

摘要

随着科技的发展,计算机和网络已经成为人们日常生活的必需品。于是,对网络会话的研究也随之成为吸引很多学者的一个领域。BBS 作为信息交流的平台,其语篇中频频出现双语或者多语语码转换现象。本文以 BBS 会话内容为语料来源,以语言顺应论为理论基础,运用定性和定量的研究方法,从语用学角度研究 BBS 语篇中中英语码转换现象。其目的在于探索 BBS 语篇中英语码转换的动机及其所体现的语用功能,描述语码转换在该类语篇中的特征,并证实顺应模式的有效性和可行性。

自二十世纪七十年代以来,语码转换已经吸引了不同领域研究者的极大关注。他们从语法学,社会语言学,心理语言学,会话分析及语用学等各个方向对语码转换现象进行了广泛而深入的研究。在对于语码转换进行研究的所有路向当中,语用学的研究路向是最具说服力也最有前途的一种。它不仅在一个动态的语境下同时涵盖了语码转换现象所涉及的语言、社会、文化、认知等各方面的因素,而且成功地把对语言现象的描述与解释结合起来,因此它能够对语码转换这一现象给出一个科学、具体、全面的解释。

Jef Verschueren 提出的语言顺应理论(Linguistic Adaptation Theory)为语用学研究提供了全新的研究视角,国内学者于国栋等人应用了这一理论,对中英语码转换进行研究,并提出了语码转换研究的顺应模式(the Adaptation Model for Code-switching Study),指出语码转换可以分为对语言现实的顺应、对社会规约的顺应和对心理动机的顺应三种。

在此理论框架下,通过 BBS 社区内的问卷调查,数据分析,语料提取和理论探讨,本文对 BBS 语篇中英语码转换的顺应性、商讨性和变异性进行详细的研究,得出的主要结论包括:

在 BBS 社区内,大部分语码转换者有较高的教育程度。最常见的转换形式是在对话开头和结尾插入问候语,其次是插入词或词组、字母缩写等,以句子为单位的转换较少见。BBS 用户进行语码转换的动机包括顺应语言现实(其中包括为了打字方便省力,准确引用)、为实现炫耀、达到幽默效果、追求时尚表达等心理动机,以及对社会规约的遵守和顺应。且通过对语料的认真仔细分析,顺应模式在一定程度上得到印证。

关键词: 语码转换; 语言顺应论; 顺应模式; BBS 语篇; BBS 用户

Abstract

With the development of science and technology, computer and network have become a necessity of people's daily life. At the same time, the study of cyber conversations is attracting to many scholars. BBS is the terrace of the information exchanges where bilingual or multilingual code-switchings often happen. Taking BBS discourse as the data source and Linguistic Adaptation Model as theoretical base, the present thesis conducts a qualitative and quantitative study of the Chinese/English code-switching in the discourse from the pragmatic perspective. The aims of the study are to explore the motivations triggering BBSers to switch and the pragmatic functions the code-switching operates, to describe the characteristics in this kind of discourse and to verify the validity and feasibility of Yu Guodong's Linguistic Adaptation Model.

Since 1970s, it has been drawing more and more attention from different perspectives such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, grammar, conversation analysis and pragmatics. Researchers have made great achievements in these fields. Whether as a social phenomenon or as a linguistic phenomenon, code-switching is an important and valuable research topic which deserves greater effort and needs more profound work from fresher perspectives. Among all the approaches to the analysis of code-switching, the pragmatic approach is the most convincing and promising because it simultaneously encompasses the social, cultural, psychological and linguistic factors in a dynamic context and gives a scientific, concrete and overall explanation to the phenomena of code-switching.

Jef Verschueren advances a Linguistic Adaptation Theory which is a new perspective in pragmatic study. It has been widely applied in fields of pragmatic study. A ready and successful example can be found in the Chinese scholar Yu Guodong's pragmatic Adaptation Model for CS study, which, based on Verschueren's theory, categories the phenomena of CS into three kinds: CS as adaptation to the linguistic reality, CS as adaptation to the social conventions, and CS as adaptation to

the psychological motivations.

Under this theoretical framework, this thesis conducts a careful research in the adaptability, negotiability and variability of code-switching in the BBS discourse through questionnaire investigation, data collection, extracts collecting and theoretical discussion. The main findings are:

In the BBS discourse, most of the code-switchers are of high educational background. The most common switching form is inserting words at the beginning and ending in the conversation, and next is the alternating words and phrases between Chinese and English in the process of conversation. The alternation of a sentence or a clause in the conversation occurs less. The code-switcher in the BBS switch codes in order to adapt to the linguistic reality (including seeking convenience, accurate quotation etc.), the psychological motivations (such as showing off, achieving humor effects, seeking fashion, etc) and the social convention. To a certain degree, it is verified that Yu Guodong's Linguistic Adaptation Model is valid and feasible.

Key words: code-switching; Linguistic Adaptation Theory; Adaptation Model; BBS discourse; BBSers

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Chapter I Introduction

1.1 Origin of the study

In globalizing times, code-switching in communication is very common. The study of code-switching is flourishing in which linguists probed this phenomenon from different perspectives such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, grammar, conversation analysis, and pragmatics. There is really no denying that studies in the code-switching area are very fruitful and that plenty of achievements have been made. They treat code-switching as language users' language performance, and proposed different definitions, formulated different research models, focused on different key points, and finally came to the different findings.

Among all the approaches to the code-switching study, the pragmatic approach is relatively new. It can explain the process of code-switching in a dynamic context, which integrates the linguistic, social, psychological, cognitive, and cultural factors involved in the process of code-switching for study, and thus may explain the problems of the systematical and functional aspects of code-switching completely and satisfactorily (He and Yu, 2001).

Jef Verschueren, the secretary-general of International Pragmatic Association in Belgium, advanced a pragmatic theory of adaptation in his book *Understanding Pragmatics* (1999), which has been widely applied in the field of pragmatic study. A ready and successful example can be found in the Chinese scholar Yu Guodong's Adaptation Model for the code-switching study, which, based on Verschueren's theory, categorizes the phenomena of code-switching into three kinds: code-switching as adaptation to the linguistic reality, code-switching as adaptation to the social conventions, and code-switching as adaptation to the psychological motivations (Yu, 2004). In the present research, the Linguistic Adaptation Theory, as well as the Adaptation Model for the code-switching study will be adopted as the theoretical basis.

Code-switching still has a huge potential to be further studied from other perspectives and other specific situations. For example, situations of code-switching in the computer-mediated-discourse, such as chat room talking, e-mail and BBS talking, etc. This thesis is a study of a Chinese/English code-switching corpus collected from the BBSs (搜狐社区 <http://club.sohu.com>, 西祠胡同 <http://www.xici.net/> and 天涯社区 <http://www.tianya.cn>) based on Verschueren's Linguistic Adaptation Theory and Yu's Adaptation Model.

1.2 Rationale and aims of the study

Firstly, English dominance is an obvious phenomenon in the computer-mediated communication (David Crystal., 2001). The domination of cyberspace by English is the result not only of the global expansion of English as a lingua franca but also of the historical development of the technology itself(韦, 2003). Therefore, many English abbreviations, words and expressions occur in the computer-mediated communication, which are worth researching.

Secondly, since the adoption of the open and reform policy, China has been in frequent contact with the outside world. English, as an international language, is used by the Chinese as the main tool to communicate with the world. Furthermore, the Chinese government attaches great importance to the learning of English. As a result, code-switching between Chinese and English is unavoidable in China now.

The issue of code-switching has been addressed from different approaches by researchers with various social and linguistic interests. Yet, only few investigations have focused on the application of code-switching in the specific field of internet communication, not to mention the Chinese/English code-switching in the BBS discourse.

Code-switching has been explored from various perspectives as early as in the 1950s, yet until recently has the study been conducted from a fresher perspective, the pragmatic perspective. Among the studies from this perspective, Yu Guodong's Linguistic Adaptation Model turns to be more scientific and convincing. It broadens the research coverage of code-switching and deepens our understanding of this particular linguistic phenomenon. Going over the existing literature of code-switching from the pragmatic perspective, it is found that only a small part of it

adopts Yu Guodong's Model to analyze the phenomenon of code-switching in some specific registers. Few people have managed to test the validity and feasibility of Yu Guodong's model in interpreting the phenomenon of code-switching in BBS.

With the above considerations in mind, the author is to make a tentative analysis of the first-hand corpus of the Chinese/English code-switching in BBSs by utilizing Yu Guodong's Linguistic Adaptation Model, aiming to realize the following purposes:

First, the author wants to study the motivations triggering the BBSers to switch codes and explore the pragmatic functions those code-switching can fulfill in the course of communication. With the results of the questionnaire, the frequency of the BBSers' conducting, the main forms and their attitudes will be revealed clearly. And further, the characteristics will be concluded.

Second, the above procedures of the research are guided by Yu Guodong's Linguistic Adaptation Model, aiming to test the validity and feasibility of this model in the specific register of BBS discourse, and to see whether this model can really provide us with a more comprehensible and convincing explanation to the phenomenon of code-switching.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is composed of six chapters.

Chapter One makes a brief introduction and explains the reasons for choosing the topic, the aims of the study, and the outline of the thesis.

Chapter Two reviews the relevant literature of the study of code-switching, beginning with the introspection of different definitions and classifications of code-switching by different scholars. The definition and classification of code-switching adopted in the present study is also made clear. A bird's eye view of the previous findings on code-switching is provided, with the particular attention to the strong points and weak points of each approach.

Chapter Three involves the theoretical framework of the present study. Verschueren's Linguistic Adaptation Theory and Yu Guodong's Linguistic Adaptation

Model in the code-switching study based on the former are fully illustrated.

Chapter Four elaborates the research methodology of this thesis. The materials of the corpus, the methods of data collection, data processing and research questions are specifically demonstrated.

Chapter Five is supposed to be the most important chapter in this thesis. The adaptability of code-switching is mainly explored, and statistical investigation is conducted, thus the findings of this study are yielded and the research questions are satisfied.

Chapter Six is concerned about the summary of the major findings and the implications of the present study, limitations and some suggestions for further researches are also put forward.

Chapter II Literature Review

2.1 Definitions of code-switching

"Code-switching" made its first appearance in Hans Vogt's article published in 1954 (Auer, 1998). Later, Roman Jakobson introduced this term to linguistics. A variety of definitions have been proposed by different researchers in accordance with their research focuses and data collections.

Though enormous studies have been carried out on code-switching, there is no consensus as to the precise definition of it.

Gumpertz (1982:59) defines code-switching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to different grammatical systems or subsystems". He drew his conclusion on the basis of the conversational resources without paying attention to the code-switching in written discourse. Myers-Scotton (1988: 25) uses code-switching as a cover term and her definition is "Code-switching is the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction. The switch may be for just one word or for several minutes of speech. The varieties may be anything from genetically unrelated languages to two styles of the same language." conversation." In Shana Poplack's (1994) opinion, "code-switching refers to the mixing, by bilinguals (or multilinguals), of two or more languages in discourse, often with no change of interlocutor or topic." According to Verschueren (1999: 118), who considers "code" as "any distinguishable variant of a language, involving systematic sets of choices, whether linked to a specific geographical area, a social class, an assignment of functions, or a specific context of use", code-switching is "a cover term for language or code alternation, is an extremely common occurrence and a favored strategy, especially in oral discourse"(Verschueren 1999:119)

The definitions listed above cover two points: (1) code-switching involves more than one language or linguistic variety; (2) code-switching usually occurs in the

same conversation or utterance.

In general, the existing definitions of code-switching can be divided into three categories: those that maintain a distinction between code-switching and code-mixing; those that abolish the distinction between code-switching and code-mixing; and those who do not take a stance. (Yu G.D. 2001)

As for the first category, those who want to distinguish code-switching and code-mixing, propose that code-switching is used to stand for inter-sentential switches, while code-mixing for intra-sentential ones. Their definition is normally based on the differences in the linguistic unit or linguistic structures of the elements of one code that appears in the uttering of the other code. The code-switching coincides with clause boundaries, and code-mixing happens within the same clause (from Yu G.D. 2001:Auer 1998, Bokamba 1988, Hamers and Blac 1989, Haust &Dittmar 1998, Kachru 1983, Kamwangamalu 1992, Li.D.1996, Luck 1984, Morrow 1987, Sridhar and Sridhar 1980). As this category of definition is based on the linguistic units and the place where switch appears in the utterance, it is not so powerful to defeat many counterexamples.

