Thai – English Code-Switching in a Thai Government Organization

A qualitative research on employees' attitudes and opinions towards the linguistic phenomenon

and social practice in Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau

Master Thesis

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Abstract

This is a qualitative study of Code-Switching (CS) from Thai to English, in the context of a Thai organization. Focusing on a case study of a government agency, this study examines the attitudes of the employees towards CS, reasons why they code-switch, and how CS is applied. Seven employees from different departments were interviewed. The data were transcribed and analyzed using theories and previous research relating to CS: reasons why people code-switch (Malik, 1994), the markedness model (Carol Myers-Scotton, 1993), World Englishes (Kachru, 1988), and semiotic identity processes (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004). The results revealed that the employees do not have negative attitudes towards the use of CS nor towards the code-switchers. The employees mentioned that they were motivated to use CS because they see more benefits than disadvantages of applying CS in conversation. The common reasons provided by the interviewees were to express their membership in a group, to articulate an idea when having difficulty finding an appropriate word in Thai, to address different audiences, and for pragmatic reasons, i.e., replacing long Thai translated words with English words, transliterating English words to fit the Thai pronunciation and spelling system, and English technical terms in a Thai sentence, as well as using an appropriate amount of CS according to occasion and formality. The last reason is related to the context in which the employees code-switch, with respect to where CS is appropriate to occur and how much CS can occur in a sentence. In addition, the data revealed that the employees normally use CS at the word level and adapt standard English forms to localized Thai variants. Even though there are a number of previous studies on CS in the Thai context, no prior studies on Thai employees working for a government agency appear to have been investigated. Mostly, previous studies have been in education settings such as ESL or bilingual classrooms, in private companies in the hospitality industry or organizations that have

direct contact with international clients and generally use English for work such as airlines and hotels, and in online platforms such as web chats and Facebook. In these settings, English is common and expected. This research focuses on an organization in which English is not promoted and Thai is expected to be strictly used in all communication. Hence, this research lays the groundwork for future studies of CS in Thai government sectors and fills in an apparent gap focusing on a context or an official institution where Thai is the dominant language and English is an additional language.

Keywords: Code-Switching, Attitudes, Organizational Communication, Group Identity, Thai English

Introduction

Language is a communicative tool to transfer thoughts, feelings, and attitudes into words. In order to communicate effectively, a speaker must know the relevant language(s) to use with people who have the same set of codes and capabilities to interact in that language. It is crucial that the members of the group should be aware of their interlocutor's communication skills when talking to people from different backgrounds. In this case, background refers not only to the cultural or national ethnicity of the interlocutor, but also to shared relevant experiences or norms of particular social circles. Code-switching (CS) is one of the communication modes that allows speakers to transfer messages by combining other language(s) with a target language in conversation.

In the present era of globalization, people tend to encounter more foreign words and phrases through the use of an "international" language in the media or by people visiting different countries around the world. The international language in this study refers to "English" which is also the world's Lingua Franca. In Thailand, the English language has become ubiquitous and has more vitality than other western languages although the country has its own native language – *Thai* – for communication. Therefore, it is common for people to mix Thai and English words within a sentence in daily conversation. This phenomenon is called Code-Switching (CS). Additionally, Thai people adapt English words into Thai versions, in order to fit with the Thai spelling and sound systems. However, social bias has an unfavorable impact on the general Thai attitude towards people who are able to speak English. CS in a monolingual society can hold a negative connotation and can be seen as having unnatural characteristics (Sangprem, 2015). Negative views towards CS are formed to protect the identity of the Thai people, as found in a previous study stating that "Thailand considers Thai to be a language essential for

homogeneity in society and thus is reluctant to embrace the English language as a second official language." (Rappa & Wee, 2006, as cited in Kaur, Young & Kirkpatrick, 2016). This may be a partial explanation for why people in Thailand hesitate to use English and consider CS as an inappropriate communicative practice to use in public, especially when talking to the elderly or to people with a higher social status in formal circumstances.

Most of the previous research in the Thai context has studied CS patterns, frequencies of CS usage and attitudes towards the use of CS with different samples and settings. The outcomes revealed various perspectives towards this communicative phenomenon. These prior studies have been in various settings such as: (1) education – ESL and bilingual classrooms (Kang & Lust, 2019; Azlan & Narasuman, 2013; Kim, 2006; Martin-Jones, 1995), (2) service industry e.g., airlines (Sraphothong, 2011) and hotels (Boonkongsaen, 1999), and (3) online platforms such as web chats and Facebook (Kongkerd, 2015; Shafie & Nayan, 2013; Yiumkhamnuan, 2010; Lam, 2004). The current research is conducted in a Thai government agency, and the participants are native Thai speakers. The purpose of this research is to add a new industry to the research field, to investigate whether positive attitudes towards CS exist in a Thai organization, and to understand the reasons why people might choose to code-switch.

This study focuses on the employees' use of CS in the Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau, the government agency where the official Thai language is conventionally used. It also aims to explore the reasons why some of the employees within a sub-department of the Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau decide to code-switch. Besides uncovering the elaborate reasons for CS usage, this research reveals the attitudes that these Thai employees have towards CS. This study will investigate whether the general national ideology that prevents the

use of a foreign language in Thai conversation and the negative mindset towards CS found in previous studies are present within the chosen government organization.

Research question: What are the attitudes of Thai employees of the Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau towards Code-Switching behavior within the organizational setting?

Sub questions: 1. To what extent do these Thai employees decide to use Code-Switching?

2. In which contexts do they use Code-Switching in the workplace?

This study consists of six sections. Section 1, *Context and Case Study*, presents the necessary background information about Thai English and the government agency being researched. Next, the relevant theories are outlined in Section 2, *Theoretical Framework*, and methodology and research steps are indicated in Section 3, *Methodology*. The findings from the interviews are illustrated in Section 4, *Results*, and then these findings are linked to the previously presented theories in Section 5, *Discussion*. Finally, Section 6, *Conclusion and Future Research*, summarizes the answers to the research questions as well as reveals the limitations of this study and provides suggestions for further research.

<h1 style="text-align: center;">Context and Case Study</h1>

This section explains the roles and status of the English language in Thailand. Moreover, the background of the case study is provided, together with the reason why this organization has been chosen.

1. Context

Thailand is located in Southeast Asia. It is a monolingual country with Thai as an official language used nation-wide. Moreover, Thai people claim that Thailand has never been colonized by any western countries in the past. Thus, Thailand is unlikely to adopt English as a second official language. To visualize the status or role of English in Thailand, Kachru's model (1985) is useful. It illustrates three concentric circles, which categorize how English is spread and used in each circle. The three circles consist of the inner circle, outer circle, and expanding circle. The inner circle is where English is a native language, for example: USA, UK, and Australia. Members of this circle claim to be prototypes influencing the other two circles to use English. The outer circle involves the countries that have once been colonized by English-speaking countries, for instance, India, Philippines, and Singapore. People within this circle use English as their second language as it has official status in language policies to use English among their communities. The last circle includes the countries that use English as a foreign language, such as Russia, Japan, and China. Many Southeast Asian countries are classified as being in the last two circles: Outer and Expanding circles (See ASEAN[1] lists in Table 1). Thailand falls into the expanding sphere because English is not a primary language nor is it associated with prior colonization.

