

**THE INTERACTIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF
FAMILYHOOD IN VIETNAMESE-TAIWANESE
INTERNATIONAL FAMILIES**

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**Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**Integrated PhD
In Educational and Applied Linguistics**

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November 2012

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Abstract

While so many studies relating to Vietnamese female spouses in Taiwan have tapped into crucial issues facilitating understanding of this particular social group, none of them deals with face-to-face interaction between Vietnamese female spouses and their Taiwanese family members. This thesis thus tries to bridge the research gap by studying real-life face-to-face interaction in such transnational families with special attention to identifying the interactional relevance and consequentiality of membership categories invoked by the family members and how Taiwanese and Mandarin are used as interactional resources in familial discourse.

This study engaged 3 Vietnamese wives in Taiwan along with 14 Taiwanese family members whose mealtime talks were audio-/video-recorded. Conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorisation analysis (MCA) were adopted to analyse the 7 hours of data collected. It was found (from the corpus of recordings) that a Vietnamese spouse's deployment of the membership categories 'Taiwanese' and 'Vietnamese' relates to her use of first-person plural pronouns to form the (literally translated) 'we + country' compound. The compound is found to be a distinctive identity-related device used by the Vietnamese participants to engage in self-categorisation. Moreover, it is also an epistemics-related device used by the Vietnamese spouses to ascribe authority or expertise to themselves or their Taiwanese family members in the enactment of 'Vietnamese' or 'Taiwanese'. On the other hand, it was found that the Vietnamese participants orient to Taiwanese and Mandarin as salient resources in admonishment sequences. Specifically, the two languages serve as contextualisation cues and framing devices in 3 different types of admonishment sequences. It is identified that familyhood can be achieved in an admonishment context, in which language varieties are used by adult family members to facilitate their alignment with each other in educating the youngest generation.

The research findings suggest that the Vietnamese female spouses can fabricate interactional resources into devices to actively engage in familial communicative events and fulfil their responsibilities as a family member and as a mother. From the discursive construction of national and household identity categories, the Vietnamese spouses have demonstrated how they manage identity work and position themselves in the family; on the other hand, the way that participants negotiate national identities in family discourse have made salient the transnationality pertaining to the families. The study therefore contributes to enriching the understanding of Vietnamese female spouses in Taiwan from a conversation and membership categorisation analytic perspective, and the research findings serve as a reference point for research on cross-border marriage, cross-border couples and interactional patterns in transnational families.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Peter Sercombe and second supervisor Alan Firth for their guidance. My thanks then go to all ECLS staff members for their assistance throughout my IPhD years. Very special thanks to Professor Paul Seedhouse and Professor Zhu Hua for examining my work and giving valuable comments on it. I am also deeply indebted to MARG members, especially Adam Brandt, Andrew Harris, Jeon Seongho and Olcay Sert, for their patience, advice and encouragement whenever I hit a bottleneck.

Moreover, I would like to thank all the people who participated in this research project, especially the Vietnamese spouses and their families. I am also grateful that Tiao Feng-Chiao, Khoo Poe-Bin and Wang Chin-Tu offered their help with Vietnamese-Chinese translation and Taiwanese-Mandarin transcription. This work could not have been completed without their kindness and generosity.

I would then like to thank all my friends, especially Huang Chao-Hsia, Lo Yun-Fang, Liang Wen-Chun, Cheng Li-Ting, Lee Chi Wai and Leung Cheong Ho, for sharing my ups and downs in life and whipping me on in my thesis progress.

Finally my thanks must go to my parents and brother for their endless love, trust and toleration of a capricious daughter and sister.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Research Aims and Research Questions

In the past decade, research relating to South-east Asian female spouses in Taiwan has become the staple of various fields spanning education, linguistics, medical practices, public health and sociology to name a few. More and more Taiwanese researchers started to draw attention to these female immigrants and have made migrant marriage and its relevant issues hot research topics. With a substantial population in Taiwan, it is often seen in media coverage (e.g. Huang 2006; Liu 2005; Tang 2012; Tsai 2005) that these foreign spouses have brought into Taiwan some critical challenges: higher rates of divorce and domestic violence for transnational couples, delayed language development and the lower academic achievement of children with immigrant mothers from Southeast Asian countries, to name a few. The academic focus lies mainly on issues of education, medical provision and social interaction regarding not only the immigrants themselves but also their Taiwanese family members:

(1) Some researchers are concerned about the education and language development of these female spouses' children due to the mothers' generally poor mastery of Mandarin or Taiwanese (e.g. Chung 2003; Hsu 2005; Huang and Chang 2003; Hung 2004; Li & Hung 2004; Lin 2003a; Wang 2004; Wang 2005; Wu 2004; Wu 2005).

(2) Others focus on these female immigrants' medical experiences in Taiwan and propose possible changes in existing medical provision to meet their needs (e.g. Chen 2008; Chu 2008; Wu 2009).

(3) Still others look into their life in Taiwan (such as difficulties regarding accommodation, interaction with Taiwanese family members, social network establishment, etc.) from a sociological perspective (e.g. Chen 2001a; Chen 2003; Chen-Lee 2002; Cheng 2000; Lai 2002; Li 2004; Liao 2003; Lin 2003b; Shueh 2003).

Table 1.1. Population of Foreign Spouses in Taiwan (divided by sex and original nationality)

Population of Foreign Spouses in Taiwan			
(Grouped by Sex and Original Nationality)			
From January, 1987 to December, 2010			
Original Nationality of Foreign Spouses	Male	Female	Male + Female
Vietnam	247	83,999	84,246
Indonesia	429	26,551	26,980
Thailand	2,409	5,561	7,970
The Philippines	420	6,468	6,888
Cambodia	3	4,303	4,306
Japan	1,550	1,720	3,270
Korea	295	742	1,037
Other Countries	6,899	5,383	12,282
Total	12,252	134,727	146,979

Among the Non-Taiwanese female spouses, the Vietnamese are the largest ethnic group whose mother tongue is neither mandarin nor any of its dialects. It is officially estimated that by the end of 2010, the number of Vietnamese female spouses in Taiwan has grown to 83,999 people (see table 1.1), which is about 62% of the total number of foreign female spouses (referring here to those from Japan, Korea, south-east Asian and other countries). Researchers in the fields of sociology, education and medical science, to name a few, have paid special attention to Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational families. It is not only because the Vietnamese account for a rather high ratio in the total foreign female spouse population, but more importantly, the way that the marriage is approached challenges most Taiwanese people's assumption of marriage for love.

According to a number of researchers (e.g. Chen 2005a; Chen 2005b; Chen 2006; Chiang *et al.* 2004; Huang 2005; Lin 2003b; Liu 2003; Lu 2004; Wu 2004; Wu 2005; Wu 2010), the majority of the Vietnamese spouses are females marrying Taiwanese men who have difficulty marrying Taiwanese women due

to rather disadvantaged socio-economic status. It has also been widely discussed in a number of monographs (e.g. Tien & Wang 2006; Wang 2001; Wang & Chang 2003) that the marriage between a Taiwanese man and a Vietnamese girl usually involves professional marriage brokers. The marriage business run between Taiwan and Vietnam has been well-organised and standardised, and the markets in both countries are profitable and competitive. These characteristics of Taiwanese-Vietnamese transnational marriages were later confirmed in the researcher's personal communication with a Taiwanese marriage broker (personal interview 29 March 2009). Regarding the communication medium between the couple, it is worth mentioning that, due to the nature of the marriage, most Vietnamese females receive only months (if not weeks) of intensive Mandarin instruction in Vietnam and no exposure to Taiwanese before they arrive in Taiwan. In addition, the cross-border marriages often involve a patrilocal postmarital residence pattern, which in this case refers to the Vietnamese wife's relocation in Taiwan as well as the relocation in the husband's family. All the characteristics make Hsia (2000: 46) label such Taiwanese-Vietnamese transnational marriages as "commodified marriages" as they are "by-product of capitalist development". Such a perspective involves elaboration of globalization, capitalist development and international labour division (which will be explained later in section 1.2.1.1) and has been influential in the Taiwanese academia. Others (e.g. Tien & Wang 2006; Wang 2001; Wang & Chang 2003), however, examine both Taiwanese and Vietnamese societies to identify key factors resulting in such marriages and look into cross-border marriages from social and cultural perspectives (see section 1.2.1.2 for details).

While so many studies have tapped into crucial issues facilitating understanding of this particular social group, yet none of them deals with naturally occurring face-to-face interaction between Vietnamese female spouses and their Taiwanese family members (such as their husbands, children and extended in-law family members). There are therefore some unanswered questions pertaining to the Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational familial interaction. For example, it remains unclear how a Vietnamese female spouse positions herself

and manages identity work in the husband's family. It is also uncertain how a Vietnamese female spouse, who arrived in Taiwan with limited proficiency in Mandarin, makes her way in the transnational family. Moreover, it is indefinite what interactional resources are available for a Vietnamese female spouse to engage in communicative events in a family discourse. Most importantly, it is obscure how familyhood is achieved by the transnational family members. To address these questions, it seems that face-to-face and real-life interaction is an ideal realm for investigation. In view of the research gap existing in the studies of Vietnamese female spouses in Taiwan and the indigenous attributes of the Taiwanese-Vietnamese transnational marriage, the thesis will focus on the face-to-face talk-in-interaction in Taiwanese families having a Vietnamese female spouse. One of the aims of this thesis is then to look into discursive construction of identity in the families and identify the resources available to the Vietnamese spouses in interaction involving identity management. In addition, since the Taiwanese society is multi-lingual with both Taiwanese and Mandarin as two dominant languages used by the majority, the Vietnamese spouses may have to acquire both languages in order to communicate with people around them. It is therefore worth specific investigation on how those having acquired the two languages deploy the linguistic codes in talk-in-interaction as interactional resources and for what purposes. Most importantly, it further explores how such work influences the interactional achievement of becoming a family member and the co-construction of familyhood.

Two research questions are developed to address these research aims. The first one is meant to identify the relevance and consequentiality of the Vietnamese participants' invocation of certain identity labels, or membership categories (the term used in membership categorisation analysis, see Section 2.2) in a sequential environment. The second research question, on the other hand, aims to uncover the relevance and consequentiality of the Vietnamese participants' orientation to both Taiwanese and Mandarin in a spate of conversation. Therefore, the two research questions are formulated as below:

1. What membership categories are invoked by the Vietnamese participants in transnational family talks, and how are these categories deployed to achieve certain interactional goals?
2. What is the relevance and consequentiality of the Vietnamese participants' use of Taiwanese and Mandarin in specific contexts?

1.2 Setting the Scene

There is data suggesting an increase in the foreign female spouses' population in Taiwan since the mid-1980s (Lu 2005), but detailed and exclusive surveys of foreign spouse population was not conducted officially until 1994 (Hsia 2000; Lin 2006). In the early 1980s, quite a few female spouses from Thailand and the Philippines could be witnessed moving into Taiwanese rural villages, and it was at this time that news about these marriage immigrants started to be aired in the media. This trend peaked in 2003 and has since ebbed.

Table 1.2 Population of Foreign/*Dalu-gan-au* Spouses in Taiwan Recorded from 2001 to Oct. 2010 (with reference to total number of registered couples in Taiwan during the decade)

Year (Month)	Population of Foreign Spouses and Spouses from Mainland Areas	Nationality (Area)				Gender		Total Number of Registered Couples in Taiwan
		Mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau		Foreign Countries		Male	Female	
		Mainland China	Hong Kong and Macau	South-east Asian Countries	Other Countries			
2001	46,202	26,516	281	17,512	1,893	3,400	42,802	170,515
2002	49,013	28,603	303	18,037	2,070	4,366	44,647	172,655
2003	54,634	34,685	306	17,351	2,292	6,001	48,633	171,483
2004	31,310	10,642	330	18,103	2,235	3,176	28,134	131,453
2005	28,427	14,258	361	11,454	2,354	3,139	25,288	141,140
2006	23,930	13,964	442	6,950	2,574	3,214	20,716	142,669
2007	24,700	14,721	425	6,952	2,602	3,141	21,559	135,041
2008	21,729	12,274	498	6009	2,948	3,516	18,213	154,866
2009	21,914	12,796	498	5,696	2,924	3,673	18,241	117,099

2010 (by Oct.)	17,534	10,588	431	4,097	2,418	3,099	14,435	112,020
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Take year 2001 for example (see table 1.2), about a quarter (42,802/170,515 = 25.1%) of the Taiwanese men getting married that year wedded females from either mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau or one of the south-east Asian countries. The percentage of such cross-border marriages rose and reached 28% (48,633/171,483 = 28.4%) in 2003. However, in view of the fact that there were increasing cases of false marriage, the Ministry of the Interior enforced a regulation in 2004 stipulating all spouses from mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau were to be interviewed by governmental officials before residing in Taiwan. Later in 2005, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also tightened the control of the interviewing of foreign spouses from other countries. According to one of the weekly reports of the Ministry of the Interior (2010), the tougher interview mechanism enforced by the two ministries seems to have reversed the trend and has led to a drop in the population of foreign female spouses.

Table 1.3 Total Population of Foreign/Dalu-gan-au Spouses by the End of 2010

Population of Foreign Spouses and Spouses from mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau in Taiwan						
From January, 1987 to December, 2010						
Total	Foreign Spouses			Spouses from mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau		
444,216	Male + Female	Male	Female	Male + Female	Male	Female
	146,979	12,252	134,727	297,237	18,022	279,215

It is worth mentioning here that since mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau are regarded by the Taiwanese government as special areas, spouses from these places are therefore categorized into the *Dalu-Gang-Au* (a shorter term for the three places in Mandarin) group in the official statistics, whereas spouses from other countries are grouped by their nationalities. It is the widespread practice therefore that spouses from *dalu-gang-au* areas are

collectively referred to as '*dalü xinniāng*' (mainland brides). On the other hand, spouses from other countries are given an umbrella term, '*waijī xinniāng*' (foreign brides). By the end of 2010, there have been 279,215 female 'mainland brides' and 134,727 female foreign brides (see table 1.3) shown in the official records.

The general public tends to associate foreign brides specifically as being from countries such as Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia or Cambodia, which the Taiwanese regard as less developed than Taiwan (though this is not necessarily true). Hsia's pioneering monograph (2000) serves as the best support for this general conception. When exploring the 'foreign brides' phenomenon, she argues that it is a global phenomenon and defines foreign brides as women from less developed countries who marry men from more developed countries. In the Taiwanese scenario, Hsia (*ibid.*) notes that the so-called 'foreign brides' refer specifically to females from south-east Asian countries who wed Taiwanese men who have difficulty marrying Taiwanese women. Moreover, the mass media also play a crucial role in strengthening the association of foreign brides with spouses from less developed south-east Asian countries in the way that the female spouses' images tend to be portrayed as "women from poor families and rarely receive higher education" (*ibid.*: 48).

In her later edited publication, Hsia (2005) challenges this general conception and severely criticizes the inadequacy of continuing labelling these females as foreign brides. As Chiu (1999) argues that 'foreign' has the implication of a member that is not one of us and even less educated or inferior in some way. Brides, on the other hand, is a temporary term referring to 'the wife recently marrying into the husband's family' [author's literal translation of 'bride' from Mandarin]. The term 'foreign brides', therefore, implies a sense of discrimination and exclusion, and researchers' consensus is that a proper name should be chosen by these females themselves as a way to empowerment. Since efforts to empower are still in progress there is not yet a generally agreed name for

these females¹. This study will use 'foreign female spouses' to indicate female spouses from south-east Asian countries, unless otherwise specified. It is believed that this rather neutral term will not only partially meet the general public's conception but also show the researcher's awareness of the inadequacy of the term 'foreign brides'.

The following sections will respectively explain motives for the husbands and wives to look for a foreign spouse (Section 1.2.1), and the demographic characteristics of the husbands and wives (Section 1.2.2).

1.2.1 Motives for Taiwanese-Vietnamese transnational marriages

1.2.1.1 Global capitalism and Taiwanese-Vietnamese transnational marriages

When commenting on transnational marriage-scapes, Constable (2005) concludes that the general pattern is female marriage migrants move internationally from poorer countries to wealthier ones. One of the main reasons making cross-border marriages increasingly common, according to her (ibid.: 3), is the "new and expanding forms of globalization and capital flows". The scenario in Taiwan fits this pattern and Taiwanese researchers (Hsia 1997, 2000; Tang & Tsai 1999; Wang & Chang 2002) have also noticed the influences of globalization and capitalist development on the growing number of foreign female spouses. They thus explore marriage migration by taking into account the global picture instead of focusing merely on the local context. Linking cross-border marriages to wider global and transnational processes, Hsia (2000) treats the foreign brides phenomenon as a global fashion which is a by-product of capitalist development. Her logic is that capitalist development causes an unequal international division of labour and distortion of development within nations. Cross-border marriages are one of the strategies that men and women

¹ Nonetheless, 'new inhabitants' has become a more common reference term.

adopt to survive in “societies distorted and marginalised by global capitalism and increasingly liberal labour markets” (ibid.: 46).

According to Hsia (ibid.), all nation-states can be divided into 3 types, i.e. core, semi-peripheral and peripheral, under the development of capitalism. Nation-states, such as the United States, Japan and developed European countries are the core ones, who explore worldwide markets and investment items with their international capital. In order to maximise profits and to reduce cost, core nation-states import cheap labour/manpower from peripheral countries, such as Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia. Alternatively, they invest and build up factories in peripheral countries where there is large cheap labour/manpower, and then make them bases for mass production. Impacts on peripheral countries are that they are forced by foreign powers to create an investor-friendly environment for international investors, such as converting rice and corn fields to high-value commercial crop fields, converting land from crop fields to industrial plants and attracting foreign investment by tax reduction and capitalist-friendly policies like the government-endorsed ‘no union no strike’ policy implemented in the Philippines. All these investor-friendly policies and incentives result in short supply of staple food, a large number of farmers forced to migrate from rural villages to cities and shut-down of local small-size corporations accompanied by local workers’ high unemployment rate in peripheral countries. Surplus labour is thus exported and becomes the migrant workers in core and semi-peripheral countries.

Semi-peripheral nation-states, such as emerging industrial nation-states like Taiwan and South Korea, copied core countries’ investment patterns and joined in the exploitation of the peripheral in the 1980s. Since capitalists in these nation-states shift away part of their capital as well as factories into peripheral countries, the impact on semi-peripheral countries is seen in the closing down of local factories as well as the unemployment of local workers. Moreover, the semi-peripheral countries, like the peripheral ones, are investment targets for international capitalists. They, too, facilitate international investors’ business at

the cost of agriculture yet surplus rural manpower has to compete with migrant workers who are imported to replace more expensive low-end local labour. For the locals who fail in the competition, they are compelled to return to the villages and live on small incomes earned by taking the least promising jobs, such as farming and fishing. In semi-peripheral countries, globalisation and capitalist development not only pose tremendous challenges for rurally-based males (who often have low social positions and work in low-skilled jobs) to survive in the labour market but also endangers their competitiveness in the domestic marital market.

In patriarchal societies, males are expected to be more dominant than females in terms of socio-economic status (*ibid.*). Once males fail in the local labour market competition, their unemployment or meagre wage results in them having disadvantaged socio-economic status and subsequently leads to their devaluation in the marital market. More and more females in peripheral nation-states thus look for foreign partners in more developed countries out of the desire for hypergamy (or upward marital mobility) and a better-off lifestyle that local males cannot provide. On the other hand, males in core and semi-peripheral nation-states also turn to cross-border marriages if they (rural bachelors in particular) have low status in the marital market and cannot easily compete for a local spouse. Cross-border marriage, therefore, becomes a solution for men and women striving to survive in societies distorted by globalization and capitalist development. Professional marriage brokers thus come into existence to cater for this gap in the marriage market; they initiate, arrange or negotiate cross-border marriages for males and females who look for foreign spouses. The boom for marriage agents in both Taiwan and Vietnam since the 1980s best illustrates the growing desire and/or need for foreign spouses. Match-making Taiwanese men and Vietnamese girls, as a result, becomes hot business and marriages are thus commodified through commercialisation. In Hsia's opinion (*ibid.*), cross-border marriages reinforce capitalist development as they further distort international labour division and

are actually a reflection of the distorting international labour division on interpersonal relationships.

Researchers (such as Tsai 2001; Chen-Lee 2002; Cheng 2000; Hsiao 2000; Lu 2001) developing their elaboration within the framework of globalisation and capitalist development share the idea that financial factors are the main driving force of cross-border marriages. For others, however, they do not agree that economic geographies play a solely dominant role in the making of cross-border marriages². Moreover, they conceive that this perspective seems to have oversimplified both Taiwanese men's and south-east Asian women's motivations for cross-border marriages.

1.2.1.2 Cultural and social forces of Taiwanese-Vietnamese cross-border marriages

Cheng's (2000) and Hsiao's (2000) studies have shown that even if most 'Taiwanese grooms' (i.e. those marrying foreign brides) reside in rural villages or old communities and have labour-oriented jobs, such as farmers, fishermen, vendors, factory staff or self-employed individuals, they do not necessarily have the lowest socio-economic status in the Taiwanese society. According to Lu (2005), middle-class men have also been tempted by the advertisements of marriage agencies since the mid-1990s. In addition, Wang and Chang (2003) mention the difficulties and complexities of a cross-border marriage, which make professional marriage brokers' involvement inevitable and also allow them to charge quite a large sum of money (an average of £6000 per case) to 'Taiwanese grooms'. In other words, the price of such marriages is so high that the extremely poor³ in Taiwan can hardly afford them. Therefore, the males'

² Xia's transnational marriage argument is appreciated, yet her argument is subject to criticism for being imbalanced. Her monograph would have been more welcome if it could present a complete picture of marital markets in all three types of countries, rather than simply investigating the scenario of males in semi-peripheral countries and that of females in peripheral ones.

³ Poverty defined by the Taiwanese government as having an income of less than 60% of the median. On figures before 2010, that is 9,829 NTD (about 205 pounds) disposable income per

disadvantaged socio-economic status or the development of globalisation and capitalism fails to fully explain Taiwanese men's motivations for marrying south-east Asian girls. On the other hand, Tsai (1996) concludes that in addition to the marginalisation of Taiwanese males in the labour market, an increasing number of educated local females in the labour pool also narrows down Taiwanese males' spouse choices, yet the latter factor concerns cultural traditions and patriarchal gender expectations rather than globalisation and capitalist development.

As mentioned earlier in patriarchal societies, such as Taiwan, men are expected to be superior to women in terms of social status and financial contribution. The policy of 9-year compulsory education introduced in 1968 enables Taiwanese females and males to have equal access to formal education. Taiwanese females are thus equipped with the ability to enter and compete with males in the labour market. Their employment and incomes allow them a more independent life financially and socially. Even so, Greenhalgh (1985) points out that Taiwanese females' power has not increased substantially in relation to their financial contribution. In other words, there is still gender inequality in some aspects of Taiwanese society, and certain people still view the two genders with traditional expectations which are reflected in their descriptions of an ideal spouse.

When it comes to the definition of a good and marriageable woman, those with subservience and traditional moral values and character are still widely welcomed and preferred⁴ (Constable 2005; Tien & Wang 2006). Three-sevenths of Chen's (2001b: 13) interviewees expressed that the main reason for them marrying south-east Asian women is due to the concept that "men should be superior to women". They admit that their education and income may not secure their superiority if they woo Taiwanese females. On the other hand,

month. The government is considering resetting the poverty line on 10,224 NTD (about 213 pounds) per month in 2011.

⁴ The researcher presumes that there are generational differences in this.

they regard south-east Asian females as more traditional, less demanding, less liberated and more committed to families. This gender stereotype of South-east Asian females is used by marriage brokers for advertisements in Taiwan and is therefore reinforced. It is therefore clear that even if the development of globalisation and capitalism does impact on Taiwanese males' competitiveness in the local marital market, traditional gender expectations also play a crucial role in their definition of a marriageable woman and further limits their spouse choices. In conclusion, Taiwanese males' looking for the 'ideal wife' in Vietnam or other South-east Asian countries is not merely a result of globalization and international capital flow but rather, marrying girls from poorer countries not only meets traditional gender expectations but also "reproduce(s) the masculinity culture in Taiwan" (Tien & Wang 2006: 4).

Foreign female spouses, too, are not motivated simply by financial factors. Even if cross-border marriages both improves the life of the females' families and help their mother nations accumulate capital through remittances, still not everyone in peripheral countries welcomes cross-border marriages. Take Vietnam for example, the Vietnamese elite see cross-border marriages based on brokers' involvement, price negotiation and material exchanges as marriages without dignity (Lee 2005, 2006). They thus generally treat Vietnamese girls marrying Taiwanese men as a national shame. Lee (2006: 52) quotes a Vietnamese spouse saying "my mom dares not tell others that my husband is Taiwanese...because people would think you must have married an old or disabled or sick person." The Vietnamese parliament, moreover, passed and amended a resolution in 2002 and released a proclamation in 2005 with the intention of reducing the growing number of Taiwanese-Vietnamese marriages. The resolution (Resolution 68/2002/NĐ-CP) provides an official definition of preferable marriages, i.e. ones which are founded on romance and true love. This definition (ibid.) states that an age gap between couples of more than 20~30 years or those who are seriously mentally-/physically- challenged may not be suitable for marriage. In addition, couples involved in cross-border marriages should be able to communicate in a common language. The

proclamation released in 2005 further specifies that cross-border marriages touch not only individuals' families, but also Vietnam's economy, culture, social order, international relationship as well as its dignity and reputation. Contrary to the Vietnamese government's negative attitude toward Vietnamese-Taiwanese marriages and different to the Vietnamese elites' perception of the girls being materialistic and pursuing a well-off life by marrying husbands who may be old, sick, disabled and with whom they may not communicate, Lee (2006) argues that the girls, not necessarily, wed Taiwanese men because of their own desire.

For girls living in remote rural areas and for those with disadvantaged socio-economic status, marrying Taiwanese men may bring into their poor families a substantial amount of money from *pinjin* (a gift of money presented to the bride-to-be's family at the engagement ceremony). Moreover, if they are employed after settling in Taiwan, their wages (which may be meagre to the Taiwanese) can continue to support their families at home. The girls in effect utilise cross-border marriages as a means of exchange for improvements in their families' lives and thus grant family members upward social mobility. Their decision to marry Taiwanese men actually meets the traditional virtue of altruism and is a practice of filial piety (Lee 2003). The following are translated passages of some Vietnamese spouses' words cited in Lee's work (2006: 42).

"I didn't want to come here. I was in Vietnam and I couldn't stand my family's situation...my two younger brothers and one younger sister, they were all unemployed...I wanted to help my family and my mom, that's why I came here..."

"...I had a boyfriend in Vietnam...I wanted to help my family and my mom...so I am here."

"...(I have) two younger sisters, two younger brothers and my mom. My dad was gone...I can help the family if I marry in Taiwan...what else can I do? And that's why I married my husband..."

From the passages, it is clear that the idea of Vietnamese spouses' marrying Taiwanese men out of financial factors is an over-simplified statement which overlooks these females' struggle between a marriage based on true love and a marriage based on exchange (for her family's better life). In a broader sense, the statement ignores cultural factors, such as traditional virtues honoured in the Vietnamese society that drive the girls to agree to an altruistic cross-border marriage.

This subsection has discussed key factors in Taiwanese males' and Vietnamese females' motivations for looking for foreign spouses. They include the impacts of capitalist development and globalisation and socio-cultural factors in both societies, such as traditional virtues or patriarchal gender expectations. The next subsection will present a demographic picture of the 'Taiwanese grooms' and the 'Vietnamese brides'.

1.2.2 Silhouettes of 'Taiwanese grooms' and 'Vietnamese brides'

According to records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (cited in Wang 2001), the average age of Vietnamese female spouses in Taiwan is 25.2 years, whereas the average age of Taiwanese males with Vietnamese wives is 36.3 years. In other words, the husbands are almost 12 years older than their Vietnamese wives on average. Wang (ibid.) specifies that about 80% of the Vietnamese female spouses in his study receive an average of 7.1 years of formal education before moving to Taiwan. Comparing his results with those (an average of 7.8 years) of a survey conducted in 1992 of Vietnamese females' educational levels on a nationwide scale (Moock cited in ibid.), Wang (ibid.) infers that the Vietnamese females marrying Taiwanese men, compared to their compatriots, are less-educated and a majority of them only finish elementary and part of their secondary education. However, about 18% of Wang's Vietnamese subjects received higher education than their Taiwanese spouses. Most of the

Taiwanese males in Wang's study (ibid.) finished their secondary education, yet their average educational level is still quite low in Taiwanese society. The study further reveals that these 'Taiwanese grooms' mainly reside in areas of lower incomes and take jobs as drivers, farmers, factory workers or self-employed individuals in keeping with their average educational level. In terms of the males' age, education, occupation and living areas, the demographic result confirms Hsia's argument (2000) that the 'Taiwanese grooms' have relatively low socio-economic status in Taiwanese society and are very likely to have difficulty marrying local females from a similar social strata. The demographic data also makes it understandable why the Vietnamese elite and government treat Taiwanese-Vietnamese marriages negatively and have a stereotype of the 'Taiwanese grooms' being old and poor. Still, the reader is advised to bear in mind that socio-economic status is only one of the possible reasons that drives these Taiwanese males to find their ideal spouses abroad. Moreover, there are also other factors in the Vietnamese females' agreement on cross-border marriages.

The aim of this chapter is to first highlight the aims and research questions of this study to pave the way for arguments developed in later chapters. Secondly, its intention is to equip the reader with essential background information so as to facilitate his/her understanding of the research context. From the above sections, the reader should be now equipped with some background information and have better understanding of various aspects concerning cross-border marriages in the Taiwanese context, especially those consisting of a Taiwanese male and a Vietnamese female. What follows then is the outline of this thesis.

1.3 Organisation of The Thesis

Having stated the research aims and questions as well as having provided an overview of issues relating to the foreign brides phenomenon and Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational marriages, the last section of this chapter will outline the organisation of the following chapters. Chapter 2 consists of three main sections covering theories that contribute to data analysis and discussion of findings. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the research design which includes the demographic data of each participant, collection process of naturally-occurring data and their transcription. It also elaborates on application rules of conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorisation analysis (MCA) as epistemological and methodological approaches. The last section of Chapter 3 justifies the adoption of both CA and MCA as the methodologies for the research. Chapter 4 is the data analysis chapter which provides analyses that meet the research aims and answers the research questions. Based on Chapter 4, Chapter 5 discusses the research findings with reference to existing theories. The thesis concludes in Chapter 6 which covers contributions and limitations of the research as well as suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into four main sections: the first section (Section 2.2) discusses the EM/CA/MCA perspective which is to be adopted for analyzing participants' orientation to certain identity categories and their engagement in language-related activities; the second section (Section 2.3) reviews work discussing conversationalists' participation in face-to-face interaction to further explore the nature of various identity types; the third section (Section 2.4) reviews work exploring the relationship between language varieties and identities in bilingual speakers' talk-in-interaction and focuses on the sequential approach to bilingual conversations; the fourth section (Section 2.5) talks about identity issues relating to transnational-familial discourse and talk-in-interaction in a dinnertime setting.

2.2 The EM/CA/MCA Perspective

The word 'identity', according to its first recorded use in 1570, refers to a unified and internal phenomenon implying absolute/essential sameness and oneness (Benwell & Stokoe 2006). The word has then been defined and redefined under the influences of the Enlightenment and the Romantic movements, the psychoanalytic discourse and the postmodernism paradigm. Benwell and Stokoe (ibid.) succinctly comment on the chronic change of its definition from 'a project of the self' to 'the product of the social', then to 'an unfinished product of discourse' and finally to 'an accomplishment of interaction'.

Changes in the definition of identity have shaped the way studies about marriage migrants and intercultural communication are conducted. In intercultural communication studies identity has been a prevailing topic and has traditionally been regarded as given. However, this essentialist assumption that people from certain cultures have certain identities has been challenged by

many. Piller (2012: 6-7), for example, points out the 'twin problems of essentialism' which refer to the assumptions that "people have a culture" and "people from group X behave in ways that are static, internally similar and different from other groups". Additionally, Bhabha (1994) addresses the processes of 'cultural hybridisation' and Hall (1997) also elaborates on ethnic diaspora against the globalisation momentum. All these contentions in intercultural communication mark the point that no cultural grouping exists in isolation nowadays, any culture is fluid and changes constantly, and so for identity and its purported coterminous notion of language use. Therefore, scholars (such as Antaki & Widdicombe 1998; Koole and Thije 2001; Mori 2003; Zhu 2010) of intercultural communication have now developed their approaches and arguments based on empirical evidence rather than treating identity or language use as a given which is reflected by group members' static and internally similar way of behaviour. In the empirical vein of intercultural communication studies, one of the prominent approaches is to use the EM/CA/MCA (ethnomethodology / conversation analysis/ membership categorisation analysis) perspective to chart identity and language use.

