help him become one of the members of his audience, and to avoid political responsibilities.

In the domain of mass media discourse, which was also a former Mandarin-dominant domain, Huang (2009) and Kuo (2009) explored CS patterns of written discourse on the Bulletin Board System (BBS)[1] and in newspaper headlines respectively. Huang's (2009) study recognizes the increasingly frequent and popular use of Taiwanese in a Mandarin-dominant media discourse, and Kuo's (2009) research contributes to the understanding of the correlation between the use of Taiwanese in a Mandarin-dominant media discourse and the social, cultural, and political changes in Taiwan. Neither study, however, examines the actual use of Taiwanese in these settings. Although

Kuo (2009) provided a list of functions Taiwanese might have served in newspaper headlines, no theoretical background was offered to explain those functions.

Chiu (2012) explored language choice in TV commercials and explained how CS between Mandarin, Taiwanese, and English was associated with different social attributes and helped construct the opposing non-elite and elite identities of two female protagonists. Chiu's (2012) study provided insights into the relationship between language variation and identity construction. Mandarin was associated with power, authority, and profession, and it was the code for the female elite who never used Taiwanese in her advertisements. By using Bell's (1984) Audience Design model, Chiu (2012) argued that the reason for the lack of Taiwanese in the female elite's speech was that "Taiwanese is not the preferred code associating with "high class" in Taiwan, at least stereotypically" (p. 34). That is, the female elite protagonist's speech was designed in a way that accommodated to the audience's expectation of the ideal attributes of elite. On the other hand, Taiwanese was the code for the non-elite identity and provided the non-elite female protagonist with a local and friendly image. When discussing the reason that the non-elite female protagonist conveyed this image, Chiu (2012) used one excerpt as an example, but her explanations were somewhat inconsistent. Chiu (2012) first indicated that the non-elite performer frequently used Taiwanese as her main language because it was the frequently-spoken regional language in Taiwan. However, referring to the same example, Chiu (2012), using Giles's (2009) Communication Accommodation theory, provided a second explanation and suggested that the non-elite performer used Taiwanese as the main language in two lines and Mandarin as the main language in one line and that this language practice (i.e., interchangeably using two codes as main languages) was similar to that of most people in Taiwan, and thus the local and friendly image was created. In addition to the inconsistency between the two explanations (i.e., using Taiwanese as the main language vs. using both Taiwanese and Mandarin as main languages), Chiu (2012) did not provide accurate information about people's actual language practices in Taiwan. In her first and second explanations, Chiu's (2012) claim that people's language practice included using

Taiwanese as the main language was based on the inference which indicated that the dominant population was Southern Min whose mother tongue was Taiwanese. However, Sandel, Chao, and Liang's (2006) study indicates that this population is in fact losing their mother tongue because most younger generation Taiwanese, particularly in urban areas, mainly speak Mandarin, which seems to be their mother tongue. That is, it is possible that many people might use Taiwanese, but might not use it as their main language, as Chiu (2012) suggested. Chiu's use of Giles's (2009) Communication Accommodation theory might not be plausible because her inference of the language practice of the audience and most people in Taiwan was not solid.

Shih and Su (1993) also focused on spoken media discourse, but they explored the use of Mandarin in Taiwanese-dominant settings. Shih and Su (1993) indicated that Mandarin served the functions of ease of communication and referential purposes. As the authors indicated, however, distinguishing between these two functions was somewhat subjective; they mentioned that Mandarin was mainly used when there was no Taiwanese equivalent or when it was easier for the speakers to express their concepts or ideas. However, the authors did not situate their claims in any theoretical background.

The review of the literature on the use of CS in different discourse domains indicates that there is a need to provide more insights into the use of CS in former Mandarin-dominant domains (i.e., education, politics, and mass media). (See Chapter 2 for the historical background and language development in Taiwan.) Previously, in the educational, political, and mass media domains, the use of Taiwanese was strictly forbidden or regulated. However, as Kuo's (2009) research shows, social, cultural, and political changes in Taiwan have had a great influence on the use of Taiwanese in these former Mandarin-dominant domains. That is, there is more and more frequent use of Taiwanese. However, the above studies on the use of CS in these three domains reveal four research problems. The first problem is that few scholars apply CS theories when explaining the use or the functions of CS. Among those cited here, only Tien's (2009), Wei's (2003, 2008), and Chiu's (2012) studies

applied Giles and Coupland's (1991) Accommodation Theory, Myers-Scotton and Bolonvai's (2001) Rational Choice Model, Bell's (1984) Audience Design, and Giles's (2009) Communicative Accommodation theory respectively. The second problem, closely related to the first, is that although Tien's (2009), Chiu's (2012), and Wei's (2003, 2008) studies applied theories to explaining their data, Tien's and Chiu's explanations were somewhat problematic, while Wei barely used the model she claimed to use. Although Su's (2009) study provided insightful information about the use of CS, the domain she focused on was the family. The third problem is that there seems to be no coherent theoretical background to CS studies in Taiwan. As indicated above, different scholars studying CS in different domains in Taiwan discuss their findings by adopting various CS theoretical stances. The fourth and last problem is that the interpretations of language choice in the above CS studies mainly rely on the researchers and are not response-oriented. That is, there is little information about receivers' (e.g., audiences in Chiu's studies) opinions on the language choice.

To address the first three research problems, this study attempts to expand Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) theoretical foundation, propose a modified theoretical approach, and use it to explain the data (The following section will provide a more detailed discussion of the theoretical approaches to CS). To address the fourth problem, this study attempts to advance the understanding of audience's responses to CS by recruiting Taiwanese people and conducting interviews with them about their reactions to and opinions on the behavior of language choice.

In addition to addressing the above four research problems, there is another research gap in the use of Taiwanese in former Mandarin-dominant domains. There seems to be a particular need for more exploration of the use of Taiwanese in Mandarin-dominant spoken media discourse. Tien's (2009) study focused on educational settings. Liao (2000) and Wei (2003, 2008) explored the political domain; the former discussed the use of Taiwanese by Mandarin speakers while the latter provided detailed descriptions of a native Taiwanese-speaker's strategic use of Mandarin in his Taiwanese

discourse. In the mass media domain, Shih and Su (1993) also focused on native Taiwanese-speakers' switch to Mandarin in Taiwanese-dominant spoken media discourse. However, little is known about the use of Taiwanese in Mandarin-dominant spoken media discourse, and the exploration of this area might be especially interesting since it provides insights into the purposes of using Taiwanese when speakers are fluent in Mandarin. As shown in Liao's (2000) and Wei's (2003, 2008) studies, changing the direction of a switch might produce somewhat different CS intentions in the same domain. Although Chiu's (2012) study provides some insights on CS in spoken media discourse, her data from TV commercials might be highly scripted and might not reflect spontaneous conversations. Also, her study might not be able to provide a complete picture of the use of Taiwanese in spoken media discourse since only five examples were collected from two female performers respectively.

1.2.2 Theoretical Explanations of CS

1.2.2.1 Bell's Audience Design

Bell (1984) proposes "audience design" (p. 159) as a method of analysis and argues that a speaker might accommodate to his/her audience or non-present audience by changing language styles, particularly in public discourse such as mass media communication. He indicates that the design of the speaker's language style is influenced by audiences that can be subcategorized as "addressee," "auditor," "overhearer," and "eavesdroppers" (p. 159). The audience closest to the speaker is an addressee, while the most remote audience is an eavesdropper; the influence of an audience on the speaker's language style relies on the degree of distance the audience has from the speaker. Additionally, the speaker's language style might be influenced by someone who is not present, and such influence is called "referee design" (Bell, 1984, p. 186).

In addition to adjusting language styles towards the attributes of an audience or a non-present audience, the speaker might also change the language styles based on the ideal attributes of an

audience according to social norms or stereotypes. For example, an idealized attribute of a speaker in a higher social class might be speaking Mandarin rather than Taiwanese (as discussed in Chiu's 2012 study), while the fact might be that the real attribute of this speaker is associated with Taiwanese, rather than Mandarin.

This current study acknowledges the influence of different types of audiences (e.g., audiences and non-present audiences) on a speaker's language style since television media communication needs to take ratings into account. This study is therefore aligned with Bell's position in a way that the reason for a speaker to choose a certain language variety might be related to the language attributes of the target audience. That is, association plays an important role in CS because the association between salient linguistic attributes and different types of audiences could trigger the speaker's production of certain language styles or varieties. Although Bell's study and this current study share the viewpoint of the importance of association in CS, this study argues that the association might not be limited to that between salient linguistic attributes and different types of audiences (i.e., associations occur at the individual level). As shown in Chapter 3, the association can occur at the community and the activity levels, and not only Taiwanese but also a Taiwanese utterance might have associations with something at these three levels. The important role association plays in CS will be further discussed in Section 1.2.3.3 where the associative model of CS of this study is proposed as well as in Chapters 3 and 4 where the associative model of CS of this study is applied.

In addition to Bell's study, in the following section, three major prominent scholars' theoretical explanations will be discussed. Current research on CS seems to focus on two major areas. One is structural and explores features of the grammatical structures of CS and grammatical constraints on CS. The other is functional and focuses on social and discourse sequential motivations; this study

focuses on the functional area. In this section, three major scholars in the functional area (i.e.,

Gumperz, (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982); Auer, 1984, 1995, 1998; Myers-Scotton, 1993a)

will be discussed.

1.2.2.2 Gumperz's Theoretical Notions

Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) influential study of CS identified two

types: situational and metaphorical. Gumperz (1982) indicates that CS is usually the situational type

in diglossic situations in which different codes are used in specific settings which are related to

different types of activities[2] or with different categories of speakers. That is, the relationship between

language use and social situations is one-to-one, and norms of code choices are comparably stable.

Since a code is regularly used in certain situations, it is associated with these settings and can be

employed to signal them. The speakers in this study could switch between Mandarin and Taiwanese

in different situations or with different interlocutors (i.e., the CS cases in this study did not occur in

diglossic situations), and thus this type of CS will be excluded from discussion in the rest of this study.

Metaphorical CS is the main focus of Gumperz's later work on CS. Based on his previous

research (Blom & Gumperz, 1972), Gumperz (1982) considers metaphorical CS as a signaling

mechanism which is not triggered by a change in topic or situation. The information revealed by

metaphorical CS is connotative, and the connotations realize only the effect an utterance is intended

to have on listeners by a speaker in conversations. Metaphorical CS can produce conversational

connotations because the switched code is associated with certain social meanings. The social

meanings are created because of the presence of the regular use of a code in certain social contexts.

The contexts in which the code is regularly used then become part of the code's social meanings; thus,

when the code is used in a context where it is not normally used, it provides connotations associated

with those contexts. That is, the switched code could provide a tone or feeling associated with those

contexts when it is used in a different context. Gumperz indicates that the interpretation of

connotative information that metaphorical CS reveals is situated, and the inferential processes include

the consideration of shift directions and are strongly influenced by speakers' background knowledge, contextual and social presuppositions, etc…. He further groups the codes as "we code" and "they code" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66), ones that produce conversational implicatures. The former is considered "the ethnically specific, minority language" (p. 66) and associated with in-group practice and relationships, while the latter is "the majority language" (p. 66) and associated with out-group practice and relationships. Although Gumperz divided codes into "we code" and "they code," that does not predict how they are used in conversations. That is, the conversational implicatures of "we code" and "they code" are symbolic. Symbolically, Taiwanese is a "we code," while Mandarin is a "they code" in Taiwanese society because the former tends to be regarded as the "local language only used in limited area" (Su, 2005, p. 198), while the latter tends to be regarded as displaying "no strong regional reference" (p. 198).

In his later work, Gumperz includes CS as one of the verbal contextualization cues used to associate specific discourse exchanges with "socio-culturally familiar activities" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 162) based on "knowledge acquired through past experience" (Gumperz, 1992, p. 230). The term, 'activities,' in Gumperz's notion is different from that adopted in the associative model of CS proposed in this study; the former refers to social and cultural activities while the latter refers to activities developed locally in an ongoing conversation.

1.2.2.3 Auer's Theoretical Notions

The concept of Gumperz's contextualization cues was adopted by Auer (1984); however, these two researchers interpret CS from different perspectives. Gumperz interprets instances of CS by relying on the social meanings attached to the code, while Auer (1984) focuses on the internal structure of conversations and deemphasizes the importance of associated social meanings. Using the conversation-analytical approach, Auer (1984) identified two pairs related to language alternation and

proposed that these two pairs are the procedure used by participants to interpret language alternation

developed in a local context. Auer emphasized that the major premise of the two pairs is that the local

meaning of CS is derived from the surface structure and sequential development of interaction (Auer,

1995). Auer (1984) identified the first pair as transfer vs. code-switching (the term 'insertion'

replaced his original term 'transfer' in Auer (1998); 'insertion' hereafter refers to transfer); insertions

are related to a structural unit; once this unit is completed, speakers return to the abandoned language.

For example, a speaker might switch to Taiwanese to quote an earlier conversation; after the quoting

is finished, it is expected that the speaker will return to Mandarin. On the other hand, code-switching

refers to a language switch at a point during interaction to accomplish certain tasks (e.g., marking a

new topic), and it is not predictable when the abandoned language will be resumed. Auer's second

pair is discourse- vs. participant-related alternation; the former is used to organize a conversation, and

speakers use code alternation to contextualize these discourse activities. The latter is related to

discovering participants' language repertoires and to reaching an agreement on the language

appropriate for a specific conversation to accommodate participants' language competences and

preferences.

1.2.2.4 Myers-Scotton's Theoretical Notions

Unlike Auer's CS studies, which mainly rely on the surface level and the sequential

development of conversations, Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Markedness Model explains the social

motivation for code choices from a more socio-psychological point of view. Myers-Scotton indicates

that it is a universal feature of language use that all code choices can be interpreted on the basis of

their markedness and that competent speakers are able to recognize the markedness of a code.

However, the ability, including the actual interpretation of the markedness of a code, is developed by

speakers' social experiences in interaction in a specific community. That is, community norms help

speakers determine a code as more unmarked or more marked. An 'unmarked' code is an expected medium in a specific conversation based on the norms of the community regarding the salience of specific situational factors available (e.g. the speaker and addressee, the topic, the setting). A marked choice is at the other end of a continuum; it is unusual and not identified with the social factors surrounding. Although community norms determine the interpretation of code choices, it is speakers themselves that make code choices after a cognitive calculation of the costs and rewards of choosing one code over another.

Based on the above premises, the Markedness Model proposed the "negotiation principle" (p. 113) and four pre-established maxims in interpreting CS instances. The "negotiation principle" is the underlying principle of the model, indicating that speakers actively evaluate the perceptions of themselves and their relations with participants and use CS to negotiate or index the set of rights and obligations (the RO set) they attempt to implement in a conversation. The RO set refers to "the attitudes and expectations of participants towards one another" (p. 85) and is determined by "salient situational features (e.g. statuses of the participants, topic, setting) and relevant cultural values" (p. 7). The reason that a code can be used to negotiate or index an RO set is that when certain types of interpersonal relationship are involved in exchanges in a specific community, a specific code is usually employed. Because of this regular association, each code is closely linked with certain types of relationships and, as a result, each code can be used to index an RO set.

Following the negotiation principle, instances of CS and their motivations can be classified as follows: (1) CS is a sequential unmarked choice when there are changes in situational factors (e.g., topic change) during interaction, and speakers attempt to index the new unmarked RO set attached to the situation; (2) CS is an unmarked choice when speakers want to signal simultaneously the memberships associated with the unmarked codes; (3) CS is a marked choice when speakers attempt to negotiate and establish a new RO set against the current unmarked one for the purpose of increasing or decreasing the expected social distance between participants; more generally, speakers

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make the marked choice because they want to differentiate themselves from the expected RO set; (4) CS is an exploratory choice when speakers are uncertain about the unmarked RO set between participants.

1.2.2.5 The Possibility of the Inadequacy of the Three Theoretical Explanations

Although the three major studies developed from different theoretical and methodological perspectives, they are fundamental research perspectives in the functional area of CS. Since they share basic values but offer slightly different perspectives, perhaps CS research should incorporate all of them since a combination might provide a more comprehensive explanation. For example, Gumperz's metaphorical CS mainly focuses on the connotations a switched language might produce. Myers-Scotton's negotiation notion mainly focuses on speakers' attempt to negotiate their personae and interpersonal relationship, while Auer's procedural notion mainly focuses on, for example, whether or not a CS case is a cue for discourse organization or for participant attributes. However, even if the three major approaches are applied, they do not seem to account for many CS cases. For example, if a switched code is associated with certain social attributes, it might not be used for connotative purposes and for negotiating interpersonal relationship. Also, the switched code might not be a cue for conversation organization and for speakers' preferences and competences. As shown in Section 1.2.1, previous CS studies in Taiwan have needed to adopt theoretical statements of various scholars other than these three to explain their CS data. That is, it is possible that CS requires further examination and explanations than those provided by these three. In the next section, an expansion of Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) theoretical foundation will be discussed, and the associative model of CS of this study will be proposed.

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1.2.3 Theoretical Framework

Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's CS notions are different in many ways. In this section, these differences will be discussed. Then, the theoretical foundation shared between them will be presented, and an expansion of that foundation will be proposed.

1.2.3.1 Differences between Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's Notions

In terms of the theoretical perspectives, Gumperz (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) explains code choices in their sociocultural contexts and as part of an ongoing interaction in a conversation. The interpretation of code choices is mainly based on the speaker's background knowledge and social, cultural, and contextual presuppositions. On the other hand, Myers-Scotton (1993a) discusses the social motivations for code selection from the socio-psychological point of view. Although the interpretation of code choices (i.e., markedness) is mainly based on community norms, it is a speaker's active choice to switch to another code. Also, in her 2001's article (Myers-Scotton & Bolonvai, 2001), Myers-Scotton focuses more on cognitive calculation when speakers do CS.

In terms of the communicative effects produced by CS, Gumperz indicates that speakers switch codes to negotiate the intentional message conveyed by one code choice over another. That is, speakers switch codes to convey connotative information of their utterances. On the other hand, Myers-Scotton argues that what speakers negotiate through CS is their personae and interpersonal relationship with others as well as the RO sets they wish to be implemented in a conversation.

1.2.3.2 The Theoretical Foundation Shared by Gumperz and Myers-Scotton

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Although Gumperz and Myers-Scotton differ in theoretical perspectives and what speakers attempt to negotiate by CS, both share the theoretical foundation that codes are associated with certain social factors as a result of the regular use of a code in certain social contexts or social exchanges. They also characterize this type of association at the community level because most people in a community share similar perception of the social or cultural attributes associated with a code. Speakers can then use this type of association to produce certain communicative effects. For example, Gumperz (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) indicates that the association of codes with social meanings allows speaker's switch to a particular code to convey intentional messages. Myers-Scotton mentions that each code in a specific community is linked with certain types of relationships since they are usually used in specific exchanges involving such types; thus, the communicative effect produced by a speaker's switch to a specific code is to negotiate the RO set they want to implement.

1.2.3.3 Theoretical Framework of This Study: The Associative Model of CS, An Expansion of Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's Theoretical Foundation

The above discussion indicates that both Gumperz (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) and Myers-Scotton (1993a) share the theoretical foundation that there is an association between a code and certain social meanings at the community level and that such an association helps speakers produce certain communicative effects. However, both scholars seem to focus more on particular types of communicative effects (i.e., conveying metaphorical information in Gumperz's study and indexing RO set between participants in Myers-Scotton's study). Nevertheless, as many studies (e.g., He, 2013; Su, 2009; Tien, 2009; Wei, 2003, 2008) have indicated, speakers are creative users of CS. Although listing all the communicative effects CS produces might not be realistic since CS serves multiple functions, they are not limited to the types Gumperz and Myers-Scotton identified. Even

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when Auer's (1984) two pairs used to reach the interpretation of language alternation are considered, there are other possible explanations of communicative effects that are not covered. Perhaps the research focus should not be on the communicative effects speakers attempt to convey by using CS; instead, this study argues that we might need to re-emphasize the importance of that part of Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's theoretical foundation which they assume but do not seem to focus on: the role association plays in CS. By focusing on the notion of associations, we might be able to explain speakers' creative uses of CS to produce certain communicative effects in different contexts.

Expanding Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's theoretical foundation, this study presents the associative model of CS as follows. Figure 1.1 summarizes the associative model of CS.

(1) Speakers have code systems in their cognition. In speakers' cognition, *a switched code* (i.e., Taiwanese) or *a switched utterance* (i.e., a Taiwanese utterance) has an *association* with something (the 'something' will be further elaborated in the following point), and the association Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has is more salient and stronger than or might not be shared with the dominant code (i.e., Mandarin). Thus, in a Mandarin-dominant conversation, the reason for fluent speakers of Mandarin to switch to a less dominant code (i.e., Taiwanese) might be that the association is stronger with Taiwanese/a Taiwanese utterance or is dominated by Taiwanese/a Taiwanese utterance; hence, speakers switch to Taiwanese in order to achieve some communicative effects (issues related to communicative effects will be further elaborated in point (3) below).

(2) The 'something' associated with Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance occurs at three levels (i.e., community level, activity level, and individual level). At each level, there are two types of switching (i.e., code switching and utterance switching).

   (a) Two types of switching

      i. Code switching: speakers switch to Taiwanese because the associations it has help them achieve certain communicative effects.

      ii. Utterance switching: speakers switch to a Taiwanese utterance because the associations it has

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help them achieve certain communicative effects.

(b) Associations at three levels

i. Community level: certain associations Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has are at the community level because these perceptions of Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance are shared among people in a community. The forms of a community vary. A community can be a large one that includes most Chinese people or people in the Taiwanese society. The community can be a small one that includes a family, a talk show, or a group of people sharing similar experiences.

In terms of code switching, following Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) notions, Taiwanese is associated with certain *social meanings*, *social attributes*, and *social activities* as a result of the presence of the regular use of a code in certain social contexts or social exchanges and according to community norms.

In terms of utterance switching, a Taiwanese utterance, rather than the code itself, may be associated with certain *social contexts*, certain *social activities*, or *contextual meanings* as a result of the presence or accumulation of the use of the switched utterances in certain social contexts or social exchanges, or the switched utterance may be associated with certain *rhetorical devices*. The definition of *rhetorical devices* used in this dissertation is based on the notion of xiū cí in Chinese. *Rhetorical devices* refer to the use of unique expressions to make what a speaker intends to convey more precise, descriptive, effective, and/or vivid. *Rhetorical devices* discussed in this dissertation include metaphors, meticulous descriptions, and onomatopoeia, among others. Also, such switched utterances are different from borrowed forms and are dependent on a speaker's language backgrounds, social experiences, etc. On the other hand, the use of a borrowed form has entered a speaker's mental inventory of words in the dominant language and is highly predictable.

ii. Activity level: certain associations Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has are at the activity level because such associations are formed by the way Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance

is used in the local development of the interaction itself.

In terms of code switching, in the frame of an activity locally developed in a conversation, a code a speaker uses might be temporarily associated with *the activity* as a result of the presence of the code in the conversation where the frame of the activity was established. That is, a speaker's connection of the code with its associated activity temporarily relies on the current activity in the conversation, rather than on community norms.

In terms of utterance switching, a Taiwanese utterance, rather than the code itself, may be associated with certain *social contexts*, certain *social activities*, *contextual meanings*, or certain *rhetorical devices* by the way it is used in the local development of the interaction.

iii. Individual level: certain associations Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has are at the individual level because such associations are formed as a result of hearer's and/or speaker's perceptions of individuals and cultural objects, or hearer's and/or speaker's personal use of the Taiwanese utterance.

In terms of code switching, Taiwanese tends to be more identified with *individuals/cultural objects*. Similar to Bell's analysis (1984), from this point of view, a speaker might establish the association between salient linguistic attributes and an individual in his/her cognition. However, this study expands the association from audiences to individuals (e.g., a speaker him/herself) and cultural objects from the level of phonology to even genres (e.g., songs). This study argues that code systems are associated with individuals on the basis of language variety that they most often use in the hearers' experience or are associated with cultural objects, which are also most often expressed in a language variety in hearers' experience. As a result, the code is identified with the individuals/cultural objects.

In terms of utterance switching, a Taiwanese utterance, rather than the code itself, may be associated with certain *social contexts*, certain *social activities*, *contextual meanings*, or certain *rhetorical devices* as a result of hearer's and/or speaker's personal use of the Taiwanese

utterance.

The above discussion shows that there are two types of switching: code switching (2.a.i) and utterance switching (2.a.ii). For both types of switching, speakers might establish the associations between Taiwanese and something or between a Taiwanese utterance and something at three levels (i.e., community level (2.b.i), activity level (2.b.ii), and individual level (2.b.iii)). Note that it is possible that the associations Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has might occur at the three levels simultaneously. For example, Taiwanese might be associated with an individual at the individual level (e.g., a singer from the south) while at the same time, it is associated with the social attribute of the South. In one setting, the association might be more 'individual-oriented' when certain communicative effects were achieved (e.g., imitating the singer) while in another setting, the association might be more 'community-oriented' when certain communicative effects were achieved (e.g., identifying the singer's identity as a southerner). In this dissertation, the dominant interpretation will be used in analyzing and discussing associations at the three levels. That is, the analysis and discussion will mainly focus on one of the three levels of associations, which is more dominant than the others in a certain CS case. Also, as indicated in (1), these types of associations that Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has are more salient and stronger than or might not be shared with the dominant code (i.e., Mandarin), and these different types of association might motivate speakers to switch to Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance to achieve certain communicative effects, which will be discussed in (3) below.

(3) In terms of the communicative effects, this study argues that we should not narrow our focus on one or two communicative effects produced by CS as Gumperz and Myers-Scotton do. Instead of focusing on the specific types of communicative effects speakers attempt to convey, this study argues that we

should re-emphasize the important role association plays. Figures 1.2 and 1.3 show the emphasis in Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's studies and in this study respectively. Although the focus in all of these is on CS phenomena, the top boxes in the two figures show the main emphasis of Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's studies as well as that of this study, respectively. The reason for re-emphasizing the importance of association in CS studies is that, as shown in Figures 1.2 and 1.3, the origin of the arrows that lead to the communicative effects is the association a switched code or a switched utterance has. That is, this study argues that the concept of association is the basis for creative and variable communicative effects, and thus, this study adopts Schutz's notions of "in-order-to and because motives" (1970, p. 45) when discussing communicative effects. "In-order-to" motive means that people act *in order to* make a situation happen. For example, *in order to* use Taiwanese to create a sense of solidarity, a speaker must switch to Taiwanese. "Because" motive refers to the motivation relevant to making a situation happen. For example, the association between Taiwanese and the social attribute of vernacularity is a *because* motive since the association is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create a sense of solidarity. To put the two notions together, Schutz states that "*whereas the in-order-to relevances motivationally emanate from the already established paramount project, the because relevances deal with the motivation of the establishment of the paramount project itself*" (1970, p. 50). The "established paramount project" in this study refers to the use of Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance for certain communicative effects. *In order to* achieve the communicative effects by using Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance, a speaker must switch to Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance (i.e., *in-order-to* motive of the speaker's acting). The "motivation of the establishment of the paramount project" is related to the association Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has (i.e., *because* motive). The reason for choosing Schutz's notions of "in-order-to" and "because" motives was that his notions suggest that a *because* motive (i.e., the association Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has in this dissertation) is the basis for establishing a paramount project (i.e., using Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance to create communicative effects in this dissertation).

Overall, this study argues that there are two types of switching (discussed in 2.a), and for each type of switching, there exist associations at three levels (discussed in 2.b). In a speaker's cognition, such associations are stronger than or are not shared with Mandarin (discussed in (1)). The association between Taiwanese and something or between a Taiwanese utterance and something is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance to create certain communicative effects (*because* motive), which in turn becomes motivationally relevant for speakers to switch to Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance in order to realize the communicative effects (*in-order-to* motive) (discussed in (3)). These three major arguments will be used in Chapter 3 to help explain CS instances collected from the TV talk show and presented in previous CS studies in Taiwan and will be examined in Chapter 4 where interviewees' opinions on those CS instances from the TV talk show will be discussed.

A fluent Mandarin speaker switches to Taiwanese/a Taiwanese utterance

because of the associations it has at the

community level	activity level	individual level
Code switching: Taiwanese is associated with certain social meanings, social attributes, and social activities.	Code switching: Taiwanese is temporarily associated with an activity developed locally in an ongoing conversation.	Code switching: Taiwanese is associated with individuals or cultural objects.
Utterance switching: A Taiwanese utterance is associated with certain social contexts, social activities, contextual meanings, or rhetorical devices.	Utterance switching: A Taiwanese utterance is associated with certain social contexts, social activities, contextual meanings, or rhetorical devices.	Utterance switching: A Taiwanese utterance is associated with certain social contexts, social activities, contextual meanings, or rhetorical devices.

The association is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance to create certain communicative effects, which in turn are realized by switching to Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance.

Figure 1.1: Summary of the associative model of CS proposed in this study.

Exploring certain communicative effects produced by CS.

There exist associations between a switched code and social meanings, etc.
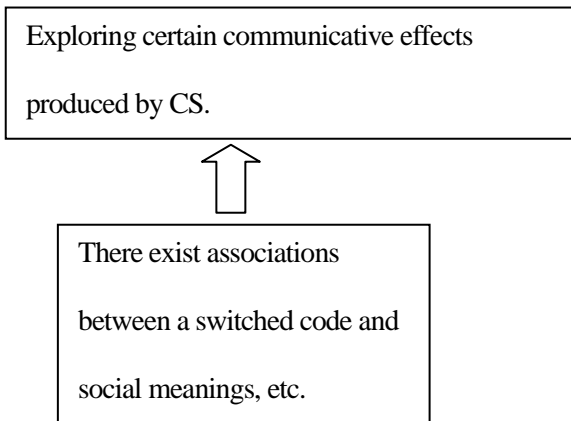
Figure 1.2: Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's CS research emphasis.

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┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│ There exist associations between a switched │
│                                       │
│ code and social meanings, etc. or between a │
│                                       │
│ switched utterance and social contexts, etc. │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                    ⇩
        ┌───────────────────────────┐
        │ Exploring creative and     │
        │                            │
        │ numerous communicative     │
        │                            │
        │ effects produced by CS.    │
        └───────────────────────────┘
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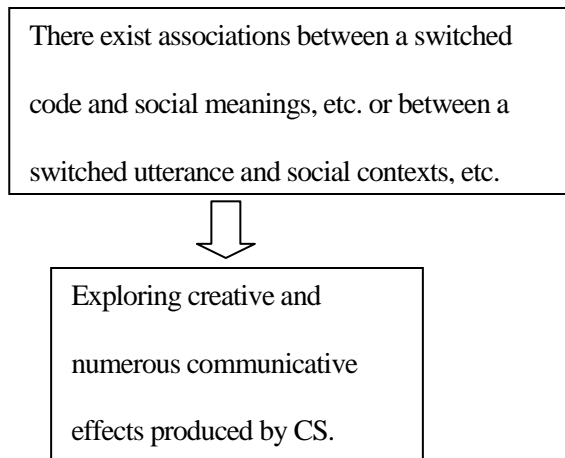
Figure 1.3: The CS research emphasis this study proposes.

Although this study expands Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's theoretical foundation, it also clearly retains some of their assumptions: (1) CS might occur consciously or subconsciously (as argued by both Gumperz and Myers-Scotton), (2) the association between a switched code and something or between a switched utterance and something is symbolic. That is, such an association might not always be salient whenever the switched code or the switched utterance is used in a conversation (as argued by Gumperz and implied by Myers-Scotton), and (3) it is speaker's choice to do CS to create certain communicative effects (as argued by Myers-Scotton).

1.3 Methodology

This study adopts three methodologies (i.e., discourse analysis, grounding, and interviews) to analyze the data and examine the associative model of CS. In Chapter 3, a detailed description of discourse analysis at the macro- and micro-levels will be discussed. Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982), Auer's (1984), and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) theoretical explanations will be used in explaining the data and compared with the expanded theoretical framework of this study. In

Chapter 4, a detailed description of the interview analyses will be presented, and interviewees'

opinions about CS in the talk show will be discussed and compared with the findings in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHIC, HISTORICAL, AND LANGUAGE USE BACKGROUNDS OF THE

RESEARCH SITE

This chapter introduces the geographic, historical, and language use backgrounds of Taiwan

(Section 2.1 to Section 2.4) and the talk show studied (Section 2.5). A brief overview of the

historical background of Taiwan is critical in order to understand the language development and

language uses of Taiwanese since they are closely interwoven.

2.1 Geographic Background of Taiwan

Taiwan is separated from the coast of southeastern Mainland China by the Taiwan Strait and

has an approximate population of 23 million people. The territory of Taiwan includes Taiwan

proper and other smaller offshore islands. Among these smaller islands, there are three major

ones: Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu. The total area of Taiwan is approximately 36,000 square

kilometers (14,400 square miles), and the coastline is about 1, 566 kilometers (973 miles). The

island of Taiwan proper is about 400 kilometers (248 miles) long and about 145 kilometers (90

miles) wide at its widest. The capital city of Taiwan is Taipei, in northern Taiwan (Ministry of

Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan), 2013). Figure 2.1 shows the map of Taiwan.

Figure 2.1: Map of Taiwan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan), 2013)

2.2 Brief Historical Background and Language Development in Taiwan before 1945

The original settlers of Taiwan were Austronesian people, who are now generally called aborigines and speak Austronesian languages. The permanent Chinese settlement in Taiwan, however, did not begun until the Dutch East India Company attempted to develop agricultural and business transactions in today's Tainan, located in the south of Taiwan, in 1624. Gradually, because of the increasing labor demands, the Dutch East India Company recruited a substantial number of people from China. In addition, under Dutch control, more and more people from Fujian and Guangdong provinces in the south chose to settle in Taiwan. By 1662, the Chinese population reached approximately 40,000 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan), 2013; Morris, 2004; Su, 2005).

In 1661, the Dutch were defeated by the Ming Dynasty commander-in-chief and loyalist, Zheng Cheng-gong, who attempted to conquer the Qing dynasty; under the rule of the Zheng family, Taiwan was officially governed by a Chinese administration for the first time (Yu & Kwan, 2008). In addition to the political system, the regime also introduced the Chinese-style educational system, culture, economy, and agriculture, and the Chinese population increased to an estimated number of 200,000, which mainly settled in the southwestern areas (Morris, 2004; Su, 2005).

In 1683, the administration of the Zheng family was completely defeated by the Qing Dynasty, and Taiwan was then under the rule of the Qing Dynasty from 1683 to1895. According to Shepherd (1993), before the late 1700s, the main goal of governing Taiwan for the Qing was to maintain peace by employing several measures, such as encouraging Taiwan residents to achieve higher social status through the imperial examination system and exempting farmers from land taxes during droughts (as cited in Morris, 2004, p. 11). However, starting in the late 1700s, Taiwan was largely neglected by the Qing government for nearly a century. In the 1840s, the

Qing faced pressure from foreign powers demanding the opening of China's market, followed by colonialist interests in Taiwan. In the 1870s, the Qing reasserted its commitment to Taiwan, and in 1885, the political status of Taiwan was promoted from an area under the administration of the Fujian Province to a province with its own local government. However, in 1895, Taiwan became a Japanese colony after the Qing Dynasty lost it to Japan in the Sino-Japanese War (Huang, 2000; Morris, 2004).

During the Chinese empire (1661-1895), Chinese migration to Taiwan mainly came from the Fujian and Guangdong provinces in the south (Heylen, 2005; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan), 2013; Yu & Kwan, 2008). Most of these migrants spoke Southern Min (i.e., Taiwanese), which was "the language of everyday use" (Heylen, 2005, p. 498).

From 1895 to1945, Taiwan became a Japanese colony. During the Japanese domination, immigration from China was prohibited (Gold, 1986; Huang, 2000). Over the five decades of Japanese rule, the Japanese language was promoted and gradually solidified as the official language and the medium of schooling, while local languages such as Southern Min and Hakka were gradually downgraded and completely banned in public places in 1937 (Chen, 2006; Heylen, 2005; Lioa, 2010). On the other hand, the Japanese government also transformed Taiwan into a modernized society (Huang, 2000; Morris, 2004). After Japan was defeated in World War II in 1945, Taiwan returned to the Republic of China (ROC) according to the Cairo Declaration (Yu & Kwan, 2008).

Table 2.1 provides a summary of the language use during different administrations in Taiwan before 1945 with the majority language listed first in the "Language Use" column.

Years	Administrations	Language Use
1624-1661	Dutch East India Company	Austronesian languages, Southern Min, Hakka.
1661-1683	The regime of the Zheng family	Austronesian languages, Southern Min, Hakka.
1683-1895	The Qing Dynasty	Southern Min, Hakka, Austronesian languages.
1895-1945	Japan	Japanese, Southern Min, Hakka, Austronesian languages.

Table 2.1: Summary of the language use during different administrations in Taiwan before 1945.

2.3 Brief Historical Background and Language Development in Taiwan from 1945 to 1987

The joy of returning to its motherland did not last long because the Taiwanese people soon realized that they were considered slaves of the former Japanese colony by the ROC government, which was dominated by the Kuomintang party (KMT). In addition, the ROC government and Taiwanese people did not speak the same language. The former's national language was Mandarin, while the latter group spoke Japanese and/or the Taiwanese languages brought earlier from China (e.g., Southern Min and Hakka). The ROC government mainly focused on two main goals. The first was to remove Japanese culture, customs, and language, and the second was to exploit any resources in Taiwan to support the government's military forces on the mainland in the civil war against the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Naturally, a feeling of resentment emerged among the Taiwanese people and led to a large-scale revolt beginning on February 28,

1947. The uprising was cruelly suppressed by the military forces of the ROC, and the estimated casualties ranged from 6,300 (based on the government report) to 20,000 (based on the opposition report) (Huang, 2000; Morris, 2004; Su, 2005).

Although the ROC government treated Taiwan as a former Japanese colony and executed thousands of Taiwanese beginning on February 28, 1947, the government was forced to retreat to Taiwan in 1949 after it was overcome by the CCP on the mainland. Following the withdrawal of the ROC government, Taiwan was dominated by Chinese Mainlanders as a military base for their hopes of the recapturing the mainland (Yu & Kwan, 2008). At that time, the population of Taiwan could be categorized into four distinct social groups: "Southern Min people (70% of the population)… Hakka (15% of the population)… the Taiwanese aborigines (2% of the population)… the Mainlanders (12% of the population)" (Liao, 2010, p. 7). According to Huang (1994), almost half of the Mainlander population resided in Taipei, and 32% of the Mainlander population scattered in other cities such as Kaohsiung (14%), Taoyuan (10%), and Taichung (8%) (as cited in Liao, 2010, p. 9). On the other hand, the Southern Min population was located on the west coast (Liao, 2010).

In the first four decades (1949-1987), the ROC government officially imposed martial law in Taiwan. The KMT was the only legal political party and enforced its strict Mandarin Language Policy to indoctrinate a "national identification among its linguistically diverse and heterogeneous population" (Heylen, 2005, p. 507). Mandarin was the official language and the only communication medium in the governmental, instructional, media, and other public domains, while the use of local languages, such as Taiwanese, Hakka, and aboriginal languages, was rigorously forbidden in any public and official domains (Chen, 2006; Cheng, 1994; Huang, 2000; Liao, 2010; Sandel, Chao, & Liang, 2006). Although Mainlanders spoke different regional languages, they were more willing to learn Mandarin, compared to speakers in other social groups (Liao, 2010). Also, during this period, Mandarin dominated most of the prime-time programs in

the mass media (e.g., radio and television), which included few Taiwanese programs; although the folk arts (e.g., local operas and songs) were preserved in the original language form and remained popular, the entertainments produced in Mandarin enjoyed even more extensive popularity (Lee, 1981).

2.4 Brief Historical Background and Language Development in Taiwan after 1987

In 1986 and 1987, there were significant changes in the political situation of Taiwan. In 1986, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), the opposition party to the KMT, was established; in 1987, President Chiang Ching-kuo, the son and successor of Chiang Kai-shek, lifted martial law and rescinded the strict language policy (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan), 2013; Liao, 2010; Su, 2005). The use and status of prohibited local languages was promoted by the succeeding President, Lee Teng-hui, and the DPP (Sandel, Chao, & Liang, 2006); since then, the socio-political status of local languages, particularly Taiwanese (Tse, 2000), has been elevated, and local languages have begun to enter public domains such as political, educational, and mass media (Wei, 2003, 2008). In the political domain, for example, politicians who are Mandarin speakers might insert some Taiwanese phrases in their public speeches (Liao, 2000), while those who are Taiwanese speakers use Taiwanese to indicate their identity as local Taiwanese and their pro-independence stance (Liao, 2010). In instructional domains, the policy of teaching local languages was implemented in the primary school curriculum in 2001, and Taiwanese was the most popular local language taught (Sandel, Chao, & Liang, 2006). The KMT government released control of public mass media (e.g., radio, television, and newspapers) in 1993, and the use of languages other than Mandarin was no longer regulated by censorship or hourly limitations (Shih & Su, 1993). Gradually, there have been more and more "popular Taiwanese programs, songs, and catch phrases constantly repeated in the media" (Wei, 2003, p.

144), and there is a wider population inserting Taiwanese into Mandarin-dominant media discourse (Chiu, 2012; Huang, 2009; Kuo, 2009).

However, in spite of the government's efforts to promote the local languages, there is no significant change in people's perceptions of local languages in Taiwan. Although the social value and socio-political status of Taiwanese has been greatly elevated and its prestige has increased, Mandarin remains the more prestigious language in most social contexts (Liao, 2010; Su, 2005). In addition, compared to other foreign languages such as English and Japanese, learning Taiwanese is considered to be less vital (Liao, 2010; Su, 2005). Also, most younger generation Taiwanese, particularly in urban areas, are losing their mother tongue and mainly speak Mandarin, which seems to have become their mother tongue (Sandel, Chao, & Liang, 2006).

Although people's perceptions of local languages, particularly Taiwanese, have not significantly changed, their use of local languages has changed dramatically. In the first few years of this more modern period (i.e., after 1987), Taiwanese was perhaps most often used in a political manner; that is, it was used as a symbol of Taiwanese ethnicity, localism, pro-independence, and democratization. However, Taiwanese gradually lost such political saliency and has become "more communicatively and pragmatically oriented and less emotionally triggered" (Tse, 2000, p. 161). One of the apparent changes in such language regard occurs in domains where Mandarin used to be the dominant language (Wei, 2003, 2008). These domains include educational, political, and mass media domains, in which speakers might use Taiwanese as the only language or CS between Mandarin and Taiwanese. The current study focuses on this complex sociocultural and sociolinguistic setting in Taiwan and investigates one domain that had been Mandarin dominant: spoken mass media. Specifically, this study focuses on the use of Taiwanese in the Mandarin-dominant spoken media discourse setting of the talk show.

2.5 The Context of the Study: A TV Talk Show

2.5.1 A Brief Introduction of the TV Talk Show, the Host, and Guests

There are different types of variety shows in Taiwan, including talk shows, talent shows, and food TV shows, among others. This study selected a TV talk show (SS Xiao-yan's Night) for data collection. The talk show was produced in the urban area of Taiwan (i.e., Taipei) and was broadcast Monday through Friday nationwide. Similar to many other talk shows, this talk show usually included sound effects, on-screen visual effects, and entertaining effects. Each episode lasted 45 minutes after the exclusion of commercial advertisements. Also, like most talk shows in Taiwan, the host of the show (Zhang, Xiao-yan) was female. She was a prominent figure in the entertainment industry in Taiwan and was well-respected. Because of that and perhaps because she had been in the industry for nearly six decades when this study was conducted (the host entered the entertainment industry when she was six years old), the guests were willing to share their thoughts, feelings, or stories on the show because they trusted her. The guests were from different fields, including playwrights, entertainers, and politicians, among others.

The host's first language was Mandarin, and she was considered a Mainlander because she was born in Shanghai, China, and her parents were from Mainland China. When the guests spoke Taiwanese, she sometimes asked for the translation. Although the host's Taiwanese proficiency seemed to be low, she nevertheless switched to Taiwanese in certain situations. On the other hand, the guests, who mainly used Mandarin on the show, had different levels of Taiwanese proficiency. Some spoke Taiwanese fluently, and Taiwanese was their mother tongue, while others could only use Taiwanese words or phrases. Because of the host's low Taiwanese proficiency, the interviews were mainly conducted in Mandarin (i.e., the unmarked code choice) in this specific setting. Although both the host and guests occasionally switched to English, that is not the focus here but could be in a future study.

2.5.2 The Reason for Choosing the TV Talk Show

This study uses a qualitative discourse analysis approach by choosing a TV talk show

produced in the urban area of Taiwan (i.e., Taipei) as the data source. Since the main focus of this

study is on switching to Taiwanese in Mandarin-dominant spoken media discourse, selecting this

talk show, which was popular and available online, allowed the researcher to collect and

download the data through the Internet. In addition, due to the audio-visual documentation, the

researcher could retrieve complete data easily and observe participants' nonverbal gestures, if

necessary. The host was a very experienced interviewer; she interviewed guests by chatting and

gossiping with them. In other words, the interview produced spontaneous conversations in which

the emergence of CS was authentic and revealed speakers' intuitive uses of CS in this specific

setting. (A more detailed description of how the talk show was conducted is presented in Section

2.5.4.) On the other hand, although another TV talk show in Taiwan (i.e., kāng xī lái le) was also

popular and available online, one of the two hosts was famous for her bizarre and funny speech

style, which in turn was more artificial and non-authentic.

2.5.3 The Layout of the Talk Show

Figure 2.2 shows the physical setting of this talk show. There were sofas for the host and

guests. Also, there was a big screen behind the guests' sofa and a small live band that provided

background music and sound effects.
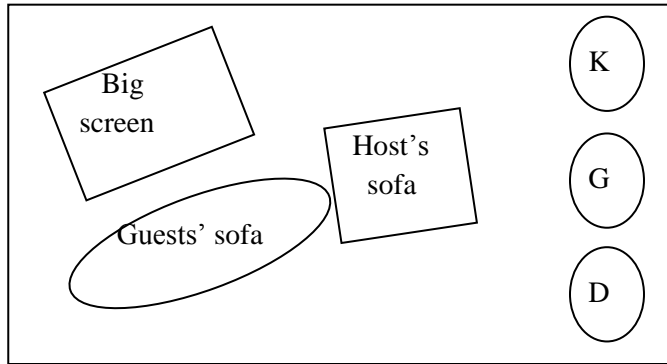
Figure 2.2: The layout of the talk show. K= Keyboard player. G= Guitarist. D= Drummer.

2.5.4 The Procedure of the Talk Show

The talk show always started with the host's brief account of recent news or other information about the guest(s) of the day. Prior to this opening, a video clip showing the guests' achievements, family members, or other relevant information might be played. After the host's introduction and/or the video clip, the host invited the guest(s) to enter the room for the interview. Sometimes the guest(s) already sat in the room during the host's introduction. In order to understand the interview process better, the researcher emailed the TV program for detailed information. According to the reply, the topic, outline, and interview questions of each interview were pre-planned. The host's main purpose was to get to know the guest(s) better by discussing the topics and asking the interview questions that were relevant to the background of the guest(s). Although the format of each interview was pre-planned, and some information about guests might be summarized on cue cards sitting behind a television camera, the conversational style was very natural. The host, who was a very experienced interviewer, presented questions by chatting with the guest(s), who would then answer, sometimes extending their responses to other topics. Based on the guest(s)'s answers, the host extended the conversations further in those directions.