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[1] ASEAN or The Association of Southeast Asian Nations is a regional neighbor grouping that promotes economic, political, and security cooperation among its ten members in Southeast Asia. (What Is ASEAN?, https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-asean, accessed April 14, 2021)

Table 1

English status in ASEAN countries[2]

Country	Kachru's Circle	English Status
Brunei	Outer Circle	ESL
Malaysia	Outer Circle	ESL
Philippines	Outer Circle	ESL
Singapore	Outer Circle	ESL
Cambodia	Expanding Circle	EFL
Indonesia	Expanding Circle	EFL
Laos	Expanding Circle	EFL
Myanmar	Expanding Circle	EFL
Thailand	Expanding Circle	EFL
Vietnam	Expanding Circle	EFL

English is a compulsory course as a foreign language in early education in Thailand (Ministry of Education, 2008; Kaur, Young, & Kirkpatrick, 2016; Bautista & Gonzalez, 2006). The teaching of other languages e.g., Chinese, Japanese, French, and German depends on the schools and their teachers' available knowledge and skill. Therefore, even though English seems to have no direct historical connection with Thailand, everyone in the society ought to have some knowledge to communicate in English or know English words. In addition, English is considered by many people around the world as a "global language" or the world's lingua franca. People communicate in English, in order to talk to others with different backgrounds across the world. Because of the economic necessity, Thais need to use English when conducting foreign

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[2] Wilang, J. D., & Teo, A. (2012). Measuring the Comprehensibility of Englishes within ASEAN among Aseans. Online Submission, 2(3), 22-42. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED535030.pdf

investments, business negotiations and other collaborations. Because there are more professional opportunities for those who acquire English, Thais have become familiar with English and have begun to use it in day-to-day communication. They may pronounce English words in a Thai accent or mix some English vocabulary and idioms in a daily conversation with friends and family. Although English language exists in several mediums and contexts, for example, signage, radio broadcasts, newspapers, TV programs, advertisements, shopping malls, movies, and emails (Kaur, Young & Kirkpatrick, 2016), these presences of English are counted as a small number when compared to other countries in the Kachru's inner circle because some international products, e.g., soft drinks, toothpaste, or shampoo (See Figure 1, 2, and 3), are translated into Thai versions.

Figure 1

Soft Drink Advertisement: Coca-Cola Zero Sugar (Coke Zero)

Note. Matichon Online. (4 September 2017). Banner of Coca-Cola Zero Sugar. From โคคา-โคลา เปิดตัว 'โค้ก ซีโร่ สูตรไม่มีน้ำตาลสูตรใหม่' ท้าพิสูจน์ให้ลอง. (https://www.matichon.co.th/publicize/news_653031).

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Figure 2

Toothpaste Advertisement: Colgate Salt and Charcoal

Note. Colgate ยิ้มสวย. (10 August 2015). Picture from a post of an official page Colgate Thailand.

(https://www.facebook.com/ColgateThailand/photos/a.131373063586927.21684.126371897420

377/987514957972729/).

Figure 3

Shampoo Advertisement: Dove Hair Fall

Note. Cosmenet.in.th. (12 February 2016). Banner in a cosmetic and beauty website. From โดฟ แฮร์

ฟอล เรสคิว ชุดผลิตภัณฑ์ช่วยลดผมขาดหลุดร่วง. (https://bit.ly/3vJUDIy).

The figures are the banner advertising of the international brands from Coca-Cola, Colgate, and Dove displayed in Thailand. Not only the name of the brand, but also other components such as slogan and the product line are translated into the Thai version. Figure 1 presents Coke – the brand is transcribed into Thai as "โค้ก", pronounced / kʰóːk/. The product line is Coke Zero, which is called and written following the Thai phonetic system "โค้กซีโร่", / kʰóːk siː rôː/. In Figure 2 and 3, Colgate and Dove have also been transliterated[3] into the Thai version as "คอลเกต" or / kʰɔː kèːt/, and "โดฟ" or / dôːp/, respectively.

Despite increasing exposure to English in Thai society, the notion of "Thainess" is part of the conservative basis of the country. It contributes to cultural attributes such as social etiquette, language, manners, history, norms and beliefs (Renard, 2006). The concept aims to secure a Thai identity that cannot be replaced or interrupted by other cultures. Accordingly, the society condemns "strange" behavior or phenomena that do not fit into the traditional frame of being Thai, especially in the official or governmental contexts. This creates an anxiety and non-confidence to use English in public, and even obstructs development in language proficiency. Subsequently, many Thais are afraid to communicate in English and stay away from using proper English, also from using correct English pronunciation (Paige, Jorstad, Siaya, Klein, & Colby, 2000).

2. MICE Industry in Thailand

MICE is an abbreviation for Meetings, Incentives Travels, Conventions/Conferences and Exhibitions. In some countries, the MICE industry is called "business events". It is the industry

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[3] Transliteration or transliterated words in this study refers to English words that are written or spoken according to the Thai spelling conventions and phonological rules. The words are spelled in the Thai alphabet and pronounced with a Thai accent.

that has evolved from the tourism business by offering services related to meeting or trade shows for business professionals.[4] The linkage between tourism and MICE industry is that both industries draw foreigners to stay at the destination country, both have circulated the economic benefits to the community by creating jobs, selling local products, providing services, and both aim for visitors to go back to their home country with memorable experiences. However, the business event or MICE industry has led to major income for the country and has measurably increased the number of visitors, higher daily expenditure, longer nights of stay, and other social contributions e.g., improving infrastructure and facilities, having advanced technology and innovation in the destination area, and offering the local people new ideas, knowledge and insight for future opportunities (Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau, 2017; Foley, Schlenker, Edwards & Lewis-Smith, 2013).

Thailand, as a prime travelling destination, has developed its potential to be a venue for international congresses and trade exhibitions. The government is well aware of the value of the business tourism sector as an economic driver and national income generator because of yearly visitor and revenue growth in the country. Therefore, MICE industry is considered to be a crucial component in business travel and tourism of Thailand, and has key organizations supporting the industry such as the Thai Incentive and Convention Association (TICA), the Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau (TCEB), national convention and exhibition centers (Queen Sirikit National Center (QSNCC), Bangkok International Trade & Exhibition Center (BITEC), and IMPACT Exhibition Center, Trade Exhibition Association (TEA)), and other related companies, e.g., exhibition organizers, conference organizers, and destination management companies.

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3. Case Study

The Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau or TCEB is a government agency under the supervision of the Prime Minister. It was established by Royal Decree in 2002, and has been operating in the business tourism sector since 2004.[5] Its core business is related to the MICE industry, i.e. Meetings, Incentives, Conventions and Exhibitions in Thailand. The organization's tasks are promoting Thailand to be a top business event destination in Asia, supporting the country's economy, providing services and consultations to other organizations relating to business events in Thailand, strengthening MICE business in every domestic region, and serving as national representative in bidding proposals to foreign agencies to host international business events in the country (Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau, 2020).

The structure of the organization consists of one management team and nine departments (Convention Department, Corporate Image and Communication Department, Exhibition Department, Government & Corporate Affair Department, Meetings & Incentives Department, Mega Events & World Festivals Department, MICE Capabilities Department, MICE Intelligence & Innovation Department, and Regional Office Department). For this research, the participants are the representatives from five departments. More information can be found in the methodology section below.

Referring back to the national official language, TCEB is a public organization, therefore, the rules and norms of using Thai in any official circumstances are strictly applied for communicating in correct and formal Thai with other government agencies, local organizations, and associations. However, it is inevitable that speakers will use English words, and sometimes phrases, because most of the technical terms are in English and some employees work in a

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[5] https://www.businesseventsthailand.com/en/about-us

department that contacts foreign organizations daily. The emergence of CS in this context

sparked an interest in the research topic addressed in this study.

Theoretical Framework

This section is divided into three theoretical aspects. First, World English in the Thai context will be introduced to frame how the English language is viewed and used in Thailand, along with some characteristics of Thai English. Second, a definition of Code-switching and some compiled reasons for CS occurrences in communication will be presented. The last section describes how social practices and actual linguistic practices are engaged in terms of identity and ideology through semiotic processes. The topic of group identity and four components of a semiotic model will then be presented.