The term CA in this study refers to conversation analysis, which emerged in the late 1960s and was developed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in the 1970s. It is deeply influenced by phenomenological traditions as well as Goffman's and Garfinkel's arguments about social interaction. CA reflects Goffman's argument that there exists an 'interaction order' consisting of the normative organisation of practices and processes in interaction. From Garfinkel, on the other hand, CA adopts his notion that participants' production of action and their recognition of the interlocutor's action are the resources they use to achieve mutual intelligibility. In this sense, participants' practices of action production and recognition can therefore be treated as their own methods to manage the interaction in which they are involved. This is why Garfinkel's work is ethnomethodological as the prefix 'ethno-' refers to 'people' or 'participants'. Specifically, he (1967) proposes that social order is not performed through socially conditioned rules; rather, it resides in participants' endemic interactional

practices. In other words, constructs of social action is a members' activity. This is why he (ibid.) argues that every social action requires an analysis of the social actors' joint efforts in their use of shared common-sense knowledge and shared methods of reasoning. In this sense, shared sense making is then a primordial feature of the social world, and it allows interactants to recognise and understand the interlocutor's action and produce an action accordingly so as to achieve mutual understanding in the course of talks. Therefore, ethnomethodology can be understood as a participants' methodology in social interaction, and it is one of the intellectual roots in CA. The third intellectual thought that influences CA also touches upon the issue of common sense constructs. From phenomenology, CA takes the concept that common sense knowledge and its usage is not a fixed or static entity, instead, they are dynamic and open to revision in that people's understandings, of the physical and social world, are continuously updated and renewed. Therefore, Schutz (cited in Goodwin & Heritage 1990) argues that there is no guarantee that social actors can always achieve mutual understandings which are in fact the outcome of participants' active engagement in interactive processes. This phenomenological perception of the constructs of common sense knowledge and mutual understandings are also reflected in Garfinkel's arguments as he also sees mutual understanding as the interactional result, highly contingent and revisable rather than an unproblematic outcome that arrives naturally without endeavour. With the nurture of Goffman's proposition of interaction order, Garfinkel's ethnomethodological programme and phenomenological traditions, CA has developed into a distinctive research method differing from others adopted in social sciences.

Based on a conversation analytic stance, Sacks developed membership categorisation analysis (MCA) in the 1970s. Unlike traditional models (used in sociology, sociolinguistics and social anthropology) which see identity as a description of individuals by their class, gender, ethnicity etc. (all of which are assigned to social actors by birth), Sacks' understanding of identity, on the other hand, is from the locally used, invoked and organised identity categories whose

membership can be “ascribed (and rejected), avowed (and disavowed), displayed (and ignored) in local places and at certain times” (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998: 2). In other words, while other social scientists describe social actors for who they ‘are’, MCA analysts treat identity as something that social actors ‘do’ in talk-in-interaction. In this sense, it is impossible to predict conversational consequentiality simply by the social group, role and status that participants belong to. Rather, it depends on participants’ explicit orientation to certain identity to make it salient and relevant, regardless of the made-salient identity being assigned by birth or acquired in life. The aim of MCA is thus to study the situated use of identity and answer why certain category identity is used by participants at certain points of talk.

2.2.1 Principles of CA and MCA

CA holds a different view of language from the ones adopted in linguistics and sociology which tend to regard conversationalists’ actual practices in the interactional processes as disorderly and defective. For example, Chomsky (1965) argues that such performance in real-world interaction is the degenerate sample of ideal linguistic competence. With this understanding of language, therefore, linguists collect data (e.g. sentences or texts) that are isolated from the social context in which they are created and study materials fabricated through experimental procedures or in laboratory contexts. On the contrary, CA does not separate language from its local sequential context, yet neither does it focus on language itself. What matters to CA analysts is the actions produced and engaged by interactants through the use of language in talk-in-interaction, i.e. they study naturally occurring materials in real-world interaction.

Moreover, while discourse analysis in linguistics views verbal interaction as manifestation of the linguistic order, CA treats verbal interaction as manifestation of the situated social order (Montgomery 1986). While linguists perceive actual talk as disorderly and defective, Sacks (1984) however, argues that there is order at all points. He (ibid.) argues that conversationalists, on the

one hand, have to analyse and make sense of their interlocutor's utterances; on the other hand, they have to produce their own utterances accordingly that demonstrate their understanding of what has been said by the interlocutor. Such practices require participants' sense-making ability as well as the awareness of social consequences after each production, both of which are key factors for constructing mutual understandings. Therefore, talks can by no means consist of participants' burst of utterances based on randomness. In particular, CA analysts argue that there is a meaningful orderliness exemplified by interactants' demonstrable uptake of the previous turn in the production and design of the current turn. The question that is fundamental to CA is then the 'why, that, now' question, i.e. why do participants say certain things at a particular point of time to achieve social goals. This fundamental question not only reflects CA's basic apprehension of talks being manifestation of a social action rather than a linguistic action, but it also reflects an analytic principle featuring the emic perspective (i.e. the insider's perspective) rather than the etic perspective (i.e. the outsider's perspective).

The reason that a CA interpretation is from an insider's perspective is because CA analysts base their arguments not on *a priori* theories or extrinsic-to-talk assumptions, but on participants' demonstrable orientations and actions in talk-in-interaction which serve as a benchmark for each other to gauge meaning. According to Seedhouse (2005), the emic perspective in the case of CA refers not merely to the participants' perspective, but it also refers to the perspective from within the sequential environment. That is, any argument is valid as long as it is developed from within the 'system' and intrinsic to the talk-in-interaction. In other words, since the orientations and actions are displayed and observable to interactants, an analyst has the same access to the sequential environment as interactants do provided there is audio-/video-recording data and a detailed transcript representing the talk-in-interaction under investigation.

In view of the representation of the investigated sequential environment, CA relies heavily on naturally occurring recording data and detailed transcription. It

requires the transcriber to document as precisely as possible all the sounds produced by interactants, because any sound may have interactional significance no matter how trivial it seems. Therefore, participants' in-/out-breath, rising/falling intonation, sound elongation, laughter, silences etc. should all be transcribed. In order to produce detailed transcripts, CA analysts repeatedly listen to the data and establish an awareness of the recording, and it is through the process of transcription that they gradually locate the phenomenon that is worth analytic value.

In summary, the fundamental aim of CA is to explicate the participants' methodic process in which their action production and recognition in talk-in-interaction are established. That is, it is CA analysts' task to explicate how participants use and treat each other's action as the basis for subsequent action in naturally occurring social interaction. By using the recording data and detailed transcripts to represent the examined sequential environment, researchers study real-world interaction from an emic perspective without imposing existing theories or assumptions on the data. The basic methodological principles for CA, therefore, can be summarised in the following points:

1. Talk-in-interaction is systematically organised and deeply ordered.
2. The production of talk-in-interaction is methodic.
3. The analysis of talk-in-interaction should be based on naturally occurring data.
4. Analysis should not initially be constrained by prior theoretical assumptions.

(Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 23)

To analyse the identity work managed in interaction, on the other hand, Sacks (1992) proposes several essential concepts in MCA. The first is the concept of membership categories which refer to commonsensical classifications or social types used to describe persons. Second, he proposes the concept of membership categorisation devices (MCDs), which are collections of membership categories. Take the MCD 'Family' for example, it embraces membership categories such as Father, Mother, Husband, Wife, Child, In-laws, etc. Among numerous MCDs, the 'standardised relational pair (SRP)' (Sacks 1972) is a particular type in which categories are paired, e.g. Husband-Wife, Parent-Child, Friend-Friend, Doctor-Patient, etc. The third concept is category-

bound activities (CBAs). Since each category carries associated characteristics/features, a category can thus infer the CBAs pertaining to the particular category and vice versa. For example, if one has the student card issued by Newcastle University, he/she might be taken as a student of Newcastle University. Also, if one displays him-/herself as a student of Newcastle University, he/she might be taken to hold a valid Newcastle University student card. In line with conversation analytic stance, therefore, MCA aims to identify how participants orient to the CBAs, i.e. the normative or common-sense knowledge associating with membership categories, and how that knowledge can be negotiated and co-constructed during the course of talks.

Since every individual can be categorised by numerous possible category identities, a question thus arises as to on what basis does one select and display one of the many potential identity choices? According to Schegloff (1992b), analysis of identities is only meaningful when identities themselves seem to have visible effect on the interaction. He remarks this issue as the problem of relevance and consequentiality. He (1991) argues that participants themselves orient to an identity choice which they regard as significant in certain context, and thus make the oriented-to category 'demonstrably relevant' and have procedural consequences to the on-going interaction. Identity is therefore the display of, or ascription to membership of some inference-rich category, and should be regarded as a resource for both participants as well as analysts. On the other hand, since context is provided by the sequential organisation of turns, it allows participants as well as analysts to identify the way identity is displayed and understood with the turn-by-turn MCA analysis. As Heritage (2005: 111) puts it, context and identity should not be taken for granted, because they are both "inherently locally produced, incrementally developed, and...transformable at any moment". In other words, the process regarding participants' identity work is thus a dynamic process, and identity-in-interaction is not only a joint accomplishment, but also an oriented-to production contingent on the sequential environment with the unfolding of talks (Benwell & Stokoe 2006).

Following these concepts, Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) map out five principles of MCA. To begin with, having an identity means a person has to be cast into a category with associated characteristics or features. Secondly, the category casting is indexical and occasioned in the local context. Thirdly, the casting marks that the identity category is relevant to the interaction. Fourthly, if an identity has analysis value, it must have its consequentiality, i.e. influence on the participants in terms of their sequential organisation. Lastly, all of the practices mentioned above have to be visible in people's exploitation of the structures of conversation. For example, Extract 2.1 involves three Rwandanese interactants who orient to the identities 'Zairian' and 'Rwandese' when they are conjecturing Zairians' thought of throwing Rwandese refugees out of East Congo. Speaker A establishes two membership categories, i.e. 'Zairian' and 'Rwandese', by switching from Kinyarwanda to Swahili in order to perform the specific activity of direct speech reporting. Speaker B then makes salient the category 'Rwandese' by using a French-Kinyarwanda linguistic code and employs 'we' as if he/she is speaking on behalf of all Rwandese refugees. Speaker C, on the other hand, positions him-/herself on the Zairians' side and makes the kicking-out of Rwandese people a consequence of logical reasoning for everyone. From this extract, it shows clearly that each interactant uses a different linguistic code for the identity category he/she orients to for different positioning, and thus the identities 'Rwandese' and 'Zairian' are salient, relevant and consequential. In short, MCA's concern is with "the occasioned relevance of identities here and now, and how they are consequential for this particular interaction and the local projects of speakers" (Widdicombe 1998: 194-195).

Extract 2.1 (linguistic code: plain: Kinyarwanda, *italics: French*, underlining: Swahili)

1 A: ubu rero ab (.) ((C helping him to win)) buretse (.) abazayiruwa bagiye gutangira
 2 ngo fukuza munyarwanda [(unclear)
 3 B: [*avec raison* (.)] [*puisque* turi imbwa
 4 A: [(unclear) (laughter) ariko
 5 C: *avec raison* (.) none se none wanzanira ibibazo iwanjye

1 A: now Zairians Zair (.) ((C helping him to wine)) wait a minute (.) Zairians are
 2 going to start saying kick out Rwandese [(unclear)
 3 B: [rightly so (.) [as we are powerless
 4 (as we are dogs)
 5 A: [(unclear) (laughter) but
 6 C: *rightly so* (.) if you bring problems to my door
 (Gafaranga 2001: 1911)

Following this EM/CA/MCA perspective, talks are treated as the vehicle of social action with each turn serving as the foundation of action, which includes participants' management of identity-in-interaction. Based on the very concept that it is through building and maintaining relationships to others on a turn-by-turn basis that categorisation of Self and Other is established and understood, participants' orientation to certain identity categories informs us that identity-in-interaction is by no means fixed but shifting, fluctuant and transient, but it should be treated as 'an accomplishment of interaction' (Benwell & Stokoe 2006). In other words, each action of the speaker's self-categorisation or ascription of certain identity to the interlocutor then constantly undergoes ratification or rejection by participants on a turn-by-turn basis, and ultimately makes it an interactional accomplishment. The investigation of participants' identity work, therefore, should be examined from the unfolding of sequences (Schegloff 1991, 1992a, 1996). Likewise, participants' orientation to certain language does not suggest direct invocation of a national identity commonly associating with the linguistic code. Rather, it can, for example, be treated by interactional parties as a contextualisation cue which only "affects the expressive quality of a message" (Gumperz 1982: 16). That is, language-related activities, like identities-in-interaction, are resources that participants can orient to with the development of interaction and are relied on participants' sequential organisation to engage in action that may or may not involve identity work.

2.2.2 Studies featuring the EM/CA/MCA perspective

Having been applied to studying social interaction taking place in educational, medical, political and media contexts, this conception of treating identity as an interactional accomplishment has proved itself to be a strong argument in

sociology, anthropology, applied linguistics, communication sciences, etc. For example, Housley and Fitzgerald (2009) apply the conception to explore culture-in-interaction and norms-in-interaction established in discourse. Their work demonstrates that certain categorisation groupings are a ubiquitous feature accountable for individuals' practice in the public domain where morality matters and public policy intersect. Another study conducted by Butler and Fitzgerald (2010) investigates operative identities in a family meal and analyses how the relevance of the participants' orientation to stage-of-life and family categories is consequential for turn design, turn-taking organisation and embodied action. Their work shows that the particulars of turn-taking organisation, stage-of-life and relational categories (i.e. categories of guest and host) are activated during the courses of discussion, and these oriented-to identities are only operationally relevant when participants attend to the situated and contextual nature of the interaction. When examining referral talks between teachers and educational psychologists, Hester (1998: 136) concludes that teachers use "category contrast" for recipient design to mark the deviant character of referrals, so that the recipient, i.e. the psychologist, can identify the problem with the referral and provides diagnostic and remedial action.

Similar to this thesis, there are studies adopting the EM/CA/MCA perspective to look into the interaction among participants from different nations. For example, Fukuda (2006) focuses on the discursive construction of exoticisation in talks between native and non-native speakers of Japanese, and discusses non-native speakers' resistance of exoticisation in relation to second language acquisition. In order to identify how interculturality is constructed, Mori (2003) studies initial encounters between Japanese and American students. From a close examination of question-answer sequences, she finds that the Japanese and American participants use cultural differences as interactional resources, and by doing so, they recreates the salience of the interculturality of the interaction. However, she argues that shared experience allows participants to cross the cultural boundary and make the division of cultural groups irrelevant. Like Mori, Zimmerman (2007) investigates how interculturality is accomplished

in conversations between Korean users of Japanese and their Japanese acquaintances. What she finds is that interculturality is not always constructed in the talk-in-interaction among people from different nations. Her study also suggests that cultural expertise is not always enacted by a member of the culture in question and a member of the culture in question may choose not to enact his/her membership when cultural practices are criticised. Investigating the conversations in an online chatroom context, Brandt and Jenks (2011) argue that cultural identities can be used by online chat-room participants as socio-interactional resources as well as specific identity-bound practices and artefacts. Their work demonstrates that stereotypes along with cultural assumptions are negotiable and expandable within the development of message exchanges.

While most of the studies featuring the EM/CA/MCA perspective take unproblematically the argument of identity categories being the classification based on conversationalists' common-sense knowledge, it seems that interactional parties' identities-in-practice when they are engaged in sequentially organised activities are different in nature compared with those omni-relevant to the on-going interaction. For example, while identities of '911 Emergency Caller' and '911 Emergency Receiver' may be omni-relevant to a telephone call reporting a car accident, parties involved in this interaction may also take on various discursive roles, such as 'Questioner' 'Answerer' 'Complainer' 'Complaineer', etc. at different turns. That is, while the Caller-Receiver identities may determine how participants organise the conversation in terms of turn-design or turn allocation, the roles of Questioner-Answerer can be made relevant by one of the participants when he/she initiates a question and simultaneously projects the other party as the next speaker to provide an answer. It is therefore argued that the various roles participants invoke in face-to-face interaction are not homogenous in nature, and the commonsensical classification of people should take in the heterogeneity of identity categories. In the following, the notions of footing and frame will be introduced in the discussion of the nature and domains of various identity types.

2.3 Footing, Frame and Identity-in-interaction

To delve into interaction order and to identify how various parties participate in a social encounter, Goffman (1974, 1981) has proposed a conceptual apparatus consisting of footing and frame. Footings, according to Goffman (1981), are the various ways that participants display their epistemic accountability and their ensuing authority. Issues of footings can thus refer to instances where participants' "alignment; or set; or stance, or posture, or projected self is somehow at issue" (ibid.: 128). In other words, they are individual acts of self-presentation signalling a speaker's discursive identities (Davies & Harré 1990), and are the roles that participants may take on at a particular moment in talk. Through footing shifts, participants display their (dis)alignment with present or absent others. For example, Extract 2.2 and 2.3 show how the original speaker (A) agrees with what is said in the second turn by accepting his/her interlocutor's (B's) contribution. Moreover, by doing so, A confirms what was said in the second turn by B was said in the footing of A. That is, B's putative utterance is produced faithfully with A's footing, and the confirmation is provided by A's repetition of B's utterance in the third turn.

Extract 2.2 (linguistic code: English)

A: yes there certainly is I know. I was sure that would be one of the most difficult things

B: I see

1 A: buckling down to Anglo-Saxon

2 B: and the history of the language

3 A: and the history of the language (syllable) yes

(Antaki *et al.* 1996: 155)

Extract 2.3 (linguistic code: Kinyarwanda)

1 A: ba u ushatse umuntu ugute [kera

2 B: [wamuhemba

3 A: wamuhemba (.) ibihumbi mirongo miringo euh itanu itandatu

—
1 A: if you looked for somebody to cook [for you

2 B: [you'd pay them
3 A: you'd pay them (.) five six thousand

(Gafaranga 2001: 1903)

Along with footing, another influential notion in Goffmanian study is 'frame', which was first used by Bateson (1972) and was later elaborated by Goffman (1974). Since Goffman (ibid.) regards definitions of a situation as being built up in accordance with principles of organisation which govern both social events and individuals' subjective involvement in them, the word frame is used to embrace such basic elements defining a situation. In Tannen's (1993: 59) words, the term frame reflects "the notion of structures of expectation", and an interactive notion of frame refers to "a sense of what activity is being engaged in" and "how speakers mean what they say" (ibid.: 60). While Levinson (1996) remarks that participants' footing is prerequisite for interlocutors to gauge the meaning of an utterance, Tannen and Wallat (1993) regard frame as another essential role in interpreting an utterance (or movement or gesture). The following Extract 2.4 is a simple illustration of frame shifting done by bilingual children's use of code-switching. It shows in Line 6 that Noemí's commands issued in Spanish can be seen as a frame of house play that includes Vincent. Vincent, on the other hand, aligns with Noemí's house play frame by producing *okay* in Line 7. Additionally, by accommodating Noemí's language choice (Spanish) in line 10 and announcing that he is going to make food—an activity consistent with the house play frame, Vincent is seen to shift away from the frame he formerly had with Timothy (lines 1-2).

Extract 2.4 (linguistic codes—Plain: English, *Italics: Spanish*)

Children: Noemí, Timothy, Vincent, Rosario

Both Noemí and Rosario are leaving playhouse in yard while Timothy and Vincent arrive.

1 Vincent: Remember? See? See? ((Boys are walking into playhouse))

2 Timothy: Yeah the (prize).

3 Vincent: (You can't come in) ((waves flower in Timothy's face))

4 ((Timothy waves his flowers and also makes a crying sound))

5 ((Noemí comes by with her bike))

- 6 Noemí: *Vincent sí me cuidas la casa okay? Que nada me robé okay?*
Vincent yes you'll take care of my house okay? That nobody will steal anything okay?
- 7 Vincent: okay.
- 8 Noemí: *Porque estás la casita?*
Because this is the house okay?
- 9 Vincent: (Yeah)
- 10 *Te vamos hacer co.,mi.,da.* ((with loud volume and staccato))
We're going to make you food.

(Kyratzis *et al.* 2009: 274-275)

The notions of footing and frame together serve as useful analytic tools in interaction study in that footing indicates a particular interactive framing as different framings have their behavioural counterparts in participants' different footings (Goffman 1981). In other words, a change in footing may be the interactional enacting of a shift in frame. Zimmerman (cited in Watson 1992) treats footing as an organized interactional matter which is signalled by the identities participants orient to. He (1998) proposes that the identities participants orient to serve as junctions where micro interaction taking place on concrete occasions meet encompassing social orders, they not only provide the proximal (intra-interactional) context in which participants orient to identity choices on a turn-by-turn basis, but they also provide the distal (external) context where the extra-situational variables accompanying the oriented-to identities are accomplished through the unfolding of sequences. The oriented-to identities are thus one crucial constituent of context in talk-in-interaction, and contexts are thus endogenous dynamic processes that are constructed and achieved through the use of linguistic, sequential and gestural resources. (Heritage 1984a; Duranti & Goodwin 1992; Goodwin 2000; Linell & Thunqvist 2003). The relationship between identity, context and interaction is thus interwoven and is significant in social interaction. In order to comb out the nature and domains of identities, Zimmerman proposes three identity types in interaction, which are discourse identity, situated identity and transportable identity.

According to Zimmerman (1998: 90), discourse identities are “integral to the moment-by-moment organisation of the interaction”, and they are the choices participants would assume when engaging in sequentially organised activities. For example, when one party assumes the identity of Questioner by initiating a question, the action itself simultaneously projects a reciprocal identity (i.e. Answerer) for his/her conversationalist who ratifies or rejects the projection to accomplish or suspend the projected questioning-answering activity. As Lerner (1992, 1993) argues that the initiation of a given sequence projects a restricted range of next action for particular interactional parties, aligning with discourse identities is thus important in maintaining sequential ordering and sustaining interpersonal alignment (Zimmerman 1998). Situated identities, on the other hand, are the identities to be oriented to when participants engage in “the precincts of particular types of situation” (ibid.: 90). Here, situation is assumed to be similar to Goffman's definition of ‘frame’ reflecting the notion of structures of expectation, a sense of what activity is being engaged in and how speakers mean what they say (Tannen 1993). By engaging in certain activities and respecting certain agendas, participants not only display an orientation to and alignment of particular identity sets, but they also bring specific situations into existence and have them sustained. For example, relevant situated identities in a classroom context may be Teacher and Student, while those relevant in a clinical context may be Doctor, Nurse, and Patient. Zimmerman (1998) points out that the difference between discourse identities and situated identities is that the former may shift turn by turn and even become layered, whereas the latter are relatively constant in a swathe of interaction. Most importantly, parties’ shifting discourse identities are tied to their situated identities, and it is through the link between the two that participants display their socially distributed knowledge about extra-situational variables through local discourse activities. In other words, the oriented-to situated identities serve as a portal through which the distal context is circumscribed and subsequently enable participants to accomplish social interaction with discourse identities in the proximal context (ibid.). Unlike discourse and situated identities which are realised and displayed through participants’ discourse activities, transportable identities refer to those

with “potential relevance” (ibid.: 90). In other words, they are latent identities that are claimable, classifiable and assignable, yet they are not oriented to by participants as relevant in certain situations. For example, one party may apprehend that an ethnic identity (such as Taiwanese) is assignable to his/her conversationalist without actually orienting to it as relevant in the immediate interaction.

Inspired by Goffman, on the other hand, Levinson (1996) looks into conversationalists' participation from the roles of producers and recipients. Subordinate categories of production roles are defined by whether the individual is present or absent, whether he/she is or is not the actual transmitter (i.e. the actual person delivering the message), whether he/she has or has not the motive for the message, and whether he/she is or is not responsible for the form of the message. For example, the category ‘author’ (the original speaker) refers to the individual as the source, the present speaker and is responsible for the word-choice of an utterance; the category ‘relayer’ refers to the one being the present speaker but is not the source of an utterance, nor is he/she responsible for its form; the category ‘spokesperson’ suggests the present speaker who is responsible for the form of an utterance, yet he/she is not the source. On the other hand, subordinate categories of reception roles are defined by whether the individual is the one addressed, whether he/she is the recipient, whether he/she plays a ratified role in the interaction, and whether he/she presupposes channel-linkage (i.e. the ability to receive the message). For example, the category ‘interlocutor’ refers to the individual who is a ratified participant directly addressed by the current speaker; the category ‘indirect target’ differs from ‘interlocutor’ in that the individual is not the direct addressee; the category ‘intermediary’ suggests the one addressed by the speaker, yet the message is not meant for him/her; the category ‘audience’ refers to the one who takes part in the interaction with channel-linkage, yet he/she is neither the direct addressee nor is he/she the destination to where the message is sent.

Levinson's categories of producer and recipient are extracted in tables 2.1 and 2.2 below⁵.

Table 2.1 Participant Producer Roles Defined by Levinson (1996: 172)

Term	Participant	Transmission	Motive	Form
Author	+	+	+	+
Ghostee	+	+	+	-
Spokesperson	+	+	-	+
Relayer	+	+	-	-
Deviser	+	-	+	+
Sponsor	+	-	+	-
Ghostor	+	-	-	+

Table 2.2 Participant Reception Roles Defined by Levinson (1996: 173)

Term	Participant	Transmission	Motive	Form
Interlocutor	+	+	+	+
Indirect Target	-	+	+	+
Intermediary	+	-	+	+
Audience	-	-	+	+

What researchers can benefit from Levinson's categories is that they not only reaffirm the interaction order, but also suggest "a more strictly linguistic reading of the notion of footing" (Antaki *et al.* 1996: 154) allowing one to sufficiently distinguish one footing from the other. More importantly, they suggest that knowing the participant status of an utterance is crucial for participants to make sense of one another's utterance, because the participant status is part of the meaning of what is uttered. Take the work of Antaki *et al.* (*ibid.*) for example, by drawing on Levinson's more strictly defined notion of footing, they have demonstrated how conversation completions are ratified or rejected in a collaborative turn sequence (i.e. instances in which one party completes what the prior speaker is saying). Levinson's producer and recipient roles seem to be integratable into Zimmerman's discourse identity type as they are the footing/identity taken by participants when engaging in sequentially organised activities, be them story-telling, offering, questioning, etc. Nonetheless, while conflating the notion of footing and Levinson's participation categories into Zimmerman's identity types may contribute to a more thorough analysis of

⁵ Both tables outline Levinson's account of the participant production and reception roles. Please refer to Levinson's 1996 work for further details.

participants' social (dis)alignment, the interactants' invocation is all that matters as identity is an interactional accomplishment and for any identity types or categories to have analytic value they must be oriented-to by the participants as relevant to the ongoing interaction. It is therefore argued in this present study that Levinson's reading of footing and Zimmerman's identity types may serve as a complement to a conversation analytic study of identity-in-interaction, because both of their arguments have contributed to the understanding of how identity categories are heterogeneous. Moreover, they have contributed to understanding that conversationalists' categorisation of themselves and others not only demonstrate their (dis)alignment at the proximal level but their shared social knowledge at the distal level.

Section 2.3 aims to manifest that identity is treated in this present study as 'an interactional matter', 'participants' resource and joint accomplishment', and 'an element of context which can only be identified through the unfolding of sequences in talk-in-interaction'. Section 2.4 below, on the other hand, will steer into the discussion of bilingual talks and identity-in-interaction. Since the present study is conducted in a presumably Taiwanese-Mandarin-Vietnamese multilingual context⁶, it is believed that the discussion helps to facilitate the analysis of participants' use of available linguistic codes as resources in Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational families.

2.4 Bilingual Talks and Identity-in-interaction

As was argued that no culture exists in isolation nowadays and every culture is fluid and changes constantly, identity and its coterminous notion of language use, therefore, should not be imposed on any essentialist *a priori* assumptions. Like identity, languages can be regarded as resources that participants orient to with the development of interaction. For bilingual/multilingual speakers,

⁶ The language, Vietnamese, being a known accessible resource for Vietnamese participants, yet is scarcely oriented to by them in the data. In terms of interaction, therefore, only Taiwanese and Mandarin are granted interactional value by participants.

therefore, they enjoy more linguistic codes as interactional resources than monolinguals, and the alternating use of more than one language, which is one of the most striking aspects observed in bilingual conversations, seems to suggest conversationalists' need to employ more than one language to achieve certain goals in interaction. Traditionally, the phenomenon of language alternation is studied from different perspectives. For example, psycholinguistic researchers and generative grammarians conceive language choice in bilingual conversations as a mental disposition which is invisible and relates to the speaker's linguistic competences. It is only from analysing the bilingual speaker's well-formed sentences that his/her bilingual competence is assessed. Other researchers, however, believe that bilingual language choice deserves to be treated as a socially distributed phenomenon, rather than the means of one's mental capacity to achieve communication. Mackey (1962), for example, points out that bilingualism and its entailed linguistic activities should concern a feature of the message rather than that of the code, and they belong to the domain of 'parole' (language as use: performance) rather than the domain of 'langue' (language as a formal knowledge: competence) (Saussure 1995). Among the many researchers, some may adopt a structural approach (e.g. Poplack 1980; Myers-Scotton 1993; Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995) and argue that bilingual speakers' language choice is rule-governed and does not occur randomly. On the other hand, sociolinguistic researchers (e.g. Fishman 1965; Heller 1992) try to answer bilingual speakers' language choice with reference to extra-linguistic factors, such as it being motivated by situations, topics or even by the political-socio-economic environment of the language community in question.

The body of research on bilingual language choice is therefore highly diverse with researchers' work being not only from the grammatical perspective, but also from the interactional perspective and the sociolinguistic perspective. Whichever perspective that the researchers hold, Cashman (2008) has pointed out that almost all of the bilingual-conversation studies in the past three decades are conducted by either the symbolic approach or the sequential approach. The most significant difference between the two, in short, is that the

former takes an identity-related perspective and sees language alternation as symbolic action, while the latter takes an ethnomethodological/conversation analytic (EM/CA) perspective and sees language alternation as practical social action.

Researchers have found that the language alternation itself can sometimes be the conversational resource rather than the direction of the alternation (Auer 1984; Li 1994; Alfonzetti 1998). In other words, whether the alternation is from the majority language to the minority language or vice versa does not differ much in certain cases. Also, instead of invoking a majority identity with the use of the majority language, bilingual speakers may sometimes use the majority language to invoke a minority identity or use the minority language to invoke a majority identity (Sebba & Wootton 1998). Therefore, language and its associating identity do not necessarily form an indexical relationship. In addition, Jørgensen's work (2005) shows that Turkish-Danish grade school students in Denmark use Turkish, Danish, English and German at school, and use the mock varieties of German and English to invoke school role playfully; also in Rampton's work (1995), it is found that adolescents of multi-ethnic communities engage in 'crossing', which means that one party speaks a language variety that is not normally associated with him/her, but belongs to another group of which he/she cannot claim membership. All these empirical problems and findings reveal the fact that the symbolic approach has limitations and has failed to provide a comprehensive account for all code-switching instances.

Cashman (2008) has specifically stated that the sequential approach differs from the symbolic approach in that researchers adopting the sequential approach, influenced by Gumperz's notion of contextualisation cues, regard code-switching itself as a contextualisation cue having potential significance in the management of the on-going conversation. In order to explain for a series of details, e.g. how does a speaker signal the context to the receiver(s), how does a listener interpret received information, how meanings are understood and how each sentence relates to the preceding one(s) and impacts on the following

one(s), Gumperz (1982) proposes his explanation for the dynamic interactional process by using the notion of contextualization cues. According to Gumperz (ibid.), a conversation requires participants to provide one another not only with well-formed propositions for communication, but also with a context where the propositions can be embedded and interpreted. A context, therefore, is created and maintained by participants' utterances. Contextualisation (Gumperz cited in Li 2002) can thus be seen as participants' joint efforts of creating and maintaining a relevant context, and a communicative strategy when speakers vary their communicative behaviour within a socially agreed matrix of conventions. Meanwhile, it signals participants to attend to the social and situational context in the course of the ongoing interaction. Contextualization cues can be the linguistic resources (such as register, style, and prosodic, phonological, morphological and syntactic elements) and the non-linguistic resources (such as gestural, kinesic, and proxemic elements) that participants employ in interaction. They signal participants by establishing a contrast to first indicate something new is going to come and then to suggest plausible inferences as to what this might be in the given context. In Extract 2.4, for example, contextualisation is jointly achieved by bilingual children's code-switching to mark a frame shift and further signal participants to attend to the food-making activity that is consistent with the house play context. It is this particular notion of contextualization cues that later becomes the soil for the sequential approach featuring the EM/CA/MCA perspective.

2.4.1 Auer's model of language alternation

Auer has declared that his monograph is deeply influenced by ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. Borrowing Goffman's notion of frame, Auer (1984) argues that since participants continuously produce frames and create new frames for subsequent activities, the sequential contexts also change accordingly with the development of every turn and each utterance. In the same vein, language choice at a certain turn directly influences subsequent

language choice in its following turn, and the analysis of code-switching should therefore be studied by treating it as a contextualisation cue and with reference to the language choices on a turn-by-turn basis. One of the reasons that he adopts a sequential approach is because he believes that any theory of conversational language alternation is bound to fail if it disregards the sequential environment in which the phenomenon takes place. The fact that his analysis is on a turn-by-turn basis also flags his CA orientation. Auer (2005) objects to treating bilingual speech as being construed by members as an index of some extra-linguistic social category, which suggests, for example, an equation of nation with its language. Quite differently, Auer (ibid.) regards social identity as a mediating concept between language and social structure. As for language alternation, he (ibid.: 409) argues that it can sometimes be “void of identity-relevant meaning” (e.g. for discourse-related factors), whereas it can at other times be extremely rich in the identity work it accomplishes. Therefore, he urges analysts to conduct research in a case-by-case manner so as to find out what identity claims are occasioned by change of language choices.