Other researchers maintain to abolish the distinction between code-switching and code-mixing (from Yu G.D. 2001: Appeal and Muysken 1987, Bhaia 1992. Baetens Beardsimore 1986, Clyne 1991, Grosjean 1982, Franceschini 1998, Gumperz 1982, Lederberg and Morales 1985, McCormick 1998, Muysken 1995, Li, p. 1996, Myers-Scotton 1998, Romaine 1989, Romaine 1995, Verschueren 1999). They can be subdivided into two groups: one is to use code-switching to refer to the phenomenon of switching, and the other is to use code-mixing to refer to the same phenomenon. The two main reasons for abandoning to distinguish the two terms are unnecessary to introduce one more term and their researchers' focus on the functions of switching. Most of the researchers use code-switching as the cover term to refer to the switching of codes, and a few of them resort to code-mixing as the umbrella term (Grosjean, 1995).

Another group of researchers as Tay (1989) have no determination to make the distinction of code-switching and code-mixing. They appear to admit the difference between the two terms; yet on the other hand, they can not distinguish clearly

between code-switching and code-mixing in practice.

In the present study, the author will use code-switching as a cover term to refer to the switches of codes appearing in the BBS discourse. Switches on various levels of constituents including letters, words, phrases, sentences and discourses will all be treated as code-switching.

2.2 Types of code-switching

Much effort has been made to discuss the types of code-switching on the basis of their structural and functional features.

Poplack (1980), who takes the study of variability of code-switching patterns as the starting point, has successfully differentiated three types of code-switching according to the structural features: inter-sentential (code-switching across sentence boundaries), intra-sentential (code-switching within sentence boundaries) and tag switching (code-switching involving tags) (He Ziran, 2001).

Poplack (1980) has successfully classified three types of code-switching: inter-sentential, intra-sentential and tag switching.

Inter-sentential code-switching contains a switch at a clause or sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence is in one language or another." (Yu G.D.2001) For example:

A: 我可以用一下你的车吗?

B: Sorry, I have to buy some books this afternoon.

Intra-sentential code-switching is involved in a switch within the clause or sentence boundary. For example,

"L 同学认为这种情况不应该发生, 认为这是 immoral."

Tag switching concerns "the insertion of tag in one language into an utterance entirely in another language. For example:

Soredakra, ANYWAY, asokade SOMOKEN SALONON katta no yo

(So, anyway, bought smoked fish there)

(Yu G.D. 2001)

In Poplack's further studies; he introduces the distinction between "smooth

switching" and "flagged switching". In smooth switching, also skilled or fluent code-switching, there is "a smooth transition between L1 and L2 elements unmarked by false starts, hesitation or lengthy pauses"(Poplack 1987) and in flagged switching there are no such features, switching may be marked by the above elements. Generally, smooth switching is considered as true code-switching.

With the need to take into consideration the elements that are related to the linguistic proficiencies and preferences, and the addressers' communicative intentions, Auer (1984, 1990) introduces two types of code-switching named "discourse-related alternation" and "participant-related alternation". The former focuses on the speaker and it works as a resource for finishing different communicative acts at specific points within inter-actional sequences; while the latter is hearer-oriented and it focuses on the hearer's linguistic preferences or competence.

Muysken (1995) identifies three types of code-switching: alternation, insertion, and congruent lexicalization. Alternation is a true switching from one language to the other, involving both grammar and lexicon. Insertion refers to the linguistic element of one language embedded in a linguistic structure that is in the other language. Congruent lexicalization refers to the situation in which the two languages share a grammatical structure that can be filled with lexical elements from either language.

All in all, the first type is a pure structural analysis, the second one is a pure functional analysis, and the last type is a combination of both structural and functional analysis of code-switching.

2.3 Approaches to the study of code-switching

Since the 1970s, code-switching has developed from a peculiar act to "perhaps the central issue in bilingual research" (Milroy and Muysken, 1995: 7). All researches on code-switching can be categorized under five study approaches to code-switching: the sociolinguistic approach, the grammatical approach, the psycholinguistic approach and the conversational approach and the pragmatic approach (Yu G.D. 2001).

The sociolinguistic approach studies the connections between social factors and the performance of code-switching; the grammatical approach focuses on the search of the universal linguistic or syntactic constraints functioning in the switching between two languages; the psycholinguistic approach aims to find out what aspects of language capacity enable speakers to switch between languages and how the mental process operates; and the conversational approach attempts to bring the dynamics of code-switching in the study through the analysis of sequencing of conversational turns. The four approaches have revealed us several linguistic and non-linguistic facets of code-switching, but it seems that each one can only give us a limited view on analyzing the phenomena and none can provide a comprehensive interpretation considering the complexity of code-switching for us. Thus another more convincing model is greatly desired. The pragmatic approach is an analysis approach to study code-switching from a more comprehensive perspective considering the dynamics, complexity, and variability of code-switching.

2.3.1 The sociolinguistic approach

As Peter Auer (1998:3) refers, the central research questions of the sociolinguistic approach are "how language choice reflects power and inequality, or is an index of the 'rights and obligation attributed to incumbents of certain social categories' and what motivates the performance of code-switching. (Yu G.D.2001) The sociolinguistic approach tries to search for the possible social motivations of the performance of code-switching by analyzing the relations between social factors, including ethnic identity, background, gender, age, socio-economic status etc. and code-switching at a somewhat macro level; in other words, it can give reasons to explain why switching occurs at all.(Appel and Muysken, 1987)

A lot of studies have been taken on code-switching under the sociolinguistic approach (Appel & Muysken 1987, Myers-Scotton 1993/1998, Luke 1997, Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros 1998) to reveal the social motivations that cause code-switching.

Gumperz (1972, 1982) proposes the distinction between situational code-switching and metaphorical code-switching. The former refers to the switching

caused by a change in the situation, and "the underlying assumption was that only one of the co-available languages or language varieties was appropriate for a particular situation and that speakers needed to change their choice of language to keep up with the changes in situational factors in order to maintain that appropriateness" (Auer, 1998). So by switching languages, communicators can make a new and rather accessible understanding of the situation. The latter, metaphorical switching refers to "changes in the speaker's language choice when the situation remains the same but the speaker attempts to convey a special communicative intent through the switching of languages"(Yu G.D. 2001).

Furthermore, Gumperz (1982) proposed the famous six functions of code-switching to categorize the motivations of code-switching from a sociolinguistic point of view. They are: Quotations (either directed or reported speech), Address Specification (directing the message to one of the several possible addressees), Interjections (marking an interjection or sentences fillers), Reiteration (repeating literally or in a modified form), Message Qualification (qualifying constructions or predicts following a copula) and Personalization versus Objectivization (the distinction between talk about action and talk as action).

Utilizing Gumperz's framework, many researchers have studied code-switching from their specific points of view based on their data. Carol Myers-Scotton is one of them. Myers-Scotton (1998) proposes the so-called Markedness Model which aims to explain the social motivations of code-switching.

The objective of the "markedness" model, as its proponent Myers-Scotton points out, is to explain the social motivation of code-switching. She repeatedly suggests that code choices are indexical of the rights and obligations sets (RO sets) between participants in a given interaction type. An RO set is "an abstract construct derived from situational factors" (Myers-Scotton 1993: 85). She argues that interaction types are to a large extent conventionalized in all communities and carry relatively fixed schemata about the role relations and the norms for appropriate social behavior including linguistic behavior. These schemata are the unmarked RO sets for specific interaction types and knowledge of the unmarked RO set for each interaction type is a normative device that not only unites the speech community as a

whole but also gives the linguistic varieties of the community's repertoire their indexicality; speakers have an innate knowledge of this indexicality or mental representations of a matching between code choices and RO sets. Speakers know that a certain linguistic choice will be the normal, unmarked realization of an expected RO set for a particular conventionalized exchange, while other possible choices are more or less marked because they are indexical of other than the expected RO set.

The sociolinguistic approach is of importance in the analysis of the linguistic phenomena in the social context, the macro relationships between code-switching and the social elements, which is helpful for us to study the inter-relatedness of society and the language. But it seems that this approach cannot take the dynamics of communication and the psychological elements into consideration because the social elements are not the only factors relevant to the performance of code-switching. Cognitive and linguistic elements are also involved in code-switching. Thus, the sociolinguistic approach is far from perfect yet.

2.3.2 The grammatical approach

As Appel & Muysken (1987) have said, the sociolinguistic literature on switching can give the reasons to explain why switching occurs at all, but cannot explain "why a particular switch-point is chosen". In the last 10 years, many linguists have studied code-switching from the grammatical approach, and the central point of this approach is: seen from the linguistic structure: the code-switching between the two languages is "controlled by rules", rather than occurring at a random position or in a random situation (Azuma, 1998).

According to Appel & Muysken (1987), the research under the grammatical approach has undergone three stages: the stage at which grammatical constraints specific to particular construction are studied; the stage at which universal constraints are explored; and the stage at which the relation between code-switching strategies and grammatical constraints is pursued. (Yu G.D.2001). After these stages of development, researchers formulated many so-called "universal" constraints, among which one of the most popular theories is Poplack's theory. Poplack

(1987:227) proposed two grammatical constraints which seem to operate on code-switching: 1) the free morpheme constraint which states that codes may be switched after any constituent in the discourse, provided that the constituent is not a bound morpheme; 2) the equivalent constraint, i.e. code-switching tends to occur at points in the discourse where juxtaposition of two languages does not violate a surface syntactic rule of either language.

Later on, Di Sciullo and others (1986) put forward Government Constraint, which stipulates that switching is only possible between the elements that are not related by government. Ungoverned elements, such as tags, exclamations, interjections, and most adverbs can be easily switched; while switching between a noun group and the preposition is banned since they are governed by a higher-order structure, prepositional phrase.

Although these theories have proven that there are some syntactic and structural constraints on code-switching, it seems that they can not explain this phenomenon from a comprehensive point of view. Firstly, methodologically speaking, the pure grammatical approach does not include the social, cultural and cognitive elements. Secondly, the data used for the generalization of the universal constraints are very limited because they are based on the Spanish/English code-switching. Many other empirical studies have disconfirmed these constraints.

2.3.3 The psycholinguistic approach

The essential task of psycholinguistic approach is to "*enlighten our understanding of the bilingual' mind when he or she is engaged in overt code-switching or code-mixing behavior*"(Li Wei, 1996).

Clyne (1967, 1972) has distinguished two types of code-switching: the externally conditioned switching that is due to the external factors and the internally conditioned switching or triggering that can be characterized as psycholinguistically conditioned code-switching. His triggering theory holds that an item of ambiguous affiliation, i.e. one belonging to the speakers' two systems, triggers off a switch from one language to another; the triggered words are not part of the switch, but indicative of the psycholinguistic process in which the bilingual speaker plans and produces his

or her speech.

Another important theory, Accommodation Theory proposed by Giles and his associates attempts to analyze code-switching under a psycholinguistic approach. The core idea of Accommodation Theory is that conversationalists whose language repertoires consist of more than one language or language variety will use code-switching as an important strategy to realize convergence or divergence so as to increase or decrease the perceived social distance. (Yu G.D. 2001) Convergence indicates that a speaker adjusts his language or code to a listener's. The common language or code ensures better cooperation and mutual understanding between the speaker and the listener. On the contrary, divergence refers to the situation that a speaker changes his language code to be different from a listener's, thus increasing the perceived social distance. However, there is a shortcoming with this theory: convergence and divergence fails to account for the complicated psychological motivations for code-switching.

The psycholinguistic approach sheds some light on the cognitive aspect of code-switching to a certain degree and helps us to analyze the mental process of the linguistic phenomenon, but it seems that they cannot give us a satisfactory model to explain it from a more comprehensive point of view. This approach is not a mature one due to the difficulty of research on people's mind. (Yu G.D. 2001).

2.3.4 The conversational analysis approach

"Conversational Analysis is one of the most precise approaches for its well-developed conceptual framework, analytic practices and insightful perceptions"(Yu G.D., 2001). Conversational analysis "bridges the gap between linguistics, social psychology and sociology"(Psathas 1995: vii) through the study of "the order/organization/orderliness of social action, particularly those social actions that are located in everyday interaction, in discursive practices, in the sayings/tellings/doings of members of society". (Psathas 1995: 2).

Li Wei (1994), one of the proponents of the conversation analysis approach in the study of code-switching, holds that besides all the cultural and social knowledge required for a better understanding of code-switching close attention should be paid

to the details of the structuring of the emerging conversation. (Li Wei 1995, Auer 1998).