1. Variations in English in Thailand: Localization

The term "World Englishes" or "New Englishes" is defined as variations of English used in different parts of the world. According to Kachru's concentric circles (1988), English usage has been classified into three categories based on where English appears: inner circle, outer circle, and expanding circle. In the inner circle, the native or primary language used in the country is English, while English in the other two circles is used in non-native contexts. The outer circle is where English is an additional language and is perceived as an institutionalized language within post-colonial states ruled by English native speaking countries. The expanding circle refers to nations that are neither a colonized country nor have English as an official language, but have English as a foreign language. Kachru and Smith (1985) noted for all three concentric circles that "the language now belongs to those who use it as their first language, and to those who use it as an additional language, whether in its standard form or in its localized forms." (p. 210). Therefore, English usage in each circle is varied due to the location in which it was spread and its adaptation to local languages. Considering only the large and varied region of

Asia, all three circles are found, but the majority of the Asian countries fall into the outer circle

and expanding circle (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

Three concentric circles of Asian Englishes (adopted from Kachru's circle[6] (1998, p.97))
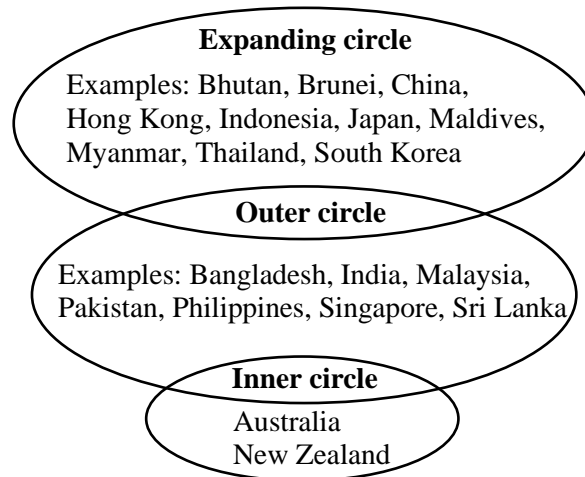
For Southeast Asia, English emerged during colonization by the empires of Great Britain

and the United States (Chamcharatsri, 2013). Some countries, e.g., Philippines and Singapore,

were under colonial rule for a long period and absorbed the linguistic influence of the rulers.

After their independence, English was taught as a second language and mandated to be used

officially in institutions. On the other hand, some countries, e.g., Thailand and Japan, were never

ruled by western states, but were in contact with foreigners for alliances, trades, entertainment,

tourism, and other relationships. English transplantation to these areas, where the primary

language is not English, has caused the changes in English language within the non-native

English communities (Crystal, 2000). Instead of replicating standard English, non-native English

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[6] Kachru included Australia and New Zealand in the inner circle, even though both countries are not located geographically in Asia. Kachru could have used the term "Asia Pacific Englishes".

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speakers adapt English words to new structural patterns (at the phonetic, lexical, syntactic, and discourse level) and use in various situations within their own communities.

Due to the localization of English in the Thai context, the characteristics of Thai English (Tinglish) has included "Thainess" within its structure. Chutisilp (1984), Watkhaolarm (2005), and Trakulkasemsuk (2012) have listed the common features of Thai English, such as transferring certain cultural and social elements (e.g., adding certain sentence-final particles to identify the gender and seniority of a speaker, and constructing "kinship form + name" forms when addressing someone), translating what is being said in Thai word-for-word into English (e.g., cursing, idioms or fixed expressions), hybridization or mixing Thai words and English words (e.g., Rod Taxi – car taxi), and pronouncing and intonating English words in a Thai way (e.g., vowels and consonants, and syllable stress). For the English consonants and vowels that do not exist in the Thai phonetic system, Thai speakers find the closest sounds available in Thai as a substitute (Kruatrachue, 1960), for example, /v/ is replaced by /w/, and /θ/ is placed by /t/.

2. Code-Switching

2.1 Communication Modes of Multilingualism

Multilingualism can be useful to international organizations, in which people from different backgrounds talk to one another by using it as a tool to communicate efficiently inside and outside an organization. One of the related theories from Backus et al. (2013) covering the use of multiple languages in Europe is the "modes of inclusive multilingualism", which aims to achieve effective communication, rather than to imitate native language proficiency. Backus et al. added that native-like language proficiency for the business setting is not necessary. This means that speakers should have language proficiency at a sufficient level for being able to communicate and understand the interlocutors from different cultural backgrounds. Therefore, in

many communicative contexts, efficient communication may benefit from the use of multilingual modes. Code-Switching (CS) is one of the communicative modes from the theory of Backus et al. CS does not always occur in multilingual speech communities nor does it apply only to people from diverse backgrounds, or to bilingual/trilingual/multilingual people, but it can also be used in a society that is officially monolingual, where English is an additional language.

For this research, CS will be explored in a Thai government organizational setting, where Thai language is the dominant language, however, English language also plays an important role as the case study organization has regular contact with international institutions and foreigners. Hence, English as Lingua Franca and Code-Switching are relevant to this study. While the quintessential Lingua Franca for Thai speakers to communicate with clients from overseas is English, since most Thais are English L2 speakers, the Code-Switching mode is also used within the organization because this mode provides more language choices to fit the communicative demands of speech at the micro-level.

2.2 Definition

Code-switching is generally defined as the linguistic shifting that occurs "between two or more languages simultaneously or interchangeably within one conversation" (Grosjean, 1982, pp. 145). A speaker can change from one code to another, with or without awareness, varying between linguistic units of different length. That is to say, code-switching can exist within a conversation across whole sentences or as a part of a single sentence or by switching single words or phrases (Nguyen, 2015, pp. 13).

2.3 Use of CS

There are numerous reasons why people use code-switching in their speech to accomplish varied functions in social interactions which can be grouped into three main motives, namely,

social, linguistic and psychological motivations (Shin, 2010). Malik (1994) classified ten

communicative functions that code-switching serves for speakers (see Table 2). In the present

study, these ten reasons are tested to see if they remain the same in the Thai working context or if

the interviewees provide other motivations for using CS.

Table 2

10 reasons people use code-switching (adapted from Malik (1994))

No.	Reasons	Explanations
1	Lack of facility or looking for lexical compensation for equal translation (Hoffman, 1991)	When speakers do not know the terminology that matches their purposes, nor sometimes find the right word in another language right at the moment, code-switching is used in such situations (Azlan and Narasumanb, 2013).
2	Lack of registral competence	Having difficulty finding appropriate words in the target language
3	Mood of speaker	This happens especially with bilingual speakers, when the words in another language seem to take less effort and time to use at that particular moment (Choy, 2011).
4	Emphasis on a certain point	To make sure that the listeners focus on the particular issue
5	Habitual expressions	For example: greetings and apologies
6	Semantic significance	CS is sometimes used to convey a speaker's attitude, intention, and emotion when delivering linguistic and social information (Gal, 1979, as cited by Azlan and Narasuman, 2013).
7	To show identity with a group	CS is a signifier expressing that speakers belong to a particular group and share some traits with the group. "Code-switching carries a hidden prestige which is made explicit by attitudes", mentioned Peter Auer (2002, p. 221). With this in mind, a speaker who is able to apply code-switching during talk can be valued as wise and could receive positive feedback from the interlocutors or conversation partners.
8	To address a different audience	CS behavior normally occurs between speakers who share the same set of languages
9	Pragmatic reasons	For example: formality and location.
10	To attract attention	Malik (1994) explains that usually in printed media, in the case of Indian English newspapers, CS is used to attract attention from the readers.

3. Language, Identity and Ideology

3.1 Group Identity

Carol Myers-Scotton developed the model of Code-Switching motivation called the "markedness" model (1993) and described how each language in a multilingual community is associated with particular social roles and categories. She assumed in the process of code-switching that speakers must share an understanding of the social meanings of each available code. If this set of norms does not exist, interlocutors would lack comprehension in particular code choices (Nilep, 2006). This presumably means that people from the same group share the same code or language. When they talk to one another with their own language, they are likely to understand the whole sentence and successfully respond to the speaker's intention.

Group identity refers not only to national perspectives, but also to the sense of belonging in an organization. Identity is seen in the ongoing interaction (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004) through habitual practice, which can be linked to language and how people communicate with each other in their speech community. Some theorists note that the structure of an organization shapes how people communicate inside their group, because each organization has its own norms and culture (Miller, 2015, pp. 82). Conversely, the communicative constitution of organization theorists look at internal communication from another perspective. They see communication processes constructed through interaction (Miller, 2015, pp. 83). Referring to an organization's communication practices, Ten Thije (2016) explains that discursive interculture is a common discourse structure in which interactants develop their own communication strategies when they cooperate for a longer period of time.

3.2 Semiotic Processes: Identity Construction through Interaction and Language

The "semiotic process" model proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2004) explains that identities are produced through practice, indexicality, ideology, and performance. All four concepts will be illustrated one by one below.

Firstly, practice or social practice is a set of particular actions which individuals acquire through socialization and which connect them to the social dimension of cultural life. Social dimensions are associated with "symbolic capital" affecting the social and economic status of the speaker. In this study, social practice refers to the linguistic practice of applying Code-Switching within an otherwise general monolingual conversation.