Auer (1984, 1988, 1995) employs the term ‘language alternation’ or ‘code alternation’⁷ to indicate the hyperonym for code-switching and transfer, and it is a cover term for “all instances of locally functional usage of two languages in an interaction episode” (Auer 1984: 7). To be more specific, the so-called language alternation refers to “a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such” (Auer 1995: 116). By defining language alternation as the juxtaposition of semiotic systems, it excludes the possibility of defining any change of single parameter as code alternation. Most importantly, the definition puts the users as the appropriate ones to interpret and decide meaning of the signs in use.

⁷ From this section on, the reader is advised to bear in mind that there is a difference between code-switching and code alternation/language alternation.

2.4.1.1 The Preference-for-same-language-talk assumption

One of Auer's arguments is the assumption of the preference for same-language talk, which derives from the notion of preference in conversation analytic understanding (Heritage 1984a; Pomerantz 1984; Bilmes 1988; Schegloff 1988). That is, preference is characterised by turn structures rather than by psychological dispositions (also see section 3.5.1.2), and it relates to the ethnomethodological notion of norm. In ethnomethodology, social action is governed by social norms, i.e. 'schemes of interpretation' (Garfinkel 1967). Social actors, however, are not "judgemental dopes" (Heritage 1984a: 110-115), who conduct normative actions without exceptions. In everyday life, social actors tend to have choices in addition to normative actions, and thus conforming to the norms are not a must but simply one of the available choices. On deciding which action to choose, nevertheless, social actors must be aware that each selected action will be assessed by the interlocutors with reference to the norm of a given situation. Following this thread, if one says that social action is regulated by schemes of interpretation, it means that any act is more or less either normative or deviant with respect to a particular norm. It is in this aspect that the existence of norms specify the orderliness of social actions as any violation of the normative expectation may be treated as marked and accountable. The notion of preference is a parallel notion of norm in ethnomethodology and unmarkedness in linguistic concept.

Therefore, language preference is not to be taken as a result out of any psychological concept but should be treated as a visible structure that participants display and ascribe predicates to one another in interaction (Auer 1995, 1998). Auer (1984) assumes that participants in a bilingual conversation tend to have a 'preference for same-language talk' used as the norm to interpret the disaccord of language choice between parties. With this preference, bilingual participants have to negotiate the language they use whenever a turn or turn constructional unit (TCU) has occurred. They either stick to the first language or they switch to a different one, but whichever they choose, the

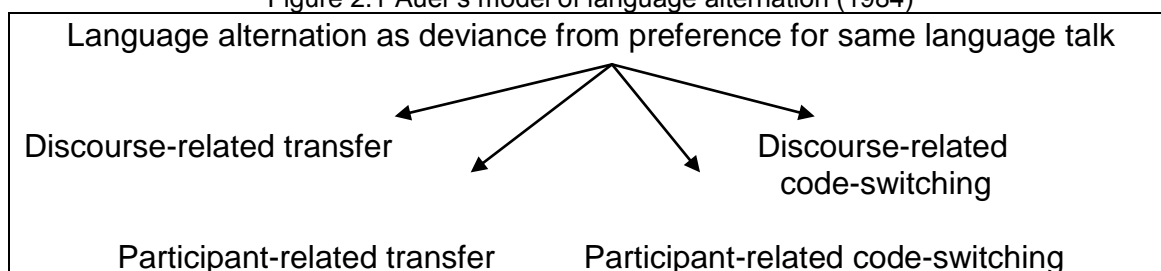
preferred choice should be that participants use the same language. Since the occurrence of language alternation counters the preference for same-language talk, it should be regarded as dispreferred or a deviance from this preference. If participants, however, require the introduction of a second language, then the role of this practice must be essential for both participants to manage the ongoing interaction and for analysts to see how language alternation is studied and interpreted by participants. Therefore, when one of the interactional parties orients to a second language, both participants and analysts require a language-of-interaction against which the meaning of the introduction of the new language can be interpreted. The language-of-interaction is essential in bilingual conversation in the way that it serves as the norm and the scheme for interpretation. It is exactly because of this reason that the existence of the “preference for same-language talk serves as a crucial resource for generating meaning via language use” (ibid.: 24). Based on this assumption, four categories of language alternation in a sequential context are identified by Auer to form the two-way quadrant or the two-way procedural grid.

2.4.1.2 The two-way procedural grid

Auer (ibid.) suggests that there are two basic category pairs for the production and interpretation of language alternation. One of the pairs is the distinction between discourse-related language alternation and participant-related language alternation, and the other pair is the distinction between transfer and code-switching. Instances of language alternation categorised as discourse-related, deal with tasks such as participants’ management of turn-taking, topical cohesion, repair, etc., and contribute to the overall organization of the ongoing interaction. Participant-related ones, on the other hand, denotes participants’ language alternation practice after assessing the speakers’ preference for and competence in one language or another, which involves the accommodation of one another’s linguistic competence and language choice preference as well as the task of language-of-interaction negotiation. Auer’s analysis apparatus is therefore based on the discourse-related/participant-related pair along with the

transfer/code-switching pair to form a quadrant that covers all instances of language alternation. In a nutshell, instances of language alternation can be accounted for by either discourse-related factors or participant-related factors, and are performed in the form of either transfer or code-switching (see figure 2.1⁸).

Figure 2.1 Auer's model of language alternation (1984)



Based on the preference-for-same-language-talk assumption, Auer sees transfer⁹ and code-switching as two separate linguistic activities. According to him, one way to distinguish transfer and code-switching is to identify whether there is any return point into the first language after language alternation occurs. Auer (ibid.: 26) defines code-switching as the kind of language alternation without a predictable return into the previous language-of-interaction whereas transfer refers to that with a prestructured return point. In other words, when bilingual participants negotiate for the language they use for interaction, transfer plays a neutral role in the process, whereas code-switching invites other participants to switch languages. Another way to distinguish the two linguistic activities is to identify the objects they are used to mark. Auer (ibid.) mentions that transfer is used to mark 'items' whereas code-switching is used to mark 'points'. In summary, transfer does not lead participants to give up the current

⁸ This figure outlines Auer's arguments of language alternation. Please refer to Auer's 1984 work for further details.

⁹ It is worthwhile to mention that Auer's conception of transfer does not correspond to the one that readers encounter in studies of language contact and second language acquisition (SLA). For the latter, Auer (1984) remarks that the boundary between the two (or more) language varieties in the repertoire has dissolved and that the speaker is not aware of the "other-language status" of a transferred item; whereas in the case of his conception of transfer, the repertoire is treated as a compound of two or more language varieties, and the way a transferred item is used shows that the bilingual speaker is aware of its belonging to a different language variety.

language-of-interaction, and it usually refers to the language alternation which speakers temporarily use a second language for lexical items. On the other hand, code-switching introduces a new language which will be adopted by participants for the ensuing talk until another signal of language choice negotiation is oriented to.

The following extracts illustrate Auer's perception of code-switching and transfer. The first extract records an encounter taking place at an Anglo-Celtic pub in Barcelona, and the two speakers are doing service-relevant task. It shows that after the greeting, both speakers orient to English and use it as the base language for the ensuing talk. While in the second extract, the speakers are talking at an Erasmus office based in Spain. During the course of interaction, speaker BBB orients to Castilian and says '*jours*' instead of 'days' in English. It shows that speakers temporarily use a second language for a lexical item and then resumes the original language, English.

Extract 2.5 (linguistic code: plain: English, *italics: Castilian*)

- 1 AAA: *hola*
- 2 BBB: erm are you Scottish
- 3 AAA: no (.) I'm Irish
- 4 BBB: ah well
- 5 AAA: near enough
- 6 BBB: erm (.) I'll have (.) a Lagavulin ((pointing at the whisky bottles))
- 7 AAA: a which
- 8 BBB: Lagavulin

(Torras and Gafaranga 2002: 531)

Extract 2.6 (linguistic code: plain: English, *italics: Castilian*)

- 1 AAA: no (.) I'm going to give this mmm (.) eh today (.) maybe today or tomorrow you will be inscribed
- 2 BBB: uh
- 3 AAA: matriculated (.) and after this eh it has to wait (.) four five six *jours* eh six...
- 4 BBB: days
- 5 AAA: days (.) after being...

(Torras and Gafaranga 2002: 533)

2.4.1.3. Evaluation of Auer's model

As was mentioned above, Auer (1984) argues that language alternation should be regarded as a contextualization cue in that it shares with other contextualization cues similar functions in interaction. This notion is useful in explaining how conversationalists signal each other to attend to the context and make sense of received information. Specifically, the occurrence of language alternation can signal participants changes of the context by introducing a new language contrast to the current language-of-interaction, and indicates something new is going to come and then suggests plausible inferences as to what this might be. Treating language alternation as a contextualization cue and examining his data with a conversation analytic approach, Auer (*ibid.*) argues that language alternation is determined either by discourse-related or by participant-related factors. Furthermore, Auer has proposed a quadrant consisting of two category pairs to interpret language alternation. One of the pairs is that of discourse-related language alternation and participant-related language alternation while the other is the pair of transfer and code-switching. These two pairs enable the creation of four possibilities of language alternation, which include discourse-related code-switching, discourse-related transfer, participant-related code-switching and participant-related transfer.

In line with Auer's argument (1984, 1988, 1995) of treating code alternation as a contextualisation cue, Gafaranga and Li have come to the same conclusion that language alternation among bilingual speakers is a practical social action, which is an activity that participants accomplish while talking. Based on the principles that whatever is not repaired should be seen as the norm and any deviance not being repaired should be seen as serving functions in the conversation, Gafaranga (1998, 1999, 2000, 2007) argues that not only do participants have the freedom to conduct conversation in a monolingual medium-of-interaction or a bilingual medium-of-interaction, but also they are free to shift from the medium-of-interaction in a variety of ways (e.g. medium repair, interactional

otherness, medium switching and medium suspension). Li (1994) looks into code alternation practices of the Tyneside Chinese-English bilingual speakers, and determines that there is no simple one-to-one relationship between code alternation structure and community-level language preference. His findings yet suggest that bilingual speakers' ability to use code alternation as an interactional resource exerting significant influences on social relations and social organisation so it should better be treated as constitutive of social reality.

In addition to viewing code alternation as a contextualisation cue, the assumption of preference-for-same-language-talk is found to be particularly useful to this present study, because it plays as a reference point for interpretation enabling analysis of participants' language alternation. That is, if participants decide to deviate from this norm of preference-for-same-language-talk and introduce a new language to manage their interaction, this practice becomes an interpretable and analysable entity. From Auer's arguments, it is found that both discourse-related and participant-related instances of language alternation serve as useful tools in interpreting what motivates the practice of language alternation on a turn-by-turn basis. By studying the unfolding of sequences, it is identifiable whether an instance of language alternation is discourse-related in that it contributes to the overall organization of talks when dealing with discourse activities of turn-taking, topical cohesion, repair, etc., or it is participant-related in that it involves the accommodation of one another's linguistic competence or ideology.

Having elaborated on the model to be used for interpreting participants' patterns of language choice in this study, Section 2.5 discusses core issues intrinsic to a transnational family.

2.5 Transnational-familial Discourse

Transnational families are distinctive contexts for identity research. Dryden (1999) argues that heterosexual marriage is situated at the crossroads between

public and private relationships. A couple thus may, on the one hand, find themselves holding membership of different gender groups in society while at the same time being the exclusive members entitled couplehood. Piller (2002) further comments that with marriages between those from two nations (termed as 'cross-cultural marriages' by Piller), the crossroads become a busy intersection when different cultures or languages are added into the relationship. In her research (ibid.), she invites cross-cultural couples to conduct identity talk¹⁰ which she concludes to be challenging, because the couples belong to discourse communities in which not only national belongings can play a central role in constructing in-and out-groups, but the same communities also proclaim the family as the primordial locus of belonging. In other words, the challenge results from the conflict between the couples' affiliation with two separate groups, i.e. their affiliation with two respective nations and that with one family. The question is thus how do the couples display or even juggle contradictory facets of their identities in the family. What she has found from the identity talk between the cross-cultural couples suggest certain tendencies in the families. First, the couples tend to focus on shared non-national identities (such as cat-lovers, theatre-goers, techies, etc.) which allow them to construct themselves as similar in certain aspects other than their different national ideologies. When the couples orient to national identities, these discourses of difference are framed into enumerations of national differences affiliated with a negative value judgement. However, when they relate the differences to themselves, they either describe differences as attractive or describe their partner as atypical of a certain nationality. Additionally, the couples are found to create discourses of compromise and change in order to overcome the differences they encounter. For example, the differences resulting from different national/cultural background are said to have broadened the couples' horizons and have led to personal growth. In cases where national identities override a joint couple identity, they tend to be treated by the couples as errors (and immediately repaired) or as humour (reinforcing the similarities they share). Her argument is

¹⁰ In Piller's work (2002,) identity talk refers to the talk in which cross-cultural couples talk about their identity.

that cross-cultural communication is interactively constructed in the couple talks, so that the public and private contexts intersect continuously without clear-cut demarcation. Therefore, “public and private discourses are mutually constitutive” (ibid.: 275), and the transnational family is regarded by Piller as an arena where social identities (such as national identities) and relations (such as couplehood and parenthood) are to be negotiated, upheld or contested.

Another issue about cross-cultural marriages is how the (re)construction of identities is impacted when one of the partners has to reposition him-/herself in a new language to engage in daily social interaction. Since it is highly possible for cross-cultural couples to reside in the native country of either the husband or wife, it poses a double challenge for his/her non-native spouse to live there as a foreigner and use a second language for socialisation. On the other hand, living in one’s native country and using a native language potentially places a person “in a doubly strong position” (ibid.: 142). With such likely imbalanced power relation, Piller is keen to know how cross-cultural couples deal with language issues, especially in view of research findings suggesting the preference for a first language when strong emotions are involved in contexts such as arguments and conflicts. She (ibid.) finds out that the couples have created bilingual spaces in their lives in addition to the immediate family domain. Therefore, compared to language choices in the family, language choices are more fractured outside the family. Moreover, the non-native spouse also creates space for his/her native code in the larger majority language contexts, including interaction with the extended family, colleagues, friends and even in self-talk (ibid.).

Even if Piller (2012) has problematised the essentialist conceptualisation of culture, her use of the words ‘culture’ in her study of ‘cross-cultural marriage’ (2002) is problematic. When she refers to the marriage between two people with different nationalities, she takes it for granted to call it a cross-cultural marriage without discreetly skirting the essentialist conceptualisation equating a nation to a culture. Moreover, cross-cultural marriage is not only restricted to

those from different countries, but it is also true that a cross-class marriage between two parties from the same nation can also be argued as a cross-cultural marriage. In view of this, this present study is thus inclined to use 'transnational' or 'cross-border' rather than 'intercultural' to refer to the marriage/couples/families involving in this study. It is because the word 'transnational' implies the relevance of cultural and national differences yet does not necessarily equate a nation to a culture unless participants themselves orient to culture as relevant to accomplish culture-in-interaction. On the other hand, the word 'cross-border' suggests the potential relevance of gender, class, religion, ethnic etc. in addition to national and cultural differences due to the fact that the making of a marriage involves social actors' border-crossing of some sort (Constable 2005), and the crossing of cultural or national border is simply one of them.

In spite of this defect, however, Piller's work (2002) is still valid and valuable in identifying the identity-in-interaction in the marriage involving two nationals. This study will thus use her work as a reference point to make sense of participants' management of identity work in Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational families. It is somehow concerned that the cross-border marriage between a Taiwanese male and a Vietnamese female may involve not only different cultural and linguistic backgrounds as Piller argues. The couple's living together with extended family members and suppression (if not depreciation) of the use of the female spouse's mother tongue both in the family and public domain have created a different context from Piller's. It is because of these factors that a transnational family consisting of a Taiwanese-Vietnamese couple and their Taiwanese family members is a unique research context to explore. An engrossing issue with such a family, perhaps, is how the non-native female spouse positions herself in the family in the use of a second or third language, and how she uses the available linguistic codes (i.e. Taiwanese and Mandarin) to negotiate and co-construct with her Taiwanese family members the various category identities to achieve familyhood.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This literature review chapter has covered essential theories against which this study can be best appraised and has provided it with an EM/CA/MCA framework. Therefore, this study will adopt Zimmerman's categories of discourse identity (conflated with Levinson's producer/recipient roles), situated identity and transportable identity to look into what identity types are relevant to participants' talks. By studying sequentially organised activities, the analysis will examine demonstrably relevant discourse identity and situated identity categories, and investigate their interactional consequentiality. The same rule applies to participants' oriented-to linguistic codes to determine whether an instance of language alternation or language-related activity is void of identity-relevant meaning or rich in the identity work it accomplishes. Moreover, the analytic focus will also be placed on the procedural consequentiality after certain language-related activity is invoked. For the investigation of language-related activities (e.g. code-alternation or translation), in particular, Auer's model of bilingual conversations will be adopted. The following chapter will further elaborate on CA and MCA, and justifies their employment in this study to address the research questions.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter starts with participants' demographic information and their language use patterns at home (Section 3.2). Section 3.3 explains how participants were recruited and how the researcher attended to ethical issues. Section 3.4 discusses issues relating to data collection, such as the observer's paradox, the nature of a dinnertime setting and how recording data were transcribed. Section 3.5 elaborates on the application rules of CA and MCA and explains how CA and MCA will be adapted to work with the data collected in Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational families. Section 3.6 explains how CA and MCA analysts assure reliability and validity and why triangulation is not expected in CA and MCA research. Section 3.7 discusses limitations of CA and MCA, and is followed by Section 3.8 which summarises the chapter and offers justification for the adoption of both methodologies in the present study.

3.2 Participants

3.2.1 Demographics

This present study has managed to include three Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational families, with a total of seventeen participants involved—five Vietnamese and twelve Taiwanese. In general, Vietnamese female spouses in this study are different in terms of their age, education and the age when they got married and started a new life in Taiwan. First, their ages range from twenty-four to thirty-four and their duration of residence in Taiwan also varies from twelve years (the longest) to five years (the shortest). When they were in Vietnam, one received formal education barely up to the second grade in elementary school whereas one of them went to senior high school. One thing

that the Vietnamese spouses share is the type of profession they take. In order to take care of children, one Vietnamese participant chooses to earn money by engaging in domestic OEM (original equipment manufacturing) as the nature of the work allowing her to work at home. On the other hand, the other two Vietnamese spouses choose to share the responsibility for care of the children with the husband or in-law parent(s) by doing a job whose work demands allow them to arrange shift rotas in accordance with the other caretaker's available time.

In the following, background information about each family is presented in a table in which each member's age, educational level, preferred language, profession and his/her relation to a Vietnamese female spouse are marked. In particular, for a Vietnamese female spouse (placed as the first member in each table), duration of residence in Taiwan is also specified. It is, however, worth mentioning that the tables merely serve the function of providing the reader as well as the researcher with a point of reference. Since CA and MCA do not treat demographic or social variables, such as age, education, profession or first language as predetermined factors for data analysis, all categories in the tables are not assumed to be relevant unless the participants have themselves demonstrated the relevance in the data.

In the case of the first family, the Vietnamese participant, S, was 34 years old when the research project started. By then, she had been living in Taiwan for 12 years and received senior high school education before getting married. Since her husband usually worked late and did not eat dinner with the other family members, he was absent on most recorded occasions. Table 3.1 below illustrates the profile of this family.

Table 3.1 Profile of Family 1

Name	Relation to the Vietnamese Female Spouse	Age	Education	Profession	Duration of residence
S	X	34	Senior high school	Domestic keeper and part-time Chinese-Vietnamese interpreter	12 years
G	Mother-in-law	76	Elementary school	Domestic keeper	X
J	Son	10	Elementary school	Elementary school student	X
F	Daughter	7	Kindergarten	Kindergarten student	X

In the case of the second family, the Vietnamese participant, JY, was 29 years old when the research project started. By then, she had been living in Taiwan for 10 years and received 2-year elementary education in Vietnam. Since she and her younger sister, Z, both marry Taiwanese men, the two families often have dinner together. During the course of the recording, JY and Z's mother, G, was visiting Taiwan, making a total of eight participants in this family. Table 3.2 below illustrates the profile of this family.

Table 3.2 Profile of Family 2

Name	Relation to the Vietnamese Female Spouse	Age	Education	Profession	Duration of residence
JY	X	29	Elementary school (2 nd grade)	Factory employee	10 years
Z	Sister	26	Elementary school	Factory employee	2 years

			(2 nd grade)		
JYH	Husband	49	Junior high school	Driver	X
ZH	Sister's Husband	36	Vocational school	Manufacturing worker	X
JS	Son	9	Elementary school	Elementary school student	X
JZ	Son	8	Elementary school	Elementary school student	X
YH	Niece	1	N/A	N/A	X
G	Mother		N/A	N/A	X

In the case of the third family, the Vietnamese participant, H, was 24 years old when the research project started. By then, she had been living in Taiwan for 5 years and received 5-year elementary education in Vietnam. Table 3.3 below illustrates the profile of this family.

Table 3.3 Profile of Family 3

Name	Relation to the Vietnamese Female Spouse	Age	Education	Profession	Duration of residence
H	X	24	Elementary school (5 th grade)	Part-time employee in catering service	5 years
HH	Husband	41	Vocational school	Driver	X
YJ	Daughter	5	Kindergarten	Kindergarten student	X
YX	Son	2	N/A	N/A	X
G	Father-in-law	69	Elementary school	Retired driver	X

3.2.2 Language use patterns

In terms of each participant's use of languages, it is found in the data that the languages used by participants are mainly Mandarin and Taiwanese, because the Taiwanese family members, including the Vietnamese spouses' children do not speak Vietnamese¹¹. Moreover, the Vietnamese participants in this present study share similar linguistic backgrounds in the Taiwanese context: They learned to speak Mandarin as the second language (though with limited proficiency) in Vietnam and later acquired Taiwanese after starting their life in Taiwan.

On the other hand, their in-law parents all have Taiwanese as their first language and can understand Mandarin but with only limited production of it; their husbands have shown a transepisodically stable preference for their first language, Taiwanese (i.e. the 7-hour recorded corpus shows that the husbands predominantly use Taiwanese for familial interaction), and they are capable of listening, speaking, reading and writing in Mandarin. Their children use Mandarin in their daily interaction, and have shown the ability to switch to Taiwanese when talking to a family member who prefers Taiwanese over Mandarin. The researcher's observations suggest that the Vietnamese participants are fluent speakers of the two languages and can tell the differences between the two in that they switch between two languages when talking to their spouses, but they seldom use Mandarin when conversing with their in-law parents. This implies that they can tell the two languages apart and know their in-law parents prefer Taiwanese to Mandarin. Moreover, the Vietnamese mothers use more Mandarin with the children, and the frequency increases after the children receive formal education (age 7 onwards), which may result from the status of the language being the canonical linguistic code

¹¹ An interesting phenomenon as it is, it is out of the scope of this research project.

used at school. Participants' bilingual backgrounds can thus be summarised as table 3.4¹² below.

It is however worth mentioning that since this thesis investigates how Vietnamese female spouses use Taiwanese and Mandarin as interactional resources from an EM/CA/MCA perspective, their linguistic proficiency in either of the language is not the main analytic concern. The main focus will be placed on the interactional relevance and consequences of the Vietnamese participants' engagement in language-related activities. If linguistic proficiency becomes the interactional issue and has influences on the immediate talk-in-interaction, the researcher as well as the reader should be able to notice its 'demonstrable relevance' from participants' sequential organisation. In other words, the Vietnamese participants' proficiency in Taiwanese or Mandarin can be a potential factor in data interpretation, yet it is not considered as an *a priori* variable unless it is made relevant by interactional parties.

Table 3.4 Participants' Bilingual Backgrounds

Family Member	Bilingual (Taiwanese and Mandarin) Background
In-law Parents	Taiwanese users with understanding of Mandarin
Husbands	Fluent users of both languages with preference for Taiwanese
Vietnamese Participants	Fluent users of both languages
Children	Fluent users of both languages (early bilinguals)

3.3 Before Data Collection

Since this study aims to investigate the situated use of certain membership categories in a Vietnamese female spouse's talk-in-interaction, it is believed that naturally occurring data best suit the research. The data collected are audio-visual recordings of approximately seven hours, with each family

¹² Information about participants' bilingual background is derived from the researcher's participant observation and a questionnaire (see Appendix A).

contributing an average of two to three hours. All the families in this study live in Tainan City where the researcher is currently based. In the following, the process of how the researcher looked for participants and informed them of information about this study will be described.

3.3.1 Looking for participants

Before the researcher started looking for participants, she made a three-part document (see Appendix A) consisting of a letter of consent, a short introduction to the present study, and a questionnaire listing fourteen questions about each participant's personal background. The document was deliberately created in two versions as the letter of consent for participants under age eighteen and over eighteen are different. For participants under eighteen, their custodians had to sign for them if the pertaining family agreed to participate in the research project. Other than this difference, the two versions have the same content in other areas. Moreover, the document was translated from Chinese into Vietnamese. The reason for it being put into two languages is that for the Vietnamese spouses in Taiwan, their proficiency of written Chinese varies from person to person. In order to make them understand everything in the document, it was considered imperative that the approached Vietnamese spouses should have the freedom to choose to read the Chinese version or the Vietnamese version. Miss Tiao Feng-Chiao was then invited to help with all the translation work in this study. She is a Chinese Vietnamese who was sponsored by a Taiwanese company based in Vietnam to study EMBA programme at a university in Tainan County. She has been living in Taiwan for five years and is a fluent speaker of both Mandarin and Vietnamese. Her contact with the researcher and the assignment of translation tasks were mainly by email and mobile phone.

When the researcher had the opportunity to meet potential participants, she distributed the three-part document as well as her contact information to them and gave them time to go back home and discuss it with the other family

members. Since some people regarded video-taping as obtrusive and intrusive, it was difficult to have the consent of all family members to take part in the research. The data collection period, therefore, lasted for five months from October 2009 to February 2010. During the five months, the researcher used three different approaches to recruit participants for the study.

The first way that the researcher tried to contact potential participants was through Department of Social Affairs in Tainan City. City government staff introduced the researcher to a group of Vietnamese volunteers working for various public and private groups dealing with immigrant and cross-border family issues. The researcher was further introduced to certain Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational families by these public and private groups. The second way to reach potential participants was through the help of teachers at public kindergartens. The researcher visited three public kindergartens situated in Tainan City and introduced the present study to the teachers. If a teacher agreed to help, the researcher then left the aforementioned document for the teacher to pass on to students whose mother were from Vietnam. Thus the researcher did not have direct contact with the Vietnamese mothers unless they were willing to participate and called the researcher for more details. The third way to contact potential participants was by using the researcher's social network. One Vietnamese participant was the neighbour of the researcher's acquaintance.

After covering the process of looking for participants, the next subsection describes the process of informing all participants of issues regarding research ethics.

3.3.2 Informing the participants

At the first meeting with each family, the researcher was reassured that all the family members had read and understood everything in the three-part document. Special attention was paid to the Chinese L2 users, i.e. the Vietnamese

participants, and the illiterate Taiwanese elders and young children. These participants had problem completing their letters of consent and the 14-question questionnaire, the Vietnamese spouses' Taiwanese husbands or the researcher acted for them whilst all being helped were present and agreed on the content filled out in the document. For one particular Vietnamese participant, i.e. the mother of a Vietnamese female spouse (who was visiting her daughters during the time that the recording was conducted), the document content was translated by her daughters for her into Vietnamese. Later, all the required information was given by the Vietnamese parent verbally while the researcher put it into words after translation. It is worth mentioning that the signature on the letter of consent was mostly written by the participants themselves, except for those illiterate Taiwanese elders and young children. The visiting Vietnamese mother signed her signature in Vietnamese.

The sensitive issue, that is, the obtrusive and intrusive video-taping, was raised for discussion by the researcher to double-check that everyone was fine with it. The researcher also double checked each participant's willingness. At the end of the first meeting, therefore, the following things were made clear to all participants or had been done before any recording was undertaken.

- (1) All participants were explained the recording process and the time that they were expected to contribute. They were also aware that they were to be video-taped whenever the researcher was present at dinner time.
- (2) All participants had completed the letter of consent and filled out the questionnaire of personal information.
- (3) All participants were clear that personal names would be avoided and substituted with conventional initials or pseudonyms.
- (4) All participants knew clearly that they were free to withdraw from the research during the course of the agreed recording time.

3.4 Data Collection and Transcription

After informing all participants of the necessary issues regarding the research, the recording then started. The researcher used a digital audio recorder and a digital video recorder for the recordings which were made in the participants' homes in order to capture the familial interaction. Each visit was scheduled by the researcher and the Vietnamese participants on the phone, and each of the researcher's visit lasted from half an hour to one and a half hours depending on the eating pace of the recorded family. Often when the researcher visited the participants' homes, the families were preparing for dinner and the researcher then used that period of time to familiarise herself with the other participants who were not busy in the kitchen. By the time when dinner was ready and when the recording started, however, the researcher kept silent and minimised her intervention in the family talks. The reason for doing so though is not to eliminate the researcher's presence as her presence is regarded as a constituent of the recorded context.

3.4.1 The issue of observer's paradox

Since the data is collected via audio-visual recording, there is concern about whether the researcher's presence along with the recording devices may enmesh participants' interaction and cause observer's paradox. On the one hand, the presence of an outsider surely changes the participation structure of a family's evening meal, and the social relationship established between the participants and the researcher may also further change the nature of the interaction. On the other hand, the existence of the recording devices constantly remind participants that they are being recorded, which may lead to participants' avoidance of sensitive issues. However, 'observer's paradox' is problematic in that the 'objectivity' it implies seems to be unattainable in social sciences. Blum-Kulka (1997) has stated that researchers should study the social realities they help to create and stop seeking the objectivity that they used to be preoccupied with. Rather, the objectivity should be replaced with reflexivity. Goodwin (1981)

also remarks that conversationalists always observe and are aware of being observed by their interlocutors, it is thus part of a natural conversation to be observed, i.e. conversationalists behave as if they are being observed regardless of the presence of the researcher or the recording devices. In addition, Li (1994) also acknowledged that while he (being the researcher) was regarded as a friend by the immigrant families he studied, yet he found it necessary to provide more explicit and systematic exposition of participant observation and field relations on recording occasions to assure that the collected data is interpreted within a clear context. After all, it is highly possible that essential interactional details may be overlooked if the researcher is not physically present at the time of the recording.

3.4.2 Nature of a dinnertime setting

Dinnertime was regarded as the best occasion to observe how the family members discursively co-construct identities and deploys the two languages in talk-in-interaction, because it was when most of the family members were able to gather together after work or school and share with one another what had happened during the day. It is generally conceived that dinnertime is the time slot in which family members gather around at the table to exchange anecdotes or personal encounters after a day's separation. Blum-Kulka (1997) treats dinnertime as a communicative event which has confined time, space and participants and is governed by its own rules. Moreover, according to Ochs, Smith and Taylor (1989), dinnertime serves as an opportunity space where family members may participate in joint activity (e.g. co-narration to sort out problematic events) occasioned by the temporal, spatial and social moment. In other words, dinnertime interaction among family members is a distinctive context featuring bounded time, space, participants and pertaining rules. Since it usually occurs, physically and conversationally, in the co-presence of adults and children, it is also an intergenerationally shared social event where children acquire family, social and cultural norms and socialisation of family values through discourse. Dinnertime family discourse, therefore, embraces cultural,

social and individual components oriented to by family members to enact family convention and norms of the macro socio-cultural world.

According to Drew and Heritage (1992), institutional interaction (such as that between doctor and patient in a clinic or that between teacher and student in a classroom) highlights participants' actions as being goal-oriented and are thus realised in a restricted and conventional form specific to certain institutions. It also features special and particular constraints on participants' contribution to the on-going interaction. In addition, it can be associated with inferential frameworks and procedures particular to the institution in question. For example, participants involved in a 911 emergency call may not manage the interactive process the same way as those involved in a clinical encounter due to the various institutional goals, tasks and functions inherent in the two contexts. In view of institutional goals, therefore, participants in institutional interaction may pay attention to their lexical choice (such as the choice between 'shrink' and 'psychiatrist'), turn designs (such as a school staff's design of 'he was reported for being absent from class' rather than 'he was absent from class' to create the still-to-be-determined status of the child's absence), sequence organisation (such as the use of the 'question-answer-evaluation' three part sequence taking place in teacher-student interaction), and overall structural organisation (such as a doctor's control over the doctor-patient interaction throughout a medical encounter). Having remarked this Drew and Heritage (*ibid.*), however, stress that there is not a clear distinction between ordinary/mundane conversations and institutional talks, their propositions only highlight features that institutional talks may have.

While there may not seem to be a clear-cut division between mundane conversations and institutional talks, the researcher inclines to argue that the nature of family dinnertime discourse is different from institutional talks. It is because family members tend to exchange and update anecdotes or personal encounters at the dinner table, the conversations therefore are mainly minor, informal and phatic. They differ from institutional talks in that participants' tasks,

activities and orientations are not motivated by certain institutional goals. Moreover, as Heritage (1988: 142) argues, "ordinary conversation is the primary form to which children are first exposed and through which socialisation proceeds", familial discourse takes the form of mundane conversations serving as the benchmark against which institutional talks can be recognised. It is therefore argued that the 7-hour corpus collected for this study consists of mundane conversations among Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational family members.