The conversational analysis approach attempts to bring the dynamics of linguistic behavior into the studies of code-switching through analyzing the structuring of conversations. It has several advantages over other approaches: it gives priority to the sequential analysis of the conversation with a focus on the mutual influence among turns and it gives the subjectivity in the analysis on the code-switching and pays enough attention to the balance between social structures and conversations. However, it seems that this approach still has some points that need to be improved. First, studies from this approach are strong in its precise description but ignore the comprehensive interpretation, which is a deep-rooted problem for conversational analysis in general. Secondly, the psychological elements and the dynamics in code-switching have not received enough attention that they deserve. Thirdly, the dynamics cannot be realized only through the analysis of sequencing, because there are much more elements to be considered.

2.3.5 The pragmatic approach

The former four approaches all have their weak points of this or that sort. Although they help to explain certain aspects of code-switching, no approach expounded the structure, function and motivation problems of code-switching in a comprehensive way. A wider and more explainable approach to reveal the linguistic, psychological conceptual and social factors in the process of code-switching more comprehensively is necessary. The representative scholar that should be mentioned when coming across this approach is Jef Verschueren, who puts forth the theory of language adaptability in his *Understanding Pragmatics* (1999)

Utilizing Verschueren's linguistic adaptation theory (1999), Yu Guodong (2001) analyzes the adaptability of Chinese/English code-switching and puts forward the Adaptation Model from the pragmatic perspective. This research includes three parts: the adaptability of the Chinese/English code-switching; the negotiability of the Chinese/English code-switching; the variability of the Chinese/English code-switching. According to Yu Guodong's Adaptation Model the reason why

communicators choose two or more languages in the same communicative discourse is that they want to adapt to a certain factor, either the linguistic reality, the social convention, or the psychological motivation, so as to approach or even realize the particular communicative goal.

Adaptation Model is strong and comprehensive enough to cover the complexity and subtlety of the specific linguistic phenomena because it exploits Verschueren's Linguistic Adaptation Theory and puts forward the Adaptation Model which covers the linguistic, social, cultural and cognitive elements, but it hasn't provided detailed interpretations in a specific context.

This thesis adopts Verschueren's linguistic adaptation theory and applies Yu's model of the pragmatic approach to code-switching.

Chapter III Theoretical Framework

In his book *Understanding Pragmatics*, Jef Verschueren (1999) uses the notion of the pragmatic perspective to explain the idea of pragmatics as a general functional perspective on (any aspect of) language, i.e. as an approach to language which takes into account the full complexity of its cognitive, social and cultural functioning. According to Verschueren, Yu Guodong (2000) defines that "Pragmatics is a study in which scholars research language application and comprehension of language users dynamically in concrete context in the process of language use."

And the research of code-switching includes all the fields that have been mentioned above. So code-switching research in pragmatic perspective actually includes the four approaches. On one hand, the pragmatic theories fully explain the complexity of code-switching in various situations, which is better than any other approaches whose research methods are limited and describe only a certain field of the knowledge; on the other hand, pragmatics combines the phenomena of language description and explanation together and reveals language dynamic process. The characteristic of pragmatics is that all the language processes are dynamic, which will provide a theoretic mode including language, society, cognition and culture in code-switching research in the pragmatic perspective. Jef Verschueren's theory of adaptation is a principle to research code-switching in the pragmatic perspective. And first of all we will take a close look at his theory of adaptation.

3.1 Verschueren's Linguistic Adaptation Theory

Jef Verschueren is secretary-general of International Pragmatic Association in Belgium who has been devoting himself to pragmatic study since 1980. In his *Understanding Pragmatics* (1999), the pragmatic theory of adaptation is first advanced as a pragmatic research model. In this book, Verschueren raises such questions as "What do people do when using language? Or what do they do by

means of language? Or what happens to people when using language?", and then tries to explain the complexity of them by using the theory of adaptation which provides a conceptual framework for the study of any linguistic phenomenon from a pragmatic perspective, as well as guidelines for the construction of topic-specific methodologies.

3.1.1 Language choices

Jef Verschueren considers that the process of using language is a process of choosing. Language use "must consist of the continuous making of linguistic choices, consciously or unconsciously, for language-internal (i.e. structural) and/or language-external reasons." (Verschueren, 2000: 55-56) These choices can be situated at any level of linguistic forms.

The reason why human beings can make choices in the process of language use is that language owns the properties of variability, negotiability and adaptability. These three properties are the basic attributes of natural languages and ensure dynamic linguistic choices.

3.1.2. Variability, negotiability and adaptability

Variability is "the property of language which defines the range of possibilities from which choices can be made". The range of possible choices cannot be seen as static; rather, it is constantly changing. At any given moment in the course of interaction, a choice may rule out alternatives or create new ones for the current communication. Variability of language implies indeterminacy in language use. However, such kind of indeterminacy would not interfere with our success in communication because human language still has a third property--adaptability.

Negotiability is "the property of language responsible for the fact that choices are not made mechanically or according to strict rules or fixed form-function relation, but rather on the basis of highly flexible principle and strategies". Using language consists of the continuous making of linguistic choices in a manner that is not rule-governed, but driven by highly flexible principles. The process of choice

making is permanently negotiable.

And, Adaptability is "the property of language which enables human beings to make negotiable linguistic choices from a variable range of possibilities in such a way as to approach points of satisfaction for communicative needs" (Verschueren, 1999:59-61). This definition indicates that human beings can make a suitable choice among all possibilities to achieve successful communication.

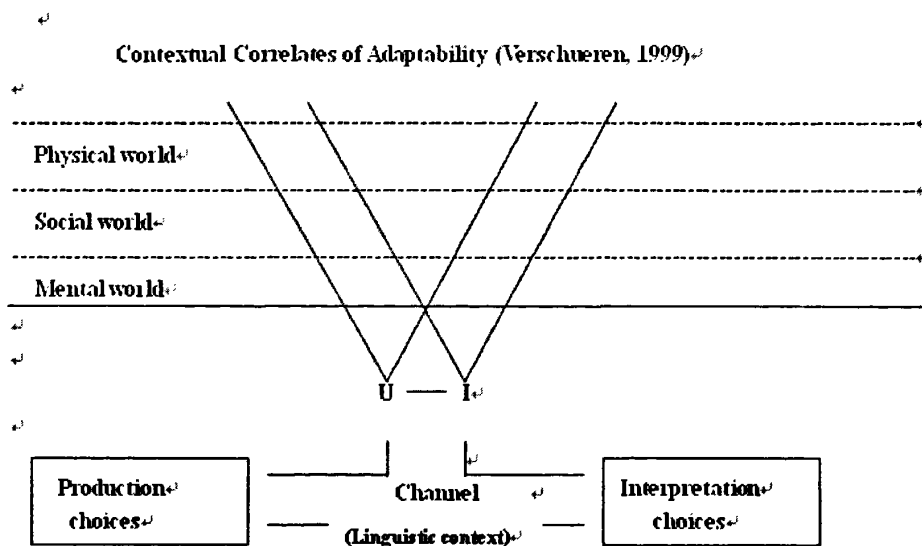
According to Verschueren, it is possible to understand the process of "making choices" in language use only if the three notions of Adaptation Theory are explained clearly. These notions, which represent the inter-related properties of the overall object of investigation for pragmatics, are fundamentally inseparable. Variability makes adaptation possible; negotiability is the approach of adaptation. They provide principles to achieve the research of pragmatic description and pragmatic explanation in four fields. Concretely speaking, the four angles include Contextual Correlates of Adaptability, Structural Objects of Adaptability, Dynamics of Adaptability and Salience of the Adaptation Process.

3.1.3 Four angles of investigation

The notion of adaptability will enable us to assign four clear tasks to the pragmatic descriptions and explanations. These four angles of investigations which should be seen as focal points in one coherent pragmatic approach to language use are the following.

1) Contextual correlates of adaptability

Contextual correlates of adaptability include all the ingredients of the communicative context with which linguistic choices have to be interadaptable. It can be represented as in the figure:



The focal points in this representation are the utterer (U) and the interpreter (I). Without them and the functioning of their minds, there is no language use. And the contextual aspects of the physical, social, and mental worlds do not usually start to play a role in language use until they have somehow been activated by the language users' cognitive processes. The lines converging in U and I can be seen as forming *lines of vision*. Every aspect of context within the *lines of vision* can function as a correlate of adaptability. *Mental world* includes both the utterer's and the interpreter's personality, emotion, beliefs, desires, wishes, motivations and intentions. And *social world*, which includes social settings or institutions, is a standard principle or maxim to the utterer's and interpreter's language behavior that they should obey. The most important factor in the *physical world* is the reference relationship of time and space. The three worlds are not strictly to be separated; hence, the broken lines are used to divide them. All of these elements can influence language choices, including spoken and written ones. The linguistic channel in the figure is just the linguistic context, which includes the various linguistic methods chosen in the process of language use according to the context.

Verschuere's point of view is that context occurs in the process of language use, which isn't a fixed model before communication occurs and which will change

continuously with the development of the communication process. So, we can say, Verschueren's notion of context is a dynamic one.

2). Structural objects of adaptability

Linguistic choice making operates on all levels of structure. "Since the making of communicative choices take place at all possible levels of linguistic structure that involve variability of any kind, pragmatic phenomena can be related to any layer or level of structure, from sound feature and phoneme to discourse and beyond, or to any type of interlevel relationship. Not only structures are involved, but also principles of 'structuring'." (Verschueren, 2000: 66) Generally speaking, it should include choices as follows:

Firstly, choices of languages, codes and styles. Once we use language to make communication, the first choices we make are to choose the specific language, code and style. To make choices of the language, code and style, the language user should consider his language ability, the convenience and practicability of the language, as well as the social factors. In the bilingual or multilingual societies, the choice of language interferes with the important problems such as the utterer's political standpoint, his/her attitude towards language and language policy. As for code-switching, Verschueren holds that, it is an active pragmatic strategy, and he defines it as "any distinguishable variant of a language, involving systematic sets of choices, whether linked to specific geographical area, a social class, an assignment of functions, or a specific context of use" (Verschueren, 1999:118). Secondly, choices of the basic utterance-building ingredients potentially to be found in any utterance and at various levels of structures. Thirdly, choices of utterance and utterance clusters, including the choices of linguistic behavior and discourse types. Fourthly, choices of the utterance-building principles. And also, attention must be paid that the way in which actual choice-making involves all the above needs to be scrutinized without losing sight of the fact that choices in one area are often co-adaptable with those in another. (Yu, 2001)

3). Dynamics of adaptability

Dynamics of adaptability is the core task of the theory of adaptation. All the language use occurs in the actual dynamic adaptation process. Dynamics of

adaptability concerns with the dynamic generation of meaning in communication, and it is related to both the contextual correlates and the structural objects. The contextual correlates of adaptability and structural objects of adaptability introduced above in fact offer the content of adaptation, and these contents can make sense only in the actual process of adaptation. That is to say, the dynamics of adaptability unfolds the adaptive processes between context and structure.

At the micro-level, three types can be easily distinguished between contextual correlates of adaptability and linguistic choices: (1) linguistic choices may be made after certain circumstances "in the world" that have appeared; (2) linguistic choices may create certain circumstance; (3) choices may remain ineffective until or become ineffective when certain later conditions come into play (Verschueren, 1999:148-149). And at the macro-level, language development and language dynamic variability are notable phenomena in language use.

4). Salience of adaptation process

Salience of the adaptation process denotes the varying extent of consciousness to which choices are made. "Not all choices, whether in production or interpretation, are made equally consciously or purposefully. As said before, some are virtually automatic, others are highly motivated." (Verschueren, 2000: 66) Considering that the present study of the code-switching is mainly from the speaker (or writer)'s point of view, the contextual correlates will be focused on the speaker (or writer).

In brief, the Linguistic Adaptation Theory in the pragmatic perspective provides a wider scientific angle for pragmatic research. And also, the above discussion of Adaptation Theory presents the major conceptual framework for universal pragmatic phenomena including code-switching. In the next section, the application of the Adaptation Theory in the research of code-switching will be discussed.