Secondly, indexicality is juxtaposition, pointing to objects or events by means of co-occurrence or through some connection. Linguistic indexicality shows how language indexes social meaning or social category, e.g., gender, age hierarchy, and formality. An example provided by Bucholtz and Hall (2004) is the specific particles applied at the end of the sentence in Japanese grammar which define whether the speaker is female or male. In Thai grammar, sentence-final particles are used to refer to the gender of the speaker and to the speaker's closeness to the interlocutor.

Thirdly, ideology reflects the speaker's identity or how people think of someone's culture in essentialist ways. It is a strong belief or attitude towards a series of practices in the society that create bias, especially when some actions are not similar to the "ideal" practices. In non-English speaking countries, especially in the Southeast Asia region, there is an ideal image of people who have foreign language competency. People who are able to speak foreign languages, in this case English, are often regarded as having higher socioeconomic status and education than those who cannot (Park, 2017). Since languages are increasingly associated with idealized situations and

signify the social status of speakers, multiple foreign language utterances allow people to stand out of the crowd and appear superior in their community. In this study, Thai speakers who use CS during talk are seen as either being blended into a specific group, attempting to have a professional appearance, or as having their language skills accepted or acknowledged by others. This can be related to Table 2, in the sense that group belongingness could be one of the reasons that might be found within this study.

Lastly, performance is a speech event in which the audience is explicitly invited to evaluate the identity of the performer through social collaboration (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004). Bauman (2011) also links performance with identity through the interplay between conversation partner(s):

> "The notion of performance as artful, virtuosic display has gained ground in recent years as a vantage point on the situated and emergent fashioning of identity in interaction." (p. 713)

This concept of "performativity" is that identity is something fluid which can change moment-to-moment according to the chosen words and actions of speakers in various contexts or situations. For example, the study of Mori (2003) demonstrated how three Japanese students switch their identity to English L2 learners through CS when talking to two American students in an informal conversation. Their conversation is mainly in Japanese, but they switched into English words when answering questions regarding cultures i.e., angel cake, movies, actors and actresses, in order to communicate clearly. Similarly, the two American students, as Japanese L2 learners, use Japanese for communication and switch to English words for further explanation. Therefore, their identity is swapped back and forth as native English speakers to language learners as well. These interactions with native Japanese and English speakers exhibit performativity implying

that identities are (re)produced, learned, and judged by others. Moreover, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) mention "stylization" or "highlighting or exaggerating of ideological associations", which is relatable to the Thai context when speakers are seen as speaking English in exaggerated ways beyond the expected norms of standard English. Additionally, "denaturalization" is another process in the article by Bucholtz and Hall (2004) that is closely related to performativity and stylization. It is a process performing an identity far from the "realness" or perceived originality of that identity to emphasize its artificiality. In this study, we see denaturalization in the way Thai people pronounce English words within a sentence and exaggerate their facial expression as well as actions during the talk. These unnatural actions are likely to not be accepted by their conversation partners or the listeners.

Methodology

This research attempts to achieve an attitudinal analysis of employees at a Thai government organization. The data were provided by the employees of this organization through ethnographic interviews, in order to answer the research question: What are the attitudes of Thai employees of the Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau towards Code-Switching behavior within the organizational setting? This section contains information about the participants, methods of data collection, materials, and data analysis.

1. Participants

To respond to these research questions, interviewees were requested to join the thesis project because of their state of employment in the target Thai government agency and their personal experiences as well as opinions towards the use of CS in the working environment. Their statements on CS from Thai to English within a sentence reflect on how Thai employees in MICE business perceive English language and recognize some English words and technical terms when applied within their organization as mutual norms, signifying a group language aligning to the business language in MICE industry.

Information was collected from seven employees working at the Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau. Their positions in the organization range from executive level up to directorial level under five different departments. All informants are Thai citizens who graduated from a Thai university. Their ages varied from 26-47 years old. The first participant (P1) is a manager at the Northeastern regional office, in which she has contacts mainly with provincial governors, related government sectors and local associations from the Northeastern provinces in Thailand. The second participant (P2) is a director in the Exhibition department, where private companies and international organizations are key clients. The third participant (P3) is a senior

manager in the MICE Capabilities department. This department develops and organizes MICE

certified training programs collaborating with overseas institutions and associations. The fourth

informant (P4) is a manager from the same department as P2. The fifth informant (P5) is a

manager in the Government & Corporate Affairs department, where the main contact persons

work in other government sections e.g., Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Tourism and

Sports. The sixth informant (P6) is a senior executive from the same department where P3

works. The last participant (P7) is a director in the Mega Events and World Festivals department.

The department bids for international events and festivals originating from abroad to be held in

Thailand and requests other local Thai government sectors to support the process as these bidded

mega events and festivals are expected to drive national economic growth and raise a city's or

venue's capability on the world market. Even though their positions and departments are

scattered within the organization and seem random, their diverse viewpoints and attitudes

towards CS are relevant for the interview and data collection.

Table 3

Participants' professional position

Participants	Position	Department
P1	Manager	Northeastern Regional Office
P2	Director	Exhibition Department
P3	Senior Manager	MICE Capabilities Department
P4	Manager	Exhibition Department
P5	Manager	Government & Corporate Affair Department

| P6 | Senior Executive | MICE Capabilities Department |
| P7 | Director | Mega Events & World Festivals Department |

2. Data Collection and Procedure

2.1 Interview

An interview is an acceptable and reliable means to gather in-depth information which many researchers frequently use to conduct qualitative research. Due to the presence of both interviewer and interviewee, either face-to-face or on the phone, new issues or unclear statements are easily approached for further probing and clarification (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 143-144). Moreover, interviewees may feel more comfortable to speak their mind rather than write it down or tick multiple choices. Accordingly, this method of data collection is employed to obtain rich data provided by the participants.

For this research, a qualitative method with semi-structured interviews was adopted to discover the participants' experiences and attitudes towards CS in their organizational settings. The semi-structured format with both open-ended questions and a few closed questions were prepared and followed. There were around eleven questions asked by the interviewer, which in this case is the researcher herself. The interview questions covered the employee's attitudes, opinions and practices towards CS both in general and in their organizational environment, for example: "How do you feel when you hear your colleagues mix English with Thai in the working environment?" and "Do you code-switch? If yes, why and in what situations? If no, why not?".

2.2 Procedure

Before the interview was conducted, an official informed consent form with cover letter and e-signature of the researcher and supervisor, along with draft interview questions, were sent to the president of TCEB requesting permission to interview their employees. After receiving the approval, the draft question list and consent form were distributed to potential participants, who represent a homogeneous sampling because they are from the same organization. The list of the participants was acquired with help from the Senior Vice President, with whom the researcher is in contact. Most of them replied with a positive response that they were willing to join the project and were available within the given interview timeframe. A few participants came from snowball sampling, as they were suggested by the interviewed participants. Prior to the interview date, several emails and a phone call were made to contact the participants, distribute consent forms, remind them of the interview date and time, ask if there were any questions or clarifications needed, and to test the online interview platform.

On the interview days, the interview was held for approximately 30-45 minutes via the online platform called "Microsoft Teams". Originally, the questions were drafted in English, however, all informants asked to be interviewed in Thai because they would feel more comfortable and relaxed to talk in their native language, also because the conversation would flow more naturally. The researcher acted as the interviewer in every interview. At the beginning of the interview, the interviewer set the tone and built a rapport to help make the atmosphere relaxed by smiling and asking about other informal topics before leading to the actual questions, e.g., "How are you?", "Where are you now? Do you work from home?", "Is it difficult to not being able to work at the office?" and "What are you going to do next after the interview?". Additionally, the interviewer encouraged the interviewees to open up and share their

perspectives either in Thai or using CS within a sentence, and also left some time for them to think for each question. This was followed by the content questions. The conversations were recorded and follow-up questions were added during the interview to gain more clarification and confirm the interviewer's comprehension. At the end of the interview, closing questions were asked to provide an opportunity for the interviewee to ask anything about the study or any last adds-on comments and feedback.

As the interviews were all video-recorded, the video clips were later transcribed in Thai and re-watched many times to fully understand the participants' answers and viewpoints. After the full Thai version of transcriptions were created, color-coding commenced to identify and gather useful and relevant information. The next step was translating the selected text into English, creating a table referring to the interview questions and filling the table with the selected text. At this stage, the data looked neat and clean, and was ready for analysis.