3.4.3 Data transcription

With regard to data transcription, all spoken in Mandarin was transcribed by *Hanyu Pinyin* which is the Romanisation system used widely in China. On the other hand, all Taiwanese speech was transcribed by another Romanisation system used specifically for the Taiwanese language in Taiwan. Any spoken Vietnamese in the thesis was noted down in Vietnamese written form as it consists of Romanised alphabet. Each language was marked by a distinctive style, i.e. Mandarin speech was put in plain type whereas Taiwanese speech was in italics and Vietnamese speech in boldface. All the spoken language was then translated into English by the researcher and marked in round brackets under original utterances. Then, the accuracy of the transcripts was double-checked by Wang Chin-Tu and Khoo Poe-Bin (who are native Taiwanese and Mandarin speakers) for Mandarin and Taiwanese speech. All the extracts to be analysed in this thesis will be presented with a fixed initial form illustrated as in Extract 3.1 to prevent any confusion caused by the juxtaposition of several languages in a single transcribed fragment.

Extract 3.1

04112009 in S's family 02:13~02:16

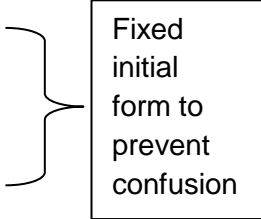
Plain: Mandarin Chinese

Italics: Taiwanese

Bold: Vietnamese

Round Bracket: (English translation)

Double Bracket: ((a non-verbal activity or the analyst's comments))



Fixed
initial
form to
prevent
confusion

- 1 S: gege: ni chi fan man yi dian
(Elder brother, eat slowly.)
- 2 G: *án-ne khah ē hó-chiàh*
(It tastes better this way.)

All the transcription symbols in this study are based on the conventional system developed by Gail Jefferson (see Appendix B for CA transcription conventions). The system is commonly used in conversation analytic research which assumes that “any sound may have interactional import and communicative meaning” (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998: 76). Therefore, out of the attempt to capture talk as it occurs and to note prosodic characteristics as the participants may hear during the course of interaction, CA transcripts can be complex. The purpose for the detailed transcripts, however, has the fundamental function to make possible a fine-grained conversation analysis of recorded interaction. Moreover, all the details retained in the transcription can guarantee the transparent and publicly verifiable nature of conversation analytic research (ibid.; Peräkylä 1997).

3.5 Application Rules of CA and MCA

3.5.1 Application rules of CA

Since CA treats talk as a vehicle for social action and conversation as a social institution, it follows that no sentence and utterance can be understood out of the context in which it is created. Therefore, each sentence and utterance should be understood as the action that participants design with specific attention to specific contexts (Schegloff 1984). The sequential architecture of mutual understanding, as Heritage (2005) suggests, concerns the concept that each action is context-shaped and context-shaping. It is context-shaped in that each current action is performed in respond to the prior action, so it can only be understood by referring to the sequential context in which it is situated. On the other hand, it is context-shaping in the sense that each current action creates a new context for the subsequent action. Therefore, each current action is constrained by the context, yet it also has the force to renew the context, and

thus make it context-shaping. Through the production of a current action, participants not only demonstrate their understanding of the interlocutor's prior action, but also demonstrate their ability to produce relevant action (which may or may not be ratified as appropriate by the interlocutor) in relation to the prior action. In a nutshell, CA holds a dynamic, complex and empirical attitude towards context, and it explicates a meaning-making procedure through which participants constrain and require one another to produce coherent and intelligible next action. The following sub-sections will discuss some of the interactional machineries that govern such procedure.

3.5.1.1 Turn-taking system

The first machinery is the turn-taking system governed by which participants are able to allocate turns in an orderly manner. As Sacks *et al.* (1974) suggest, the allocational system of turn-taking underlying the management of floor requires minimal units to operate and allow the construction of turns at talking. The building blocks out of which these turns are fashioned are turn-constructive units (TCUs) which can be determined either by syntax (syntactic units such as sentences, clauses, phrases and lexical items), by prosody (e.g. the intonational units), or by the recognisable action in the context they constitute. For example, Extract 3.2 below illustrates the dinnertime interaction among Shane, Vivian, Nancy and Michael. One of the participants, Vivian, is concerned that the potatoes are not done (Line 1) and thus issues an action formed by two TCUs. The first TCU takes the shape of a sentence ('It's not do:ne?') while the second TCU takes the shape of a phrase ('th' potato?'), and both of them are marked in rising intonation demonstrating that the speaker is engaging in an action soliciting others' opinions about the potatoes.

Extract 3.2 (linguistic code: English)

Shane, Vivian, Nancy and Michael are having dinner together.

1 Viv: It's not do:ne? th' potato?

2 Sha: Ah don't think so,

(Schegloff 2007: 5)

Moreover, the end of each TCU constitutes a point where transition to a next speaker becomes relevant. The rules that govern speaker transition, then, concern the transition-relevance place (TRP), at which transition of speaker may occur. Since at the end of each TCU, speakership may, but need not change, the orderliness of turn-taking in conversation can thus be delineated. Basically, the rules are that if the current speaker selects a next speaker in current turn, then the current speaker must terminate speaking, and the selected next speaker must speak. Alternatively, if the current speaker does not select a next speaker, then any participant may self-select to take the next turn. It is also possible that if the current speaker has not selected a next speaker, and no other party self-selects the next turn, then the current speaker may (but need not) continue speaking. In other words, conversationalists follow the above rules to display their understanding as well as making sense of their interlocutors' utterances on a turn-by-turn basis, so as to proceed to either a dyadic or a multiparty conversation in a singly manner (Schegloff 2007). These rules can provide intrinsic motivation for participants to attend to their interactants' action so as to manage speaker transition and act accordingly to the action they or their co-participant intends to accomplish at turns-at-talk. It is therefore fair to say that a TCU is a unit of conduct from which an action can be recognisably implementing. It can also serve to select the next speaker and project relevant action for that selected next speaker to do at a further TCU. Both features of a TCU, according to Schegloff (*ibid.*), compose the central organising format for sequences, i.e. the adjacency pairs, which are deeply inter-related with the turn-taking system for next-speaker selection and are also resources for talk-in-interaction.

Schegloff (*ibid.*) argues that if TCUs are the resource for turn construction, then the practices of adjacency pairs are the resource for sequence organisation, which deals with the organisation of courses of action enacted through turns-at-talk. The elementary features and basic operation mode of adjacency pairs are that they are composed of two adjacently placed turns taken respectively by two

speakers. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) specify that adjacency pairs are relatively ordered as first pair parts (FPPs) and second pair parts (SPPs), and they are typed in the way that FPPs are the ones initiating some exchange whereas SPPs are the ones which being responsive to the action of a prior turn. It is worth mentioning, however, that the composition of an adjacency pair requires both the FPP and SPP to come from the same pair type, e.g. offers have to be followed by acceptances or rejections, and greetings require greetings (e.g. Extract 3.3), and so on.

Extract 3.3 (linguistic code: English)

Karl and Clarke are on the phone.

- 1 ((ring))
- 2 Kar: Hello.
- 3 Cla: Hi: Karl:
- 4 Kar: Yeah hey Clarke How're you.
- 5 Cla: Good: How're you doing.
- 6 Kar: Ahm alright.

(Schegloff 2007: 196)

3.5.1.2 Preference organisation

Adopting the notion of 'adjacency pairs', Levinson (1983) illustrates preference and renders it from a structural point of view. He (ibid.) specifies that a preferred second pair occurs in a structurally simpler turn whereas a dispreferred second pair occurs in a turn with more structural complexity as it has to be preceded by some delay, preface or account to mark its dispreferred status. These structural features allow analysts to treat preference as a structural property without the involvement of any psychological dispositions. An example excerpted from Cameron's (2001) work of a preferred second pair (in Julia's turn) and a dispreferred second pair (in Anita's turn) are illustrated below.

Extract 3.4 (linguistic code: English)

Daphne: I was thinking we could have fish
Julia: Fine

Anita: well actually (.) I've stopped eating fish now because of you know the damage it does to the ocean.

(Cameron 2001: 96)

This example shows clearly how the second pairs can differ in their structural complexity. As one can find out that, in comparison with Julia's turn, Anita's turn starts from hedging (*well actually*) followed by an account of why she may reject Daphne's proposition of fish-eating, and in terms of turn structure, it is thus more complex than Julia's turn embodying the action of acceptance. Judging from the turn structure, therefore, the preferred action is the SPP produced by Julia whereas the dispreferred action is the SPP produced by Anita in this particular offering sequence. The preference organisation, therefore, suggests the correlation between the kind of action performed and the way in which formatting (preferred or dispreferred) it is done. The issue of (dis)preferred turns and actions can then be investigated based on the operation of the preference organisation.

3.5.1.3 Repair

In talk-in-interaction, interactants often find themselves facing interactional problems resulting from troubles with speaking, hearing or understanding, which then request for overt efforts, i.e. the practice of 'repair' (Schegloff *et al.*: 1977), to deal with the trouble. Anything occurring in the talk may be a possible trouble source or repairable provided that parties find it needy for the interactional device of repair. Extract 3.4 below is an example of repair practice initiated by an 'open class initiator' (Drew 1997) 'what', which signals a problem without specifically locating the trouble.

Extract 3.5 (linguistic code: English)

1 S1: =okay uh:m (4.7) uhm there seems to be: (3.2) uh:: toilet (0.2) i.hh.n in
th.h.e
2 middle (0.4)
3 S2: what?

(Jenks 2006: 77)

For repair to happen, it requires two roles. One is the party launching the repair action, that is, the repair initiator, and the one repairing the trouble source who is termed as the repairer. The two roles can, but need not, be the same person, thus there are self-initiated self-repair (speaker of the trouble source initiating the action and repairing the trouble), self-initiated other-repair (speaker of the trouble initiating the action, but other repairs the trouble), other-initiated self-repair (other initiating the action, but speaker of the trouble source repairs it), and other-initiated other-repair (other initiating the action and repairs the trouble). As for the position where the undertaking of repair tends to occur, it has been found that it takes place at a particular position in relation to the trouble source. The following extracts from Schegloff *et al.* (1977) illustrate the positions of repairs in relation to a trouble source.

Extract 3.6 (linguistic code: English)

1 A: → And Bill- an' Bud got do:wn.

2 B: ·hhh yes.

(self-initiated self-repair performed by cutoff during the trouble source turn)

(Schegloff *et al.* 1977: 371)

Extract 3.7 (linguistic code: English)

1 A: ...well I was the only one other than

2 → the uhm tch Snows // uh Mrs. Randolph Snow?

3 B: ()

4 B: (uh huh)

(self-initiated self-repair performed at the TRP of the trouble source turn)

(Schegloff *et al.* 1977: 371)

Extract 3.8 (linguistic code: English)

1 Ken: B't i d'know- it seems thet - when Roger en I

2 came in I d- I'd know if it wz u:s er what. B't

3 we- the group seem' tuh disba:nd af//ter we got here.]

4 Roger:→ U:s? it wz me:.] hheh ·hh h^hih ·hh

(other-initiated other-repair performed at the next turn of the trouble source)

(Schegloff *et al.* 1977: 371)

Extract 3.9 (linguistic code: English)

1 Ken: Is Al here today?

2 Dan: Yeah.

3 (2.0)

4 Roger:→ He is? hh eh heh

5 Dan:→ Well he was.

(other-initiated self-repair performed at the third turn of the trouble source turn)

(Schegloff *et al.* 1977: 364)

Having elaborated on conversational organisation, one may wonder how it relates to identity-in-interaction, i.e. one of the main issues that this present study aims to address. Therefore, the discussion now turns to membership categorisation analysis (MCA) which investigates how participants' organisation of talk-in-interaction contributes to exploring identity issues.

3.5.2 Application rules of MCA

There are two rules governing the application of membership categories. The first is 'the economy rule' (Sacks 1972) which stipulates that it is sufficient to assign a single membership category to a member of a population. The second rule is called 'the consistency rule' (ibid.) which holds that during the process of participants' categorisation, if a first member of a population is assigned to a certain membership category, it follows that the rest of that population can also be categorised as such or to be categorised by the same MCD. For example, if a person has been categorised as 'Pediatrician', then other members in the same population under investigation can be categorised as members of the MCD 'Medical Professional', and be assigned to categories such as 'Nurse', 'Surgeon', 'Ophthalmologist' etc. In light of the consistency rule, Sacks (ibid.) proposes 'the hearer's maxim' and 'the viewer's maxims'. The hearer's maxim suggests that if two or more categories are assigned to two or more members of a population, and those categories can be heard as categories from the same collection, then "hear them that way" (ibid.: 219-220). On the other hand, the 'viewer's maxims' (ibid.) suggest that if one can see an activity bound to a given category being done by a member of that category, then see it that way; alternatively, if a pair of actions are performed to achieve the operation of a

norm, with the performers who can be seen as members of the categories that normatively and commonsensically engage in performing the norm, then see them that way. Both of the viewer's maxims not only illustrate that membership categories and CBAs are co-selected, but they also suggest that social actors' category identities are inference-rich in that the knowledge about the co-selective relation between CBAs and categories provides inferences for both participants as well as analysts to understand social interaction.

3.5.3 Adapting CA and MCA to work with bilingual data

As mentioned in Section 2.4.1, Auer's model of code-alternation is influenced by ethnomethodology and conversation analysis in that Auer (1984: 3) states that "there is a need for an analytic interest in members' methods (or procedures), as opposed to an interest in external procedures derived from a scientific theory...[and] our purpose is to analyse members' procedures to arrive at local interpretations of language alternation". He (ibid.) proposes to study bilingual conversations on a turn-by-turn or TCU-by-TCU basis and sees code-alternation as a contextualisation cue. In other words, Auer discusses speaker's language choice at one turn or TCU with reference to the language choice at the preceding turn while its influence on the language choice of the next turn or TCU is also examined. Since 'frame' refers to basic elements defining a situation whereas 'footing' refers to the various ways participants display their epistemic accountability and ensuing authorities (as discussed in Section 2.3), the linguistic concept of contextualisation cue and the sociological concepts of 'frame' and 'footing' proposed by Goffman (1974, 1981) have a significant convergence in that orientations to certain language choice for certain social activity can be regarded as participants' linguistic cues to negotiate frames and footings and reifies a dynamic view of interactional context (Drew & Heritage 1992) featuring CA and MCA. In this sense, the notion of contextualisation cues offers an analytic window allowing researchers to examine the relationship between participants' orientations to contexts and language use. That is, researchers adopting CA or/and MCA do not presume episode-external factors

such as social context or speakers' identities to have any relevance with code-switching, for example, unless these factors are demonstrated as relevant by participants themselves. In other words, language-related activities, such as the practice of code-switching, do not necessarily reflect pre-existing social structure or the value that a language variety carries in a community, neither are these factors ignored or discarded *a priori*. Rather, they await participants to effect their potential relevance during the ongoing interaction. By conversationalists' orientation to the relevance of the factors, as Gafaranga (2005) argues, social structure (such as group membership and ethnic identities) is constituted, contested and rejected/accepted through conversational structure (such as language alternation and other language-related activities), and both structures coexist in a reciprocal way. Additionally, analysts adopting CA or/and MCA treat language choice as an interactional issue (Auer 1984) in that participants' language choice in a sequential context may be influenced by speaker's choice in the preceding turn(s) and exert same influence on speaker's choice in the following turn(s). Therefore, language choice is not predictable but is a joint accomplishment of all the parties in the interaction. For example, Üstünel and Seedhouse (2005) investigate the relationship between pedagogical focus and language choice in an EFL (English as a foreign language) classroom context in Turkey. They find in their recorded corpus that the teacher's language alternation between Turkish (L1) and English (L2) shows systematic preference organisation patterns which relate to pause length and display of students' (dis-)alignment with the teacher's pedagogical focus. Moreover, Cromdal (2000, 2001, 2004) have conducted research to study the role that language alternation practices play in social interaction among English-Swedish bilingual children. His findings echo Gumperz's argument that language alternation serves as a contextualisation cue in shifts of footing and frame. Specifically, he finds that children's language alternation practices are used as one of the interactional resources to negotiate their peer group participation or to both escalate social opposition and prevent opponents from engaging in further adversarial interaction in episodes of dispute. Using a sequential approach, Gafaranga (2010) investigates how language shift is

talked into being in the Rwandan community in Belgium. From the empirical data, he identifies that adults' transition space medium repair (i.e. adults' shift from Kinyarwanda to French in transition relevance places¹³) is key to the phenomenon under investigation, and argues that such medium repair is an interactional object through which the Rwandan community members talk language shift into being.

Following Auer's analytic procedure, Li and Milroy (1995) analyse a bilingual mother-daughter interaction (as demonstrated in Extract 3.10). It shows that the child does not respond to the mother's question issued in Line 1 and produces a delayed response (preceded by a 0.2-sec pause) in Line 4 after the mother reformulates her question in Line 3. Since lack of response (Line 2) and a pause (Line 4) are both dispreferred markers in CA, Li and Milroy (ibid.) argue that the daughter not only rejects the offer, suggests an alternative (*I'll have some shrimps*), but also performs the dispreferred act of rejecting the offer by shifting from Cantonese to English in Line 4. On the contrary, when the daughter finally accepts the mother's offer in Line 6, she not only performs this preferred act of offer acceptance, but also aligns with the mother's language choice.

Extract 3.10 (linguistic code: plain: Cantonese, *italics: English*)

- 1 Mother: Oy-m-oy faan a? A ying a?
(Want or not rice?)
2 Daughter: [No response]
3 Mother: Chaaufaan a, Oy-m-oy?
(Fried rice. Want or not?)
4 Daughter: (0.2) *I'll have some shrimps.*
5 Mother: mu-ye? (.) Chaaufaan a.
(What? Fried rice)
6 Daughter: Hai a
(OK)

(Li and Milroy 1995: 287-288)

¹³ A transition relevance place refers to the end of each turn constructional unit (TCU), and it is where transition of speaker may occur.

While Extract 3.10 illustrates how code-alternation can associate with sequential activity void of participants' identity management, Extract 2.1 discussed earlier serves to illustrate how code-alternation is used by participants to enact different identities. From an EM/CA/MCA perspective, it is found that categories 'Zairian' and 'Rwandese' are the identities in practice in this particular extract. It is so because interactants orient to the two identity categories when one of them switches from Kinyarwanda to Swahili in order to take on the 'Zairian' identity, whereas another uses French-Kinyarwanda to make salient the 'Rwandese' identity. The present study, therefore, follows this EM/CA/MCA vein of analysis and will approach bilingual extracts on a turn-by-turn or TCU-by-TCU basis. It aims to identify how Vietnamese participants' language choice at one turn or TCU is influenced by the preceding turn or TCU and how it exerts influence on the language choice at the following turn or TCU. Moreover, it aims to identify the relevance and procedural consequentiality of the identity categories invoked by participants when language-related activities are involved.

3.6 Reliability, Validity and Triangulation Issues

As was discussed above both CA and MCA are distinctive approaches used to study language, discourse, communication and interaction, this section deals with how CA and MCA researchers ensure reliability and validity slightly differently from other social scientists. In CA and MCA research, the reliability issue can first be addressed from a technical point of view in that the quality of recordings should capture the investigated talk-in-interaction as much as possible. On the other hand, the recording data should be transcribed with as much detail as possible in order to represent the very interactional episodes analysts are interested in. The analyst therefore has to ponder the selection of excerpts, the technical quality of recordings and adequacy of transcripts etc. (Peräkylä cited in Seedhouse 2005). Secondly, reliability in CA and MCA research can be ensured by the repeatability and replicability of research findings. That is, if the analysis is solid and reliable, other analysts trying to

replicate the study should derive the same findings and conclusions. While many social scientists, adopting a qualitative approach, do not present data in their publications and make it unavailable for public scrutiny, it is however a requirement for CA and MCA researchers to show transcripts in published work in order to justify the way their analyses are developed from the data. According to Seedhouse (ibid.), the analysis process is thus made transparent for the reader. In this sense, the presented transcripts having documented interactional details and represented the sequential context are then open for other analysts to examine whether the author's analysis is tenable. In light of this transparent process, the analytic findings in CA and MCA research can be seen as repeatable and replicable.

When it comes to validity in CA, Seedhouse (ibid.) argues that there are four kinds of validity. The first kind is 'internal validity' which relates to the issue of whether the data support the analyst's arguments. In CA and MCA research, analysts develop their analyses from an emic perspective, i.e. from the participants' perspective as well as the perspective from within the sequential context. As such, CA or MCA analysts' arguments should be valid in that they are based on participants' demonstrable orientations intrinsic to the talk-in-interaction. That is, they do not impose on the data any existing theories or assumptions that participants do not find relevant to the on-going interaction. The second kind is 'ecological validity' which relates to the applicability of research findings in daily life. Since it is one of the analytic principles of CA and MCA to investigate naturally occurring data in the real world, both are stronger in terms of ecological validity in comparison with other research methodologies applied to produce findings from materials fabricated in the laboratory. The third kind is 'construct validity' which is concerned specifically in CA and MCA with the question "whose construct is it?" (ibid.: 257). Since CA and MCA are rooted in ethnomethodology and phenomenological traditions, they embrace the idea that the construct of common-sense knowledge and its interpretation is participants' tasks accomplished in their own manner. Therefore, the very question identifying whose construct is created can be answered as it is the

construct of the participants being involved in the interaction. Furthermore, since the process of social constructs is displayed and observable through participants' demonstrable orientations in talk-in-interaction, CA and MCA analysts therefore are allowed to follow participants' knowledge-building process from which they develop their arguments about social constructs.

The last kind of validity is 'external validity' which relates to the generalisability of research findings. Generalisability is often treated as a notion associated with quantitative approaches rather than qualitative ones. Both CA and MCA are qualitative approaches in that they avoid treating features in talk-in-interaction as statistical variables, but see each case as ultimately unique. Schegloff (1993) has therefore warned CA analysts pursuing quantification and generalisability in their studies about the risk of overlooking individual differences. He (*ibid.*) argues that such quantity-oriented mindsets tend to lead researchers to code and label social actions from the analyst's perspective (i.e. the etic perspective) rather than develop detailed analysis from the participants' perspective. It can also lead them away from the fundamental case-by-case basis. With regard to the issue of generalizability, however, Seedhouse tries to address it from a different angle. He (2005) argues that while qualitative research approaches stand criticised for being specific to a particular research context and are limited in extending research findings to other contexts, there is variation in the generalisability in CA studies. That is, while CA and MCA analysts focus on social organisation in the local sequential context, the explication of such micro management may provide a generalisable description of the social interaction in the particular context under investigation. It is so because participants demonstrate their understanding of each other's social actions with the unfolding of sequences, and it is through the local management in the interactive process that their understanding of the macro social world is also demonstrated. Therefore, individual cases and single instances can be treated as products of social machinery, and the explication of participants' organisation of social actions at a local level actually provide features of this very machinery (Benson and Hughes cited in *ibid.*). In Hutchby and Wooffitt's (1988) words, CA

aims to build particularised and generalised analysis which not only describes specific features in individual cases, but also depicts the specifics as generalisable accounts of some sequential patterns or interactional devices. Heritage (1999) further develops this viewpoint and argues that CA can be imbued with more quantitative sense when researchers use quantification in the aid of developing detailed analyses of social interaction, such as using it as a means to highlight social phenomenon with analytic value. That is, quantification can be treated as a means to solidify an argument rather than an analytic technique in CA research.

Since CA and MCA are approaches with strong emic vigor, Seedhouse (2005) argues there is no substitute for such detailed and in-depth analysis of individual sequences. Therefore, triangulation, which refers to the adoption of more than one research methodology, is not conventionally expected in CA and MCA research. That is, the two approaches have inherently achieved reliability and internal, external, ecological and construct validity, so that the adoption of e.g. interviews or questionnaires for cross-examination is uncalled for. However, some researchers (such as Auer and Silverman both cited in *ibid.*) have proposed that since CA and ethnography are compatible in nature, the two can be mutually fertilising if integrated for social interaction study. It is so because with the adoption of ethnography, researchers can bring in the sequential analysis some external constraints and link talk-in-interaction in the micro context to the macro social world. Specifically, Seedhouse (*ibid.*) takes Gafaranga and Britten's work (2003) of doctor-patient opening sequences in medical encounters as an example to comment that ethnographic information (such as doctor-patient familiarity) helps to identify how a deviant case can be analysed, and how it serves as support for the findings derived from other normative cases.

3.7 Limitations of CA and MCA

The primary criticism targeting CA and MCA concerns their micro-analytic characteristic which results in providing a very limited and narrow perspective in understanding the social world. Also, they are often criticised for being atheoretical in that they refuse to use existing and available theories to ground an argument. It goes hand-in-hand with the third criticism which denounces their unwillingness to apply factors (such as gender or ethnicity) to explain certain social phenomenon. In addition, they are accused of being obsessed with interactional details. These criticisms actually result from critics' superficial understanding of CA and MCA's analytic principles. To begin with, CA and MCA are not atheoretical, but "they have different conception of how to theorise about social life and a different notion of the nature of evidence and of how to validate hypothesis" (Li 2002: 171). In order for CA and MCA analysts to theorise about social life and validate hypothesis, they must engage closely with the data and try to make sense of talk-in-interaction from participants' *in-situ* orientations. The interpretation of any phenomenon, therefore, should be based on intrinsic-to interaction evidence, i.e. empirical evidence, rather than external factors (such as gender or ethnicity) that participants do not orient to. From an ethnomethodological perspective, social scientists' unproblematic application of external factors to analysis lacks empirical evidence to support that participants align with the analyst regarding these factors as relevant. Research findings generated in this way are therefore etic rather than emic. Secondly, CA and MCA analysts are not obsessed with interactional details. The reason that they heed such details is because they are not only elements used to establish participants' actions, but they also serve as analytic resources used to display participants' orientations in their process of achieving mutual understanding. Without these details, it is impossible for CA and MCA analysts to study social interaction or ground their arguments. In CA and MCA research, therefore, relevance and procedural consequentiality are two indispensable criteria for assessing the validity of the analyst's interpretation. That is, for any analytic interpretation to be valid, the analyst has to prove that it is demonstrably

relevant to participants. Also, he/she has to prove how the oriented-to factors determine the consequence of the on-going talk-in-interaction.

One criticism specifically targeting MCA concerns the construct of common sense knowledge. Critics argue that the 'common sense identification' on which the whole membership categorisation process is based is itself the outcome of analysts' *a priori* assumption. It is so because what one person holds as common sense may not be so for another, let alone the matter is sometimes entangled by various cultural and social factors when participants are from different societies. Moreover, the constituent categories that make up MCDs seem to be pre-given and decontextualized which contradicts MCA's core emic value. However, this criticism can also be attributed to a misunderstanding of common sense knowledge in the sense of MCA. Hester and Eglin (1997: 15) remark that common sense knowledge in MCA is not only made and constructed, but it is also "made strange for the purpose of analysis" as Sacks separates common sense understanding from a pre-existing device which makes the understanding possible. In actual analytic process, therefore, MCA analysts first problematise and decompose the ordinary sense by taking the categories out of context. Then, they put the ordinary sense together by using the pre-existing decontextualised device to entertain the possibility that these categories may have alternate meanings. In other words, all MCDs are 'occasioned' collections in that they should be recognised by participants as having specific meaning for a specific occasion. Beyond the occasions under investigation, the collections can gather different categories and have different meanings. Therefore, what matters most is the situated use of participants' knowledge in categorisation, and the MCDs and their constituent categories are thus all locally and temporally contingent. Take the MCD 'Family' for example, it can consist of numerous categories such as 'Father' 'Mother' 'Parent' 'Child' etc. In the baby-mommy context, specific categories relevant to the statement are the categories 'Baby' and 'Mommy' which are normatively and commonsensically collected in the MCD 'Family'. One cannot from this example conclude that 'Family' only consisted of these two categories, it is just that this

MCD can only be made for these categories and for this occasion. Therefore, MCA analysts first problematise and decompose the 'common sense knowledge' of what categories can be collected in the 'Family' collection, and then put it back into context to argue that 'Baby' and 'Mommy' are of particular relevance while knowing that they may make for different collections other than 'Family' in a different scenario. In this sense, common sense knowledge in MCA is quite different from how the critics understand it. It is not an *a-priori* creation, but is the outcome of participants' reasoning and situated use of knowledge in context.

3.8 Summary and Justification for Applying CA and MCA

As mentioned in Section 1.1, this study aims to investigate discursive construction of identity in Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational families with special attention to identifying the interactional resources available to Vietnamese spouses. It also aims to study how Vietnamese female spouses having acquired Taiwanese and Mandarin deploy the linguistic codes in talk-in-interaction and for what apparent purposes. With respect to the research aims, CA and MCA are regarded as the most appropriate research methodologies for this present study in spite of the limitations mentioned above. It is so because CA and MCA engage closely with recorded data and transcripts, the adoption of them thus enables fine-grained examination of participants' management of identity with the unfolding of sequences. Moreover, the two methodologies make it possible for the researcher to study the sequential context in which Vietnamese participants' orientation to the two languages take place as well as the relevance of the orientation to the on-going talk-in-interaction. In addition, since there is no existing study of 'foreign brides phenomenon' in Taiwan examines naturally occurring interaction between Vietnamese female spouses and their Taiwanese family members, the adoption of CA and MCA which engage closely with face-to-face interaction data is thus justified.

The advantage of adopting CA and MCA, then, is that they require analysts to heed interactional details from which they provide explication of participants' sequential actions (e.g. orientations to certain identity or language-related activity); and in doing so, they transform the relevance displayed in talk-in-interaction into analysis (Schegloff 1991). Moreover, CA and MCA limit the analyst's interpretation to participants' orientations in talk-in-interaction, and they require analysts to focus on sequential development and interpret talk-in-interaction with reference to the conversational context. Such an analytic disposition does not mean that analysts should ignore external factors, but they should be cautious about imposing any interpretation without empirical evidence.

Identity in CA and MCA research, therefore, is not imposed on any essentialist assumption. Rather, identity is treated as a discursive construction and an accomplishment of interaction. It is only when participants display their orientation to certain membership categories that these oriented-to categories are regarded as relevant and have analytic value. The investigation of participants' identity work, therefore, should be examined from the unfolding of sequences (Schegloff 1991, 1992a, 1996). In other words, the articulation of identities is a contingent matter involving social negotiation. Moreover, the demonstrably relevant identity provides grounds not only for co-participants to engage in interaction, but also for analysts to develop valid arguments of identity work in a particular setting. Identity is therefore the display of, or ascription to, membership of some inference-rich category, and should be regarded as a resource for both participants as well as analysts. By the same token, attempts to reveal an emic perspective do not impose on the interpretation of participants' language-related activities *a priori* assumptions. For example, when participants use Taiwanese for a spate of talk, they do not necessarily invoke their identity as being Taiwanese. Specifically, CA and MCA hold the belief that language is not simply participants' instrument in social interaction, but it is a resource that participants orient to during the course of talks. The observable orientations to languages or language-related activities, therefore, do not serve only as benchmark for participants to gauge one

another's action, but can also serve as the analyst's analytic resource. Based on these reasons, the adoption of CA and MCA in this study can then be justified.

Chapter 4. Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

It has been argued in Chapter 2 that participants' identities-in-practice are the result of interaction, and they serve as junctions where micro interaction meets macro social orders (Zimmerman 1998). Identities not only provide the proximal (intra-interactional) context in which participants orient to identity choices on a turn-by-turn basis, but they also provide the distal (external) context where the extra-situational variables accompanying the oriented-to identities are accomplished through the unfolding of sequences. The oriented-to Identities are thus crucial constituents of context in talk-in-interaction, and contexts are thus dynamic processes that are constructed and achieved through the use of linguistic, sequential and gestural resources. (Duranti & Goodwin 1992; Goodwin 2000; Heritage 1984a; Linell & Thunqvist 2003). Moreover, since the research takes place in a multilingual familial context, the connection between language-related activities and identities is thus an important area to explore. In this study, however, language-related identities are not imposed on any *a priori* extra-linguistic assumptions, e.g. nationality, gender, class, etc. Neither is the relationship between language choices and social values associated with those languages taken for granted. Rather, they are treated as participants' transportable identities (Zimmerman 1998), and it depends on participants interaction to determine whether certain language use pattern is void of identity-relevant meaning, or whether it is rich in the identity work it accomplishes.

From an EM/CA/MCA perspective, this present study draws on a conflation of Levinson's definition of footing into Zimmerman's identity types (i.e. discourse identity, situated identity and transportable identity) to explore the following research questions: (1) What membership categories are invoked by the Vietnamese participants in transnational family talks? And how are these categories deployed to achieve certain interactional goals? In the same vein, this study draws on Auer's contentions about bilingual conversations to answer the other research question, i.e. (2) what is the relevance and consequentiality

of the Vietnamese participants' use of Taiwanese and Mandarin in specific contexts? This chapter is thus divided into two main sections with Section 4.2 devoted to answering the first research question and Section 4.3 to answering the second one.

4.2 What Membership Categories Are Invoked by The Vietnamese Participants in Transnational Family Talks? And How Are These Categories Deployed to Achieve Certain Interactional Goals?