3.2 Application of Adaptation Theory in code-switching study---Adaptation Model

In accordance with the Linguistic Adaptation Theory, the Adaptation Model proposed by Yu Guodong in 2001 is a new analysis approach to study

code-switching. This model treats code-switching as a specific instance of linguistic choice, which is the fundamental and intrinsic property of language use, and is intended to answer these questions: *why do communicators adapt in CS process? What do they want to get through the CS process?*

3.2.1 The Adaptation Model for code-switching study

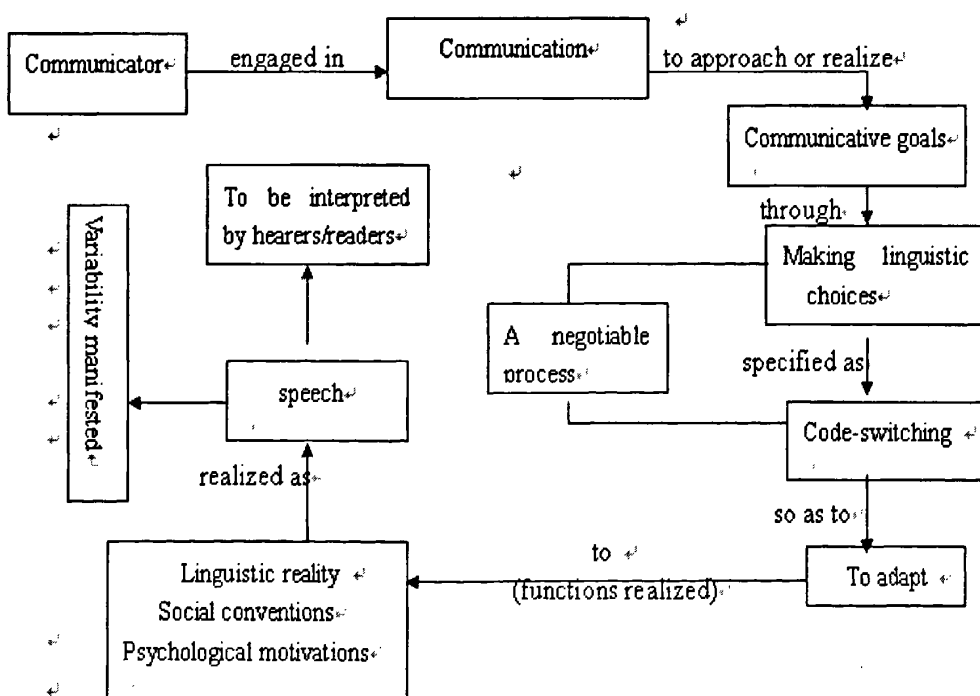
Language use must consist of the continuous making of linguistic choices, and the choices are situated at every possible level of linguistic structuring including phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic and so on. Furthermore they may range over variety-internal options involving regionally, socially, or functionally distributed types of variation. Here, in this model, codes-switching is treated as a specific instance of linguistic choice, to be more precise, of linguistic choice between different languages/ language variations.

Then why do language users choose to switch codes in their concrete act of communication? We assume that language users' switching of codes instead of continuously using one code is rooted in the code-switchers' making of adaptation so as to approach or realize his specific communicative goals. In the dynamic process of making adaptation, language users have to abide by various communicative principles for the negotiation of particular meanings of code-switching, and these principles to a greater degree contribute to the negotiation and adaptation. After the successful consummation of adaptation and negotiation, there come the code-switchers' final verbal products that are featured by a higher degree of variability. And the manifested variability is part of the communicator's linguistic repertoire.

The model is set up especially from the speaker's point of view, that is to say, only the code-switcher's linguistic behavior is under examination. When a communicator, either a speaker or a writer, enters into the interaction, he or she normally has one or more than one communicative goals to realize, either for information exchange or for phatic communication. In order to approach or realize these communicative goals, they have to make choices of languages at different levels (including a specific language or language varieties, linguistic structures and

elements) and language strategy. All those choices, among which codes-switching is an important linguistic strategy for bilinguals, are based on the Adaptation Principle in a negotiable manner. The reason why communicators switch codes in their communication is to adapt to linguistic reality, social conventions and psychological motivations. The communicator's adaptation and choice making are realized in the speech, which is featured by the property of variability in terms of both linguistic elements and structures and discourse types. In the end, it will be perceived and interpreted by the hearer/reader. The success of the communication is up to the speaker and hearer's mutual involvement in the communication, that is, from the time when the speaker/writer produces his or her utterance with specific intentions to the time when the hearer/writer perceives and interprets them (Yu G.D, 2001).

The Adaptation Model of Code-switching (Yu Guodong, 2001)



3.2.2 Code-switching as realization of adaptation

3.2.2.1 Adaptability of linguistic reality

Adaptability of linguistic reality thus refers to the use of two or more languages or language varieties that only occurs by linguistic reasons, and that is based on the language-internal reasons completely. Linguistic reality here refers to the linguistic constituents and structures of the languages or language varieties involved in code-switching and their respective characteristics. Such as linguistic conventions, semantic features and so on.

Because of different geographical features, social conventions and institutions, cultural practices, political ideology, etc., every language possesses some specific linguistic existence and linguistic features, which other languages do not share. Two circumstances must be taken into consideration: one is that a certain ideology or idea only uniquely exists in one language, code-switching and the lexical borrowing will occur when two languages contact to each other. The other is that the semantic meaning and the application divergence exist between the shift language and the matrix language, then “code-switching tends to be a first choice as the communicative strategy” (Yu, 2004). It is self-evident that the most important communicative function that code-switching has as the adaptation to linguistic reality is to fill the linguistic gap between the languages involved and makes the communication smooth.

3.2.2.2 Adaptability of social conventions

"Social conventions" here means the common ways of thinking and behavior that are socially normal and acceptable for the majority of a given society. Code-switching as the adaptation of social conventions tells us that the use of two or more languages or language varieties may occur out of a communicator's consideration of a society's culture, customs and conventions. It is true that any violation of the "invisible rules" of the social conventions will lead to communicative failure because communicators are socialized individuals and their behaviors naturally have to be in agreement with social expectations. As to code-switching, it is considered as favored when language users are talking about

some forbidden topics.

For instance, in the bilingual or multilingual societies, the making of choices is guided by political forces, ideology forces and language attitudes. And in those societies, maybe one language is dominated as "high" variety while another as "low" variety. Obeyed by the social convention, different languages have to be chosen in the course of certain specific types of activities. People use "high" variety in formal situation such as in the education context or public settings and religion places. And in informal or private situation, "low" variety is used frequently. Thus, in these societies, choice of different languages is entailed in the process of specific types of activity in order to keep up with the social conventions.

3.2.2.3 Adaptability of psychological motivations

The category of adaptation to the psychological motivations encompasses all the code-switchings excluded from by the former two conditions. For example, code-switching is used to realize the psychological motivations of creating humor, identifying oneself, preventing the bad things, etc.

In the Adaptation Model, the above-mentioned code-switching adaptation to the linguistic reality and the social convention is regarded as *passive adaptation*. Because we hold that when the communicators face the given linguistic reality and the social conventions, they are forced to adapt to these two specific contextual factors in order to make successful communication. It is self-evident that code-switchers' adaptation to the linguistic reality and the social conventions is basically driven by the force of communicator-external elements.

While, code-switching as an adaptation to the psychological motivations is thus treated as *active adaptation*, for it originates from the spontaneous communicative goals. So it results in communicator-internal rather than communicator-external motivations.

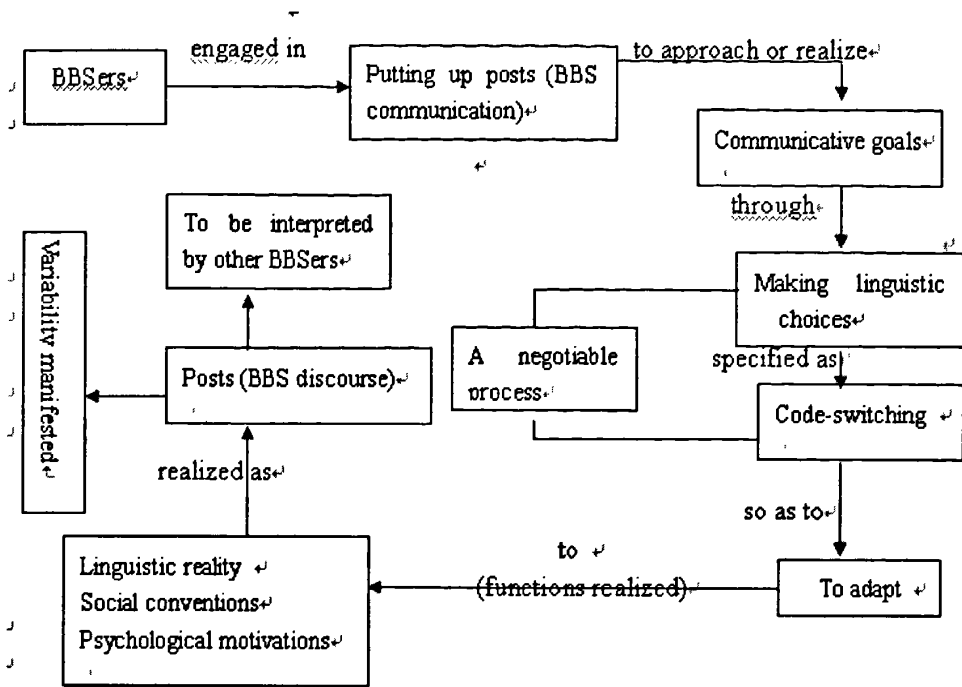
Yu also points out that, in the process of communication, these types of code-switching cannot be divided clearly, for there may be a certain code-switching used as the adaptation to more than one or even all the factors for the communicator to realize his/her communicative goal(s) (Yu, 2001).

3.3 The framework of the present study

In accordance with Yu Guodong's tentative framework of code-switching based on Verschueren's linguistic adaptation theory, the framework of the present study is proposed as follows:

When communicators, here the BBSers, engage in the process of communication with other BBSers, they have to fulfill communicative goals, either to express feelings or to attract the others. In order to realize various purposes, they will make choices of language at different levels (including a specific language or language varieties, linguistic structures and elements) with the help of non-language means and other communicative strategies. Among all those choices, code-switching is an important and widely used linguistic strategy in the BBS discourse. The reason why BBSers choose code-switching to approach or realize communicative goals is to adapt to the linguistic reality, social situations and psychological motivations. As a consequence of language choice making and adaptation, there comes to the BBS discourse that is manifested by various linguistic varieties.

This framework is drawn from the speakers' point of view. In fact, the success of the communication involves the effort of both communicating sides in the process, from the time when one BBSer puts up his/her post with specific intentions to the time when the other BBSers perceive and interpret it. The adaptive model for code-switching in the BBS discourse can be summarized in the following figure:



Chapter IV Research Methodology

4.1 Research methodology of the present study

In respect of the studies of codes-switching, normally, two main types of research methods are qualitative analysis and quantitative analysis. Based on Verschueren's Theory of Adaptation, Yu Guodong conducted a research on Chinese/English code-switching, which is both data-driven and theory-driven. The present study, based on Verschueren's and Yu Guodong's contributions, is to be carried out mainly as a qualitative study with a quantitative support. By saying the qualitative method we refer to the process of categorizing and analyzing the adaptability of BBS Chinese/English codes-switching; besides, in order to be more comprehensive and objective, a quantitative method, including recording and a questionnaire, is supplemented in the course of generalizing the frequency and the form of BBS Chinese/English code-switching, the motivations triggering BBS Chinese/English code-switching and also BBSers' attitudes towards it with the results from the questionnaire. In a word, the research in this thesis is mostly theoretical with the support of a quantitative analysis which constitutes this paper as a whole.

4.2 About BBS

Verschueren's Linguistic Adaptation Theory and its application in code-switching study—Yu's Adaptation Model have been introduced previously. In this section, the concept of BBS, the methods and steps of data collection will be described.

4.2.1 A brief introduction of BBS

The term BBS, which stands for Bulletin Board System, is a computer system

running software that allows users to connect to the system to perform various social and recreational tasks, and communicate with others on the system. It enables its users, usually members of a particular interest group, to leave messages, have discussion and to share information and software. Different from other computer-mediated chattings, it has a more fixed group of users (BBSers), and a more inclusive style of language. According to Crystal, BBS belongs to asynchronous communication (Crystal, 2001:15). He points out that, in the asynchronous situation, "the interactions are stored in some format, and made available to users upon demand, so that they can catch up with the discussion, or add to it, at any time---even after an appreciable period has passed". According to him, participants of BBS can see the posted text at any time, and they can either respond to the content or not as they like.

4.2.2 BBS in this paper

The present study is a case study and the materials used to analyze Chinese/English code-switching are collected from 搜狐社区 (<http://club.sohu.com>), 西祠胡同 (<http://www.xici.net/>) and 天涯社区 (<http://www.tianya.cn>). These comprehensive BBSs are famous in Chinese netizens. These BBSs consist of a number of discussion groups or sub-boards according to the topics. BBSers can choose what they are interested in and then take part in the discussion. The participants of them are of different ages, genders and educational backgrounds. Hundreds of thousands of people log in them and post passages on them everyday. Hence, it is a natural language lab for undertaking research on code-switching. The author registered nicknames for the three BBSs and logged in them to collect data. The data from them can be reliable.

4.3 Data collection for the present study

The present study explores the phenomena of Chinese/English code-switching in BBS discourse. And it draws on data mainly from the two sources: extracts collecting and a questionnaire.