3. Materials

Microsoft Teams is an online platform for virtual meetings and a suitable tool for this research project. Due to the COVID-19 situation and pandemic measures in Thailand, it is too risky to meet in person. Consequently, a virtual interview through Microsoft Teams is one of the best options because the researcher is able to conduct the interview, observe participants' reactions and facial expressions, and also hear their voices, as if it were a face-to-face interview. Additionally, this online program is able to record meetings in video format. It also aids in reducing the complexity and number of involved tools; the researcher needs only one laptop and one program.

During the interview, field notes have been taken using pen and notebook. These were later transferred from a hard copy to Microsoft Word as a soft copy, in order to store the data better and longer.

Text translation from Thai to English was done by back-and-forth translation i.e., the process of translating an original text (in Thai) into another language (in English), and translating the result back into the original language to cross-check the validity and reliability, i.e., whether the translated text (in English) is correct and both versions contain similar meaning. After that, the document was also saved in the Google Drive for convenient use in the future and loss prevention.

4. Data Analysis

After listening to the interview clips several times, the recordings were transformed into textual form. Additional notes from field notes were also combined within the same Word-document, so that the information would be complete from all the information sources. The following phases were to find the useful information related to the interview questions in the transcriptions, color-code the information lines, and place the selected data in the table, in which the data were grouped and gathered depending on the sequential questions. Once the relevant data were identified and placed in the table, the text was translated to English for analysis.

To be able to answer the research questions, the data were compared among the answers of seven participants to see if there were any patterns: whether they gave similar answers or contradicted each other. To answer the first sub-question "In which contexts do they use Code-Switching in the workplace?", the situations given by each informant were assembled and compared to detect any patterns in when the employees said they use CS. The data for another sub-question "To what extent do these Thai employees decide to use Code-Switching?" was

gathered to look at their reasons to code-switch, then grouped in each category and compared with reasons collected by Malik (1994), in order to test whether similar reasons could be found within this specific organizational setting. The results displayed the common reasons provided by the interviewees. For the research question "What are the attitudes of Thai employees of the Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau towards Code-Switching behavior within the organizational setting?", the interviewees' attitudes and views towards CS practices were filtered with respect to whether using CS affects their communication in a negative or positive way, or does not have any impact at all. The combined data were grouped, compared, and connected back to related theories and concepts of CS in a working atmosphere.

Results

This section presents the responses from the interviewees to all questions, and the data will be covered by moving through the interview questions one at a time.

During the interview, eleven questions were asked to collect the attitudes and opinions of the participants. The first two questions were about their attitudes towards Code-Switching (CS) and people who use it in Thai society. None of the participants had a negative attitude towards CS. They agreed that it is normal to use transliterated (spelled and pronounced in their Thai versions) English words and to add English words into a Thai sentence. P5 expressed her opinion that CS can be embedded in any context; in personal life and working life. P3 gave a reason for this with respect to English exposure in Thai society:

> "Because we [Thai people] receive a lot of western cultures, people tend to get familiar with using English words or phrases [seen and heard from the media]. So, I think it is normal to use Thai and English words mixing in a sentence or conversation nowadays."

P1 added that English words can be used in conversation along with using regional dialects and standard Thai. She mentioned that:

> "It's like people from Northeastern or Southern Thailand – they do not speak standard Thai fluently. When they cannot think of the right words at that moment, they will spill out their dialect instead. It depends on how they grow up, for example, children that have been studying abroad compared with children from the remote areas coming to the city center."

While the other participants have neutral feelings towards CS usage, P2 and P7 were quite positive and mentioned a few benefits when using CS.

> "Some translated Thai words are better used in transliterated versions or rather use English words for the sake of mutual understanding because people will have the same terms of reference. Additionally, some Thai words, which literally translated from English, do not convey the exact same meaning as their English equivalents do. For instance, economic impact or social impact – when it is translated to Thai, it sounds

negative, which actually does not have to mean a negative effect all the time. It can mean positive impact, too."

However, the participants emphasized that CS must be applied appropriately in the right time and at the right place, which depends on the type of audience or the message receiver. The code-switchers must realize when is the proper situation to use CS. P2 suggested that when talking or giving a presentation to people from a government agency, there must not be CS within a sentence: no English words mixed into the sentences.

The third question concerned interviewees' attitudes towards CS in their organizational setting, specifically when their colleagues code-switch. Most of the participants agreed that it is fine to code-switch because technical terms are in English and the employees use it for better communication and mutual comprehension. P3 described how in the MICE[7] industry, CS is often used because the special terms are in English, therefore, people in the industry are acquainted with the words and frequently use them with people from the same industry. She also explained the phenomenon from an outsider view in the context of when her team has a meeting with a team from other government organizations:

> "We had a meeting with the management team from the Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade in one province. After the meeting, we received a comment from one of the executives that he could not understand a thing when our representative was on the floor and gave a presentation in Thai mixing English words within each sentence. We weren't aware of that as we thought he had obtained some English knowledge and it should be okay to CS. According to that comment, we realized that the type of the listener is important. We try to avoid using English words when we meet him or other people from the government sectors. We have to prepare ourselves and know whom we're going to have a conversation with."

P1 talked about the proper situation for using CS by stating that if employees use CS during a meeting as the technical terms are in English, it is understandable. However, every-day-

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[7] MICE is an abbreviation for Meetings, Incentives, Conventions/Congresses, and Exhibitions

vocabulary should not be applied in the working environment. She also provided an example: "Hey you แบบนี้มันไม่ appreciate เลย" (*transl.*: Hey you, it's like you are not appreciating.) she found it too informal to use "Hey you" in the office. Another example from P5 was about using the pronouns "I" and "You" within a sentence. She suggested these not be used when in the working atmosphere as it is considered informal and inappropriate. By this, she meant addressing the interlocutors as "You" and addressing the speakers themselves as "I". For example: "You I คิดว่า presentation ตัวนี้มันไม่สวย You ต้องลง more detail เรื่องการตลาดนะ" (*transl.*: You, I think the presentation does not look nice. You must add more details about marketing.). The pronouns "I" and "You" should be replaced with Thai pronouns according to the speakers' position rank.

The fourth question asked interviewees to compare whether they would feel differently when hearing CS from people who have been abroad or have graduated from university overseas. All answers were similar. They do not feel any differences, rather understand the circumstances that would lead to Thai people living abroad using English more than Thai, while Thai people living in Thailand can mix English words in a conversation, too. P5 gave her reason that it is totally understandable that people who used to stay outside Thailand for a long time still have English on the tip of their tongue. Interviewees noticed that sometimes it is hard to express themselves in Thai and speakers may run out of the Thai words in the moment. Interviewees thought that when Thai people code-switch some English words, it is also acceptable because Thai society has a lot of contact with foreign cultures. Thai people use Tinglish[8], transliterate English words into the Thai writing and speaking system, and attempt to practice English skills as much as they can. Moreover, P7 stated that although Thai people have never been abroad,

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[8] Thai English

there is always a mixture of English words in the curriculum in high school or university, or even in popular media e.g., songs, advertisements or soap operas, in which people are getting to know English words and how to use them. Therefore, anyone can use CS no matter where they come from or where they study. P6 explained that there are two main situations; one acceptable case is that a speaker uses CS to convey meaning and extract pure content out of the selected words. Another obvious case which is unacceptable is when a speaker tries to show off or act cool by switching from Thai to English every other word. She stated that it is a societal value that if one is able to speak English, that person will have a professional and superior look. Therefore, expressing oneself explicitly that the speaker is able to communicate in English is assumed to have a positive impact on the speaker. Yet, CS every other word within a sentence is considered as too much and inappropriate, especially when the speaker uses exaggerating English accents where it is not necessary or seems to be overacting when combining English words and switching from Thai to English back and forth. This is one of the points made by multiple interviewees.