After reviewing the recorded corpus, it appears that the comparison between Vietnam and Taiwan are recurrent topics in the transnational family talks. Membership categories 'Taiwanese' and 'Vietnamese' are thus granted interactional value by participants in their talk-in-interaction. Recorded extracts also show that the first-person plural pronouns, '*women*' in Mandarin and '*lán*' in Taiwanese, have been deployed by the Vietnamese spouses as a prefatory object of either Vietnam or Taiwan for certain interactional achievement. Another finding regarding the two categories 'Vietnamese' and 'Taiwanese' is that Vietnamese spouses' deployment of '*goán*' (another first-person plural pronoun in Taiwanese¹⁴) reveals that they can self-select the category of 'wife' and team up with their husbands in family interaction to form the 'standardised relational pair' (SRP)—husband-wife (Sacks 1972) to deal with a big household issue. However, in contexts involving Vietnamese participants' enactment of 'Vietnamese', the Vietnamese spouses do not use '*women*', '*lán*' or '*goán*' to form another set of SRP 'mother-child' with their children. Rather, they are seen to use the first-person plural pronoun '*women*' to take on the 'Vietnamese' identity in order to discursively alienate their children from Vietnamese-ness and thus ascribe the 'non-Vietnamese' category to them. By using the 'we + country' compound, the Vietnamese participants engage in self-categorisation and present themselves as a member of either Taiwanese or Vietnamese. Such

¹⁴ The difference between '*lán*' and '*goán*' lies in that the speaker's use of the former indicates inclusion of the recipient in the 'we' collectivity whereas the use of the latter indicates exclusion of the recipient.

self-categorisation suggests that the Vietnamese participants' selfhood is not a static, fixed and self-evident status, but is a dynamic process requiring investment of endeavour and is manifested by their doing being Taiwanese or Vietnamese in the course of talk-in-interaction. To uphold the aforementioned 2 findings, 4 extracts and their analyses are given in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 to illustrate Vietnamese spouses' use of '*women*', '*lán*' and '*goán*' in relation to the often-oriented-to categories 'Vietnamese', 'Taiwanese', 'non-Vietnamese', 'non-Taiwanese', 'Husband', 'Wife', 'Mother' and 'Child'.

According to Lerner and Kitzinger (2007), speakers in English talk-in-interaction mostly use a set of collective self-reference terms (i.e. we, us, our, ours) for references to collectivities of which he/she regards him-/herself as a member. Occasionally, speaker may also employ the collective self-reference terms for particular interactional purposes, such as for individual self-reference (i.e. the royal 'we'), for recipient reference (e.g. "how are we feeling today") or for indeterminate form of reference (e.g. "love is all we need") (ibid.: 526). In terms of linguistic features, however, '*women*' in Mandarin and '*lán*' and '*goán*' in Taiwanese, not only perform as first-person-plural subjective pronouns (equivalent to 'we'), but they also act as first-person-plural objective pronouns (equivalent to 'us') and first-person-plural possessive pronouns (equivalent to 'our') depending on the context in which they are used. Moreover, Taiwanese and Mandarin are topic-prominent languages which enable speakers to omit overt reference forms without hampering recipient's understanding. Oh (2007: 462) thus remarks that in talk conducted in a topic-prominent language, first-/second-person pronouns (or other overt reference forms used for referring to the speaker or recipient) are readily omitted, "because they can be easily retrieved from the physical interactional context". It is thus worth investigating when Vietnamese participants use overt collective self-reference term, i.e. '*women*' in Mandarin or '*lán*' or '*goán*' in Taiwanese, to refer to collectivities of which they are members. It is also worth exploring what interactional relevance there is for their use of '*women*', '*lán*' and '*goán*' with the invocation of particular membership categories or SRPs in the transnational family talks. Most

importantly, such analyses lead to the answer to the second research question which aims to identify how the often-oriented-to categories are deployed and reacted to by the participants and for what purposes.

4.2.1 ‘Doing being Vietnamese’ and ‘doing being Taiwanese’ with the deployment of ‘women’ and ‘lán’

Example 1

The following extract was taken when the family finished evening meal. Except for the Vietnamese spouse’s husband who had gone out to throw the garbage away, all the four family members were present in the living area. The Vietnamese spouse was sitting on a stool against the wall whilst her father-in-law was sitting on the couch. One of the two children was sitting on a stool next to the Vietnamese spouse while the other one was rambling around (see figure 4.1 for seating plan). A piece of news on TV, which was about the heavy snow in the US, caught the Vietnamese spouse’s eye and triggered her discussion about the weather in Taiwan with her father-in-law.

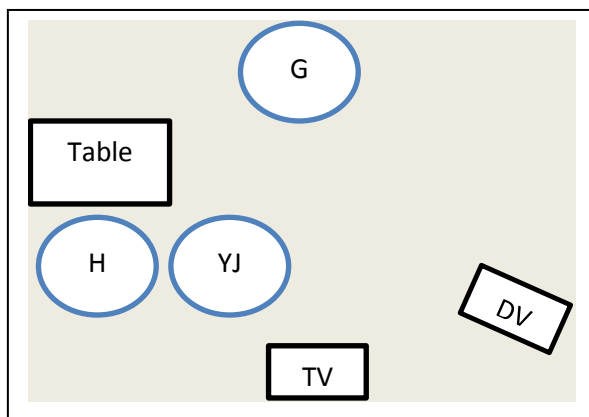


Figure 4.1

Extract 4.1 (we Taiwan)
21122009 H's 14:24~15:08—M2U04419
Plain: Mandarin Chinese
Italics: Taiwanese
Bold: Vietnamese
Round Bracket: (English translation)

Double Bracket: ((a non-verbal activity or the transcriber's comments))

H: the Vietnamese spouse

G: the Vietnamese spouse's father-in-law

1	H	<i>lòh-seh lòh kah án-ne</i> <i>snow fall CSC this way</i> (Such heavy snow.)
2		(1.1)
3	H	<i>hm</i>
4		(1.7)
5	→	<i>lán tâi-oân</i> ((turning her head to G)) <i>chia kám ũ bat</i> <i>we Taiwan here Q ever</i> (We Taiwan here, does it ever)
6		(0.4)
7	H	<i>lòh-she koè</i> <i>snow ASP</i> (snow?)
8	G	<i>ũ- a (.) hâp-hoan-soaⁿ hia</i> <i>have UFP NAME mountain there</i> (It does, it snows on Mt. Hâp-Hoan.)
9		(1.2)
10	H	<i>chit-má o' ((turning to the TV)</i> <i>now UFP</i> (Now?)
11		(3.2)
12	H	<i>ah</i> <i>DM</i>
13		(0.4)
14	H →	<i>tâi-lâm</i> <i>Tainan</i>
15		(0.3)
16	H →	<i>chia (.)</i> ((turning her head to G)) <i>lóng m̄-bat hoⁱ</i> <i>here all never UFP</i> (Tainan here, it never snows, right?)
17	G	<i>hoh: bē a:</i> <i>RT NEG UFP</i> (It never does.)
18		(1.6)
19	H	↑ <i>hm̄</i>
20		(1.7)

21	G	<i>chia m̄-bat lōh lah</i> <i>here never fall UFP</i> (It never snows here.)
22		(1.3)
23	G	<i>tâi-pak tō m̄-bat lōh</i> <i>Taipei then never fall</i> (It never snows in Taipei.)
24		<i>tâi-pak khah koâⁿ tō m̄-bat lōh a</i> <i>Taipei more cold then never fall UFP</i> (Even Taipei where it's colder has no snow.)
25	H	<i>hm̄ hm̄</i>

After the Vietnamese spouse delivers her assessment of the heavy snow shown on TV in Line 1, there is a 1.1-sec silence. Since no one self-selects the floor for next speakership, the Vietnamese spouse adopts the ‘current speaker selects next’ technique (Sacks *et al.* 1974) and claims the floor by directing a question to her father-in-law in Line 5. In order to secure her interlocutor’s reply, she turns her head and shifts her focus from the news to the in-law parent right after mentioning the name of the place, i.e. Taiwan, whose weather condition she is concerned about. It is intriguing that the Vietnamese spouse deploys the first-person plural pronoun ‘*lân*’ (i.e. ‘we’) to start the question. According to Lerner and Kitzinger (2007: 526), collective self-reference terms, such as ‘we’, are “reserved for references to collectivities of which the speaker is a member”, one then starts to wonder what collectivity the Vietnamese spouse in this case is categorising herself into and who is/are the other member(s) that she shares this referred collectivity with.

- The ‘we Taiwan’ compound

It is demonstrated in the extract that the pronoun ‘*lân*’ is followed by ‘Taiwan’. From later sequences, both the interlocutor as well as the analyst can draw the conclusion that in this case the Vietnamese spouse is claiming a relational collectivity which encompasses not only her Taiwanese family members but

also the Taiwanese population as a whole. First, in Lines 14 and 16, the Vietnamese spouse uses a similar formulation (*'tâi-lâm chia'* / Tainan here) to that used in Line 5 (*'lán tâi-oân chia'* / We Taiwan here) as the preliminary component to ask about the weather in Tainan, the city in which she and her family are situated. Except for the focus of inquiry being narrowed down from the general weather condition of Taiwan to that of one of its cities, the only difference between the two preliminaries in Line 5 and Lines 14 and 16 is that the collective self-reference term *'lán'* is not adopted in the latter. Therefore, it is possible that the *'lán tâi-oân'* (we Taiwan) compound is designed for a specific purpose, and with the addition of *'lán'* to it, 'Taiwan' seems to suggest more than a geographic proper noun like 'Tainan' in Line 14. Moreover, since the pronoun is adjacently followed by Taiwan and that the use of *lán* always indicates inclusion of the recipient in the 'we' collectivity, the compound component may thus refer to the Taiwanese population as a whole which includes the interlocutor (G). Therefore, the formation of a we-collectivity by using the *'lán tâi-oân'* (we Taiwan) compound is in effect a reference to the total Taiwanese population of which the Vietnamese spouse regards herself as a member at the time of her speaking. What is more significant about the design of the 'we Taiwan' compound and the self-categorisation work it carries out is its implication of a concomitant, i.e. the Taiwanese identity. By formulating the preliminary component of the turn in Line 5, therefore, the Vietnamese spouse is overtly 'doing being Taiwanese' by invoking the Taiwanese identity in the interaction.

- Deviance from the attribute of 'Taiwanese'

The content of the second TCU in Line 5 and the utterance in Line 7 (*kám ũ bat lóh-she koè* / does it ever snow?), however, contradicts the Vietnamese spouse's self-categorisation work as being 'Taiwanese' and directly pigeonholes the participants as 'Taiwanese' (her father-in-law) and 'non-Taiwanese' (herself). The reason is that if the Vietnamese spouse is Taiwanese as she claims, she should not be expected to ask whether it snows in Taiwan as this is a presumed

common sense for the claimed membership category, i.e. Taiwanese. Therefore, even if the 'we Taiwan' compound is deployed to achieve her self-categorisation as a member of the Taiwanese, the content of the question should not be expectably and properly asked by a person who is an incumbent of 'Taiwanese'. That is, not only does the Vietnamese spouse overtly invoke the Taiwanese identity, but she also enacts covertly her identity as a 'non-Taiwanese'. H's doing being a 'non-Taiwanese' is further reinforced by her confirmation request formulated in Lines 14 and 16 to check whether her knowledge of the weather in Tainan is correct (Tainan here, it never snows, right?).

On the other hand, the father-in-law's comments reveal some significant aspects about identity work in this family. First, with H's use of *lán* to start her question in Line 5, the father-in-law (G) is included in the 'we' collectivity of Taiwanese, and thus is ascribed to the membership category 'Taiwanese' and is simultaneously ascribed to an authority on Taiwan lore (i.e. 'the weather condition' in this case). After witnessing H's inconsistent self-categorisation in Line 5, G provides his reply (*ū- a (.) háp-hoan-soaⁿ hia* / It does, it snows on Mt. Háp-Hoan.) in a preferred manner in the sense that it is not preceded by delay, preface or account to mark its dispreferred status (Levinson 1983; Heritage 1984a; Pomerantz 1984; Bilmes 1988; Schegloff 1988). The Vietnamese spouse's formulation is therefore taken by her father-in-law as unproblematic and he aligns himself with her action of orienting to the identity as doing being Taiwanese, as well as accepting her subsequent question which is deviant from the attribute of the claimed category. Later, it is seen that G not only provides a resolute confirmation in Line 17 (*hoh: bē a:* / It never does) as an SPP to H's confirmation request formed in Lines 14 and 16. Moreover, in Lines 21, 23 and 24, he adds a comparison between the weather condition in Tainan and that in Taipei (the capital of Taiwan). The utterances not only support his argument that it never snows in Tainan, but they also demonstrate his knowledge of Taiwan and further embody his incumbency of being 'Taiwanese'.

Provided that this is how the Vietnamese spouse and her Taiwanese family member(s) manage and react to identity-related utterances from time to time, one of the significances of this extract is its revelation of how the Vietnamese spouse's self-categorisation, by using the 'we + Taiwan' compound, can lead to 'non-Taiwanese' when engaging in a deviant action of the claimed category 'Taiwanese'. What is also significant about this extract is that it reveals the paradoxical self-categorisation work of the Vietnamese spouse being accepted and not treated as repairable by the father-in-law, which seems to suggest that there is acquiesced room for identity negotiation among members of this transnational family. Therefore, the 'we Taiwan' compound, though it is a device used by the Vietnamese spouse for overtly doing being Taiwanese, brings about covertly her identity as a 'non-Taiwanese' contrary to her interlocutor's display of being an authoritative figure on Taiwan lore. The next extract, on the other hand, illustrates how the 'we + country' compound can be used differently in the cross-border family interaction.

Example 2

The extract below was taken from a conversation among a Vietnamese spouse (JY) and her two sons (JS and JZ). In an earlier exchange, JY's husband had asked their first child, JS, to hand in his homework for checking, yet to find out that the boy had not brought it home. In spite of the fact that the child insisted that he had finished it at school, both the Vietnamese spouse and her husband were not happy with his answer. They thought that the boy probably left his homework at school purposefully with the intention to fool around. The Vietnamese spouse then proposed that the child should be banned from playing computer games as a punishment which resulted in the child's immediate whining and objection. In order to warrant her decision of the punishment, the mother first diverted the topic to the child's previous academic performances in the first grade in elementary school compared with it in the third grade now. She then involved the researcher (situated at where the DV is in figure 4.2) in the

conversation, and compared the perceived meagre effort the child had put into his study and the must-have-been-massive efforts that the researcher put into her work to achieve the educational background she had. During the course of her talk, however, she mixed up the grading system in Vietnam and that of Taiwan which cost her having to justify and argue over her choice of words with her two sons.

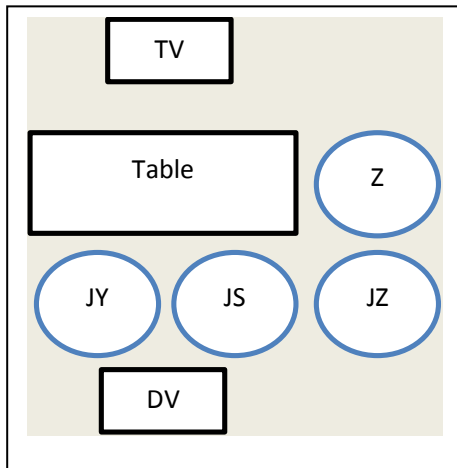


Figure 4.2

Extract 4.2 (the 12th grade)

05012010 JY's 29:50~30:09—M2U04456/00:00~00:05—M2U04457

Plain: Mandarin Chinese

Italics: Taiwanese

Bold: Vietnamese

Round Bracket: (English translation)

Double Bracket: ((a non-verbal activity or the transcriber's comments))

JY: the Vietnamese spouse

JS: the Vietnamese spouse's first child

JZ: the Vietnamese spouse's second child

1	JY	ni kan na ge jie jie ta du (.) you see that CL elder sister 3sg study (You see that elder sister has attained)
2		ta du dao shier nianji le 3sg study to twelve grade CRS (She has attained to the 12 th grade.)
3		ta du dao hen gao hen gao le nei ni kan 3sg study to very high very high CRS UFP you see

		(She has got to a very high level, you see.)
4		[ta dou °bu shuo nan°] 3sg all NEG say difficult (She doesn't say that studying is difficult.)
5	JS	[na you dao] shier nianji ya where have to twelve grade UFP (There is no 12 th grade.)
6	JY	buran ni wen ta kan shi bu [shi ah] or you ask 3sg see COP NEG COP UFP (Then you ask her to see if it's true.)
7	JZ	[mei you] shier nianji de NEG have twelve grade NOM (There's no 12 th grade.)
8	JY	you la have UFP (Yes, there is.)
9	JS	you yei mei you = have also NEG have (Even if it's true there is no =)
10	JY	= daxue la university UFP (= I mean university.)
11	JS	= shier nianji ah = twelve grade UFP (= 12 th grade)
12	JZ	dui ah keshi [mei you shier nianji ah =] right UFP but NEG have twelve grade UFP (Right, but there is no 12 th grade =)
13	JS	[jiu shi daxue ah] then COP university UFP (So it's university.)
14	JY →	you ah mama gaosu ni = have UFP mom tell you (There is. Let mom tell you.)
15	JZ	= shier nianji shi daxue ah twelve grade COP university UFP

		(12 th grade means university.)
16	JS	mei you ah NEG have UFP (There isn't.)
17		(0.4)
18	JY →	women yuenan jiu shi suan shier nianji ah we Vietnam then COP count twelve grade UFP (We Vietnam, it is counted as the 12 th grade.)
19	JS	shier nianji bu suan nan shier nianji bu suan twelve grade NEG count UFP twelve grade NEG count (The 12 th grade does not exist.)
20		mei you shier nianji mei you na yangzi NEG have twelve grade NEG have that kind (There is no 12 th grade. There is no such)
21		[de nianji] (. ah:] ASSOC grade UFP (grade.)
22	JY	((turning to JS and pointing at him))
23		[wo gaosu ni °ni°-] I tell you you (I'm telling you)
24		(0.4)
25	JY	((pointing at JS again))
26		ni deng xia ni zai bei wo xioli you wait ASP you ASP PASS I fix (You'll be beaten up by me later.)
27		((turning her head to face TV))

When the Vietnamese mother, JY, involves the researcher in the mother-son talk about academic performance from Line 1 to Line 4, her first child identifies that there is a trouble-source (i.e. the 12th grade) in Line 2. It is seen that he subsequently selects an 'aggravated correction format' (Goodwin 1983) to display his challenge to his mother's utterance by saying 'There is no 12th grade'. Characteristic to children's conversation and contrary to the mitigated way that

adults manage expressions of opposition¹⁵, this kind of format constitutes of partial repeat of the trouble-source turn. It not only marks that the recipient regards part of prior speaker's utterances unmistakably incorrect, but it also leaves no chance for the prior speaker to self-repair (ibid.). At the same time, the use of the format allows both the repairable to be pointed to and the correction to be supplied in this single turn (as in Line 5). In Line 6 (Then you ask her to see if it's true), however, the speaker of the problematic talk, i.e. the mother, takes her son's disagreement as targeting the fact that the researcher has not attained to the 12th grade, and fails to realise that the boy's action results from his doubt about the fact that there is a 12th grade in the education system. From her perspective, therefore, the resolution of the trouble-source has to be a confirmation from the researcher as she holds absolute authority on this matter in question, i.e. her attainment to the 12th grade. Witnessing the above exchange and sharing the same doubt with his brother, the Vietnamese spouse's second child, JZ, launches a second aggravated correction by also partially repeating the trouble-source turn in Line 7 (There's no 12th grade.). Even with this second correction, the mother still does not understand why the '12th grade' causes a problem in the interaction until she utters '*daxue la*' (I mean university.) in Line 10, indicating that she may have identified the real problem that triggers her sons' correctional actions.

In subsequent turns, the two brothers collaborate as team members challenging their mother's problematic talk about the 12th grade. On the one hand, by formulating his turn with an agreement component '*dui*' (right) conjoined with the disagreement components '*mei you shier nianji ah*' (there is no 12th grade) with a contrast conjunction '*keshi*' (but), JZ demonstrates his disagreement

¹⁵ Scephgloff *et al.* (1977) argue that there is a preference for self-repair in adult conversation. However, if a repair operation is initiated by another party other than the trouble-source speaker, the operation of this kind of other-initiated repair is performed in a mitigated way, such as locating the repairable and supplying a candidate repair in different turns and utilising certain intonation contour (e.g. rising intonation). On the other hand, Goodwin (1983) identifies that other-initiated repair in children's conversations, can be performed in an aggravated way, such as locating the repairable and supplying a candidate repair in a single turn.

(Pomerantz 1984) with his mother's position which implicitly suggests that the '12th grade' is equivalent to one of the grades in the university. On the other hand, JS flags his disagreement over the mother's point by recycling and emphasising the component '*da xue*' (university) in Line 13 (So it's university), implying that the grading system in a university should not be mixed up with that in an elementary or secondary school. In Line 14, the Vietnamese spouse invokes her identity as 'mother', i.e. an authority figure (in this situation, at least), and proposes a story pre-sequence '*mama gaosu ni*' (Let mom tell you.), yet both boys do not ratify their mother's proposition to suspend the ordinary turn-taking procedures (Sacks 1974) for what she intends to say. On the contrary, latched to the proposition, JZ's assertion '*shier nianji shi daxue ah*' (12th grade means university.) suggests that attainment to the '12th grade' should be corrected to the attainment at university level, because even if the former means the latter, '12th grade does not exist', which has been JZ's persistent point displayed in Line 7, Line 12 and this turn. His brother, JS, echoes his brother and reasserts this point that there is not a 12th grade '*mei you ah*' (There isn't.) in the next turn. The mother then projects an identity-related formulation in the next turn '*women yuenan jiu shi suan shier nianji ah*' (We Vietnam, it is counted as the 12th grade.). Since both boys are ignorant about the education system in Vietnam, by orienting to her Vietnamese identity in this particular turn, the Vietnamese spouse not only shows her expertise of Vietnam lore (i.e. education system, in this particular context), but she also justifies her use of the '12th grade' to refer to a university student's educational level as it is claimed to be the case in Vietnam. In addition, as the Vietnamese spouse's first try to solve the issue by orienting to her identity as 'mother' fails, this identity-related deployment can be seen as a second attempt to stop the argument by invoking her identity as another authority figure, 'Vietnamese', in this particular quarrel context. What is significant about this turn is the alternative use of the 'we + country' compound.

- The ‘we Vietnam’ compound vs. the ‘mother-child SRP’

Similar to the ‘*lán tâi-oân*’ (we Taiwan) compound in the previous extract, here the Vietnamese spouse, JY, uses ‘*women yuenan*’ (we Vietnam) to preface her utterance in Line 18. Along the same vein as the analysis made in the ‘we Taiwan’ extract, the first-person plural pronoun ‘*women*’ is reserved for references to collectivities of which the speaker is a member. What can be derived from the ‘we Vietnam’ compound, therefore, is that the Vietnamese spouse can be seen to self-categorise herself as a member of ‘Vietnamese’ and is overtly ‘doing being Vietnamese’. In a context like this which involves the enactment of ‘Vietnamese’, even if the mother-child SRP set is oriented to by the Vietnamese spouse in Line 14, yet it is not oriented to with the deployment of any first-person plural pronouns. Moreover, it fails to stop the quarrel and further leads to the mother’s orientation to ‘Vietnamese’. As it is demonstrated in the extract, not only does JY use the first-person plural pronoun ‘*women*’ (we) to precede Vietnam, but her deployment of ‘*women*’ seems to exert an (intended or unintended) influence of distancing her two children from Vietnamese-ness. Therefore, the use of the ‘we Vietnam’ compound in Line 18 simultaneously partitions the participants into ‘Vietnamese’ (the mother) and ‘non-Vietnamese’ (the two boys) as the boys have limited knowledge about the education system in Vietnam. More specifically, the partition is achieved by the invocation of two relevant membership categories—‘Taiwanese’ and ‘Vietnamese’, because the children’s position is based on the factual grading system in Taiwan (the only education system they know and are part of) whereas the mother explicitly orients to its counterpart in Vietnam for her argument.

- Doing Being ‘Vietnamese’

Different from the trajectory that the ‘we Taiwan’ compound projects in the previous segment, however, the ‘we Vietnam’ compound is used in this case to warrant the speaker’s claim and invoke a sense of authority. The significance of Extracts 4.1 and 4.2, therefore, lies in the stark contrast exhibited by the two

identity-related compounds '*lân tâi-oân*' and '*women yuenan*' (i.e. 'we Taiwan' and 'we Vietnam') in terms of the topical loci where they are invoked by the Vietnamese spouses as well as their consequentiality in that the former results in self-categorisation contradiction and the ascription of authority to the interlocutor whereas the latter results in the ascription of expertise to the speaker herself. The next extract is another illustration of how a Vietnamese spouse uses the 'we Vietnam' compound to orient to her Vietnamese identity.

Example 3

The following extract was taken when the Vietnamese spouse (JY) and her mother (JYM) were having their meal when the other family members had finished theirs. The Vietnamese spouse was sitting on the couch facing her mother who is sitting on a stool. The Vietnamese spouse's sister (Z) was sitting on one of the armchairs facing both her mother and sister. JY's first child (JS) was sitting next to his mother on the couch while JY's second child (JZ) was looking after his cousin (YH). Please see figure 4.3 below for seating plan.

Before the extracted talk, the Vietnamese mother and daughters seemed to have discussed in Vietnamese the unsatisfactory learning attitude of one of JY's sons, JS, who was also present in the lounge. The Vietnamese spouse started the conversation given in the following by reporting to the boy that his grandmother just suggested in Vietnamese to send him back to Vietnam if he felt studying is a daily boredom in Taiwan. Then, a yes-no question eliciting the boy's willingness to go back to Vietnam was followed in the next turn. However, the boy did not reply to his mother's question directly, yet expressed his opinion about Vietnam being a place without computers. The statement ignited his mother's and his aunt's irritation and led to later tension between the child and the two adults.

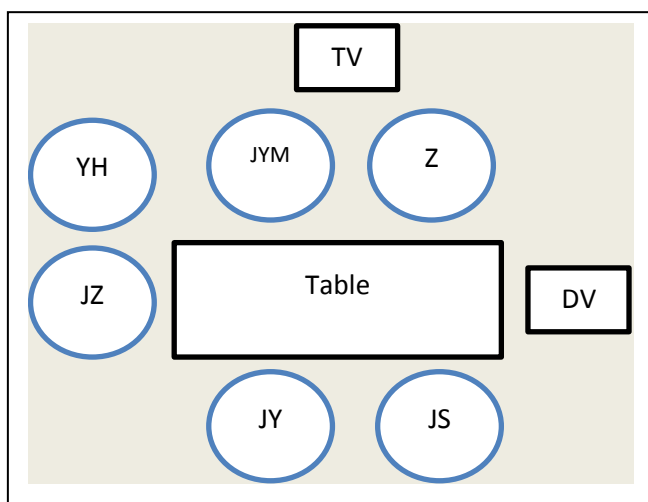


Figure 4.3

Extract 4.3 (no computers in Vietnam)

05012010 JY's 05:58~06:15—M2U04457

Plain: Mandarin Chinese

Italics: Taiwanese

Bold: Vietnamese

Round Bracket: (English translation)

Double Bracket: ((a non-verbal activity or the transcriber's comments))

JY: the Vietnamese spouse

JS: the Vietnamese spouse's first child

Z: the Vietnamese spouse's sister

1	JY	ni (.) bà ngoại shuo ni yao hui qu yuenan your grandma say you want back go Vietnam (Your grandma said if you go back to Vietnam)
2		((pointing at her mother))
3		ta mai: tai diannao gei ni wan 3sg buy CL computer give you play (she will buy a computer for you to play)
4		bu yao dushu le (.) hao bu hao NEG want study CRS okay NEG okay (you don't have to go to school, ok?)
5		(1.3)
6	JY	hao bu [hao la] okay NEG okay UFP (Okay?)

7	Z	[ni:] huiqu = you return (If you go back =)
8	JS	[yue:nan you mei you dian:nao] Vietnam but NEG have computer (There are no computers in Vietnam.)
9	Z	[= na bian:: °eh° (.) mei you ren guan] ni le that side NEG have person manage you CRS (= there, no one can keep an eye on you.)
10	JY	((slightly tilting backwards))
11		yu:- > WEISHAMO YUENAN MEI YOU DIANNAO AH? < Viet- why Vietnam NEG have computer UFP (Viet- why are there no computers in Vietnam?)
12	Z →	YOU: AH (.) WOMEN NAN BIAN YOU DIANNAO AH have UFP we that side have computer UFP (There are. We there have computers.)
13		ni MEI YOU QIAN MAI ERYI you NEG have money buy just (It's just that you don't have money to buy one.)
14	JY	NA:li mei you- where NEG have (Of course there are-)
15	JS	> yuenan: °de° < diannaou dou hen xun ma: Vietnam ASSOC computer all very suck UFP (Computers in Vietnam suck.)
16	JY	weishemo hen xun na why very suck UFP (Why do they suck?)
17		(0.7)
18		[wei-] wh- (Wh-)
19	JS	= [tai]wan bijiao hao °wan° Taiwan rather good play (Taiwan has more fun.)
20	JY	weishemo taiwan bijiao hao ah: ni shuo xian why Taiwan rather good UFP you say first

		(Why is Taiwan better? You tell me first.)
21		> taiwan bijiao < <u>hao</u> wan na: Taiwan rather good play UFP (Taiwan has more fun.)

After the boy expresses his opinion about Vietnam being a country without computers in Line 8 '*yue:nan you mei you dian:nao* / There are no computers in Vietnam', it is demonstrated in this segment that both the Vietnamese spouse (JY) and her sister (Z) are surprised at, if not offended by, the boy's utterance. In Line 10, the Vietnamese spouse shows her amazement not only verbally but also non-verbally as she slightly tilts backwards before she bursts out a query accentuated with force and at a rather quick pace in Line 11. From the unfinished preface element '*yu:-*', the speaker of this turn is seen to engage in self-repair and that the subsequent utterance is formulated in an upgrading manner in terms of prosodic features '*yu:- > WEISHAMO YUENAN MEI YOU DIANNAO AH? <*' (Viet- why are there no computers in Vietnam?), i.e. it is said loudly and dartingly with a rising intonation. This question, therefore, not only projects an answer from JS in the next turn, but it also projects negative emotional valence through the deployment of prosody (Goodwin and Goodwin 2001; Goodwin 2006).

- The 'we Vietnam' compound vs. the 'mother-child SRP'

The Vietnamese spouse's sister, Z, however, takes the floor in spite of the fact that JS has been selected as the next speaker. In Line 12, she first retorts to JS's statement of Vietnam being a country without computers by saying '*YOU: AH (.) WOMEN NAN BIAN YOU DIANNAO AH*' (There are. We there have computers), and then attributes the prerequisite of owning a computer to an individual's financial circumstances by saying '*ni MEI YOU QIAN MAI ERYI*' (It's just that you don't have money to buy one), which is doubtless a general fact that can be applied to Taiwan, Vietnam or any other country in the world. Z's formulation, therefore, invalidates JS's perception silhouetting Vietnam as an undeveloped

country without computers. Moreover, the turn exhibits equal prominent prosodic features as that in JY's turn, i.e. Z's utterance is said in a punctuated fashion at a louder volume which thus carries negative emotional valence. Most importantly, the 'we + country' compound is again seen in this extract in Line 12: '*WOMEN NAN BIAN / we there*', yet the country that the speaker refers to in this case is rather implicit and has to be retrieved from the discourse context. Take into consideration that Vietnam is the participants' topical focus so far and that the contextual environment where the demonstrative 'there' is located, one may thus conclude that 'there' refers to Vietnam. In that case, if 'there' is to be substituted by 'Vietnam', the 'we Vietnam' compound then illustrates, as discussed previously, Z's self-categorisation as a member of 'Vietnamese' and her overt engagement in 'doing being Vietnamese', which inevitably invokes the relevance of both membership categories, i.e. 'Vietnamese' (Z herself) and 'non-Vietnamese' (the boy). Meanwhile, the use of the compound also entitles Z an authority on Vietnam lore (i.e. whether there is computer in Vietnam, in this particular context) to rebut an outsider's (JS') false statement about the country. The boy's mother, JY, does not use an explicit identity-related formulation as her sister Z does in this dispute. Nonetheless, her utterance in Line 11 shares with Z's utterance in Line 12 a projection of negative emotional valence in reaction towards JS's depreciation of Vietnam. In Line 14, she is seen to align herself with Z by saying '*NA:li mei you- / Of course there are-*', which clearly projects her tone of firmness in this turn. Both JY's and Z's utterances so far have demonstrated their knowledge of Vietnam in a determined manner. Furthermore, JY then launches 2 challenges in a row in Lines 16 '*weishemo hen xun na / Why do they suck*' and 20 '*weishemo taiwan bijiao hao ah: / Why is Taiwan better*' to JS' utterances in Line 15 (Computers in Vietnam suck) and 19 (Taiwan has more fun) which respectively downgrades computers in Vietnam and depicts Taiwan as a better place. From what is displayed in the data, it is arguable to make the statement that JY is self-categorising herself as a Vietnamese, yet it is fair to say that she aligns with her sister Z who has oriented to the identity as 'Vietnamese' to defy JS's perception of Vietnam. By orienting to the relevance of doing being Vietnamese, JY and Z display their knowledge of Vietnam in this

episode and collaboratively ascribe non-Vietnameseness to the boy. Noticeably, the Vietnamese participants use the first-person plural pronoun '*women*' to invoke their Vietnamese identity with the deployment of the 'we there (Vietnam)' compound.