The natural and spontaneous nature of the interview conversations is illustrated in the following. In one episode, the topic of international marriages was discussed, and the host interviewed a couple. The husband was a foreigner, and the wife was a Taiwanese actress. The host asked the husband if he felt that his wife was not ordinary since she was very busy and dealt with very complicated issues. The host's initial plan was to ask the husband if his wife still talked to him after she had a long and busy day; however, before the host could ask this question, the husband directed the conversation to an unplanned topic: before they were married, his wife's house was messy. The wife started to describe the first time her husband entered her apartment and how he made fun of her home and even characterized it as a place that had been ransacked. This conversation went on almost eight minutes until the host directed the guests' attention back to her initial question. This example illustrates that these conversations were natural and locally managed, rather than pre-determined, and were suitable as the object of analysis for this study.

2.5.5 The Audience of the Talk Show

There was no audience attending the show. "Audience" here refers to people watching the show on TV. The host once mentioned that the audience of the show was mainly females. However, since the range of the topics was very broad (e.g., discussing how a couple met and introducing pub culture), and the guests were from different generations and backgrounds, the backgrounds of the TV audiences might probably have been quite varied in fact.

CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF ASSOCIATION IN MANDARIN-TAIWANESE CS IN A TV TALK SHOW

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the CS cases collected from the TV talk show will be analyzed and discussed. The main purpose of this chapter is to present the use of the associative model of CS and discuss the efficiency of the associative model of CS in comparison with other scholars' theoretical notions. Topics discussed in this chapter include how the data were collected (3.2) and analyzed (3.3). In 3.4, the main findings of CS cases, the use of the associative model of CS, and the application of Gumperz's, Auer's, and Myers-Scotton's notions will be presented. In 3.5, the discussion of the use of the associative model of CS in analyzing the CS cases will be presented. Also, the associative model of CS will be applied to CS examples in previous CS studies in Taiwan in comparison with the other frameworks used in those studies (e.g., Goffman, 1981; Giles & Coupland, 1991), and the efficiency of the associative model of CS will be discussed. Finally, a conclusion of this chapter will be given in 3.6.

3.2 Data Collection

Following Myers-Scotton's (1993a) definition of CS given in Chapter 1, fifty CS cases were collected from the TV show programs which were broadcast between October, 2010 and January, 2011 and from 18 speakers in 17 episodes.

Recall that borrowed forms were excluded from the data. Following Myers-Scotton's (1993b) broad definition (i.e., borrowed forms are part of the mental inventory of words in the dominant language with high frequency and predictability), seven borrowed forms were identified in this study: *pata* (ballads), *puahpue* (a tool made out of wood or plastic and used to communicate with Gods in Taiwan), *akong* (grandfather), *ama* (grandmother), *tshaitshia* (traditional food markets), *tshaipoo nng* (traditional Taiwanese food: dried radish eggs), and *bahuan* (traditional Taiwanese food: Taiwanese meatballs). These borrowed forms were identified in the online Mandarin dictionary provided by the Ministry of Education (1994) or were used with high frequency and predictability, appearing in the data more than three times. For example, the two honorific terms, *akong* (grandfather or male elders) and *ama* (grandmother or female elders), are highly frequent, particularly to elders whose first language is Taiwanese. Local Taiwanese food names, such as *bahuan* (Taiwanese meatballs), are usually uttered in Taiwanese and are highly predictable. In addition, Taiwanese poems or songs were excluded to make sure that the instances collected contained the most natural and spontaneous CS examples.

Although this study adopted Myers-Scotton's notions of borrowing, it did not distinguish the borrowed forms between "cultural B forms" and "core B forms" (1993b, p. 169). Myers-Scotton mentions that "cultural B forms represent objects or concepts new to the ML culture" (1993b, p. 169), and they "come from more distinctly foreign countries" (p. 169). Although the first borrowed form mentioned above, *pata* (ballads), could be considered a cultural borrowed form because it was a new concept to the Taiwanese society, the rest of the borrowed forms, which

were not new concepts or ideas in Taiwan, might not meet the definition of core borrowed forms

Myers-Scotton defines. Myers-Scotton indicates that "the hypothesis is that, before they were B

forms, these core lexemes from the EL [Embedded Language] were CS forms" (1993b, p. 174).

That is, core borrowed forms start out as CS forms with low frequency and a lack of predictability,

and then when the frequency of occurrences increases gradually, they become borrowed forms.

However, the rest of the borrowed forms in this study were not CS forms in the initial stage

because they did not seem to go through the process of low frequency and a lack of predictability.

That is, these borrowed forms had been uttered in Taiwanese when the ideas or concepts they

encoded were mentioned. This situation might be related to the fact that the length of time

Taiwanese existed in Taiwanese was longer than Mandarin. These borrowed forms might have

been used in Taiwanese when the concepts or ideas related to them were created. However, this

assumption might need further research to establish its credibility. Also, Myers-Scotton mentions

that "core B forms are borrowed because certain types of contact situation promote desires to

identify with the EL culture, or at least with aspects of it" (1993b, p. 172). However, these

borrowed forms were used habitually, and speakers did not seem to use them to associate with the

Taiwanese culture. That is, these borrowed forms simply had become part of speakers' mental

inventory of words in the dominant language (i.e., Mandarin).

Overall, this study adopted Myers-Scotton's broad definition of borrowed forms (i.e., part of

the mental inventory of words in the dominant language and high frequency and predictability).

Seven Taiwanese phrases were identified as borrowed forms and were not counted in the 50 CS

cases.

3.3 The Micro- and Macro-analysis of the Mandarin-Taiwanese CS Data

After the data were collected, the researcher first transcribed the CS cases in Mandarin and

Taiwanese Romanized scripts following the conventions of Conversation Analysis. Transcription

symbols are presented in Appendix A, and grammatical glosses are presented in Appendix B. The turn constructional unit was characterized by the predictability of its ending a turn, and the allocation of the next turn to another speaker was used as the analysis unit (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974).

After the transcription was completed, the researcher analyzed the transcribed data. The findings of the discourse analysis were used as a basis for examining the associative model of CS and the three scholars' theoretical notions (i.e., Gumperz, Auer, and Myers-Scotton). The reason for using the findings of the discourse analysis as a base was that they could provide a more objective view of CS without being influenced by a specific theoretical perspective. When the discourse analysis was conducted, in line with many CS studies (e.g., He, 2013; Su, 2009), both macro- and micro-factors related to CS instances were considered. In terms of micro-analysis, this study examined the sequential development of CS utterances with attention to the locations of the CS utterances in the turn-by-turn organization of interaction: adjacency pairs, repairs, repetitions, preference organizations, speakers' participation frameworks, etc.

In terms of macro-analysis, this study took social factors into account: socio-cultural backgrounds and conventions, linguistic knowledge of Taiwanese, settings and situations of the exchange, participant roles, social identities of participants, their social relationships, their language repertoires, communicative goals, speech events, topics, personal attributes, etc. With regard to socio-cultural backgrounds and conventions, the researcher took into account, but did not limit herself to, Brown and Levinson's (1987) "positive face" and "negative face" (p. 62), Gu's (1990) notions of Chinese politeness (i.e., "respectfulness," "modesty," "attitudinal warmth," "refinement," "sincerity," and "balance" (p. 239)), Gao's (1998) orientation to others (e.g., social roles, positions, and relationships, and collectivistic cultures), and Fan's (2000) Chinese culture values (e.g., "harmony with others," "face — protecting, giving, gaining, and losing," and "hierarchical relationships by status" (p. 9)). Although these aspects were not

exhaustively applied in the analysis of CS cases, they were believed to be appropriate to the data studied and were referred to from time to time to supplement the researcher's native knowledge. With regard to linguistic knowledge of Taiwanese, the online Taiwanese dictionary administered by the Ministry of Education (2011) in Taiwan and local Taiwanese speakers were consulted. The background knowledge about contexts, interactive relations, and communicative goals was additionally based on a careful examination of the talk show episodes and an online search for information about the speakers. Due to the nature of the data sources (i.e., a talk show and most speakers were in the entertainment industry), an online search for information was considered to be appropriate, and the researcher used the online information with great caution. Furthermore, the researcher's experience of watching the numerous episodes was also considered. In addition to the social factors, this study also adopted Su's (2005) insightful clarification of the social meanings of Mandarin and Taiwanese (See Figures 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 for details).

Overall, based on the micro- and macro-analysis, the researcher then adopted Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's theoretical stances to explain the data. If, in any case, these two scholar's explanations could not accurately or effectively characterize the data, the researcher would examine the data further, explore what their explanations might have missed, and expand their theoretical explanations. The findings will be discussed in the following section (Section 3.4).

	direct indexical relations	constitutive, indirect indexical relations
	Education & institutional settings	Educatedness, Formality, Culturedness, Sophisticatedness
M	Urban areas	Development & progression
	Taipei—political, cultural center	Trendiness, Cosmopolitanism, Hybrid culture, Personality: cold & shrewd

	National language (the only legitimate language for an extended period of time)	The standard variety; neutral variety, A language imposed upon Taiwanese
	Lingua franca in transnational Chinese Communities	Transnational Chinese-ness
	National language of China	Chinese-ness as opposed to Taiwanese-ness

Figure 3.1: The indexical processes of meaning-making of Mandarin (Su, 2005, p. 195).

	direct indexical relations	constitutive, indirect indexical relations
	Family & private settings	Congeniality, Ingroup solidarity
T	Rural areas	Backwardness, Sincerity
	South - larger southern Min population	Authentic representation of Han culture
	Han settlers' mother tongue	Straightforward & bold, Authentic Taiwanese-ness

Figure 3.2: Indexical processes of meaning-making of Taiwanese (Su, 2005, p. 196).

	Mandarin		Taiwanese
direct indexical relations	North (Taipei)		South
constitutive, indirect	Cold		Warm

indexical relations	Shrewd		Straightforward
	Efficient		Slow-paced
	Qizhi—refined		Unconstrained
	Cosmopolitan	←——————→	Local
	No strong regional reference		Local language only used in limited area
	Colonizing power		Birthplace of settlers' culture
	Hybrid		Original
	Etc.		Etc.

Figure 3.3: The interactions and oppositional constructions between two indexical processes (Su, 2005, p. 198).

3.4 Findings

The main purpose of this chapter is to examine the associative model of CS (see Figure 3.4 for a review) proposed in this study and discussed in Section 1.2.3.3. Section 3.4.1 will discuss the associations Taiwanese has at the community, activity, and individual levels, which are motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create certain communicative effects. Section 3.4.2 will discuss the associations Taiwanese utterances have at the community and activity levels and how the associations are motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese utterances to create certain communicative effects. In both sections, the associative model of CS will be used to explain the CS instances in the talk show data, and then Gumperz's, Auer's, and Myers-Scotton's theoretical explanations will be discussed.

In this study, 18 speakers overall provided examples of CS, and in this section, 12 speakers and 20 examples of their CS will be presented. Except for the host, one male speaker contributed to three CS examples (Examples 8, 11, and 14), one female speaker contributed to two examples (Examples 2 and 4), and the rest of the speakers contributed to one CS example respectively. Although the host contributed six CS examples (Examples 6, 10, 15, 16, 17, and 20), the examples were derived from five different episodes (i.e., with different speakers, topics, and settings, etc.).

A fluent Mandarin speaker switches to Taiwanese/a Taiwanese utterance

because of the associations it has at the

community level	activity level	individual level
Code switching: Taiwanese is associated with certain social meanings, social attributes, and social activities.	Code switching: Taiwanese is temporarily associated with an activity developed locally in an ongoing conversation.	Code switching: Taiwanese is associated with individuals or cultural objects.
Utterance switching: A Taiwanese utterance is associated with certain social contexts, social activities, contextual meanings, or rhetorical devices.	Utterance switching: A Taiwanese utterance is associated with certain social contexts, social activities, contextual meanings, or rhetorical devices.	Utterance switching: A Taiwanese utterance is associated with certain social contexts, social activities, contextual meanings, or rhetorical devices.

The association is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance to create certain communicative effects, which in turn are realized by switching to Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance.
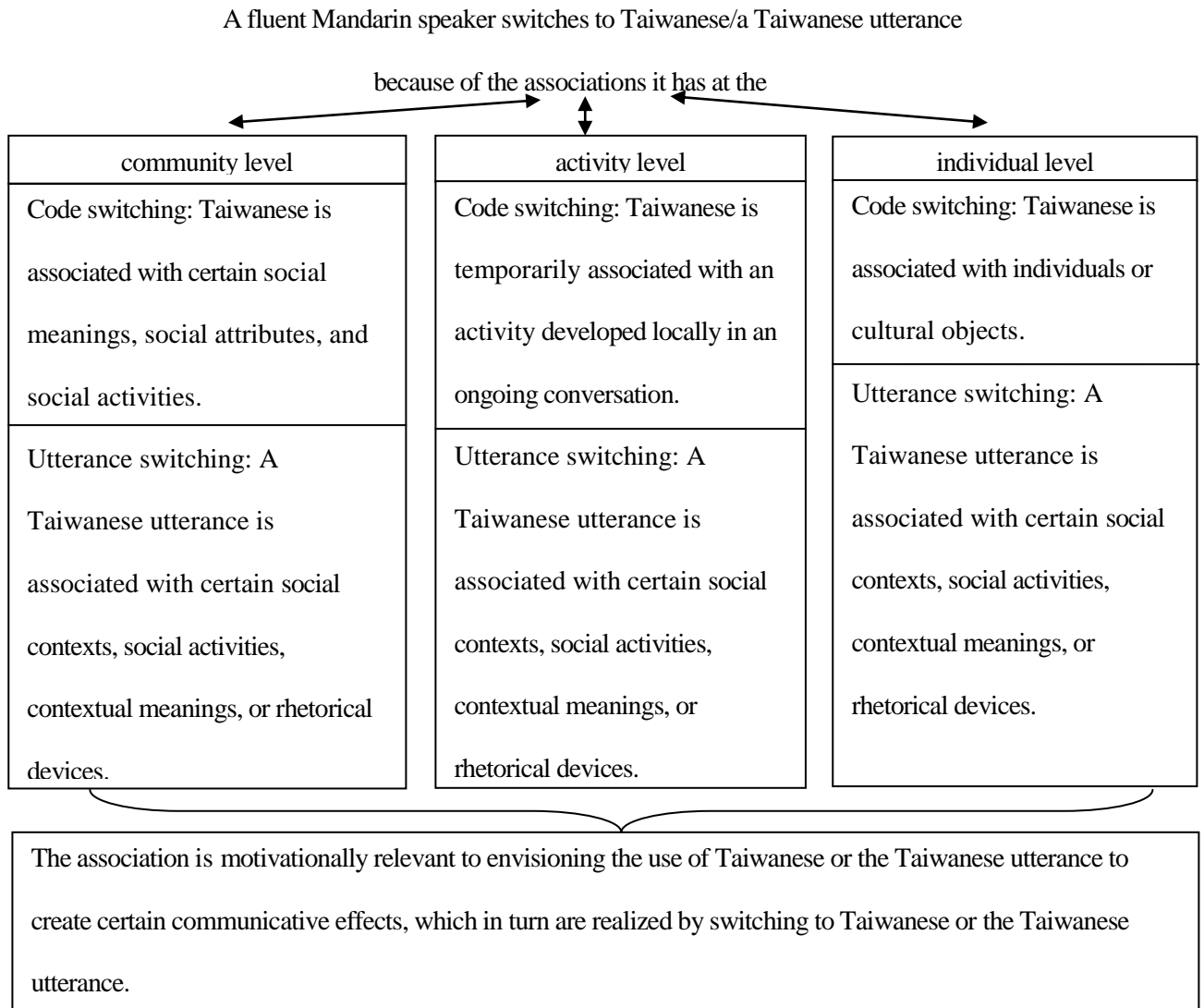
Figure 3.4: Summary of the associative model of CS proposed in this study.

3.4.1 The Associations between Taiwanese and Something (Code switching)

3.4.1.1 Community-Level Association

At the community level, following Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) notions, Taiwanese is associated with certain *social meanings*, *social attributes*, and *social activities* as a result of the presence of the regular use of a code in certain social contexts or social exchanges and according to community norms, and these perceptions of Taiwanese are shared among people in a community. The forms of a community vary. A community can be a large one that includes most Chinese people or people in the Taiwanese society. The community can be a small one that includes a family, a talk show, or a group of people sharing similar experiences. The existence of the association Taiwanese has is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create certain communicative effects.

Although Su's (2005) social meanings of Mandarin and Taiwanese were used when data analysis was conducted, the social meanings or social attributes presented in this chapter were the terms used by interviewees in Chapter 4 since they represented a more contemporary view of Mandarin and Taiwanese in Taiwan.

In this study, 23 out of 50 CS instances were categorized as community-level associations. The social attributes associated with Taiwanese at the community level and used in these 23 cases included vernacularity, the family language, boldness, being vulgar, the South, and localness, among others. These social attributes did not seem to be shared with Mandarin since Mandarin had opposite social attributes as shown in Figures 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3.

Among the 23 CS instances, 14 of them could be explained fully by Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and/or Auer's notions; in the following section, Examples 1-4 will provide such CS cases. In these examples, the most relevant viewpoints of Gumperz and Myers-Scotton will be discussed, and the associative model of CS will be applied. For the other nine CS cases, however, the three scholars'

notions were problematic; Examples 5-7 will provide such CS cases. In these examples, the three

scholars' notions will be discussed, and the associative model of CS will also be applied.

In each example shown below, a transcript will first be presented, followed by the background

information and description of the transcript. Then, the analysis of the transcript will be presented, and

the associative model of CS will be used. After the viewpoint of the associative model of CS is provided,

the three scholars' viewpoints will be discussed.

In the following examples, H = host, A = guest A, B = guest B, C = guest C, and D = guest

D. Taiwanese is presented in italics. Transcription symbols are presented in Appendix A, and

grammatical glosses are presented in Appendix B.

Example 1: Taiwanese and the social attributes of being vulgar and vernacularity

1. H: nǐ [rènwéi nǐ] de nánxìng péngyǒu dāngzhōng, =

    you [think you] POS male friend among, =

    Do you think your male friends, =

2. B: [wǒ xiǎng dāngrán],

       [I think of course],

       [I think, of course],

3. B: = dāngrán,

     = of course,

     = Of course,

4. H: pītuǐ huì [chéng] xìng [[ma]]?

    do the splits can [become] nature [[Q]]?

Will make cheating on someone a habit?

5. B: [dāngrán] [[wǒ]] wéi- wǒ xiǎng dà bùfèn nán rén zài jīngshén shàng DŌU huì pītuǐ de hòu.

    [of course] [[I]] for- I think big part man people at emotion on BOTH can do the splits.

    [Of course] [[I]] think most men will ALL cheat on someone emotionally.

    ((B nods his head obviously.))

    (0.3)

6. B: nà [zài] shītǐ shàng dāngrán,

    that [at] physical on of course,

    Then, of course, in terms of physical behavior,

7. H: [wō].

    [ok].

    [Ok].

8. B: yǒu yīxiē rén huì xuǎnzé qù zuò nà yǒu yīxiē rén kěnéng:,

    have some people can choose to do that have some people maybe:,

    Some people will choose to do it, but some probably:,

→ 9. B: jiùzài xiǎng xiǎng le zhīhòu jiùzài nà biān *UÀ Nthàn* wō.

    is think think PFV after is that side *RESENT and sigh*.

    Just think about it, but afterwards they *RESENT and sigh mournfully*.

10. B: .hh shì měi gè rén bù yīyàngde ā.

    .hh is every CL person not same.

.hh it is different from individual to individual.

There were four guests attending the show; all of them were writers focusing on the issues of gender and relationships. A and B were male, while C and D were female. Before this segment, H asked both A and B if they would cheat on someone. B in his early forties took the floor and answered the question jokingly that they definitely would not cheat on someone. B's answer made all guests and H laugh. In this transcript, H revised her question and asked if B's male friends would make cheating on someone a habit (lines 1, 4), which was overlapped by B's responses (lines 2, 3). When B answered H's question, he divided his answer into two arguments (emotional and physical cheating); he said that emotionally most men would "all" cheat on someone (line 5). When B said this utterance, he emphasized "all" by increasing his volume, along with an obvious nodding of his head. Then, B continued saying that with regard to physical behavior (line 6), some people might choose to do it (line 8), while some might just think about it, who would then resent and sigh mournfully afterwards (lines 8, 9). When B said the utterances in line 9, he also emphasized "resent" by increasing his volume and switched to Taiwanese to say, "*UÀ Nthàn*, RESENT and sigh mournfully" (line 9). Then, B concluded that it was different from individual to individual (line 10).

In this instance, CS occurred in line 9 when B switched to Taiwanese to say the phrase, "*UÀ Nthàn*." This Taiwanese phrase includes two verbs, and the closest translation into English is "resent (*uàn*) and sigh mournfully (*thàn*)."

B was in his early forties when he attended the show. Since B's parents were Mainlanders, and he was born in Taipei (i.e., the capital city of Taiwan) and attended a private elementary school (reputed to be of better educational quality than the public schools), B's main language was Mandarin. When B switched to Taiwanese, the topic, situation, or addressees did not change, and his addressees' main language was Mandarin as well. Thus, B's CS did not seem to be related to these factors (i.e., topic,

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situation, and addressees). On the other hand, when B switched to Taiwanese, he was answering H's question, and he divided his answer into two arguments. In his first argument (i.e., emotionally, most men would ALL cheat on someone), B's statement was rather strong because he said most men would "all" cheat on someone emotionally. B emphasized this even further by increasing his volume on "all" and obviously nodding his head. Such emphases presumably showed his firm belief. B also increased his volume on "resent" in his second argument (i.e., physically, some would choose to do it; some just thought about it, but would resent and sigh mournfully afterwards), which suggested that he also emphasized this; his switch to Taiwanese as "resent and sigh mournfully" was another tool that emphasized his personal opinion. However, since Taiwanese was not B's "we code" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66), he did not seem to reveal a personal feeling by switching to Taiwanese although symbolically Taiwanese is the "we code" in Taiwan. This inference can be justified by reference to B's first argument, which was also his personal opinion, indicated by his obvious nodding and increased volume, but was not uttered in Taiwanese.

The reason for considering B's switch to Taiwanese as an emphatic move in his second argument was that his use of Taiwanese seemed to mark the utterance with negative emotions (i.e., resentment and a mournful sigh), factors that helped him achieve the emphasis. That is, by switching to Taiwanese to utter "resent and sigh mournfully," B gave whining or resentment among men who chose not to cheat on someone afterwards a more negative tone. I suggested here that Taiwanese helped him produce this tone because of the association Taiwanese had with the social attributes of vernacularity and being vulgar. On the other hand, Mandarin was associated with such social attributes as sophistication, education (Su, 2005, p. 195), and refinement (p. 198). Compared with the social attributes associated with Mandarin, therefore, when B uttered "resent and sigh mournfully" implying negative emotions and emphasis (as shown in his increasing volume), Taiwanese was more appropriate than Mandarin. This explanation can also be justified in light of B's first argument. When B answered H's question, in his first argument, his emphasis on "all" indicated that most men would do emotional cheating. The reason why B did not

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switch to Taiwanese when he emphasized "all" in his first argument was that this statement did not include negative emotions and that the attributes associated with Mandarin mentioned above made it more appropriate than Taiwanese to convey the positive side of his argument. In other words, B's two arguments both reflected his personal thoughts and firm beliefs. The first argument reflected the positive side of his argument, and his use of Mandarin helped him emphasize this positive because the social attributes associated with Mandarin emphasized this. The second argument, on the other hand, reflected the negative side (i.e., the negative emotions: resentment and sigh mournfully) of his argument, and his switch to Taiwanese helped him emphasize this negative because of the negative social attributes associated with Taiwanese.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of code switching can explain this CS case: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of being vulgar and vernacularity, and such an association was commonly shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in B's belief structure; the association between Taiwanese and these social attributes was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to give B's second argument a more negative tone to help him achieve his emphasis, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

The above explanation was based on the associative model of CS this study proposed, and this explanation was aligned with Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) theoretical explanation. Based on Gumperz's notion of metaphorical CS, the information revealed by switching to Taiwanese was connotative. Compared to the Mandarin association with positive social meanings, Taiwanese could better provide B's utterance in line 9 with a negative tone.

In this example, we saw how the speaker used different social attributes associated with Mandarin and Taiwanese to emphasize two different ideas. Mandarin was used with a rather positive statement, while Taiwanese was used with a statement carrying negative emotions. Both the associative model of

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CS and Gumperz's notion could explain this CS case. In the next example, we will see how a speaker

used her family language (i.e., Taiwanese) to reveal her personal feeling.

Example 2: Taiwanese and the social attribute of "we code"

1. A: wǒ shì zhùzhòng nà fèn zhēn xīn nà zhǒng zhēnchéng gēn nà gè ài.

   I am value that CL true heart that CL sincerity and that CL love.

   I valued that true heart, sincerity, and love.

   (0.6)

2. A: nà zhǒng gǎnjiào.

   that CL feeling.

   That kind of feeling.

3. A: .hhh yǒu qián méi yǒu qián [duì wǒ lái jiǎng] dōu wú suǒwèi,

   .hhh have money not have money [to me come speak] both not matter,

   .hhh it didn't matter to me whether he had money or not,

4. H: [āi:::].

                                   [sigh:::].

                                   [Sigh:::].

   (0.7)

5. A: qíshí[[:]],

   actually[[:]],

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Actually[[:]],

6. B: [[wǒ]] rèntóng yē, =

            [[I]] agree RF, =

            [[I]] agree, =

7. A: = qíshí wǒ jiàodé shì. =

      = actually I feel is. =

      = Actually, I think. =

8. H: = (@ránhòu @) xiǎo tián tián shuō wǒ rèntong,

      = (@then@) Xiao tian tian said I agree,

      = (@Then@), Xiao Tian-tian said I agree,

9. A: @ (0.4) [@] @ (0.2) ((H has a wry smile.))

10. B: [duì ā],

             [right RC],

             [Right],

      (0.5)

11. B: zhēnde.

      true.

      That's true.

12. A: qíshí nǐ yào zhēnde zhǎodào yī gè zhēnde shì ài nǐ de rén,

      actually you need really find one CL really is love you NOM people,

Actually, you really need to find a person who really loves you,

13. A: wǒ jiàodé wǒ de lǎogōng (0.1) ràng wǒ.

   I feel I POS husband (0.1) let me.

   I felt that my husband let me.

   (0.1)

14. A: kàndào zhè yī diǎn érqiě tā shì zhèmede fùzérèn gēn zhèmede xiàoshùn.

    see this one point and he is so responsible and so filial.

    See this point and he was so responsible and filial.

   (0.2)

15. A: .hhhh suǒyǐ wǒ cái yuànyì jià gěi tā wǒ jiàodé liǎng gè yīqǐ nǔlì dǎpīn,

    .hhhh so I EMP willing marry to him I feel two CL together endeavor work,

    .hhhh so I was willing to marry him, I think two people make an endeavor together,

   (0.3)

16. A: zěnme XĪNkǔ dōu méi yǒu guānxì.

    how HArd all not have matter.

    It doesn't matter how HArd it is.

   (0.2)

→ 17. A: .hh nà wǒ rúguǒ jīntiān jià le yī gè yǒuqián rén tā yītiāndàowǎn wàimiàn yǒu nǚrén nà *guá*

       put TO,

    .hh then I if today marry one CL rich man he one day to night outside have women then *I*

not COLLAPSE,

.hh but if today I married a rich man, he cheated on me all the time, then *I would COLLAPSE,*

(0.7)

18. A: wǒ ((H claps her hands hard.)) shòubùle yē wǒ [shì zhè zhǒng] jīngshénshàng wǒ huì shòubù-
        wǒ huì bēngkuì de.

     I bear cannot RF I [am this CL] emotional I will be- I will fall apart.

     I ((H claps her hands hard.)) can't bear it, it [is this kind] of emotional thing I can't be-, I would

       fall apart.

19. H: [méi cuò].

                                                [not wrong].

                                                [That's right].

There were two female guests on the show. A, in her early forties, came to publicize her first album,

and B, who was in her late twenties and was one of A's best friends, accompanied her to help with this

publicity. Although A had been in the entertainment industry for many years, she respected H greatly.

Before this segment, H asked A why, since her boyfriend was in bad financial condition, she

nevertheless chose to marry him and raise her family, making for a hard life. In this transcript, when A

explained why she chose to marry her husband, she emphasized loyalty, sincerity, love, and feeling

(lines 1, 2) and said that she did not care whether her husband had money or not (line 3). H responded to

A with a long sigh, showing her disagreement with A for not taking financial conditions into account

(line 4). When A tried to explain (line 5), B interrupted and agreed with her (line 6). When A continued

to explain (line 7), she did not finish her utterance because H took the floor and repeated what B had said

(line 8). Then, A laughed while at the same time H had a wry smile (line 9). H's long sigh and wry smile at this point seemed to show her disagreement with both A and B. B still confirmed her agreement with A (line 10) and emphasized that emotional qualities were more important (line 11). After these interruptions, A finally had the chance to explain her thoughts to H. A looked at H and reiterated her point that love was important (line 12); she continued saying that her husband let her see his love and gave him a compliment on his responsibility and filial piety (lines 13, 14). A concluded that that was why she was willing to marry him and work so hard (line 15). When A said, "it doesn't matter how HARD it is," in line 16, she increased her volume on "hard" to emphasize that it did not matter. She then hypothesized that if she had married a rich man who cheated on her all the time, she would have collapsed (line 17); A switched to Taiwanese when she said, "I would COLLAPSE," and increased her volume on "collapse" to emphasize her point. After A said this, she paused for 0.7 seconds and looked at H. Then, she reiterated in Mandarin that she could not bear the emotion associated with cheating and that she would fall apart (line 18); H at the same time clapped her hands hard, showing her agreement, and then said, "that's right" (line 19).

CS occurred in line 17 when A said she would have collapsed if she had married a rich man who cheated on her all the time. The literal translation of this Taiwanese phrase into English is "I not collapse;" however, the meaning of this Taiwanese phrase is "I would collapse."

Although A was bilingual in Mandarin and Taiwanese, she was from Tainan, located in the south of Taiwan, and, like most people living in the south and her age, Taiwanese was her mother tongue and her family language; it was frequently used in her "family and private settings" (Su, 2005, p. 196). In this transcript, H expressed her disagreement with A's lack of consideration of the financial conditions of her significant other three times. The first occurred when H asked A why she did not take financial conditions into account when she married her husband, not shown in the transcript. The second and the third times occurred when H gave A a long sigh in line 4 after A's response to H's question and when H gave B a wry smile in line 9 after B's support for A's response (perhaps an indirect disagreement).

Although H provided three explicit disagreements, A continued to explain and reiterated her thoughts to H that what she cared about in her marriage was not material; instead, the most important things were emotional factors. To compare these two factors (i.e., material vs. emotional), A used several emphases in line 16 and line 17 respectively. The first occurred when she increased her volume on "hard" in line 16, indicating that working hard did not matter as long as she and her husband could make an endeavor together. This first emphasis (i.e., increasing her volume on "hard") might have been used to respond to H's question about financial conditions. The second emphasis occurred when she increased her volume on "collapse," indicating that if she had married a rich man who did not love her, she would have collapsed. Although this second emphasis might have been used to respond to H's doubt as well, the implication of A's switch to Taiwanese might have been more than making her negative emotion more negative (as suggested in Example 1) because her second emphasis seemed to outweigh her first one due to its greater personal or individual character.

The reason that A's second emphasis seemed to outweigh her first one personally was that the premise of the conversation appeared to be the idea that A valued emotional factors more than material ones. If we take H's and A's social statuses and A's overt respect to H (frequently shown by A's word choice and body gestures) into account, A's insistence on emotional factors with which H disagreed could be considered a face-threatening act (Brown & Levinson, 1987) since she refuted H's opinion in a public setting. In contrast, H's refutation of A was less likely to be a face-threatening act since H's social status was much higher. A's face-threatening act could also be justified when she responded to H's long sigh in line 5 where she used a discourse marker "actually" with a rather prolonged sound, indicating her hesitation perhaps because her following utterance would be a disapproval of H's sigh. However, even when A could have threatened H's positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987), A remained insistent on the greater importance of emotional factors. In other words, throughout the conversation, it was apparent that A treasured these more than anything else, which in turn indicated that any lack of these factors in A's marriage was her worst fear for a relationship. This inference can be

further justified by A's facial expressions when she discussed the two factors. (See Figures 3.5 and 3.6 for A's facial expressions when she made these two emphases.) When A mentioned that her husband's cheating on her would have caused her to collapse (line 17; Figure 3.6), her facial expression was one of despair and hopelessness, which did not appear when she mentioned that it did not matter if she had to work hard in line 16 (Figure 3.5). In addition, after A switched to Taiwanese, she paused for 0.7 seconds and looked at H perhaps because it was her emotional peak, and she was waiting for a supportive response from H who then clapped her hands hard to show her agreement and support. Furthermore, after A's pause, her reiteration that she could not bear and would fall apart also showed that cheating was her worst fear for a relationship. However, A did not reiterate her point after line 16. Judging from these observations, the personal involvement and personal feeling revealed in the second emphasis were much heavier and stronger than those in the first emphasis, which might have triggered A's switch to Taiwanese because it was her mother tongue.

As Gumperz (1982) mentions, "we code" is the language that is associated with "in-group and informal" (p. 66) relations, while "they code" is associated with "formal" and "less personal out-group relations" (p. 66). By switching to "we code," speakers imply what they say is "personalized" or "reflecting speaker involvement" (p. 83), while by switching to "they code," speakers imply more distance. In this CS case, Taiwanese was A's "we code," and Mandarin her "they code" because the former was her mother tongue and used frequently in her family setting (i.e., an in-group relation). A could have used Mandarin to emphasize that she would collapse by simply increasing her volume, or she could have repeated her point several times as she did in line 18. However, since Taiwanese was her "we code," her language shift from her "they code" (i.e., Mandarin) to her "we code" revealed her stronger personal feeling and a higher degree of personal involvement in the message.

Gumperz's (1982) notion of "we code" could be applied to the notion of the community-level association of code switching proposed in this study as well, since Taiwanese was frequently used in A's family setting, which is considered a small community in this study. Therefore, the notion of the

community-level association of code switching can also explain this CS case: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of "we code," and such an association was shared in A's family and existed in A's cognition; the association between Taiwanese and the social attribute was then motivationally relevant to envisioning A's use of Taiwanese to reveal her personal involvement in her idea about her worst fear in a relationship, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

In this example, we saw that by shifting to her mother tongue (i.e., her "we code"), what A revealed was her stronger personal feelings and the degree of personal involvement. Both Gumperz's notion and the associative model of CS could explain the CS case. In the next example, we will see how a speaker used his family language (i.e., Taiwanese) to provide listeners with an authentic conversation he had with his daughter.

Figure 3.5: A emphasized that it did not matter if she had to work hard if she and her husband could make an endeavor together.

Figure 3.6: A emphasized that she would collapse if she had married an unfaithful husband.

Example 3: Taiwanese and the social attributes of family language, family setting, and ingroup relation

1. H: nǐ nǔér hǎo hǎo xiào wō.

   you daughter good good laugh PRT.

   Your daughter is so funny.

2. A: eh.

   eh.

   Eh.

   (0.3)

3. C: chāo hǎo [xiào].

super good [laugh].

Super funny.

4. A: [shì],

           [is],

           [It's],

    (0.1)

5. A: wǒ bù zhīdào yīnwéi wǒ [jiàodé],

    I not know because I [feel],

    I don't know because I [think],

6. H: [kě tā] mǎshàng jiù bù kū lā,

                    [but she] immediately EMP not cry PRT,

                    [But she] stopped crying immediately,

    (0.1)

7. A: duì ā,

    Right PRT,

    That's right,

    (0.5)

8. A: yīxià jiù bù guāi kū kū liǎng shēng ránhòu wǒ shuō,

    soon just not good cry cry two CL then I say,

    When she got naughty and cried a little bit, then I said,

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((A pretends that he is pointing at his daughter.))

→ 9. A: *lí sī tio̍hkâu ooh* tā jiù wō hǎo le nà jiù.

you are lose mind Q she then PRT good PRT then.

Are you losing your mind? Then she was good. ((A lies on the chair to act out his daughter's role))

10. C: @ [@]

11. A: [ránhòu] jiù bù kū le.

[then] not cry.

[Then], she would stop crying.

Three male entertainers came to the show to discuss their children. Before this segment, a video clip was shown in which A, in his late twenties, and his ten-month-old daughter were in the hospital where his daughter was receiving a vaccination. Since A's daughter did not cry immediately after receiving the shot, H and the guests were discussing why. H said this was probably because A's daughter was so fat that she could not feel the pain immediately. Then, H changed her answer and said A's daughter might have felt the pain, but she did not know how to express it; thus, she did not cry immediately. Now, in this transcript, H concluded that A's daughter was so funny (line 1), agreed by C (line 3). A attempted to respond to H's utterance (lines 4, 5), but his utterance in line 5 was interrupted by H who said A's daughter stopped crying immediately even though she did cry (line 6). H's utterance was a question as suggested by her pitch raise on her last word, "lā, a sentence particle." That is, H was asking A why after receiving the vaccine shot, his daughter stopped crying immediately. A said that when his daughter was naughty and cried (lines 7, 8), he would say, "Are you losing your mind;" then, she would be good (line 9). When A said, "Are you losing your mind," he switched to Taiwanese and used various gestures, showing his movement (line 8) and his daughter's reaction (line 9). A's imitation

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and utterance made C laugh (line 10). Then, A said that after he said that Taiwanese phrase to his daughter when she cried, she would stop crying (line 11).

CS occurred in line 9 when A said, "Are you losing your mind." A might not have answered H's question correctly because H was asking why his daughter only cried a little bit and then immediately stopped crying after receiving the vaccine shot in the hospital. In A's answer, his Taiwanese utterance (i.e., "Are you losing your mind") did not seem to be what he said in the hospital. In the video clip played on the show, after A's daughter received the shot and started to cry, A did not say this Taiwanese utterance although he used Taiwanese slightly more than half of the time in the video. What A said perhaps was the utterance he said to his daughter in his daily life (e.g., at home) when she was naughty and cried. That is, the Taiwanese utterance was A's quotation of the conversation he had with his daughter in the previous context because before A said the Taiwanese utterance, he used "I said" (line 8) to indicate reported speech. When he said the Taiwanese utterance, he used the pronoun, "you" (line 9), indicating his addressee at that point was his daughter. Also, when A said this Taiwanese phrase, his body gestures (i.e., pretending to point at his daughter in line 8 and then lying on the chair to act out his daughter's role in line 9) indicated that he was recalling the conversation he had with his daughter. Then, A's switch to Taiwanese might be because it was the language he originally used with his daughter. This inference could be justified by the language A used in the video in which he used more Taiwanese (seven utterances) than Mandarin (six utterances) in a public setting (i.e., the hospital). Also, in this show, when A sang a nursery rhyme he adapted from a popular song to his daughter, it was a Taiwanese song. In addition, A once mentioned in a news report that he mostly spoke Taiwanese at home, including speaking to his daughter (NowNews, 2011, December 21). Judging from A's language use, if he used more Taiwanese than Mandarin in a public setting and sang a Taiwanese nursery rhyme to his daughter, then the news report in which he acknowledged that he used Taiwanese more frequently at home should be plausible. That is, Taiwanese was A's family language used in

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his "family setting" (Su, 2005, p. 196). Since A usually spoke Taiwanese to his daughter at home, when discussing how he treated his crying daughter, A thus switched to their home language to quote the authentic conversation he had with his daughter.

Myers-Scotton's (1993a) sequential unmarked CS could provide an explanation of this CS case. The situational factor that triggered CS was that A changed the setting from the talk show to the earlier conversation he had with his daughter at home, and the RO set changed from H vs. A to A vs. his daughter. Taiwanese was the unmarked code for the latter relationship since it was frequently used by A in their home involving the relationship between him and his daughter, and thus it was associated with the relationship between them. That is, A indexed the new unmarked RO set between him and his daughter by switching to Taiwanese.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of code switching can also explain this case. Since Taiwanese was frequently used in A's family setting, considered a small community in this study, it was associated with the social attributes of family setting, family language, and ingroup relation, and such an association was shared between him and his daughter and perhaps between him and his other family members and existed in A's cognition; the association between the social attributes and Taiwanese was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to signal that what he said in line 9 was between him and his daughter, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

In this example, we saw how A used his family language (i.e., Taiwanese) to signal a conversation between him and his daughter. Both Myers-Scotton's notion of sequential unmarked choice and the associative model of CS could explain the CS case. In the next example, we will see how a speaker used Taiwanese to suggest a gangster.

Example 4: Taiwanese and the social attributes of boldness, localness, and being vulgar

1. B: = nǐ kàn Zhōng xīn líng yě yào jiéhūn le.

   = you see Zhong xin ling too will marry.

   = You see, Xin-ling Zhong is going to get married too.

   (0.2)

2. H: duì,

   right:,

   That's right:,

3. H: [Wáng cǎi] huá lǎo zǎo jiù jià le. =

   [Wang cai] hua old early already marry PFV. =

   Cai-hua Wang got married very early. =

4. A: [gāngcái],

   [just],

   [Just],

5. B: = [[duì ā érqiě]] nǐ lǎogong yě bù cuò. =

   = [[right PRT and]] you husband too not bad. =

   = [[That's right, and]] you have a good husband. =

6. A: [[wǒ dōu wǒ dōu]],

   [[I both I both]],

   [[Even I, even I]],

7. A: = wǒ dōu jià dé chūqù le nǐ pà shénme,

   = I both marry out PFV you afraid what,

   = Even I got married, what are you worried about,

   (1.3) ((B's facial expression shows that she is thinking about something.))

8. A: xīn líng [yě],

   xin ling [too],

   Xin-ling [also],

9. B: [kěshì],

        [but],

        [But], ((B raises her left hand.))

   (0.3)

10. B: kěshì yǐqián nà gè niándài.

   but before that CL generation.

   But previously in that generation.

   (0.3)

11. B: yǎn (.) jiùshì tā méi yǒu [yàoqiú nà[[me gāo],

   eye (.) just is he not have [require [[that high],

   Bar (.) I mean he didn't have such a high bar, ((B raises her left hand and lifts her palm.))

12. A: [nǐ shì shuō wǒ [[lǎogong] yào qù kàn yǎnkē wō]]].

             [you is say I [[husband] need go see eye department Q]]].

[Did you mean my [[husband] needs to see an ophthalmologist?]]].

((A's tone changes dramatically from a soft one to an angry one.))

13. H: [[shénme] nǐ shuō nǐ shuō tā lǎo]]]gong,

[[what] you say you say she hus]]]band,

[[What], you mean you mean her hus]]]band,

((B looks at H.))

(0.3)

→ 14. A: *guá lâi tshú lí tsı̀tē.*

I come deal with for a moment.

Let me deal with this issue for a moment.

((A pulls B up from their couch; she speaks to H and points outside; A drags B and pretends they are leaving the room, but after two steps, A stops. H attempts to stand up and stop A and B from leaving the room, but she does not do so because A stopped.))

(0.4)

15. H&B: @ (1.3) ((B keeps shaking her hand, showing she did not mean that.))

16. A: jīngjì rén mà de duì lā.

agent person scold right PRT.

It is right that the agent scolded her.

((A points at B's agent outside the interview room; her voice becomes louder.))

17. A&B: @ (1.8) ((A pulls B back to their couch gently.))

18. A: zhème hǎode [jīnjì(@rén@)],

   such good [agent (@person@)],

   Such a good agent,

   ((A points at B's agent outside the interview room again; her voice remains louder.))

19. B: [@]

20. H, A&B: @ (1.0)

21. A: nǎlǐ zhǎo ā.

   where find PRT.

   Where to find. ((A's voice remains louder.))

This example occurred in the same episode with the same two female guests as Example 2. Before this segment, B mentioned that her agent, who was present but was not on the show, told her that based on her weight and appearance, no men would be attracted to her; thus, she needed to work hard and make money so that she could "buy" them in the future. Both A and H disagreed with what B's agent said and taught B how to pick a boyfriend. In this transcript, A encouraged B by giving her the example of Xin-ling Zhong, whose figure was similar to B's but who was going to get married soon (line 1). H agreed with A (line 2) and said that A also got married very early (line 3; Cai-hua Wang was A's stage name), which overlapped A's incomplete utterance (line 4). B agreed with H and said A had a good husband (line 5). Then, A agreed with H's example and said even she could get married; thus, B did not need to worry (lines 6, 7). When A attempted to continue her original example (i.e., Xin-ling Zhong in line 1) in line 8, B interrupted her and said that in A's generation, A's husband did not have a "high bar" (lines 9, 10, 11). At this point, A changed her tone from a soft and gentle one to an angry one and questioned

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whether B meant that her husband needed to see an ophthalmologist (line 12). A asked B this question because the translation of the English phrase, "have a high bar," into Mandarin was "high eye level," which meant that since A's husband married A because of his "low eye level," he needed to get his eyes checked. Even H was surprised by B's response to A's encouragement (line 13) since it was somewhat insulting to A. B at this point looked at H, wanting to clarify her meaning, but she did not have a chance because A pulled B up from their couch, spoke to H in Taiwanese that she needed to deal with this issue for a moment, and pointed outside; then, A dragged B and pretended they were leaving the room (line 14). However, A did not leave the room because after two steps, she stopped walking. Then, H and B laughed, and B kept shaking her hand indicating that she did not mean that (line 15). At this point, A pointed at B's agent outside the interview room and said that it was right that B's agent scolded B. When A said this, her tone did not sound angry, but her voice became louder (line 16). Then, A also laughed and pulled B back to their couch gently (line 17); however, at the same time, A kept pointing at B's agent and asked where B could find such a good agent; A's voice remained loud (lines 18, 21).

CS occurred in line 14 when A spoke to H in Taiwanese and said that she needed to deal with the issue she and B had for a moment. The issue A mentioned was B's response, which was perhaps somewhat insulting, in lines 10 and 11. In lines 10 and 11, when B said that in A's generation, her husband had not had a high bar, and that was the reason that she could get married, B might not have attempted to insult her. Instead, the message B attempted to convey might have been that people had a higher bar nowadays, and it was harder for her to get married, which in fact responded to A's utterance in line 7 (i.e., why are you worried about not being able to get married?). However, B's utterance was still harmful to A since she accidentally implied that A could marry her husband only because her husband had not had a high bar (i.e., standard). Conveying such implication in front of an audience in a public setting might have been considerably damaging to A's positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987); A might also have felt unhappy and uncomfortable, which could be surmised from her following three

reactions. First, immediately after B's response to her encouragement, A's tone changed from a soft, gentle one to an angry one when she questioned whether B meant her husband needed to see an ophthalmologist (line 12). Second, after the question, A pulled B up, pointed outside, dragged B, and pretended they would go outside to "deal with" this issue (line 14). Third, A's voice became loud when she agreed with what B's agent said about earning money to buy men (remember that at the beginning, A did not agree with what B's agent said) (lines16, 18, 21). Although B's agent was not on the show, he was present and could hear what A said without needing her to increase her volume.