The fifth question was related to the situations or patterns in which CS is appropriate to use. Most of the interviewees replied that the technical terms or specific terms (in English) are fine to use, however, the interlocutors are an important factor. P2 gave a remark that it is also significant to be aware of the situation and the audience type. If communicating in an unofficial situation or with younger generations, or internally with the team, it is okay to code-switch. Similar to the answer from P7, she also mentioned that if CS is applied among people from the same industry or field, it is acceptable and appropriate. P3 and P4 stated that the speaker should estimate the ability of the interlocutor whether they can receive information or messages in English. If they are not fluent or comfortable to use English, the speaker should use Thai words

instead. While P2 gave examples of the right situation to use CS, P5 provided a situation, in which CS should not be applied.

> "In Thailand, there are formality levels of the language. Communicating in Thai with the elderly or someone we should pay respect is normal in a formal context. Therefore, if we have a meeting with the governor or somebody with a higher position, we must use Thai language, even the text written in the presentation."

The sixth question was narrowed down to their colleagues from the same organization and their CS practices in working contexts. On the one hand, P1 and P5 answered that CS is rarely used because they talk to Thai clients and governors, with whom formal language is required. However, when communicating internally, they occasionally code-switch at the word level by using transliterated words or borrowed English words such as:

มาร์เก็ตติ้ง	/maː kêt tîŋ/	means marketing
พรีเซนเทชั่น	/pʰriː sén tʰeː tɕʰân/	means presentation
คอลแลป	/kʰɔː lɛ̂ːp/	means collab
ออแกไนเซอร์	/ʔɔː kɛː náj sɾ̂ː/	means organizer
โรดโชว์	/róːt tɕʰoː/	means roadshow

On the other hand, the rest insisted that they use CS frequently. They clarified that even though TCEB is a state enterprise or government agency, CS is used in many situations such as internal meetings, external meetings, and internal emails.

> "…the technical terms are in English, so our business language is English. This means when we communicate with people from the same field, we normally use CS because Thai words may be indirect, complicated and lead to misunderstanding.", P7 said.

Yet, they remarked that the use of CS depends on who they talk to. P4 explained that TCEB is one of the government sectors meaning that if they have a meeting with other government agencies, for example, the Office of the Public Sector Development Commission, the Budget

Bureau, or even local associations, they must use Thai for formality and respect. If TCEB deals with private sectors such as exhibition organizers, CS is applied because they know the terminology and some English terms are easier to understand than Thai words.

The next couple of questions focused on the participants – how they use CS and the frequency with which they use it. Half of the group uses CS at the workplace more than in daily life, while the other half use CS equally in both circumstances. The latter group use CS without realizing that they code-switch. Only P6 uses CS in general contexts more than in the working setting. She gave a reason that she should communicate in Thai correctly according to the office's culture and formality in Thailand.

> "It's all about the appropriateness of talking to someone who is older and has a higher position than you. As I am in a subordinate level, I should know with whom and how much I should use CS. So, I feel comfortable to use CS with my friends or people I am close with."

P1 uses CS to blend in with the group. She gave an example that when she was in a meeting and someone said "presentation" in English, she did not change that into a Thai translated word when it was her turn to talk. She was afraid to be perceived as strange or as an outsider. Normally, she uses Thai to communicate with both clients (e.g., governors, coordinators in government sections, employees from the Chamber of Commerce, and other associations) and with her boss and management team. Likewise, P5 communicates in pure Thai, no English words, with her contact persons from government organizations (e.g., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Tourism and Sports, and other Ministries.). However, she uses CS now and then with her teams and associations related to MICE industry such as TICA[9] and TEA[10]. This seems to contradict what she answered earlier, but she makes it clear that she can code-switch as long as she is not in

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[9] TICA is an abbreviation for Thailand Incentive and Convention Association.
[10] TEA is an abbreviation for Thai Exhibition Association.

contact with national or government institutions. Additionally, because of her responsibility, most of her contacts are from government organizations. Therefore, she rarely code-switches when she is on work duty. P6 also uses CS when contacting employees from bilingual-universities such as deans, directors, and professors, for whom she knows English is not an obstacle for communication. In contrast, P4 employed CS as transliteration when technical terms are needed for the sake of mutual understanding. She is uncertain when she uses Thai translated words instead of English technical terms, because the meaning might change and she has to give an explanation, which may take a long time to clarify during the conversation. Because English words and some English special terms have their own meaning, she prefers to use the original words in English in a sentence, especially when talking to experts from the same industry. P2, P3, and P7 also have similar answers to P4 that they all use CS as transliterated words and to communicate concisely amongst people in their field. P7 added that some English words match her emotion and feeling more than Thai words. For instance, "in a way" or "unfortunately" are difficult to use in Thai conversations and contexts, and also the Thai versions of those words are not able to express and match with the feeling she has. That is why she often code-switches.

The ninth question was intended to recap attitudes towards CS and explore the interviewees' assumptions regarding the reasons why CS is used in the organization (See Table 4). None of them think that CS is a tool for showing off or to raise socio-economic status or education background, rather it contributes to better communication and creates mutual understanding during the conversation. They believe that a person who code-switches has the capability to communicate in English. In Table 4, we see that they use CS to show that the speakers belong to a group that has the obvious trait of using English words as their community language. Further, when they cannot think of the words in Thai at the moment, they

automatically switch to English for a replacement. Lastly, they decide whether or not to switch languages due to pragmatic reasons and audience type – with whom they can code-switch and in which situation it is appropriate to use.

Table 4

Reasons why Code-Switching is used in the Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau (TCEB)

Interviewees	Reasons						
	No equal translation	Difficulty to find appropriate words in the target language	Semantic Significance	Habitual expressions or fixed phrases	Show identity with a group	Pragmatic reasons; location, replacement for long translated words in Thai language, and transliteration	Address different audience: formality
P1	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
P2		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
P3	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
P4		✓			✓	✓	✓
P5		✓			✓	✓	✓
P6		✓			✓	✓	✓
P7	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

In the second to last question, the participants were expected to come up with ten words that the people in MICE industry frequently use or hear. Most of the words they provided have Thai equivalents. They provided a mix of words and phrases used for general business words and industry-specific terminology. On the one hand, general words such as *knowledge, recheck, deadline, and media*, as well as words used in the organization e.g., *marketing, meeting room, budget, and presentation* were mentioned. On the other hand, specific or technical terms were

given, for example, *exhibitor, road show, trade show, organizer, and mega event*. Moreover, a few abbreviations were brought up, e.g., *MICE, KPI, FYI, DMC,* and *GDP*.

Table 5

List of frequent words that interviewees regularly hear or say within TCEB

General business words	Technical terms	Abbreviations
Present(ation), meeting room, collab(oration), marketing, policy, goal, join, branding, support, budget, team, campaign, agenda, database, local, memo, media, subsidy, strategic, schedule, recheck, overview, competency, deadline, script, speech, set-up, protocol, brand awareness, financial support, join hand, inter(nation), (management) board, Dear..., exactly, thank you, oh my god	Exhibition, incentive, visitor, exhibitor, road show, business forum, organizer, road map, trade show, mega event, festival	GDP, MICE, KPI, DMC, FYI

In the last question, the interviewees were asked about their personal data: year of birth, job position and department, and educational background (See Table 6). An interesting fact to know is all the interviewees are female with a wide range of age from 26 to 47. They all completed their Bachelor's Degree in Thailand, and most of them already held a Master's Degree in Thailand, too.

Table 6

Interviewees' Brief Personal Data

Part.	Position	Department	Educational Background
P1	Manager	Northeastern Regional Office	B. A Liberal Arts (Major: French/ Minor: English) M. Ed. Education Management M. B.A.
P2	Director	Exhibition	B. B.A.
P3	Senior Manager	MICE Capabilities	B. A. Economics M. A. Labor Economics and HR Management
P4	Manager	Exhibition	B. B.A. M. B.A. Hotel and Tourism Management
P5	Manager	Government & Corporate Affairs	B. A. Political Sciences M. A. Liberal Arts (Women Studies)
P6	Senior Executive	MICE Capabilities	B. A. Communication Arts
P7	Director	Mega Events & World Festivals	B. A. Arts (Major: English/ Minor: French) M. A. Communication Arts

Discussion

In the collected data, four topics for discussion have emerged: (1) World Englishes in the Thai context (2) Ideology around CS, (3) Reasons to code-switch, and (4) Identity and Attitudes and will be discussed in this section. These four topics link the findings and framework that were laid out as a basis for this research above, in order to answer the main question and sub-questions: What are the attitudes of Thai employees of Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau towards Code-Switching behavior within the organizational setting? To what extent do these Thai employees decide to use Code-Switching? and In which contexts do they use Code- Switching in the workplace? Each topic will be presented under individual sub-headings.