4.2.2 First-person plural pronouns '*lán*' and '*goán*' and the '*husband-wife SRP*'

Example 4

This extracted conversation was recorded one day before the winter solstice of 2009. Since it was a Taiwanese tradition to eat sticky rice dumplings on the solstice day to mark the approaching end of a year and the coming of a new one, the whole family of the Vietnamese spouse, H, were engaging in the making of dumplings for the next day. H's husband was in the kitchen preparing materials needed while the others were taking part in hand-rolling dumpling skins. Participants in this extract include the Vietnamese spouse (H), H's father-in-law (G) and H's two children (YJ and YX). Please see figure 4.4 below for seating plan.

The two adults were the main characters making dumpling skins whereas YJ offered her meagre help while YX quietly sat on a stool next to G. H started the extracted interaction by announcing her plan to buy a new house after earning enough money in the future. After the announcement, she invoked a Taiwanese tradition involving the transfer of ancestors' spirits from an old house into a new one. This segment captures H's indecision of her relation with the ancestors, and also demonstrates G's unproblematic manner towards H's misuse of a vulgar individual self-reference term to refer to 'ancestors' which happens to be the interactional topic. The researcher thus will analyse the following extract from these two aspects and argue that the membership categorisation device (MCD) 'Family' as well as the membership category 'non-Taiwanese' have interactional relevance in this particular context.

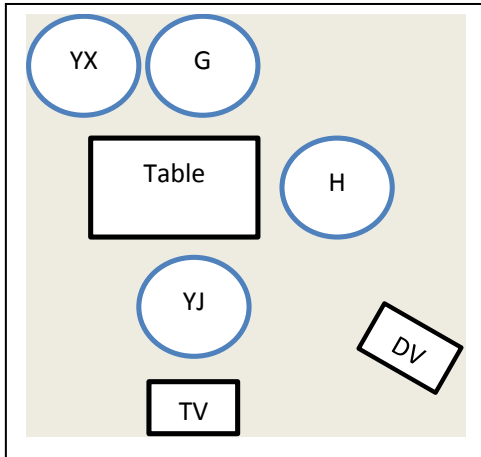


Figure 4.4

Extract 4.4 (a new house
21122009 H's 01:11~02:12
Plain: Mandarin Chinese

Italics: Taiwanese

Bold: Vietnamese

Round Bracket: (English translation)

Double Bracket: ((a non-verbal activity or the transcriber's comments))

H: the Vietnamese spouse

G: the Vietnamese spouse's father-in-law

YJ: the Vietnamese spouse's daughter

1	H	<i>eh</i> (.) <i>goá leh siūⁿ kóng</i> <i>eh I ASP think say</i> (I am thinking)
2		(2.4)
3	H	<i>goá nā:</i> <i>I if</i> (if I)
4		(1.1)
5	H	<i>goá nā ū-chhīⁿ hoⁱ</i> <i>I if have money UFP</i> (if I have money)
6		(1.2)
7	H	<i>ah goá bé: chit-keng chhù hoⁱ</i> <i>DM I buy one CL house UFP</i> (I will buy a house)

8	G	<i>h̀m̀</i>
9	H →	<i>ah lín kám ē: chhiáⁿ lín:: chhiáⁿ lán ê: ch-</i> DM you Q can invite your invite our ASSOC ch- (Will you invite your invite our gra-)
10		(0.3)
11	H →	<i>chó·má: °tò°tng: beh chhiáⁿ lín chó·má tng·lái pài</i> grandma return want invite your grandma return worship (grandma will you invite *me to return and be worshiped?)
12	G →	<i>ài a</i> should UFP (Yes, I will.)
13	H	<i>ài hoⁿ</i> should UFP (You will, right?)
14	G	<i>h̀m̀</i>
15		(0.3)
16	G	<i>goá mā iáu tī leh ài a</i> I yet still ASP UFP should UFP (I am still alive so I will.)
17		<i>a nā (.) ah koh bô-tī-leh mā-sī ài</i> DM if DM even NEG-ASP-UFP also COP should (Even if I am not, Ø should also do so)
18		<i>a kiàn-khun-a toā-kiáⁿ a</i> UFP NAME UFP big son UFP (as Kiàn-Khun is the first son.)
19	H	<i>goán ang sī toā-kiáⁿ só·í tō::</i> my husband COP big son so then (My husband is the first son, so that)
20	G	<i>h̀m̀:</i>
21	H	<i>nā-ū bé ū °chh°</i> If-have buy have hou- (If Ø can buy a hou-)
22		(0.6)
23	H	<i>nā-ū bé</i> If-have buy (If Ø can buy)
24		(0.3)

25	H	<i>ū- chhù</i> <i>have house</i> (a house)
26		(0.4)
27	H	<i>tō ài-</i> <i>then should</i> (then Ø should-)
28	G	<i>ài khì chhiáⁿ in a:</i> <i>should go invite them UFP</i> (should invite them)
29		(0.6)
30	G	<i>chhiáⁿ in lâi pài a</i> <i>invite them come worship UFP</i> (invite them to come for worship.)
31	H	<i>án-ne lí tō ài kâ: lí án-ne</i> <i>this way you then should with you this way</i> (Then you should so you)
32		<i>lí tō ài kâ::</i> <i>you then should with</i> (then you should)
33	YJ	<i>a-kong</i> <i>grandpa</i> (Grandpa)
34		(0.4)
35	YJ	<i>goá mā ē-hiáng iōng o'</i> <i>I also can make UFP</i> (I can do it too.)
36	H	<i>án-ne lí tō ài kâ (.) <u>kong-má</u> hoⁱ</i> <i>this way you then should with ancestors UFP</i> (So you should ask ancestors)
37		(0.9)
38	H →	<i>kā goán n̄ng-ê ang-á-bó' (.)</i> <i>with us two-CL husband-and-wife</i> (to give us husband and wife)
39		<i>pó-pì chit-ê a</i> <i>bless ASP UFP</i> (blessing)

40		(0.8)
41	H	<i>ah toā-thàn-chîⁿ khah °ē°-</i> <i>DM big-make-money then can</i> (to make a fortune)
42		(0.4)
43	H	<i>khah ē-tàng bé chhù a</i> <i>then enable buy house UFP</i> (so that Ø can buy a house)
44		(0.9)
45	H	<i>ah khah ē-tàng</i> <i>DM then enable</i> (so that Ø can)
46		(0.8)
47	H	<i>chhiáⁿ in tng-lâi pài a</i> <i>invite them return worship UFP</i> (invite them to come back and be worshiped)
48		(0.6)
49	H	<i>tiòh—bô</i> <i>right NEG</i> (Right?)
50	G	<i>hm:</i>
51	H	<i>án-ne khah sī tiòh: a</i> <i>this way then COP right UFP</i> (This is how it should be.)
52		(0.9)
53	H	<i>á-bô:: toā-kiáⁿ a::: ah mā bô ka-kī ê chhù e::: (.)</i> <i>otherwise big son DM DM yet have not own GEN house DM</i> (Otherwise, the first son does not have Ø own house.)
54		<i>°án-ne (.) án-ne bē- sái lah°</i> <i>this way this way NEG work UFP</i> (This is not right.)

- The Interactional Relevance of MCD ‘Family’

After G provides in Line 8 an acknowledgment token ‘*hm*’ subsequent to H’s house-buying announcement, H initiates a question in Lines 9 and 11 about whether G will invite ancestors’ spirits to her new house (Will you invite your

invite our gra- grandma will you invite *me¹⁶ to return and be worshiped). The structure of the utterances mainly constitutes of self-repair operations: two self-initiated self-repairs (SISRs) formulated in Line 9 and the third SISR is seen in a later TCU (Sacks *et al.* 1974) in Line 11. The first repair occurs when H identifies a trouble source '*lín*' which serves here as the English equivalent of second-person plural possessive pronoun 'your', and replaces the repairable with '*lán*' serving here as the possessive pronoun 'our' in English. Another reference repair, however, occurs later in Line 11 and H is seen to repair '*lán*' with '*lín*' (i.e. from 'our' to 'your'). In other words, H self-initiates another self-repair to retrieve the previous trouble source '*lín*'.

In Taiwanese society, it is acceptable for a daughter-in-law to refer to her father-in-law's ancestors as 'your' ancestors, because it is an evident fact that her relationship with him is built by law and thus does not share the same ancestors by birth. Another possibility can be that a daughter-in-law has little sense of belonging towards the in-law family and thus extends her feelings to the ancestors to whom she is not related. When H first repairs her prior talk from 'your' to 'our', however, it has demonstrated that she senses the inappropriateness of 'your' and attempts to create a collectivity composed of her recipient, i.e. her father-in-law, and herself. Since the interactional topic in this particular turn is ancestors, it is highly possible that the collectivity H creates by using 'our' is 'Family'—a membership categorisation device (MCD) embracing membership categories such as 'ancestor', 'offspring', 'father-in-law', 'daughter-in-law', 'husband', 'wife', 'parent', 'child', etc..

Moreover, even if H does not orient to her ignorance of the ancestor-inviting ritual, G explains from Line 16 to Line 18 that either G himself or H's husband (provided that G passes away) is entitled to hold the ritual of inviting, if not communicating with, the ancestors. At the end of this turn, G even invokes the membership category '*toā-kiáⁿ*' (the first son) to demonstrate that the

¹⁶ Even if H uses the wrong term to refer to ancestors, yet her interlocutor, the researcher and the reader can infer from the context that she intends to say 'ancestors' rather than 'me'.

qualification of H's husband to hold the ritual is inherent. In Line 19, H invokes another membership category 'my husband' and is seen to engage in a confirmation check by partly recycling G's utterances and says '*goán ang sī toā-kiáⁿ só-í tō:* / My husband is the first son, so that'. The two membership categories invoked respectively by G ('the first son') and H ('my husband') connote H's husband to have a significant role in this stretch of family talk and suggests the relevance of the MCD 'Family' once again.

Going back to Lines 9 and 11 where 'Family' is first implicitly regarded as relevant by H after her first self-repair, her membership of this MCD only transiently exists and is sabotaged after she overturns the previously repaired 'our' to a reformulation 'your' making the ultimate production 'your ancestors'¹⁷. Up to this point, the reader may feel puzzled that if 'your ancestor' is an acceptable concept to be brought up in this particular context, what then makes H repair the possessive pronoun from 'your' to 'our' simultaneously creating an MCD of which she and her father-in-law are both members, and then somehow adopts the previously repaired 'your'. To answer this question, the reader should bear in mind that this extract starts with H's announcement of house-buying—namely, 'her' house, or at least a house in which she is a stakeholder. The use of 'your ancestors' in this turn, therefore, seems striking at first in the sense that H allows ancestors of a certain collectivity of which she does not see herself as a member to reside and be worshiped in the house. On second thoughts, H does see herself as a legitimate member of the household, yet there are concerns about claiming the household membership at that particular moment, so she has to temporarily withdraw from the family collectivity. This argument will be discussed in the next paragraph.

From Line 21 to Line 30, the two participants' utterances are formulated in a pronoun-dropping manner (dropped pronouns are marked as Ø), so that one has to infer from context the agents of house-buying and ancestors-inviting. Since H has announced in Line 1 that she will buy a house once she has money

¹⁷ See previous footnote (16)

and that G has explained in Lines 16-18 that he or his son is the ancestors-inviting ritual practitioner, one may simply fill in the \emptyset s accordingly. However, H's use of 'goán n̄ng-ê ang-á-bó' / us both husband and wife' in Line 38 again involves H's husband in the talk. As one can tell from H's utterances in Lines 36, 38, 39, 41 and 43 (So you should ask ancestors to give us husband and wife blessing to make a fortune so that \emptyset can buy a house), that H conceives that it is only through the relational collectivity formed with her husband that she is entitled to membership of the household and thus can be blessed with a joint fortune by the ancestors to afford a house. Moreover, H's turn in Line 53 (Otherwise, the first son does not have \emptyset own house) again shows her connection with her husband in that the house (her house) will only be bought with the ancestors' blessing upon the first son of the family, so that the ownership of the house will be a joint one. It is therefore, argued that by connecting herself with her husband, H self-selects the category 'wife' and thus pairs up with her husband to form the 'standard relational pair' (SRP)—husband-wife (Sacks 1972). The self-categorisation work once again shows the relevance of the MCD 'Family', and also demonstrates how H sees herself in the family, i.e. her household membership is valid when the husband-wife SRP is created (at least in this particular context), and thus may explain why she retrieves the trouble source 'lín' (i.e. your) in Line 11 in order to disaggregate the collectivity of 'Family' when the very SRP has not been oriented to.

- The Interactional Relevance of the Category 'Non-Taiwanese'

In addition to the two repairs of reference forms ('lín' → 'lán' → 'lín'), there is another self-repair featuring a cut-off in Line 9 and a 0.3-second gap in Line 10 before H produces 'chó-má:' (grandmother) in Taiwanese in Line 11. From the use of 'pài / worship' and 'in' (equivalent to 'them' in this case) in Line 11, it can be deduced that the speaker intends to produce the Taiwanese term for ancestors (for which there are two choices available, i.e. 'chó-sian' and 'kong-má') at the point where she cuts off in Line 9. After the 0.3-second pause, however, H mistakenly combines the first syllable of 'chó-sian' with the second syllable of

'kong-má', and produces 'chó-má' (grandmother) which if prefaced by 'lín' (your) turns out to be an extremely vulgar and obscene individual self-reference term (*lín chó-má*) in Taiwanese. This is exactly what H uses in the TCU in Line 11 to refer to 'your ancestors'.

The reformulation is not only semantically incorrect in that it changes the meaning from 'your ancestors' to 'me', but it is also extremely humiliating to G as H's utterances project her as the object of worship and is thus hierarchically more dominant than G. It demonstrates, however, that G does not see H's use of '*lín chó-má*' (a coarse individual self-reference term) to refer to '*lín chó-sian/kong-má*' (your ancestors) as problematic in listening, speaking or understanding as we can tell from G's concise turn elements '*ài a*' in Line 12, that there are neither delays nor any accounts featuring an interactional dis-preference. Rather, G's utterance (*ài a* / Yes, I will) form a preferred second pair part of H's question. It is thus fair to say that G shows 'unnatural' tolerance toward H in such an insulting scenario. Here, it seems that the category of 'non-Taiwanese', though not explicitly being oriented to, has interactional relevance in the segment. Had H been 'Taiwanese', calling herself '*lín chó-má*' in front of a senior and placing herself hierarchically more powerful than G tends to lead to conflicts and are deviant actions regarding the attribute of 'Taiwanese', unless she intends to either provoke or sneer at her conversationalist. Nevertheless, there is no sign in the data suggesting either of these intentions. It is therefore argued that H's misuse of '*lín chó-má*' in Line 11 along with G's turn in Line 12 in responding to her question collaboratively invoke the category 'non-Taiwanese'.

Even if in this extract the Vietnamese spouse, H, does not invoke explicitly the category 'Taiwanese' or 'Vietnamese', the talk-in-interaction between her and her father-in-law makes salient the relevance of her 'doing being non-Taiwanese' which projects a different interactional trajectory had H been an incumbent of 'Taiwanese'. Echoing the finding in Extract 4.1, this extract demonstrates how participants engaging in cross-border family interaction collaboratively create acquiesced room for identity negotiation. It, furthermore,

shows how the Vietnamese spouse attributes collective responsibility to her, her husband and her father-in-law with respect to a Taiwanese ritual and a house-buying plan. That is, the Vietnamese spouse self-selects the category 'wife' and teams up with her husband to form the SRP 'husband-wife' when ancestors become the interactional topic, and it is only when the relational pair is created that H assigns to herself the incumbency/responsibility of a 'Family' member, such as being blessed by ancestors or having the ancestors worshiped in her new house.

4.3 What is The Relevance and Consequentiality of The Vietnamese Participants' Use of Taiwanese and Mandarin in Specific Contexts?

4.3.1 Participants' bilingual backgrounds

Section 4.2 has explored how certain membership categories are used as resources in familial interaction, now the discussion turns to how the Vietnamese participants use both Taiwanese and Mandarin as interactional resources to engage in family talks. The participants' linguistic backgrounds have been discussed in Section 3.2.2, which has identified that the investigated Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational families have generational differences in terms of their use of the two languages. For the Vietnamese participants' in-law parents, they understand Mandarin and use Taiwanese predominantly in daily life. For the Vietnamese participants' husbands, they have Taiwanese as their first language and display a stable preference for Taiwanese. They are also capable of listening, speaking, reading and writing in Mandarin. For the Vietnamese participants' themselves, they have Vietnamese as their first language, and have Mandarin and Taiwanese as the second and the third languages. They are fluent speakers of both Taiwanese and Mandarin, and can switch between the two languages when talking to their spouses and children, but they seldom use Mandarin when conversing with their in-law parents. For the youngest generation in these families, children are early bilinguals yet with

increasing exposure to Mandarin after receiving formal education from 7 years old.

The 7-hour corpus employed in this study has comprised of mainly Mandarin-Taiwanese bilingual conversations and a scattering of Vietnamese talk initiated when the Vietnamese spouses converse with their Vietnamese family members and compatriots. After reviewing the corpus, it appears that the Vietnamese spouses use Taiwanese and Mandarin in a careful way which enables them to cooperate with their Taiwanese family members in parenting the youngest generation, particularly in admonishment sequences¹⁸. The following subsections will cover Vietnamese participants' language use patterns both in their self-initiated admonishment sequences and those used in admonishment sequences initiated by another family member. Specifically, they will discuss how Vietnamese participants use Taiwanese and Mandarin in self-initiated admonishment sequences (1) when invitation is not engaged (Section 4.3.2), (2) when invitation is overtly engaged (Section 4.3.3), and (3) in other-initiated admonishment sequences (Section 4.3.4).

4.3.2 Vietnamese spouses' language use patterns in self-initiated admonishment sequences—when invitation is not engaged

Example 5.

This extract started when the Vietnamese spouse (S), her mother-in-law (G), her first child (J) and her second child (F) were in the first 3 minutes of their dinner (see figure 4.5 for seating plan). Before the extracted interaction, S was telling J to slow down his speed of eating in Mandarin while G was suggesting to F a way to prevent food from irritating her mouth ulcer in Taiwanese. After G's suggestion is delivered, G and F then became the 'audience' (cf. Levinson

¹⁸ This study draws on Hepburn and Potter's (2010) work and modifies their definition of an admonishment. The working definition of an admonishment thus refers to a form of social influence that the admonisher uses to highlight current problem behaviour (from the perspective of the admonisher) and projects attempted behavioural influence on the recipient.

1996) for the interaction between S and J. During the course of the discussion, the Vietnamese spouse, S, had noticed that her son, J, was distracted by the cupboard behind him and thus brought the issue into focus in the manner of an admonishment. The admonishment, however, was issued in Taiwanese rather than in Mandarin which is the language that she and J had been using.

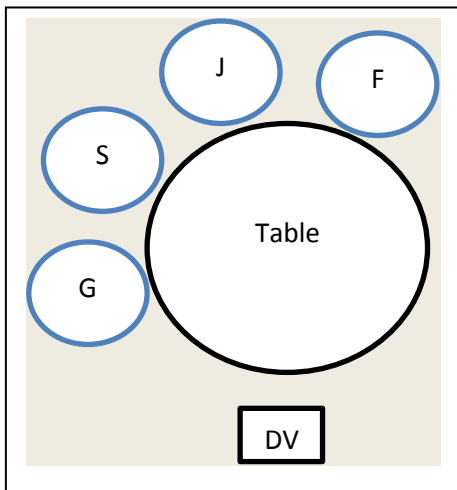


Figure 4.5

Extract 4.5 (No more playing.)

04112009 S' 02:29~02:45—M2U04393

Plain: Mandarin Chinese

Italics: Taiwanese

Bold: Vietnamese

Round Bracket: (English)

Double Bracket: ((a non-verbal activity or the transcriber's comments))

G: the Vietnamese spouse's mother-in-law

S: the Vietnamese spouse

J: the Vietnamese spouse's first child

F: the Vietnamese spouse's second child

1	J	((turning to the cupboard and touching the window panel))
2	S →	<i>hó lah</i> (.) [<i>mài koh</i> [SNG <i>a lah</i> <i>okay UFP NEG keep play CRS UFP</i> (Okay, no more playing.)
3	J	(((sliding close the glass panel)))
4	G →	[[°] <i>ko-ko</i> <i>elder brother</i>
5	J	(0.5) ((turning back and looking downward))

6	G →	<i>khah-kín chiáh</i> <i>quickly eat</i> (Eat quickly.)
7	S →	<i>lí bô sî-kan [thang sîng a lah</i> <i>you have no time enable play CRS UFP</i> (You don't have time to play.)
8	J	(((looking at his mom for 0.6 sec.))
9	G →	<i>lí làk-tiám-poàⁿ ài [pó-síp neh</i> <i>you six-o'clock-half should go to cram school UFP</i> (You have to go to cram school at 6:30 (pm).)
10	S	(((adjusting J's glasses frame for 1.7 sec.))
11	→	<i>dui ah</i> <i>True UFP</i> (Indeed.)
12	J	(1.7) ((looking downward while chewing food))
13	S →	<i>qing ni zhuan xin chi ah</i> <i>please you focus eat UFP</i> (Please concentrate on your eating.)
14	J	(((putting some medicine on the table for 0.6 sec.))
15		<i>hao:de</i> <i>okay</i> (Okay.)
16		(((eating the food in his plate))

When S sees her son, J, turning to the cupboard and touching its window panel, she introduces a frame shift to admonishment in Line 2 which projects not only that J's behaviour of panel-touching as *SÍNG* (play), but it is something admonishable and should be terminated. It is shown that this particular admonishment is formulated in Taiwanese with S's production of *SÍNG* noticeably in an emphatic and louder manner. The accented word, which is also the admonishable behaviour, is preceded by a negation marker *mài* showing the admonishment initiator's intention is to have the admonished target stop the admonishable behaviour of playing. Right after S's first TCU in Line 2, J slide closes the window with which the admonishment initiator (i.e. his mother) identifies he is playing. S's admonishment, therefore, displays its influence on J

to modify the projected admonishable behaviour. In Line 4, however, G makes a bid for the floor by summoning the admonished, J, (*ko-ko* / elder brother) before the admonishment initiator's turn even comes to an end.

- A Taiwanese-preferred family member's intervention and collaboration

It is argued that G's pre-empted summoning action in Line 4 is an immediate intervention in the admonishing action initiated by S. First, since '*mài koh* / stop' in Line 2 signals that S attempts to issue an admonishing directive toward one of the present family members, and since J is not engaging in what he is supposed to do, i.e. finishing his food—the normative behaviour at the dinner table, the admonished target can thus be easily inferred by G. Secondly, later in Line 6 after her summoning action, G is seen to formulate a follow-up admonishment addressed to the same target, J, by warning him that he should not only resume the normative behaviour (eating) but also resume it at a certain pace by uttering *khah-kin chiàh* (eat quickly). G's action in Line 4 thus, on the one hand, prepares her for producing a follow-up admonishment targeting J; on the other hand, it shows clearly that she treats him as the target of S's admonishing directive in Line 2 for his disengagement in the normative eating behaviour and the engagement in a deviant playing behaviour. Therefore, G's summoning in Line 4 is an immediate intervention in an admonishing context, and the two adults have so far demonstrated their cooperation in the admonishment sequence initiated by the Vietnamese spouse in that one warns the admonished to stop a deviant and admonishable behaviour at the dinner table, while the other warns the same target to engage in the normative behaviour in the expected way.

The admonishment initiator, S, then recycles the essential element *S'NG* (play) in her previous turn, and expands the admonishment by providing an account specifying that the playing action has to be stopped, because the admonished, (J) has no time for this. This admonishment initiated by S in Line 7, like the one in Line 2, is again produced in Taiwanese. In Line 9, G self-selects herself as

the next speaker and provides a more detailed account explaining that the very reason that J has no time to play is because of his tight schedule to arrive at the cram school by 6:30pm. Therefore, up to Line 9, G is seen to have offered her efforts in collaborating with S in this admonishment episode twice. G's account not only shares S's stance but also contributes to a crescendo of J's playing as problematic and admonishable, and further justifies S's initiation of this admonishment sequence. In particular, by contributing her backing with incremental details based on S's admonishment, G is participating in the production of the admonishment sequence that constitutes her a 'co-author' (cf. Levinson 1996).

- The admonishment initiator's resumption of Mandarin and the frame shift away from admonishment

Further in Line 11, G's collaboration is ratified and confirmed by the admonishment initiator, S, with her production of an agreement token (*dui / indeed*). This particular ratification, however, is produced in Mandarin which is resumed by S and J for ensuing interaction. Moreover, the Vietnamese spouse, S, shifts the admonishment frame to that of a request in Line 13 asking J to 'please concentrate on eating' after he shows compliance by chewing food in Line 12. On the other hand, however, it is from Line 11 onwards since S resumes Mandarin that G makes no bid for speakership and her position thus returns to 'audience' (ibid.) for the Mandarin-dominated mother-child interaction.

It is therefore argued that the Vietnamese spouse's alternation to Taiwanese leads to intervention and collaboration from another adult member who prefers the switched-to linguistic code (as in Lines 6 and 9). Meanwhile, when the Vietnamese spouse resumes Mandarin, the action not only signals the end of the admonishment, but it also brings about the Taiwanese-preferred family member to withdraw from the interactional floor. What can be drawn from this extract, therefore, is that the Vietnamese spouse uses the two languages available in the bilingual family as contextualisation cues to signal the shift of

interactional frames, and thus allows a Taiwanese-preferred family member (the mother-in-law in this case) to navigate her various participant positions (i.e. from audience to a co-author and then to audience) in an admonishment episode.

Example 6

Before this segment, the dinner table was set and the whole family was about to have dinner. After setting the table, however, the Vietnamese spouse (S) left the dinner table to finish her chores at the kitchen sink and was therefore off-camera while the others started to enjoy the food. Since the sink was only three steps away from the interactional arena, i.e. the dinner table, S was capable of hearing the verbal interaction among her mother-in-law (G), her son (J) and her daughter (F), yet she could only have limited view of the interaction because of the seating arrangement and the location where she was situated (see figure 4.6). This segment starts when G offered J some vegetables which J refused by shaking his head horizontally, yet the grandmother somehow carried out the offering regardless of J's head-shaking. This sparked J's protest by both wielding his chopsticks in the air and grumbling loudly. This behaviour triggered G and S to respectively initiate repair operations and invites S to further initiate an admonishment in Taiwanese addressing J's behaviour.

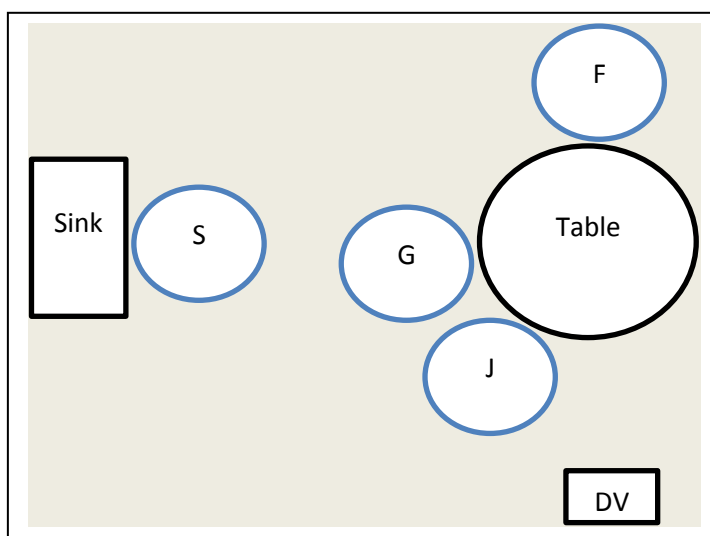


Figure 4.6

Extract 5.6 (Not happy with Grandma helping you?)

12102009 S' 01:20~01:55—Video 1

Plain: Mandarin Chinese

Italics: Taiwanese

Bold: Vietnamese

Round Bracket: (English)

Double Bracket: ((a non-verbal activity or the transcriber's comments))

G: the Vietnamese spouse's mother-in-law

S: the Vietnamese spouse

J: the Vietnamese spouse's first child

F: the Vietnamese spouse's second child

1		<i>a-má kǎ lí ngeh lái a-má kǎ lí ngeh</i> <i>grandma to you pick come grandma to you pick</i>
		(Let grandma help you get the food. Here, let grandma help you get the food.)
2		(1.7)
3	G	yao bu yao want NEG want
		(Do you want it?)
4		((picking up some shredded carrots and moving toward J))
5	J	hm ((shaking his head horizontally))
6	G	((putting shredded carrots into J's bowl))
7	J	eiemum :: ((waving his right hand with chopsticks in the air))
8		(0.6)
9	G	<i>án-ná</i> [^o lah ^o] <i>what UFP</i>
		(What?)
10	S	[liu jung-ji <i>teh</i> <i>hhòng-sáⁿ</i> NAME ASP-dur. do what
		(Liu Jung-Ji what are you doing?)
11		(1.2)
12	S	liu jung-ji <i>ah</i> NAME UFP
		(Liu Jung-Ji)
13	G	<i>a-má kǎ lí ngeh lí m̄-hó o'</i> <i>grandma to you pick you NEG-okay UFP</i>
		(Do you not want grandma to help you get the food?)
14		(1.4)
15	S	<i>lí chhòng-sáⁿ a-má bang ni jia eh</i>

	→	<i>you do what grandma help you pick UFP</i> (What were you doing? Grandma was helping you get the food.)
16	→	<i>ni zemo la</i> <i>you what UFP</i> (What's the matter with you?)
17		(1.2)
18	S →	<i>a-má shi zai guanxin ni nei (.)</i> <i>grandma COP ASP-dur. concern you UFP</i> (Grandma was showing her concern about you.)
19	→	<i>ni *zi yuan (.) zuo namo (.) zuo yuanyuande bang ni jia</i> <i>you sit far sit so sit far away help you pick</i> (You sit so far away. She was helping you get the food.)
20	→	((sitting between G and F while talking to J)) <i>lí: a lí a:</i> <i>you DM you DM</i> (You, you)
21	→	<i>ah lí sī teh toā-siaⁿ sáⁿ</i> <i>DM you COP ASP-dur. loud voice what</i> (Why did you raise your voice?)
22	J	((stirring his food with chopsticks till the end of this extract))
23	S	((looking at F for 0.4 sec.))
24		<i>fu xuan</i> NAME (Fu-Xuan)
25	F	((looking at S))
26	S	<i>chi le ma</i> <i>eat ASP-pfv. UFP</i> (Have you eaten?)
27		[((putting shredded carrots into F's bowl))
28	F	[hm::

In Line 1 when G offers J help to get some food in Taiwanese, there is no response from J to acknowledge G's proposal. After the 1.7-sec silence, therefore, G self-selects herself as the next speaker and picks up some shredded carrots while at the same time alternates to Mandarin to produce the first pair part of a question-answer sequence *yao bu yao* (do you want it) to elicit J's willingness for the offer. In Line 5, J is seen to formulate the second pair part

of this question-answer sequence with the production of a minimal response token *hm* as well as shaking his head horizontally. J's formulation, however, is treated by G as an acceptance of the proposition in the sense that she carries out the offering action and puts the shredded carrots into J's bowl in Line 6. J then reacts to G's action in verbal and nonverbal agitation which is substantiated by his production of a grumble in a gradually louder manner with ending sound stretches (*eiemum::*) and by violently waving his right hand with chopsticks in the air. J's agitated behaviour subsequently invites G to produce an 'open-class repair initiator' (Drew 1997) *án-ná* (what) in Line 9, and triggers S to produce in Line 10 utterances that are composed of an explicit summon of speaker of the trouble source (i.e. the boy's name) and a repair initiator specifically locating J's behaviour as the repairable (*teh hhòng-sáⁿ* / what are you doing). S's turn in Line 10 not only forestalls G's turn completion in Line 9, but also anticipates the nominated next-speaker's (i.e. J's) turn. Both G's and S's turns demonstrate that the two adults treat J's behaviour as a trouble source resulting from either hearing, speaking or understanding problem (Schegloff *et al.* 1977). Moreover, the two turns uniformly projects J as the next-speaker, yet he fails to claim the floor and leaves it unoccupied for 1.2 seconds in Line 11.

In Line 12, S then engages in a second try to summon J, which again projects the boy as the next speaker. Rather than waiting for the nominated next-speaker to produce his TCUs, G bids for the floor and formulates a repair initiator in a question form presuming the reason for J's troublesome behaviour (do you not want grandma to help you get the food), which not only relay-selects J as the next-speaker but also requests J's confirmation of the presumption. This segment has suggested that J's withholding explicit responses (either an affirmation or an explanation) to G's and S's repair initiation in Line 9 and Line 10 are treated by the two adults as noticeably absent and thus drive S to resume the summoning of J in Line 12 and cause G to refashion her interrogation and engage in overt pursuit of an explicit response in Line 13. Like S's summoning action in Line 12 and their previous turns respectively in Lines 9 and 10, however, G fails to draw J out after her utterance. In terms of

organisation of repair operation, S's and G's turns (Lines 9, 10 and 13) serving as repair initiators all fail to yield a successful repair by J. It is argued, however, that they function as admonishment pre-sequences co-constructed by G and S to preface an admonishment targeting J.