Among these three reactions, A switched to Taiwanese in her second reaction when she spoke to H. Since H's Taiwanese proficiency was low, A did not switch to Taiwanese because of the change in her addressee. Instead, A's body gestures (i.e., pulling B up, pointing outside, dragging B, pretending to leave the room) and her utterance (i.e., "let me deal with this issue") suggested that she acted like a gangster or a hoodlum because she acted in a rude and violent manner (pulling B up and dragging her), and gangsters in Taiwan have the image of being rude and violent. Also, A's attempt to deal with B's insult outside the room (i.e., in private and secretly) was similar to that of gangsters' image because they usually tended to deal with things secretly. It was possible that A's body gestures were made to create certain entertaining effects since this was a variety show, and A also mentioned on the show that she usually tried hard to create entertaining effects; however, A's body gestures still showed that she was acting like a gangster no matter whether she did it for the entertaining effects or for being truly unhappy about B's response to her. If A's body gestures and utterance suggested that she was acting like a gangster, then the reason for her to switch to Taiwanese was that, compared with the positive and gentler social attributes Mandarin had, the rougher social attributes of Taiwanese were more consistent with the ganger image she attempted to create. On the other hand, the reason A did not switch to Taiwanese in her first and third reactions might have been that she did not intend to act like a gangster because she did not have explicit gangster-like body gestures and expressions. Also, although A's mother tongue was Taiwanese, her switch to Taiwanese in her second reaction might not have been related to her deeper

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personal involvement (as suggested in Example 2) because in her first reaction, A's dramatic change in her tone from a soft, gentle one to an angry one already showed her personal emotions; however, A did not switch to Taiwanese in her first reaction.

If we use the associative model of CS, a community-level association of code switching can explain this CS case: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of boldness, localness, and being vulgar, and such an association was commonly shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in A's cognition; the association between Taiwanese and the social attributes was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create the communicative effect of a gangster identity, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese. On the other hand, Mandarin did not carry such social attributes. A did not switch to Taiwanese in her first and third reactions because, judging from her body gestures and her utterances, she did not seem to attempt to display a gangster or a hoodlum. However, A was still unhappy about B's remarks; thus, her tone was angry in her first reaction, and her voice became louder in her third.

The above explanation was based on the associative model of CS, and Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) metaphorical CS could provide a similar explanation. The information revealed by Taiwanese was connotative. Since Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of being vulgar, localness, and boldness, A switched to Taiwanese to give a gangster tone to her utterance.

In this example, we saw that A switched to Taiwanese to give her utterance a gangster. Both the associative model of CS and Gumperz's notion could explain the CS case. Examples 1-4 have shown that both the associative model of CS and Gumperz's or Myers-Scotton's notion could explain the CS data. In the following examples (Examples 5-7), Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions were problematic. In these examples, the three scholars' notions will be discussed, and the associative model of CS will be applied. In Example 5, we will see that the association between

Taiwanese and the South was motivationally relevant for a speaker's switch to Taiwanese to demonstrate that his Taiwanese ability was indeed good.

Example 5: Taiwanese and the social attribute of the South

1. H: nà wǒ men de (0.3) Tàibǎo xiānshēng Zhāng jiā nián xiānshēng ne,

   that I PL POS (0.3) Taibao Mr. Zhang jia nian Mr. PRT,

   Then, our (0.3) Mr. Taibao, Mr. Jia-nian Zhang,

   ((H seems to read off cue cards sitting behind a television camera.))

2. H: shuō qǐlái (0.2) gēnběn zài Táiwān (0.2) yǒu tóngnián de (0.2) duì bù duì,

   speak come (0.2) basic in Taiwan (0.2) have childhood (0.2) right not right,

   In fact, he had a childhood in Taiwan, right,

3. B: yǒu,

   have,

   Yes,

   (0.3)

4. H: zài [gāoxióng].

   in [Kaoshiung].

   In [Kaohsiung].

5. B: [wǒ:] zài gāoxióng niànshū ma.

        [I:] in Kaohsiung study PRT.

[I:] went to school in Kaohsiung.

(0.2)

6. B: [[ā]],

   [[ah]],

   [[Ah]],

7. H: [[zài]] gāoxióng niàn[shū],

   [in]] Kaohsiung stu[dy],

   You went to school in Kaohsiung,

8. B: [ēn] zài gāoxióng niàn xiǎoxué niàn le liù nián (0.2) liù [[niánjí]],

   [yeah] in Kaohsiung study elementary school study PFV six year (0.2) six [[grade]],

   [Yeah], I studied at an elementary school for six years in Kaohsiung, sixth [[grade]],

9. H: [[nà nǐ]] táiyǔ yīdìng hěn lìhài lā,

                                            [[that you]] Taiwanese must very excellent PRT,

                                            [[Then, your]] Taiwanese must be very excellent,

→ 10. B: ā (.) *ē thong lah.*

    ah (.) *can communicate PRT.*

    Ah (.) *I can use Taiwanese to communicate.*

11. H: *ē thong mā* (0.1) [*mā ē*] *thong* ā [[duìbù duì]],

    can communicate (0.1) [*too can*] *communicate* ah [[right not right]],

    You can use Taiwanese to communicate (0.1), [*you also can*] *use Taiwanese*, [[right]],

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12. B: [ēn]   [[ē *thong*]],

                          [yeah]   [[*can communicate*]],

                          [Yeah]   [[*I can use Taiwanese to communicate*]],

                    ((B nods his head firmly.))

     (0.2)

13. H: wō qíshí (0.2) Wú mèng dá xiānshēng yě *thong* wō,

     oh actually (0.2)Wu meng da Mr. also *communicate* PRT,

     Oh actually (0.2) Mr. Meng-da Wu can also *use Taiwanese to communicate*,

     ((H points at A))

There were three male guests who came to the show to publicize their new TV drama. Both A and B were in their late fifties and were from Hong Kong, and C, in his late twenties, was Taiwanese. Before this segment, it was at the beginning of the show, H was introducing the three guests. Since A and B were actors from Hong Kong, H introduced them by using anything that could connect them with Taiwan. When introducing A, H spoke of a TV drama in Taiwan he participated in. In this transcript, H started to introduce B; H first called B by his stage name (i.e., Taibao) and then his real name (i.e., Jia-nian Zhang) (line 1); then, H mentioned that he in fact had a childhood in Taiwan (line 2). H seemed to get this information from cue cards because when she said B had a childhood in Taiwan, she looked at something sitting behind a television camera. B admitted what H said (line 3). Then, H said B had his childhood in Kaohsiung (line 4), located in the south of Taiwan. H's words overlapped B's utterance in which B said he used to go to school in Kaohsiung (line 5). H repeated B's words but raised her pitch on "Kaohsiung,"

indicating that she was surprised that he studied in Kaohsiung (line 7). B then said that he went to an elementary school in Kaohsiung for six years (line 8). H immediately responded that B's Taiwanese must be excellent (line 9). H's utterance ended with a rising particle, indicating that she needed B to confirm her assumption. B at this point switched to Taiwanese to confirm H's assumption and said he was able to use Taiwanese to communicate (line 10). H repeated B's Taiwanese phrase twice (line 11). When H repeated the Taiwanese phrase the first time, B responded by nodding firmly (line 12); when H repeated the Taiwanese phrase the second time, B also repeated it (line 12). H's second repetition seemed to be used to keep the floor and look for the next topic, which was a very common strategy H used on the show. Then, H used the Taiwanese word, "*thong*, communicate," to shift to the next topic which was about A (line 13).

There were several CS cases in this instance, and in this analysis, the first CS case in line 10 will be discussed. Although H seemed to know that B spent his early childhood in Kaohsiung (perhaps because she got the information from the cue cards), she might not have known that B received primary education in Kaohsiung for six years since she repeated B's utterance and raised her pitch on "Kaohsiung" when she heard that B studied in Kaohsiung (line 7). If H had simply repeated B's utterance, she would not have needed to raise her pitch on "Kaohsiung." (H did not raise her pitch on "study" to show her surprise because that would have otherwise indicated that she did not believe B received primary education.) Thus, the rest of the conversation (lines 8-13) could be considered a natural conversation between H and B, rather than a pre-rehearsed one.

B was born in 1950, and his family moved to Kaohsiung located in the south of Taiwan when he was one year old. After graduating from the elementary school in Kaohsiung, B and his family moved to Hong Kong where British English and Cantonese were spoken, and B has lived in Hong Kong since then (the talk show interview was conducted on December 9th, 2010). Based on the information B provided about going to an elementary school in Kaohsiung for six years, H believed that since B spent a long time in Kaohsiung, his Taiwanese must be excellent. Based on

the education policy in Taiwan, B should have attended the elementary school in 1956 when he was six years old and should have finished his elementary school education when he was twelve years old. Although most people at that time should have mainly spoken Taiwanese in their daily life except for major cities in the north (e.g., Taipei) and in the governmental, instructional, media, and other public and official domains due to the strict Mandarin Language Policy, H picked this situational factor (i.e., living in the south for at least six years) and affirmed that B's Taiwanese must be excellent, indicating that she had a strong association between the South and Taiwanese in her cognition. H's strong association between the South and Taiwanese was also revealed in her lexical choices. In line 9, H used three very affirmative words, "must," "very," and "excellent," when judging B's Taiwanese ability, showing her firm belief in and strong affirmation of B's Taiwanese ability although her utterance ended with a rising particle. H's strong belief was also confirmed by Su's (2005) study in which Taiwanese had a strong association with the South; that is, one of the social attributes of Taiwanese was its relation with the South. In addition, in line 10, B's response to H's affirmation was a preferred response because his response was affirmative, short, and direct (Li & Milroy, 1995). Note that the premise of B's preferred response was that he also shared H's assumption of the association between Taiwanese and the South. That is, B's affirmative response to H's assumption indicated that he also knew and/or agreed with this association; otherwise, he would have asked H why his Taiwanese must be excellent. Based on this shared assumption between H and B, the literal meaning of B's affirmative response in line 10 (i.e., I can use Taiwanese to communicate) was that he could communicate in Taiwanese; however, by switching to Taiwanese to convey this information, B directly showed H his Taiwanese ability, and the implication of the switch was that his Taiwanese was indeed good and that he had confidence in speaking Taiwanese.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of code switching can explain this CS case: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of the

South, and such an association was commonly shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in B's cognition; the association between Taiwanese and the social attribute was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to demonstrate B's language ability, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

The above explanation was based on the associative model of CS. Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) theoretical explanation does not seem to be able to explain this CS case completely. In Gumperz's notion, the topic did not change, and since Taiwanese was frequently used in the south, the context (i.e., the South) became part of the social meanings of Taiwanese; when it was used in other settings, the social meaning might emerge. That is, the connotative information indexed by CS would be perhaps B's identity as a person from the south. However, the above analysis indicated that the communicative effect produced by B's switch to Taiwanese was the demonstration of his Taiwanese ability, and B's use of Taiwanese to achieve the effect was motivated by the association between Taiwanese and the South. In other words, this study agreed with Gumperz's notion of the existence of the association between Taiwanese and the South; however, the notion of association this study emphasized could help explain this CS example, but Gumperz's notion could not.

In addition, Myers-Scotton's notion could not be applied in this CS case either. As mentioned above, when H introduced B, she tried to use any connection he had with Taiwan, and the connection was related to Kaohsiung. When H said that B in fact had a childhood in Kaohsiung, the RO set between them changed from a Taiwanese (H) vs. a Hong Kong person (B) to a closer relationship (perhaps a current Taiwanese (H) vs. a former Kaohsiung person (B)). The unmarked code for the former RO set was Mandarin since they spoke different languages, and Mandarin was the unmarked lingua franca, while the unmarked code for the latter RO set could have been Taiwanese since it was associated with the South. However, H did not use Taiwanese to index this new, unmarked RO set. Also, B's use of Taiwanese was triggered by H's affirmation of his language ability. That is, B did not switch to Taiwanese in an attempt to establish a new,

unmarked RO set between him and H (e.g., a former Kaohsiung person vs. a current Taiwanese); instead, it was H who indexed such a relationship without using Taiwanese, and his CS triggered by H's assumption was used to demonstrate his Taiwanese ability. Also, Auer's notions might not help in explaining this CS case because it did not seem to be used to organize the discourse nor was it related to participants' preferences and competences since the main language his addressee (i.e., H) spoke was not Taiwanese.

In this example, we saw that the association between Taiwanese and the social attribute of the South was motivationally relevant for B's switch to Taiwanese to achieve his communicative effect. The associative model of CS could explain this CS case; however, Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions could not provide a complete explanation of this CS instance. In the next example, we will see that the association between Taiwanese and the social attributes of localness (Su, 2005, p. 198) and vernacularity was motivationally relevant for H's switch to Taiwanese to apologize for her inability to read a poem out loud in Taiwanese.

Example 6: Taiwanese and the social attributes of localness and vernacularity

1. H: yǒu cóng 2:002 nián kāishǐ.

   have from 2:002 year start.

   Starting from 2:002. ((H faces the camera and holds a poem in her left hand.))

   (0.5)

2. H: qíshíne (0.3) rìzǐ zhēnde yě shì bù hǎo guò.

   actually (0.3) days really too is not good over.

   Actually (0.3) he had a very hard time.

(0.3)

3. H: zhōngyú,

    finally,

    Finally,

    (0.6)

4. H: tā zuìjìn (0.2) xiě le yī shǒu shī,

    he recently (0.2) write PFV one CL poem,

    He recently (0.2) wrote a poem,

    ((H looks at the poem and quickly looks back at the camera.))

    (0.4)

5. H: zhè shǒu shī ne yīnggāi yòng táiyǔ lái niàn (0.1) dànshì,

    this CL poem PRT should use Taiwanese come read (0.1) but,

    This poem should be read out loud in Taiwanese, (0.1) but,

    ((H looks at the camera, thinking how to say something.))

    (1.5)

→ 6. H: *guá bēsái lah hoo.*

    I not allow PRT.

    I am not allowed.

    (0.5)

→ 7. H: *pháinnsè ah pháinnsè.*

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sorry sorry.

I am sorry, *I am sorry*.

((H looks at the camera, bows, slightly raises her left hand with her palm facing the camera.))

(0.5)

8. H: wǒ ne xiān yòng (.) guóyǔ bǎ tā niàn yī biàn.

    I first use (.) Mandarin BA it read one CL.

    I will use (.) Mandarin to read it out loud first.

There were two guests attending the show. A who was in his late forties and was a famous male comedian in Taiwan brought his fiancé (B) to visit H whom he had known for years. Before this segment, the scene was at the beginning of the show. Before inviting the guests to enter the room, H held a piece of paper in her left hand; it was a poem written by A. H looked at the camera, chatting about something that happened to A previously. In this transcript, H mentioned that A previously had had a very hard time (lines 1, 2) and said that he was better now because he recently wrote a poem (to his fiancé, B) (lines 3, 4). H then said that this poem should be read out loud in Taiwanese (because it was a Taiwanese poem) (line 5), but she could not (line 6). After H said "but" in line 5, she looked at the camera for 1.5 seconds; then, she switched to Taiwanese and said "I am not allowed, I am sorry, I am sorry" (lines 6, 7). When H apologized, she looked at the camera, bowed, and slightly raised her left hand with her palm facing the camera. After explaining and apologizing in Taiwanese, H switched back to Mandarin and said she would read the poem out loud in Mandarin first (What H meant by 'first' was that she would let A read the poem out loud in Taiwanese after he entered the room.) (line 8). Then, H started reading the poem out loud.

CS occurred in lines 6 and 7 when H explained that she was unable to read the poem out loud in Taiwanese and apologized for that. Before discussing this CS instance, it is necessary to explain that H did not use the correct Taiwanese phrase to express her thought. When H switched to Taiwanese to express her inability to read the poem in Taiwanese out loud, she said, "*bēsái*, not allowed," but what she wanted to convey should have been "*bēhiáu*, does not know." In Taiwanese, "*bēsái*" means someone is *not allowed* to do something, but what H attempted to say should have been "*bēhiáu*," meaning she *did not know* how to read the poem out loud in Taiwanese. A who was the writer of the poem and who respected H greatly definitely would not forbid H from reading his poem in Taiwanese as shown later in the show. However, since H's Taiwanese proficiency was low, and the first part of the two phrases was the same (i.e., <u>*bē*</u>*sái* vs. <u>*bē*</u>*hiáu*), she might have misunderstood the meanings of the two phrases.

In this example, when H spoke in front of the camera, she used Mandarin all the time until she explained why she could not use Taiwanese to read the poem out loud and apologized, which seemed to be the salient situational factor for her switch to Taiwanese. Since it was a Taiwanese poem, H thought she should have read it out loud in Taiwanese, which in turn showed her respect to the poem and the language. However, because of her poor Taiwanese ability, H could not do so. Thus, she explained to the audience that she could not read the poem out loud in its original language and apologized, and she did so in Taiwanese. To explain why H used Taiwanese to explain and apologize, it is necessary to first discuss why H needed to explain and apologize for her inability to read the poem out loud in its original language; the reason might have been related to the elevation of the social values of Taiwanese. If this episode had occurred twenty or thirty years ago, H would not have needed to explain and apologize for her inability to use Taiwanese. As discussed in Sections 2.3 and 2.4, Taiwanese had been suppressed for decades, but in recent years, its social values were greatly emphasized and elevated because of the social, cultural, and political changes in Taiwan. H's talk show was broadcast nationwide. Being an experienced host,

she must have been aware of the social, cultural, and political changes in recent years and the elevation of the social values of Taiwanese; otherwise, she would not have frequently used Taiwanese in her talk show, compared to her previous variety shows where she nearly always spoke Mandarin. That is, because of the awareness of the elevation of the social values of Taiwanese, H might have had higher motivation to explain and apologize for being unable to read the poem out loud in Taiwanese. If H needed to explain and apologize because of the elevation of the social values of Taiwanese, then her switch to Taiwanese to achieve her goal might have helped her show her sincerity. Although the social values of Taiwanese were elevated, the social status of Mandarin was still higher than Taiwanese because Mandarin was associated with the social attributes of educatedness and national (Su, 2005, p. 195), while Taiwanese was usually associated with the social attributes of localness and vernacularity. As a host of the show, rather than using Mandarin associated with power and superiority to explain and apologize for her inability to read the 'Taiwanese' poem out loud to the audience, the direction of her language shift from Mandarin to Taiwanese might have conveyed the message of her sincerity. H's intention of showing a sincere explanation and apology could be justified by her body gestures; when she apologized, she bowed, and slightly raised her left hand with her palm facing the camera. These body gestures were a symbol of sincerity and politeness in the Taiwanese society.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of code switching might help explain this CS case: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of localness (Su, 2005, p. 198) and vernacularity while Mandarin was associated with the social attributes of educatedness and national (p. 195). Such associations were commonly shared among people in the Taiwanese society and might have existed in H's cognition; the different associations Taiwanese and Mandarin had respectively were then motivationally relevant to envisioning H's language shift from Mandarin to Taiwanese to show her sincere explanation and apology, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

The above explanation was based on the associative model of CS. Again, Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) theoretical explanation might not be able to explain this CS case completely. In Gumperz's notion, the discussion topic did not change, and since Taiwanese was frequently used in family settings and rural areas, it was associated with the social meanings of localness and vernacularity; when Taiwanese was used in other settings, the social meanings might emerge. That is, the connotative information produced perhaps would be a flavor of localness and vernacularity. However, the above analysis indicated that the communicative effect produced by H's switch was to show her sincere explanation and apology, and H's language shift to achieve the effect was motivated by the different associations Taiwanese and Mandarin had respectively. In other words, this study agreed with Gumperz's notion of the existence of the associations; however, the notion of association this study emphasized could help explain this CS example, but Gumperz's notion could not.

In addition, Myers-Scotton's (1993a) notion could not explain this CS instance. Although this code choice was a marked choice, H did not seem to establish a new RO set or negotiate another relationship between her and an audience by switching to Taiwanese because not all audiences spoke Taiwanese. However, H might have shortened her distance with the audiences although she did not create any new relationship with them. Taiwanese in this case was not linked with any certain type of relationship (i.e., family or rural area) in a specific community either. Furthermore, Auer (1984) might argue that this CS case was related to discourse-related alternation because Taiwanese was used to organize the discourse; that is, the Taiwanese utterances were subordinate to the main topics of the discussion (i.e., A's background and the following activity of reading the poem out loud). That is, before H started to read the poem, the additional information about the language of the poem, her explanation, and her apology could be considered to be subordinate to the main activities. If this had been the reason for H to switch to Taiwanese, then she should have switched to Taiwanese in lines 5-8. However, H only switched to Taiwanese in lines 6 and 7. Also, H's switch did not seem

to be participant-related alternation because the language her audience spoke or preferred was not limited to Taiwanese.

In this example, we saw that the different associations Taiwanese and Mandarin had respectively were motivationally relevant for H's switch to Taiwanese to achieve her communicative effect. The associative model of CS could explain this CS case; however, Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions could not provide a complete explanation of this CS instance. In the next example, we will see how a speaker switched to Taiwanese to distinguish his response to H from his response to his mother.

Example 7: Taiwanese and the social attribute of family language

1. A: hái [jiǎzhuāng] de xiàng (.) fàndiàn de nà zhǒng yǒu méi yǒu,

    even [pretend] CSC like (.) hotel NOM that kind have not have,

    And [pretended] as if we had been at hotel that kind,

    ((A pretends she is holding a service tray.))

2. H: [wa],

       [wow],

       [Wow],

    (0.5)

3. A: ā bǎ (0.4) bǎ niúpái zhè yang nòng.

    INT BA (0.4) BA steak this way handle.

    Set up the steak like this. ((A pretends to hold the service tray and push it forward.))

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4. H: děngyī[xià].

   wait.

   Wait.

5. B: [nǐ nà] e,

           [you that] INT,

           [You, that], ((B slaps A on her arm.))

   (0.6)

6. B: tā bù shì diǎn niúpái tā bù shì zuò niúpái [tā shì].

   she not is order steak she not is do steak [she is].   .

   She did not order steak, she did not make steak, [she was]. ((B speaks to H; A elbows B.))

7. A: [pì lā] niúpái [[lā]].

                                 [fart AU] steak [[AU]].

                                 [Nonsense], it was steak. ((A speaks to B.))

8. B: [[zhuō]] shàng shì shénme nǐ zhīdào ma?

                                           [[table]] on is what you know Q?

                                           Do you know what was on the table?

                                           ((B looks at H.))

   (0.3)

9. B: lǔròu fàn (0.2) bahuân (.) ránhòu (0.4) ròu[gēng tang],

   braised pork rice (0.2) Taiwanese meatball (.) then (0.4) pork [thick soup],

Braised pork rice, (0.2) Taiwanese meatballs, (.) then (0.4) pork [thick soup],

((A pushes B's arm.))

10. A: [yǒu yǒu] yǒu yī kè niúpái: lā::,

                                         [have have] have one CL steak: PRT::,

                                         [There, there], there was steak:,

                                         ((A slaps B's arm and speaks to him.))

→ 11. B: *ná* [[*hāi ah lah*]].

        that [[*bad AU*]].

        Oh my god. ((B turns his face to the other side; he does not look at H and A.))

12. A: [[(xx)]]

     (0.8)

13. B: zhú[guāng wǎncān hěn làng]màn jiéguǒ shì bahuân jiù zài wǒ jiā duìmiàn mǎi de.

     candle[light dinner very romantic] result is Taiwanese meatball right at I home opposite

       buy NOM.

    Candle-[light dinner was very romantic], but it was Taiwanese meatballs bought right

     across from my home. ((B looks back to H.))

14. H: [wō *tsin hāi ooh tsin hāi ooh*].

     [oh, *really bad really bad*].

     [Oh *so bad so bad*].

15. A: [[lóu xià]].

[[building down]].

[[Downstairs]].

16. B: [[hěn jìn]].

[[very near]].

[[Very close by]].

17. A&B: @

Two guests attended the show. A, in her fifties, was B's mother, and B, in his early thirties, was a famous Mandarin singer in Taiwan. Before this segment, H mentioned that she read B's book and was surprised that he was in fact a romantic person. B admitted that he was a romantic person and gave an example of a surprise he and his family designed for his previous girlfriend on Valentine's Day. In this transcript, B spoke of the romantic dinner. A added information about the food she prepared for B and his previous girlfriend. A was apparently proud of the food she prepared because she described that she set up the steak as if B and his previous girlfriend had been in the hotel (lines 1, 3). When H attempted to say something (line 4), B interrupted her and spoke to A (line 5). When B spoke to A, he also slapped A on her arm gently, showing that he was speaking to her. However, B immediately switched his addressee to H and told her that A did not prepare steak (line 6). At this point, A elbowed B to show her objection to what B said and spoke to him that she did prepare steak (line 7). B did not respond to A, but asked H if she knew what was on the table (line 8), and at the same time A had a smile since she knew what was on the table. B then continued speaking to H and named three local Taiwanese foods (line 9). While B was naming the foods, A first pushed B's arm and then slapped him on his arm, showing her objection again; she then spoke to B and insisted that there was steak; A repeated "yǒu, there" three times and lengthened "niúpái, steak" and "lā, a sentence particle" in her utterance (line 10).

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At this point, B turned his face to the other side and did not look at H and A; he switched to Taiwanese to say, "*ná hāi ah lah*, oh my god" (line 11). B's Taiwanese phrase overlapped A's words, which were unrecognizable (line 12); when A said those unrecognizable words, she did not face B, showing that she gave up her objection. Then, B looked back at H again and switched back to Mandarin to explain that the dinner was supposed to be romantic, but the foods prepared were Taiwanese meatballs bought right across from his home (line 13), which overlapped H's joking repetition of B's words (line 14). Then, A added that the foods were bought downstairs (line 15), and B said it was close by (line 16). After telling this story, both A and B laughed (line 17).

There were two CS cases in this example; in this analysis, the discussion will focus on the one in line 11 when B switched to Taiwanese to introduce the term, "*ná hāi ah lah*, oh my god," because it triggered the second CS case produced by H as a joking repetition in line 14. Although B spoke Mandarin in most social exchanges, Taiwanese seemed to be spoken in A and B's "family and private settings" (Su, 2005, p. 196) because A's mother tongue was Taiwanese. Also, in another variety show, when the band cued A to sing a Taiwanese song, B danced for her. Then, A asked B what he was doing, but she used Taiwanese to ask B the question, and B responded to her question in Taiwanese as well. Since it was very common for parents to speak Taiwanese to children while children responded in Mandarin in Taiwan, it would not be unexpected if B had used Mandarin to respond to A's question. On the other hand, if B also responded to A in Taiwanese when he interacted with her, it was highly likely that Taiwanese was the main language at least for A, and B would also use it to the best of his ability when he interacted with A. This judgment could be further justified because, in another TV talk show where the host was a Mandarin speaker, when B recalled what A taught him when he was young, he switched to Taiwanese to quote A's utterance. These two other CS cases in other two variety shows indicated

that Taiwanese should be A and B's family language. That is, there seemed to have existed the association between Taiwanese and A and B's family language for B.

Before discussing the food A prepared, B used "my mother" or "we" when he mentioned how A helped him design a romantic dinner. However, in this transcript, when B talked to H about the food A prepared, he changed the pronoun to "she" (e.g., line 6), indicating B's intention of distancing himself from the idea of food A prepared because he was not satisfied with it (e.g., there was no steak on the table). On the other hand, A did not seem to agree with B. When B told H that A did not prepare steak, A first elbowed B, interrupted B's utterance, and spoke to B that there was steak. A's refutation and body gesture showed that she objected to B's ignorance of the presence of the steak (remember that A was very proud of how she set up the steak as if B and his previous girlfriend had been in a hotel). However, B did not respond to A's objection, but continued telling H his story. When B named the foods on the table to H, he ignored the steak again, showing that A's first objection was not successful. At this point, there were two lines of conversations: B's complaint about the foods to H, and A's first objection to B's complaint. However, the latter one had not received response from B. Thus, there were more actions in A's second objection; she first pushed B's arm, then slap him on his arm, and interrupted again, emphasizing there was steak. A even repeated "there" three times and lengthened "steak" and a particle in her second objection. A's second stronger objection seemed to finally receive B's response which was uttered in Taiwanese. Judging from B's body gestures and language use practice, this Taiwanese phrase seemed to be directed to A because (1) when B complained about the food, he constantly spoke to H. Even when A refuted to him, he still looked at H; however, when he switched to Taiwanese, he turned his face to the other side and did not look at H and A; (2) after B finished the Taiwanese utterance, he faced H again and switched back to Mandarin to explain why the food on the table was not appropriate, and (3) Taiwanese was A and B's family language for B. The reason that B did not face A (i.e., his addressee) when he said this Taiwanese

phrase might have been that the complaint might have been rather direct and inappropriate since his response to A's second objection remained a disagreement (a third disagreement), and it was conveyed in their family language.

Myers-Scotton's (1993a) sequential unmarked choice might provide a partial explanation of this CS instance. The situational factor that triggered CS might have been the shift in addressee from H to A, and the unmarked RO set also changed from an interviewer vs. an interviewee to mother vs. son. The former RO set could be signaled by Mandarin because it was the unmarked code for the show, and the latter could be signaled by Taiwanese because it was A and B's family language. However, Taiwanese did not seem to be used to negotiate this latter RO set because at the beginning of his complaint, B started to use "she" to distance himself from his mother. Thus, when B switched to Taiwanese to make a third disagreement against A's second refutation, it was not possible that he attempted to return to the mother-son relationship with A by using Taiwanese associated with their family language. Instead, since A kept interrupting B's story, B seemed to use Taiwanese to distinguish between the primary communication (i.e., B complained to H about the food) and the minor communication (i.e., B responded to A's refutation of his complaint) as Auer's (1984) discourse-related alternation would suggest. That is, instead of indexing the RO set between son and mother, Taiwanese was used to select a particular participant in the conversation as B's addressee (i.e., Guest A). Although Auer's notion could help explain the communicative effect this CS case created, he did not seem to help explain why B chose to use Taiwanese, which could be in turn explained by Myers-Scotton's (1993a) notion: Taiwanese was used because it was associated with A and B's family language; that is, the basis for such a communicative effect lied in the association between Taiwanese and A and B's family language. In other words, Myers-Scotton's (199a) notion provided the explanation of the basis for this CS (i.e., association between Taiwanese and A and B's family language), and Auer's notion provided the explanation of the communicative effect such an association helped B create.

The associative model of CS proposed in this study could include both Myers-Scotton's and Auer's notions because the notion of the community-level association of code switching can apply to this CS case: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of A and B's family language, and such an association was shared by A and B and existed in B's cognition; the association Taiwanese had with A and B's family language was then motivationally relevant to envisioning B's use of Taiwanese to direct his third disagreement to his mother (i.e., Guest A), rather than H, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Summary of the Community-Level Association

In this section, seven examples were provided, and the associative model of CS this study proposed was used and compared with Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982), Auer's (1984), and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) notions. Table 3.1 and Figure 3.7 summarize the community-level association of code switching. By using the associative model of CS, this section shows that Taiwanese was associated with certain social attributes, such as being vulgar, vernacularity, the family language, and localness, and the association was shared among people in the Taiwanese society or in a speaker's family. Also, these social attributes had weaker connections with or were not shared with Mandarin. In other words, the existence of the association Taiwanese had was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create certain communicative effects such as adding a different tone or flavor in the switched utterance, revealing personal opinions, providing authentic conversations at home, demonstrating one's Taiwanese ability, making a sincere explanation and apology, and selecting a participant as the addressee. As this study argued in Chapter 1, speakers were creative users of CS. Although the communicative effects speakers attempted to create might not be predictable, the reason for choosing to use Taiwanese to create these communicative effects seemed to be predictable, and the reason this dissertation suggested was related to the notion of association.

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Also, Gumperz's, Auer's, and Myers-Scotton's theoretical explanations were examined. Although the first four examples could be fully explained by Gumperz's or Myers-Scotton's notion, Examples 5 – 7 could not be fully explained by one of them.

Code switching	
	Community-level association
Total	**23**

Table 3.1: Summary of the community-level association of code switching.

A fluent Mandarin speaker switches to Taiwanese because of the associations it has at the

community level
Code switching: Taiwanese is associated with certain social meanings, social attributes, and social activities.
For example: Taiwanese was associated with being vulgar, vernacularity, we code, the family language, localness, boldness, the South, etc.

The association is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create certain communicative effects, which in turn are realized by switching to Taiwanese.
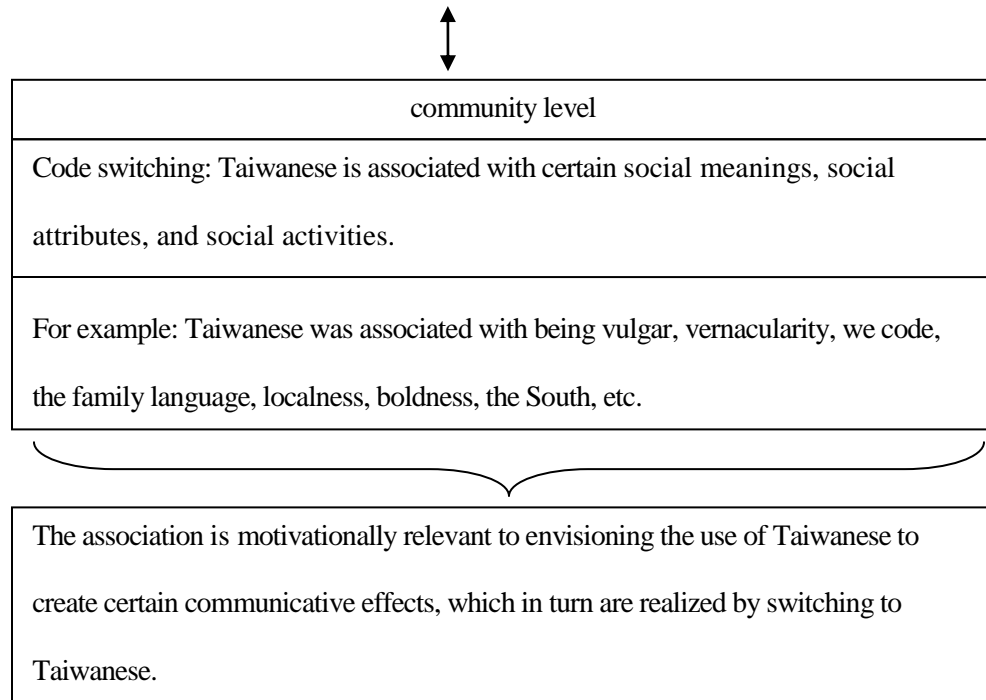
Figure 3.7: Summary of the community-level association of code switching.

3.4.1.2 Activity-Level Association

At the activity level, this study argues that in the frame of an activity locally developed in an ongoing conversation, a code a speaker uses might be temporarily associated with *the activity* as a result of the presence of the code in the conversation where the frame of the activity was established. That is, speakers' connection of the code with its associated activity temporarily relies on the current activity in the conversation, rather than on community norms, and such associations are formed by the way Taiwanese is used in the local development of the interaction itself. The existence of the association Taiwanese has at the activity level is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create certain communicative effects.

In this study, only two CS instances were categorized as activity-level associations. In one CS case, Taiwanese was associated with a Taiwanese poem used on the show that day. In the other CS case, which will be discussed here, the activity associated with Taiwanese was an apology activity created by the host in a conversation with a guest. The associative model of CS proposed in this study will be examined and compared with Gumperz's, Auer's, and Myers-Scotton's theoretical explanations, which did not seem to help explain this CS case completely. Before discussing this CS case, it is necessary to note that there is no specific language required or expected when apology activities are conducted in the Taiwanese society. That is, Taiwanese is not a required or unmarked code used in apology activities, as Gumperz's situational CS assumes.

Example 8: Taiwanese and its association with an apology activity

1. H: tā men dōu jiǎng zhuī bù dào nǚ péngyǒu.

    he PL both say chase not at female friend.

    They all said they could not find a girlfriend.

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2. A: shì

    yes.

    Yes.

    (1.7) ((H spreads her arms, showing it does not make sense to her.))

3. B: @ (0.4)

    (0.7)

4. H: (@nǐ dǒng@) ma?

    (@ you understand@) Q?

    (@Did you get that@)?

5. B: @ (0.6)

6. H: nǐ DǑNG MA?

    you UNDERSTAND Q?

    Did you GET THAT?

    (0.2)

7. A: wǒ zhīnéng tóngqíng tā men.

    I only sympathize he PL.

    I only can sympathize with them.

8. H&B: @ (2.0)

    (1.8)

9. H: suǒyǐ ,

    so,

So,

(0.8)

10. H: zhè shì wéishíme ne,

this is why Q,

Why this is the case,

11. H: wǒ men yào lái hǎohǎode yánjiū yánjiū . =

I PL want come good study study. =

We need to investigate it thoroughly. =

12. A: = ēn.

= en.

= Ok.

13. H: gānggāng wǒ (@niàn de @) zhè gè zhēnde.

just I (@read@) this CL really.

The poem I just (@read@) was really.

(0.3)

14. H: ā.

INT.

Ah.

(0.4)

15. H: *pháinnsè* zhè shì nǐ xiěde ma? =

sorry this is you write Q? =

I am sorry, did you write it? = ((H holds the poem with both hands.))

→ 16. A: = *sī sī.*

    = *yes yes.*

    = *Yes, yes.*

    (0.9)

17. H: *sī sī* wō? =

    yes yes Q? =

    Yes, yes? =

18. A: = duìduìduì mǐnnán yǔ mǐnnán yǔ.

    = yes yes yes Minnan language Minnan language.

    = Yes, yes, yes, it was Taiwanese, it was Taiwanese.

This example occurred in the same episode with the same two guests, one male (A) and his fiancé (B), as Example 6. The scene was at the beginning of the show, and A and B just entered the room. Before this segment, H gave B a compliment on her appearance by saying, "Miss Yu Chen is indeed very beautiful." In this transcript, since H thought B was very beautiful, and there was an obvious mismatch between A and B in terms of their appearance, H teased A that she did not understand why handsome men she once interviewed said they could not find a girlfriend (line 1). A responded to H's utterance by saying, 'shì, yes' (line 2). (A's response did not mean he knew why those handsome men could not find a girlfriend. Instead, 'shì, yes' was a more polite and respectful way to respond to H's utterance.) Then, there was a 1.7 second pause during which H

spread her arms, showing it did not make sense to her. H's body language implied that since A who had less attractive appearance could find a beautiful fiancé, she could not understand why those handsome young men failed to find a girlfriend. H's body gesture made B laugh (line 3). However, the addressee whom H teased (i.e., A) did not respond. H then asked A if he got her message (line 4), which did not receive any response either. (It was highly unlikely that A did not understand that H was teasing him since they had known each other long enough to understand H's purpose. Instead, it was more likely that A was thinking how to respond to H's teasing in an entertaining way.) Thus, H repeated her question again and increased her volume (line 6). At this point, A responded jokingly that he only could sympathize with those men (line 7). A's creative response made both H and B laugh out loud (line 8). Then, H said that that was why, today, they needed to investigate thoroughly why it was A who ended up marrying a beautiful lady (lines 9, 10, 11). The topic now switched to the Taiwanese poem A wrote to B. Before A and B entered the room, H had read the Taiwanese poem out loud in Mandarin because her Taiwanese ability was low. In line 13, H seemed to express self- deficiency in her inability to read the poem out loud in Taiwanese, but she did not finish her utterance. After an interjection (line 14), H switched to Taiwanese to apologize to A for her inability to read the poem out loud in Taiwanese (line 15). Immediately after her apology, H switched back to Mandarin and asked A if he wrote this poem (line 15). A responded to both H's apology and question in Taiwanese (line 16). However, since H's Taiwanese proficiency was low, she could not understand this Taiwanese phrase; she repeated this phrase, showing her confusion (line 17). A then immediately switched back to Mandarin, said "duì, yes" three times, and explained what he said was Taiwanese (line 18).

There were several CS occurrences in this instance. In this analysis, the second CS case produced by A in line 16 will be discussed. Before A switched to Taiwanese in line 16, H initiated a switch to Taiwanese to apologize to him for her inability to read his poem out loud in its original language (the reason for H's switching to Taiwanese will not be discussed because it is beyond the scope

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of this CS case discussed here.) and then immediately switched back to Mandarin to ask him a question. H's apology and question could be considered the first parts of two adjacency pairs respectively (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), and the next speaker she picked was A. Thus, A needed to provide two second parts to respond to the two first parts. That is, A needed to provide a response to H's apology and a response to H's question.

In this show, H also made several sincere apologies to A although, in her other apologies, she used Mandarin. To respond to H's other sincere apologies, A usually said, "shì, yes," in Mandarin. Although "shǐ" was translated into 'yes' in English, it did not mean that A was responding to a yea/no question. Instead, the word, "shì," in Mandarin is an indication of respect, and a speaker can use it to respond to an elder or someone in higher positions to show the speaker's respect. When A used "shì, yes" to respond to H's other apologies, he was showing his respect to H while at the same time responding to her apologies. The same strategy was also used by A (i.e., using "shì, yes" to show his respect to H and at the same time responding to her) when he responded to H's utterances, like the one he used in line 2. In this show, since A would use "shì, yes" to respond to H's apologies or H's utterances, he could have said this Mandarin word, "shì, yes," twice to respond to H's two first parts in this example respectively (i.e., one 'yes' for H's apology and the other 'yes' for H's question), which at the same time also showed his respect to H. A indeed said "yes" twice in this example; however, he used the Taiwanese version (i.e., sī sī, yes yes), rather than the Mandarin one (i.e., shì shì, yes yes) to respond to H's two first pairs respectively. In other words, the content of A's response (i.e., yes yes) showed his responses to H's two first parts as well as his respect to H; however, he used Taiwanese to convey this content.

The reason for A to switch to Taiwanese to convey his responses to H's two first parts might have been that he might have needed to make a more salient response to H's first first part (i.e., H's apology) when responding to H's two first parts. Comparing the two first parts (i.e., H's apology and H's question), responding to the first one was much more important than responding to the second one

because H was an elder who apologized to him; being a younger, A must respond to an elder's apology. Also, in this show, A mentioned purposefully to B (See Example 14 for the detailed description) how grateful he was for H's gracious assistance at the beginning of his career in the entertainment industry; without H's support and guide, he would not have been successful. In addition, A mentioned on this show that he was very nervous to attend the show that day because he was bringing his fiancé to see his parent; that is, he treated H as his parent. Since H was highly respected by A, when H apologized to him, the level of seriousness was much higher than that of H's question, and he might have felt obligated to respond to her in a way that showed a higher level of consideration than that used to respond to H's question. That is, since H's two first parts were at different levels of seriousness, when A responded to H's two first parts, he at the same time needed to make his response to H's apology more salient than that to H's question. However, A could not have achieved this goal if he had used the Mandarin word, "shìshì, yes yes," since he could not distinguish his response to H's first first part from that to H's second first part. That is, if A had used Mandarin, he could not make his response to H's apology salient. On the other hand, since H used Taiwanese to apologize, it seemed to be temporarily connected to this activity in A's cognition, and thus he switched to Taiwanese to respond to H's two first parts. That is, in terms of A's response content, he responded to H's two first parts, while in terms of the use of language, he made his response to H's apology more salient.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the activity-level association of code switching can help explain this CS case. In the frame of the apology activity developed locally in an ongoing conversation, Taiwanese H used to apologize was temporarily associated with the activity of H's apology as a result of the presence of Taiwanese in H's apology. That is, the association was formed by the way H used Taiwanese in the frame of the apology activity; the association Taiwanese had with H's apology activity was then motivationally relevant to envisioning A's use of Taiwanese to make his response to H's apology more salient in order to show his respect to her, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

If we used Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) metaphorical CS, the connotative information revealed by CS was that A showed his respect to H; however, it was not the social attributes associated with Taiwanese at the community level that helped A reveal his respect since Taiwanese was not H's mother tongue. Instead, it was the activity-level attribute (i.e., an apology activity) associated with Taiwanese that helped A reveal his intention. If we use Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Markedness Model, this CS case can be considered an unmarked code choice since there was a special need for A to show respect to H by switching to Taiwanese. However, this explanation could not provide an in-depth insight into the reason behind A's CS. A in fact would not use Taiwanese; if H had used Mandarin to apologize, he would have not switched to Taiwanese. Instead, he might have used other ways to respond to her apology to show his respect since the language used could not help in making his response more salient. That is, although A indeed switched to Taiwanese because of the special need (i.e., showing respect to H), he did not show his respect to H by switching to Taiwanese *per se*; he showed his respect to H by using Taiwanese because it was associated with H's apology activity. What triggered his CS was not the language itself; instead, it was the association between the language she used and H's apology activity which was locally developed in the conversation.

Also, Auer's (1984) study might consider this CS case as "double cohesion" (p. 42) (i.e., discourse-related alternation). Auer's notion of "double cohesion" (p. 42) would suggest that A's Taiwanese responded to H's first first part, and his content responded to H's second first part. However, although A used Taiwanese to symbolically respond to H's first first part (i.e., her apology), the content of his response (i.e., saying 'yes' twice) already responded to H's two first parts, rather than to her second part only, as Auer would suggest. That is, A's repetition of 'yes' twice already helped him achieve "double cohesion" because the first 'yes' responded to H's apology and the second 'yes' to H's question. Also, if H's first first part had been a normal, non-face-threatening phrase uttered in Taiwanese, A might have used the Mandarin word (i.e., shì, yes)

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twice to achieve "double cohesion" (p. 42) without switching to Taiwanese. This study argues that, instead of simply organizing his discourse particularly when his interlocutor's Taiwanese proficiency was low, the purpose for A to switch to Taiwanese was to make his response to H's apology more salient in order to show his respect to H, and Taiwanese happened to have the association with H's apology activity developed locally in an ongoing conversation.

In this example, we saw how fast a connection might have been made between Taiwanese and an activity in an ongoing conversation and how a speaker creatively made use of such a temporary connection to meet a special need (i.e., showing respect to H). The associative model of CS could explain this CS case; however, Gumperz's notion could not provide a theoretical explanation of the communicative effect this CS instance produced since it was not the social attributes associated with Taiwanese that helped A create the effects. Also, Myers-Scotton's notion could not provide an in-depth theoretical explanation of this CS instance. In addition, Auer's notion of discourse-related alternation could not be applied to this CS case. Table 3.2 summarizes the activity-level association of code switching, and Figure 3.8 summarizes both community-level and activity-level associations of code switching.

Code switching	
	Activity-level association
Total	2

Table 3.2: Summary of the activity-level association of code switching.

A fluent Mandarin speaker switches to Taiwanese because of the associations it has at the

community level	activity level
Code switching: Taiwanese is associated with certain social meanings, social attributes, and social activities.	Code switching: Taiwanese is temporarily associated with an activity developed locally in an ongoing conversation.
For example: Taiwanese was associated with being vulgar, vernacularity, we code, the family language, localness, boldness, the South, etc.	For example: Taiwanese was associated with an apology activity and a Taiwanese poem.