World English in Thai Context

As Thailand is located in Kachru's outer circle (1985), English used within the nation has changed English's form in order to adapt it to the Thai language and facilitate users using English words more easily in a Thai sentence. In the interview transcripts, some English words were recognized to have an unusual form or to use unusual grammar (See Example 1).

Example 1

Thai sentence: "Hey you แบบ นี้ มัน ไม่ appreciate เลย"

Literal translation: Hey you like this it does not appreciate -

English translation: Hey you, it's like you're not appreciating.

A literal translation of "Hey you แบบนี้มันไม่ appreciate เลย" has no meaning in English, as it would be "Hey you, like this, it does not appreciate." However, when this sentence is included in a Thai conversation, the Thai listener understands the meaning as "Hey you, it's like you're not appreciating.". As "appreciate" is a verb in the above code-switched sentence, "it" functions as a

placeholder subject, in which no actor can be identified. Therefore, this sentence does not make any sense if we think of it as an English sentence. The feature of "appreciate", a verb that needs a subject, then has been adapted to Thai syntax.

Another interesting example found in the interview data is shortened English words (see Example 2 and Example 3). A few interviewees mentioned that "การใช้ Code-switching ก็จะมีตั้งแต่การ present งาน การประชุม" (lit. transl.: *Using code-switching has from presenting work, meeting*) and "เราทำหลักสูตรการอบรมเป็นแบบ inter" (lit. transl.: *We make curriculum training in inter).* "Present" and "inter" in these sentences come from "giving a presentation", and "international", respectively. In Thai, there is a prefix "การ" (pronounced /ka:n/) that is placed before transitive verbs to create a gerund. In example 2, the speaker put the prefix "การ" in front of the verb "present" to mean "presenting". In example 3, the word "inter" functions as an adjective. For the majority of Thai people, this word usually indicates that the noun it modifies involves the use of English language, which is not accurate because "international" in the standard English means "relating to two or more nations". In other words, the word "inter" refers to an adjective "English" in most contexts for Thais. "Inter" refers to the nouns which involve the use of the English language.

Example 2

Thai sentence: "การใช้   Code-Switching ก็จะมี ตั้งแต่ การ present งาน   การประชุม..."

Literal translation: Using Code-Switching has   from presenting work meeting…

English translation: Code-Switching is used during a presentation, meeting, …

Example 3

Thai sentence: "เรา ทำ   หลักสูตร   การอบรม เป็น แบบ inter"

Literal translation: We make curriculum training in type inter

English translation: We create an international training program (taught in English)

Again, the features of these shortened English words are modified, in order to fit into the target

language and be easy to use. Therefore, even though the English words are used in an incorrect

grammatic rule from the perspective of native English, people use Tinglish transforming the

features of English words to communicate and understand the conversation. In this way, English

is localized to the Thai context.

Code-Switching and Ideology

The organization's communication practice is affected by three things: type of

organization, the industry in which this organization is working, and interaction between the

employees. These issues are the reasons why these employees must use Thai and why some

English words are applicable. With respect to the researched organization, a government agency,

Thai is a prerequisite language, and because Thai is a language using honorifics to mark

hierarchical power, in terms of position and age, this should be considered when considering

appropriateness and formality. Official reports and other written documents must be in Thai,

including the content in the presentation. This happens also when an employee in a junior

position talks to another employee with a higher position, i.e., at the directorial and management

level, only formal Thai (no CS) must be used. These social rules exist when communicating both

inside and outside the organization, especially when the interlocutors are from other government

sectors. Hence, the employees in TCEB do communicate in pure Thai when talking to a person

with a higher position or who is older, and when being in an official and formal situation such as a meeting. CS can be employed when the situation is private such as communicating internally with the team or department.

Nonetheless, English words are also employed for needed technical terms and to replace some Thai words that are long and have complicated meanings. These interactions between the employees themselves and with people from the same industry form a discursive interculture wherein the use of CS is a common practice. Additionally, the event business or exhibition industry, also known as MICE industry, use a lot of English technical terminology. There are several English terms with and without Thai translations that people in these domains use while working. On the one hand, some words e.g., *trade show* and *DMC*[11] have to remain in English, as the interviewees claimed that there are no equal translations in Thai. On the other hand, if the Thai translation is too long and does not sound smooth when putting it in a sentence (see Example 4 and 5), the employees prefer to switch into English words instead because the English words are shorter, have a precise meaning, and the employees are more familiar with the English words than with the versions in their mother tongue.

Example 4

Thai word: การรับรู้ต่อแบรนด์

Thai pronunciation: /kaːn ráp rúː tɔ̀ː bàʔ rɛːn/

English translation: brand awareness

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[11] DMC is an abbreviation for Destination Management Company.

Example 5

Thai word: โครงสร้างพื้นฐาน

Thai pronunciation: /kʰroːŋ sâːŋ pʰɯ́ːn tʰǎːn/

English translation: infrastructure

Reasons to code-switch

As presented in the theory section above, Malik (1994) gives reasons why CS exists. Table 7 repeats the whole list presented above in Table 2, but is ticked with respect to the collected data of this study. In this research, interviews confirmed seven out of Malik's ten motivations why people code-switch (see Table 7). The remaining three issues were unmatched with responses from the interviewees perhaps because Thailand considers English as a foreign language rather than as a second language or a native language. Those three reasons for CS, conveying the mood of the speaker, emphasizing a topic, and attracting attention from the interlocutors, are normally applied by bilinguals, native speakers or perhaps L2 speakers who can convey their thoughts and emotions in English, as well as use English as a communicative language in everyday life.

Table 7

Comparing interviewees' reasons for Code-Switching with reasons from Malik (1994)

Reasons from Malik (1994)											
Lack of facility	Lack of registral competence	Mood of speaker	Emphasis on a certain point	Habitual expressions	Semantic significance	To show identity with a group	To address different audience	Pragmatic reasons: depending on a context of conversation or other factors	To attract attention		
✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			

The most common reasons for CS usage that every interviewee brought up are (1) having difficulty finding appropriate words in the target language or lack of registral competence, (2) showing identity with a group, (3) addressing different audiences, and (4) pragmatic reasons. The linguistic features – Thai translation issues and familiarity with English words – illustrate several reasons why Thai employees decide to use CS. In what follows, the pragmatic reasons will be discussed together with addressing a different audience. After that, group identity and attitudes towards CS usage will be discussed.

The data revealed several pragmatic reasons for CS. One of the reasons that all interviewees provided is using CS based on "กาลเทศะ" occasion. *Kalatesa* "กาลเทศะ" (pronounced /kaː láː tʰeː sàʔ/) is a term referring to suitable, polite or formal and appropriate, depending on the context in which a situation occurs (Pinhatai, 2005). *Kalatesa* guides how events and persons come together appropriately in time and space (Van Esterik, 2000). That is to say, formality in the Thai society connects with how a speaker addresses various types of audience. For example, when talking to people with the same or similar age, CS can be employed in the conversation

because CS is considered as an informal and unofficial language. In contrast, when having a meeting with someone who works for a government organization or is older than a speaker, CS is not allowed or discouraged from being used in this context as a few interviewees mentioned that it would be impolite and seen as not being prepared for the meeting. Interestingly, when talking to someone who is probably older than a speaker but works in a private company within the same industry as the speaker, then CS is fine to use. Therefore, it depends on when, where, and with whom you are communicating during working hours or chit chat in general. The location where CS occurs and the amount of code-switched words are also important. For example, in a situation of having an interpersonal conversation with one's boss, if there are Thai and English words mixing every other word in one sentence, the code-switcher is considered to be impolite and as not knowing the appropriate amount of English words to use when talking with someone in a higher position or with someone older than the speaker. Using CS in every other word is seen as too much and too often in one conversation. If writing a report for the head of department, the content should be in pure Thai. However, if it is an internal email communicating within a team, some English words are allowed for the purpose of clarification or creating mutual understanding. Other pragmatic reasons for CS are a replacement for long translated words in Thai language, and transliteration, i.e., a pronouncing a borrowed word from English with Thai phonology (See Example 6, 7, and 8).