4.3.1 Data from the questionnaire

At the beginning stage of the present study, we prepared a special questionnaire, which contains seven questions on different aspects of Chinese/English code-switching in BBS. We sent the questionnaire as email message in the form of Microsoft Word file to the participants of these BBSs. The number of participants involved in was 500. So 500 questionnaires were sent out. Among them, 81 participants refused to do the questionnaire. The rest 419 received the file and finished it, and then gave back their answers to the writer. Among all the answer copies, we treated 402 of them as valid ones, as the interviewees completed them according to the requirements. The other 17 copies were treated as invalid, as they weren't finished upon the requirements. The results of the questionnaire contribute a lot to the conclusion of the present study.

4.3.2 Data from collected extracts

The author registered and logged in these BBSs to collect data. Observation and record are the two main methods in extracts collecting. This process lasted for three months. Since the BBS can store the messages for a very long time, it is possible to collect all the code-switching conversation fragments or sentences down and the author collected more than 200 extracts containing Chinese/English code-switching for further analysis. Whenever the author came across Chinese/English code-switching in these BBSs, she took detailed notes about the setting, participants and their conversation contents, code-switching motivations immediately afterwards. In this thesis, only some typical code-switching instances were chosen to support the theme.

The project of data collection is quite complex, and the amount of data is quite great. As the limitation of the thesis and the writer's energy, it is impossible to analyze the data one by one. In addition, it is necessary to employ proper theories as our perspectives and theoretical ground to come to a convictive conclusion. For these reasons, we will use the Adaptation Model as the theoretical basis in data analysis, and the data will be categorized according to Yu's three kinds of Chinese/English

code-switching: code-switching as adaptation to the linguistic reality, code-switching as adaptation to the social conventions, and code-switching as adaptation to psychological motivations. In this process, an important task is to test whether this Model can cover all the Chinese/English code-switching in the BBS discourse. If not, some other explanations will be raised as supplements.

4.4 Research questions

The present study is a tentative study on the operation and the pragmatic functions of the Chinese/English code-switching in BBS discourse based on Verschueren's Linguistic Adaptation Theory and Yu Guodong's Adaptation Model of code-switching; it attempts to investigate the reasons or the motivations hidden behind the performances of the Chinese/English code-switching and code-switching features in the BBS discourse. The study of motivations is the key point that the present study intends to explore. Then, less attention will be paid to the negotiability and variability in terms of the Chinese/English code-switching in BBS. In accordance with the aims of the study, the research questions are as follows:

- (1) The motivations of Chinese/English code-switching in BBS
- (2) The characteristics of Chinese/English code-switching in BBS

Chapter V Results and Discussion

Based on the theoretical framework—Yu Guodong's Linguistic Adaptation Model introduced in Chapter Three, this chapter aims to employ the model to examine the adaptability of the Chinese/English code-switching in BBS discourse. That is to say, most of the emphasis will be laid on the analysis of the adaptability of BBS Chinese/English code-switching and a detailed analysis of BBS Chinese/English code-switching as adaptation to linguistic reality, social conventions and psychological intentions will be presented so as to reveal the dynamics and functionality of it in the process of communication. Meanwhile, a statistical analysis is also added based on the statistics from the questionnaire to make the research more objective and comprehensive. And the characteristics of Chinese/English code-switching in BBS will be introduced in the end. Here, the negotiability and variability will just be introduced briefly.

5.1 Negotiability of Chinese/English code-switching in BBS

As stated in the foregoing chapter, negotiability is the property of language responsible for the fact that choices are not made mechanically or according to strict rules or fixed form-function relationships, but rather on the basis of highly flexible principles and strategies. This property of language makes the dynamics of communication possible.

Code-switching, or specifically speaking Chinese/English code-switching, is not carried out according to fixed rules. There are no fixed rules to tell the switcher when to switch codes and for what purpose to switch codes. This has been proved by the existing researches into code-switching between different languages. It consists in the continuous making of linguistic choices from a wide range of variable possibilities in a manner that is driven by highly flexible principles.

In the present study, negotiability manifests in the point that the BBSers make

the specific linguistic choice of Chinese/English code-switching that is realized in different forms on the basis of Adaptation Model, so as to approach their specific communicative goals. In the dynamic process of communication, the communicators choose the Chinese/English code-switching instead of using one specific language because they want to adapt to a certain factor, either the linguistic reality, the social convention, or the psychological motivation, so as to approach the particular communicative goal. Sometimes only code-switching can help the communicators approach their particular communicative goals, while no other linguistic or non-linguistic means can function in the same way and can achieve the same communicative effect.

To conclude the analysis in this present study, we can see that based on Yu Guodong's Adaptation Model, the code-switching of Chinese/English is dynamically performed. No code-switching-function correlation exists at all. This displays the property of negotiability of the Chinese/English code-switching in the present study.

5.2 Variability of Chinese/English code-switching in BBS

As far as code-switching is concerned, variability refers to the linguistic diversity manifested in the products of verbal communication. Specifically speaking it means the assortment that appears in those code-switching discourses in terms of grammatical units, structural complexity and discourse types. (YGD 2001: 64). The grammatical units include the following elements: letters, words, phrases, sentences and discourses.

In Yu's model, he analyzes the variability of the Chinese/English code-switching from three angles: the linguistic units manifested in the Chinese/English code-switching, the respective frequency of inter-sentential code-switching and intra-sentential code-switching, and the types of discourse in which the Chinese/English code-switching occurs frequently.

In the present study, through the extracts collecting and data analysis, we can conclude the variability of the Chinese/English code-switching in BBS.

From the angle of linguistic units, the BBSers switch codes mostly by inserting

letters, words and phrases, such as the names of foreign products, the abbreviation of some proper names etc. While code-switching in the sentence and discourse levels occurs less often. From the angle of the different frequencies of intra-sentential code-switching and inter-sentential code-switching, we can conclude that the former is much higher than the latter, as in the data collecting we can see, the code-switching in the forms of words and phrases occurs much more often than the code-switching in the clause/sentence level. The variability can be analyzed from the angle of the different types of discourse in which code-switching occurs. Code-switching doesn't appear in all discourse types with the same quality and quantity. We should pay attention to the social, cultural and functional reasons behind the different frequencies of occurrence of this linguistic phenomenon. The writer finds that in the discourses of computer and information technology, entertainment like music, movie, star, beauty and fashion etc, code-switching occurs more frequently.

5.3 Chinese/English code-switching in BBS as adaptation to linguistic reality

Linguistic Adaptation

"Adaptation" is defined in *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (CCELD) as "the changing of something so that it becomes suitable for a new purpose or situation" (1987: 16). And *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* defines "to adapt" as "to make or become suitable for new needs or different conditions" (1992:12). These two definitions can expose the following three characteristics: firstly, adaptation is a dynamic process, because "the changing of something" or "becoming something" must be a continuous performance of actions; secondly, adaptation is goal-driven, for, according to the above definitions, the aim of changing is to reach the balance between the changing and the realization of a certain goal; thirdly, adaptation has a specific object for which it is performed.

As a result, linguistic adaptation has the above three features: firstly, it is a dynamic process in which the communicators make their linguistic choices

continuously and negotiatively; secondly, in the process of adaptation, the communicators have made these choices to realize their specific purposes consciously or subconsciously; thirdly, there exists an object of linguistic adaptation for which it is carried out. So, linguistic adaptation is defined as “ a kind of adaptation that human beings make through the application of language for the approaching or achievement of a certain communicative goal in a specific communicative context” (Yu Guodong, 2001).

As a means of linguistic adaptation, code-switching in general is a goal-directed dynamic process in which language choices are made to adapt to certain objects so as to approach their communicative goals in a given context. Chinese/English code-switching, as a subtype of code-switching, can undoubtedly be regarded as a means of linguistic adaptation which is a dynamic process, goal-driven to adapt to certain communicative goals.

Linguistic reality

One of the specific objects to which the Chinese/English code-switching adapts in this study is the linguistic reality. Linguistic reality refers to the real existence and nature of a certain language. “The real existence of a language refers to the linguistic elements and linguistic structures of that language, and the real nature of a language refers to the features and properties of those linguistic elements and linguistic structures of that language in its own right and/or compared with other natural language.”(Yu Guodong, 2001:74)

Code-switching as a realization of adaptation to the linguistic reality refers to the occurrence of code-switching out of pure linguistic reasons. Specifically speaking, it means people take the linguistic features and the nature of language into consideration and switch from one language or language variety to another for the purpose of realizing their respective communicative purposes. In this study, we focus on the former type.

The adaptation to linguistic reality is determined by the availability of vocabulary. If a certain idea or conception only exists in one language which does not exist in the other language, or if it is difficult to find an exact equivalent for a certain word in the other language, then when the two languages get into contact, code-switching will

naturally occur, because one language fills the gap in the other language.

In the present study, the linguistic reality to which BBS Chinese/English code-switching adapts can be further analyzed in detail in the following sections.

5.3.1 Filling lexical gaps

Every language, including Chinese and English, possesses its own features and properties that other languages do not share. Due to the differences in culture, thinking and language system, sometimes, there will be a particular word in one language to refer to a certain thing, but it may not have an equivalent in another language. Or sometimes it seems that they are equivalent, but subtle semantic differences exist and no perfect equivalent exists. In these cases, code-switching will be a helpful strategy for better communication. It can remedy language vacancy and facilitate communication. For examples,

这位 23 岁伦敦女孩的个人时装秀平均每天都招来约 1 万次点击率，设计师纷纷主动找上门去，奉上他们的最新款设计，期望能在她的博客里露脸。在过去的两年里，她忙于在纽约和巴黎之间飞来飞去，参加 Gucci、Chanel 等品牌的发布会，并且接受各种时装杂志的访问。

好朋友去了趟 HAWAII，他写了篇文章，觉得很好，就拿出来 SHOW

In these two extracts, code-switchings can be classified as: 1) code-switching as expression of the names of foreign products: Gucci and Chanel; 2) code-switching as expression of western place name: HAWAII; 3) code-switching as alternation of words: SHOW.

The former two kinds of code-switchings belong to the adaptation to the linguistic existence of Chinese and English. These proper nouns, such as the name of a person or a place and terms in a certain discipline will also have different translated editions, which will easily cause misunderstanding in communication. Code-switching here can play a role in facilitating communication and remedying language vacancy. The third kind of code-switching is an example of adaptation to the linguistic features of

English and Chinese. In English, "show" can be both a verb and a noun. When it is used as a noun, it means "a display or an exhibition". It can be translated into "显示, 表现, 表演" in Chinese, but with subtle difference in meaning. In the extract, the participant sensed the subtle difference and switched code from Chinese to English to keep the precise meaning.

5.3.2 Avoiding ambiguity

Another linguistic motivation for code-switching is that bilinguals switch codes to repeat their utterance in order to avoid possible vagueness or ambiguity and to add clarity. For example,

小时候梦想成为一名政治家,
不是 politician, 而是 statesman;
稍大点,又想成为商人, 成功的那种
如今呢
我只想过房子,牛奶和面包都有的日子
嘎嘎...
我沦陷了 # \$ @ # \$ % ^ ^ & * * * * *

In this example, both "statesman" and "politician" can be translated into "政治家", but they are of different connotation. Politician refers to a person who engages in politics out of a wish for personal gain, as realized by holding a public office; while statesman refers to a political leader whose wisdom, integrity, etc, win great respect. Obviously, the former one has a strong pejorative connotation. The participant has switched to avoid the grossly misleading "政治家" and uses "statesman" to emphasize the magnificence of his dream.

5.3.3 Seeking convenience

With the development of science and technology, more and more Hi-Tech terms appear in everybody's daily life, such as the terms Modem, ID, Vista System, PSP, MP4, MP5, MSN, etc.. This kind of terms entered people's life in the form of English

initially, and became familiar to the users in English forms; besides, some terms do not have a succinct and memorable Chinese version. Even though some others have their corresponding Chinese names, (for example, Modem is called 调制解调器 in Chinese), but people are less familiar with 调制解调器 than they are with Modem(in Chinese , people usually use its transliteration 猫; they have similar pronunciation); some terms simply do not have a Chinese name, for example, PSP, the explanation in the dictionary is “SONY 开发的新型掌上游戏机”, which obviously can not be conveniently adopted in use.

So, when people mention these terms in communication, they often adapt to such a language reality dynamically and use the expressions of English directly in order to be more concise and convenient.