The association is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create certain communicative effects, which in turn are realized by switching to Taiwanese.
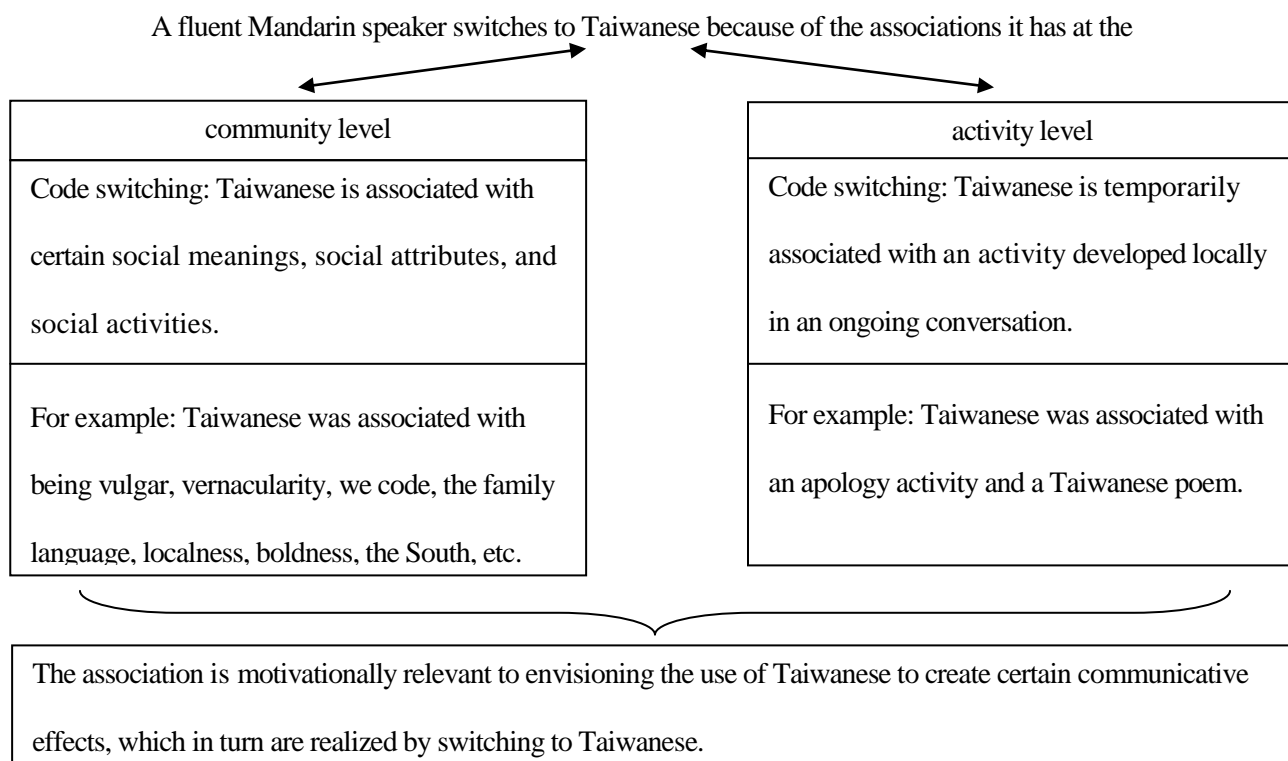
Figure 3.8: Summary of the community-level and activity-level associations of code switching.

3.4.1.3 Individual-Level Association

At the individual level, Taiwanese tends to be more identified with *individuals/cultural objects*. This study argues that code systems are associated with individuals on the basis of language variety that they most often use in the hearers' experience or are associated with cultural objects, which are also most often expressed in a language variety in hearers' experience. That is, such associations are formed as a result of hearer's and/or speaker's perceptions of individuals and cultural objects. The association Taiwanese has is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create certain communicative effects.

In this study, 10 CS instances were categorized as individual-level associations. Either an individual or a cultural object had a stronger association with Taiwanese, rather than with Mandarin. In this section, four examples will be discussed. The associative model of CS this study proposed will be

examined and compared with Gumperz's, Auer's, and Myers-Scotton's theoretical explanations, which did not seem to help explain the CS cases completely.

Example 9: Taiwanese and its association with an individual

1. H: nǐ chànggē zhī[néng gēn] Zhèng jìn yī bǐ.

   you sing only [can with] Zheng jin yi compare.

   Your singing only can be compared with Jin-yi Zheng. ((B looks at H.))

2. B: [@]

   (0.2)

→ 3. B: wō (.) [[*lí kóng*:::]] *lí sī mn̂g* [*guá*] *sī tshuànn ah bô hót shiò bô hó tshiò ah*,

   oh (.) [[*you say*:::]] *you are door* [*I*] *am latch oh not good laugh not good laugh*,

   Oh (.) [[*you said*:::]] *you were the door and* [*I*] *was the latch, oh not funny not funny at all*,

   ((B turns to face camera, imitating Jin-yi Zheng.))

4. H: [[yīnwéi nǐ zhīdào]],   [@]

   [[because you know]], [@]

   [[Because you know]], [@] ((H laughs to the extent that she cannot take a firm stand.))

5. H&A: @ (0.5)

6. H: bùguò.

   but.

   But.

7. H&A: @ (0.6) ((H and A laugh to an extent that they have to cover their mouths.))

8. B: (@zhè yī zhǒng wō @),

   (@ this one CL Q@),

   (@Like this?@),

9. H&A: @ (2.5)

10. H: méi yǒu,

    not have,

    No,

    (0.3)

11. H: Zhèng jìn yī shì free style.

    Zheng jin yi is free style.

    Jin-yi Zheng has a free style.

This example occurred in the same episode with the same two female guests as Examples 2 and 4. Before this segment, B just showed her talent and skill by singing a Mandarin song of a famous singer (Yi-lin Cai) in Taiwan. After that, H and A discussed B's singing skills. Since B apparently did not sing in tune, H and A described how difficult it was for the live band to follow her tempo. B then jokingly said that that was because the band was not familiar with the song and suggested she could sing another one, but A stopped her and said she devoted too much emotion in the song so that she could not sing in tune.

In this transcript, B looked at H who said B's singing style only could be compared with Jin-yi Zheng (A famous Taiwanese singer in his mid-fifties in Taiwan) (line 1). Then, B said, "oh," turned to

face the camera, and switched to Taiwanese to imitate the way Jin-yi Zheng sang and the way he spoke (line 3). B exaggerated Jin-yi Zheng's unique singing style by singing his Taiwanese song (i.e., *you said*::: *you were the door and I was the latch*) and used his speaking style to say something in Taiwanese (i.e., *oh not funny not funny at all*). At the beginning of B's imitation, H planned to explain why she said B's singing only could be compared with Jin-yi Zheng, but soon she gave up because B's imitation made her laugh to an extent that she could not take a firm stand (line 4). A also laughed (line 5). After B finished her imitation, H planned to continue her explanation (line 6), but she did not finish her utterance again because she could not stop laughing (line 7). Both H and A laughed out loud to an extent that they had to cover their mouths because B's imitation was very entertaining. At this point, B turned to look at H again and asked H if her imitation of Jin-yi Zheng's singing style was the type of singing style H mentioned (line 8). H and A laughed for another 2.5 seconds (line 9), and then H said, "no" (line 10). Finally, H explained why she said B and Jin-yi Zheng had a similar singing style; she said Jin-yi Zheng had a free style (line 11).

CS occurred in line 3 when B imitated a singer, Jin-yi Zheng, whose mother tongue was Taiwanese and who usually sang Taiwanese songs although he was able to speak Mandarin fluently as well; however, when he spoke Mandarin, he usually mixed with Taiwanese since Taiwanese was his main language. After H said that B's singing style only could be compared with Jin-yi Zheng, B said, "oh," which could be considered a contextualization cue, because it indexed an activity: B's on-the-spot imitating performance. In most of the variety shows in Taiwan, guests attended the shows for different purposes. In addition to guests who mainly came to publicize their new products, there was another type of guests, called 'tōng gào yìrén, regular-guest entertainers.' This type of entertainers was regular guests, appearing on different variety shows. One of the main tasks of this type of entertainers was to create certain entertaining effects to entertain the audiences on TV and create high ratings for variety shows since most audiences who watched variety shows liked to see something funny or entertaining. Thus, the ability of creating entertaining effects was crucial for these entertainers since it was one of the main

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reasons they were invited to attend variety shows. One of the methods these entertainers used to create entertaining effects was to find something in a conversation that had the potential to be expanded to something funny. B at the time when she attended the show was also considered a 'tōng gào yì rén, regular-guest entertainer' although the reason for inviting her to attend this show that day was to accompany her best friend (i.e., Guest A).

When H in the conversation mentioned that B's singing style only could be compared with Jin-yi Zheng, B used "Jin-yi Zheng" and "singing style" as an opportunity to create entertaining effects. B switched to Taiwanese, used exaggerating body gestures and facial expressions to imitate Jin-yi Zheng's singing style since he was famous for his unique singing style, and adopted his tone and pitch to say some Taiwanese. B's switch to Taiwanese to imitate Jin-yi Zheng for the purpose of creating entertaining effects could also be justified by the fact that when she imitated Jin-yi Zheng, she turned to look at the camera, rather than looking at H who was her interlocutor before the performance. Also, she used Taiwanese to do the performance, but switched back to Mandarin after she finished her imitation. Although the song B sang in the first part of the imitation was originally sung in Taiwanese, the utterances she said in her second part of the imitation was created by herself; however, she still used Taiwanese to say those words. The reason for using Taiwanese for the entire performance seemed to be that Taiwanese was the language which audiences associated with Jin-yi Zheng. That is, since B was imitating Jin-yi Zheng, she had to adopt his salient personal attributes. Although Jin-yi Zheng could speak both Taiwanese and Mandarin, he mainly used Taiwanese and mainly sang Taiwanese songs. Thus, Taiwanese had a stronger association with Jin-yi Zheng, rather than Mandarin, and became one of his linguistic attributes.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the individual-level association of code switching can explain this CS case: Taiwanese tended to be more identified with Jin-yi Zheng on the basis of the language variety that Jin-yi Zheng most often used in B's and perhaps in the audience's experience, and it seemed to be one of his linguistic attributes; the stronger association

between Jin-yi Zheng and Taiwanese was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to imitate him, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

The above explanation of B's CS based on the associative model of CS this study proposed might be more plausible than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's theoretical explanations. Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) metaphorical CS indicates that speakers switch to another code to reveal connotations by borrowing the social attributes associated with the switched code; however, although B's switch to Taiwanese indicated the connotative information that she was imitating someone, such a connotation was not produced by the perceived social attributes associated with Taiwanese according to the community norms, as suggested by Gumperz's notion. Instead, B could produce such a connotation because of the association between Taiwanese and the individual attributes of Jin-yi Zheng. Also, Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Markedness Model might suggest that B's switch was a marked code choice, which could decrease the social distance between herself and the audience. However, B did not seem to negotiate or index any new RO set or relationship between herself and the audience by switching to Taiwanese although she might have shortened the interpersonal distance with the audience. In addition, Auer's (1984) discourse-related alternation might suggest that B used Taiwanese to distinguish the main conversation from her on-the-spot performance. However, B's switch to Taiwanese did not seem to be related to the discourse organization; if the person H mentioned and B imitated had been a Mandarin speaker and had mainly sung Mandarin songs, B would not have switched to Taiwanese. That is, B switched to Taiwanese because of the individual she attempted to imitate, and Taiwanese was the language identified with the individual.

In this example, we saw that the existence of association between Taiwanese and a Taiwanese singer motivated B's use of Taiwanese to create the communicative effect of imitation. The associative model of CS of this study seemed to better explain this CS case than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's,

and Auer's notions. In the next example, we will see how H switched to Taiwanese to play the role of a guest's boss.

Example 10: Taiwanese and its association with an individual

1. C: lián guō [lǎopǎn] wǒ,

    even Guo [boss] I,

    Even boss Guo, I,

2. H: [bùguò].

                [but].

                [But].

    (0.2)

3. C: dāngshí qiān gěi Yìnghuà de shíhòu (.) Guō lǎopǎn shì.

    when sign to TransWorld NOM time (.) Guo boss is.

    When I signed for the TransWorld Production, boss Guo was.

    (0.2)

4. C: yào qiān héyuē de shíhòu kàn dào shēnfèn zhèng (0.1) hòu miàn cái zhèyang.

    want sign contract NOM time see to identification card (0.1) back side only like.

    When we signed the contract, boss Guo saw the back of the ID card, then he was like this.

    ((C pretends to hold an ID card in his left hand.))

    (0.7)

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5. C: *guá tō káng guá tō káng kámkak lí tsiok sîng tsit e lâng lah.*

    I EMP tell I EMP tell feel you very like this CL person.

    I told you, I told you, I felt you took after this person very much.

    ((B hits himself on the chest; his right hand points at the ID card holding in his left hand.))

6. H, A & B: @ (2.6)

7. H: bù xiǎodé ma?

    not know Q?

    Didn't he know?

8. B: @ (0.9)

9. C: tā yǒu tā yī kāishǐ zhīdào yīdiǎn méimù ā.

    he have he one start know some sign INT.

    He at the beginning knew a little bit.

10. C: dànshì wǒ dōu bàituō dàjiā dōu bù yào [jiǎng].

    but I both please people both not want [tell].

    But I asked everyone not to tell him.

11. H: [suǒ]yǐ guō lǎopǎn jiù kàn zhe nǐ yào qiān de shíhòu jiù xiǎng.

                                     [so] Guo boss look at you want sign NOM time wonder.

                                     [So] when signing the contract, boss Guo looked at you, wondering.

                                     ((H pretends to hold a contract in one hand and a pen in the other.))

    (0.5)

→ 12. H: *ah tsit ê,*

   ah this CL,

   Ah, this guy,

   (0.4)

13. H: tā kěnéng xiǎng (0.4) eh,

   he might think (0.4) eh,

   He might have wondered (0.4), well,

14. C: tā xiǎng yīnggāi bājiǔbùlíshí [lā shēnfèn zhèng fān guò lái],

   he think should pretty accurate [identification card turn over come],

   He probably thought it was pretty accurate, looked at the back of the ID card,

15. H: [bù shì kěnéng bù shì bù shì] kěnéng,

                                 [not is maybe not is not is] maybe,

                                 [No maybe, no, no] maybe,

   (0.2)

16. H: kěnéng zài wài miàn shēng de ā bù zhīdào ā,

   maybe at out side born NOM not know,

   Probably you were his illegitimate child, who knows,

   ((H speaks Taiwanese-accent Mandarin when she says, "bù zhīdào, who knows."))

17. C: @ (0.5)

18. H: shì bù shì,

is not is,

Right, (H speaks Taiwanese-accent Mandarin when she says, "shì bù shì, right."))

There were three guests attending the talk show. A was B and C's father; B was the younger sister, and C, in his mid-thirties, was the older brother. Both A and C were actors in Taiwan, and their first language was Mandarin although they could speak Taiwanese as well. Before this segment, C mentioned that he did not let his father (i.e., Guest A) know that he decided to be an actor; however, A said he already knew C's decision, but he pretended he did not know his decision. In this transcript, to prove that he entered the entertainment industry on his own and without A's assistance, C mentioned that even his first boss who owned a company of TV programming production (i.e., TransWorld Production) had not known he was A's son until the boss saw his parents' names on the back of his ID card when he signed with the boss (lines 1, 3, 4). (In Taiwan, on the back of a person's ID card, it included the name(s) of the card holder's parent(s).) At this point, C switched to Taiwanese to quote what the boss said (line 5), which made the listeners laugh (line 6). When C reported his first boss's utterances, he also had some body gestures (i.e., hitting himself on the chest and pretending he was pointing at an ID card holding in his left hand). Then, H asked C if the boss did not know who he was (line 7), and C said the boss might have known a little bit at the beginning (line 9), but he asked everyone not to tell the boss who he was (line 10). H then said that when his boss looked at him, the boss was probably thinking (line 11). H's utterance was accompanied with body gestures; she pretended she was holding a contract in one hand and a pen in the other hand. Then, H switched to Taiwanese and said, "ah this guy" (line 12). H then switched back to Mandarin and said that the boss might have wondered something (line 13). C interrupted H's inference and said his boss might have thought it was probably pretty accurate after looking at the parents' names on the back of his ID card (line 14), but H also interrupted C's utterance because it was not what she thought his boss might have wondered (line 15).

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Then, H took the floor, said that the boss might have wondered if C was an illegitimate child (line 16), and asked for confirmation (line 18). When H said those utterances, she had Taiwanese-accent Mandarin in "bù zhīdào, who knows" (lines 16) and "shì bù shì, right" (line 18).

There were two CS cases in this instance (i.e., lines 5, 12). In this analysis, H's CS occurring in line 12 will be discussed. In fact, H's CS was related to C's CS in line 5. Before C switched to Taiwanese in line 5, he used "then he was like this" at the end of his utterance in line 4 to signal that the following utterance was what his boss said. Then, C quoted his boss's utterance by switching to Taiwanese, along with some body gestures (i.e., hitting himself on the chest and pretending to point at the ID card holding in his left hand). For listeners on the show and perhaps for the audience on TV, the image of C's boss in the previous context where he and C met seemed to have been established as a person who spoke Taiwanese, would hit himself on his chest, and held an ID card in his hand. The reason for making this inference was that when H attempted to guess his boss's thoughts in line 12, she also switched to Taiwanese. In line 13, H switched back to Mandarin because she did not play the role of C's boss, judging from her use of a third person pronoun referring to C's boss (i.e., "he" might have wondered, line 13). Although this transcript did not include the later conversation, thirty seconds after this CS occurred, H hit herself on her chest and said, "you are his son," in Mandarin. From H's body gesture (i.e., hitting herself on her chest) and her use of pronouns (e.g., "you" meant C, "his" meant A), it could be reasonably inferred that she was playing the role of C's boss again. Judging from these observations, when H played the role of C's boss, she signaled her identity as C's boss by switching to Taiwanese and/or adopting the body gestures, which C used when he quoted his boss's words.

Then, the reason for H to switch to Taiwanese when she played the role of C's boss in line 12 might have been that Taiwanese was one of the boss's linguistic attributes in C's story and in hearer's experience. Although C's boss spoke Taiwanese as his mother tongue and his main

language, he could speak Mandarin fluently as well. Also, H had known the boss for years since the boss's company was responsible for producing this talk show. The boss in fact once attended the show in 2012, and when H and the boss talked to each other, they used Mandarin. In H's cognition, the boss might have been a speaker of both Taiwanese and Mandarin. However, in this episode, H switched to Taiwanese when she signaled that she was playing the boss's role perhaps because it was associated with the image of C's boss based on C's quotation of the boss's utterances occurring in the previous context. That is, because of C's quotation, Taiwanese seemed to have been identified with the boss by listeners on the show and by the audience on TV. However, although H attempted to adopt the boss's identity by switching to Taiwanese, she was not able to use it whenever she played the boss's role since her Taiwanese proficiency was low. Thus, in lines 16 and 18, H's utterances were mixed with Mandarin and Taiwanese-accent Mandarin. After watching this talk show for more than three years, the researcher was able to conclude that when H attempted to say something in Taiwanese, but was unable to use it at her disposal, she usually changed her speech style to Taiwanese-accent Mandarin because people in Taiwan who spoke Taiwanese as their mother tongue were usually associated with Taiwanese-accent Mandarin. Overall, H's attempt to use Taiwanese achieved either by speaking Taiwanese or by speaking Taiwanese-accent Mandarin indicated that she associated the language (i.e., Taiwanese) with C's boss in C's story because it was the only language used by the boss in the story; thus, when she attempted to continued C's story by playing the boss's role, she adopted the role's linguistic attribute and tried her best to use Taiwanese.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the individual-level association of code switching can help explain this CS case: compared with Mandarin, H connected Taiwanese with C's boss in this episode because it was the language used by his boss in C's story and heard by listeners (e.g., guests and the audience) and became one of the boss's attributes in the story; the association between C's boss and Taiwanese wa then motivationally relevant to envisioning H's use

of Taiwanese to play the role of C's boss, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

The above explanation of H's CS based on the associative model of CS this study proposed might be more plausible than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's theoretical explanations. Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) metaphorical CS indicates that speakers switch to another code to reveal connotations by borrowing the social attributes associated with the switched code; however, although H's switch to Taiwanese indicated the connotative information that she was playing the role of C's boss, the connotation was not produced by the perceived social attributes associated with Taiwanese according to the community norms, as suggested by Gumperz's notion. Instead, H could produce such connotative information because of the association between Taiwanese and the individual attributes of C's boss in C's story.

Also, Myers-Scotton (1993a) might argue that H switched to Taiwanese because it was linked with the type of relationship between C and his boss. The types of relationship between C and his boss might have been a senior vs. a younger or a boss vs. an employee. However, in Taiwan, when there was an exchange between a younger and a senior, and they did not know each other well (similar to that of C's situation), the former could use Mandarin, Taiwanese or Mandarin mixed with Taiwanese, while the latter could use Taiwanese, Mandarin, or Taiwanese mixed with Mandarin. That is, the code used between a younger and a senior could be Taiwanese, Mandarin, Mandarin (the younger) + Taiwanese (the senior), or Mandarin mixed with Taiwanese (the younger) + Taiwanese (the senior), Mandarin (the younger) + Taiwanese mixed with Mandarin (the senior), etc. There was no single way of language use that could index the relationship between a younger vs. a senior according to the community norms. The same explanation applies to the relationship between a boss vs. an employee. Instead, this study argues that the type of association lied in Taiwanese might have been the 'interaction' between C and his boss, rather than the 'relationship' between them. That is, although Taiwanese could not index the relationship between C and his boss, it indexed the interaction between them since it was the language used by C's

boss when he interacted with C in the previous context. This explanation again leads us back to the associative model of CS this study proposed. Taiwanese was connected with C's boss because it was most often used when C's boss interacted with him in his experience, and it became one of the boss's individual attributes at that time.

In addition, Auer (1984) might argue that H's switch to Taiwanese might have been used as a contextualization cue to distinguish her role as C's boss from her role as a host. However, H did not seem to switch to Taiwanese *per se* for the purpose of discourse organization. When H switched to Taiwanese to play the boss's role or when she hit herself on the chest thirty seconds after her CS, she indeed organized the ongoing conversation by using the language or the body gesture to signal her identity. However, if the language and the body gesture had not had an association with the boss, H would not have used them to signal her identity. In other words, H did not switch to Taiwanese or use the body gesture for the purpose of discourse organization per se; instead, she adopted these tools because they were associated with the boss. If the boss in C's story had spoken Mandarin to C, which was possible since C's main language was Mandarin, and the boss was able to speak Mandarin as well, then H would not have switched to Taiwanese.

In this example, we saw how H switched to Taiwanese to play the role of C's boss. The associative model of CS proposed in this study seemed to better explain this CS case than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions. In the next example, we will see that how a speaker switched to Taiwanese to quote a song he and his fiancé's family sang.

Example 11: Taiwanese and its association with a cultural object

1.   A: jiù gēn tā men liáo qǐlái liáo dào bànyè liǎng liǎng sān diǎn.

     with he PL chat up chat at midnight two two three point.

     I then started to chat with them into the small hours, two or three o'clock in the morning.

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(0.6)

2. A: yīnwéi [jiā] lǐ.

   because [house] inside.

   Because at her house.

3. B: [ēn],

            [um],

            [Um], ((B nods her head.))

   (0.2)

4. A: yīnwéi jiā lǐ zài tián de zhōngjiān yǒu.

   because house inside at farm land middle have.

   Because her family's house was located in the middle of the farmland.

   (0.3)

5. A: jiù nàme yī gè fángzǐ.

   EMP that one CL house.

   That was the only house.

   (0.2)

6. A: kǎlāok chàng zěnme dàshēng [dōu méi yǒu rén guǎn].

   karaoke sing how loud [both not have people manage].

   They could have a karaoke night and sing as loudly as they wanted, no one would care.

7. B: [@] @ (0.5)

8. A: liǎng sān diǎn le hái zài nà biān,

    two three point PFV still at that side,

    It was two or three o'clock very early in the morning, and they were still,

    (0.8)

→ 9. A: *guá pí pàtlâng* [*khah: jīn:tsin:*] *guá p í pàtlâng khah phahpiànn* wa jiù zhè[[yàngzǐ]].

    I compare others [*more: earnest:*] *I compare others more hardworking* wow EMP [[this like]].

    I am more: earnest: than others I am more hard-working than others wow [[like this]].

10. H: [*khah jīntsin:*]

                         [*more: earnest:*]

                         [*More: earnest:*]

11. B: [[@]] @ (0.5)

12. A: zhěnggè wǎnshàng āyí yě ài chànggē (0.2) māmā yě ài chànggē,

    all night aunt too like sing (0.2) mother too like sing,

    All night, her aunt likes singing (0.2) and her mother also likes singing,

    This example occurred in the same episode with the same two guests, one male (A) and his

fiancé (B), as Examples 6 and 8. Before this segment, A mentioned the first time he went to the house

of B's family; at that time, A and B were friends and had not been in a relationship. The reason A went

to B's house was that B's family was A's fans. When A and B happened to have a gathering in

Kaohsiung located in the south of Taiwan, B's family asked B to invite A to visit them. In this transcript,

A said that he and B's family chatted with each other until two or three o'clock into small hours the first

time they met (line 1). Then, A said that the house of B's family was located in the middle of their

farmland (lines 2, 4). A said since the family's house was the only one there (line 5), they could have a karaoke night and sing as loudly as they wanted, and no one would care (line 6). A's description made B laugh (line 7). A then said even it was two or three o'clock very early in the morning, they were still singing loudly (line 8). At this point, A paused for 0.8 seconds, and then he switched to Taiwanese to sing the chorus of the song they sang that day. After singing the song in Taiwanese, A switched back to Mandarin and said "like this" at the end of his quotation to indicate that the preceding part of his utterance was what they sang loudly that day (line 9). H also followed A when he sang, but she only sang two words probably because she was not familiar with the song, or she could not sing the song in Taiwanese (line 10). A's quotation made B laugh again (line 11). A then said that both B's aunt and mother liked to sing (line 12).

CS occurred in line 9 when A sang the chorus of the song he and B's family sang very early in the morning that day. B's family lived in a township called "Neipu" in Pingtung located in the south of Taiwan. In that township, over half of the population was Hakka people, and B's family language was Hakka although B spoke Mandarin fluently, and her family members might speak Taiwanese as well since they lived in the countryside of the south. When A wanted to illustrate what he meant by "they could have a karaoke night and sing as loudly as they wanted since no one would care, it was two or three o'clock very early in the morning," he sang the chorus of a song they sang that day. This song was publicized in 1987 and was popular, especially among people in the working class, because the song was about the complaint of a man who was earnest and hard-working, but had a tougher life than others; the singer of the song was famous and mainly sang Taiwanese songs. The reason A chose to quote this song might have been that this song was very sonorous and passionate, and by quoting this song, A could vividly describe to H and the audience how lively and boisterous it was that day.

Since this song was famous and was typically and usually sung in Taiwanese, it was associated with Taiwanese in most hearers' experience, including the host and the audience, and Taiwanese became one of the song's attributes. When A attempted to give an example of how lively and boisterous it was that

day, he switched to the language (i.e., Taiwanese) that had a stronger association with the song. Gumperz (1982) once mentioned that speakers do not always use the original language when they quote something from previous conversations. Although it was highly hypothetic, it was possible that B's family might have translated this song into Hakka since they were Hakka people. That is, B's family could have used whatever language they liked to sing the song, and A did not switch to Taiwanese because he was quoting the language B's family used to sing the song that day. Instead, A switched to Taiwanese because the song was most often sung in Taiwanese. That is, since the association of the song with Taiwanese had been established for years, it was better to use the language that was identified with the song in order to help listeners recognize which song he and B's family sang that day to achieve his goal of vivid illustration. (From H's reaction (i.e., following A's singing in line 10), the song A quoted was recognized.) In other words, quoting the song A and B's family sang that day and using the language of the song were two separate issues. The former gave an example of the situation that day while the latter helped H and the audience recognize which song A was quoting.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the individual-level association of code switching can help explain this CS case: compared with Mandarin, Taiwanese had a stronger association with the song because it was most often used when the song was sung and became one of the song's attributes; the strong association between the song and Taiwanese was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create the communicative effect of recognition to help A achieve the goal of vivid illustration, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

The above explanation of A's CS based on the associative model of CS this study proposed might be more plausible than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's theoretical explanations. Based on Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) notion, the connotative information revealed by A's switch to Taiwanese might have been that he was quoting something in the earlier conversation; however, the communicative effect was not produced by using the social attributes attached to

Taiwanese. Instead, the association was established between the song and Taiwanese. In terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993a) sequential unmarked CS, although A switched the setting from the talk show to the singing situation he had with B's family, he did not seem to index his relationship with B's family by switching to Taiwanese because the relationship between A and B's family was somewhat between an entertainer and fans. This type of relationship could be indexed by either Mandarin or Taiwanese. Instead, what A attempted to index by using Taiwanese might have been the song, which illustrated the lively and boisterous situation that day, since Taiwanese had a stronger association with the song and was one of the song's attributes. In addition, Auer (1984) might argue that A switched to Taiwanese to organize his narrative in a way that the reported speech (i.e., the chorus of the Taiwanese song) was separated from the rest of his narrative. However, the reported speech was already separated from its preceding narrative by a 0.8 second long pause and from its following narrative by a marker (i.e., zhèyàngzǐ, like this, in line 9). That is, this CS might not be used to contribute to organizing A's narrative. Also, A's 0.8 second long pause seemed to suggest that he was recalling what songs they sang that day and switched to Taiwanese to help listeners recognize the song they sang.

In this example, we saw how A switched to Taiwanese to quote a song he and his fiancé's family sang the first time they met, which in turn vividly illustrated the lively and boisterous situation that day. The associative model of CS of this study seemed to better explain this CS case than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions. In the next example, we will see that how a speaker switched to Taiwanese to avoid a face-threatening situation.

Example 12: Taiwanese and its association with an individual

1. H: nà gè nà gè shíjiān,

   that CL that CL time,

   That happened,

2. B: ēn.

   Um.

   Um.

3. H: fāshēng de hěn duǎn [hěn duǎn].

   occur CSC very short [very short].

   In a very short period of time.

4. B: [duì duì] duì.

                            [right right] right.

                            [Right, right], right.

   (0.3)

5. H: nǐ zìjǐ huì bú huì juédé,

   you self can not can feel,

   Did you feel,

   (1.2)

6. H: xiàng jiǎde yīyang.

   like unreal the same.

   Like it was unreal.

   (0.5)

7. H: jiù hǎoxiàng rénjiā gàosù nǐ nǐ zhōng lètòu le.

   just as if people tell you you hit jackpot PFV.

Just like people told you that you hit the jackpot.

(0.2)

8. A: duì ā wǒ jiù dìyī gè gǎnjué jiùshì.

   right RF I just first CL feeling is.

   Right, my first feeling was.

(0.3)

9. A: tiān ā wǒ xiànzài shì.

   god RF I now am.

   God, am I.

(0.3)

10. A: zhōng lètòu ma ránhòu háishì wǒ zài,

    hit jackpot Q then or I am,

    Hitting the jackpot? Then or I am,

(0.3)

→ 11. A: *hāmbîn.*

    dream.

    Dreaming.

12. A: @ (1.2)

13. H: zuòmèng hái shì shénme [shì bù shì],

    dream or is what [right not right],

Dreaming or something [right],

14. A: [duì ā wǒ] xiànzài shì zài zuòmèng jiùshì.

                               [right RF I] now is at dream that is.

                               [Right, I] am now dreaming.

There were three guests: A, in his early twenties, came to publicize his first album and was accompanied by his agent (B, female) and his album producer (C, male). In this exchange, H mentioned that it was a very short period in which A rose from being a nobody to becoming an international famous singer (lines 1, 3), agreed by B (line 4). H then asked A about his feelings about being famous overnight and offered one possible answer to him (i.e., unreal) (lines 5, 6) followed by an elaboration (i.e., hit a jackpot) (line 7). After a 0.2 second pause, A said that his first feeling was (a 0.3 second pause) that he had (another 0.3 second pause) hit the jackpot with a question marker (i.e., 'ma'); then, A added two particles (i.e., 'then' and 'or') (lines 8, 9, 10) and had another 0.3 second pause; then, A switched to Taiwanese to provide another answer to H's question (i.e., dreaming) (line 11), and laughed (line 12). Since H's Taiwanese proficiency was low, she repeated A's Taiwanese phrase in Mandarin to ask for clarification (line 13), which was confirmed by A (line 14).

CS occurred in line 11 when A provided his personal answer to H's question. A who was born in Taipei spoke Mandarin as his mother tongue. Although A could understand Taiwanese, he was not a fluent speaker of this language as shown in another variety show (i.e., Zhu Ge Hui She, Zhu's Association) where the host (Zhu Ge Liang) who spoke Taiwanese as his main language on the show spoke Taiwanese to him, but he responded in Mandarin, mixed with few Taiwanese phrases occasionally. In this transcript, when H asked A about his feeling, it was the first part of an adjacency pair (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), and A's response was the second part. Since H's first part included one possible answer, A's response could have been an agreement or a disagreement. The

former would be a preferred second part with simpler interactional and structural structures than the latter which would be a dispreferred second part with more complicated structures (Li & Milroy, 1995). Based on A's manner of answering H's question, his response seemed to be a dispreferred second part because he did not immediately agree with H's offer (i.e., unreal, hit the jackpot); he paused three times before repeating it and attached a question marker (i.e., 'ma' in line 8). That is, A spoke with great hesitation and ambiguity. After repeating H's offer, A provided his own answer in an affirmative statement in Taiwanese.

If A's personal answer was a dispreferred response, he might have been cautious about giving his dispreferred answer because he, in a lower social position, confronted the assumption of H, in a much higher social position, in a public setting, which in turn could have threatened H's positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and his relationship with H. This assumption could be justified by Gao's (1998) notion of speaking practice in Chinese culture which maintains the hierarchical structure in many social settings. Among the speaking practice, face is one of the communication elements Chinese consider, and "to Chinese, public disagreement is a face-losing act" (Gao, 1998, p. 180). In addition to the role of a host, H was a senior and very experienced entertainer for nearly sixty years of experience while A was a very new member in the entertainment industry with few months of experience. Also, H and A did not have any personal relationship in their lives. That is, A and H were in different social positions and in an asymmetric power relationship. H was seen as one who had more power and was in a much higher social position than A. In addition, A also seemed to have been aware of the asymmetric statuses and relationships. As shown elsewhere in the episode, A frequently showed his respect to H in an overt manner by, for example, twisting his head into a bow when H complimented him. A's awareness of and sensitivity to power and relationship could also be shown in one news report. When A received an interview from a reporter and discussed if he would have a fight with his father, A mentioned that he would not have a direct confrontation with his father or squabbles with him even though he would move on into the direction which his father might not agree with (Oriental Daily

News, 2013, August 13). Since A seemed to have been aware of the power and status differences between him and H, he might have carefully formulated his dispreferred answer by, for example, using some modification tools. Gao (1998) also states that "compliance strategy" is one method to handle the face issue; this strategy means that "to "give others face" requires one not to argue or disagree overtly with others in public" (p. 180). In the context of asymmetric statues and relationships between H and A, A might have tended to avoid disagreeing with H in an explicit manner by using some mitigation tools to euphemize and soften his dispreferred expression: repeating H's offer, using two particles (i.e., "then" and "or" in line 10), which seemed to indicate that he was about to say something which conflicted with H's assumption, having a 0.3 second pause, and finally switching to Taiwanese to offer his personal answer. If these verbal and non-verbal behaviors were considered mitigation tools, then they in turn also reflected the asymmetrical statuses and relationships between H and A.

The reason that Taiwanese could be used as one of the tools to mitigate A's answer was that it was not his main language; instead, Mandarin was his main language. As mentioned above, even when his interlocutor spoke Taiwanese, A still mainly used Mandarin although he sometimes switched to Taiwanese for certain purposes, such as building solidarity. Thus, Mandarin was associated with A and was his main voice, which in turn became one of his individual attributes. On the other hand, A did not have such an association with Taiwanese. That is, there was the existence of the rather strong association between Mandarin and A, while there was a lack of the association between Taiwanese and A. If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the individual-level association of code switching can explain this CS case: Mandarin was associated with A because it was the language he most often used. On the other hand, there was no association between Taiwanese and A because it was not used frequently by him. In other words, A might have considered himself a Mandarin speaker, rather than a Taiwanese speaker. Then, the lack of the association between Taiwanese and A was motivationally relevant to envisioning his use of Taiwanese

to express his real opinion to help him distance himself from what he said since the real opinion was produced in Taiwanese which was not associated with him. A in fact could speak English, which was also used by him in this episode; however, English was usually associated with sophistication in the Taiwanese society, which might not be appropriate for the purpose of mitigation.

The above explanation of A's CS based on the associative model of CS this study proposed might be more plausible than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's theoretical explanations. Based on Gumperz's theoretical notions of "they code" and "we code," the latter is the "ethnically specific, minority language" (1982, p. 66), while the former is the "majority language" (p. 66). In her study, Su (2005) indicates that Taiwanese is the "local language only used in limited area" (p. 198) while Mandarin is the "national language" (p. 195). That is, according to the community norms in Taiwan, Taiwanese is symbolically considered the "we code," while Mandarin is symbolically considered the "they code." However, unlike Gumperz's (1982) notion that a speaker might switch to "we code" when providing his personal opinions, A did not seem to switch to Taiwanese to signal that it was his personal answer because Taiwanese was not A's "we code." That is, the "we code" notion at the community level could not be applied to an individual's language practice in this case. Also, as the above analysis indicated, although A switched to Taiwanese to provide his personal answer, he did not do so for the purpose of revealing a higher level of personal involvement, as Gumperz's "we code" notion would suggest; instead, he switched to Taiwanese for the purpose of euphemizing his personal answer because of his lack of association with Taiwanese at the individual level. If this argument is plausible, then the associative model of CS proposed in this study might provide a more complete explanation: A switched to Taiwanese because of the lack of association between Taiwanese and himself.

In terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993a) sequential unmarked choice, the situational factor that triggered CS might have been the face-threatening act A did to H. However, this situational factor did not trigger a new, unmarked RO set between H and A. That is, the RO set between H and A remained the same (i.e., a host vs. an interviewee and a senior vs. a younger). In fact, A's use of Taiwanese to

soften his dispreferred response reaffirmed the asymmetrical relationship between a senior and a younger. Also, this unmarked RO set was reaffirmed by Taiwanese rather than Mandarin, as Myers-Scotton's notion would suggest.

In addition, Auer's (1984) discourse-related alternation might help in explaining this CS case since A might have switched to another language to make a contrast between his repetition of H's offer uttering in Mandarin and his personal answer uttering in Taiwanese; however, the reason for A to switch to Taiwanese might be more complicated than making a contrast after looking carefully at the conversation analysis. The mitigation tools A used (i.e., repeating H's offer, using two particles, "then" and "or," having a 0.3 second pause, and switching to Taiwanese) suggested that A switched to Taiwanese to avoid threatening H's face. It was not possible for A to switch to Taiwanese to soften his utterance while at the same time making a contrast between his personal answer and H's offer since these two purposes seemed to conflict with each other. The above analysis of the CS case suggested that A's switch did not seem to be related to H's attributes (i.e., participant-related alternation) either since H's Taiwanese proficiency was low, and she preferred to use Mandarin.

In this example, we saw how A switched to Taiwanese to soften his dispreferred response in a face-threatening situation since Taiwanese had the least association with his personal attribute. The associative model of CS of this study seemed to better explain this CS case than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions.

Summary of the Individual-Level Association

In this section, four examples were provided, and the associative model of CS this study proposed was used and compared with Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982), Myers-Scotton's (1993a), and Auer's (1984) notions. Table 3.3 summarizes the individual-level association of code

switching, and Figure 3.9 summarizes the community-level, activity-level, and individual-level associations of code switching.

This section shows that there indeed existed the association between languages and individuals or cultural objects, and the association was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create various communicative effects, such as imitation, playing the role of a guest's boss, the effect of recognition, and softening one's dispreferred response in a face-threatening situation. Although the communicative effects speakers attempted to create might not be predictable, the reason for speakers to choose to use Taiwanese was predictable: there was the existence of or a lack of the association between Taiwanese and individuals or cultural objects.

Also, Gumperz's, Auer's, and Myers-Scotton's theoretical explanations were examined. In terms of the individual-level association, Gumperz's notion was unable to apply because the connotative information revealed by CS was not related to the social attributes associated with Taiwanese; instead, it was related to the association or a lack of the association between Taiwanese and individuals/cultural objects. Also, Myers-Scotton's notion was unable to explain the CS instances because speakers did not seem to do CS to index a new RO set although they might shorten the distance with the audience; also, in some cases, Taiwanese was unable to index the RO set between the speaker and the previous interlocutor. In addition, Auer's notions of discourse-related and participant-related alternation did not seem to provide an in-depth explanation of the reasons behind CS.

Code switching	
	Individual -level association
Total	**10**

Table 3.3: Summary of the individual-level association of code switching.

A fluent Mandarin speaker switches to Taiwanese because of the associations it has at the

community level	activity level	individual level
Code switching: Taiwanese is associated with certain social meanings, social attributes, and social activities.	Code switching: Taiwanese is temporarily associated with an activity developed locally in an ongoing conversation.	Code switching: Taiwanese is associated with individuals or cultural objects.
For example: Taiwanese was associated with being vulgar, vernacularity, we code, the family language, localness, boldness, the South, etc.	For example: Taiwanese was associated with an apology activity and a Taiwanese poem.	For example: Taiwanese was associated with a famous singer, an individual, a famous song, or the speaker himself.

The association is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create certain communicative effects, which in turn are realized by switching to Taiwanese.
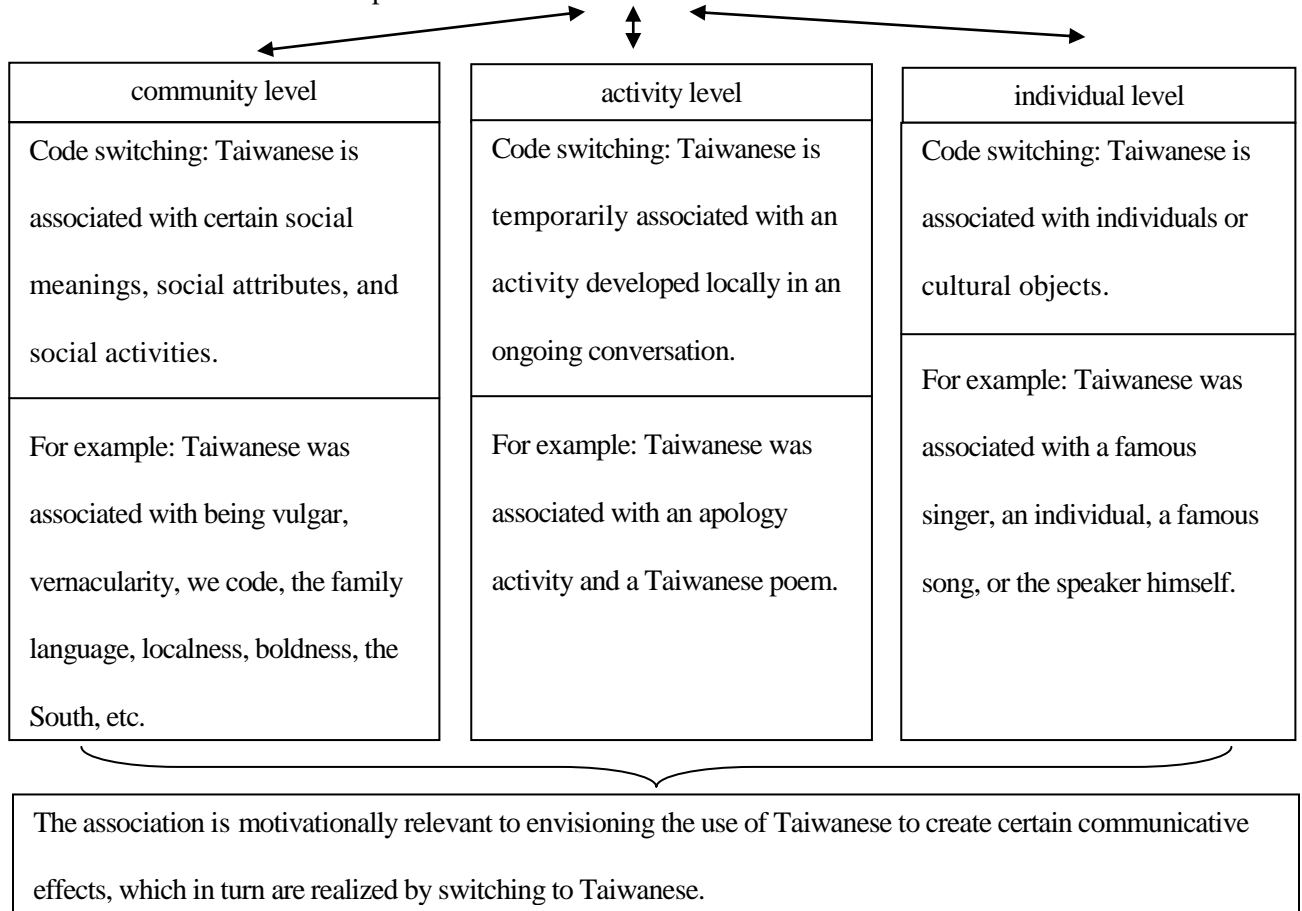
Figure 3.9: Summary of the community-level, activity-level, and individual-level associations of code switching.

3.4.1.4 Summary

The above discussion was about the association Taiwanese had at the community, activity, and individual levels. As Gumperz and Myers-Scotton argue, speakers switched to Taiwanese since it was attached with certain social attributes, social meanings, or social activities according to the community norms. However, as the above analysis showed, the types of associations might not only exist at the community level, but also occur at the activity level (i.e., Taiwanese was temporarily associated with an activity developed locally in an ongoing conversation) and individual level (i.e., Taiwanese was identified with individuals/cultural objects). Also, it is important to note

that by re-emphasizing the role association played in CS at the three levels, this study could explain more communicative effects than those proposed by Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) metaphorical connotation, Myers-Scotton's (1993a) indexing RO set, and Auer's (1984) discourse-related and participant-related alternation. Although the speakers' creative use of CS might not be predictable, the reason might be predictable. That is, when speakers were fluent speakers of Mandarin, the reason for them to switch to a less dominant (i.e., Taiwanese) language might have been that the associations Taiwanese had at the three levels were stronger than or not shared with Mandarin.

Table 3.4 summarizes the association at these three levels. Note that only 14 CS cases at the community level could be explained by Gumperz, Myers-Scotton, and/or Auer as shown in Examples 1-4. In addition, it is interesting to note that the use of association Taiwanese had at the three levels was not limited to either native speakers or non-native speakers. Table 3.5 summarizes the use of Taiwanese by these two groups of speakers. In terms of the community-level association, there were 11 native speakers and 12 non-native speakers switching to Taiwanese to create certain communicative effects. In terms of the activity-level association, there were 1 native speaker and 1 non-native speaker switching to Taiwanese because of its association with an activity developed locally in an ongoing conversation. In terms of the individual-level association, there were four native speaker and six non-native speakers switching to Taiwanese because of its association with individuals or cultural objects. The insignificant difference between the two groups of speakers in the use of CS seemed to suggest that the association established in a speaker's cognition did not restrict to the fluency and/or proficiency of the speaker's Taiwanese ability.