- A Taiwanese-preferred adult member's intervention and collaboration in the admonishment pre-sequence

Since S was working at the kitchen sink during J's outburst of grumbling, she could not fully understand what caused her son's behaviour as her vision was partially blocked by G. Even if S lacks a full grasp of the talk-in-interaction between J and G, yet it shows in Line 10 that she treats J's loud grumble as a trouble source. Intriguingly, her utterance initiating repair is produced in Taiwanese. Moreover, after S alternates from Mandarin to Taiwanese in Line 10 followed by J's noticeable silence, G immediately takes the floor after S's resumptive summons in Line 12. Since S does not capture the overall interaction resulting from her physical absence at the dinner table, G's presumption (Line 13) of J's repairable behaviour to be caused by her offering action helps to address S's lack of sufficient knowledge on the subject matter. G's repair initiation in Line 13 not only explicitly projects J as the next speaker, but also implicitly provides S with ground to evaluate J's agitated behaviour from her epistemic stance. Therefore, G is seen to delicately offer S two-fold help in Line 13 by first teaming up with S to produce relay elicitation of J's explanation for his behaviour, and then furnishing S with necessary knowledge to fashion J's behaviour as admonishable and thus justifies the initiation of an admonishment afterwards.

- The body of the admonishment (Lines 15-17 and Line 22)

After the 1.4-sec pause in Line 14, S then partly recycles her repair initiator in Line 10 (*teh hhòng-sáⁿ* / what are you doing) and G's utterances in Line 13 (*a-má kā lí ngheh lí m̄-hó o`* / do you not want grandma to help you get the food) to

formulate what is argued as an admonishment in Line 15 (*lí chhòng-sáⁿ a-má bang ni jia eh* / What were you doing? Grandma was helping you get the food.) The reason for it being an admonishment is that the first TCU of this turn is a rhetorical question which is immediately followed by an absolute fact sufficient to attest to J's behaviour as admonishable. To begin with, since J's grumble has been targeted by S as a repairable behaviour in previous turns, S knows the answer to her question of what her son has done, i.e. a loud grumble at an elder family member, and thus certifies it as a rhetorical question requiring no response from J. Moreover, the second TCU of this turn not only delivers the fact that G has offered J some food, but it projects G's offering as an action of benevolence by S's formulation '*bang ni jia*' (help you get the food). Most importantly, S orients to the membership category 'grandmother', and invokes the predicates associating with it. The orientation to the category specifically and explicitly locates J's grumble as a wrongdoing and as an admonishable behaviour, because one should not make such a rowdy grumble in return for his grandmother's offering of food, especially when it is an act of good will. Therefore, it is argued that an admonishment sequence initiated in Line 15 and continues in Line 16 when S produces *ni zemo la* (what is the matter with you). Later in Lines 18 (Grandma was showing her concern about you) and 19 (You sit so far away. She was helping you get the food), S again projects G's offering as an action out of concern about the admonished, J. The successive utterances from Lines 15, and 16 to Lines 18 and 19, therefore, make a different formulation of admonishment sequence from that in Extract 5.5. That is, it consists of the integration of a rhetoric question (1st TCU in Line 15) and a series of fact statement (2nd TCU in Line 15 and Lines 16, 18 and 19) used to identify admonishable behaviour and justify her perception of J's loud grumble as admonishable and legitimise her initiation of an admonishment.

- The admonishment initiator's resumption of Mandarin and the frame shift away from admonishment

Another interesting aspect of this admonishment is that S formulates it by undertaking language alternation between TCUs in Line 15, and it is noticeable that since S's alternation to Mandarin, G withdraws from the ensuing mother-child interaction (though the admonished, J, makes no verbal contribution). As in Extract 4.5 the Vietnamese participant's resumption of Mandarin in an admonishment sequence leads to a Taiwanese-preferred family member's change of participant status, this extract, too, leads to G's change of participant status. Since in this case, G only engages in the admonishment pre-sequence (Lines 9-13) rather than the body of the admonishment (Lines 15-16 and 18-21), it is argued that her participant status changes from a 'sponsor' of the admonishment to 'audience' of the mother-child interaction (cf. Levinson 1996). In other words, she takes part in the admonishment sequence and has the motivation of treating J's behaviour as admonishable, yet is not the actual transmitter of the admonishment.

It is worth mentioning that throughout the extract, J has been projected as the SPP speaker several times (Lines 11, 14, 17, 22) in the admonishment pre-sequence and the admonishment body when G and S ask about the reason for his repairable/admonishable behaviour. Nevertheless, he does not fulfil the projected reciprocity and remains silent. Since silence, as Heritage (1988) argues, is itself a response which serves the major motivation for a non-responding party to produce either compliant actions or accounts for non-compliance, J's absence of response in Line 22 seems to be treated by S as a preferred and compliant action as the admonishment sequence is not further expanded. S is then seen to signal a frame shift from admonishment to food-offering by first gazing at her second child, F (who has been 'audience' of the admonishing interaction), and then by summoning F in Mandarin for subsequent carrot-offering action in Line 27.

4.3.3 Vietnamese spouses' language use patterns in self-initiated admonishment sequences—when invitation is overtly engaged

The above two examples have illustrated how a Vietnamese spouse, with the use of language alternation, receives immediate collaboration from a Taiwanese-preferred family member and results in the admonished target's compliance in self-initiated admonishment sequences. The following two examples show a different interactional trajectory when a Vietnamese spouse has to overtly engage in inviting a Taiwanese-preferred family member for collaboration by alternating between languages. They are also instances in which a Vietnamese spouse fails in her attempt to invite a Taiwanese-preferred family member in the admonishment sequence that she has initiated.

Example 7.

The whole family had just finished dinner and everyone was in the living room except for JY's husband who was taking a shower. Before the extracted interaction, the Vietnamese spouse, JY, initiated an admonishment sequence to address JS's admonishable behaviour of constantly leaving 'allegedly finished' assignments at school thus giving JY or JY's husband no chance to verify JS's declaration. The admonishment had already left the admonished target sobbing whilst still insisting on the completion of the assignment, but the admonishment initiator, JY, did not stop. Addressing the same problem behaviour, she initiated a follow-up admonishment sequence extracted below by making a comparison between JS and JY's younger brother, whom according to JY, JS resembled. It is worth mentioning that JY's sister, Z, who also marries a Taiwanese man like JY does, was invited to have dinner that night and was thus present when JY issued the admonishment targeting JS.

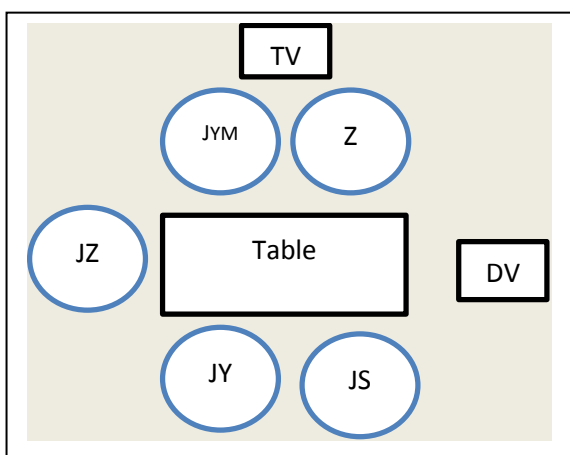


Figure 4.7

Extract 4.7 (Come and teach your son a lesson.)

05012010 JY's 09:53~10:38—05012010(4)

Plain: Mandarin Chinese

Italics: Taiwanese

Bold: Vietnamese

Round Bracket: (English)

Double Bracket: ((a non-verbal activity or the transcriber's comments))

JY: the Vietnamese spouse

JYH: the Vietnamese spouse's husband

Z: the Vietnamese spouse's sister

JS: the Vietnamese spouse's first child

1	JY	ni zhende ni xiang shei ma you really you resemble who UFP (You know who you are like?)
2		(1.0)
3	JY	ni zhende ni xiang shei ma ni xianzai (.) you really you resemble who UFP you now (You know who you are like now?)
4		wo jia ren you yi ge didi la my family have one CL younger brother UFP (I have a younger brother.)
5		ni hen xiang ta [la] you very resemble him UFP (You are like him.)
6	Z	[xiang jiu] jiu la

		resemble uncle UFP (like your uncle)
7		(0.9)
8	Z	[qu dushu =] go study (Go to study =)
9	JY	[ai ku gui] love cry ghost (Such a cry baby!)
10	Z	= qu waimian na bian zai wan go outside that side ASP-dur. play (= play outdoors)
11		(0.4)
12	JY	dushu bu haohaodi du study NEG well study (Not study hard.)
13		zai na bian <i>piⁿ</i> yi ge you de mei you de at that side <i>manipulate</i> one CL have NOM NEG have NOM (And thought of playing mischief.)
14	JS	dushu hao wuliao oh study very boring UFP (Study is so boring.)
15	JY	DUSHU HAO WULIAO study very boring (Study is so boring.)
16		((staring at JS for 0.3sec.))
17	JS	dui ah true UFP (Yes.)
18	JY	buran shemo cai kaixin ni gaosu wo otherwise what then happy you tell me (Then tell me what you think is interesting.)
19	Z	qu gongzuo ah xian wo zhe yang wo jiu hen kaixin le go work UFP like I this way I then very happy CRS (Go to work as what I do and I am happy.)
20	JY	yao bu yao want NEG want

		(Do you want to work?)
21		(0.6)
22	JS	bu:: yao NEG want (No, I don't want to.)
23	JY	ah buran [shemo cai kaixin na] DM otherwise what then happy UFP (Then what is interesting?) ((Lines 24-37 are pruned off))
38	JYH	((walking into the living area))
39		(0.9)
40	JY	hoh RT
41		((turning her head to her husband))
42		zhen bei ni- really PASS you (You are really driving me-)
43		((turning to the TV))
44	→	<i>lâi lah</i> <i>come UFP</i> (Come.)
45	→	((looking at her husband))
46	→	<i>lín kiáⁿ hó-hó-á</i> ((turning to the TV)) <i>kā i kóng--chit-ê</i> <i>your child properly</i> <i>DISP him talk ASP-delim.</i> (Teach your son a proper lesson.)
47	JYH	((keeping walking towards the desk without noticing JY's utterances))

In Line 1, JY initiates a story preface sequence (Sacks 1974) in which a story about someone that JS resembles is proposed (You know who you are like?). After a noticeable 1-sec. silence without the selected next speaker, JS, providing a reply as the SPP of this question-answer sequence, JY recycles all the elements in her previous turn and reformulates the story preface sequence asking 'You know who you are like now?' in Line 3. The story-telling pre-sequences in Line 1 and 3 project JY as the potential story teller possessing the knowledge of the proposed story and JS as the potential story recipient who lacks the very knowledge. JY then has the story forwarded by invoking the fact that she has a younger brother whom, from her epistemic stance, that JS, the

story recipient, resembles. While JY formulates her assessment with pronouns 'ni' (you) and 'ta' (he/him/she/her) by saying '*ni hen xiang ta la* / You are just like him', Z pre-empts the floor in Line 6 with a reformulation of JY's utterance by orienting to the kinship (i.e. uncle-nephew) JS has with the story protagonist by saying '*xiang jiujiu la* / resemble uncle'. After a 0.9-sec silence when no party takes the floor, Z and JY both self-select as the next speaker and compete for the floor. At JY's overlapping turn in Line 9, she issues a negative assessment commenting on JS' sobbing by saying '*ai ku gui* / Such a cry baby.' On the other hand, Z invokes the reminiscence of what JS' uncle did when he went to study, i.e. he played outdoors when he should have attended classes. Z's utterances in Lines 8 and 10, therefore, not only demonstrate her shared knowledge with the original story deliverer, JY, about the story protagonist, but also project him as an indolent student. Z's projection is later ratified by and shared in JY's assessment in Line 12 (Not study hard). Further, JY projects JS's uncle as someone who is naughty by saying 'And thought of playing mischief' in Line 13. The two sisters' utterances in Lines 8, 10, 12 and 13 show that they both have access to the story source, i.e. performance of the protagonist at an educational institution and, because of this, they engage in collaborative story-telling and jointly project their brother as a naughty and indolent student.

- The defiance of the admonished target

Such projections of JS's uncle is relevant to the adult-child interaction as prior to the story preface sequence, JY was addressing JS about his admonishable behaviour of not following his parents' request to bring back assignments for daily checking. By orienting to the resemblance between JS and his uncle, therefore, JY is also projecting JS as a naughty and indolent student, especially from her formulation in Lines 12 and 13 that JS's uncle does not study hard and thinks of playing mischief. Such formulation in this admonishment sequence not only relates the admonishable behaviour to that of a 'naughty and indolent student', which is ascribed to both JS's uncle and JS, but also suggests that JS's admonishable behaviour is one example of his wicked tricks. The story

recipient, JS, then demonstrates his understanding of the story by saying '*dushu hao wuliao oh* / Study is so boring' showing that he does not reject the ascribed-to category 'naughty and indolent student', but attributes the cause of it to the insipidness of study. Therefore, his appreciation of the story not only suggests extrication for him and his uncle from JY's projection that being a naughty and indolent student is admonishable, but also demonstrates his disalignment with his mother. The legitimacy of this admonishment initiated by JY's orientation to the resemblance between JS and JY's younger brother, is therefore undermined by the admonished target's assessment of study being boring. The subsequent utterance of the admonishment initiator, JY, is seen to recycle JS's words of the previous turn, yet every syllable is deployed with extra volume (*DUSHU HAO WULIAO* / Study is so boring). Such emphatic formulation in Line 15 along with JY's staring at JS for 0.3 second in Line 16 both project negative emotional valences towards JS's utterance. JY's uptake, however, is treated by the admonished, JS, as either a question or request for clarification, so that he produces his SPP with an agreement token *dui*, reaffirming his stance which undermines the legitimacy of JY's admonishment. The admonishment sequence then terminates after JY initiates a question projecting JS as the next speaker to provide his assessment of what he thinks is interesting since he regards study is so boring. The two adults and the child then engage in long-winded talk (the pruned-off 14 lines) about this issue.

- The Vietnamese spouse's explicit invitation to a Taiwanese-preferred family member

When JY's husband finishes his shower and walks into the living room, the discussion about what JS thinks is interesting is interrupted as there is a 0.9-sec. silence when no one takes the floor. The presence of JY's husband in the living room is also demonstrated by JY's head turning towards him in Line 41. Afterwards, JY cuts off her own utterance '*zhen bei ni-* / You are really driving me-' in Line 42, and then engages in a series of verbal and non-verbal actions trying

to change the participant constellation by involving JY's husband in the adult-child interaction.

To begin with, she issues an imperative sentence '*lâi lah* / Come' in Line 44, and then turns her head towards her husband saying '*lín kiáⁿ hó-hó-á kâ i kóng--chit-ê* / Teach your son a proper lesson', intentionally making her husband's participant position change from 'overhearer' to 'interlocutor' in the talk-in-interaction. What is also interesting about these actions is that the utterances are produced in Taiwanese which is the preferred language of JY's husband. This alternation to Taiwanese not only projects an explicit invitation to JY's husband (Come), but it also projects him as a potential initiator of an admonishment sequence as JY formulates the invitation as one to teach JS a proper lesson. Secondly, since JY cuts off her own utterance in Line 42 and selects her husband as the next speaker in Taiwanese, the actions have flagged that the floor is yielded to JY's husband which may or may not lead to a change of speakership. Therefore, by explicitly formulating the invitation in Taiwanese and in a follow-up admonishment solicitation, it is argued that the Vietnamese spouse's language alternation in this self-initiated admonishment episode is 'participant-related' and 'discourse-related' (Auer 1984). More importantly, the Vietnamese participant, JY, orients to the standardised relational pair (SRP) 'Father-Child' as an element forming the admonishment solicitation. It, on the one hand, invokes the predicates associating with membership categories 'Father' and 'Child' and legitimises a potential admonishment issued by JY's husband as it is a category-bound activity (CBA) that a father gives to his child; on the other hand, it projects the selected speaker as a potential admonishment initiator allowing his participant status to change from 'overhearer' to 'interlocutor' and then to latent 'author' of an admonishment (cf. Levinson 1996). All these actions, however, fail to draw JY's husband into the adult-child interaction, so the latent participant position (i.e. 'author' of an admonishment) is not taken on.

Some may argue that in the self-initiated admonishment sequence, the Vietnamese spouse has received immediate assistance (Lines 1-13) from her

sister, Z, in jointly projecting their brother as an 'indolent and naughty student' which is analogically ascribed to the admonished target. The admonishment sequence, however, as was shown in the data, fails to achieve the admonished target's compliance in any form. On the contrary, the admonishment is challenged by the admonished, which later leads to JY's frame shift requesting JS to assess what is interesting from his epistemic stance. In other words, JY's self-initiated admonishment sequence has not resolved the admonishable behaviour, and it is therefore when JY's husband enters the living room and interrupts the discussion, she projects him as initiator of a potential admonishment sequence by orienting to one of the CBAs associating with the category 'Father'. This extract shows that when the Vietnamese participant self-initiates an admonishment sequence failing to result in the target's compliance, she alternates from Mandarin to Taiwanese in explicitly inviting intervention and collaboration from a Taiwanese-preferred family member, and leads to possible speaker change. Therefore, the Vietnamese spouse's language alternation in this self-initiated admonishment episode is polyvalent in that it is discourse-related and participants-related (cf. Auer 1984).

Example 8

There were four people sitting at the dinner table and engaging in talk-in-interaction in this extract. Among the four participants, JY's husband (JYH) was the only one having finished his meal and was watching TV. The Vietnamese spouse (JY), JY's son (JS) and JY's sister (Z) were still enjoying the food (see figure 5.8 for seat arrangement). Before the extracted interaction, JS had been rambling about odds and ends instead of focusing on finishing his food. This prompted JY to initiate the admonishment extracted below to target JS and warned that if he did not finish his food within a time frame, he would be beaten up.

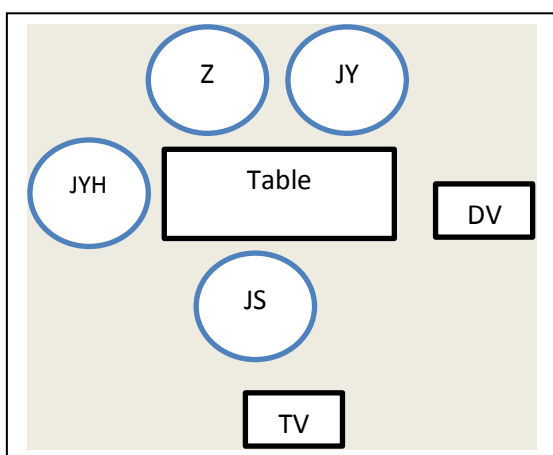


Figure 4.8

Extract 4.8 (I will slap you.)

15122009 JY's 06:00~06:18—15122009(2)

Plain: Mandarin Chinese

Italics: Taiwanese

Bold: Vietnamese

Round Bracket: (English)

Double Bracket: ((a non-verbal activity or the transcriber's comments))

JY: the Vietnamese spouse

JYH: the Vietnamese spouse's husband

Z: the Vietnamese spouse's sister

JS: the Vietnamese spouse's first child

1	JY	((looking at the clock))
2		ni zai chi dao you further eat to (Eat your food until)
3		((pointing at the clock with chopsticks in left hand))
4		san na bian three that side (It goes to three.)
5		((putting her left hand down))
6		ruguo hai mei you wan if still NEG have finish (If the food hasn't been finished)
7		ni dengxia ((looking at JS)) you later

		(Later you will)
8		((pointing at JS))
9		zhende bei wo *xioxi oh (.) xioli oh really PASS I rest UFP fix UFP (Be *rested beaten up by me.)
10		((looking at the clock))
11		wo gen ni jiang [?] I with you tell (I am telling you.)
12	JS	[dao er] na bian to two that side (When it points to two)
13	JY	((looking at the clock))
14	JS	jiu hao le just okay CRS (It's done.)
15	JY	((looking at JS))
16		er hao: two okay (Two ok.)
17		((nodding))
18		ni shuo de oh you say NOM UFP (As you said.)
19		ni you (You)
20		((pointing at JS))
21		manman gei wo chi oh slowly give I eat UFP (You should eat slowly.)
22		((putting hand down))
23		bu yao gei wo tu chulai oh NEG want give I vomit out UFP (You shouldn't throw up.)
24		(1.7)
25	Z	((looking at the clock))
26	JY	((turning to her husband who was watching TV, and then to JS))

27	→	<i>lín lāu-pē leh kā lí khoàⁿ</i> <i>your father ? DISP you watch</i> (Your dad is watching you.)
28	→	<i>goá kā lí kóng</i> <i>I DISP you tell</i> (I am telling you.)
29	JS	((turning to his dad and then shaking his head horizontally to his mom))
30	JY	((looking at her husband))
31	JS	[(shaking head horizontally)]
32	JY →	[<i>dán--ê goá kā lí sai--loè kā lí kóng</i>] <i>later I DISP you slap ASP DISP you tell</i> (I will slap you later I am telling you.)

From Line 1 to Line 5, JY is seen to engage with the clock for time-checking while initiating an admonishment sequence warning JS to finish his food when the long hand points at 3. From Line 6 to Line 9, the admonishment initiator further furnishes the admonishment sequence with a hypothetical condition which projects a beaten-up consequence if the admonished, JS, fails to fulfil the requirement embedded in the admonishment utterances. When the admonishment initiator, JY, still holds speakership and addresses JS in Line 11, the admonished, however, forestalls the floor in Line 12 and proposes an alternative, saying that he can finish food when the long hand points at 2, i.e. 5 minutes earlier than the time frame set by his mother. JY first looks at his son and then agrees on the new proposal verbally (Two ok. As you said) and nonverbally (the nodding action). Nonetheless, she warns that while JS has to finish his food when the long hand goes to 2, yet he should assume the eating pace that does not make him throw up (You should eat slowly. You shouldn't throw up).

- The Vietnamese spouse's implicit invitation to a Taiwanese-preferred family member

After a 1.7-sec. silence in Line 24, JY engages in changing the participant constellation by involving JY's husband in the adult-child interaction. To begin

with, she turns to her husband who is watching TV and then turns to JS, the admonished, in Line 26. Even if it is clearly shown on camera that JY's husband is concentrating on the TV program and is not watching JS, JY intentionally makes a false statement in Line 27 saying '*lín lāu-pē leh kā lí khoà*' / Your dad is watching you'. Along with her utterance in Line 28 '*goá kā lí kóng*' / I am telling you', the admonishment initiator, JY, is forwarding the message that 'I am telling you that your father is monitoring your behaviour' to the admonished. This formulation first flags up that JY's husband is engaging with JS' behaviour, and also heralds potential changes to the floor work as JY's husband is ratified to participate in the mother-child admonishment sequence with JY's false statement, and thus he may or may not bid for the floor.

It is noticeable that the false statement involving JY's husband is produced in Taiwanese, which is his preferred language. Even if it is unlike the instance in the previous extract that alternation to Taiwanese projects an explicit invitation, it is still argued that it projects an implicit invitation to a Taiwanese-preferred family member to join the Vietnamese spouse's admonishing action. For one thing, since the false statement is made up with JY's orientation to the 'Father-Child' SRP, if JY's husband takes the floor provided that he is a ratified participant, the invocation thus legitimises a potential admonishment along with other category-bound activities (CBAs) that a father does to his child. In other words, the false statement not only ratifies the candidacy of JY's husband to compete for the floor, but it also highlights the CBAs associating with the category 'Father'. Therefore, by formulating a false statement consisting of the 'Father-Child' SRP in Taiwanese, the Vietnamese spouse's alternation to Taiwanese in this episode projects an implicit invitation to her Taiwanese-preferred husband in this admonishment sequence and thus makes the language alternation both participant-related and discourse-related. Nonetheless, the projected invitation does not draw JY's husband into the mother-child interaction. It is illustrated by his absent action of floor bidding, and is also illustrated by JS's head shaking towards JY after he confirms that his father is not watching him but the TV program. Furthermore, JS shakes his

head again after JY looks at her husband and confirms that he remains unaffected by the mother-child talk-in-interaction. In other words, the Vietnamese spouse does not receive assistance from her husband even if she has formulated an implicit invitation.

- No resumption of Mandarin

Subsequently, failure in involving another family member in collaboration in an admonishing action is seen to lead to a different use of languages from the previous extracts. It is shown that while JS's head-shaking invalidates JY's utterances in Line 27, the action, however, is followed by a follow-up admonishment initiated by JY. In Line 32, JY overlaps JS's head-shaking and says 'I will slap you later I am telling you.' in Taiwanese with an emphasis on '*sai / slap*' that echoes the beaten-up consequence formulated in the first admonishment in Line 9. Unlike the cases in Extract 4.5 and Extract 4.6 which have demonstrated that the admonishment initiator's alternation to Mandarin signals frame shift from admonishment to others, alternation to Mandarin does not occur in this episode. On the contrary, the initiator of this admonishment sequence issues a follow-up admonishment in Taiwanese and has the admonishment frame maintained.

4.3.4 Vietnamese spouses' language use patterns in other-initiated admonishment sequences

Having elaborated on how a Vietnamese spouse uses Mandarin and Taiwanese in a self-initiated admonishment sequence, the following two extracts demonstrate how the two languages can be used by a Vietnamese spouse in an admonishment sequence initiated by a Taiwanese family member.

Example 9

All of the five members of this family were having their dinner in the living area. The Vietnamese spouse (H) was feeding her one-year-old son (YX), while her husband (HH) was feeding their five-year-old daughter (YJ). Before the extracted interaction, the Vietnamese spouse's father-in-law (G) just issued an admonishment targeting YJ for behaving badly at the dinner table, which had caused a difficult time for her feeder, HH. The Vietnamese spouse then incorporated G's admonishment and formulated a request urging her daughter, i.e. the admonished, to eat independently so that HH could have his food without distraction and interruption. The request, however, was rejected by the little girl. Right after YJ rejected her mother's request, she engaged in playing with the digital recorder hung around her neck. Not knowing that the gadget was entrusted to YJ by the researcher before dinner, G initiated another admonishment targeting YJ to address her admonishable behaviour of taking something that did not belong to her.

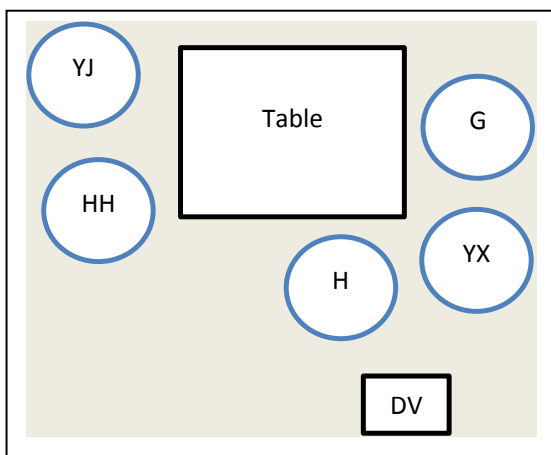


Figure 4.9

Extract 4.9 (Don't take what's not yours.)

16122009 H's09:26~09:51—16122009

Plain: Mandarin Chinese

Italics: Taiwanese

Bold: Vietnamese

Round Bracket: (English)

Double Bracket: ((a non-verbal activity or the transcriber's comments))

H: the Vietnamese spouse
 HH: the Vietnamese spouse's husband
 YJ: H's first child
 YX: H's second child
 G: H's father-in-law

1	JY	((playing with digital recorder))
2	G	<i>he a-i ê hêng a-i</i> <i>that aunt NOM return aunt</i> (That belongs to aunt, return it to aunt.)
3		(0.5)
4	YJ	((looking at G))
5		↑un:
6		((looking at H))
7		((putting her hands down with the digital recorder))
8	G	[> <i>lí nã khòàⁿ--tiòh mih-kiãⁿ tiòh beh ài<</i> <u>bu</u> <i>xing</i> <i>you if look thing then want want NEG should</i> (You want to claim everything you see. You shouldn't do that.)
9	YJ	[((playing with the digital recorder
10		((putting the string attached to the digital recorder onto her head))
11	H	<i>nei-ge shi shei de</i> <i>that-CL COP who NOM</i> (Whom does that belong to?)
12	YJ	((putting the string down around her neck))
13	HH	[?]
14	H	[<i>nei-ge shi</i> ((pointing at YJ))] <i>that-CL COP</i> (That belongs to)
15	YJ	((looking at H))
16	H	[<i>ayi de</i>] <i>aunt NOM</i> (aunt)
17	HH	[<i>kòà--leh mài án-</i>] <i>ne sng</i> <i>hang NEG this play</i> (Let it hang there. Don't play with it like this.)
18	YJ	((looking at camera))
19	HH	((feeding YJ))
20	YJ	((looking at the food))
21	HH	<i>lí kòà--leh tiòh hó (.) mài sng</i> <i>you hang just okay NEG play</i>

		(You just let it hang there, don't play with it.)
22	YJ	((looking at H and then having the food offered by HH, and then looking at camera and then at H))
23		(0.3)
24	H →	na-ge ayi de that-CL aunt NOM (That belongs to aunt.)
25	YJ	((looking at H and then at the food offered by HH))
26		(0.7)
27	YJ	((fed by HH))
28	H →	yao should (You should)
29	YJ	((looking at H))
30	H →	huan gei ayi return give aunt (return it to aunt.)
31	YJ	((looking at her food and then at H))
32		(1.0)
33	H →	bu shi ni-de dongsi [ni bu yao- NEG COP you-GEN thing you NEG should (Those not belonging to you, you shouldn't-)
34	YJ	[(looking at camera)]
35		(0.9)
36	G →	bu yao na NEG should take (shouldn't take them.)
37	H →	bu yao na: NEG should take (shouldn't take them.)
38	YJ	((looking at H while having food for 1.4 sec.))
39	H	dui bu dui: right NEG right (Right?)
40	YJ	((looking towards YX's direction while having food for 1.5 sec.))
41	H	na qu gei ayi: take go give aunt (Take it to aunt.)

42	YJ	((looking at camera))
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G specifies in Line 2 that the ownership of the digital recorder belongs to ‘aunt’, i.e. the researcher, not YJ, so that she should return it to the owner. The subsequent actions undertaken by YJ, however, show that she is reluctant to follow her grandfather’s directive. First, there is a 0.5-sec. pause when she can actually take the floor and produce a verbal compliance with G’s bidding. Without doing so, YJ looks at the directive initiator, G, and utters ‘↑un:’ with a rising intonation and a sound elongation, which again is not a compliant verbal action responding to G’s directive. Most apparently, after she shifts gaze from G to H (Line 6), YJ puts her hands down and is seen to hold on to the string attached to the digital recorder rather than assuming a return action. This series of actions are treated by G as admonishable in Line 8 as he comments on YJ’s behaviour as being out of the desire to claim everything she sees. From the formulation of the second TCU of this turn ‘*bu xing* / You shouldn’t do that’, it demonstrates that G projects the behaviour driven by this very desire as one that is not right and not allowed, making his utterance an admonishment targeting YJ. The admonished, however, later resumes the playing with the digital recorder and further tries to hang it around her neck (Line 10), and therefore engages in a non-compliant action against the admonishment initiator’s will.

The Vietnamese spouse, H, then issues a question asking the admonished ‘*nei-ge shi shei de* / Whom does that belong to’. Since it has been specified by G that the researcher is the owner of the digital recorder, H’s question in Line 11 is therefore a rhetorical one. Later, H and her husband compete for the floor. At her overlapping turn in Line 14 and at a later turn in Line 16, she provides the answer to her rhetorical question raised in Line 11 saying ‘*nei-ge shi ayi de* / That belongs to aunt’, which is a repetition of G’s first TCU in Line 2, yet it is noteworthy a Mandarin version of G’s Taiwanese utterance. After 6 lines of feeding interaction between HH and the admonished, H reiterates the point in Line 24 that the digital recorder belongs to aunt. While YJ does look at H after the reiteration (Line 25), yet she later engages in eating without paying more

attention to H. In Lines 28 and 30, H addresses YJ again saying '*yao huan gei ayi* / You should return it to aunt', which is a translation of G's second TCU in Line 2. What is interesting about H's formulations in Lines 14, 16, 28 and 30 is that they are not only produced in Mandarin, but they are produced in a manner that is almost word-by-word translation of G's utterances.