Example 6: Replacement

English word: exhibition

Thai pronunciation: /ʔèk síʔ bìʔ tɕʰân/

Thai translation: งานแสดงสินค้า

Thai pronunciation: / ŋaːn sà dɛːŋ sǐn kʰá/

Example 7: Transliteration

English word: collab

English pronunciation: /kəˈlæb/

Thai pronunciation: /kʰɔː lɛ̂ːp/

Example 8: Transliteration

English word: deadline

English pronunciation: /dedlaɪn/

Thai pronunciation: /dɛ̀ːt laj/

While native English speakers pronounce "exhibition" as /ɛksɪˈbɪʃən/, Thai people pronounce it as /ʔèk síʔ bìʔ tɕʰân/.[12] The word is stressed on the first and last syllable rather than stressing only one syllable before "-tion" like in standard English. More examples are: "collab" from collaboration, which is pronounced / kʰɔː lɛ̂ːp/ in a Thai accent, whereas the standard English pronounces /kəˈlæb/, and /dɛ̀ːt laj/ in Thai for the word "deadline" in English.

Identity and Attitudes

Along with multiple linguistic reasons, it is also valuable to look at two sociocultural reasons for applying CS: group identity and negative attitudes towards CS. The interviewees talked about CS usage in terms of belongingness in the organization. CS has a strong relation with group identity for the following reasons.

First, if a speaker and their interlocutor do not share the same language, in this case English, the communication fails because the recipient does not understand the meaning of the

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[12] The diacritics on vowels are tone markers, not stress markers.

specific English term. In other words, if both sides are from the same group, they are likely to recognize the terminology and use it. Thus, the speaker needs to make sure that the conversation partner knows the English terms, belongs to the same group (organization or industry), and has a certain level of English language capability for communication.

Second, a code-switcher wants to blend into a group by using the English terms. One interviewee noted that when people code-switch in a sentence with her, she will use CS as well during her turn. It can be concluded that she does not want to be different in the group as it would look awkward to be the only person in the round speaking Thai words, while others use English terms:

> "When someone says "presentation", I don't interrupt them or change it during my turn and say the word in Thai "การนำเสนอ". It sounds awkward, when I don't code-switch, while others do.", said P1.

Attitudes towards CS from previous research have been shown to be negative because it interrupts the dominant language standardization and ruins the image of using native language as a symbol of national identity (Milroy, 1999). Also, the use of CS theoretically is claimed to pose a potential risk of degrading a speaker's own linguistic performance in both the native language and target language (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004). However, the results gathered from the interviewees in this study showed no sign of negative opinions about CS. There were very strong positive views on CS usage. For example, many interviewees said that using CS can reduce time to communicate within a conversation because they can use only one English word and do not have to explain further or say long and complicated words in Thai. Another interviewee stated that she switches to English words because English words have the exact meaning she wants to express. All of the interviewees view CS as an assistive communicative tool; some even encourage other people to use English more in daily life. Additionally, the interviewees did not

think using CS always implies that that person wants to show off their language skills or that they have high education because all students take an English course in their curriculum at an early age. Rather, mixing English words in a sentence helps communication be clearer and have more precise meaning. The only issue of concern is exaggerating accents or facial expressions. If there is a sign of either overacting or unusual pronunciation of English words, this is when the listeners hold a negative attitude towards code-switchers.

In addition, the responses from the interviewees display their English competence and ideologies towards Thai speakers codes-witching between English and Thai. In general, Thai people code-switch at the word level and use transliterated words with a Thai accent (Thai English), consequently, it is unclear how competent they are in CS. It cannot be claimed that Thai people who code-switch really do have good English proficiency and communicate well in pure English. All interviewees in this study believe that code-switchers are able to communicate in English if they have to, although it is hard to say whether or not speakers have the language competence to actually speak completely in English. One interviewee explained that "If they (code-switchers) do not know English or know the meaning of chosen English words, how can they put those English words in the sentence?". The interviewees seem not to evaluate the ability of the speakers, rather they focus on the meaning of the sentence and overall. If the speaker can convey the meaning and their intention to their interlocutor, it is seen as successful communication.

Conclusion and Future Research

This thesis focuses on CS in Thai organizational settings with the case study of a Thai government agency and the interviewees' experiences as well as opinions on linguistic phenomena regarding social practices. In this last section, the research questions will be answered and conclusions will be drawn. After that, limitations and directions for further research will be mentioned.

1. Conclusion

The main research question was: What are the attitudes of Thai employees of the Thailand Convention and Exhibition Bureau towards Code-Switching behavior within the organizational setting? The results show that applying CS within a sentence is perceived as normal. Switching between Thai and English words is a general phenomenon often used and heard in the organization and in daily life. Although the particular organization studied here is a government enterprise and Thai is the official language, the interviewees code-switch some technical terms into English when talking internally to the team and externally with some clients. Many interviewees expressed positive attitudes towards CS and pointed out the benefits when code-switching, rather than having negative attitudes or emphasizing that code-switchers want to show off their skills and high socioeconomic status or education.

The first sub-question regarded the reasons why people use CS, which are identified and classified according to the framework adapted mainly from Malik (1994). The findings confirmed seven out of the ten situations identified by Malik trigger the CS occurrences in the Thai organizational context. All seven of these situations are related to the aspects of linguistic issues and social identity. Those reasons were lack of equal translation, difficulty finding words, semantic significance, habitual expressions, group identity, addressing different audiences, and

pragmatic reasons. The data revealed that Thai employees use CS for clear communication, to create mutual understanding between speakers and interlocutors, to show group membership, and to pay respect to their conversation partners.

The last sub-question was about the contexts or situations in which the Thai employees use CS. All of the interviewees mentioned the appropriateness of when to code-switch and the amount of CS. In Thailand, we call it "Kalatesa" or the rules on how people should act and interact in particular contexts in society. As Thai society is very hierarchical, age and (job) position of the interlocutors are very important factors to take into account when having a formal conversation. Having a conversation in pure Thai with the ones who a speaker should pay respect to is considered as polite, formal practice and is the norm in Thai communities. If talking to someone who is older or has a higher position than a speaker, one should not regularly switch between Thai and English or add English words in a sentence at all. Additionally, the type of organization is another factor to consider when considering whether to code-switch. If talking to someone from a private organization, applying CS within a sentence does not count as impolite as much as talking with someone from government sectors, e.g., ministries, local administrative organizations, and other government enterprises.

Moreover, the answers and examples given by the interviewees show that the use of CS in Thai contexts displays a localized variation of English (World Englishes) in which speakers adapt its linguistic form and pronunciation to the target language community. An example of this is mixing Thai words with English words, i.e., "การ" + verb becomes noun, such as การpresent to mean "presentation", shortening words (e.g., from international to "inter"), and pronouncing words in Thai English, such as /ʔèk síʔ bìʔ tɕʰân/ with stress on the third syllable for "exhibition".

2. Future Research

Due to time constraints, the present research was undertaken on a small scale as a qualitative research project. Seven employees as representatives from different departments were interviewed in a single organization. Therefore, the results cannot be generalized to the whole organization or to other government organizations with respect to people's attitudes towards CS. Yet, the outcomes of this show a clear tendency in how Thai employees perceive and use CS within their conversations. Therefore, the recommendation for future research is to conduct a mixed methods approach for a couple reasons. First, the mixed method approach can improve the data validity because this method enhances the accuracy of a measure as it "brings out the best of both paradigms" (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 45) and could confirm the results with triangulation. The consequences of such a study would demonstrate consistency and would make the findings more likely to be generalizable. Second, this approach would reach more participants and generate multiple types of data (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 44-46) because quantitative data is normally collected with a large number of participants, while qualitative data is obtained to analyze the subjective attitudes and experiences of a small group. Other suggestions for further investigations are to focus on the age of the participants as it would be interesting to see this phenomenon across generations. This may contribute to different points of view and possibly provide additional reasons why people code-switch. Finally, it would be good to conduct the study with other populations such as Thai government organizations that do not have contact with international organizations, as it may generate a clearer picture of what it might mean to use "pure Thai" in the workplace.

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