	Code switching			
	Community-level	**Activity-level**	**Individual-level**	**Total**
Total	23	2	10	35

Table 3.4: Summary of the associations Taiwanese had at the three levels.

	Code switching			Total
	Community-level	**Activity-level**	**Individual-level**	
NS	11	1	4	**16**
NNS	12	1	6	**19**
Total	23	2	10	35

Table 3.5: Summary of the associations Taiwanese had at the three levels produced by native

speakers (NS) of Taiwanese vs. non-native speakers (NNS) of Taiwanese.

3.4.2 The Associations between Taiwanese Utterances and Something (Utterance Switching)

In this section, the associations between Taiwanese utterances and certain social contexts, social

activities, contextual meanings, or rhetorical devices at the community and activity levels will be

discussed. Although the data analysis did not identify utterance switching at the individual level, there

was one discussed in Chapter 4 where interviewees' opinions on the talk show CS cases were discussed.

It should be noted that CS instances discussed in this section tend to be ignored to be less important

in Gumperz's, Auer's, and Myers-Scotton's theoretical explanations. Gumperz (Gumperz & Blom, 1972;

Gumperz, 1982) tends to focus on the communicative effects a code itself produces (e.g., the information

a code itself signals). Also, Auer (1984) focuses mainly on how CS can help speakers organize discourse

and how CS is related to participants' preferences or competences. In addition, Myers-Scotton mentions that when a switched code includes "referential content" (1993a, p. 138), the content tends to be less important and less necessary; instead, the message a speaker attempts to convey is related to the interpersonal relationship the speaker wishes to establish. However, by discussing the following examples, the study attempts to argue that the referential content of switched utterances was indeed important, and speakers did not seem to switch to the switched utterances for the purpose of negotiating an interpersonal relationship; instead, they creatively used Taiwanese utterances to produce certain communicative effects in a conversation.

3.4.2.1 Community-Level Association

At the community level, a Taiwanese utterance, rather than the code itself, may be associated with certain *social contexts*, certain *social activities*, or *contextual meanings* as a result of the presence or accumulation of the use of the switched utterances in certain social contexts or social exchanges, or the Taiwanese utterance may be associated with certain *rhetorical devices* The perceptions of these associations are shared among people in a community (See Section 1.2.3.3 for a review of the definitions of 'rhetorical devices' and 'community' used in this dissertation). The association a Taiwanese utterance has with certain social contexts, social activities, contextual meanings, and rhetorical devices might motivate speakers' switch to the Taiwanese utterance to create certain communicative effects, which in turn are realized by switching to the Taiwanese utterance. Also, the switched utterances mentioned here are different from borrowed forms. The use of a switched utterance is dependent on a speaker's language background, social experience, etc. On the other hand, the use of a borrowed has entered a speaker's mental inventory of words in the dominant language and is highly predictably.

In this study, 12 out of 15 CS instances were categorized as community-level associations of utterance switching. Taiwanese utterances were associated with the contextual meanings of

emphasizing that something or an activity would be gone quickly and a flavor of an elder's

compassion, with the social contexts of tattoos, gangs, fights, and killings, as well as with the

rhetorical devices of metaphors and meticulous descriptions. The associations Taiwanese utterances

had did not seem to be shared with Mandarin. In this section, seven examples will be discussed; the

associative model of CS will be used and compared with Gumperz's, Auer's, and Myers-Scotton's

theoretical explanations.

In the first example of utterance switching, we will see how a speaker switched to a Taiwanese

utterance for its associated contextual meaning.

Example 13: A Taiwanese phrase and its association with a contextual meaning

1. H: wō jiùshì wō (0.1) jùshuō (0.3) yào yào yào (0.1) yào.

    oh I mean oh (0.1) allegedly (0.3) need need need (0.1) need.

    Oh, it is said we have to.

2. H: zǎixì kàn bùrán yīxià tā jiù méi [yǒu le].

    careful look otherwise suddenly she EMP [not have PFV].

    Watch her carefully; otherwise she will be gone immediately.

3. A: [duì yī]xià jiù méi le.

                                         [yes su]ddenly EMP not PFV.

                                         Right, I will be gone immediately.

4. A: dàgài zhīyǒu sān gè jìngtóu.

    probably only three CL scene.

    I probably only had three scenes. ((A looks at the camera; her hand shows 'three.'))

5.   H&C: @ (2.2)

→ 6.   A: *siu: tsitē tiō bô*[*khì* [[*ah*].

      onomatopoeia: suddenly then [*disappear PFV* [[*PRT*].

      Bang: and disappeared. ((A's hands pretends to hold a box, showing it is fast.))

7.   B: [sān:],

                [three:],

                [Three:],

8.   H: [[suǒ]yǐ.

                [[so].

                [[So].

9.   H: [suǒyǐ nǐ] bǐ (.) tèyuē (.) hǎo yī diǎn jiù duì le.

                [so you] compare (.) guest actress (.) good one point right PRT.

                [So you] are a little bit better than a guest actress.

There were three guests on the show to publicize their recently released movie, which included three different separate stories. Both A, in her early thirties, and C, in her mid-twenties, were female; B, in his early forties, was male. Both A and B were able to speak Taiwanese. After H discussed A's real names (A changed her real name several times), she switched the topic to the part A played in the movie. In this transcript, H mentioned that it was said that A had very few scenes; thus, people had to watch her carefully in the movie; otherwise, she would quickly disappear (lines 1, 2). A confirmed this rumor (line 3). At this point, A looked at the camera and said she only had three scenes with her hand showing "three" (line 4). A's emphasis made both H and C laugh (line 5). Then, A switched to Taiwanese to say

"bang: and disappeared" to emphasize again how few scenes she had in the movie (line 6). Then, H concluded that A was a little bit better than a guest actress (line 9).

CS occurred in line 6 when A made a third emphasis on how few scenes she had in the movie. A used three utterances to emphasize how few scenes she had in the movie (lines 3, 4, 6). Except for the first emphasis, the other two emphases were accompanied by body gestures, and in her last emphasis, A switched to Taiwanese and used an onomatopoeic word, "*siu*," whose pronunciation sounded similar to the noise of wind. A's switch to Taiwanese did not seem to be related to the current situation because all guests could speak Mandarin. Although B's mother tongue was Taiwanese, he was not A's main addressee at that point. Also, the movie the guests came to publicize was a Mandarin movie, and the scene of the show was not related to Taiwanese. Also, A's switch did not seem to create entertaining effects; otherwise, B who was also a host in other variety shows at that time and who knew the rule of the game would have helped C create some entertaining effects, which were usually created by the cooperation between speakers.

On the other hand, the Taiwanese phrase A used at this point (i.e., *siu: tsi̍tē tiō bôkhì ah*, bang: and disappeared) was very similar to a Taiwanese phrase used by one of the hosts in an old Taiwanese TV program (i.e., Jin Wu Tai, Golden Stage), which was broadcast from 12:00 PM to 12:30 PM every Saturday or Sunday from 1986 to 1998. (A was born in 1980.) At that time, since there were fewer TV channels and leisure activities, this old Taiwanese TV program received widespread popularity. Since this old Taiwanese TV program only lasted for 25 minutes (and 5 minutes for commercial advertisements), every time when it approached the end of the day, one of the hosts always said "*kim bútâi, sann tsa̍p huntsing, siu: tsi̍tē tiō kuèkhì ah*, Golden Stage, thirty minutes, bang: and passed" in Taiwanese to emphasize how short the show was and how fast the show was gone. A seemed to adopt the last part of the Taiwanese utterances (i.e., *siu: tsi̍tē tiō kuèkhì ah*, bang: and passed). Although A used "*bôkhì*, disappeared" rather than "*kuèkhì*, passed," as in the original, the pitch and the tone of her entire phrase was very similar to those of the host,

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particularly the word "*siu:*, bang;" both A and the host increased the pitch on this word and lengthened the tone of the word. In a normal pronunciation, this word did not need an increased pitch and a lengthened tone. Also, instead of using "*bôkhì*, disappeared," A could have used "*bô ah*, gone" since the latter phrase could parallel her first emphasis (i.e., méi le, gone, line 3) in Mandarin. However, A chose to use "*bôkhì*, disappeared" perhaps because the last word the host used was also "*khì.*" That is, A's last word (i.e., *bôkhì*) paralleled the host's last word (i.e., *kuèkhì*). Judging from the sentence structure and pitch and tone movements, A seemed to adopt the last part of the host's Taiwanese utterances. (The reason A used "*bôkhì*, disappeared" rather than "*kuèkhì*, passed" might have been related to the topic of the current discussion. H mentioned that people needed to watch A carefully; otherwise, she could be 'gone' soon. The word, "*kuèkhì*, passed," emphasized time passed. Thus, A replaced "*kuèkhì*, passed" by "*bôkhì*, disappeared.")

Since A used this Taiwanese utterance (i.e., *siu: tsitē tiō bôkhì ah*, bang: and disappeared) in her third emphasis, it could be considered to be redundant, as Myers-Scotton would argue. However, the reason for A to use this Taiwanese phrase did not seem to be related to the negotiation of interpersonal relationship; instead, it might have been related to achieving the purpose of emphasis on how few scenes she had. If we look at this Taiwanese phrase without considering its relation with that old Taiwanese TV program, this phrase could be used to describe that the speed was very fast or the time flew fast since "*siu*" was an onomatopoeic word and sounded similar to the noise of wind. However, since this Taiwanese phrase had been regularly used in the context of the end of that old Taiwanese TV program and had been placed in the last part of the entire Taiwanese utterances, "*kim bútâi*, *sann tsa̍p huntsing*, *siu: tsitē tiō kuèkhì ah*, Golden Stage, thirty minutes, bang: and passed," to emphasize that the show was gone quickly, a contextual meaning of this Taiwanese phrase might have been created: emphasizing that something or an activity would be gone quickly. (Although the contextual meaning of this Taiwanese phrase somewhat overlapped its literal meaning, they could be used in different ways.) Also, after the accumulated

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use of this Taiwanese phrase at the end of that old Taiwanese TV program for 12 years, the

contextual meaning might have attached to this Taiwanese phrase, become part of this Taiwanese

phrase, and established in A's cognition. When A wanted to emphasize how fast she would be

gone in the movie, she adopted this Taiwanese phrase because the contextual meaning associated

with it could help her achieve the emphasis.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of

utterance switching can explain this CS case: compared with the Mandarin translation, the

Taiwanese phrase was associated with the contextual meaning (i.e., emphasizing something or an

activity would be gone quickly) as a result of the accumulated use of this Taiwanese phrase in a

social context (i.e., that old Taiwanese TV program), and such an association was shared among

the audience who watched that old Taiwanese TV program and exited in A's cognition. The

association between the contextual meaning and the Taiwanese phrase was then motivationally

relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to produce the emphasis, and such a

communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese phrase.

The above explanation of A's CS was based on the associative model of CS this study proposed,

and Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's theoretical explanations might not be able to explain this

CS case. Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) notion could partially support the

analysis discussed above in a way that the semantic effect of this CS created was based on the existence

of the regular use of a 'form' in a certain social context. However, it was not the regular use of a 'code'

in a certain social context that brought that code certain social meanings associated with that context, as

Gumperz argues. Instead, it was the regular use of an 'expression' (i.e., the Taiwanese phrase) in a

certain context that provided the expression with the semantic effect (i.e., the contextual meaning of

emphasizing something or an activity would be gone quickly). That is, the semantic effect was

attached to the expression, rather than to the code per se. Also, this semantic effect might not be a

borrowed form since the association between the contextual meaning and the expression was based on,

for example, an individual's language background and social experience. In Myers-Scotton's (1993a) notion, this code choice could be considered a marked one. However, A did not seem to wish to index a new, marked RO set between her and the audience even though her adoption of the Taiwanese phrase regularly used in a previous Taiwanese program might have shortened the distance with the audience who also watched the old Taiwanese program. On the other hand, since emphasis might be the communicative effect this CS created, Auer (1984) might consider this CS case as discourse-related alternation because it was related to discourse organization. That is, by switching to a different language (i.e., Taiwanese), A could make her emphasis salient; however, if this were the case, then Auer's notion could not explain why A chose to switch to Taiwanese, rather than another different language such as English, since she was able to speak some English as well. That is, Auer's notion might help explain the communicative effect this CS brought; however, it could not help explain the reason for choosing this language over another. This study suggests that the reason for A to choose Taiwanese was that the contextual meaning was associated with the Taiwanese phrase.

In this example, we saw how a contextual meaning might have been created and attached to a Taiwanese phrase after it had been regularly used in a specific context for years; the existence of the association between the Taiwanese phrase and the contextual meaning might have been the motivation for A to switch to Taiwanese to emphasize how fast she would disappear in the movie. The associative model of CS of this study seemed to better explain this CS case than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions. In the next example, we will see another example of the association between a Taiwanese utterance and a contextual meaning.

Example 14: A Taiwanese phrase and its association with a contextual meaning

1. H: [wěi zhōng gē] shì (0.3) yánlìde jiāoguān,

[wei zhong brother] is (0.3) strict military training instructor,

[Wei-zhong] was (0.3) a strict military training instructor,

2. A: [@]

    (0.1)

3. A: jiāo(@guān@),

    military (@training instructor@),

    Military (@training instructor@),

4. H: yòu tī yòu dǎ yòu mà.

    and kick and hit and scold.

    He kicked, hit, and scolded him.

5. H: (1.1) ((H imitates the sounds and physical gestures when Wei-zhong hit and kicked A))

6. B: @ (0.6)

7. H: nà wǒ jiù zài páng biān jiǎn yīxià wō,

    that I at side side pick soon oh,

    Then, I was there seeing what was happening and picking him up, oh,

    ((When H said, "oh," she slightly bends her waist, stretches out her hands, and pretends to hold A in her hands; then, H's left hand pretends to hold A, and her right hand pretends to pat him gently.))

    (0.7)

8. H: [wa::],

    [oh::],

    [Oh::], ((H keeps pretending to hold A in her left hand and gently pat him with her right hand.))

→ 9. A: [*sioh sioh sioh*].

    [*care care care*].

    [*Poor thing poor thing poor thing*].

10. H: *sioh sioh* [[*sioh sioh sioh*]],

    care care [[*care care care*]],

    Poor thing poor thing [[*poor thing poor thing poor thing*]],

    ((H keeps pretending to hold A in her left hand and gently pat him with her right hand.))

11. A: [[@]]

    (0.1)

12. H: kělián wō yǎnyì quān dōushì zhèyàngzǐ de lā hòu kuài qù kuài qù hòu.

    poor entertainment circle all this like RF quick go quick go RF.

    Poor thing, the entertainment industry is like this, move on move on.

    ((H pretends to push A to move on.))

This example occurred in the same episode with the same two guests, one male (A) and his fiancé (B), as Examples 6, 8, and 11. Before this segment, A purposefully shifted the topic and explained to B how H cared about and assisted him in his early career years in the entertainment industry. A then described two important figures to him in the entertainment industry (i.e., Wei-zhong and H). A described Wei-zhong as a teacher and H as a principal. At this point, H interrupted A's utterances and repaired his descriptions. In this transcript, H said that Wei-zhong was a strict military training instructor (line 1). A repeated H's description with a laughing voice (line 3). H continued saying that Wei-zhong kicked, hit, and scolded A (line 4) and imitated the sounds and physical gestures when Wei-zhong hit

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and kicked A (line 5). H's imitation made B laugh (line 6). Then, H described her role and said that she was there seeing what was happening and picking A up after he was hit and kicked by Wei-zhong (line 7). When H said this utterance, her last word, "wō, oh," along with her body gestures (i.e., slightly bending her waist, stretching out her hands, and pretending to hold A in her left hand and to pat A gently with her right hand), showed her compassion. Except for the word, "wō, oh," H did not use other words to express her compassion. After a 0.7 second pause, H still pretended to hold A in her left hand and gently pat him with her right hand and produced another lengthening interjection, "wa::, oh::," which was also used to show her compassion (line 8). At the same time, A overlapped H's second interjection, switched to Taiwanese, and said "*sioh*, poor thing" to accompany H's body gestures (line 9). Then, H also adopted this Taiwanese word (i.e., *sioh*, poor thing), repeated the word five times, and kept doing her body gestures (i.e., pretending to hold A in her left hand and gently pat him with her right hand) (line 10). Then, H pretended to tell the person (i.e., Guest A) in her hand that it was normal to be treated like this in the entertainment industry and to push the person to move on (line 12).

CS occurred in line 9 when A switched to a Taiwanese word (i.e., *sioh*, poor thing) to accompany H's body gestures (i.e., pretending to hold A in her left hand and gently pat him with her right hand). This Taiwanese word is a verb, used to show a person's caring and love affection to someone. The closet translation of this Taiwanese phrase into English could be "poor thing." A's mother tongue was Taiwanese; when he switched to Taiwanese, he did not change the topic. Although the current topic was to explain to B (i.e., addressee) how H cared about and assisted him, A did not seem to switch to Taiwanese for the purpose of selecting the addressee because B's main language was Mandarin (although her parents lived in the south of Taiwan where many people spoke Taiwanese).

On the other hand, A's switch to Taiwanese seemed to be related to H's intention of showing compassion. When H pretended to pick up A who was kicked, hit, and scolded by his another mentor (i.e., Wei-zhong), she used "wō, oh" (line 7) to show her compassion, which was also revealed by her body gestures: holding A and patting him gently. However, the word, "wō, oh," was an interjection and

did not have the meaning of showing compassion. Instead, it was H's tone of voice and body gestures that revealed her caring and love affection. After a 0.7 second pause, H with the same body gestures used another interjection, "wa, oh" (line 8), which again did not express the meaning of showing compassion. The fact that H kept doing her body gestures, but both interjections could only reveal her compassion by her tone of voice, and that between the interjections, she had a long pause seemed to indicate that at that point, she might have been unable to find an appropriate phrase to express her compassion. Since A had known H for decades, he seemed to have known what H attempted to express; thus, after H's long pause, he switched to the Taiwanese word, "*sioh*, poor thing," to help her express her compassion. Although H's second interjection overlapped A's Taiwanese word, she then abandoned her second interjection, repeated A's word five times, and continued her body gestures. H's acceptance of A's expression and her continuing body gestures seemed to suggest that A's expression was more suitable than her second interjection to express her compassion.

The reason for A's switch to the Taiwanese word, rather than other Mandarin words, to help H express her compassion seemed to be related to its association with a contextual meaning. Previously, most elders spoke Taiwanese, except for those who came to Taiwan with the KMT (i.e., Mainlanders), which occupied a small proportion of the population (i.e., 12%). (See Chapter 2 for the historical and language use background of Taiwan.) Although the literal meaning of this Taiwanese word (i.e., *sioh*, poor thing) was showing a person's caring and love affection to someone, it was usually used by elders when they expressed their caring and love affection to their younger generations in the past. After this Taiwanese word had been constantly used in the context where elders showed their caring and love affection to the younger generations, the contextual meaning might have been established (i.e., the elder's caring and love affection to the younger) and attached to the Taiwanese word. The contextual meaning attached to the Taiwanese word might have been even more meaningful emotionally and had certain socio-psychological features for A because he was raised by his grandmother. According to Pavlenko, "the L1 effects stem from affective linguistic conditioning in childhood (Pavlenko, 2006),

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when languages are learned with the full involvement of the limbic system and emotional memory" (2006, p. 22). That is, the Taiwanese utterance might have contained more emotions for A than the Mandarin version since he mainly used Taiwanese when he was a child. When H described how she cared about A after he was kicked, hit, and scolded, her interjections and her body gestures (i.e., pretending to hold A in her left hand and gently pat him with her right hand) also showed her caring and love affection; and for A, this type of caring and love affection was the type of caring and love affection an elder showed to a younger because he treated H as his parent (See Example 8 for H and A's relationship). That is, H's body gestures and her interjections revealed the caring and love affection to A, which was very similar to the contextual meaning associated with the Taiwanese word. Thus, A chose to use this Taiwanese word to help H express her compassion because it provided a stronger flavor of elder's compassion.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching can explain this CS case: the Taiwanese word (i.e., *sioh*, poor thing) was associated with the contextual meaning (i.e., the elder's caring and love affection to the younger) as a result of the accumulated use of the Taiwanese word in the context where an elder gave caring and love affection to a younger, and such an association was shared among people having the similar family environment and exited in A's cognition. The association between the Taiwanese word and the contextual meaning was then motivationally relevant to envisioning A's use of the Taiwanese phrase to repair H's interjections and to give a flavor of an elder's compassion, and such communicative effects were in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese phrase.

The above explanation of A's CS was based on the associative model of CS this study proposed, and Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's theoretical explanations might not be able to explain this CS case. In terms of Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) notion, the semantic effect of this CS in part was created based on the existence of the regular use of a 'form' in a certain social context. However, it was not the regular use of a 'code' in a certain social context that brought

that code certain social meanings associated with that context. Instead, it was the regular use of an 'expression' in a certain social context, which became part of the social meanings of the expression. In terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Markedness model, this CS was a marked code choice; however, the RO set between H and A remained the same (i.e., a host vs. a guest and a senior vs. a younger), and the social distance between H and A did not increase or decrease. In addition, Auer's (1984) notions of discourse-related and participant-related alternation might not help in explaining this CS case since B did not seem to use CS for discourse organization and for the preferences or competences of the listeners.

Example 15: A Taiwanese phrase and its association with certain social contexts

1. H: háiyǒu yī gè ne jiùshì cìqīng wánle yǐhòu.

    another one CL RF tattoo PFV after.

    And one more situation is that after having a tattoo on your body.

    (0.3)

2. H: nǐ jiānglái yào dāng míngxīng de shíhòu (.) yào pāixì de shíhòu.

    you future want become star NOM time (.) want actor NOM time.

    When you become a star in the future (.) when you become an actor.

    (0.9)

→ 3. H: nǐ dàodǐ yào yǎn shíme *Bángkah* zhīyǒu yī bù [hòu:].

    you on earth want act what *Bángkah* only one CL [RF:].

    What on earth do you want to act, there is only one *Bangkah*.

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((H slightly lifts her head, makes a fist, has a murderous look, and stars at the camera.))

4.   A: [@] @ (1.4)

    (1.7)

5.   H: érqiě rénjiā yě yǐjīng pāi guò le (0.1) duì bù duì

      and people too already shoot PFV (0.1) right not right.

      And it has been shot (0.1), right.

There were three handsome, young, and rich male guests attending the show to discuss their careers. The reason for inviting these guests was that they all had a rich family, had experience studying abroad, and entered or planned to enter the entertaining industry. Before this segment, H mentioned that A had many tattoos on his body and asked if he was willing to show her his tattoos. A agreed and started to take off his shirt. While A was taking off his shirt, perhaps because of the social responsibility H thought this talk show should have, H faced the camera and apologized to the audience on TV because A was going to show tattoos on the show, which might set a bad example. Then, H told the audience that they needed to think about getting tattoos carefully since their bodies were given by their parents. H then reminded the audience of two situations they might face if they had tattoos on their bodies. After discussing the first situation, in this transcript, H continued discussing the second situation (line 1). H asked the audience that after having tattoos, if they became a star and an actor in the future (line 2), then what types of dramas they could play (line 3). At this point, before H continued her utterances in line 3, she slightly lifted her head, made a fist, had a murderous look, and stared at the camera. Then, H said there was only one "*Bangkah*, a name of a movie" (line 3), but it had been shot (line 5). Since "*Bangkah*" H mentioned was the name of a movie and was uttered in Taiwanese, when she mentioned this movie in line 3, she also switched to Taiwanese.

CS occurred in line 3 when H mentioned the name of a movie produced in Taiwan (i.e., *Bangkah*). When H discussed the second situation people might face after having tattoos, she believed that if people had tattoos on their bodies and later became entertainers, the types of dramas they could play would be limited. H's belief reflected most people's (particularly elders) impression of tattoos in the Taiwanese society in which they possessed a somewhat conservative viewpoint about tattoos and associated tattoos with gangs and gangsters. Based on this belief, H believed that once entertainers had many and obvious tattoos on their bodies (like guest A), the type of drama they could play was limited to that similar to the movie, *Bangkah*. The Taiwanese phrase, *Bangkah*, was a movie name and used to be the name of a previously prosperous city in Taipei. The name of this city changed to 'Wanhua' during Japanese government (Wanhua District Office, Taipei City, 2014, May 8th); however, its old name was still used by local people. Before this movie was launched, one of the social impressions of *Bangkah* people had had was fights with weapons among different gangs since it used to be a commercial city with many conflicts of interests (Hou, 2011), and this social impression should remain in the mind of most people in their middle ages, including H who was born in Taipei and in her early sixties. After this movie was launched, the previously established social impression (i.e., gangs, fights, and perhaps killings) associated with *Bangkah* seemed to be intensified and strengthened. The movie, *Bangkah*, was launched on February 5th, 2010 and received widespread popularity in Taiwan. This movie was an epic with a story of gangs in the previously prosperous city (i.e., *Bangkah*) in 1980s as its background; the ideas the movie conveyed were friendship, a record of the director's memory of his teenage life, which he wanted to share with people in his generation, and the pursuit of dreams of a group of people (Niu, 2014). Since the movie used the previously prosperous city (i.e., *Bangkah*) as the background, it included a great deal of scenes related to tattoos, gangs, fights, and killings although they were not the only element of the movie. Nevertheless, the scenes related to tattoos, gangs, fights and killings seemed to have made the previously established impression of the city (i.e., *Bangkah*) recalled, which in turn further

strengthened and intensified such a social impression and its association with the name, *Bangkah*.

Because of the previously established social impression of the city (i.e., tattoos, gangs, fights, and killings) and their re-appearance in the movie, the scenarios of tattoos, gang, fights, and killings seemed to have been even more impressive than other ideas this movie attempted to convey (i.e., friendship, a record of the director's memory, and the pursuit of dreams). That is, the strengthened social impression became part of the main impression of the movie, perhaps particularly to people who had established certain social impression of the city before the movie was launched. Since this movie was launched eight months before this episode and received widespread popularity, the association between the movie and its strengthened social impression (i.e., tattoos, gang, fights, and killings) seemed to have been still active in H's cognition. Thus, when H mentioned "tattoos" and "dramas," she switched to Taiwanese to say *Bangkah* to give an example of the type of drama entertainers with a great amount of tattoos might have. H's illustration seemed to be effective because A's laugh in line 4 suggested that he got H's point.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching can explain this CS case: the Taiwanese phrase (i.e., *Bangkah*) was associated with certain social contexts (i.e., tattoos, gangs, fights, and killings) as a result of the accumulated presence of *Bangkah* in these social contexts, and such an association might have been shared among people in different communities (e.g., local people in Taipei, people in their middle ages, and people who watched the movie) and existed in H's cognition. The strong and salient association between *Bangkah* and the social contexts was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to give the audience and guests a vivid illustration of the type of drama people had tattoos could play, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese phrase. Also, judging from H's body gestures and facial expressions (i.e., slightly lifting her head, making a fist, having a murderous look, and staring at the camera), H did connect the movie with the social contexts (e.g., tattoos, gangs, fights, and killings). However, the

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association between the name of the movie and the social contexts was not merely created by the movie; instead, such an association had been established before this movie was launched and was further strengthened and intensified by the violent scenes re-appearing in the movie.

As mentioned in 1.2.3.3, it is possible that the associations Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has might occur at the three levels simultaneously. In this CS case, in addition to the community-level association of utterance switching, this CS case might be considered the individual-level association of code switching, as the analysis in Example 11 would suggest. That is, H switched to Taiwanese because the name of the movie had a stronger association with Taiwanese rather than Mandarin since it was most often expressed in Taiwanese in hearers' experience. However, the reason for H to mention the name of the movie was related to its associated social contexts since she intended to give an example of the type of drama actors having tattoos could play. In other words, in this CS case, the association might be more 'community-oriented' and related to utterance switching, rather than code switching.

The above explanation of H's CS was based on the associative model of CS this study proposed, and Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's theoretical explanations might not be able to explain this CS case. Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) notion could partially support the analysis discussed above; the semantic effect this CS created was based on the existence of the accumulated relationship between a form and certain social contexts. However, the established relationship was not between a 'code' and certain social contexts; instead, it was between an 'expression' and certain social contexts, which became part of the social meanings of the expression. Also, such an association between the social meanings and the Taiwanese phrase was based on an individual's background and social experience since *Bangkah* was an old name of the current city, Wanhua. Young people might not know the background of this city although they might have also established the association between *Bangkah* and the social contexts if they watched the movie. In terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993a) notion, this CS did not index any new, unmarked or marked RO set. In addition,

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Auer's (1984) notions of discourse-related and participant-related alternation might not help in explaining this CS case since H did not seem to use CS for discourse organization and for the preferences or competences of the guests and listeners.

In this example, we saw how the association between a Taiwanese phrase (i.e., *Bangkah*) and its social contexts (i.e., tattoos, gang, fights, and killings) might have triggered H's switch to Taiwanese to give audience a clear and vivid example of the type of dramas entertainers who had tattoos could have. The associative model of CS of this study seemed to better explain this CS case than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions.

Examples 13 - 15 show that speakers used certain Taiwanese utterances to produce certain communicative effects because their associations with certain contextual meanings, certain social contexts, or certain social activities. In Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) notions, after a code is regularly used in certain social contexts or social exchanges, it is attached with certain social meanings, social attributes, or social activities. The same notion can be applied to the association between Taiwanese utterances and certain contextual meanings, certain social contexts, or certain social activities. Instead of a code, certain utterances regularly used or present in certain social contexts and uttered in Taiwanese might have been attached with contextual meanings or certain social contexts. Speakers established the association the Taiwanese utterances had because they were exposed to social environments to accumulate their social experiences, and such an association was then motivationally relevant for speakers to switch to these Taiwanese utterances to create certain communicative effects, such as making an emphasis, producing a flavor of an elder's compassion, and offering a vivid example. In the next example, we will see the association between a Taiwanese phrase and rhetorical devices.

Example 16: A Taiwanese phrase and its association with rhetorical devices

1. H: nǐ zhīdào wǒ dìyī cì kàn dào nǐ de shíhòu.

    you know I first CL see to you NOM time.

    You know, the first time I saw you. ((H points at B.))

    (0.4)

2. H: wǒ shì qù kàn wáng qí méi lǎoshī de xì. =

    I am go watch Wang qi mei master GEN play. =

    Was when I went to watch Master Qi-mei Wang's play. =

3. B: = ā shì.

    = ah yes.

    = Ah yes. ((B nods his head politely.))

    (0.2)

4. H: .hhh nǐ zài nà yǎn tā men jiù gàosù wǒ zhè yàng shuō,

    .hhh you at that play he PL then tell I this way say,

    .hhh you were playing up there, they told me like this,

5. H: .hhhh nà shì wú niàn zhēn de érzǐ wǒ shuō ā nà nà gè ma?

    .hhhh that is Wu nian zhen GEN son I say ah that that CL Q?

    .hhhh that is Nian-zhen Wu's son, I said, ah that, that one?

    ((H approaches A's ear and covers her mouth. H's voice drops to a whisper. Then, H does not

    approach A's ear, points at something in the distance.))

6. H: tā shuō bù shì: shì piāoliàng de nà gè,

    he say not is: is beautiful NOM that CL,

    He said, no:, it's the beautiful one,

    ((She approaches A's ear again and points at something on the other side. H looks at A

    deliberately after she said "the beautiful one."))

    (0.2)

7. A: ā:

    ah:

    Oh: ((B has a wry smile.))

    (1.4)

8. B: piāoliàng nà [yī gè].

    beautiful that [one CL].

    The beautiful [one].

9. A: [nà] páng biān bù shì hěn qiǔ ma? [[@]]@ (0.4)

                  [that] side side not is very embarrass Q? [[@]@ (0.4)

                  [Then], wasn't the one next to him very embarrassed? [[@]@ (0.4)

10. H: [[páng biān nà gè hěn qiǔ]].

                                               [[side side that CL very embarrass]].

                                               [[The one next to him was very embarrassed]].

                                               ((H's voice is normal.))

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11. H: ránhòu wǒ jiù shuō nǐ quèdìng nà shì wú niàn zhēn de ma?

    then I say you sure that is Wu nian zhen GEN Q?

    Then, I said, are you sure that's Nian-zhen Wu's son?

    ((H approaches A again. Her voice drops to a whisper again.))

12. H: .hh tā men shuō shìde.

    .hh he PL say yes.

    .hh they said, yes.

    (0.3)

13. H: wa:

    wow:

    Wow: ((H's voice becomes normal.))

    (0.5) ((H's head cocks to one side; she seems to think about something.))

→ 14. H: *pháinnt shut* (.) shénme? =

    bad bamboo (.) what? =

    Bad bamboos (.) how to say that? = ((H looks at A.))

15. B: = *pháinn tik*,

    = *bad bamboo*,

    = *Bad bamboos*,

16. A: *pháinn* [*tik tshut hó*] *sún.*

    bad [*bamboo produce good*] *bamboo shoots*.

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Bad [*bamboos produce good*] *bamboo shoots*.

17. H: [*pháinn tik*]

                   [*bad bamboo*]

                   [*Bad bamboos*]

    (.)

18. H: eh *tshut hó sún*.

    AU *produce good bamboo shoots*.

    Produce good bamboo shoots.

There were two guests attending the show. A was in his late fifties, and Taiwanese was his mother tongue. B who was in his late twenties was A's son, and they came to publicize A's new book and B's new stage play. H was A's friends for decades. The transcript happened at the beginning of the show. Before the segment, H and A recalled the time when they worked together in an office thirty years ago. Then, H mentioned that at that time A did not have much "father's talk" and switched the topic to B. In this transcript, H recalled the first time she saw B (line1). H mentioned where she saw B (line 2). Then, B politely responded to H's utterance (line 3). H then described the conversation she had with her friends when she saw B the first time (line 4). H used "they told me like this" in line 4 to indicate that the following utterance was her friends' words. H then played her friends' role who told her that A's son was on the stage (line 5). When H played her friends' role, she approached A and covered her mouth when talking to A, and her voice dropped to a whisper (since the setting was in a theater play, the audience should keep quiet.). Then, H used "I said" to indicate that the following utterance was her words (line 5). When H played her role, she did not approach A and pretended to point at something in the distance, indicating that it was the gesture she used when she guessed who on the stage was A's son

that day (line 5). Then, H used "he said" to indicate that the following utterance was her friend's words. H's friend said that H's guess was wrong, pointed at the other side, and said A's son was "the beautiful one" (line 6). When H played her friend's role, she approached A again. After H quoted her friend's words, "the beautiful one," she took a deliberate look at A. At this point, H's story was interrupted by A who produced an interjection, showing that he was surprised because B was considered to be "beautiful" by H's friend (line 7). B also had a wry smile and repeated that he was "the beautiful one" perhaps because he as a guy could not accept the term, "beautiful" (line 8). Then, A asked if the person standing next to B was embarrassed (line 9). H repeated what A said, but did not give further response (line 10). When H responded to A's utterance in line 10, her voice became normal. Then, H continued her story. H used "I said" again to show that the following utterance was her words and approached A who now became H's friends that day; H's voice dropped to a whisper again, and she asked if her friends were sure that that beautiful one was A's son (line 11). H's friend confirmed that the beautiful boy was indeed A's son (line 12). After H finished the story, her voice became normal again; she produced an interjection (line 13). Then, the conversation paused for 0.5 seconds during which H's head cocked to one side, and she seemed to think about something. H seemed to have thought of one Taiwanese phrase, but she could not remember the entire phrase. H switched to Taiwanese to produce two words, looked at A, and asked him how to say that Taiwanese phrase (line 14). Although B switched to Taiwanese and answered H's question by giving the first part of the Taiwanese phrase, he stopped after uttering the first two words because the addressee H picked was A, rather than him; it was somewhat impolite to take the floor when the elder asked someone else a question (line 15). A then took the floor and said the Taiwanese phrase (line 16) followed by H's repetition (lines 17, 18).

There were two CS cases in this example, and the discussion will focus on the first CS case (line 14) when H attempted to produce a Taiwanese phrase after she finished her story. This switched Taiwanese phrase (i.e., Bad bamboos produce good bamboo shoots) is a metaphorical expression, used to describe that although a child's parent(s) does something bad or illegal (i.e., bad bamboos), the child is in

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contrast outstanding (i.e., good bamboo shoots). The metaphor can also be extended to describe that

although the parent(s) does not have good appearance (i.e., bad bamboos), the next generation does (i.e.,

good bamboo shoots). When H finished her story, she switched to this Taiwanese phrase because it was

her purpose of telling the story: giving B a compliment on his appearance. Before switching to this

Taiwanese phrase, H's intention of complimenting B had revealed when she mentioned that her friend

said B was "the beautiful one." After saying this utterance, H deliberately looked at A because that was

the main point of her story. In the Taiwanese society, parents tended to give each other's children

compliments to orientate to parents' positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and to maintain their

relationship when they get together because parents like to hear that their children are better or have

higher achievements than them. The same situation happened in this transcript. Since H and A were

friends for decades, and A brought his son to the show, which apparently was the first time H and B met

officially, H might have wanted to give B a compliment in front of A to orientate to A's positive face.

However, why did H use this Taiwanese phrase to achieve her goal since this phrase might have

also implied that A was a bad bamboo? Since Taiwanese was A's mother tongue, it was possible that H

chose this Taiwanese phrase because of her addressee's language, rather than the expression itself.

However, in the entire episode, this was the only CS case H produced; if H had attempted to

accommodate to A's main language, she would have produced more CS cases. Thus, this inference

might not be plausible. On the other hand, in Mandarin, there is a similar phrase, "qīng chū yú lán gèng

shèn yú lán, to excel one's parent(s) on something," which can also give B a compliment that his

appearance is better than his parent. The reason H chose this Taiwanese phrase rather than the Mandarin

equivalent might have been that it completely reflected her thought: she indeed thought A was like bad

bamboos while B was like good bamboo shoots in terms of their appearance. That is, H attempted to use

the metaphor associated with this Taiwanese phrase to compliment B. This inference could be justified

by what happened later on the show. After H told this story, the topic switched to previous family photos

B planned to share on the show; H then mentioned A's appearance. H said that when they worked

together, their colleagues said that A "looked very old" (remember H and A worked in the same office thirty years ago when A was in his late twenties.). H then said that A looked better now because he gained weight slightly and that he used to be "older" and "uglier." Although H covered her mouth immediately after she said "uglier," showing that she was regretful for what she said, she then repaired her description that A had a "sorrowing face" and said, "Taiwanese people's sorrow all grew on A's face." When H discussed A's appearance, she did not attempt to tease him, and A's reaction did not show any offended or unpleasant look either; instead, the scene was more like a casual talk between old friends even though the casual talk occurred in a public setting (i.e., the talk show). Judging from H's description (i.e., A used to be older), H thought A looked old that day as well. Then, H's opinion on A's appearance was that he looked old and had a "sorrowing face." On the other hand, in H's story, B was considered to be "beautiful." Thus, H indeed thought that in terms of their appearance, B was much better than A because the former was "beautiful" (i.e., good bamboo shoots), while the latter was old and had a "sorrowing face" (i.e., bad bamboos). Then, the Mandarin equivalent, "qing chu yu lan geng shen yu lan, to excel one's parent(s) on something," was not appropriate because it did not reflect the bad part of the parent. Instead, the Taiwanese phrase H attempted to say could precisely reflect her thought: she truly believed that although A did not have attractive appearance, his son was indeed good-looking. Thus, H switched to this Taiwanese phrase because the metaphor associated with this Taiwanese phrase could give B a compliment on his appearance.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching can explain this CS case: the Taiwanese phrase (i.e., Bad bamboos produce good bamboo shoots) was associated with the rhetorical device (i.e., the metaphorical expression), and such an association was shared among people who understood this Taiwanese phrase in the Taiwanese society and existed in H's cognition. The association between the Taiwanese phrase and its metaphorical expression was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to give B a compliment on his appearance to orientated to A's positive face.

The above explanation of H's CS was based on the associative model of CS this study proposed, and Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's theoretical explanations might not be able to explain this CS case. In terms of Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) notion, the metaphorical information this Taiwanese phrase provided was a compliment. However, it was not the language that revealed such implication; instead, it was the existence of the association between the switched utterance and its metaphorical expression that provided the compliment. In terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993a) notion, although Taiwanese was A's mother tongue, it did not seem to be used to index a new RO set between H and A, and their social distance might not have been shortened by CS because they were already friends for decades although H's compliment might have made A feel delighted. In addition, Auer (1984) might argue that H's CS was related to participant-related alternation. Since Taiwanese was A's mother tongue, H switched to Taiwanese for A's language preference. However, this explanation might not be plausible because as the above analysis mentioned, this was the only CS case H produced. Also, H in fact was able to use some Taiwanese phrases. If she had attempted to do CS for A's language preference, she could have produced more CS cases.

In this example, we saw that H did not randomly select this Taiwanese phrase to accommodate to her interlocutor's language preference (i.e., Guest A); instead, H switched to Taiwanese because the metaphorical expression associated with this Taiwanese phrase could best express her thought although she did not in fact know many Taiwanese phrases. This CS case also indicated the expressive value of Taiwanese since it was able to express a speaker's thought more precisely and vividly than Mandarin. In addition, the associative model of CS of this study seemed to better explain this CS case than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions. In the next example, we will see another example of the association between a Taiwanese phrase and rhetorical devices.

Example 17: A Taiwanese phrase and its association with rhetorical devices

1.   A: tā: jiù hěn.

    she: EMP very.

    She: was very,

    (0.5) ((A seems to think how to express his idea.))

2.   A: hěn zhuānyè.

    very professional.

    Very professional.

    (0.1)

3.   H: (@hěn zhuānyè@). =

    (@very professional@). =

    (@Very professional@). =

4.   A: = zhuānyè de zuàn jìn lái nà gè. =

    = professional CSC penetrate in come that CL. =

    = Got into my mouth professionally, that. = ((A moves his hands towards his mouth.))

5.   H: = wō [wa:],

    = oh [wow:],

    = Oh, [wow:],

6.   A: [shétóu].

             [tongue].

[Her tongue].

7. H: wō: [[wa:]]::,

    oh: [[wow:]]::,

    Oh:, [[wow:]]::,

8. A: [[duìde]].

         [[right]].

         [[That's right]].

9. C: [[[wō::]]]:,

       [[[wow::]]]:,

       [[[Wow::]]]:,

10. A: [[[ránhòu liě]]],

       [[[then]]],

        [[[Then]]],

11. A: [bù] xiǎode [[duōjiǔ]].

       [not] know [[how long]].

    I didn't know how long. ((A closes his eyes and recalls his memory.))

→ 12. H: [lā-],   [[nǐ zhīdào]] (.) zhè gè huà zài [[[tái]]],

       [stir-],   [[you know]] (.) this CL word in [[[Tai]]],

       [Stir-],   [[do you know]] (.) this phrase in [[[Tai]]],

13. A: [[[tā]]],

[[[she]]],

[[[She]]], ((A's eyes remain closed.))

(0.3) ((A opens his eyes.))

14. H: táiwān jiào shénme?

   Taiwan call what?

   How is it said in Taiwan?

15. A: jiào shénme? =

   call what? =

   What? =

16. H: = *la* [*tsih*].

   = *stirring* [*tongue*].

   = *Stirring* [*tongues*].

17. C: [*lā*] *tsih* ā,

           [*stirring*] *tongue* RF,

           [*Stirring*] *tongues*, ((C's Taiwanese phrase has a Cantonese accent.))

18. H: *lā*: (@*tsih*:@) ā,

    stirring: (@*tongue*:@) RF,

    Stirring: (@*tongues*:@),

   ((H imitates C's pitch and tone; A looks at C for the translation; C's hands act as waves.))

   (0.5)

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19. A: (@*lā tsih* ā@). @ (1.1)

   (@*stirring tongue* RF@). @ (1.1)

   (@*Stirring tongues*@). @ (1.1)

This example occurred in the same episode with the same three male guests as Example 5. Before the transcript given here, H asked the guests if they ever personally devoted themselves too much in a drama. A answered H's question by recalling a kissing scene he had with a beautiful actress (i.e. Zhi-lin Guan) whom he liked very much. At the beginning of A's story, C once interrupted A and made fun of him by adopting a word he used (yìng, stiff) when he described his tongue condition in the kissing scene. In this transcript, A continued his story and described how the actress kissed him (line 1), and he paused for 0.5 seconds, seeming to think how to express his ideas. Then, A said the actress was very professional (line 2). H repeated A's words with a laughing voice (line 3). (H had the laughing voice because of C's previous joke on A.) Then, A used the phrase, "zuan jin lai, got into," to describe how the actress's tongue moved into his mouth; when A said this utterance, he moved his hands towards his mouth, showing "got into," and was thinking how to say "tongue" (line 4). A's description, "got into," surprised H who produced two lengthening interjections (lines 5, 7). A said, "Right," to confirm his expression (line 8). At this point, C also followed H and produced one interjection (line 9). When A continued his story (lines 10, 11), H initiated a clarification, focusing on the tongue movement he described (line 12). However, H did not successfully accomplish her clarification because when she said the first word of the phrase (i.e., *la*, *stirring*, line 12), A had his eyes closed in recalling his memory of the scene and did not notice H's utterance; otherwise, A might have stopped his story, opened his eyes, and looked at H when she initiated the clarification. To make her clarification successful, H had to first attract A's attention; H thus overlapped A's utterances to

compete for the floor (A: "how long" vs. H: "you know" in lines 11 and 12 respectively; H: "Tai" vs. A: "she" in lines 12 and 13 respectively). Finally, the overlapping successfully stopped A because he abandoned his story, opened his eyes, and looked at H. After a short pause, H self-selected as the next speaker and asked A if he knew how to describe the tongue movement he just said in Taiwan (line 14). A apparently did not know the answer and asked H for it (line 15). Then, H switched to Taiwanese again to finish her utterance to let A know the native way of describing the tongue movement (line 16). Since C seemed to have heard H's first word of the Taiwanese phrase in line 12, he repeated the Taiwanese phrase, but C's repetition had a Cantonese accent (because A was from Hong Kong) (line 17). H at this point imitated C's Cantonese accent and repeated this Taiwanese phrase with a laughing voice (line 18). When H imitated C's tone, A looked at C for explanations because he did not understand the Taiwanese phrase. After understanding the meaning by looking at C's body gestures (C's hands overlapped with each other, acting as waves), A got the point, repeated the phrase, and laughed (line 19).