With the popularization of English, most people have already been acquainted with some English codes, especially words and phrases for everyday use, such as “hello”, “bye”, “no”, “yes” “sorry “ and “ok”, “happy birthday”, “good”, “cool”, “ anyway”, etc.. These words are used so frequently that they almost have become a part of our fixed vocabulary system. They are more convenient to use than Chinese equivalents, and searching such English codes in the brain comes more directly than searching Chinese codes, with the process of translating from English to Chinese omitted; so we often switch codes consciously or unconsciously in conversation. For example:

最怕遇到这样的问题了哦~! 想想! 等等。OK 答案出来了

VERY GOOD

我首先要看下我最爱的人是不是也是爱我的~! 如果是爱我的话, 那私奔吧。哈哈!

熟话说 好马不吃回头草

话说多了当然是真理

SO

是对滴

你是说 17 号是你的生日? 我晕.....

20 分钟前我发的短信祝贺一个朋友的生日.....

当然也要给你祝福,祝愿你永远幸福快乐!

Happy Birthday!

楼主不怕被上司下属或提及的人看到吗?

ANYWAY,谢谢分享.

. As we can see, quite a lot of English words and phrases appear in the above examples. These words and phrases have a common characteristic that almost all of them have relatively less syllables and easy to be read and written, thus making them rather convenient to use. The switching from Chinese into these English words and phrases manifests the convenience function of code-switching, and complies with the linguistic economy principle.

Another common phenomenon is abbreviation. English abbreviations that are shorter in speech are also used extensively in Chinese and give rise to a host of CS phenomena. The main purpose of abbreviations ---in any language---is no doubt to allow the speaker/writer to say the same thing using less linguistic effort at no expense of referential meaning. For example:

我这 EXBF,认识好多好多年了.

由于我们俩在外地上的大学,最开始的几年,我觉得此人极好.

大学生嘛,不涉及那么多经济问题.

能够生病了有人照顾,电脑坏了有人帮修,想吃啥了打个电话就能送到宿舍下,就觉得蛮幸福的了.

此人嘴巴又甜,心思又细,经常变着花样逗自己开心,那些年过的极其开心.

Here the English abbreviation “EXBF”(ex-boyfriend) is adopted instead of the complex Chinese equivalent “前任男朋友”. Similar examples are abundant in the corpus such as “NBA” rather than “美国职业篮球联赛”, “CCTV” rather than “中央电视台”, and “CUBA”, “BBC”, “VOA”, etc..

The author notices an apparent phenomenon that many code-switchings occur in the form of words, and abbreviations occur in capital letters. And this complies with the linguistic economy principle closely. It can be explained by the typing reality.

Since early planners of the Internet were generally American (Hafner & Lyon, 1996), and were implicitly thinking only about how to facilitate communication in English, they did not anticipate the problems that might arise when speakers of other languages tried to communicate online. The text-transmission protocol on the Internet is based on the "American Standard Code for Information Interchange" (ASCII) character set, which based on the "Roman" alphabet and the sounds of the English language. The expression "plain text" as in email and chat, refers to a format that contains only basic ASCII characters, whether written in English, or in some other language. The present keyboard is designed only with keys of letters, numbers and functional keys. One of the functional keys is "Caps Lock"; it has the function to lock the Chinese input, and only capital letters can be seen on the screen. If a user typing in Chinese wants to switch code to English, the most convenient way is to press this key, and the result is, the capital letters will be presented on the screen.

5.3.4 Using accurate quotations

Direct quotation is one of the most frequent motivations for code-switching. The narrators resort to the code-switching and switch to the language of the original speaker to make the speech more accurate, direct and vivid. Accurate quotations of English mottos, proper names and sentences are among the most frequent code-switching phenomena. The following examples are good cases, in which the direct quotation of sentence, the original name of the writer, the book makes the reference more accurate and clear and the speakers appear more expert.

如阿甘所说: Life was like a box of chocolates, you never know what you're gonna get.

作一个简单淳朴的人, 乐观得去面对生活, 一路向前!

哪儿可以下载原版的英文名著? 例如: Gone with the wind, Jane Eyre,

Oliver twist, The adventures of Tom Sawyer 之类。

The Road Not Taken, 上大三的时候, 在写作课上学到这首小诗, 感觉很是深刻。今天偶尔看到, 一并翻译了放到这里。作者是美国诗人 Robert. Frost。选择学英语是我这一生最错误的选择。以后做事三思而后行。这是不是 to be or not to be 的问题呢?

In the first extract, the speaker wants to describe his/her outlook on life; it is more efficient and expressive if he can cite the language originally used by other speakers. By reciting Forrest Gump's words, the speaker presents his /her outlook on life clearly. And in the latter two examples, there emerges the code-switching of names of books, poems or poets also for accurate presentation. The quotation of " to be or not to be " from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* helps the speaker to express his/her feeling—uncertainty about the importance of wrong choices accurately. These examples prove that switching one's code to quote some words or sentences is a good way to get a more complete and accurate understanding of the information presented.

5.4 Chinese/English code-switching in BBS as adaptation to social conventions

Social conventions

Social conventions in the present study refer to "the accumulated agreed ways of thinking and behaving that are believed to be socially normal and acceptable by the majority of a specific society" (Yu Guodong, 2001:95). Human beings are socialized creatures. We live in the concrete social environment and culture, so once into communication we will take into consideration those conventions and customs, which deposited in the developing process of human history. Those conventions and customs are invisible rules that guide the manner of our performance. Any violation of these invisible rules will lead to the damage of the communicator's image or communication failure. Just as Verschueren says: "Social settings and institutions impose many types of linguistic acts can be performed or who has the right to

perform them, they even determine the 'performability' of certain acts under specified circumstances" (Verschueren, 1999: 91).

The adaptation to social conventions mainly refers to the adaptation to social cultures such as customs and ways of behavior. Code-switching as adaptation to social conventions refers to communicators' use of two or more languages or language varieties due to the consideration of or respect for a certain society's culture, customs, conventions, etc.

In BBS, the communication between BBSers encompasses many social factors, such as gender, religion, law, value system, culture heritage, moral norms, the state of the economy, the prevailing political climate, etc. To some extent, some code-switching phenomenon in BBS can be regarded as the adaptation to the social conventions, namely, some instances of Chinese/English code-switching in BBS can be regarded as the result of the communicator's consideration of social conventions.

5.4.1 Avoiding taboos

Different cultures have different opinions about what can be public topics and what cannot, and on what is an appropriate way of expressing certain topics. Within certain social conventions, some topics are taboos and cannot be talked about openly and publicly. However, sometimes people cannot avoid talking about taboos and thus confront a dilemma. In this situation, communicators can employ code-switching to adapt to the social conventions and handle such a dilemma. For example,

拍的有点意思哈..
歌其实还好..发现听久了有点烦..
很 SEXY 哈.

With a history of five thousand years, China possesses its unique social conventions. The Chinese culture is deeply influenced by Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. The Chinese people need to behave in accordance with the concepts of patriarchal clan system and morality that are highly proposed by Confucianism (Cheng Yu-zhen, 1998: 8). In China, close touch, hug, kiss, and sex-related concepts are all taken as degenerate topics.

The word “sexy” in the example above frequently occurs in our present data. It is used to describe people and things related to sex or that arouse sexual desires, which are taboos in the Chinese culture. To avoid social embarrassment, Chinese/English code-switching is adopted. When English is used, the explicitness of sex is mitigated and the meaning of sexy becomes vague.

確實也是
每個人都有生活的權利
不論你是 les 還是 gay 或者是 H.
我們都不應該排斥
總之 自己高興就 ok!

Here, “les” is the abbreviation of the word lesbian, and “H” refers to the word homosexuality. Although in today’s China, the society is much more tolerant to homosexuality, prejudice still exists to the homosexual people. The speaker is alert of this social convention, so switches code from Chinese to English when expressing the relevant theme. From this extract we can see, some social conventions are very strong in influencing people's behaviors.

5.4.2 Showing politeness

To be polite is one of the universal principles that we must follow in interaction with others. It can be seen as one of the basic social guidelines of human activities. Being polite means in communication speakers employ language tactfully. Communication is a risky business. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), every utterance is potentially a face threatening act (FTA), either to the positive face (refers to people's desire for gaining favor and respect from others) or to the negative face (refers to people's desire to act freely and prevent their private right and space from being disturbed or intruded). Therefore, in order to be successful in communication, people need to adopt communicative strategies, among which code-switching is an important one. For example,

-----楼主写的太好了，可惜太晚了，没办法一一看完。

能不能加个 MSN? 有些事情想请教一下。

-----谢谢，楼上的支持。我只是写出了自己的一些经历和个人见解。至于 MSN，

I' m very sorry! To me, MSN is just for BUSINESS. Communication in Tianya is better than in MSN.

Refusal is a face threatening act. If the potential help-giver promises to offer help despite the fact he/she is reluctant to do so, the promise will hurt his/her negative face, as he/she loses his /her freedom in action. Suppose he/she refuses directly to give the help-seeker any help even though he/she succeeds in protecting his negative face through doing this, he unavoidably hurts the help-seeker's face. The particular degree to which the help-seeker is hurt depends on many factors, including the relations between the two parties, the nature of the help itself and so on. In order to mitigate the possible negative effects caused by refusal and show politeness, the responder consciously adapts to this specific motivation reduce the possible negative consequences through code-switching. Responder expresses his refusal in English in order to convey his meaning tactfully, because the use of English mitigates his impoliteness to the seeker. Using code-switching as a politeness strategy can help to avoid the possible negative consequences caused by the speaker' s FTA while enable the speaker express his/her true ideas.

Besides, MSN, the explanation in dictionary is “ 微软提供的一种网络在线服务” and the code-switching here can be treated as the adaptation to the linguistic reality.

5.5 Chinese/English code-switching in BBS as adaptation to psychological motivations

Psychological motivation

Psychological motivations refer to "speakers' spontaneous motives or intentions behind their performing of a specific act of the Chinese/English code-switching" (Yu, 2001:124). All cases of code-switching excluded from the former-mentioned two

types of code-switching belong to this type. This kind of code-switching is a positive and active communicative strategy that communicators adopt to realize their own specific and concrete communicative goals.

Psychological motivations in this study refer to the BBSers' motives or intentions behind their use of code-switching, including their assumptions of the other BBSers' expectation.

Gumperz (1982) holds that code-switching is a strategy which the speaker employs at will to generate conversational inferences so as to realize different communicative goals. Code-switching is a kind of motile production. The using of different languages or language varieties is a reflection of the users' social psychology. People may exert code-switching as a kind of communication tactics out of various reasons, and code-switching in BBS discourse is no exception. Through the investigation of the corpus, we may find that Chinese/English code-switching in BBS discourse could authentically function as various strategies to achieve the psychological motivations of the people involved. The most prominent ones can be summarized as the following:

5.5.1 Adopting humor-creating strategy

Humor is a "something that is or is designed to be comical or amusing" (*Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 2000), which can be accomplished through diversified means either linguistic or non-linguistic. This motivation for code-switching has to do with speech elaboration, a desire to speak nicely or artistically, and to create humorous effects. It is a language play through code-switching. In the corpus there are some Chinese-style English (Chinglish) usages popular in BBS discourse intentionally created by the participants for humour, which lead to some code-switching. For example,

楼上的，息怒～息怒
小弟我只是表达一下自己的见解
气大伤身那
不过，话说回来

我就这观点啦

If you want money, I have no; if you want life, I have one!

楼主的分析很透彻 也很有道理

对黑心的煤窑主 应该 give them some color to see see

后来的 brothers ! together up !

大家一起把这帖子顶起来。。。

现在大学生工作不好找啊

一定要 Good good study, day day up.

否则 前途一片黯淡

All the English versions above are in Chinglish. They are translated literally from the Chinese Colloquialisms. "If you want money, I have no; if you want life, I have one" is obviously from the Chinese “要钱没有，要命一条”， but the English version of the usual Chinese heroism remark turns a joke. It is the same with "Give them some colour to see see" which is from the Chinese “给他点儿颜色瞧瞧”。 And also, "brothers ! Together up!" refers to the Chinese “兄弟们！一起上！”。 The last example "good good study, day day up" is a deliberate literal translation of Chairman Mao's famous slogan “好好学习，天天向上” instead of its idiomatic English translation "study hard".

The following example is also a good illustration of using the Chinese/English code-switching to create humor.

今天天气很 sunny,

遇见了一位 beauty,

她的气质很 pretty,

若能和她在一起将会很 happy!

What deserves our attention in the above example is not only the Chinese/English code-switching itself but also the linguistic means of rhyme, that is, the four English words end with the same sound /i/. This feature adds to the

humorous effect achieved through code-switching. The participants as a communicator holds his psychological motivation to amuse the other participants as information receivers, and thus he adapts to that psychological motivation and uses the Chinese/English code-switching and the particular linguistic means of rhyme, to create humour.