The Taiwanese phrase (i.e., *la tsih*, stirring tongues) referring to French kissing in English appeared several times in this example, but its first appearance in line 12 (i.e., H's incomplete clarification) triggered other CS instances and is the focus of this CS analysis. When A used "got into" to describe the actress's tongue movement, H was indeed surprised because she produced two lengthening interjections (lines 5, 7); however, C did not seem to be surprised although he also produced an interjection (line 9). C's interjection seemed to be triggered by H's interjections and aimed to create entertaining effects because unlike H, he did not show his surprise in the first place; he produced the interjection after H produced her second interjection, and his voice did not reveal that he was surprised. C was a smart entertainer and also a host in other variety shows when the interview was conducted. His following of H's interjection was more like an entertaining effect. Also, in this show, C usually took opportunities to create entertaining effects. For example, before this transcript, C just made fun of A by using a word A said (yìng, stiff)

when he described his tongue condition in the kissing scene. Also, at the end of this transcript, C's repetition of H's switched Taiwanese phrase had a Cantonese accent, which was for the entertaining purpose as well. Comparing both H's and C's reactions to A's description of the actress's tongue movement (i.e., "got into"), this phrase seemed to have impressed H more than C; however, H did not think this phrase was what people in Taiwan would use because she asked A, "do you know how this is said in Taiwan?" (lines 12, 14). H's question suggested that the reason for her to interrupt A's story might have been that she attempted to initiate a repair (i.e., *la tsih*, stirring tongues) to fix his nonnative descriptive phrase of tongue movement (i.e., zuàn jìn lái, got into) although she did not successfully utter this phrase in the first place. The judgment that H's CS attempted to provide a more native description and repair A's description could also be justified by the fact that H was aware of A's proficiency in Mandarin. At the beginning of the show, A attempted to say "evil power" to H, but she could not understand it at all. H then said that she needed a translator on the show that day. Also, later on the show and before the CS case, when A admitted that his Mandarin was not good and that he did not have the talent of learning languages, H immediately responded that she could tell and agreed with him. That is, before this segment, H seemed to have known the level of A's Mandarin proficiency.

The reason for H to choose the Taiwanese phrase (i.e., *la tsih*, stirring tongues) to repair A's nonnative description of the actress's tongue movement might have been that this Taiwanese phrase also focused on the description of tongue movement. The *la* in *la tsih* indicated that two tongues were 'stirring' with each other, which provided a vivid picture and imagination of the actress's tongue movement. In other words, both A's version and H's version focused on the description of the action of tongue movement, and H used her version to replace A's version because the former was a more native description than the latter from H's perspective. On the other hand, although the Mandarin equivalent (i.e., shé wěn, tongue kissing) is used in Taiwan, it was less expressive than the Taiwanese version in this conversation regarding the description of tongue movement.

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The Mandarin phrase, shé wěn, tongue kissing, which did not as dramatically indicate the movement of "zuàn jìn lái" (got into) the actress did to A as the Taiwanese phrase because it only provided a modest description (i.e., two tongues kissed). That is, the Mandarin phrase only indicated the state of the tongues, while the Taiwanese phrase described the action of the actress's tongue, which was what A attempted to do as well.

H's switch might have been considered entertaining effects; however, this argument might not be plausible. If H had attempted to create certain entertaining effects, she would have used some body gestures, changed her facial expressions, or changed her pitch, etc. along with the Taiwanese phrase as she usually did when she attempted to create entertaining effects on the show. In fact, it was C who attempted to create such effects because he repeated this Taiwanese phrase with a Cantonese accent, and his hands acted as waves. In addition, H in fact seldom used "*la tsih*, stirring tongues" on the show. Among the 100 CS cases the researcher collected, this transcript was the only example of her using this Taiwanese phrase; however, in a variety show, guests or H more or less would mention kissing scenes since the audience liked to hear this type of stories, and the words H usually used included "kissing scenes," "tongue kissing," etc. In Example 19, H also mentioned kissing scenes in the movie the guests came to publicize, but she used utterances such as "kissing" and "she could not stop kissing him." This latter utterance could also be described by "*la tsih*, stirring tongues" as H used in this example since the idea of "she could not stop kissing him" implied that their tongues were "stirring." Overall, the reason H used "*la tsih*, stirring tongues" in this episode might have been that her use of this Taiwanese phrase was triggered by A's nonnative description of the actress's tongue movement.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching can explain this CS case: the Taiwanese phrase was associated with the rhetorical device (i.e., providing a meticulous description of the actress's tongue movement), and such an association was shared among people who understood this Taiwanese phrase in the Taiwanese

society (for example, after H's successful repair, C explained to A the meaning of the Taiwanese phrase by overlapping his hands as waves, which indicated that he also knew the rhetorical device associated with the Taiwanese phrase.) and existed in H's cognition. The association between the rhetorical device and the Taiwanese phrase was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to repair A's word choice, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese utterance.

The above explanation of H's CS was based on the associative model of CS this study proposed, and Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's theoretical explanations might not be able to explain this CS case. In terms of Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) notion, the metaphorical information this Taiwanese phrase provided perhaps was that H was a Taiwanese, and A was a foreigner since H was able to use a more native descriptive phrase to describe the tongue movement A mentioned. However, it was not the language that revealed such information. Instead, it was the more native description H used that revealed such information, and the more native description was derived from the rhetorical device associated with the Taiwanese phrase, rather than the language itself. In terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993a) sequential unmarked choice, the situational factor that triggered CS might have been the trouble source A produced. The RO set then changed from an interviewer vs. an interviewee to a Taiwanese vs. a foreigner. However, as the above analysis indicates, it was not Taiwanese per se that indexed the latter, unmarked RO set; instead, it was the rhetorical device associated with the Taiwanese phrase that indexed the relationship.

In addition, Auer's (1984) pseudo-translation might explain this CS example because it indicates that the switched term "orients to a recipient's possible problems with understanding the first version… The first turn is supplemented by a second which can accommodate the needs of a recipient possibly having troubles" (p. 90). That is, it was possible that H switched to this Taiwanese phrase because she was afraid that the audience could not understand A's description (i.e., zuàn jìn lái, got into). However, given the fact that most of the audience, including A and B from Hong Kong, were able to understand

Mandarin better than Taiwanese, H should have used the Mandarin phrase (i.e., shé wěn, tongue kissing) to repair A's description. That is, Auer's notion indeed supports the analysis in a way that CS was triggered by a possible problem for the audience to understand A's description; however, it could not explain why H chose the less dominant language, which might also cause another comprehension problem for the audience who did not understand Taiwanese. For example, without C's explanation, A could not have understood this Taiwanese phrase either. This study suggests that H chose this Taiwanese phrase because its associated rhetorical device also focused on the actions of tongue movement.

In this example, we saw again the expressive value of Taiwanese. Because of the meticulous description this Taiwanese phrase had, H switched to this Taiwanese phrase to correct A's description, rather than using the Mandarin equivalent. Also, the associative model of CS of this study seemed to better explain this CS case than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions. In the next example, we will see another example of the association between a Taiwanese phrase and rhetorical devices.

Example 18: A Taiwanese phrase and its association with rhetorical devices

1. H: yǒu méi yǒu bǐrúshuō,

   have not have for example,

   Have you ever had, for example,

   (0.2)

2. H: nánshēng kàn dào nǐ men zhèyàng yīzhí chuī kǒu[shào].

   boy see to you PL like this keep blow [whistle].

   Men saw you and kept whistling at you.

3. B: [yǒu]::

                                                          [yes]::

                                                          [Su::re]

   (0.4)

4. B: hòu.

   INT.

   Interjection. ((B looks at H.))

   (0.2)

5. C: nǐ zhīdào guāndǎo [jiào my] country, =

   you know Guam [call my] country, =

   You know, Guam is [called my] country, =

   ((When C speaks, B is also pointing at A and wants to say something, but C did not see B's
   face.))

6. B: [érqiě]

                         [and]

                         [And]

7. B: = zhēnde [[guāndǎo]] tā shì shàngděng huòsè wǒ zài nà biān dōu bèi xián jiùshì.

   = really [[Guam]] she is first-class goods I at over side all BEI criticize like.

   = Really. In [[Guam]], she was the first-class goods, but over there I was criticized as.

((B points at A. H looks at A and has a gaping mouth, showing she is surprised that A is considered the first-class goods in Guam.))

8. C: [[zhēnde]].

            [[really]].

            [[Really]].

    (0.2)

→ 9. B: *ootasán* zhèyàngzǐ.

      black dry thin this like.

      Black dry and thin like this. ((B shrugs her shoulders.))

    (0.2)

10. C: [eh nǐ zhī],

     [eh you know],

     [Do you know],

11. H: [shíme jiào *oo*]*tasán*? =

      [what call *black*]*dry thin*? =

      What does *black dry and thin* mean? =

12. B: = jiùshì hēi yòu [shòu].

      = mean black and [thin].

      = It means black and [thin].

13. C: [hēi yòu] [[shòu]].

[black and] [[thin]].

[Black and] [[thin]].

14. A: [[hēi]],

[[black]],

[[Black]],

15. B: qiánbābāde.

dry thin.

Dry and thin.

(.)

16. H: HĒI: YÒ U SHÒ U.

BLACK: AND THIN.

BLACK: AND THIN.

There were three female entertainers attending the show, and they were good friends. The topic of this episode was related to the guests' figures, which were considered to be plump based on the social standards in Taiwan. Before the segment, the scene was at the beginning of the show; H chatted with the guests. In this transcript, H asked the guests if there were men whistling at them when the men saw them (lines 1, 2). B's lengthening "yǒu, sure" (line 3) and an interjection (line 4) showed her affirmative response to H's question. When B paused, C took the floor and told H how popular she was in Guam and said that Guam was called "my country" (the phrase "my country" was originally uttered in English by C) (line 5). When C took the floor, B at the same time was pointing at A and wanting to say something, but since C did not see B's face, she did not know that B in fact was opening her

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mouth and preparing to say something. Thus, immediately after C finished her description of her

popularity in Guam, B agreed with her, pointed at A, and said that in Guam, A was considered

"shangdeng huose, first-class goods" (line 7). H at this point looked at A and had a gaping mouth,

showing her surprise that A was considered "first-class goods" in Guam. (In Taiwan, A's figure would

have never been considered "first-class goods" because A was plump.) B then said that she was

criticized as "*ootasán*, black, dry, and thin," which was uttered in Taiwanese (lines 7, 9). After B said

this Taiwanese phrase, she shrugged her shoulders. Since H's Taiwanese proficiency was low, she

interrupted C's utterance in line 10 and asked the meaning of the Taiwanese phrase (line 11). Since it

was B's utterance that caused H's confusion, B was the first person answering H's question and

explained that the Taiwanese phrase meant "hēi yòu shòu, black and thin" (line 12), followed by C's

and A's repetitions in lines 13 and 14 respectively. B then supplemented her explanation with

"qiánbābāde, dry and thin" (line 15). After getting the meaning, H increased her volume on "black and

thin" to show her surprise again (line 16) since in Taiwan, B would have never been considered to be

"thin."

CS occurred in line 9 when B switched to a Taiwanese phrase to describe how local people in Guam

evaluated her figure. The Taiwanese phrase, "*ootasán*, black, dry, and thin," is an adjective phrase,

describing people (usually girls) who have dark skin and are skinny. Although B could understand some

Taiwanese, her mother tongue was Mandarin. When B switched to this Taiwanese phrase, the situational

factors, such as topics, settings, and addressees, did not change and thus were not the reason for B to

switch to Taiwanese. Also, all guests' and H's main language was Mandarin. On the other hand, B's

switch seemed to be related to H's question in lines 1 and 2.

Based on H's question in lines 1 and 2, the guests needed to discuss their popularity among men.

Although the topic of Guam had been discussed a minute before this segment, H did not restrict the

question to the men in Guam; however, the guests' answers were all related to Guam. The first answer

was given by C who switched to an English phrase, "my country" (line 5), to describe how popular she

was in Guam. (C was the heaviest guest among the three guests.) B then immediately agreed and used a

Mandarin phrase, "shàngděng huòsè, first-class goods," to describe A's popularity in Guam (line 7),

and B adopted a Taiwanese phrase, "*ootasán*, black, dry, and thin," to describe her situation in Guam

since she had dark skin and was considered to be skinny in Guam. (B was the least heavy guest among

the three guests.) B and C seemed to use any expressions or phrases they knew, regardless of languages,

to describe their situations in Guam in a succinct, vivid, and precise manner as demonstrated by C's

English phrase, "my country," to describe herself, B's Mandarin phrase, "shàngděng huòsè, first-class

goods," to describe A, and B's Taiwanese phrase, "*ootasán*, black, dry, and thin," to describe herself.

From B's explanation of the meaning of this Taiwanese phrase to H in lines 12 and 15, she could use

Mandarin words, "hei you shou, black and thin" (line 12) and "qiánbābāde, dry and thin" (line 15)

to express her ideas as well. That is, B's switch to the Taiwanese phrase was not because she

could not find Mandarin words to describe her situation in Guam. However, her explanation of

the Taiwanese phrase in Mandarin indicated that the Mandarin explanation was less succinct, vivid,

and precise. Although the translations of the Taiwanese phrase and the Mandarin words into

English were similar, unlike the Taiwanese phrase, there was no such an adjective phrase in Mandarin

that included all the features of her figure (i.e., black, dry, and thin). Instead, in the Mandarin version, it

needed two phrases (hēi yòu shòu, black and thin; qiánbābāde, dry and thin), in order to express the

same meaning as that of the Taiwanese phrase, and the meanings of these two Mandarin phrases

even somewhat overlapped with each other. That is, in this segment of conversation where B

seemed to have needed a more precise, vivid, and succinct phrase to parallel the other two precise,

vivid, and succinct descriptions (i.e., "my country" and "shangdeng huose, first-class goods"), the

Mandarin version was less succinct, precise, and vivid compared to the Taiwanese version. The

Taiwanese phrase outweighed the Mandarin words in terms of its rhetorical features in this conversation.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of

utterance switching can explain this CS case: the Taiwanese phrase was associated with the rhetorical

device (i.e., a precise and meticulous description of one's figure), and such an association was shared among people who understood this Taiwanese phrase in the Taiwanese society (e.g., guests A and C) and existed in B's cognition. The association between this Taiwanese phrase and the rhetorical device was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to achieve the rhetorical effect (i.e., paralleling the other two vivid and precise descriptions), and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese phrase.

The above explanation of B's CS was based on the associative model of CS this study proposed, and Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's theoretical explanations might not be able to explain this CS case. In terms of Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) notion, the information revealed by CS was not connotative because Taiwanese was not associated with any salient social attributes here. Instead, it was the Taiwanese phrase associated with certain rhetorical features that helped B achieve her communicative effect. In terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993a) marked code choice, although this code choice was a marked one, the RO set between H and B or between H and guests did not change. Nor did their social distance change. In addition, Auer's (1984) notions of discourse-related and participant-related alternation might not help in explaining this CS case since B did not seem to use CS for discourse organization and for the preferences or competences of the guests and listeners.

In this example, we saw that B switched to Taiwanese because the rhetorical device associated with the Taiwanese phrase outweighed Mandarin. B's switch to Taiwanese reflected her interpretation of the current conversation in which she needed something that was as succinct, vivid, and precise as the other two descriptions provided by C and herself respectively. In other words, the expressive value of Taiwanese outweighed Mandarin in this CS case. Also, the associative model of CS of this study seemed to better explain this CS case than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions. In the next, we will see another example of the association between a Taiwanese phrase and rhetorical devices and how a speaker used such an association to make fun of an actress.

Example 19: A Taiwanese phrase and its association with rhetorical devices

1. H: suǒyǐ xì lǐmiàn nán zhǔjiǎo gēn nǚ zhǔjiǎo dōu yǒu jiēwěn xìduì bù duì,

    so play inside male main role and female main role both have kiss scene right not right,

    So in the movie, the main actors and actresses had kissing scenes, right,

    (0.3) ((B looks at C.))

2. B: wō [zhè gè] tā,

    oh [this CL] she,

    Oh, [this,] she,

    ((B points at C but turns back to look at H; B's facial expression looks like he is thinking.))

3. A: [eh:],

         [INT:],

         [Eh:], ((A looks at C.))

    (0.9)

4. H: [[wěn]] dào bù xíng shì bù shì =

         [[kiss]] to not can is not is. =

         She could not stop kissing him, right. =

5. B: [[ā]],

         [INT]],

         [[Ah]],

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6. B: = tā [yǎnjīng] biàn hǎo le.

    = she [eyes] become well PFV.

    = Her [eyes] got better.

    ((B points at C again; C's facial expression shows she does not understand why her eyes became

    well.))

7. C: [@]

→ 8. B: huáng hé *iùkh ie* mah yòu[[chǐ]] de.

    Huang he *young* AU young NOM.

    He Huang is *young*, young.

9. A: [[wō]],

                         [[oh]],

                    [[Oh]], I see,

    (0.4)

10. A: *tsiȧh iùkhí* [*kòo bȧktsiu*].

    eat young [*take care eyes*].

    Eating young people can [*take care of your eyes*].

11. B: [*tsiȧh iùkhí e*] *kòo bȧk*[[*tsiu* lā]],

                 [*eat young*] *take care* [[*eyes* AU]],

            [*Eating young*] *people can take care of your* [[*eyes*]], ((B points at his eyes.))

12. A&C: [[@]] @ (1.8) ((B looks at C again; C feels it is so funny that

                                        she cannot help clapping her hands.))

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13. C: méi: yǒu.

   Not: have.

   I di:dn't.

This example occurred in the same episode with the same three guests as Example 13. Both A and B were able to speak Taiwanese, and Taiwanese was B's mother tongue. After discussing the role each guest played in the movie, H shifted the topic to kissing scenes in the movie and asked if main actors and actresses had kissing scenes (line 1). At this point, B immediately looked at C. Then, B looked back to H, pointed at C, and tried to say something (line 2). B's facial expression showed that he was thinking how to respond to H's question. At the same time, A also looked at C and produced a verbal interjection (line 3). (This particular type of verbal interjection produced by A was very common in variety shows, indicating she knew that B was trying to be entertaining, and her verbal interjection could be seen as helping B pave the way for his joke.) Since B was apparently thinking about how to respond to H's question, there was silence in the conversation (0.9 seconds). To terminate the silence, H selected herself as the next speaker and asked if C could not stop kissing the actor (line 4). Immediately after H finished her utterance, B took the floor, pointed at C, and said C's eyes became well (line 6). At this point, C's facial expression showed she did not understand why B said her eyes became well. Then, B continued saying that it was because He Huang, with whom C had kissing scenes, was young (line 8). In line 8, B switched to Taiwanese to say "young" and then repeated it in Mandarin. What B attempted to say seemed to be understood by A because her utterance, "wō, oh I see," in line 9 indicated that she understood B's point. Thus, A switched to Taiwanese for a Taiwanese phrase, 'eating young people can take care of your eyes' (line 10), which overlapped B's repetition (line 11). This joke made both A and C laugh; C seemed to feel it was so entertaining that she could not help clapping her hands while she was laughing (line 12). After the joke, C declined B's utterance (line 13).

There were three CS instances in this example, but this discussion focuses on the first one (line 8) produced by B since it evoked the Taiwanese phrase in lines 10 and 11 respectively. The Taiwanese phrase B used was a metaphor of having a relationship with a much younger person and of the supposed increase in sexual potency one gains by having sexual relations with a much younger person. Before discussing the CS case, it is necessary to clarify the age of He Huang with whom C had kissing scenes. Huang was 21 years old when he participated in the movie. Although Huang was not considered to be 'much younger' than C, in her mid-twenties, as the Taiwanese phrase implied, he was usually considered to be younger than his real age because when he entered the entertaining industry at the age of 17, his first product was a TV drama in which he played the role of a middle school student. Huang's play was so successful that he won the Golden Bell Awards for Best Actor in Taiwan in 2007. Because of his success in that TV drama, the audience usually remembered him as the middle school student in that TV drama, which can be justified by the fact that H also remembered Huang as the middle school student. After this CS case, H asked C if she felt comfortable kissing such a young man because the young man H remembered was the one who played the role of the middle school student. In other words, although Huang was 21 years old when he participated in the movie, the audience and H seemed to have considered him to be much younger than his real age.

Now, the analysis of the CS case will be discussed. When H asked about the kissing scenes in the movie, she did not ask for confirmation. The purpose of H's utterance was to provide an opportunity for guests to create something entertaining for the audience. In variety shows, one of the strategies to maintain the high ratings was to entertain the audience on TV, and most audience who watched variety shows liked to see something secret, funny, or entertaining. Thus, when guests attended the variety shows, most of them were aware of this rule of game and knew they had to create entertaining effects by, for example, finding something in the conversation that could be used as the base for jokes. Except for C who was an actress and a signer, both A and B were also hosts in other variety shows at that time and were familiar with variety shows' rules of game. Thus, it could be reasonably inferred that when H asked

about the kissing scenes in the movie, she was giving A and B a chance to create certain entertaining effects for the audience. B also seemed to understand H's intention because after H asked the yes-no question, B did not provide an answer such as 'yes, C had kissing scenes,' as normal rules of conversation might have suggested; instead, B immediately looked at C and started paving the way for his joke. B's intention was also noticed by A because after he said, "wō, oh," in line 2 (perhaps a contextualization cue), A provided an interjection to help him on. After H filled the silence for B who was apparently thinking about what joke he could create, he took the floor and said C's eyes became better because she had kissing scenes with a young man; then, B switched to the Taiwanese phrase to tease C. Although B's mother tongue was Taiwanese, his switch in line 8 did not seem to reveal his personal feeling; instead, he switched to Taiwanese to create entertaining effects. That is, by using the metaphor associated with the Taiwanese phrase (i.e., a metaphor of having a relationship with a much younger person), B teased C having kissing scenes with a younger actor. C also knew B's Taiwanese phrase was a joke rather than a personal opinion; otherwise, she would not have laughed to the extent that she could not help clapping her hands (line 12).

The reason for B to think of this Taiwanese phrase to tease C might have been that it was a metaphor of having a relationship with a much younger person, which was similar to the situation in C's case. Although the Mandarin utterance, "lǎo niú chī nèn cǎo, a metaphor of May-December relationship," could also indicate having a relationship with a much younger person, it did not apply to C's situation because C was not as old as that implied in the word, 'lǎo niú, an old cow.' That is, although both the Taiwanese and Mandarin utterances could provide the similar metaphor, the former was not restricted to 'May and December' relationship, but only implied that one was much younger than the other. Also, B who was fluent in both Mandarin and Taiwanese might have been aware of these two phrases and the metaphorical expressions associated with them.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching can explain this CS case: the Taiwanese phrase was associated with the

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rhetorical device (i.e., a metaphor of having a relationship with a much younger person), and such an association was shared among people who understood this Taiwanese phrase in the Taiwanese society and existed in B's cognition. The association between the metaphorical expression and the Taiwanese phrase was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to tease C having a kissing scene with a young actor, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese phrase.

The above explanation of B's CS was based on the associative model of CS this study proposed, and Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's theoretical explanations might not be able to explain this CS case. In terms of Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) notion, the information revealed by CS was not connotative because Taiwanese was not associated with any salient social attributes here. Instead, the Taiwanese phrase B used in this CS case was associated with a metaphorical expression which motivated B's utterance switching to tease C kissing a younger actor. In terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993a) sequential unmarked choices, the situational factor that triggered CS might have been the change in topic from the movie to the kissing scene, and the RO set between B and C changed from guests to a teaser vs. a teasee. However, Taiwanese was not the language used to index such a new, unmarked RO set because B only used this code when he said the Taiwanese phrase, and Mandarin was used for the rest of the teasing process. In addition, Auer (1984) might argue that Taiwanese was used to distinguish the main content and the joke; however, Taiwanese was not used for the entire joking moment. Instead, it was only used when B mentioned the Taiwanese phrase.

In this example, we saw how B used the association between the Taiwanese phrase and its metaphorical expression to create an entertaining effect. Also, the associative model of CS of this study seemed to better explain this CS case than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions.

Example 16 to Example 19 show how speakers made use of the association between Taiwanese phrases and certain rhetorical devices to create communicative effects. In Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) notions, after a code is regularly used in certain social contexts or social exchanges, it is attached with certain social meanings, social attributes, or social activities in a community. However, speakers will not establish such an association in their cognition unless they have sufficient social interactions and accumulate sufficient social experiences in the community. After such an association has been established in speakers' cognition, the code becomes one of their communicative tools, and in some contexts, speakers might use this tool to create communicative effects. The same notion can be applied to the association between Taiwanese utterances and certain rhetorical devices as well. Although Taiwanese utterances are associated with certain rhetorical devices in the first place and do not need to be regularly used to be attached with these rhetorical devices in a community, speakers might consider them as a string of words if they do not have sufficient social interactions and social experiences to establish the connection between the Taiwanese phrases and their rhetorical devices in their cognition. That is, similar to the association established between a code and certain social factors, speakers might not establish such an association in their cognition unless they have sufficient social interactions and accumulate sufficient social experiences in the community. After such an association has been established in speakers' cognition, the Taiwanese utterances also become one of their communicative tools, and in some contexts, speakers might this tool because the associated rhetorical devices can help them achieve certain communicative effects, such as giving a compliment, providing a repair, achieving a rhetorical effect of parallel, and teasing someone.

3.4.2.2 Activity-Level Association

At the activity-level association of utterance switching, this study argues that a Taiwanese utterance, rather than the code itself, may be associated with certain *social contexts*, certain *social activities*, *contextual meanings*, or certain *rhetorical devices* by the way it is used in the local

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development of the interaction. The association the Taiwanese utterance has at the activity level is

motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese utterance to create certain

communicative effects.

In this study, three CS instances were categorized as activity-level associations. Certain Taiwanese

utterances were associated with rhetorical devices (e.g., metaphor and pun) and contextual meanings by

the way they were used in locally developed conversations. The associative model of CS proposed

in this study will be examined and compared with Gumperz's, Auer's, and Myers-Scotton's theoretical

explanations. In the following and the last example, an example of the establishment of the association

between a contextual meaning and a Taiwanese phrase will be discussed. Unlike the associations

between contextual meanings and certain Taiwanese utterances in Examples 13 and 14, the

contextual meaning in this CS case was established at the activity level.

Example 20: A Taiwanese phrase and its association with a contextual meaning

1. B: = jùcān de shí[hòu].

    = together dine NOM [time].

    = When we dined out with friends.

2. A: [jù]cān de shíhòu rènshíde.

             [together] dine NOM time know.

             We knew each other when we dined out with friends.

    (0.1)

3. H: jiù dàjiā yīqǐ chīfàn, =

     just people together eat rice, =

Just dined out with friends, =

4. A: = chī[fàn duì].

   = eat [rice yes].

   = Dining out, yes.

5. H: [bìng méi yǒu] rén yǒuxīn shuō yào gěi nǐ jièshào péngyǒu ma? =

        [and not have] people have heart say want to you introduce friend Q? =

        There was no one who deliberately wanted to introduce friends to you? =

6. A: = yě méi yǒu. =

   = too not have. =

   = No. =

7. B: = yě méi yǒu.

   = too not have.

   = No.

   (0.2)

8. A: ēn.

   en.

   Yes. ((A nods his head.))

   (0.2)

9. H: wō::,

   oh::,

Oh::,

(0.8)

10. H: nà chīfàn de shíhòu nǐ zěnme zhīdào.

 then eat rice NOM time you how know.

 Then, when you dined out, how did you know.

(0.4)

11. H: tā jiù shì (0.4) nǐ de.

 she EMP was (0.4) you NOM.

 She was your.

(0.9)

⟶ 12. H: *lí* ne?

 you Q?

 You? ((The index finger of H's right hand points out, and her right hand stretches out.))

(0.5)

13. A: duì (0.3) nà qíshí jiùshì yǒu-

 yes (0.3) that actually hav-

 Yes, (0.3) actually there wa-

This example occurred in the same episode with the same two guests, one male (A) and his

fiancé (B), as Examples 6, 8, 11, and 14. Before this segment, the scene was in the middle of the show,

and H asked about how A and B met each other, which was the highlight of the show that day. A said B was his friend's friend, which was agreed by B. In this transcript, B said they met each other when they dined out with their friends (line 1), which was in turn agreed by A (line 2). Based on A's and B's answers, H asked if it was just a normal gathering (line 3) and if someone wanted to introduce friends to A (line 5). Both A and B said, "no" (lines 6, 7), and A nodded his head to confirm his answer (line 8). Then, H lengthened her word, "oh," showing that she was somewhat confused (line 9), and her confusion showed in her next question (lines 10-12). H asked A that since no one deliberately introduced B to him, how he knew that B was his "*lí,* you" when they dined out that day. H switched to Taiwanese to say "*lí,* you" in line 12. When H said this Taiwanese word, her right hand stretched out with the index finger of her right hand pointing out. Then, A started answering H's question (line 13).

CS occurred in line 12 when H asked A how he knew that B was his "*lí,* you." The Taiwanese word, "*lí,* you," H said was also used in a poem A wrote to B; this poem was the Taiwanese poem mentioned in Examples 6 and 8. When H said, "*lí,* you," her right hand stretched out, and the index finger of her right hand pointed out. H's hand gestures were very similar to the gestures she used when she asked A to read the Taiwanese poem out loud at the beginning of the show. Judging from the gestures H used in these two settings respectively, the "*lí,* you" H said here referred to the "*lí,* you" used in A's poem. The poem mainly discussed the prediction made by a God in Taiwan about A's significant other he would meet in the future. The literal meaning of "*lí,* you" referred to the female pronoun, "you," but based on the context of the poem, the meaning of "*lí,* you" was narrower and only referred to A's future significant other mentioned by the God. That is, the meaning of "*lí,* you" might have been contextualized since it appeared in the context of A's poem. Rather than referring to a female in general, on the show that day, the "*lí,* you" referred to the good wife and A's future significant other mentioned in the God's prediction in A's poem. Also, the association between the word, "*lí,* you," used on the show and its contextual meaning seemed to have been established in H's cognition perhaps because it had appeared several times before H used this Taiwanese word in her question (it appeared at the beginning

of the show when H read this poem out loud in Mandarin as well as when A later entered the room, read this poem out loud in Taiwanese, and explained the meaning of the poem in Mandarin to H).

At the beginning of this transcript, the purpose of the conversation was to obtain more information about A and B's love story. When H got the information that although A and B dined out together, no one in fact 'deliberately introduced' B to A, she was somewhat confused. H's use of the words, 'deliberately introduced,' revealed her assumption that she thought when A and B dined out together, someone would deliberately introduce B to A; however, since their story was not like what she expected, she was somewhat confused. Thus, H asked a more direct question by adopting the word, "*lí*, you," shown in the poem. Since the contextual meaning of "*lí*, you" seemed to have established in H's cognition, her use of this word could help her express her point in a more direct and effective manner because the "*lí*, you" here referred to nothing but the future significant other mentioned by the God in A's poem.

If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the activity-level association of utterance switching can explain this CS case: the Taiwanese phrase (i.e., *lí*, you) was associated with the contextual meaning (i.e., the good wife and A's future significant other mentioned in the God's prediction in A's poem) because of the way it was used on the show that day (i.e., it was used to consistently refer to the "*lí*, you" appearing in the poem). The association between "*lí*, you" and its contextual meaning was motivationally relevant to envisioning H's use of the Taiwanese phrase to clearly and effectively express her point to A, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese phrase.

The above explanation of H's CS was based on the associative model of CS this study proposed, and Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's theoretical explanations might not be able to explain this CS case. In terms of Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) notion, there was no connotative information that was revealed by CS, and in terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993a) sequential

unmarked choice, the situational factor that triggered CS might have been the shift in settings from the dining story to the poem; however, the RO set between H and A remained the same. That is, although the situation changed, H did not seem to use Taiwanese to index another new, unmarked RO set between herself and A. In addition, Auer (1984) might argue that this CS was related to "topical cohesion" (p. 24) because H used it to bring listeners back to the previous topic (i.e., the poem and the God's prediction of A's future significant other). However, in this example, the focus of the conversation was already about A and B's love story; before this CS occurred, H had asked questions about how they met. Then, H moved on asking a deeper question by using the Taiwanese word. That is, H did not switch 'back' to an old topic when she switched to Taiwanese. Instead, H switched to the Taiwanese word to more effectively and directly get to the point of the highlight of the conversation: how A knew B was his future significant other.

In this example, we saw another example of how a contextual meaning might have been created, attached to a Taiwanese word, and established in the speaker's cognition after the Taiwanese word was mentioned several times in the context of a poem. However, the association between the Taiwanese word and its contextual meaning was at the activity level. For the audience who did not watch the show prior to this CS case, they might not know what H's "*lí,* you" meant since there was no association between this Taiwanese word and its contextual meaning in their cognition.

3.4.2.3 Summary

The above discussion was about the associations between Taiwanese utterances and certain contextual meanings, certain social contexts, certain social activities, or rhetorical devices, and such associations were at the community and activity levels. Figure 3.10 and Table 3.6 summarize the community-level and activity-level associations of utterance switching. (Although there was no example of utterance switching at the individual level, one such an example will be

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discussed in Chapter 4 where interviewees' opinions on talk show CS cases were discussed.)

Similar to what Gumperz (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) and Myers-Scotton (1993a) indicate that when speakers attempt to produce certain communicative effects, they switch to a code associated with certain social meanings, social attributes, or social activities, this study showed that when speakers attempted to achieve certain communicative effects, they may also switch to Taiwanese utterances because they were associated with certain contextual meanings, certain social contexts, certain social activities, or rhetorical devices.

Also, unlike what Gumperz implies and Myers-Scotton indicates, the switch to Taiwanese utterances was not a redundant move. Instead, speakers creatively made use of such an association to produce different communicative effects, such as making an emphasis, having metaphors, giving compliments, and making effective expressions. Although the communicative effects speakers could create might be diverse, the possibility of the creation of these effects lied in the existence of the more salient or stronger association between Taiwanese utterances and certain contextual meanings, certain social contexts, certain social activities, or rhetorical devices. That is, the root for fluent speakers of Mandarin to switch to Taiwanese utterances to create communicative effects was related to the association Taiwanese utterances had. In other words, the associations Taiwanese utterances had were then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of them to create certain communicative effects. In addition, by re-emphasizing the notion of association, the associative model of CS seemed to be able to explain more communicative effects CS created than Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and/or Auer's notions.

In addition, the use of such an association was not limited to native speakers or non-native speakers. Table 3.7 summarizes the use of Taiwanese utterances by these two groups of speakers. In terms of the community-level association, there were six native speakers and six non-native speakers switching to Taiwanese to create certain communicative effects. In terms of the activity-level association, there were one native speaker and two non-native speakers switching to

Taiwanese. The insignificant difference between the two groups of speakers in the use of

utterance switching seemed to suggest that the association established in a speaker's cognition did

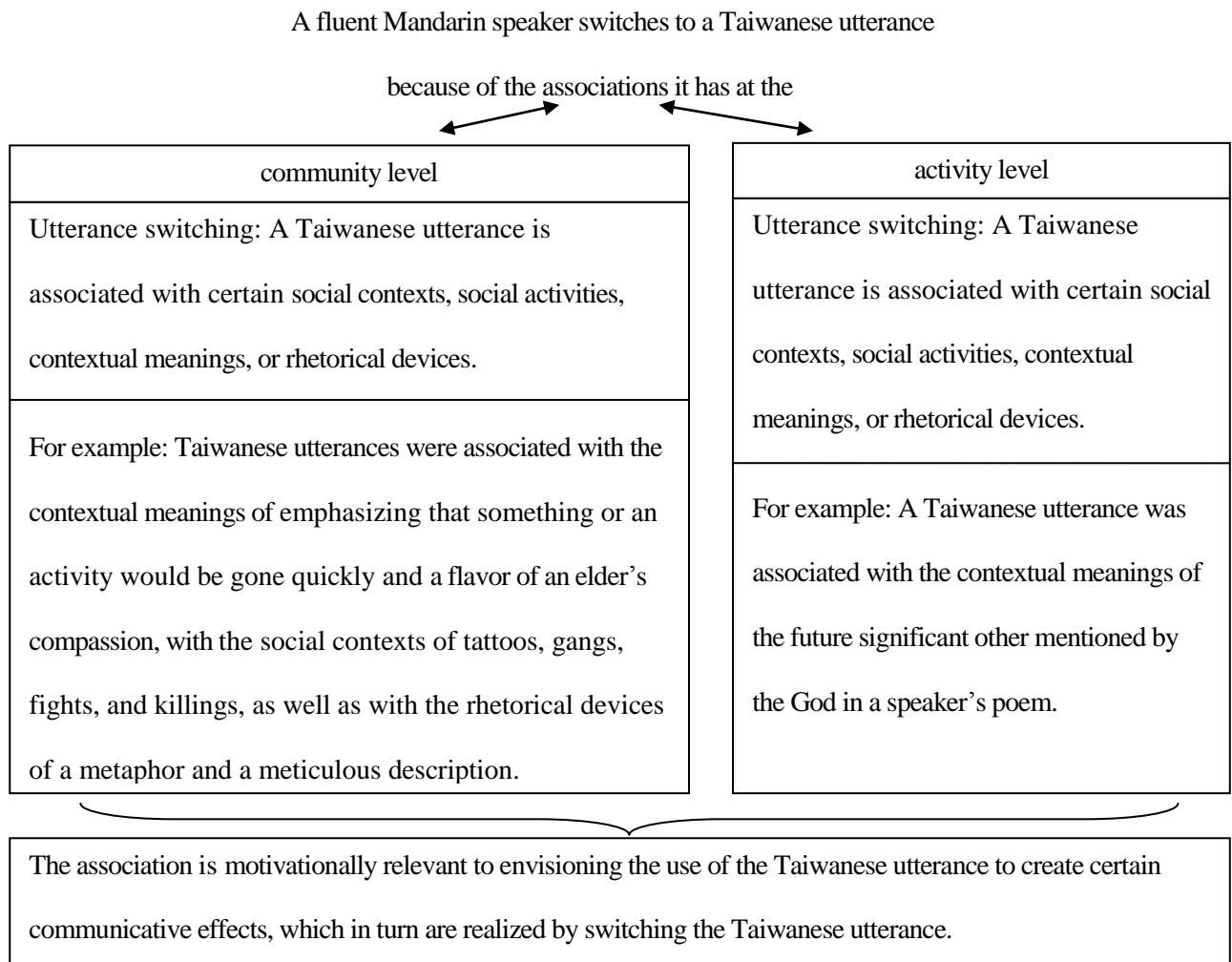not restrict to the fluency and/or proficiency of the speaker's Taiwanese ability.

A fluent Mandarin speaker switches to a Taiwanese utterance

because of the associations it has at the

community level	activity level
Utterance switching: A Taiwanese utterance is associated with certain social contexts, social activities, contextual meanings, or rhetorical devices.	Utterance switching: A Taiwanese utterance is associated with certain social contexts, social activities, contextual meanings, or rhetorical devices.
For example: Taiwanese utterances were associated with the contextual meanings of emphasizing that something or an activity would be gone quickly and a flavor of an elder's compassion, with the social contexts of tattoos, gangs, fights, and killings, as well as with the rhetorical devices of a metaphor and a meticulous description.	For example: A Taiwanese utterance was associated with the contextual meanings of the future significant other mentioned by the God in a speaker's poem.

The association is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese utterance to create certain communicative effects, which in turn are realized by switching the Taiwanese utterance.

Figure 3.10: Summary of the community-level and activity-level associations of utterance switching.

	Utterance switching			
	Community-level	**Activity-level**	**Individual-level**	**Total**
Total	12	3	0	15

Table 3.6: Summary of the associations Taiwanese utterances had at the three levels.

	Utterance switching			Total
	Community-level	**Activity-level**	**Individual-level**	
NS	6	1	0	7
NNS	6	2	0	8
Total	12	3	0	15

Table 3.7: Summary of the associations Taiwanese utterances had at the three levels produced by native speakers (NS) of Taiwanese vs. non-native speakers (NNS) of Taiwanese.

3.5 Discussion

This chapter examined CS cases in a spoken media discourse setting in Taiwan. Based on the careful macro- and micro-analysis, the associative model of CS proposed in this study was able to more fully explain CS cases collected in this study than notions provided by Gumperz, Myers-Scotton, and Auer. Figure 3.11 summarizes the main arguments of this study.

This study proposes that there indeed existed associations between a switched code and social meanings, social attributes, or social activities, as Gumperz (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) and Myers-Scotton (1993a) argue. However, in addition to the association at the

community level, this study also proposes that the association might occur at the activity and individual levels. Also, there were types of switching: code switching and utterance switching. At the community level, the associations Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance had were shared among people in a community. At the activity level, the associations Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance had were formed by the way it was used in a locally developed conversation. At the individual level, the associations Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance had were formed as a result of hearer's and/or speaker's perceptions of individuals and cultural objects, or hearer's and/or speaker's personal use of the Taiwanese utterance. Also, unlike what Gumperz implies and Myers-Scotton argues, the study indicates that switching to a Taiwanese utterance was not redundant. However, as Myers-Scotton (1993a) suggests, the utterance switching seemed to be based on the speaker's cognitive calculation because the way the switched utterance was used reflected the speaker's perceptions of the current situation.

Speakers did code switching or utterance switching because the association a switched code or a switched utterance had was stronger than or was not shared with Mandarin. Although there were two types of switching (i.e., code switching and utterance switching), the establishment of the association occurring in both types seemed to require speakers' adequate involvement in social interactions and accumulation of social experiences. Also, both types of switching might happen at the subconscious level, and the association a switched code or a switched utterance had might simultaneously occur at the three levels (i.e., the community, activity, and individual levels); however, one of the three levels of associations might be more dominant in one CS case than the other two.

The last argument this study proposed is that instead of focusing on specific communicative effects CS produces, we should explore the motivations for using Taiwanese or a Taiwanese phrase to create such communicative effects. That is, this study argues that we should re-emphasize the important role association plays in CS, and the reason for doing this was that many

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CS studies showed the creative use of CS by speakers in a conversation. As shown in this study, the speaker might not switch to another code to provide connotative information, as Gumperz would argue. Also, the association between a code and something might not be used to negotiate a type of relationship a speaker attempted to establish, as Myers-Scotton would argue. CS might not be related to discourse-related or participant-related alternation, as Auer might suggest. Instead, the speaker might switch to Taiwanese to make the current relationship closer or more distant without changing the RO set, or to reaffirm the relationship. That is, there were various communicative effects produced by CS, and we should not restrict our focus to certain effects. Instead, what we need to explore is the reason for choosing Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance to create such effects, and this study suggests the reason is related to the association between a switched code and something or between a switched utterance and something at the three levels. That is, the communicative effects that could be created by CS might be unlimited, but the creation of such effects is limited to the notion of association: the association is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance to create certain communicative effects.

In addition to examining the effectiveness of the associative model of CS in explaining the CS cases presented in this study by comparing with Gumperz's, Myers-Scotton's, and Auer's notions, in the rest of the section, the CS data presented in previous CS studies in Taiwan (See Section 1.2.1 for the literature review of CS studies in Taiwan) will also be used to examine the associative model of CS. Among these CS studies, the discussion will mainly focus on those adopting different theoretical explanations, such as Auer's (1998) notions and Goffman's (1981) footing in Su's (2009) study, Giles and Coupland's (1991) Accommodation Theory in Tien's (2009) study, and Myers-Scotton's (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001) Rational Choice Model in Wei's (2003, 2008) study. (In Chiu's (2012) study, Giles's (2009) Communication Accommodation is also adopted, but since the theory is similar to that adopted in Tien's study,

Giles's Communicative Accommodation in Chiu's study will not be discussed. Also, Chiu used Bell's (1984) Audience Design model, which was already considered in the associative model of CS this study proposed, and thus will not be discussed either.)

In her article, Su (2009) studied a speaker's (i.e., a female, in her fifties) use of Taiwanese and Mandarin to organize three telephone conversations with her sixty-year-old brother and two relatives of the next generation respectively when making a personal request of collecting data for her daughter. The four participants were bilinguals; their mother tongue was Taiwanese, but they also spoke Mandarin fluently. Su's study adopted Auer's (1998) approach and suggested that one of the effects CS brought was related to the organization of the discourse structure. Su indicated that the female speaker structured her discourse with her older brother by mainly using Taiwanese when giving examples and directions and by mainly using Mandarin when discussing more abstract and general issues, and such CS provided "the contrast between the more personal and the more factual" (2009, p. 383). Although Su's study focused on the communicative effects CS produced, she suggested that the reason for the female speaker's use of languages might have been that "Mandarin is associated with research, abstractions, and generalizations" (2009, p. 383). The association Su suggested can also be considered in this study as "educatedness" and "sophisticatedness" (Su, 2005, p. 195). Su's suggestion and analysis support the associative model of CS proposed in this study and the notion of the community-level association of code switching in a way that Mandarin was associated with the social attributes of "educatedness" and "sophisticatedness" (Su, 2005, p. 195), and such an association was shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in the female speaker's cognition. The association between Mandarin and the social attributes was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the female speaker's use of Mandarin to signal the change of her views from personal statements to abstract and general statements, which in turn helped her distinguish her abstract and general statements from more personal ones (i.e., examples and directions).

Another example of using CS to structure her discourse was that the female speaker used Taiwanese and Mandarin to contrast between inappropriate and appropriate ways of collecting discourse data respectively; she adopted Taiwanese when she gave examples of inappropriate ways of collecting data, and then used Mandarin to refute the inappropriate ways or provide correct ways of recording discourse. However, the female speaker did not seem to simply make a contrast between inappropriate and appropriate ways of collecting data because Su mentioned that when she discussed the appropriate ways of collecting data, which included refutations and correct ways of data collection, she switched to Mandarin, which "powerfully presented the listener with the message of how wrong such an idea was to her" (2009, p. 383). That is, in addition to making a contrast between her statements of inappropriate ways of data collecting and her statements of appropriate ways of collecting data, the female speaker at the same time attempted to add more power and authority on the latter. That is, the female speaker switched to Mandarin to provide her statements of refutations and correct data-collection procedures with more power. This study suggests that the reason Mandarin could help her achieve her purpose was that Mandarin was associated with power (Su, 2005, p. 198), "educatedness," and "sophisticatedness" (p. 195). If we use the notion of the community-level association of code switching this study proposed, Su's analysis again suggests that Mandarin was associated with the social attributes of power (Su, 2005, p. 198), "educatedness," and "sophisticatedness" (p. 195), and such an association was shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in the female speaker's cognition. The association between Mandarin and the social attributes was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Mandarin to create the communicative effect of power and authority.

In addition to the effects of discourse organization created by CS, Su also adopted Goffman's (1981) notion of footing and indicates that when the female speaker shifted the topic to the obstacles to recruiting research participants, she changed the pronouns she used from 'she'

(i.e., the researcher) to 'I/me' (i.e., the female speaker). The female speaker's role shifted from an animator to an author and principal, and this strategy helped her shorten the distance from her interlocutors since she had a closer relationship with her interlocutors than the researcher. What accompanied the role shift was the female speaker's language shift from Mandarin to Taiwanese, which also helped to reduce the distance from her interlocutors. Su suggested that the use of Taiwanese, the "in-group language" (2009, p. 386), helped produce "a sense of solidarity" (p. 390) with the interlocutors. Su's analysis and suggestion once again support the notion of the community-level association of code switching this study proposed because they imply that Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of "ingroup solidarity" (Su, 2005, p. 196), and such an association was shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in the female speaker's cognition. The association between Taiwanese and the social attribute was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create interactional effects, along with her role shift from an animator to an author and principal.

In her study, Tien (2009) adopted Accommodation Theory (Giles & Coupland, 1991) and indicates that Taiwanese was used by the teachers to ease the classroom atmosphere and establish solidarity with students. She suggested that one reason that Taiwanese was used by the teachers for the effects of easing the classroom atmosphere and building solidary might have been that Taiwanese was considered "a language with lower status than Mandarin" (2009, p. 184). The attribute of Taiwanese Tien suggested was similar to the social attribute of vernacularity this study adopted. Tien also suggested that the switch might have been based on the fact that Mandarin was considered "an official/formal language" (2009, p. 184) and that when the teachers used Taiwanese in classrooms, the CS helped create a humorous atmosphere and sense of solidarity. Although Tien acknowledged that a CS case might serve multiple functions, like Su (2009), she also mainly focused on the functions CS served in her study. Considering the functions Taiwanese served in CS cases and the reasons for creating these functions discussed in her study,

Tien's analysis also supports the notion of the community-level association of code switching this study proposed. Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of vernacularity, and Mandarin was associated with the social attribute of formality. Such associations were shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in the teachers' cognition; the association between Taiwanese and the social attribute was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the teachers' use of Taiwanese to create a humorous atmosphere and solidarity relationship with their students.

In the study of CS in political discourse, Wei (2003, 2008) identifies several functions of CS, and one of the examples she provided was referred to Myers-Scotton's Rational Choice Model (Myers-Scotton& Bolonyai, 2001). When discussing the former president's (Shui-bian Cheng) language switch from Mandarin to Taiwanese in this example, Wei indicates that his switch was dependent on "his estimation of what choices can offer him the greatest benefit" (2003, p. 159). Wei suggested that the goal of using Taiwanese in the second part of the sentence (i.e., "a good card was turned into A-bian's capital punishment. Did it really make that much difference?") was to help Cheng become one of the members of his audience and create a sense of sympathy since the main language of his audience in a local county, Miaoli, was Taiwanese (i.e., "we code"). Also, the use of Taiwanese in the second part could help him avoid political responsibilities since he, as the president of Taiwan, did not use the official language (i.e., Mandarin) when discussing the political criticism. In addition to using Myers-Scotton's Rational Choice model, the notion of the community-level association of code switching this study proposed could also provide explanations of Cheng's use of Taiwanese in his second part: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of "local language" (Su, 2005, p. 198), and such an association was shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in Cheng's cognition. The association between Taiwanese and the social attribute was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the former president's use of Taiwanese to identify as one of the local members, which in turn helped him win the support from his supporters. Also, the lack of the association between Taiwanese and the social

attribute of "national language" (Su, 2005, p. 195) was motivationally relevant to envisioning his use

of Taiwanese to dis-identify himself as the president, which in turn helped him avoid political

responsibilities he needed to take.

By using the associative model of CS, the above analyses of the CS data presented in the

previous CS studies in Taiwan suggest that in addition to the theoretical explanations they

adopted (i.e., Auer, 1998; Goffman, 1981; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai,

2001), the associative model of CS is also able to explain their CS data.

A fluent Mandarin speaker switches to Taiwanese/a Taiwanese utterance

because of the associations it has at the

community level	activity level	individual level
Code switching: Taiwanese is associated with certain social meanings, social attributes, and social activities.	Code switching: Taiwanese is temporarily associated with an activity developed locally in an ongoing conversation.	Code switching: Taiwanese is associated with individuals or cultural objects.
Utterance switching: A Taiwanese utterance is associated with certain social contexts, social activities, contextual meanings, or rhetorical devices.	Utterance switching: A Taiwanese utterance is associated with certain social contexts, social activities, contextual meanings, or rhetorical devices.	Utterance switching: A Taiwanese utterance is associated with certain social contexts, social activities, contextual meanings, or rhetorical devices.

The association is motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance to create

certain communicative effects, which in turn are realized by switching to Taiwanese or the Taiwanese utterance.

Figure 3.11: Summary of the associative model of CS proposed in this study.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined CS in the spoken media discourse in Taiwan. The exploration of such phenomena in the Taiwanese society is important since inserting Taiwanese in Mandarin-dominant conversations has become frequent, but it has not received sufficient research attention. With just this goal in mind, the current research is limited since only 50 CS cases were examined. More generally, further examples are needed to provide a more comprehensive examination of the efficiency of the associative model of CS proposed. Furthermore, regarding both the local and more general theoretical goals of this study, the context for this study was a talk show. The discourse practices in that setting might be different from those in other contexts, and thus, might not be able to completely reflect the CS situations in Taiwan or the more comprehensive generalization proposed. Finally, in addition to the macro- and micro-analysis approaches which made use of the researcher's native knowledge, it would be interesting to include other local speakers' viewpoints concerning the use of Taiwanese in an attempt to identify speakers' motivations for CS. That is, this study has not adequately discussed the role of the viewing audience in these switches. In the following chapter, an interview and/or experimental approach will be discussed, and the findings will be presented.

Although there are limitations, the associative model of CS proposed in this chapter provides insights into speakers' creative use of the association Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has to create certain communicative effects, which cannot be fully and effectively explained by the three prominent scholars who have taken a functional approach. Also, the associative model of CS is able to explain CS data presented in previous CS studies in Taiwan, which adopt various scholars' theoretical explanations.

CHAPTER IV

MANDARIN-TAIWANESE LANGUAGE CHOICE AND OPINIONS

4.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Section 1.2.1, in previous CS studies in Taiwan, there is little information about receivers' (e.g., audiences) opinions on the language choice. To address this research problem, in this chapter, eight Taiwanese interviewees' opinions on ten talk show episodes discussed in Chapter 3 will be analyzed and presented. Topics discussed in this chapter include data collection (Section 4.2) and analysis (Section 4.3), the findings of the interviewees' opinions and the use of the associative model of CS to explain interviewees' opinions (Section 4.4), the discussion of interviewees' opinions and the effectiveness of the associative model of CS (Section 4.5), and a conclusion of this chapter (Section 4.6).

4.2 Method of Data Collection

4.2.1 Interviewees' Demographic Information

Eight interviewees, five females and three males, were recruited and had one-on-one interviews with the researcher. Table 4.1 summarizes the background information of the eight

interviewees with the main language listed first in the "Languages they can speak" column (See Appendix C for the sample of demographic information questions). These interviewees were recruited because they understood Taiwanese, had experience using Taiwanese in their daily lives, and were from Taiwan. However, when the interviews were conducted, three interviews were finished in the U.S. where three interviewees (i.e., Helen, Yang, and Jack) studied and/or worked. Yang and Jack studied in the U.S. for 8.5 and 6 years respectively while Helen stayed in the U.S., including studying and working in the U.S., for 15 years when the interviews were conducted. Although these three interviewees lived in the U.S. when the interviews were conducted, they had regular contact with Mandarin and Taiwanese by, for example, watching TV programs and movies, listening to music, as well as talking to their friends and/or relatives in Taiwan. Thus, these three interviewees were considered qualified sources for this study. On the other hand, the other five interviewees (i.e., Sue, Mary, Ham, Alex, and Macey) had lived in the south of Taiwan for many years when the interviews were conducted. The interviews were conducted when the interviewees were available and occurred in three time periods respectively, in September, 2013 (i.e., Sue, Helen, Ham, and Yang), in December, 2013 (i.e., Jack), and in May, 2014 (i.e., Mary, Alex, and Macey). In terms of the interviewees' Taiwanese proficiency, all of the eight interviewees were able to understand and speak Taiwanese although Helen claimed that her speaking skill was between very little and some skill, and Yang claimed that she had little skill in speaking. When the interviews were conducted, five interviewees were between the ages of 25 and 35, but Jack was under 25; Helen was between 36 and 45, and Macey was between 56 and 65.

Name	Gender	Languages they can speak	Age	Place of residence
Sue	Female	Mandarin, Taiwanese (between some skill and quite good; spoke Taiwanese, for example, to her clients), English.	25-35	Had lived in Kaohsiung (the south) since she was born.
Helen	Female	English, Mandarin, Taiwanese (quite good in listening; between very little and some skill in speaking; spoke Taiwanese, for example, to her parents).	36-45	Had lived in the U.S. around 15 years, but would visit her parents in Taipei (in the north) where she grew up.
Mary	Female	Mandarin, Taiwanese (quite good in listening; some skill in speaking; spoke Taiwanese, for example, to her older relatives), English.	25-35	Had lived in Kaohsiung (in the south) before she moved to Tainan (in the south) three years ago.
Ham	Male	Mandarin, Taiwanese (quite good in listening; not fluent in speaking; spoke Taiwanese, for example, to his clients and older relatives).	25-35	Had lived in Kaohsiung (in the south) since he was born.
Yang	Female	English, Mandarin, Taiwanese (some skill in listening; very little in speaking).	25-35	Had lived in the U.S. around 8.5 years, but would go back to Taichung (in the middle part)

				where she grew up occasionally.
Jack	Male	English, Mandarin, Taiwanese (fluent; Taiwanese was his family language; spoke Taiwanese, for example, to his parents and relatives).	Under 25	Had lived in the U.S. around 6 years, but went back to Taichung (in the middle part) where he grew up almost every year.
Alex	Male	Mandarin, Taiwanese (quite good; spoke Taiwanese, for example, to his older relatives and colleagues), English.	25-35	Had lived in Kaohsiung (in the south) before he studied in Tainan (in the south) for four years, in Taipei (in the north) for another two years, and in the U.S. for another two years. Lived in Tainan (in the south) now.
Macey	Female	Taiwanese (fluent; Taiwanese was her mother tongue; spoke Taiwanese in her daily life), Mandarin, English.	56-65	Had lived in Kaohsiung (in the south) since she was born.

Table 4.1: Summary of the interviewees' demographic background information.

4.2.2 Episodes Used in the Interviews

The interviews were audiotaped and conducted in Mandarin. The tool used to conduct the interviews was PowerPoint slides in which ten video clips were inserted. The ten video clips were the ones discussed in Chapter 3, including Examples 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 13, 16, 17, and 19. The

reason for choosing only ten out of 50 CS examples was to avoid overwhelming interviewees since they needed to watch the videos and discuss their opinions on them twice. (See Section 4.2.3 for the discussion of the interview procedure.)

Table 4.2 provides a brief overview of the ten examples. The reason for choosing these examples was based on the proportion of association types discussed in Chapter 3. Since there were 35 cases categorized as code switching, and 15 cases categorized as utterance switching, 6 examples (i.e., Examples 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 10) chosen for the interviews were related to code switching, and the other 4 examples (i.e., Examples 13, 16, 17, and 19) were related to utterance switching. Under the code switching category, since there were 23 cases categorized as the community-level associations, 10 cases as the individual-level associations, and 2 case as the activity-level associations, 5 examples (i.e., Examples 1, 3, 4, 6, and 7) chosen for the interviews were related to the community-level association, and 1 example was related to the individual-level association (i.e., Example 10). Under the utterance switching category, since most cases were categorized as the community-level associations (12 out of 15 cases), 4 examples chosen for the interviews were related to this level (i.e., Examples 13, 16, 17, and 19).

Example	Association type
1	Code switching: The community-level association. Taiwanese and the social attributes of vernacularity and being vulgar.
3	Code switching: The community-level d association. Taiwanese and the social attributes of family language, family setting, and ingroup relation.
4	Code switching: The community-level association. Taiwanese and the social attributes of localness, being vulgar, and boldness.

6	Code switching: The community-level association. Taiwanese and the social attribute of localness and vernacularity.
7	Code switching: The community-level association. Taiwanese and the social attribute of family language.
10	Code switching: The individual-level association. Taiwanese and its association with an individual.
13	Utterance switching: The community-level association. A Taiwanese phrase and its association with a contextual meaning.
16	Utterance switching: The community-level association. A Taiwanese phrase and its association with rhetorical devices.
17	Utterance switching: The community-level association. A Taiwanese phrase and its association with rhetorical devices.
19	Utterance switching: The community-level association. A Taiwanese phrase and its association with rhetorical devices.

Table 4.2: Overview of the ten examples used in the interviews.

4.2.3 Interview Procedure

Before watching the videos, interviewees filled out a form of demographic information. In terms of the videos, there were two rounds in each interview. The purpose of having the first round was to give interviewees time to get familiar with the interview procedure. In the first round of the interview, the interviewees were asked to watch ten video clips of the talk show and

then give their opinions on the ten video clips. Each video clip did not take more than 30 seconds. The order of the ten video clips was different for each interviewee. Before watching a video, interviewees were asked to read about what happened before the video and what the video was about. Then, interviewees watched the video. After interviewees watched the video, the researcher asked them questions about it. In the first round of the interview, the researcher did not ask interviewees questions about the use of Taiwanese in the ten videos; instead, the researcher asked general questions about the videos, such as their feelings about the videos.

After the first round was completed, the second round of the interview was conducted with the same procedure as that in the first round; however, the focus of the second round was on the use of Taiwanese in the videos. Before the interviewees watched the videos the second time, the researcher told the interviewees that Taiwanese was in fact used in each video they just watched and asked them to focus their attention on the use of Taiwanese in each video. Then, the interviewees again read about what happened before the video and what the video was about and watched the video. After interviewees watched the video, the researcher asked them to think carefully about why a speaker in the video switched to Taiwanese. Several questions were used to facilitate the discussion, such as the meaning that switching to Taiwanese made to the interviewees, their feelings about switching to Taiwanese, and why not use Mandarin instead. The goal of these questions was to help interviewees explain the switch phenomena. If the interviewees could provide their opinions smoothly, these questions would not be used. The interviews were conducted individually and lasted 1 to 1.5 hours on average.

Although two interviews were conducted via Skype since when the interviewees were available, they were in Taiwan, while the researcher was in the U.S., the researcher used the same procedure as that used in the other six face-to-face interviews. However, in the two Skype interviews, the participants had to play the videos inserted in the PowerPoint slides the researcher

put in a shared folder on Dropbox. The two Skype interviews went as smoothly as the other six

face-to-face interviews.

4.3 Data Analysis

After the eight interviewees' opinions on the ten CS examples were collected, their

responses were transcribed. A qualitative data analysis method was used to analyze the transcripts.

The researcher read the transcripts in their entirety several times until she was familiar with them

and wrote summaries of the transcripts. Then, the researcher reflected on the summaries and the

transcripts to develop codes for each interviewee's response to one CS example and described

each code in detail. After the codes were developed for one CS example, the researcher combined

the codes into themes by comparing the themes with the major categories discussed in Chapter 3

(i.e., code switching and utterance switching at the community, activity, and individual levels).

That is, the themes identified in the interviews were compared with the categories in the

associative model of CS. If the themes were similar to the major categories in the associative

model of CS, they might suggest that the interviewees' opinions supported the associative model

of CS; on the other hand, if the themes did not fit the major categories, the researcher explored

the differences between them.

4.4 Findings

In this section, eight interviewees' reactions to the ten CS examples will be discussed and

used to examine the associative model of CS this study proposed. It is important to note that these

interviewees were not professional linguists; some of their opinions might be far-fetched.

However, the purpose of the interviews was not to elicit professional opinions; instead, it was

designed to elicit ordinary Taiwanese people's opinions on the use of Taiwanese in a TV talk show setting.

Example 1

In Example 1, by using the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of code switching can explain this CS case: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of being vulgar and vernacularity, and such an association was commonly shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker B's belief structure; the association between Taiwanese and these social attributes was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to give speaker B's second argument (i.e., *UÀ Nthàn*, RESENT and sigh mournfully) a more negative tone to help him achieve his emphasis, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Six interviewees (i.e., Sue, Helen, Ham, Yang, Alex, and Jack) shared opinions similar to that provided by the analysis of the study in a way that they all mentioned that the miserable effect Taiwanese made on this utterance was greater than that Mandarin could make. Sue mentioned, "The color and amount of emotion Taiwanese represented was heavier;" Helen said, "Taiwanese was easier to express the feeling of whining, Mandarin was harder to express it, but there was no difference in the meaning they expressed;" Ham mentioned, "Taiwanese was more miserable, it was not miserable enough in Mandarin;" Yang said, "It easily illustrated that someone was there complaining, that vivid description of the action, but it would not be vivid if Mandarin had been used;" Alex mentioned, "Taiwanese gave an especially miserable feeling, it was more appropriate than Mandarin to catch the emotion, the emotion of chagrin and regret was more complete;" Jack said, "The degree of resentment was much deeper in Taiwanese, and it gave long-lasting effects, but it was just regret in Mandarin, and the effect would only last for a short time." The interviewees' utterances suggested that the reason for

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speaker B to switch to Taiwanese was that Mandarin was unable to bring the emotional effect Taiwanese could to the utterance. In addition, Yang mentioned that the reason Taiwanese could produce the miserable effect might be that it was considered to be vulgar and subordinate in the society. Yang further stated that because of the social attributes of being vulgar and subordinate attached to Taiwanese, speaker B used Taiwanese to help him produce the vivid picture of the action of sighing and complaining. Yang's statement about the social attributes of Taiwanese also explained the other five interviewees' opinions in a way that Mandarin could not produce the miserable effect might be because it did not have the social attributes that helped produce such an effect. If we use the associative model of CS, Yang's and the other five interviewees' opinions supported the associative model of CS in a way that Taiwanese was used because it was associated with certain social attributes which were not shared with Mandarin but which helped speaker B produce certain communicative effects. Also, Yang's and the other five interviewees' opinions could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of subordination and being vulgar, and such an association was commonly shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker B's cognition. The association between Taiwanese and these social attributes was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create a more miserable, vivid, and negative effect on the utterance, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Although the opinions of the other two interviewees (i.e., Macey and Mary) did not show similarities with the analysis of the study, their responses supported or could be explained by the associative model of CS as well. Macey thought that the meaning of the Taiwanese utterance was similar to that of a Mandarin utterance (i.e., āi shēng zǎi dào, the road is filled with the sound of whining); however, she felt that speaker B switched to Taiwanese because the Taiwanese utterance was more "natural and direct," but the Mandarin utterance was more "deliberate" if it had been used. The reason the two utterances gave Macey different feelings might be related to the notions of "we code" and "they

code" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66). Since Taiwanese was Macey's mother tongue and daily language (i.e., "we code"), she felt that the Taiwanese utterance was more personal (i.e., natural and direct as Macey suggested), while the Mandarin utterance was more factual or expressed a distance from the message (i.e., deliberate as Macey suggested). If we use the associative model of CS, Macey's opinion could support the notion of the associative model of CS in a way that Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of "we code," which was not shared with Mandarin. Also, Macey's opinion could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of "we code," and such an association was shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker B's cognition; the association between Taiwanese and the social attribute was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to express a personal feeling, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

With regard to Mary's opinion on this CS case, the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching proposed in this study could explain her viewpoint. Mary mentioned, "Even a Mandarin speaker would use the word, which was clear and easy to understand, because I think this Taiwanese word was very expressive because it expressed both actions of complaining and sighing at the same time, it vividly described the state of both resentment and frustration of a person." Like Yang's opinion discussed above, Mary thought this Taiwanese phrase could provide a vivid description; however, unlike Yang, the vivid description for Mary was derived from the rhetorical devices associated with the Taiwanese phrase. That is, Mary's response indicated that speaker B switched to this Taiwanese phrase for its vivid and meticulous description of the image he attempted to convey (i.e., the state of resentment and frustration) because the Taiwanese utterance included two verbs at the same time (i.e., complaining and sighing). If we use the associative model of CS, Mary's explanation could be considered by the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching: the Taiwanese utterance was associated with the rhetorical devices (i.e., depicting a person's image in a vivid and meticulous manner), and such an association was shared among people who understood this Taiwanese

phrase in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker B's cognition; the association between the

Taiwanese utterance and the rhetorical devices was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the

Taiwanese utterance to provide a vivid image and an expressive effect, and such communicative effects

were in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese utterance.

In their responses to Example 1, six interviewees' opinions were similar to the analysis provided in

the study. Although the other two interviewees did not share the opinions, their responses also supported

or could be explained by the associative model of CS.

Example 3

In Example 3, by using the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level

association of code switching can explain this CS case. Since Taiwanese was frequently used in

speaker A's family setting, considered a small community in this study, it was associated with the social

attributes of family setting, family language, and ingroup relation, and such an association was shared

between him and his daughter and perhaps between him and his other family members and existed in his

cognition. The association between the social attributes and Taiwanese was then motivationally relevant

to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to signal that what he said (i.e., *lí sī tiȯhkâu ooh*, are you losing

your mind?) was between him and his daughter, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved

by switching to Taiwanese.

Only one interviewee (i.e., Mary) shared the opinion similar to that provided by the analysis

of the study; however, the other interviewees' responses could also be explained by the associative

model of CS. Mary said that judging from speaker A's accent, it was obvious that he spoke

Taiwanese in his daily life; however, Mary said even if she had spoken Taiwanese in her daily

life, she would not have used such a vulgar utterance to talk to her daughter. (The reason Mary

thought this Taiwanese utterance was vulgar was not related to the social attribute of Taiwanese;

instead, it was because this Taiwanese utterance implied that speaker A's daughter acted like a monkey, and Mary thought it was inappropriate to refer to a girl as a monkey. Even if the word, monkey, had been uttered in Mandarin, Mary thought it would have been inappropriate as well.) There were three important pieces of message revealed in Mary's response. First, Taiwanese was the language speaker A used in his daily life. Second, the language speaker A spoke to his daughter was Taiwanese. Third, this Taiwanese utterance was the utterance speaker A said to his daughter. The three pieces of message suggested that the reason Mary judged that this Taiwanese utterance was uttered by speaker A and directed to his daughter in the past was that Taiwanese was speaker A's family language. By the same token, if speaker A on the show attempted to signal that this utterance was the conversation he had with his daughter, then he would use his family language as well. If we use the associative model of CS, Mary's response could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of family language, and such an association was shared between him and his daughter and perhaps between him and his other family members and existed in his cognition. The association between Taiwanese and the social attribute was motivationally relevant to envisioning speaker A's use of Taiwanese to signal that what he said was between him and his daughter, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Another three interviewees (i.e., Sue, Alex, and Jack) also thought this Taiwanese utterance was what speaker A said to his daughter at that time; however, the connection between speaker A and family language was not as clear as that presented in Mary's response. The three interviewees' responses suggested that the reason for speaker A to switch to Taiwanese was that it was the language he used at that time. Although unlike Mary, the three interviewees did not affirm that Taiwanese was speaker A's family language, Sue's and Alex's responses suggested that Taiwanese seemed to be the language speaker A usually used in his daily life. Sue said, "He [speaker A] seems to have been used to speaking both Taiwanese and Mandarin in his daily life…

when he recalled the situation in the past, he originally used this Taiwanese utterance to talk to his daughter… originally, he used this language [Taiwanese] very frequently;" Alex said, "His [speaker A] style is quite local." Alex's utterance implied that speaker A seemed to use Taiwanese frequently because localness was usually connected with speaking Taiwanese. Sue's and Alex's assumption suggested that Taiwanese was the language speaker A used frequently in his daily life, based on which they judged that Taiwanese was the language he used in the previous conversation. By the same token, when speaker A recalled what he said to his daughter, he might have tended to use Taiwanese since it was the language he used more frequently than Mandarin. If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the individual-level association of code switching could be applied. Speaker A's Taiwanese was associated with himself in the past because it was the language that he most often used; the association between Taiwanese and himself was then motivationally relevant to envisioning his use of Taiwanese to show the original conversation he had to his daughter, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Another three interviewees (i.e., Helen, Ham, and Yang) indicated that speaker A switched to Taiwanese for the purpose of creating funny effects. Helen said that speaker A could have used Mandarin to convey the same meaning, but he used Taiwanese deliberately because he wanted to be funny. Ham mentioned that the Taiwanese version sounded more interesting than the Mandarin version. Yang said speaker A used Taiwanese to make his utterance entertaining; if he had used Mandarin, the content would not be funny. Also, Yang mentioned that Taiwanese could create the entertaining effect because it was considered informality, while Mandarin was considered educatedness. Yang's statement suggested that because of the social attribute of informality attached to Taiwanese, speaker A used Taiwanese to help him produce the entertaining effect. Yang's and the other two interviewees' opinions also suggested that Mandarin could not produce the entertaining effect might be because it did not have the social attribute that helped produce such an effect,

but Taiwanese did. The three interviewees' responses supported the associative model of CS in a way that speaker A switched to Taiwanese because it was associated with the social attribute which was not shared with Mandarin but which helped speaker A produce certain communicative effects. Also, the three interviewees' responses could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of informality, and such an association was commonly shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker A's cognition; the association between Taiwanese and the social attribute was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create entertaining and funny effects, and such communicative effects were in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

The last interviewee who did not share the opinion with the study was Macey who thought this Taiwanese utterance had a sense of closeness more than the Mandarin version. Again, similar to her opinion in Example 1, Macey's different feelings might be related to the notions of "we code" and "they code" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66). Since Taiwanese was Macey's mother tongue and daily language (i.e., "we code"), she felt that the Taiwanese was warmer and more personal than Mandarin. Macey's opinion suggested that speaker A switched to Taiwanese because it could create the sense of solidarity. If we use the associative model of CS, Macey's opinion could support the notion of the associative model of CS in a way that speaker A switched to Taiwanese because it was associated with the social attribute of being "warm" (Su, 1995, p. 198), which was not shared with Mandarin. Also, Macey's opinion could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of closeness, and such an association was commonly shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker A's cognition. The association between Taiwanese and the social attribute was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to provide a sense of closeness to his audience, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

In their responses to Example 3, although only one interviewee's opinion was similar to the analysis provided in the study, the other seven interviewees' responses could also be explained by the notions in the associative model of CS, which indicated that the framework seemed to be effective since it considered all possible interpretations and was able to provide explanations of different opinions on CS. Also, the interviewees' responses suggest that the reason that there was diversification of the interpretations of the use of Taiwanese was that Taiwanese could be simultaneously associated with various attributes at different levels (e.g., the community-level and individual-level associations of code switching in this case) (This statement was also discussed in Section 1.2.3.3). Among these attributes at different levels, a certain attribute at a certain level might become more salient and stronger in a certain context in some interviewees' cognition than in others' cognition because of the differences in interviewees' social experiences, language backgrounds, their understanding of the speaker, etc. If the argument is plausible, then it might be the reason why many studies indicate that the same CS case can serve different functions, and people have different interpretations since the CS case occurring in a certain context might be simultaneously associated with various attributes at different levels, and interlocutors who interpret the same CS case might access different attributes at different levels due to their diverse social experiences, language backgrounds, etc. However, this study indicates that although interviewees' diverse backgrounds might influence their views about the same CS case, their interpretations were within the range of the associative model of CS.

Example 4

In Example 4, by using the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of code switching can explain this CS case: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of boldness (p. 196), localness, and being vulgar, and such an association was commonly shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker A's cognition; the association

between Taiwanese and the social attributes was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of

Taiwanese (i.e., *guá lâi tshú lí tsitē*, let me deal with this issue for a moment) to create the

communicative effect of a gangster identity, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by

switching to Taiwanese..

Only seven interviewees' responses were considered in this example. Four interviewees (i.e., Sue,

Ham, Yang, and Alex) shared opinions similar to the analysis provided in the study. However, they

seemed to suggest a social attribute that was unidentified in Su's (2005) study of the social attributes of

Taiwanese, which were used in this study. Although another three interviewees (i.e., Mary, Jack, and

Macey) did not share opinions similar to that discussed in this study, their opinions could also be

explained by other notions in the associative model of CS. However, there was one interviewee (i.e.,

Helen) who was unable to provide her opinion on this example because she did not understand why

speaker B mentioned that people did not have a high bar in speaker A's generation. Since Helen did not

understand speaker B's intention of saying this utterance, she could not comment on speaker A's CS

although she understood the Taiwanese utterance speaker A used.

Sue, Ham, Yang, and Alex had similar opinions on this example; they all thought that Taiwanese

brought a flavor of gangsters to the utterance. Sue said, "Using Taiwanese, speaker A had the tone

similar to that of a mafia leader who was dealing with stuff, it was tougher and more powerful;" Ham

mentioned, "Compared to the Mandarin version, the Taiwanese version gave a better feeling of

discussing stuff;" Yang said, "Using Taiwanese could show that look, now I had the image of

gangsters;" Alex mentioned, "Using Taiwanese strongly expressed the identity of a mafia leader. It was

like a female mafia leader telling people that let me deal with this guy." In addition, Yang stated that

since gangsters spoke Taiwanese, if this utterance had been uttered in Mandarin, it could not show the

relationship between Taiwanese and gangsters and could not show the image of gangs; speaker A used

Taiwanese because of its association with gangs. Yang's statement could be supported by the

researcher's observation, showing that many gangsters in Taiwan indeed spoke Taiwanese probably

because of their lower educational levels, their poorer living conditions, and lower social status. Yang's statement, along with the other three interviewees' opinions on the flavor of gangsters Taiwanese gave, seemed to suggest that this Taiwanese utterance had the flavor of gangsters, and the reason might be that Taiwanese was usually used in the context of gangs. As Gumperz (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) would suggest, because of the accumulated use of Taiwanese in such a social context, the flavor of gangsters was attached to Taiwanese and became one of its social attributes; this social attribute might become salient when it was used in other situations. This social attribute (i.e., a flavor of gangsters) was not identified in Su's (2005) study; however, based on the researcher's social experiences, Yang's statement, and the other three interviewees' responses, it could be considered one of the social attributes of Taiwanese. If this argument is plausible, then the flavor of gangsters attached to Taiwanese was not shared with Mandarin because it was developed in the context of gangs where Taiwanese was frequently used, rather than Mandarin. That is, Yang's and the other three interviewees' opinions supported the associative model of CS in a way that speaker A switched to Taiwanese because it was associated with the social attributes of gangsters and gangs, which were not shared with Mandarin, but helped her produce certain communicative effects. Also, Yang's and the other three interviewees' opinions could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of gangsters and gangs, and such an association was shared with people in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker A's cognition. The association between Taiwanese and the social attributes was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create a flavor and an image of a gangster, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

In addition to the flavor of gangsters, both Sue and Yang thought that using Taiwanese could also simultaneously create entertaining effects since it was considered to be informal and local. Sue's and Yang's opinions could also be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of informality and localness; the

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association between Taiwanese and the social attributes was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create entertaining effects, and such communicative effects were in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Although another interviewee's (i.e., Mary) response also indicated that this Taiwanese utterance was a gang expression, she focused more on the implication of this Taiwanese utterance. Mary mentioned that this Taiwanese utterance had the meaning of dealing with something secretly; however, there was no such a precise expression in Mandarin. Mary said, "There is no substitute for this scenario in Mandarin." Mary's response in fact reflected the stereotype of gangsters in Taiwan: they spoke Taiwanese, and when they encountered issues they needed to deal with, they usually dealt with it secretly since the issues and the way they dealt with it were illegal most of the time. That is, when they said 'let me deal with it' in Taiwanese, the utterance implied that they would deal with it 'secretly.' In other words, when this utterance was produced in Taiwanese and used in the context of criminal underworld, it had the contextual meaning of dealing with something secretly, rather than its ordinary meaning of dealing with something normally or legally. Because of the accumulated use of this Taiwanese utterance in the context of criminal underworld, the contextual meaning seemed to have attached to this Taiwanese utterance, and the association between this Taiwanese utterance and its contextual meaning was established. The contextual meaning became part of this Taiwanese utterance. When this utterance was used in other situations, its contextual meaning might become salient, as suggested by Mary. If this argument is plausible, then the contextual meaning associated with Taiwanese was not shared with Mandarin because it was developed in the context of criminal underworld where Taiwanese was frequently used when this utterance was mentioned. That is, Mary's response supported the associative model of CS in a way that speaker A switched to Taiwanese because the contextual meaning she attempted to convey was not shared with Mandarin. Also, Mary's response could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching: the Taiwanese utterance was associated with the contextual meaning (i.e., dealing with something secretly) as a result

of the accumulated use of the Taiwanese utterance in the context of criminal underworld; the association between the switched utterance and the contextual meaning was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese utterance to signal her implication, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese utterance.

Another interviewee (i.e., Macey) said that the intention the Taiwanese utterance revealed was more implicit because it only implied that speaker A needed to deal with something without explicitly telling people how she would deal with it; on the other hand, if speaker A had used Mandarin, she would have had to say, "I am going to beat you," which was more violent. Macey's thought was very similar to that in Mary's response which indicated that the Taiwanese utterance implied that speaker A wanted to 'deal with something secretly.' Nevertheless, Macey focused more on the rhetorical device of the Taiwanese utterance because her opinion suggested that both the Taiwanese and Mandarin utterances had the intention of beating speaker B; however, speaker A chose to use the Taiwanese utterance because the intention revealed in the Taiwanese utterance was less explicit than that revealed in the Mandarin utterance. That is, the Taiwanese utterance was a metaphorical expression (i.e., using 'dealing with something' to imply 'beating someone'). If we use the associative model of CS, Macey's response could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching: the Taiwanese utterance was associated with the rhetorical device (i.e., a metaphorical expression); the association between the switched utterance and the metaphorical expression was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to make her utterance tactful, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese utterance.

Finally, the last interviewee (i.e., Jack) also connected this Taiwanese utterance with another contextual meaning, which was not shared with Mandarin either. Jack mentioned that the meanings of the Taiwanese utterance and its Mandarin equivalent were different. The latter meant to literally deal with an issue when it occurred. On the other hand, the former made Jack think of the scenario in which parents wanted to punish children and had the meaning that an elder wanted to give a younger a lesson.

That is, Jack thought that speaker A used this Taiwanese phrase to imply that she, an elder, wanted to give speaker B, a younger, a lesson. Jack's response was related to his background of using Taiwanese. Taiwanese was Jack's family language; that is, the family setting was the context in which Jack used Taiwanese. On the other hand, he mainly used Mandarin outside the family setting. According to Pavlenko (2006), switching to another language will trigger the shift in memories, which are activated by the switched language, and words can also activate certain memories of events. When the language in the video shifted to Taiwanese, certain memories shifted to those related to Taiwanese as well, and since Taiwanese was associated with Jack's family setting, the memories activated were also related to this setting. In Jack's memory of using Taiwanese in the family setting, when parents wanted to give children a lesson, they would use this utterance. Since parents usually used this Taiwanese utterance (i.e., let me handle this issue) in the situation in which they wanted to give children a lesson, the Taiwanese utterance had the contextual meaning that the elder attempted to give the younger a lesson. After the accumulated use of this Taiwanese utterance in this situation, the contextual meaning was attached to the Taiwanese utterance and became part of its meaning. That is, the association between the contextual meaning (i.e., the elder attempted to give the younger a lesson) and the Taiwanese utterance was established. When this Taiwanese utterance was used in other situations, its contextual meaning might become salient, as suggested by Jack. If this argument is plausible, then the contextual meaning associated with Taiwanese was not shared with Mandarin because it was developed in the family context where Taiwanese was frequently used when this utterance was mentioned. That is, Jack's opinion supported the associative model of CS in a way that speaker A switched to Taiwanese because the contextual meaning she attempted to convey was not shared with Mandarin. Also, Jack's response could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching: the Taiwanese utterance was associated with the contextual meaning (i.e., an elder attempted to give a younger a lesson) as a result of the accumulated use of the Taiwanese utterance in the family context; the association between the switched utterance and the contextual meaning was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use

of Taiwanese to signal her implication, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese utterance.

In their responses to Example 4, four interviewees' opinions were similar to that provided in the study; however, their responses suggested an unidentified social attribute of Taiwanese. Although the other three interviewees' responses did not share similar opinions, their responses could also be explained by other notions in the associative model of CS. Like the discussion in Example 3, the same CS case occurring in a certain context might be simultaneously associated with various attributes at different levels. In this example, the interviewees' responses further indicated that the same CS case occurring in a certain context might be simultaneously associated with various attributes *across types of switching*. That is, the interpretations of the same CS case could be related to 'code switching' as well as 'utterance switching' (e.g., the community-level association of code switching and the community-level association of utterance switching in this case). Because of their various social experiences, language backgrounds, etc., interviewees might have accessed different attributes at different levels and across different types, and as a result, they interpreted the same CS case differently. However, again, this study indicates that although interviewees' diverse backgrounds might influence their views about the same CS case, the attributes they accessed were within the range of the associative model of CS. In addition, the various interpretations seem to suggest that instead of exploring the communicative effects CS creates in detail, what we need to explore is the reason behind such effects since the interpretations of these communicative effects can be various, and the different levels of associations and the different types of switching this study suggests seem to be one of the possible reasons for speakers to be able to create various communicative effects.

Example 6

In Example 6, by using the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of code switching might help explain this CS case: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of localness (Su, 2005, p. 198) and vernacularity while Mandarin was associated with the social attributes of educatedness and national (p. 195). Such associations were commonly shared among people in the Taiwanese society and might have existed in the host's cognition. The different associations Taiwanese and Mandarin had respectively were then motivationally relevant to envisioning the host's language shift from Mandarin to Taiwanese (i.e., *guá bēsái lah hoo, pháinnsè ah pháinnsè*, I cannot [read the poem out loud in Taiwanese], I am sorry I am sorry) to show her sincere explanation and apology, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Only one interviewee (i.e., Mary) shared the opinion somewhat similar to the analysis provided in the study. Mary thought that the reason for the host to switch to Taiwanese to explain and apologize was to clarify that she did not deliberately avoid using Taiwanese to read the poem out loud; instead, she could not read the poem out loud in Taiwanese because of her poor Taiwanese ability, which was shown by her strange Mainlander accent when she used Taiwanese to explain and apologize. Mary mentioned that if the host had not switched to Taiwanese to demonstrate her poor Taiwanese ability, the audience would have wondered why she did not use Taiwanese and why she refused to do so outright and would have thought she was "putting on airs." The reason for Mary to use the phrase, "putting on airs," to describe the criticism the host might have received was that Mary thought the social attributes associated with Taiwanese were being vulgar and local; on the other hand, Mandarin, which was also the host's main language, was associated with the social attribute of power. That is, due to the different social attributes associated with Taiwanese and Mandarin, the host had to switch to Taiwanese to demonstrate her poor Taiwanese ability to earn forgiveness; otherwise, she might have been considered a person

"putting on airs" because she did not want to switch to a "vulgar" and "local" language. Mary's response suggested that the host's switch to Taiwanese was the strategy she used to avoid being criticized, and the reason she had to do so was related to the social attributes associated with Taiwanese and Mandarin. Mary's response supported the associative model of CS in a way that there indeed existed the associations between codes and certain attributes. Also, Mary's response could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of localness and vernacularity, and Mandarin was associated with the social attribute of power. Such associations were commonly shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in the host's cognition; the associations the two languages had respectively were motivationally relevant to envisioning the language shift from Mandarin to Taiwanese to help the host avoid criticism, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching from Mandarin to Taiwanese.

Another interviewee (i.e., Helen) also thought this CS case was related to demonstrating the host's Taiwanese ability; however, Helen thought the host's switch to Taiwanese was to demonstrate that she at least could use Taiwanese for daily conversation although she was unable to read the poem out loud in Taiwanese. The reason that Helen thought the host needed to demonstrate her Taiwanese ability might have been that Helen connected the Taiwanese language with Taiwan. In the interview, Helen once mentioned, "I was still Taiwanese, then being able to speak Taiwanese was a kind of identity issue." Helen's utterance revealed her belief that the Taiwanese language represented Taiwan, and thus Taiwanese people should be able to speak some Taiwanese. Then, Helen might have thought that the host seemed to have had a higher motivation to demonstrate her Taiwanese ability particularly after she admitted that she was unable to read the poem out loud in Taiwanese because, as Helen mentioned, she was a mainlander and mainly spoke Mandarin. That is, based on the host's mainlander background (the stereotype of mainlanders was that they could not speak Taiwanese) and the fact the host could not read the poem out loud in Taiwanese, the host had a higher motivation to demonstrate her Taiwanese ability

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because, as Helen believed, Taiwanese people should at least speak some Taiwanese language. By the same token, the host might also have associated the Taiwanese language with Taiwan, or the host might have assumed that the audience (e.g., Helen) had such an association, and thus, as Helen suggested, she switched to Taiwanese to demonstrate her Taiwanese ability to her audience. If we use the associative model of CS, Helen's response could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of "authentic Taiwanese-ness" (Su, 2005, p. 196), and such an association was shared perhaps among some audiences and existed in the host's cognition. The association between Taiwanese and the social attribute was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to demonstrate her language ability, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Another three interviewees (i.e., Yang, Jack, and Ham) thought that the host switched to Taiwanese because of the poem. Yang said that because the background of the poem was Taiwanese, the host used Taiwanese to apologize in order to show her respect to the writer of the poem. Based on Yang's response, the reason Taiwanese could help the host create the effects of sincere apology and respect to the writer of the poem was that it was the language of the poem. That is, by accommodating to the language of the poem, the host showed that she indeed respected the writer and the poem. Yang's opinion suggested that there seemed to have existed the association between Taiwanese and the poem in the host's cognition; otherwise, she would not have thought of using it to apologize to the writer and show her respect. If we use the associative model of CS, Yang's statement could be explained by the notion of the individual-level association of code switching: the host connected Taiwanese with the poem because the poem was the most often expressed in Taiwanese on this show; the association between Taiwanese and the poem was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the host's use of Taiwanese to produce a sincere apology and show her respect to the writer, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Jack also indicated that since the poem was written in Taiwanese, the host needed to read the poem out loud in Taiwanese; otherwise, the meaning and the flavor of the poem could not be conveyed. However, since the host's Taiwanese ability was poor, she switched to Taiwanese to demonstrate her poor Taiwanese ability to avoid being criticized for failing to convey the meaning and the flavor of the poem later when she read the poem out loud. Jack's response suggested that the reason triggering the host's switch was related to the strong association between Taiwanese and the poem; because of the strong association between Taiwanese and the poem, the host had to switch to Taiwanese to demonstrate her poor Taiwanese ability in the first place in order to avoid being criticized. However, Jack did not mention the effect such switch created because the demonstration of the host's poor Taiwanese ability was created by the host's Mandarin accent in her Taiwanese utterances, rather than by CS per se. Ham's opinion also did not indicate the communicative effects this CS created, but his response also indicated the strong association between Taiwanese and the poem. Ham mentioned that when the host mentioned the poem, there existed Taiwanese in her brain, and thus she could not help but spoke Taiwanese. Ham's response suggested that the speaker indeed tended to connect the language with the poem and such a connection would influence the speaker's use of language. Jack, Ham, and Yang responses indicated that the reason triggering CS was related to the association between the poem and Taiwanese in the host's cognition. That is, as argued in this study, association was the basis for CS, and the notion of the individual-level association of code switching could be supported by the three interviewees' responses: the host connected Taiwanese with the poem because the poem was most often used in Taiwanese in hearer's experience, and Taiwanese became the attribute of the poem.

Another two interviewees (i.e., Sue and Alex) focused more on the association between Taiwanese and individuals, rather than the poem. Sue mentioned that because the interviewee attending the show that day mainly spoke Taiwanese, the host had to use some Taiwanese to get closer to the interviewee. Sue's utterance indicated that the point for the host switching to Taiwanese was her interlocutor's main

language. That is, in her cognition, based on the frequency of her interlocutor's use of languages, the host had connected Taiwanese with the interviewee and considered Taiwanese as the interviewee's attribute. Alex also thought that the host could shorten the distance with her audience who spoke Taiwanese by switching to Taiwanese because she tried to speak the audience's language she was not good at, which in turn showed her sincerity. Alex's utterance also suggested that the host's codes (i.e., Mandarin and Taiwanese) connected with different people. Mandarin was associated with the host herself and other Mandarin speakers, while Taiwanese was associated with those speaking Taiwanese; as Alex indicated, these two groups of speakers had some distance with each other because they used different languages. When the host abandoned the language (i.e., Mandarin) she was familiar with and tried to use another one (i.e., Taiwanese) which she associated with Taiwanese speakers and she was not good at, her switch showed her sincerity and shortened the distance with Taiwanese speakers. Both Sue and Alex indicated that the host switched to Taiwanese because of its association with individuals. If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the individual-level association of code switching could explain the two interviewees' responses: the host connected Taiwanese with individuals (i.e., the interviewee that day and Taiwanese speakers respectively) because it was the language most often used by them, and Taiwanese became the attribute of the individuals; the association between Taiwanese and the individuals was motivationally relevant to envisioning the host's use of Taiwanese to create certain communicative effects, such as building a closer relationship with her interlocutor and the audience, and such communicative effects were in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

The last interviewee's (i.e., Macey) response had a somewhat weak connection with the associative model of CS; however, her statement also in part supported the researcher's analysis of this CS case. Macey said, "Because Taiwanese is now our mother tongue in Taiwan, she [the host] incidentally used it." Macey's utterance indicated that she thought the status of Taiwanese was elevated because she said Taiwanese was "now" our mother tongue. That is, previously, Taiwanese had not been considered the mother tongue in Taiwan. Macey's interesting thought suggested that based on the

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stronger association between Taiwanese and "we code" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66), the host tended to use it in her Mandarin utterances. Although Macey did not mention any communicative effect CS produced, her opinion also showed that the basis for CS was dependent on the association Taiwanese had. That is, the reason Macey thought the host switched to Taiwanese was related to the stronger association between Taiwanese and "we code," which also supported the researcher's analysis that this CS case was in part related to the association Taiwanese had with certain social attributes.

In their responses to Example 6, only one interviewee's opinion was somewhat similar to that provided in the study; although the other interviewees' responses did not share similar opinions, their responses either support the core principle of the associative model of CS (i.e., the existence of association) or could be explained by other notions in the associative model of CS.

Example 7

In Example 7, by using the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of code switching can explain this CS case: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of speakers A and B's family language, and such an association was shared by speakers A and B and existed in speaker B's cognition; the association Taiwanese had with speakers A and B's family language was then motivationally relevant to envisioning speaker B's use of Taiwanese (i.e., *ná hāi ah lah*, oh my god) to direct his third disagreement to his mother (i.e., speaker A), rather than the host, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Two interviewees' (i.e., Helen and Jack) responses were not considered. The information Helen provided was not sufficient to analyze her opinion on this CS example. Helen thought this Taiwanese utterance seemed to serve some purposes, but she did not know what purposes it served. Also, Jack thought it was speaker A who switched to Taiwanese because for Jack, speaker A had a Taiwanese accent when she spoke Mandarin. Thus, the explanation Jack provided was

related to the reason why speaker A switched to Taiwanese; however, it was speaker B who switched to Taiwanese in this example. The misunderstanding was not noticed by the researcher during the interview either. Thus, in this example, only six interviewees' responses were analyzed; however, none of them shared the opinion similar to that provided in the study. Nevertheless, their opinions either could be explained by other notions in the associative model of CS or could support the associative model of CS.