Communication through the Internet is lack of the help of facial expressions, body language and the tone of speech, etc, which are very ultimate for a successful communication. Under this circumstance, humor plays an important role in Internet communication because it is an effective way to gain attentions from others. The examples above show the power of humor made by code-switching.

5.5.2 Seeking Fashion

English learning is the trend of the times. English language has obtained a vogue status and mixing English with Chinese in speaking is considered to be a fashion followed by people to display some elegance or some foreign flavor. The following examples are good illustration of the many.

抓紧了把手,
倒数起航,
紧张加小 HIGH

The English constituent "high" here refers to the state of being happy. It is a very fashionable way to express the happy state of mind for the speaker, especially for the young. Compared with its Chinese equivalent "兴奋", it seems "high" can express the speakers' mood with exotic flavor. Because young people are usually the powerful representatives of fashion and modernness, they like to use fresh ways to show their special flavor. There also exist some other popular usages of "high". For example, "high吃"、"high喝"、"high唱" etc.. High here means "尽情地、无拘无束地". Obviously, mixing "high" in Chinese enjoys considerable currency.

很帅很 man 的队长,

尽职的搜寻着草原上动物的行踪,
鹰一般的敏锐

In this extract, "man" is often used to describe a male. "Man" here functions as an adjective which means "有男人味的,有男子汉气概的". This is also a fashionable expression way. Driven by the mentality of seeking fashion, the BBSer insert popular English in Chinese when they speak to make the words sound vogue.

5.5.3 Pulling close social distance

As Verschueren (1999:119) points out, switching is one of the resources for speakers and addressees to interactionally generate the meaning of their social world, and to negotiate mutual investment in the linguistic marketplace, using code-switching in communication can help the speaker to achieve the goal of drifting apart from or drawing close to the hearer. The speakers sometimes use a certain code to express the "we-type" and use another code to express the "they-type" between them. Thus the two types are differentiated from each other. The former one is exerted on someone in their group while the latter one is exerted on someone out of their group. Code-switching in BBS discourse also has such kind of function, mainly the function of drawing close to a certain group.

到楼主图片处理 hust 的后缀让我忍不住想看看他的 blog,难道是校友,本科的时候也总喜欢在名子后加校名.看到 blog 居然发现还是 soton 的.

WHAT A SMALL WORLD
DO I KNOW YOU

In this example, by switching from Chinese codes to English ones including words and sentences, the participant purposely adapt to his psychological motivation of establishing solidarity with the thread poster. Through speaking the specific English proper nouns, such as "hust" "soton", the speaker may possibly establish something in common and show his friendship or at least reduce the psychological distance between him and the poster.

5.5.4 Emphasizing & contrasting

In the most general sense, bilinguals use code-switching as a way to emphasize a particular message by shifting codes, which forces the addressee to interpret their code-switching. Usually emphasis is achieved by creating contrast through juxtaposition of two codes. Code-switching for emphasis often occurs because the speaker wants to gain the interlocutor's attention to his/her speech, to focus on something, to convey feelings, to escalate an argument, etc. For example,

一个懂得解决问题的才是 manager,
只会反映问题的不过是 staff 而已。

我们提供给您不仅是一份 JOB,
而且是一份 CAREER.

In these two extracts, the speaker's switching to English "manager/ staff" and "job/ career" are obviously for contrast and for attracting attention and emphasizing the differences, namely, the difference between "manager" and "staff", and the difference between "job" and "career".

One important way to emphasize messages involves repeating particular items in both languages, which is called reiteration. The fact is that reiteration makes it very clear that the new information is the juxtaposition of two codes for the same meaning, so reiterative code-switching seems to fulfill mainly the function: emphasis. The following example is for emphasis.

楼主姐姐，一直期待你的答复，不知道是不是我的问题太过幼稚还是我自己的问题，你一直没有给我指导，迫切求救啊！SOS！

书面胜于口头。written is always better than oral。你做过什么，要去做什么，需要别人做什么，写邮件发出去，以后起争执了就是证据，年终盘点也知道你每天都干了些什么。长此以往，极度锻炼商务英语。

In these two examples, the participants resort to reiteration of the same meaning in two codes: Chinese and English to show their strong desire for help or their own opinion.

5.5.5 Showing off

Some people switch to English to show off their knowledge of the prestige language of English, or to identify their status as being more educated, urbane, and sophisticated. When some English words can not find the exactly equivalent words in Chinese, code-switching is used to adapt to this kind of linguistic reality. This is the case we have discussed in former section, namely, using code-switching to fill lexical gaps. While in the process of analyzing corpus, we find that even if there do exist the Chinese equivalence; English expressions are also used frequently. This is obviously an active adaptation made consciously by language users rather than a passive one made unconsciously. This kind of code-switching incarnates people's mentality of showing taste.

As China's association with the outer world becomes closer and closer, the status of English in people's mind has been greatly raised. Many people regard knowing English as the symbol of good education and high social status and take it as an honor to be able to speak English. Driven by the mentality of showing off, English learners often insert English words, phrases or sentences in Chinese when they speak. For example:

我开始的时候也是吃不惯 salad, 尤其是 salad dressing。和朋友经常到高档自助餐厅吃饭, 大家的惯例都是先来盘 salad, 呆久了也就慢慢习惯了, 我喜欢一种 Italian dressing, 酸酸甜甜还有点微辣, 很合我的口味。放一点 bacon 和 cheese 在里面也别有一番风味。

昨天去过 IKEA 了, 没有我想象中那么好, 但那些 log furniture 我还是满中意的

In the above two examples, we encounter many English codes, such as salad,

Italian dressing, bacon, cheese, log furniture. IKEA is the name of a furniture shopping mall, which firstly established in Sweden, and the code-switching here can be treated as the adaptation to the linguistic reality, but also can be categorized to the adaptation to showing-off. As for the rest, actually, all the rest have their Chinese equivalences, some of which are also frequently used and widely accepted. The participant intentionally uses the English codes to replace the Chinese ones like 沙拉, 意大利汁, 培根 (烟肉), 奶酪, 原木家具, just out of a kind of exotic flavor-showing mentality. Using English codes to show the participant's English competence and his personal taste.

5.6 Other motivations

In data collecting and analyzing, the writer finds that the Adaptation Model is valid and applicable to Chinese/English code-switching in BBS. Although the questionnaires provide other motivations such as to show respect and politeness, to save time and energy, to have better expressions, and to maintain privacy, etc., these are overlapped with the above categorization to some degree in the writer's eyes. The writer assures that it is more scientific and comprehensive for this model to interpret the major code-switching motivations in BBS in the obtained corpus by this case study. The writer also finds that a single code-switching process may be triggered by more than one motivation.

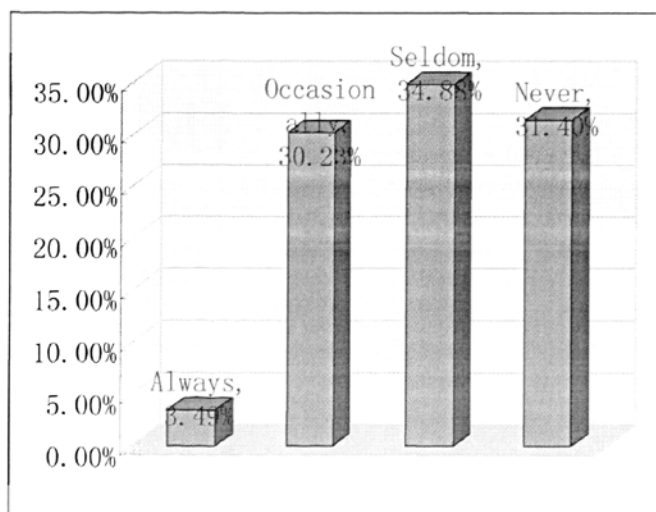
According to the analysis, the consciousness degree of the BBS participants' code-switching as adaptation to the linguistic reality is comparatively lower, while that of the BBS participants' code-switching as adaptation to the social conventions and psychological motivations is relatively higher.

We can conclude that the Adaptation Model is powerfully explanatory in throwing light on all the motivations of Chinese/English code-switching in BBS, including the adaptation to the linguistic reality, social conventions, and psychological motivations, which are carried out with different degrees of consciousness.

5.7 A statistical analysis

The data in this study are from the questionnaire (Appendix). The questionnaire consists of seven questions, Question 1 is about the informant's education background, and Question 2 is designed to reveal the frequency of BBSers' Chinese/English code-switching. Question 3 aims to find out the main motivations triggering Chinese/English code-switching in BBS and it includes 11 possible motivation candidates, among which A to D are those which can trigger BBSers' Chinese/English code-switching as adaptation to the linguistic reality, E and F to the social conventions, and G to K to the psychological motivations. L is an open-ended choice for other motivations in addition to the above-listed motivations in case that there are still some other motivations which can trigger BBS Chinese/English code-switching. Question 4 is about the form of their code-switching. Question 5 is about the possible effects caused by code-switching and Question 6 reveals the attitudes of BBSers towards Chinese/English code-switching. Question 7 is about the frequency of code-switching in FTF.

5.7.1 Analysis of the frequency of BBSers' Chinese/English code-switching



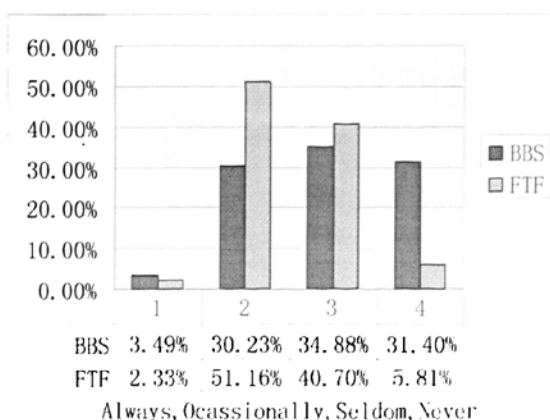
The questionnaire results of Question 2 (showed in the Graph above) tell us

that 3.49% of the interviewees always or usually conduct the Chinese/English code-switching in BBS, 30.23% of the interviewees occasionally conduct the Chinese/English code-switching, 34.88% of the interviewees seldom conduct the Chinese/English code-switching and 31.40% of the interviewees have never conducted the Chinese/English code-switching in BBS.

We can see, 68.60% of all the 402 interviewees more or less switched codes between Chinese and English in BBS. Here we draw the conclusion that the majority of the participants have the Chinese/English code-switching behavior in BBS. The above statistics throw light on the popularity of code-switching in BBS and it may prove to the author to a certain extent that the study of the Chinese/English code-switching in BBS is worthwhile.

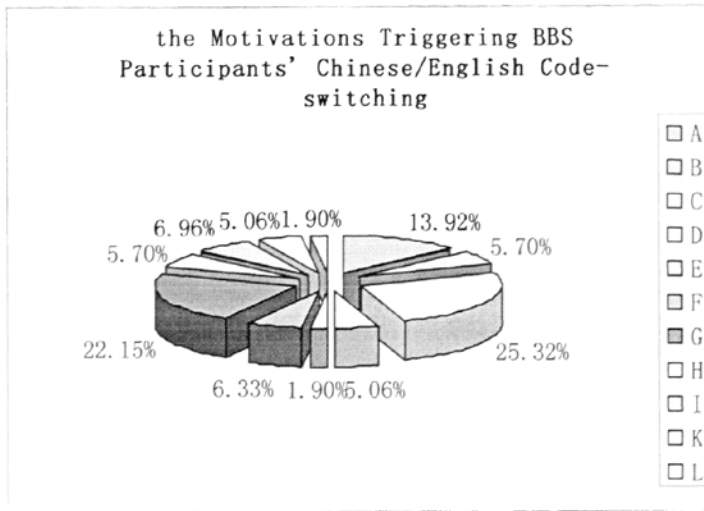
The last question is designed to explore this: Are there any difference between the face to face (FTF) communication and BBS in the action of switching codes? The language of BBS is different from spoken language; the author thinks that there could be differences between the two kinds of communication. From the results gained in the study we can see, 2.33% of the interviewees always switch codes in FTF communication, 51.16% of them occasionally, 40.70% seldom, 5.81% never. The percentage of switching is higher in FTF communication than in BBS. We can conclude that people tend to switch codes more often in FTF communication than in BBS.