One interviewee (i.e., Yang) mentioned that, as she pointed out in Examples 3 and 4, people considered Taiwanese as an informal language, and thus, when something bad was discovered, people could use Taiwanese to create the entertaining effect and at the same time reduce the degree of seriousness of an issue. On the other hand, if Mandarin had been used, the issue would be considered to be very serious. Yang's statement suggested that because of the social attribute of informality attached to Taiwanese, speaker B used Taiwanese to help him achieve certain communicative effects, which could not be created by Mandarin because it did not have the social attribute Taiwanese had. Yang's statement again supported the associative model of CS in a way that speaker B switched to Taiwanese because it had the social attribute which was not shared with Mandarin but helped him produce certain communicative effects. Also, Yang's opinion could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of informality, and such an association was commonly shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker B's cognition. The association was motivationally relevant to envisioning speaker B's use of Taiwanese to reduce the seriousness of the mistake speaker A made and at the same time create entertaining effects, and such communicative effects were in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Another three interviewees (i.e., Sue, Mary, and Macey) shared similar opinions. Although the interviewees' responses seemed to support the notion of the individual-level association of utterance switching, they also seemed to suggest that this CS was speaker B's borrowed form. Sue mentioned that some Taiwanese and Mandarin words such as speaker B's '*ná hāi ah lah*, oh my god' could more

appropriately reflect a speaker's emotion and the seriousness of an issue, and speaker B chose to use this Taiwanese utterance based on his personal habit. Mary also indicated that this Taiwanese utterance might have been the one speaker B usually used whenever he saw that something was messed up and that when speaker B said this Taiwanese utterance, it revealed a feeling of urgency. Macey also mentioned that when speaker B realized something wrong, he subconsciously uttered that Taiwanese utterance, indicating that his mother ruined his romantic dinner. The three interviewees' responses suggested that speaker B seemed to have been used to adopting this Taiwanese utterance in certain contexts (e.g., when something was messed up), and it revealed a feeling of seriousness or urgency. The interviewees' responses might be explained by the notion of the individual-level association of utterance switching. The Taiwanese utterance was associated with certain social contexts (e.g., when something was messed up) as a result of his personal use of the Taiwanese phrase whenever he encountered the similar situations. When he constantly used the same Taiwanese utterance in the similar contexts, the association between the Taiwanese utterance and the contexts might have become stronger, and the emotion occurring in the contexts might have also attached to the Taiwanese utterance. Thus, when the same context appeared again, speaker B subconsciously used the Taiwanese utterance which had a stronger association with the context, and at the same time the emotion attached to the Taiwanese utterance was revealed. The association between the Taiwanese utterance and certain social contexts was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese utterance to reveal his emotional reaction when the similar context occurred. On the other hand, as suggested by Sue, the association the Taiwanese utterance had with the social contexts could be shared with other Mandarin utterances since speakers might regularly use Mandarin utterances in the similar social contexts, and the occurrence of the utterance seemed to be predictable and frequent, as Myers-Scotton's notion of borrowed form suggests.

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The last two interviewees' (i.e., Ham and Alex) responses provided support for the notion of the individual-level association of code switching. Ham mentioned that because local Taiwanese food was usually uttered in Taiwanese, speaker B's language then became Taiwanese, and some Taiwanese words, including speaker B's Taiwanese utterance, which were associated with local Taiwanese food, were triggered. Although Ham did not mention the communicative effects such switch produced, his utterance indicated that the speaker connected the language with certain cultural objects. When those cultural objects were mentioned, the language associated with the cultural objects might be used. That is, Ham's utterance supported the notion of the individual-level association of code switching in a way that speaker B's code (i.e., Taiwanese) was associated with certain cultural objects (e.g., local food) because those cultural objects were most often expressed in Taiwanese in the hearer's experience.

Alex's utterance also supported the individual-level association of code switching, but he connected Taiwanese with an individual rather than cultural objects. Alex mentioned, "He [speaker B] switched to Taiwanese because of his mother's [speaker A] presence." Alex's response suggest that speakers might connect the language with individuals, and speaker B switched to Taiwanese because he connected his mother with Taiwanese. It is interesting to note that in the video Alex watched, speaker A did not speak Taiwanese, but Alex seemed to subconsciously connected speaker A with Taiwanese probably because of her age or her accent. That is, Alex's assertion that speaker A spoke Taiwanese also indicated that he associated speakers with languages.

In their responses to Example 7, although no interviewees' opinions were similar to that provided in the study, their responses either provided support for the notions of the associative model of CS or could be explained by the associative model of CS. In addition, similar to the discussion in Example 4, the interviewees' responses also indicated that the reason for various interpretations of the same CS case

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was that the interviewees accessed different types of switching and different levels of associations the switch code or the switched utterance had.

Example 10

In Example 10, there were two CS cases (i.e., in line 5 produced by speaker C and in line 12 produced by the host). The analysis in Chapter 3 focused on the CS case in line 12; however, in the interview, only the CS case in line 5 was shown to the interviewees because if both CS cases had been included, the video would have been lengthy. However, the CS case in line 5 (i.e., the CS case interviewees watched) had a great influence on that in line 12 because this study suggested that the host's CS in line 12 was triggered by speaker C's CS in line 5. Thus, the interviewees' opinions on the CS case in line 5 could still be helpful in examining the associative model of CS used for the CS case in line 12. Before the interviewees' opinions on the CS case in line 5 are discussed, a brief summary of the CS cases in lines 5 and 12 is presented here. In line 5, speaker C switched to Taiwanese when he mentioned what his boss said to him in the past. Because speaker C switched to Taiwanese when he quoted his boss's words, the host seemed to associate the boss in speaker C's story with Taiwanese and also switched to Taiwanese when she acted out the boss in line 12. By using the associative model of CS, the notion of the individual-level association of code switching can help explain this CS case: compared with Mandarin, the host connected Taiwanese with speaker C's boss because it was the language used by his boss in speaker C's story and heard by listeners (e.g., guests and the audience) and became one of the boss's attributes in the story; the association between speaker C's boss and Taiwanese wa then motivationally relevant to envisioning the host's use of Taiwanese (i.e., *ah tsit ê*, ah, this guy) to play the role of speaker C's boss, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Now, the interviewees' responses to speaker C's switch to Taiwanese in line 5 will be discussed. Seven interviewees' (i.e., Sue, Mary, Ham, Jack, Helen, Yang, and Macey) responses could support the analysis in line 12. Sue, Mary, Ham, and Jack assumed that Taiwanese was the language used by speaker C's boss in his daily life, and thus speaker C switched to Taiwanese to create certain effects, such as imitating the boss, playing the role of the boss, and providing an authentic conversation. The four interviewees' assumption suggested that speaker C switched to Taiwanese because it was frequently used in the boss's daily life. That is, Taiwanese was connected to the boss and the boss's individual attribute in the real world. On the other hand, Helen, Yang, and Macey associated Taiwanese with the boss in speaker C's story. They mentioned that since the role (i.e., the boss) in speaker C's story spoke Taiwanese, speaker C switched to Taiwanese when he played the role of boss. That is, the three interviewees suggested that there existed the association between Taiwanese and the role (i.e., the boss) in speaker C's cognition, and thus speaker C could provide the original conversation and vivid effect by switching to Taiwanese, the language closely associated with the role speaker C played. Although the seven interviewees focused on either the boss's language use in the real world or the boss's language use in speaker C's virtual story, they all associated the role (i.e., the boss) speaker C played with Taiwanese. If we use the associative model of CS, the notion of the individual-level association of code switching could explain the CS case in line 5: speaker C connected Taiwanese with the boss because the boss most often used the language either in the story or in the real world; the association between Taiwanese and the boss was motivationally relevant to envisioning speaker C's use of Taiwanese to create certain communicative effects (i.e., imitating the boss, playing the role of the boss, and providing an authentic conversation). The association between the boss and Taiwanese established in line 5 might have triggered the host's use of Taiwanese in line 12 when she attempted to act out the role of boss. As suggested by the seven interviewees, the host might also have associated the boss with Taiwanese in the real world or in speaker C's story when speaker C played the role of his boss. And, again the notion of the

individual-level association of code switching could explain the host's switch to Taiwanese: the host connected Taiwanese with the boss because it was the language the boss most often used either in the story or in the real world; the association between speaker C's boss and Taiwanese was motivationally relevant to envisioning the host's use of Taiwanese to give the voice of speaker C's boss when she acted out speaker C's boss, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Although one interviewee (i.e., Alex) did not have the opinion shared with the above interviewees, his opinion could also be explained by the associative model of CS. Alex thought that by switching to Taiwanese, he could imagine the appearance of the boss; he said, "That kind of people speaking Taiwanese, bolder and more forthright." Alex's utterance suggested that Taiwanese gave the boss in speaker C's story the flavor of being bold and forthright. Alex's opinion could be explained by the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of boldness and being vulgar, and such an association was shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker C's cognition; the association between Taiwanese and the social attributes was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to provide the audience with a bold and forthright image of the boss, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

In their responses to Example 10, seven interviewees' opinions could support the analysis of the CS case in line 12 and the notion of the individual-level association of code switching. Although one interviewee's response did not share the opinion with other interviewees, his explanation could also be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching.

Example 13

In Example 13, by using the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching can explain this CS case: compared with the Mandarin translation, the Taiwanese phrase (i.e., *siu: tsitē tiō bôkhìah*, bang: and disappeared) was associated with the contextual meaning (i.e., emphasizing something or an activity would be gone quickly) as a result of the accumulated use of this Taiwanese phrase in a social context (i.e., that old Taiwanese TV program), and such an association was shared among the audience who watched that old Taiwanese TV program and exited in A's cognition. The association between the contextual meaning and the Taiwanese phrase was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to produce the emphasis, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese phrase.

There was no interviewee sharing the opinion similar to the analysis of this study. However, seven interviewees' responses could be explained by other notions of the associative model of CS.

Five interviewees' (i.e., Sue, Helen, Ham, Alex, and Jack) responses showed that this Taiwanese phrase provided a more precise description of how quickly speaker A would disappear in the movie. Also, as discussed in Example 13 in Chapter 3, the responses of Helen, Ham, Alex, and Jack indicated or implied that the word, "*siu*," in this Taiwanese phrase was an onomatopoeic word, which could help express the sense of quickly disappearing. Helen said, "The *siu* had the sound of film spinning, it felt like flying over speedily;" Ham mentioned, "This phrase was more vivid when uttering in Taiwanese than in Mandarin, when uttering the phrase in Taiwanese, *siu* had the feeling of flashing, in the twinkling of an eye;" Alex said, "This Taiwanese phrase helped speaker A strongly express that the time she appeared was very short, it was not very clear when speaker A said she had three scenes because we didn't know how many lines were there in her three scenes, and how long? But *siu* could clearly express that feeling of time passing very

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quickly because of the sound of *siu*;" Jack mentioned, "If this phrase had been uttered in Mandarin, the feeling was not quite right, *siu* was an onomatopoeic word, it could more precisely describe that situation, to exaggerate the situation." Considering the four interviewees' discussion of *siu* and all five interviewees' responses to the effect the Taiwanese utterance produced, they seemed to suggest that *siu* played a great role in helping this Taiwanese utterance produce the precise description of how quickly speaker A would disappear. The four interviewees' (i.e., Helen, Ham, Alex, and Jack) discussion could support the associative model of CS in a way that speaker A switched to Taiwanese because the Taiwanese word, *siu*, was associated with the rhetorical device (i.e., onomatopoeia) which was not shared with Mandarin but helped her achieve certain communicative effects. Also, all the five interviewees' responses could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching: the Taiwanese phrase was associated with the rhetorical device (e.g., onomatopoeia), and such an association was shared among people who understood this Taiwanese phrase and existed in speaker A's cognition; the association between the Taiwanese phrase and the rhetorical device was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to create certain communicative effects (e.g., vivid descriptions, emphasis, and exaggeration), and such communicative effects were in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese phrase. In addition, Alex's statement that this Taiwanese phrase could express the idea of quickly disappearing more clearly than its preceding Mandarin utterance (i.e., only three scenes) suggested that this Taiwanese phrase was not redundant, as Myers-Scotton would suggest. Instead, this Taiwanese phrase was more effective in telling the audience that the time speaker A appeared was indeed very short. Alex's statement suggested the expressive value of Taiwanese.

In addition to the precise description this Taiwanese phrase provided, Sue also mentioned that, as discussed in Example 13 in Chapter 3, speaker A imitated the phrase used at the end of that old Taiwanese TV program. Sue said the audience would know that speaker A was imitating that old TV program, which in turn helped her establish a closer relationship with the audience. If we use

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the associative model of CS, Sue's opinion could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching: the Taiwanese utterance was associated with the social context (i.e., the old Taiwanese TV program) as a result of the accumulated use of the Taiwanese utterance in that social context, and such an association was shared among people who watched that old Taiwanese TV program. The association between the Taiwanese phrase and the social context was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese utterance to create solidarity with the audience, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese phrase.

Although another interviewee (i.e., Mary) also mentioned that this Taiwanese phrase could provide the description of quickly disappearing, she focused more on the sense of closeness Taiwanese could offer. In responding to this CS case, Mary said, "To say 'quickly disappearing' in a solidarity way was *siu tsitē* (i.e., bang)." Mary's response indicated that 'quickly disappearing' and '*siu tsit*' shared the same meaning, but the difference was that the latter had the sense of solidarity. The difference seemed to be created by the language itself because after Mary said 'solidarity,' she switched to Taiwanese to utter *siu tsit*. That is, Mary's language switch from Mandarin to Taiwanese suggested that she thought Taiwanese was a solidarity language, and based on which speaker A switched to this Taiwanese phrase. This inference could also be supported in Mary's other responses in which Mary said speaker A's image was local, and thus speaking Taiwanese fit her image well. That is, Mary considered Taiwanese as localness. Also, Mary thought because of speaker A's local image, she gave a sense of solidary when she spoke this Taiwanese phrase. That is, Mary associated localness with solidarity. Then, it is plausible to infer that Mary would consider Taiwanese as solidarity as well because she connected Taiwanese with localness. If we use the associative model of CS, Mary's opinion supported the associative model of CS in a way that speaker A switched to Taiwanese because it was associated with the social attributes of localness and solidarity, which were not shared with Mandarin but helped her produce certain communicative effects. Also, Mary's

opinion could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes, and such an association was shared among people in the Taiwanese society. The association was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create solidarity with the audience, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Another interviewee (i.e., Yang) also connected Taiwanese with certain social attributes. Yang mentioned that since speaker A only had three scenes, she used Taiwanese to evade this embarrassing subject because it was considered to be informal, and at the same time Taiwanese could create something funny and entertaining. If speaker A had used Mandarin, the issue would have sounded serious. Yang's response was similar to that she provided in Example 7. If we use the associative model of CS, Yang's statement supported the associative model of CS in a way that speaker A switched to Taiwanese because it had the social attribute (i.e., informality) which was not shared with Mandarin but helped her produce communicative effects. Yang's opinion could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of informality, and such an association was shared among people in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker A's cognition. The association was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to evade the embarrassing subject and at the same time create entertaining effects, and such communicative effects were in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

The last interviewee's (i.e., Macey) response could not be explained by the associative model of CS. Macey's response indicated that this Taiwanese had an emphatic effect because it made her think that speaker A was pitiful and was not important in the movie at all. However, Macey's response did not show reasons for this Taiwanese phrase to produce such an effect and could not provide explanations of why speaker A switched to this Taiwanese phrase.

In their responses to Example 13, although no interviewees' opinions were similar to that provided in the study, most of their responses, except Marcy, either provided support for the notions in the associative model of CS or could be explained by the associative model of CS. In addition, similar to the discussion in Examples 4 and 7, a CS case might be simultaneously associated with different levels of associations and/or different types of switching. The interviewees' responses in this CS case indicated that the reason for various interpretations of the same CS case was that they accessed different types of switching due to different social experiences, language backgrounds, etc.

Example 16

In Example 16, by using the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching can explain this CS case: the Taiwanese phrase (i.e., *pháinn tik tshut hó sún*, bad bamboos produce good bamboo shoots) was associated with the rhetorical device (i.e., a metaphorical expression), and such an association was shared among people who understood this Taiwanese phrase in the Taiwanese society and existed in the host's cognition. The association between the Taiwanese phrase and its metaphorical expression was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to give speaker B a compliment on his appearance to orientated to speaker A's positive face.

Five interviewees (i.e., Sue, Mary, Alex, Ham, and Jack) shared similar opinions with the analysis of this study in a way that their responses suggested that there existed the association between the Taiwanese phrase and the metaphorical expression in the host's cognition. The responses of Sue, Mary, and Alex suggested that by the use of the metaphorical expression associated with the Taiwanese phrase, the host switched to Taiwanese to compliment speaker B. Sue mentioned that the host used this Taiwanese phrase to give speaker B a compliment in order to make speaker A happy because she compared speaker B to good bamboo shoots. Mary's response also indicated that the host used this

Taiwanese phrase to praise speaker B for his appearance even though she did not agree with the host's opinion on their appearance. That is, Mary did not think speaker A was ugly (i.e., bad bamboos) and speaker B was handsome (i.e., good bamboo shoots). Both Sue and Mary believed the host's CS was a compliment because the setting was a parent gathering (i.e., the host and speaker A). Alex mentioned that the main purpose of the host's story was to compliment speaker B, and he also thought of using this Taiwanese phrase to compliment speaker B that he was good bamboo shoots. In addition, Sue, Mary, and Alex mentioned that the communicative effects produced by the Taiwanese phrase could not be achieved by Mandarin because it did not have the association with the rhetorical device. Sue mentioned that this phrase must be uttered in Taiwanese; if it had been uttered in Mandarin, she would not have the feeling as she received from the Taiwanese version. Mary also thought that although she did not agree with the host's judgment of speakers A's and B's appearance, this Taiwanese phrase was much better than other Mandarin utterances because it provided a vivid description of their appearance and was expressive. The fact that Alex thought of this Taiwanese phrase when he listened to the host's story seemed to suggest that the association between the Taiwanese phrase and the metaphorical expression was stronger than that between other Mandarin utterances and the similar metaphorical expression (e.g., qīng chū yú lán gèng shèn yú lán, to excel one's parent(s) on something, as suggested in Example 16 in Chapter 3). The three interviewees' responses supported the associative model of CS in a way that the host switched to Taiwanese because it was associated with the rhetorical device, which was not shared with or was stronger than Mandarin and could help her produce certain communicative effects.

Although the responses of Ham and Jack also suggested that there existed the association between the Taiwanese phrase and the metaphorical expression in the host's cognition, they thought the host used such an association to achieve different effects. Ham thought the host used this Taiwanese phrase because it could precisely describe speakers A and B. Jack mentioned that the host used this Taiwanese phrase to debasing speaker A because it implied that he was not handsome (i.e., bad bamboos), but speaker B was (i.e., good bamboo shoots). Overall, if we use the associative model of CS, the five

interviewees' (i.e., Sue, Mary, Alex, Ham, and Jack) opinions could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching: the Taiwanese utterance was associated with the rhetorical device (i.e., a metaphor of the contrast in parents' and children's behaviors or appearance), and such an association was shared among people who understood this Taiwanese phrase and existed in the host's cognition. The association between the Taiwanese phrase and the metaphorical expression was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to create various communicative effects (e.g., giving a compliment on speaker B, providing a precise description, and debasing speaker A) and such communicative effects were in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese phrase.

Another interviewee (i.e., Macey) also thought that the Taiwanese phrase was used to compliment speaker B; however, unlike the first three interviewees, Macey thought the Taiwanese phrase had a Mandarin equivalent, "qīng chū yú lán gèng shèn yú lán, to excel one's parent(s) on something," as mentioned in Example 16 in Chapter 3. However, Macey said that for Taiwanese people, the Taiwanese phrase sounded more appropriate than the Mandarin version and that since the host had lived in Taiwan for a long time and contacted many people, she was supposed to get involved in the Taiwanese culture. Macey's opinion suggested that both Taiwanese and Mandarin phrases could give a compliment on speaker B's appearance; however, she seemed to associate Taiwanese with mother tongue because she felt the Taiwanese phrase was more appropriate for Taiwanese people. If we use the associative model of CS, Macey's opinion could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of family language; the association between Taiwanese and the social attribute was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to accommodate to her audience's preference, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

Another interviewee (i.e., Helen) provided an interesting thought which also supported the community-level association of utterance switching. Helen mentioned that although she knew the host

used this Taiwanese phrase to vividly describe speakers A's and B's appearance, the way the host used this Taiwanese phrase was strange. Helen explained that this Taiwanese phrase was used to contrast parents and children in terms of their behaviors rather than their appearance. In the interview, Helen, who had lived in the U.S. for 15 years, mentioned that her mother never used this Taiwanese phrase in the way the host did. Since Helen mainly used Taiwanese with her parents, the social experience from which she learned this Taiwanese phrase was from her family. In other words, in Helen's family, the perception of this Taiwanese phrase was related to the different behaviors between parents and children. Helen's opinion supported the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching: Taiwanese was associated with the rhetorical device (i.e., a metaphor of the contrast in parents' and children's behaviors), and such an association was shared in her family. However, since in her perception, the Taiwanese phrase was not associated with the metaphorical expression (i.e., the different appearance between parents and children), she could not envision the use of the Taiwanese phrase to achieve the communicative effect, which in turn supported the associative model of CS in a way that the notion of association was indeed the factor that triggered a speaker's use of CS to achieve certain communicative effects.

The last interviewee's (i.e., Yang) response indicated that the host's switch to Taiwanese was related to speaker A's individual attribute. Yang mentioned that because speaker A usually spoke Taiwanese, the host switched to Taiwanese to shorten her distance with speakers A and B, to accommodate to speaker A, and to show her respect to speaker A. Yang's opinion suggested that the host's switch to Taiwanese was not related to its association with certain rhetorical devices; instead, it was related to its association with her interlocutor's (i.e., speaker A) attribute, and such an association was established in part by speaker A's frequent use of Taiwanese. If we use the associative model of CS, Yang's opinion could be explained by the notion of the individual-level association of code switching: the host connected Taiwanese with speaker A because it was the language he most often used in her experience, and the code became one of speaker A's attributes; the association between

Taiwanese and speaker A was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to get closer to her interlocutor and show her respect to him, and such communicative effects were in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

In their responses to Example 16, five interviewees' opinions suggested that the existence of the association between Taiwanese phrase and the rhetorical device was motivationally relevant to envisioning the host's CS to create certain communicative effects. Although the other interviewees did not share the opinion, their responses either could provide support for the notions in the associative model of CS or could be explained by the associative model of CS.

Example 17

In Example 17, by using the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching can explain this CS case: the Taiwanese phrase (i.e., *la tsih*, stirring tongues) was associated with the rhetorical device (i.e., providing a meticulous description of the actress's tongue movement), and such an association was shared among people who understood this Taiwanese phrase in the Taiwanese society and existed in the host's cognition. The association between the rhetorical device and the Taiwanese phrase was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to repair speaker A's word choice, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese utterance.

Six interviewees (i.e., Sue, Mary, Yang, Alex, Ham, and Jack) shared similar opinions with the analysis of this study in a way that their responses suggested that the host chose to switch to Taiwanese because of the rhetorical device associated with the Taiwanese phrase. Sue said, "She [the host] taught the new friend [speaker A] that this process [the way the actress kissed speaker A] was called *la tsih* [stirring tongues]… the point was the '*la*' in *la tsih*, which had the meaning of stirring, precisely describing the tongue movement and giving a vivid, visual picture in [the listener's] mind." Mary

mentioned, "Speaker A's point should be the skillful movement of the actress's tongue in his mouth, the host used this adjective, *la tsih*, to describe the movement very well, it was precise and provided tremendous imagination, no other words could express nothing more than this movement, the audience could directly connect to that image." Yang thought that when the host heard speaker A's description of the motion of the actress's tongue, she thought the Taiwanese phrase was more appropriate for her to show the vivid action and describe the picture of what speaker A said (i.e., got into). Alex mentioned that the Taiwanese phrase the host used helped him associate with the action of the actress's tongue movement. Alex said, "Speaker A's description was the movement of the tongue, the Taiwanese phrase was better because it included more actions, it had the meaning of stirring." Both Ham and Jack mentioned that using the Taiwanese phrase to describe the actress's tongue movement was more provocative. The responses of Ham and Jack implied that the Taiwanese phrase focused on the description of tongue movement, and thus it gave them the sexual fancy and imagination. The six interviewees' statements suggested that there seemed to exist the association between the Taiwanese phrase and the rhetorical devices in the host's cognition because they indicated that she made use of the rhetorical devices associated with the Taiwanese phrase to create certain communicative effects. If we use the associative model of CS, the six interviewees' statements could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching: the Taiwanese phrase was associated with the rhetorical devices, and such an association was shared among people who understood this Taiwanese phrase and existed in the host's cognition. The association between the Taiwanese phrase and the rhetorical devices was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to achieve certain effects, such as precise and vivid descriptions, providing visual imagination, exaggerative effects, provocative effects, and the feeling of fancy, and such communicative effects were in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese utterance.

Also, among the above six interviewees, five of them thought that the Mandarin version speaker A used or other Mandarin utterances could not provide similar communicative effects, and their responses suggested that the reason was that these Mandarin utterances did not share the rhetorical device with the Taiwanese utterance. Sue mentioned that the Taiwanese phrase provided her with a visual picture; however, the phrase (i.e., zuàn jìn lái, got into) used by speaker A or other Mandarin utterances (e.g., shé wěn, tongue kissing) did not provide that visual effect, and she did not have much feeling of those Mandarin descriptions. Mary said that 'zuàn jìn lái'(i.e., got into) sounded strange and disgusting because it made her think of the movie, Aliens; compared with other Mandarin utterances, Mary also thought the Taiwanese phrase more precisely described the picture and concept of tongue stirring. Alex said, "'Got into' only included the action of moving towards the front, but the Taiwanese phrase included more actions, the Taiwanese phrase was also better than the Mandarin phrase, 'shé wěn, tongue kissing,' because the Mandarin version only described the position but did not describe the action." Both Ham and Jack mentioned that compared with the Taiwanese phrase, the Mandarin version (i.e., shé wěn, tongue kissing) was more moderate, but the Taiwanese phrase was more provocative. Overall, the five interviewees' opinion supported the associative model of CS in a way that the host switched to Taiwanese because it had the rhetorical device (i.e., providing a meticulous description of the actress's tongue movement) which was not shared with Mandarin, but helped her produce certain communicative effects.

Another interviewee (i.e., Helen) mentioned that the two interlocutors (i.e., the host and speaker A) had different cultural backgrounds, and the host thought the expression of the actress's tongue movement in Taiwan was *la tsih*; it was like "FYI;" compared to Mandarin utterances, it was the real, authentic Taiwanese word, and no one in other places of the world would use such an expression. Helen's opinion indicated that the Taiwanese phrase was "authentic," while other Mandarin utterances were not. The reason Helen thought the Taiwanese phrase was authentic might be related to the association between the language (i.e., Taiwanese) and the social attribute of "original" (Su, 2005, p.

198). That is, it was not the Taiwanese phrase that was authentic; instead, it was the language that gave the phrase an authentic flavor. In other words, Helen's opinion seemed to suggest that the host switched to the Taiwanese phrase because Taiwanese was associated with the idea that it was the original language in Taiwan, and she used the original language to introduce a term to a foreigner. If we use the associative model of CS, Helen's opinion supported the associative model of CS in a way that the host switched to Taiwanese because its social attribute (i.e., "original," Su, 2005, p. 198) was not shared with Mandarin. Also, Helen's opinion could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of "original" (Su, 2005, p. 198), and such an association was shared among some people in the Taiwanese society and existed in the host's cognition; the association between Taiwanese and the social attribute was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to provide speaker A, a foreigner from a different culture, with a more 'native' way of describing the actress's tongue movement, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

The last interviewee's (i.e., Macey) response could also provide support for the associative model of CS. Macey mentioned that 'got into' did not have the meaning of French kiss, but both the Taiwanese phrase and the Mandarin version (i.e., shé wěn, tongue kissing) did; the reason the host chose to use the Taiwanese phrase was that it was more currently used than the Mandarin version. That is, both Taiwanese and Mandarin phrases were associated with the rhetorical device, but the association between the Taiwanese phrase and the rhetorical device was stronger than that between the Mandarin version and the rhetorical device. Macey's statement supported the associative model of CS in a way that there indeed existed associations in a speaker's cognition and that the speaker chose to use the Taiwanese utterance because its association with the rhetorical device was stronger. However, Macey's opinion also suggested the possibility of the transformation from a CS case to a borrowed form. Because of the stronger association between the Taiwanese utterance and the rhetorical device, the Taiwanese utterance might be used more frequently, which in turn might replace the Mandarin equivalent and become a

borrowed form. Nevertheless, the inference needs more data to confirm. Example 17 remained a CS case because it only occurred one time among 100 CS cases the researcher collected.

In their responses to Example 17, six interviewees' opinions suggested the existence of the association between the Taiwanese phrase and the rhetorical device. Although Helen and Macey did not share the opinion, their responses could be explained by the associative model of CS and/or supported the associative model of CS. In addition, similar to the discussion in Examples 4, 7, and 13, a CS case might be simultaneously associated with different levels of associations and/or different types of switching. The interviewees' responses in this CS case indicated that the reason for various interpretations of the same CS case was that they accessed different types of switching due to different social experiences, language backgrounds, etc.

Example 19

In Example 19, by using the associative model of CS, the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching can explain this CS case: the Taiwanese phrase (i.e., *tsiàh iùkhí kòo bàktsiu*, eating young people can take care of your eyes) was associated with the rhetorical device (i.e., a metaphor of having a relationship with a much younger person and of the supposed increase in sexual potency), and such an association was shared among people who understood this Taiwanese phrase in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker B's cognition. The association between the metaphorical expression and the Taiwanese phrase was then motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to tease speaker C having a kissing scene with a young actor, and such a communicative effect was in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese phrase.

Six interviewees' (i.e., Helen, Mary, Jack, Sue, Ham, and Alex) opinions were similar to the analysis of this study in a way that they suggested that speaker B switched to Taiwanese because of the rhetorical device associated with the Taiwanese phrase. Helen, Mary, and Jack said that because speaker

C had a kissing scene with a very young actor, speaker B used this Taiwanese phrase to tease her. (As discussed in Example 19 in Chapter 3, the actor (i.e., He Huang) tended to be considered to be younger than his real age, and this view was also supported by the interviewees.) The three interviewees' responses suggested that there seemed to exist the association between the Taiwanese phrase and the metaphorical expression (i.e., a metaphor of having a relationship with a much younger person) in speaker B's cognition because he made use of the metaphorical expression associated with the Taiwanese phrase to achieve the purpose of making fun of speaker C. In addition, Sue mentioned that the Taiwanese phrase could more precisely express the implication of sexual potency, which in turn could create more interesting subjects. Ham mentioned that this Taiwanese phrase was more provocative, having a sense of flirting. Alex also indicated that the "*tsia̍h*, eating" in the Taiwanese phrase provided him with the imagination of physical contact. The responses of Sue, Ham and Alex suggested that there seemed to exist the association between the Taiwanese phrase and the metaphorical expression (i.e., a metaphor of the supposed increase in sexual potency) in speaker B's cognition because he adopted the metaphorical expression associated with the Taiwanese phrase to create certain communicative effects (i.e., entertaining effects, a sense of flirting, and provocative effects). If we use the associative model of CS, the six interviewees' opinions could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of utterance switching: the Taiwanese phrase was associated with the metaphorical expressions (i.e., a metaphor of having a relationship with a much younger person and of the supposed increase in sexual potency), and such an association was shared among people who understood this Taiwanese phrase in the Taiwanese society and existed in speaker B's cognition. The association between the Taiwanese phrase and the metaphorical expressions was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of the Taiwanese phrase to achieve certain effects (e.g., entertaining effects, a sense of flirting, and provocative effects), and such communicative effects were in turn achieved by switching to the Taiwanese phrase.

Another interviewee (i.e., Yang) provided an opinion different from the above six interviewees. Yang mentioned that previously, there were many local shows in which hosts usually would have some verbal sexual harassment to make fun of female entertainers, and those hosts usually used Taiwanese when they did it; because of the show culture, Taiwanese became a somewhat "nasty" language. Yang indicated that this example presented the show culture; if speaker B had used Mandarin, he could not have produced the "sexually nasty" feeling. The local shows Yang mentioned were usually held in western-style restaurants. From 1980s to mid-1990s, it was popular for restaurant owners to invite famous hosts to host talk shows in their restaurants to attract customers; it was very common for the hosts to have some verbal sexual harassment to make fun of female entertainers because the audience loved to see this type of performance, which they could not see on TV (Hu, 2009, August 30). One of the famous hosts was particularly good at doing such a performance in Taiwanese, and his talk shows were so popular that there were his talk show video tapes available in market, even though most of the hosts also included dirty jokes in their shows (Hu, 2009, August 30). The local shows Yang mentioned referred to this type of talk shows held in western-style restaurants in 1980s and mid-1990s. Since Taiwanese was regularly used in the talk shows in which the hosts used it to do some verbal sexual harassment to make fun of female entertainers, the sexual nasty flavor seemed to have attached to the language and become one of the social attributes of Taiwanese. Also, speaker B was a host at the time when he attended the show to publicize a movie. Yang might have assumed that speaker B was also aware of this social attribute of Taiwanese. Although this social attribute was not discussed in Su's (2005) study of the social attributes of Taiwanese, which were adopted by this current study, Yang's observation was considered to be plausible based on the researcher's social experience and interviews conducted in Hu's report (2009, August 30). If we use the associative model of CS, Yang's opinion supported the associative model of CS in a way that speaker B switched to Taiwanese because its social attributes (i.e., being vulgar and nasty) was not shared with Mandarin. Also, Yang's opinion could be explained by the notion of the community-

level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attributes of being vulgar and nasty, and such an association was shared among people who had experience watching the local shows and existed in speaker B's cognition. The association was motivationally relevant to envisioning the use of Taiwanese to create entertaining effects and a nasty flavor, and such communicative effects were in turn achieved by switching to Taiwanese.

The last interviewee (i.e., Macey) mentioned that the implication of some Mandarin utterances, such as "lǎo niú chī nèn cǎo, a metaphor of May-December relationship" or "zī yīn bǔ yang, nourishing yin and strengthening yang," was similar to that of the Taiwanese phrase. However, Macey said that Taiwanese people usually used the Taiwanese phrase because it sounded more appropriate and that she would not use the Mandarin utterances either. On the other hand, Macey said that Mainlanders would not use the Taiwanese phrase; instead, they would use one of the above two Mandarin utterances. Macey's responses were similar to her response in Example 16 and suggested that both Taiwanese and Mandarin phrases could give the similar implication; however, she seemed to associate Taiwanese with mother tongue, and thus she felt the Taiwanese phrase was more appropriate for Taiwanese people. If we use the associative model of CS, Macey's opinion could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching: Taiwanese was associated with the social attribute of family language; however, Macey did not mention communicative effects CS produced.

In their responses to Example 19, six interviewees' opinions were similar to that provided in the study. Although Yang and Macey did not have the similar opinions, their responses could be explained by the notion of the community-level association of code switching. In addition, similar to the above discussion (i.e., Examples 4, 7, 13, and 17), the same CS case occurring in a certain context might be simultaneously associated with various attributes *across types of switching* (e.g., the community-level association of code switching and the community-level association of utterance switching in this case). Because of their various social experiences, language backgrounds, etc., interviewees might have accessed different attributes at different levels and across different types, and as a result, they interpreted

the same CS case differently. However, again, this study indicates that although interviewees' diverse backgrounds might influence their views about the same CS case, the levels of associations and the types of switching they accessed were within the range of the associative model of CS.

4.5 Discussion

This chapter analyzed eight Taiwanese interviewees' opinions on ten CS examples discussed in Chapter 3 and examined the effectiveness of the associative model of CS this study proposed by comparing the analysis provided in Chapter 3 with the opinions provided by the interviewees in this chapter. In the ten examples, the interviewees provided various opinions. Although some of their opinions were similar to those provided in the study, others were different from those discussed in Chapter 3 and/or from each other. However, most of the opinions different from the analysis of the study could also be explained by notions presented in the associative model of CS (e.g., the community-level and individual-level associations of code switching as well as the community-level and individual-level associations of utterance switching). That is, the ability of the associative model of CS to account for most of the interviewees' opinions on the ten CS cases, regardless of whether or not their opinions were similar to the analysis the researcher provided, seemed to suggest that the associative model of CS was flexible and at the same time more comprehensive.

Synthesizing the interviewees' opinions, similar to or different from the analysis of the study, the study indicated that there indeed existed associations between Taiwanese and social attributes, individuals, or cultural objects or between Taiwanese utterances and contextual meanings, certain social contexts, or rhetorical devices. Although most of the interviewees did not explicitly use the term 'association,' their responses suggested that speakers in the episodes they watched connected Taiwanese with social attributes, individuals, or cultural objects, or connected

Taiwanese utterances with contextual meanings, social contexts, or rhetorical devices, which triggered their switch to Taiwanese. Also, when they responded to the researcher's questions, they sometimes used the term, 'association,' to discuss the images, scenarios, or meanings the switched code or utterance gave them.

Also, the associations Taiwanese or Taiwanese utterances had were not shared with or were stronger than Mandarin or Mandarin utterances. Taiwanese might associate with certain social attributes because of its accumulated use in certain social contexts; speakers might connect Taiwanese with individuals or cultural objects because Taiwanese was the language the individuals most often used, or the cultural objects were most often expressed in Taiwanese. Certain contextual meanings or social contexts might be attached to Taiwanese utterances because of the accumulated use of these Taiwanese utterances in certain social contexts. Speakers might establish the association or have the stronger associations between Taiwanese utterances and certain rhetorical devices in their cognition. Since the associations Taiwanese or Taiwanese utterances had were not shared with or were stronger than Mandarin or Mandarin utterances, speakers did CS. That is, in a Mandarin-dominant setting where speakers were fluent in Mandarin, the concept of association seemed to play an important role in the CS cases in this study.

Furthermore, as shown in the interviewees' responses, the interpretations of a CS case could be different from individual to individual. The reason for the different interpretations might be that the CS case occurring in a certain context could be simultaneously associated with various attributes at different levels and across types of switching (e.g., the community-level and individual-level associations of code switching and the community-level and individual-level associations of utterance switching), and a certain attribute at a certain level might become more salient and stronger in some interviewees' cognition than in others' cognition because of their different social experiences, language backgrounds, etc. Also, as shown in previous CS studies, speakers tend to use CS creatively. Since the interpretations tend to vary from individual to individual, and speakers are creative users of

CS, this study argues that we should not exhaust ourselves identifying or categorizing communicative effects CS produces. Instead, this study argues that although the communicative effects might be various, the basis for the different interpretations or creation of the communicative effects is the association Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has. That is, this study suggests that CS studies should focus more on exploring the root or base that motivates speakers to use Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance to create such communicative effects, and the root or base this study suggests is the association Taiwanese or a Taiwanese utterance has.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined the effectiveness of the associative model of CS from eight Taiwanese interviewees' viewpoints. The application of the associative model of CS in the eight interviewees' opinions was important because it allowed the researcher to examine the proposed framework from the audience's perspectives. As discussed in Section 1.2.1, one of the research problems in the previous CS studies in Taiwan was that the interpretations of language choice in those CS studies mainly relied on the researchers and were not response-oriented. This study addressed this problem by eliciting and examining the audience's (i.e., the interviewees) opinions on the language choice in the talk show. However, only eight interviews were conducted in this study. More interviewees need to be recruited in the future to provide a more comprehensive analysis of interviewees' interpretations of language practices and linguistic behaviors in a Mandarin-dominant spoken media discourse setting.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1 Revisiting the Research Purpose

The purpose of the study was to propose and examine an associative model of CS using

Gumperz's (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) theoretical

foundation as a base. The reason for proposing the associative model of CS was that the

theoretical explanations provided by the three prominent CS scholars (i.e., Gumperz, Auer, and

Myers-Scotton) might not be able to explain the CS cases effectively in the previous CS studies in

Taiwan and in Mandarin-dominant spoken media discourse in Taiwan in this study, as shown in

Section 1.2.1 in Chapter 2 and in Section 3.4 in Chapter 3 respectively. On the other hand, as

shown in Sections 3.4 and 3.5 in Chapter 3 and in Section 4.4 in Chapter 4, the proposed

associative model of CS examined by the CS data in this study, CS examples in the previous CS

studies in Taiwan, and eight interviewees' responses seemed to be able to explain the data and

interviewees' responses. However, the main principle of the proposed associative model of CS

(i.e., the concept of association) was not a new concept; instead, the concept of association was

the base of Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's theoretical explanations. Nevertheless, the two

scholars seem to focus more on the communicative effects CS creates in a certain social

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context, and this study attempted to re-emphasize the important role association plays in CS

studies and expand the levels of associations and the types of switching from the community-

level association of code switching, as Gumperz and Myers-Scotton suggest, to the activity-level

and individual-level associations of code switching as well as utterance switching. In addition,

this study argues that since a CS case occurring in a certain context could be simultaneously associated

with various attributes at different levels and across types of switching, and discourse participants who

interpreted the same CS case might have accessed different attributes at different levels and across types

of switching due to various factors, such as language, social, and cultural backgrounds, we should

not exhaust ourselves identifying communicative effects CS creates. Instead, the notion of

association seemed to be the base for speakers to use a switched code or a switched utterance to

create certain communicative effects.

5.2 Significance of this Study

Although CS has received sufficient research attention in the sociolinguistics field, there is

the problem of applying various theories in different studies. This study contributes to the

sociolinguistics field by proposing an associative model of CS which seems to be able to explain

various CS cases presented in this study and in previous CS studies in Taiwan and to explain

audiences' views about CS. Also, the associative model of CS is able to incorporate certain

theoretical notions of Gumperz (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982), Myers-Scotton

(1993a), Bell (1984), Giles and Coupland (1991), Auer (1984), and Goffman's (1981). By

proposing the community-level association of code switching, the study shows that speakers use

the social meanings and social attributes, among others, attached to a code to create certain

communicative effects, as Gumperz and Myers-Scotton suggest. By proposing the individual-

level association of code switching, a code is attached to an individual because it is most often

used by a speaker in the hearer's experience, and such an association is motivationally relevant

for speakers to switch to the code for certain communicative effects, as Bell (1984) and Giles and Coupland (1991) argue. By focusing on the notion of association, along with other functions identified in this study, the CS functions Gumperz (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982), Myers-Scotton (1993a), Auer (1984), and Goffman (1981) discussed can be applied. In addition, this study distinguishes utterance switching from borrowed forms and argues that, unlike what Gumperz and Myers-Scotton consider to be redundant, speakers do utterance switching in a purposive and meaningful manner because of its association with certain contextual meanings, certain social contexts, and rhetorical devices.

This study contributes to the CS research in Taiwan in a way that it provides another piece of information about speakers' use of CS in a Mandarin-dominant spoken media discourse, which has not received sufficient research attention. Also, in addition to the social attributes attached to Taiwanese according to the community norms, this study identifies the historical value of Taiwanese in the Taiwanese society. Since Taiwanese had been used for hundreds of years, certain Taiwanese utterances or expressions were attached with social implication, which have not been shared with Mandarin. The expressive value of Taiwanese is also discussed in this study. For example, the rhetorical devices associated with Taiwanese utterances can provide more precise, vivid, and/or meticulous descriptions than the Mandarin equivalents.

5.3 Directions for Future Research

This study has examined the effectiveness of the associative model of CS in a Mandarin-dominant spoken media discourse. Future research can apply this model in other discourse settings. Such information could provide further insights into the efficiency of the associative model of CS in a range of different contexts. Also, the main language in this study is Mandarin, and future research can explore the effectiveness of this model in a setting using a different language as the main as well as the dominant language. In addition, the qualitative research will

benefit from a more large-scale analysis of CS cases since there were only 50 cases analyzed and eight interviews conducted.

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NOTES

1. Emails were the other focus of Huang's study, but since there was only one case of CS between Mandarin and Taiwanese and the data were from one signal social network, the findings related to CS in emails are not discussed here.
2. The activities discussed in Gumperz's situational CS are different from the activities discussed in this study. In Gumperz's situation CS, the activities are defined as social events or functions, such as religious events. However, in this study, the activities are developed locally in ongoing conversations, such as an apology activity produced by the talk show host.

APPENDICES

Appendix A - Transcription Symbols

@	laugh
CAPS	emphasis, signaled by pitch or volume
.	falling intonation
,	falling-rising intonation
[ ]	overlapped talk
-	cut-off
=	latched talk
:	prolonged sound or syllable
(0.0)	silences roughly in seconds and tenths of seconds
(.)	short, untimed pauses of one tenth of a second or less
(( ))	additional observation
→	analytical focus
.h	for inhalation

Appendix B - Grammatical Glosses

AU: Auxiliary
BA: Bă noun phrase
BEI: Bèi phrase
CL: Classifier
CSC: Complex stative construction
EMP: emphatic marker
GEN: Genitive
INT: Interjection
NOM: Nominalization
PFV: Perfective aspect
PL: Plural
POS: Possessive
PRT: sentence, vocative or nominal subordinative particle
Q: Question mark
RF: Reduced forcefulness

Appendix C – A Sample of Demographic Information Questions

1. ○Male   ○Female

2. Age
   ○Under 25 ○25-35   ○36-45   ○46-55   ○56-65   ○Over 65

3. What is your occupation?

   _____

4. Where do you live in Taiwan?

   _____

5. (Skip this question if you are in Taiwan) How long have you been in the U.S.?_____

6. What language(s) does your father speak?

   _____

7. What is your father's occupation? _____
8. Where did he grow up? _____

9. What language(s) does your mother speak?

   _____

10. What is your mother's occupation? _____
11. Where did she grow up? _____

12. What language(s) can you speak?

   _____

13. How good is your Taiwanese?
    ○None   ○Very Little   ○Some skill   ○Quite good
        ○Fluent

Appendix D – IRB Approval Letter

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Friday, September 14, 2012

IRB Application No AS1298

Proposal Title: Taiwanese Attitudes Towards the Taiwanese Language

Reviewed and Exempt
Processed as:

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved   Protocol Expires: 9/13/2013

Principal
Investigator(s):

Yishiuan (Ivory) Lin   Dennis R. Preston
72 S. Univ. Place Apt.8   112 Morrill
Stillwater, OK 74075   Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

☒ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval. Protocol modifications requiring approval may include changes to the title, PI, advisor, funding status or sponsor, subject population composition or size, recruitment, inclusion/exclusion criteria, research site, research procedures and consent/assent process or forms.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Beth McTernan in 219 Cordell North (phone: 405-744-5700, beth.mcternan@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,

Shelia M. Kennison, Chair
Institutional Review Board

Appendix E – IRB Continuation Approval Letter

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date	Wednesday, August 14, 2013	Protocol Expires:	8/13/2016
IRB Application No:	AS1298		
Proposal Title:	Taiwanese Attitudes Towards the Taiwanese Language		

Reviewed and
Processed as: Exempt
                   Continuation

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s):   **Approved**

Principal
Investigator(s) :

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Approvals are valid for one calendar year, after which time a request for continuation must be submitted. Any modifications to the research project approved by the IRB must be submitted for approval with the advisor's signature. The IRB office MUST be notified in writing when a project is complete. Approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. Expedited and exempt projects may be reviewed by the full Institutional Review Board.

☑ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

Signature :

Shelia Kennison, Chair, Institutional Review Board   Wednesday, August 14, 2013
                                                                  Date

VITA

Yishiuan Lin

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