Contrastive analysis on the frequency of Chinese/English Code-switching between BBS & FTF



5.7.2 Analysis of the motivations triggering BBS participants' Chinese/English code-switching

Analysis of the motivations triggering BBS participants' Chinese/English Code-switching



The percentage of the above graph indicates that code-switching as adaptation to the linguistic reality, including A(13.92%), B(5.70%), C(25.32%) and D(5.06%), takes the highest percentage, which accounts for 50.00% of the whole motivations of the Chinese/English code-switching in the present study. The second highest percentage is possessed by code-switching as adaptation to the psychological motivations including G(22.15%), H(5.70%), I(6.96%), J(0.00%) and K(5.06%), which accounts for 39.87%. Code-switching for the observance of the social conventions occur less often, including E (1.90%) and F (6.33%), which accounts for 8.23%. The interviewees also provide some other motivations L(1.90%), like for personal expressing habit, personal preference etc., which do exist in the code-switching phenomenon but are not the focus of this study.

In summary, the BBS participants' Chinese/English code-switching is mainly an adaptation to the linguistic reality, and at the same time the psychological motivations and the social conventions are another two comparatively important

factors. This result is just consonant with our research in the previous chapters and further proves our research. The informants in the present study also report that there are still other motivations for the BBS Chinese/English code-switching, which are neither the cases of adaptation to the linguistic reality nor to the social conventions or the psychological motivation. However, the influence on the result of the present study is minor due to their small amounts and it will not influence the convincibility of this study.

5.7.3 Analysis of the form of BBS participants' Chinese/English code-switching

As for the forms of code-switching, the number of interviewees who inserted single word at the beginning and ending of a conversation takes the first place (57.83%). The alternation of words and phrases in the process of conversation also occurs frequently (25.30%). English suffixes are often inserted, and they are "mixed" with the Chinese characters to give meanings and feelings as well. Alternation at the sentence/clause level occurs less (16.87%), and the percentage of code-switching in the form of paragraphs is zero. This may probably prove that most Chinese/English code-switching behaviors in BBS are in the form of words and phrases.

5.7.4 Analysis of BBS participants' attitudes towards Chinese/English code-switching

The questionnaire statistics of Question 6 reveal that most of the interviewees (55.81%) take a neutral attitude towards the Chinese/English code-switching; the second main attitude of BBS participants towards code-switching is positive (36.05%), and only a tiny minority of the interviewees (8.14%) hold a negative attitude towards the Chinese/English code-switching.

As to the attitudes towards code-switching, Question 5 can also offer us the answer. Question 5 is on the possible effects achieved by code-switching. The percentage of the interviewees who think that code-switching helps to achieve better communication is 37.05%, followed by 52.16% of the interviewees holding the neutral stand. While the rest regard code-switching as linguistic pollution (8.30%) or think that it's useless for communication (2.49%). The choices show their stands and attitudes towards code-switching. There is no doubt that, to some extent, the result of

Question 5 is accordant with that of Question 6. The results may further prove that speakers with a positive attitude towards code-switching may have a high opinion of effects achieved by code-switching.

The above statistical analysis shows that the majority of the BBS participants have Chinese/English code-switching behaviors and most code-switching behaviors in BBS are mainly in the form of words and phrases, and the majority of BBS participants take a neutral attitude towards the Chinese/English code-switching. It also presents that the BBS participants' Chinese/English code-switching is mainly an adaptation to the linguistic reality, the social conventions and the psychological motivations, among which the linguistic reality and the psychological motivations possess comparatively higher percentage.

5.8 Characteristics of Chinese/English code-switching in BBS

The extracts collected and the result of the questionnaire of the present study show:

1) Chinese/English code-switching in BBS is a communicative strategy adopted by BBSers for communicative purposes or needs.

2) The most common form of the code-switching in BBS is insertion, which is frequently adopted by participants consciously or unconsciously. Such as the greeting words or phrases, proper names or phrases, etc. often appear in the original language as code-switching. The alternation of words and phrases also enjoys a high frequency. The code-switching in forms of clauses or sentences is much less often.

3) Code-switchings often occur in the form of inserting a suffix and mixing with Chinese characters, such as “期待-ing” “流汗-ing”. This can better express the communicators themselves in a more convenient and vivid way.

4) The use of abbreviations, special signs, numbers, is simple, succinct and easily acceptable in BBS popularly. For example, 3KS for thanks, 2 for too, U for you, OL for office lady, etc. The abbreviations are always in capital letters for typing convenience.

5) The code-switching occurrence in BBS is due to the language competence owed by users. Through the questionnaire we can find that most of the code-switchers in BBS are with high educational background. Nowadays, English is very important, more and more people tend to be Chinese and English bilinguals. The more languages the user master, the larger tendency code-switching occurs in BBS.

Chapter VI Conclusion

In the present study, the writer uses Verschueren's Linguistic Adaptation Theory and Yu's Adaptation Model which is the application and development of Verschueren's linguistic adaptation theory as the theoretical basis to explore the Chinese/English code-switching in BBS discourse. In this chapter the findings of the present study will be given firstly. Then, the limitations of the present study will be listed together with some suggestions for further study.

6.1 Findings of the present study

Combing the results of the questionnaire with the analysis of the extracts collected from the BBS discourse, we have proved the feasibility of Yu Guodong's model in revealing the complexity and dynamics of the Chinese/English code-switching. We have also demonstrated that code-switching, an important strategy employed by communicators, has irreplaceable pragmatic functions to help communicators reach their communicative goals.

In terms of aims and research questions put forward in the beginning of the present study, the final findings can be given as follows:

Firstly, the BBS participants perform the Chinese/English code-switching because they want to make linguistic adaptation to some factors so as to achieve their communicative goals. These factors mainly include: the linguistic reality, the social conventions, and the psychological motivations. The linguistic reality involves foreign concepts, and semantic discrepancy, etc, between the two different languages. The social conventions concerns social norms and customs in a certain culture, which are typically reflected in euphemism and taboos. The psychological motivations, which manifest in such aspects as creating humor effects, seeking fashion, pulling close social distance, emphasizing & contrasting, showing off, etc, are most complicated for its spontaneity and diversity, and it's hard for any research

to make a complete list of it. In the process of the different adaptations, the Chinese/English code-switching fulfills the diversified communicative functions to help the BBS participants ensure successful communication.

Secondly, people switch codes in BBS more for adaptation to the psychological motivations and linguistic reality (including typing reality), less for adaptation to the social conventions. These motivations carry different degrees of consciousness, in which the consciousness degree of adaptation to linguistic reality is lower than the other two. The Adaptation Model can cover all the motivations of the Chinese/English CS in BBS discourse.

Thirdly, as to the variability of the Chinese/English code-switching in the BBS discourse, we have found that they take on different linguistic elements. People switch codes in BBS mostly in the linguistic units of letters, words and phrases, less in the units of sentence and paragraphs. Intra-sentential code-switching is much more often than inter-sentential code-switching. In the discourse of computer and information technology, fashion and beauty as well as entertainment, code-switching occurs more frequently than in other discourses.

Fourthly, as to the attitudes towards the Chinese/English code-switching in the BBS discourse, the majority of the BBS participants take a neutral attitude towards this phenomenon. But still a tiny number of people who regard it as pollution to language or useless to expression take a negative attitude towards it. Problems still exist in the Chinese/English code-switching in the BBS discourse; so how to solve these problems requires our further research.

All in all, the findings have confirmed Yu Guodong's Linguistic Adaptation Model on the whole. Besides, this thesis develops Yu Guodong's model to a certain degree by exploring the new forms of the Chinese-English code-switching which appear as the result of vigorous language contact and language development.

We hope the above findings of the Chinese/English code-switchings could in some sense present a more comprehensive and systematic picture of the code-switching in BBSs and reflect the dynamic language choice of BBSers.

6.2 limitations and suggestions

Although we have verified the feasibility of the adaptation model by analyzing the Chinese/English code-switching in BBSs, due to the limit of time and ability, limitations of the methodology and the coverage still exist.

The most obvious limitation is the source and the amount of data examined in the process of the analysis. Although the BBSs we choose here are comprehensive and enjoy a great popularity, yet choosing two or three BBSs as the source of data may fail to reveal some of the diversity of code-switching. The restricted amount of the data used for the statistical analyses may affect its validity to some extent. Therefore, we have to say that the findings of this study might lack universality to some extent and is far from exhaustion despite the efforts the author makes.

Secondly, there may be some overlaps or missing elements in our categories of adaptability of BBSers' code-switching. Code-switching in the BBS discourse may be extremely comprehensive and exhaustive if we go deep into them. And the adaptation model we have proposed is not perfect yet; further improvement is still necessary.

Thirdly, we haven't discussed the possible relations between code-switching and relevant terms, such as borrowing, diglossia bilingualism and language change. We also have an ambiguous idea about these concepts. The comprehension of the distinction among these concepts may help us get a better understanding about the code-switching phenomena.

This study has explored the Chinese/English code-switching in the BBS discourse from the angle pragmatics. To get a more complete understanding of the phenomena of code-switching nowadays, we would like to make several suggestions about the data and the orientation of the future research.

First, future research may extend the sources of data, which may include spoken discourses and written discourse from various sources. Because conversational data could reflect more subtlety of code-switching, and the various data sources may better reveal the typicality and universality of code-switching in various fields. For example, the study of code-switching in joint ventures may get some interesting

findings

Second, since Yu Guodong's model is considered to be a comprehensive and convincing model in analyzing the Chinese-English code-switching, future research may develop his model by applying it to the code-switching in various fields or between languages other than Chinese and English.

Third, the present study, as most current studies, is synchronic. The future research can be conducted diachronically so as to unfold the vigorous language development, and the mutual influence between different languages.

Finally, more empirical researches are needed in the future. For example, the empirical study of code-switching in the foreign language teaching classroom can be beneficial to both language learners and teachers.

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Appendix

关于 BBS 中语码转换的调查问卷

亲爱的朋友,本问卷是对 BBS(也就是常说的论坛)中语码转换现象的一个调查.您只需要花三到五分钟就可以做完,但是确实对语言学做出了极大的贡献。谢谢!

本问卷共 7 道题, 每个问题有数目不等的选项, 根据您的看法, 请逐题选择或填写。

注:“语码转换”主要是指在一次会话中使用两种语言或方言的语言现象,此处指在论坛当中夹杂使用汉语和英语。

1. 您的教育背景: A. 初中 B. 高中 C. 大学 D. 硕士及以上
2. 在 BBS 当中, 您夹杂使用英语和汉语吗? (选 A,B,或 C, 请做 3,4,6,7;若选 D, 请跳做 5,6,7)
 - A. 经常 B. 偶尔 C. 很少 D. 从不
3. 如果是, 您在 BBS 中夹杂使用汉语,英语是出于哪些动机呢?(可多选)
 - A. 某种表达只存在于汉语或英语中, 如若翻译成英语或汉语, 其原意将会失去, 所以改用英语或汉语来弥补语言空缺. 如, 西方国家的人名和地名,或者一些外国品牌名称,如 SK-II, SONY
 - B. 使表达更加准确, 避免歧义;
 - C.表达方便,省力.如 BF/bf 代替“男朋友”,CM 代替“厘米”;
 - D. 准确引用, 如插入英语名言警句等
 - E..表示避讳禁忌,如关于 sex 的话题
 - F. 向对方表示礼貌, 如用英语表示委婉的拒绝等;
 - G.达到幽默效果;
 - H.追求时尚表达方式
 - I. 缩小与对方的社会距离, 显示共同性, 增进感情
 - J. 显示或者表明自己, 如自己的英文水平或者独特品味
 - K 达到强调或者对照的效果;
 - L. 其它(如果有, 请填写)_____

4. (接3题) 如果在 BBS 中您夹杂使用汉语和英语, 通常有哪些形式? (可多选)
- A. 在语篇的开头或者末尾, 插入单个英文单词诸如"Hi/ Hello" "yes/no" "ok" 或"Bye"等
 - B. 在语篇中, 将中、英文中某些词或词组互换表达.如,“快看, 一个 girl student 走过来了!”, “长颈鹿一大家子聚集在腊肠树下共享早餐, 很 peace 很友爱”
 - C. 语篇当中的句子或从句, 中英文替换表达. 如,“顺其自然吧, 有些事情是不能勉强的, just matter of time”, “你还知道吗? He's dead”
 - D. 段落
 - E. 其它 (如果有, 请填写)_____
5. 如果在 BBS 语篇中夹杂英语单词、词组或句子, 您认为这样做会达到什么效果?
- A. 有利于沟通, 避免歧义, 提高交际效果
 - B. 简直是语言污染, 中不中, 洋不洋的
 - C. 没概念, 大家都这样, 我也就这样
 - D. 对沟通一点帮助都没有
- 6.对 BBS 中汉语、英语夹杂使用的现象您的态度是?
- A.是一种更准确表达自己的方式, 好现象
 - B.是坏现象
 - C.无所谓
7. 在日常面对面的交流中, 你夹杂使用汉语和英语吗?
- A. 经常 B.偶尔 C.很少 D. 从来没有