By undertaking the translating action, H's participant status changes from 'audience' of the interaction between G and YJ to 'relayer' of G in this admonishment sequence (cf. Levinson 1996). In other words, H takes part in the admonishing action and engages in transmitting the message whose source and form originated from G. In such an other-initiated admonishment sequence, the Vietnamese spouse participates by first providing a translated version of the projected admonishing utterances in Mandarin. Since later in Line 33 she engages in crafting a follow-up utterance '*bu shi ni-de dongsi ni bu yao-* / Those not belonging to you, you shouldn't-' based on G's admonishment in Line 8, the translating action can thus be regarded as the harbinger of her alignment with the initiator for collaboration. Nonetheless, when H fashions her follow-up motivated by G's admonishment, she cuts off her own talking (Line 33) followed by a 0.9-sec. silence in Line 35. G then treats the suspension as the result of H's word search, so he offers a final component to H's utterances in Mandarin. The utterance offered by G (*bu yao na* / shouldn't take them) is later ratified by the original speaker, H, in the manner of repetition in Line 37. Therefore, lines 33, 35, 36 and 37 exemplify the conversational completion in a three-part sequence, which occurs when one speaker completes another speaker's utterance. According to Antaki *et al.* (1996), the offered completion utterance is usually up to the original speaker to accept or reject on the grounds of its authority. For this particular case, the original speaker, H, being the one possessing the authority on her own unfinished utterance, may or may not accept G's putative completion at the third turn. Since G's offered completion is later accepted in Line 37, the ratification not only "acknowledges the act of completion and agrees with what is said in it, but it also confirms that what was said was said in the participant status of the original speaker" (*ibid.* 155). It is then fair to say that

in this follow-up admonishment, H is no longer G's 'relayer', but takes on the footing of 'author' of her own admonishment. However, since the source of her follow-up admonishment originates from G in that H's admonishment targets the same admonishable behaviour of YJ, she can also be argued to take on the footing of 'co-author' of G's admonishment. It is therefore argued that in the admonishment sequence initiated by G, while H aligns herself with the initiator by taking on the footing of 'relayer' who translates for G to transmit the message, yet in a follow-up admonishment motivated by G, the Vietnamese spouse takes on the footing of 'co-author' who develops her follow-up based on G's projected admonishment in Line 8.

It is worth mentioning, however, that since Line 11 when H bids for the floor and engages in translating G's utterances into Mandarin, the admonishment initiator yields the floor and makes no efforts to further the admonishing action. It is not until later in Line 36 when H's utterance is cut-off (Line 33) and suspended (Line 35) that G takes the floor and engages in collaborating with H to complete the follow-up admonishment. From the demonstration, it is fair to say that while H both translates for G and issues a follow-up to maintain the admonishment frame initiated by G, yet S's use of Mandarin seems to serve as a contextualisation cue signalling a change to the floor work illustrated by G's absence of floor-bidding since Mandarin is introduced. G's participant status thus changes from 'author' of an admonishment to 'audience' of the mother-child interaction after Mandarin is used. However, when H's follow-up admonishment is cut-off and suspended, G bids for speakership again yet in Mandarin showing his alignment with H in language choice, and his offered completion is later confirmed to share H's projected stance in the unfinished utterance. His participant status thus changes again from 'audience' to 'co-author' in the three-part admonishment sequence. From this extract, it shows that the collaboration between adults in the admonishment context is close and exquisite with one offering help to the other to achieve co-admonishing. These delicate interactional actions are not found in this extract alone, and the next extract is another exemplification.

Example 10

Before the extracted interaction, the Vietnamese spouse's first child (J) had finished the food in his bowl and was ready to leave the dinner table. However, his mother (S) put some vegetables into J's empty bowl without asking him if he wanted to have more food. This unauthorised action generated J's grumbling and the angry statement that he hated vegetables. The boy was then in a pout which was found by his grandmother (G) as something admonishable and thus initiated the admonishment extracted below.

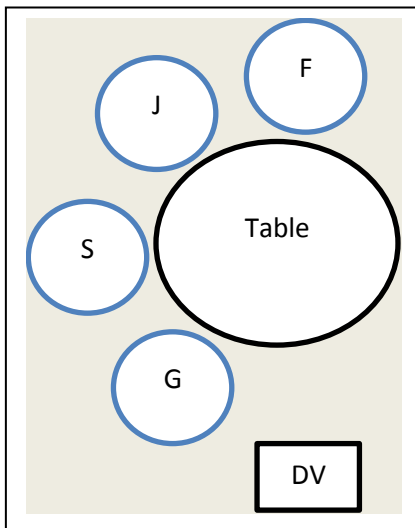


Figure 4.10

Extract 4.10 (Now your lips are pouting.)

03112009 S' 11:02~11:45—M2U04392

Plain: Mandarin Chinese

Italics: Taiwanese

Bold: Vietnamese

Round Bracket: (English)

Double Bracket: ((a non-verbal activity or the transcriber's comments))

S: the Vietnamese spouse

G: the Vietnamese spouse's mother-in-law

J: the Vietnamese spouse's first child

F: the Vietnamese spouse's second child

1	G	<i>lí chít-má án-ne àu-tùh-tùh ah tú-hó (.)</i> <i>you now this way pouty DM just right</i>
		(You are pouting. It's the right timing.)
2		<i>che-che hip-- khi-lái a án-ne hō lí khoàⁿ (.)</i> <i>elder sister record ASP DM this way give you see</i>
		(The elder sister is videotaping this and will let you see)
3		<i>[khoàⁿ lí ê bīn án-ná]</i> <i>see you GEN face how</i>
		(see what your face is like.)
4	S →	[dengxia] later
		(Later)
5		<i>da jiejie rang ni kan: ni de (.) lian</i> <i>big elder sister let you see you GEN face</i>
		(The elder sister will let you see your face.)
6		(0.4)
7	S →	<i>zhe ge yangzi ho shi zemo zhemo ke:ai</i> <i>this CL look UFP COP how so cute</i>
		(A face like this is so cute.)
8		(1.6)
9	J	((hitting his chair and turning his back towards his mother))
10		(0.4)
11	G	hmm
12		(1.9)
13	S →	<i>ni zhe yangzi: geng keai</i> <i>you this look more cute</i>
		(You look even cuter this way.)
14		(1.6)
15	J	((pounding on the cupboard))
16	S →	<i>kang ni beiho zhidao ni de lian: qian (.) qian (.) qian lian</i> <i>see you back know you GEN face front front front face</i>
		(Judging from your back and Ø know your face)
17		<i>lí ê bīn ē it-tēng (0.8) chiok keai ê</i> <i>you GEN face can must very cute NOM</i>
		(Your face must be very cute.)
18		(0.7)
19	F	Hm ((smiling))
20	J	((standing up from the chair angrily and walking out of the kitchen))

21		(1.2)
22	G	hmm

From Line 1 to Line 3, G initiates an admonishment in Taiwanese by orienting to the existence of a non-family member and a digital camera (The elder sister is videotaping this), and admonishes J against his pouting behaviour. Before the admonishment initiator finishes her talk in Line 3, the Vietnamese spouse, S, issues a pre-emptive floor-bidding action in Line 4 resulting in overlapping with G's utterance 'see what your face is like' in Line 3. At her overlapping turn, S produces a Mandarin version of G's utterance saying '*dengxia da jiejie rang ni kan: ni de lian* / Later, the elder sister will let you see your face'. Similar to the case illustrated in the previous extract, in this other-initiated admonishment sequence, the Vietnamese spouse provides a translated version of the projected admonishing utterance in Mandarin to participate in the grandparent-grandchild interaction, and has her participant status changes from 'audience' to 'G's relayer' in this other-initiated admonishment context (cf. Levinson 1996).

After a 0.4-sec. pause in Line 6, S then selects herself as the next speaker refashioning G's formulation and says '*zhe ge yangshi ho shi zemo zhemo ke:ai* / A face like this is so cute' in Line 7. S's utterance seems to contradict G's stance as G treats J's pouting as admonishable and admonishes him about it, yet S, on the contrary, projects J's pouting behaviour as '*keai* / cute' which is a positive assessment commonly used to praise children. Nonetheless, it is argued that the Vietnamese spouse is actually addressing the admonished target in the manner of teasing. To begin with, if S's utterance is meant to praise J's behaviour, his subsequent behaviour of hitting the chair and turning his back on his mother (Line 9) should be deemed deviant. Nonetheless, S does not initiate a repair to address the deviant behaviour, but she upgrades the 'compliment' by using the comparative and says '*ni zhe yangzi: geng keai* / You look even cuter this way' in Line 13. Again, if this utterance is meant to praise J's pouting behaviour, he should not react to his mother's talk by pounding on the cupboard afterwards (Line 15). S then highlights J's turning-away reaction and produces the utterances in Lines 16 and 17 saying 'Judging from your back and Ø know your

face. Your face must be very cute'. The utterances, however, are treated by J as provocative because he stands up from the chair angrily and walks out of the kitchen in Line 20.

It is argued that S's projection of J's pouting as being 'cute' is then an alternative way to address this behaviour which has been regarded by G as admonishable. Therefore, S's translating action in Line 4 serves as the harbinger of her alignment with the admonishment initiator. Like the case in the previous extract which illustrates how a Vietnamese spouse develops a follow-up admonishment based on an admonishment initiator's utterances, the same sequential structure can also be found in this other-initiated admonishment sequence. Extract 4.10 shows that while the admonishment initiator, G, treats J's pouting as admonishable and says that the elder sister will show what his face is like, yet she does not give subjective judgement of how she thinks his face looks. On the other hand, S develops her subsequent utterances based on G's admonishment utterances and transmits her judgement specifying that pouting makes J's face 'cute' in a teasing tone (and is treated by J as such with his reaction to S's formulation). It is then fair to say that S takes on the footing of 'author' of her own teasing sequence, and since the sequence is used to address the same admonishable pouting behaviour of J, the teasing sequence can thus also be regarded as a follow-up based on G's admonishment. Therefore, while S aligns herself with the initiator by taking on the footing of 'relayer' who translates for G to transmit the message, yet in a follow-up admonishment motivated by G, the Vietnamese spouse takes on the footing of 'co-author' who develops her follow-up based on G's admonishment (cf. Levinson 1996).

The translating action, however, seems to serve as a contextualisation cue signalling a floor change as the admonishment initiator, G, makes little efforts to further the admonishing action initiated by herself since Mandarin is introduced in Line 4. G is seen to only produce a minimal reaction token 'hmm' (Line 22) when the admonished, J, engages in non-compliant actions, i.e. chair-hitting,

turning-away and rushing out of the kitchen when the tension culminates. Therefore, it is argued that the introduction of Mandarin makes G's participant status change from 'author' of an admonishment to 'audience' of the mother-child interaction.

Based on the findings derived from Extract 4.5 to Extract 4.10, therefore, a Vietnamese spouse's language use patterns in self-initiated and other-initiated admonishment sequences can be outlined in the following tables.

Table 4.1 Vietnamese spouses' language use patterns in self-initiated admonishment sequences when invitation is not engaged

Admonishment Initiator	Vietnamese spouse
Language used for admonishment Initiation	Alternation from Mandarin to Taiwanese
Consequences	The admonishment initiator <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● may receive immediate assistance from a Taiwanese-preferred family member ● may resume Mandarin if the admonished complies

Table 4.2 Vietnamese spouses' language use patterns in self-initiated admonishment sequences when invitation is overtly engaged

Admonishment Initiator	Vietnamese spouse
Language used for admonishment Initiation	Mandarin
Language used for invitation to assistance	Alternation from Mandarin to Taiwanese
Consequences	The admonishment initiator <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● may not receive assistance after the invitation ● may adhere to Taiwanese if the admonished defies

Table 4.3 Vietnamese spouses' language use patterns in other-initiated admonishment sequences

Admonishment Initiator	Taiwanese-preferred family member
Language used for admonishment Initiation	Taiwanese
Consequences	The admonishment initiator may receive assistance from a Vietnamese spouse through <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● her translating action from Taiwanese into Mandarin ● her follow-up admonishment in Mandarin

Chapter 5 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter starts with a review of research findings presented in Chapter 5 and then discusses their implications. The discussion is later followed by a summary to conclude this chapter.

5.2 Review of Research Findings

It is identified from the data that membership categories 'Vietnamese', 'Taiwanese', 'Husband', 'Wife', 'Mother' and 'Child' are often invoked in family talks. The deployment of these membership categories in familial interaction enables the researcher to tap into the Vietnamese participants' identity work (e.g. how they manage and make use of their Vietnamese and Taiwanese identities in a private and intimate domain) from the consequences after the categories are invoked. Moreover, except for the national category identities, the other four are membership categories grouped under the membership categorisation device 'Family', which helps to illustrate the way the Vietnamese participants and their Taiwanese family members attribute responsibility and authority to each other regarding family issues.

Since the second research question asks how the often oriented-to categories are deployed and reacted to by the Vietnamese and Taiwanese participants to achieve interactional goals, Extracts 4.1-4.4 have shown that Vietnamese spouses use overt collective self-reference terms, i.e. '*women*' in Mandarin or '*lán*' in Taiwanese, as a prefatory object of either Vietnam or Taiwan (i.e. 'we + Taiwan' or 'we + Vietnam') to refer to the collectivities of 'Vietnamese' or 'Taiwanese' of which they regard themselves as members. Moreover, the 'we + country' compound allows their engagement in doing being Taiwanese, doing being non-Taiwanese or doing being Vietnamese. For one thing, the 'we +

Taiwan' compound is invoked by Vietnamese participants as a device to overtly claim a Taiwanese identity, yet the invocation does not lead to their display of expertise about Taiwan nor invocation of a sense of authority which tends to be regarded as the category bound attribute associating with the claimed category 'Taiwanese'. On the contrary, their self-categorisation work with the use of the 'we + Taiwan' compound can lead to the invocation of a 'non-Taiwanese' category (as in Extract 4.1). On the other hand, when Vietnamese participants orient to their Vietnamese identity with the use of the 'we + Vietnam' compound, the Vietnamese spouses display their expertise about Vietnam when it becomes the interactional topic. Moreover, the compound is seen to be used to warrant the speaker's claim on Vietnamese lore and invokes a sense of authority which others cannot easily challenge.

Another finding regarding the two categories 'Vietnamese' and 'Taiwanese' is that Vietnamese spouses' deployment of '*goán*' (i.e. the exclusive we/us) reveals that they can self-select the category of 'wife' and team up with their husband in family interaction to form the 'standardised relational pair' (SRP)—husband-wife (Sacks 1972) to deal with a big household issue. However, in contexts involving Vietnamese participants' enactment of 'Vietnamese', the Vietnamese spouses do not use '*women*', '*lán*' or '*goán*' to form another set of SRP 'mother-child' with their children. Rather, they are seen to use the first-person plural pronoun '*women*' to claim the 'Vietnamese' identity in order to discursively alienate their children from Vietnamese-ness and thus ascribe the 'non-Vietnamese' category to them (This has been identified as the mother's means to claim expertise and authority on Vietnam lore as demonstrated in Extracts 4.2 and 4.3). The national differences are also made relevant by a Taiwanese adult family member's tolerance when a Vietnamese spouse has engaged in a presumably problematic action had she been Taiwanese (as in Extracts 4.1 and 4.4). The researcher can thus map out the patterns of cross-border communication taking place in these transnational families, and how public domain intersects private domain to construct the distinctive transnational familial interaction. Lastly, a Vietnamese spouse orients to the common couple

identity (i.e. the husband-wife SRP) when dealing with a house-buying issue (as in Extract 4.4). Her sequential actions in that particular extract have revealed that she regards couplehood as the main feature of familyhood, and that the latter relational collectivity is valid after the former relational collectivity is established. Without subscribing to couplehood, a Vietnamese spouse does not claim the rights contingent to family membership, nor does she fulfil the obligations incumbent on a member of the household.

On the other hand, from the 7-hour recorded corpus, it is clear that the language Vietnamese has little interactional value in the transnational families¹⁹ due to the fact that all the Taiwanese participants, including the children, do not speak the Vietnamese spouses' mother tongue (see Section 3.2.2 for participants' language use patterns). Quite different from Piller's (2002) cross-cultural couples who create bilingual environments for their children to immerse themselves in the father's and the mother's native languages in the family, the Vietnamese spouses do not use their mother tongue to interact with their children. Therefore, it is impossible to investigate, for example, how Vietnamese spouses' preferences for their first language is used in contexts, such as arguments and conflicts, when strong emotion is involved. This study, however, provides empirical evidence showing how these marriage migrants co-construct identities with Taiwanese family members in the new languages (Taiwanese and Mandarin) that are learned through marriage. The third research question can now be readily answered as extracts 4.5-4.10 have demonstrated the relevance and consequentiality of the Vietnamese participants' use of Taiwanese and Mandarin in admonishment sequences. From the interactional trajectories, the researcher finds that there is no doubt that the two languages are used by the Vietnamese participants as interactional resources, and the admonishment sequences are delicately crafted with the use of these two languages.

¹⁹ While this is what is revealed from the data and is true to the three transnational families, this should not be taken as a representative interactional pattern for all Vietnamese-Taiwanese families.

Extract 4.5 and Extract 4.6 have demonstrated that the Vietnamese participants' language alternation practices serve as contextualisation cues. First, it is so because a Vietnamese participant alternates from Mandarin to Taiwanese in order to signal the start of an admonishment, which leads to a Taiwanese-preferred family member's intervention and collaboration. During the course of the admonishment sequence, on the other hand, the Vietnamese spouse's resumption of Mandarin from Taiwanese brings about the Taiwanese-preferred family member's withdrawal from the interactional floor. Moreover, when the admonished child is regarded by the admonisher as behaving compliantly (verbally or non-verbally), the Vietnamese spouse resumes Mandarin for ensuing mother-child interaction. Therefore, the alternation to Mandarin in Vietnamese spouses' self-initiated admonishment sequences is used as a contextualisation cue to signal the end of an admonishment sequence, and thus further signals shift of interactional frames (i.e. shift from admonishment to either request or food-offering as have been demonstrated in the two extracts). In view of the two languages being used to initiate the admonishment sequence and in signalling its end, it is therefore argued that a Vietnamese spouse uses the two languages available in the bilingual family as contextualisation cues to allow a Taiwanese-preferred family member to navigate his/her various participant positions (e.g. "audience → admonishment co-author → audience" in Extract 4.5; "admonishment sponsor → audience" in Extract 4.6).

Extracts 4.7 and 4.8 have demonstrated a different interactional trajectory from that shown in Extracts 4.5 and 4.6. When a Vietnamese spouse tries to invite a Taiwanese-preferred family member in the admonishment sequence that she has initiated, she alternates from Mandarin to Taiwanese to explicitly and implicitly invite intervention from this family member. Her alternation to Taiwanese thus carves out a potential space for a follow-up admonishment sequence by this turned-to member as well as the shift of speakership. However, since it is an invitation and that the turned-to family member can choose not to collaborate, the Vietnamese spouse may fail in her attempt. If

there is no collaboration from another adult member, and if her admonishment utterances fail to result in the target's compliance, she then sticks to Taiwanese and maintains the frame by initiating a follow-up admonishment in Taiwanese. That is, there is no resumption of Mandarin in this scenario. The Vietnamese spouse's language alternation in such self-initiated admonishment episodes (when the target defies and when there is no immediate assistance) is thus polyvalent in that it is determined both by discourse-related and participant-related factors. Additionally, a Vietnamese participant's language alternation not only selects the turned-to family member as the next speaker, but also highlights the CBAs associating with the categories (e.g. Father and Child) relevant to the admonished child and the selected family member.

Extracts 4.9 and 4.10 have demonstrated the interactional trajectory of Vietnamese participants' language use patterns in other-initiated admonishment sequences. In other-initiated admonishment sequences, the Vietnamese spouses can engage in translating action (i.e. translating Taiwanese admonishment utterances into Mandarin) after an admonishment sequence is initiated by a Taiwanese-preferred family member (a grandparent in both cases) in Taiwanese. In such scenario, a Vietnamese spouse is seen to develop her own follow-up admonishment utterances targeting the same admonishable behaviour after producing the translation. The follow-up admonishment, too, is produced in Mandarin. Both actions have demonstrated her collaboration with another family member in other-initiated admonishment sequences, but the introduction of Mandarin brings about the admonisher's subsequent minimal participation (as in Extract 4.10) or his/her apparent lack of willingness to cling to the admonishing action *per se*, and only bids for the floor when he/she thinks the Vietnamese participant undergoes a word-search problem (as in Extract 4.9). The Vietnamese participants' translating action can thus be argued to be used for alignment with the admonishment initiator in that there is admonishable behaviour requiring immediate correction. Moreover, her production of a follow-up admonishment in Mandarin is seen to delicately influence the floor work in that it leads to change of the admonisher's participant position from

‘admonishment author’ to ‘audience’ while that of the Vietnamese spouse becomes ‘admonishment co-author’. The consequence of orienting to Mandarin, therefore, seems to allow a Vietnamese spouse to fulfil her responsibility as a parent (though the category is not explicitly oriented to) by taking over the grandparent-grandchild interactional floor and educates the young directly. It also allows her to fulfil the responsibility as a family member to engage in collaborating with another member to co-construct the family norms.

5.3 Discussion of Research Findings

5.3.1 National identities²⁰ vs. household identities and couplehood vs. familyhood

From Extract 4.1 to Extract 4.4, there are some implications derived from the four extracts in terms of (1) the interaction between the Vietnamese spouses and their children, (2) the interaction between the Vietnamese spouses and their Taiwanese adult family members, and (3) the relationship between couplehood and familyhood. First, the Vietnamese spouses do not use first-person plural pronouns to form the mother-child SRP with their children in a rather confrontational event (as in Extracts 4.2 and 4.3). Rather, first-person plural pronouns can be used to form the ‘we + country’ identity-related compound in context involving their enactment of ‘Vietnamese’, as if their orientation to the Vietnamese identity is prior to that of their household role as ‘mother’ in this context. Additionally, we find in Extract 4.1 that a Taiwanese family member does not find a Vietnamese spouse’s contradiction to self-categorisation problematic, which echoes the talk-in-interaction demonstrated in

²⁰ Judging from the fact that the Vietnamese spouses have their official status as a citizen of Vietnam and that they are categorised by Taiwan’s Ministry of Interior as ‘foreign spouses’, national identity is used as a cover term for categories ‘Taiwanese’ and ‘Vietnamese’ in this present study. However, the term itself does not project *a priori* assumption that the two identity categories are omni-relevant unless participants make their relevance salient in the transnational-familial talks.

Extract 4.4 that a Taiwanese family member displays unnatural tolerance to a Vietnamese spouse's unwitting insult resulting from her misuse of a Taiwanese term. Third, we find in Extract 4.4 that a Vietnamese spouse conceives that it is through the relational collectivity formed with her husband that she is entitled membership of the household and thus can be blessed with a joint fortune by the ancestors to afford a house.

The three findings mentioned above seem to reveal some significant interactional phenomena in the families studied. First, the Vietnamese spouses make it clear that their Vietnamese identity can be oriented to at the cost of distancing them from their children (as in Extracts 4.2 and 4.3). While in some transnational families, members may create 'discourses of compromise and change' to overcome the differences resulting from their national/cultural background (e.g. Piller's 2002 work of cross-cultural couples), the Vietnamese participants in this study do not show any attempt to 'overcome' their national differences with their children. Instead, they acknowledge that there are differences and manifest the differences by first projecting themselves as an insider and their children as an outsider to further challenge and rebut the children's knowledge of Vietnam. Most importantly, while Piller's study (*ibid.*) suggests that in cases where national identities are treated as overriding, transnational family members may repair them as errors or use them for humorous effects, yet the Vietnamese mothers in this study do not use their Vietnamese identities in this way. On the contrary, the Vietnamese participants have made their Vietnamese identity salient in mother-child interaction (at least in the extracts presented) since their children are about school-aged, and use their Vietnamese identity as a categorial resource to highlight stark contrast between counterparts in Taiwan and Vietnam. With such activity managed by the mothers, it is fair to say that the children grow up and socialise in a context where national differences are often oriented to as a resource to frame the mother-child interaction.

On the other hand, while the Taiwanese in-law family members have demonstrated in the extracts their endeavour to acknowledge national differences, there is no evidence to suggest further endeavours to overcome them (such as depicting differences as attractive or enriching in Piller's study). As Extracts 4.1 and 4.4 have shown, a father-in-law shows unnatural tolerance when his Vietnamese daughter-in-law's self-categorisation contradicts her request-for-information action regarding something that she would have known, or when she 'insults' him, if she had been Taiwanese. The differences are therefore manifested and co-constructed through a Vietnamese spouse's presumably problematic utterances and a Taiwanese family member's unnatural tolerance performed through his/her SPPs marked as preferred without delays or accounts. What this study inclines to argue is that both the Vietnamese and the Taiwanese adult participants have demonstrated their efforts to make the categories 'Vietnamese' 'Taiwanese' or 'non-Taiwanese' as accessible resources in familial discourse. Compared with Piller's work (ibid.) which identifies that cross-cultural communication in transnational families is interactively constructed and that the public and private contexts intersect continuously without clear-cut demarcation, participants involved in the study show that while cross-border communication is interactively constructed, yet the public and private contexts sometimes do demarcate, especially in mother-child interaction through the Vietnamese mothers' use of 'we + Vietnam' compounds (as in Extracts 4.2 and 4.3). Moreover, the extracts have also demonstrated that both the Vietnamese and Taiwanese adult participants mutually create acquiesced room for national identities to be negotiated in the transnational families.

In addition, Extract 4.4 shows how a Vietnamese spouse's identity as 'wife' is effected from a transportable identity to a situated identity, and hence is demonstrated by participants as relevant in this specific context. The extract shows that the couple identity is among other potential household categories that the Vietnamese spouse orients to when dealing with a big household issue such as house-buying. Specifically, her pendulous repair over possessive

pronouns of ancestors and the ensuing exchanges with her father-in-law help to identify how she positions herself in the family by orienting to certain household categorial resource (i.e. wife or the relational collectivity of husband-wife) to manage a house-buying plan and an ancestor-worshipping ritual. Therefore, not only does she self-select the category 'wife' and thus pairs up with her husband to form the husband-wife SRP and claims the membership of the household after the establishment of this very relational collectivity, this self-categorisation work also shows that the husband-wife SRP is a cornerstone of the Vietnamese spouse's self-representation in the transnational family. Her sequential actions demonstrated in this extract have thus accented that the SRP is overridden in determining the entitlement of her membership in the family as well as the responsibility contingent to that membership.

5.3.2 Epistemics in action through the 'we + country' compound

Both Extract 4.2 and Extract 4.3 have shown Vietnamese spouses' orientation to the Vietnamese identity when engaging in talk-in-interaction with their Taiwanese family members. They have also shown their performances of normative attributes to the claimed category 'Vietnamese'. In other words, by employing the 'we Vietnam' compound, the Vietnamese spouses display their expertise about Vietnam when it becomes the interactional topic. When it comes to Vietnamese spouses' use of the 'we Taiwan' compound, however, there is neither display of expertise about Taiwan nor invocation of a sense of authority in comparison with the use of the 'we Vietnam' compound. It may be inferred that even if the Vietnamese spouses overtly claim a Taiwanese identity, the self-categorisation work tends to lead to the invocation of a 'non-Taiwanese' category (as in Extract 4.1).

According to Pomerantz (1980), there are two types of knowables which can be differentiated by whether or not one has the rights and obligations (ROs) of access to the 'territories of information' (Kamio 1997) from firsthand experience. Type 1 knowables refer to those who obtain the knowledge directly from

personal experience, whereas Type 2 knowables refer to those who can only access through report or hearsay. Drawing from Pomerantz' and Kamio's work, Heritage (2012) defines 'epistemic status' as two or more persons' relative access to some territory of information at some point in time. When one party knows more than the other regarding certain topical domain in talk, the interactants then have different epistemic status and occupy different positions on an epistemic gradient, i.e. the more knowledgeable thus claims the K+ position whereas the less knowledgeable claims the K- position. After valuating one another's epistemic access and ROs to such territory of information, participants can then achieve consensus as to how relative epistemic status should be ascribed. For example, if the interactants talk about one of the parties' hobbies, then the one whose hobbies are being talked about is generally treated as knowing more (epistemic K+ gradient) than his/her interlocutor (epistemic K- gradient). For other territories of information for which the epistemic status is not so easily ascribed, participants can employ the principles of recency or epistemic authority to make judgements. For example, if both parties have the same access to a domain (hence a flat epistemic gradient), participants jointly ascribe the K+ status to the one who is more authoritative in it or has more recent access to it. In so doing, epistemic status is thus a social construct and should be conceived as an enduring feature of social relationships. On the other hand, Heritage (ibid.) proposes the notion of 'epistemic stance' vis-a-vis epistemic status. The difference between the two lies in that in relation to a certain topical domain, 'epistemic stance' concerns the moment-by-moment expression of social relationships managed on a turn-by-turn basis. Interactants' epistemic stances are thus expressed through various grammatical realisations. For example, the speaker can take an unknowing epistemic stance by using interrogative morphosyntax, tag questions or declaratives with rising intonation to request information from the knowing recipient. In sum, both the speaker and the recipient value each other's epistemic status and then fine tune the different epistemic gradient between them through turn designs. By engaging in this epistemic fine-tuning,

participants update their shared knowledge on a moment-by-moment basis and meanwhile propel the proceeding of talk-in-interaction.

What this present study can take from the notions of epistemic status and epistemic stance is that they reveal another function which the 'we + country' compound serves in the transnational-familial discourse. In Extract 4.1, by using the 'we + Taiwan' compound immediately followed by an interrogative requesting information about Taiwan's weather, the Vietnamese spouse invokes Taiwanese identity overtly and the non-Taiwanese identity covertly. Meanwhile, the design of an interrogative prefaced by this compound shows her orientation to occupying a less knowledgeable epistemic stance in relation to Taiwan's weather as an epistemic domain, and simultaneously projects her Taiwanese father-in-law as the one taking the more knowledgeable epistemic stance. As was mentioned above the participants take into consideration each party's ROs to gain access to certain domains and to ascribe relative epistemic status, the weather of Taiwan in this particular case should presumably allow the two conversationalists to have more or less equal access as they both live in Taiwan and have the ROs to know the territory of information from firsthand experience. However, after requesting information about Taiwan's weather condition, the Vietnamese spouse initiates another set of request-for-information action about the weather of the city in which she lives. This again should allow her same access to the domain as her father-in-law. The two sets of request-for-information actions initiated through the Vietnamese spouse's K-proposal has invited the projectedly more knowledgeable father-in-law's elaboration, and has hence led to sequence expansion. More importantly, the Vietnamese spouse's *hm̄ hm̄* in Line 25 not only suggests that there was an information gap (hence relative epistemic status) before the father-in-law's elaboration drawn by the Vietnamese spouse's questions, but it also demonstrates that the gap has now been bridged with *hm̄ hm̄* serving as the questioner's 'change-of-state (from K- to K+) tokens' (Heritage 1984b).

On the other hand, the Vietnamese spouses use the 'we + Vietnam' compound to invoke their Vietnamese identity, a sense of authority and their more knowledgeable epistemic stance when Vietnam is being talked about. In Extracts 4.2 and Extract 4.3, the 'we + Vietnam' compound is immediately followed by a simple declarative or as a constituent of such TCU design, i.e. 'We Vietnam, it is counted as the 12th grade.' and 'We there have computers.' By initiating a declarative with the compound, the Vietnamese participants are seen to occupy the K+ epistemic status when education system or computers in Vietnam become the interactional topic. The 'we + Vietnam' compound serves as an epistemics-related device and can thus be used to justify a Vietnamese participant's reference to a university student as a 12-grader (as in Extract 4.2) or to rebut a belittling action of portraying Vietnam as a country without computers (as in Extract 4.3).

Therefore, not only do the 'we + country' compounds serve as an identity-related device to covertly or overtly invoke the Vietnamese participants' 'Vietnamese', 'Taiwanese' or 'non-Taiwanese' identities. They can also function as an epistemics-related device wedded with an interrogative to invoke Vietnamese participants' K- epistemic status to engage in request-for-information action when Taiwan becomes the topical domain; or alternatively, they can constitute a declarative to invoke the K+ epistemic status and a sense of epistemic authority on Vietnam lore to engage in epistemic fine-tuning with a Taiwanese family member. Specifically, the use of the 'we + country' compounds also suggests how 'discourse identities (i.e. the identities of Questioner and Answerer oriented to in a request-for-information action) are tied to 'situated identities' (i.e. Taiwanese, Vietnamese or non-Taiwanese) in family discourse (cf. Zimmerman 1998).

5.3.3 The sequential architecture of admonishment sequences

As the 6 admonishment excerpts have shown, an admonishment is no doubt an initiating action requiring a second pair part from the interlocutor. In other words,

it is not only a form used to highlight current problem (from the perspective of the admonisher), but it also projects an attempt at social influence on the recipient (i.e. the admonished) to modify the problem behaviour. However, since admonishment sequences are seldom investigated in conversation analytic studies, the preferred and dispreferred SPPs are still not fully identified when an admonishment is initiated. Even if the analytic focus is different, Hepburn and Potter's (2011) conversation analytic work of threats is probably the analogic research that this present study can most usefully refer to. They (ibid.) make the conclusion that an initiation of a threat can generate compliance, defiance, minimal compliance (compliance with a flavour of defiance) and dumb insolence (an attitude of defiance without open disagreement). What this study has identified is that the admonished can formulate SPPs in verbal, non-verbal or silent form. As long as the admonished does not verbally or non-verbally defy the admonisher, whether it is minimal compliance or dumb insolence as Hepburn and Potter have categorised, the admonisher takes the SPP as a preferred next action by ending the admonishment frame.

Moreover, the extracts have demonstrated that the Vietnamese participants' deployment of Taiwanese and Mandarin is pivotal in the sequential architecture of admonishment sequences. In self-initiated admonishment sequences, a Vietnamese spouse issues an admonishment by alternating from Mandarin to Taiwanese highlighting problem behaviour, signalling the initiation of an admonishment frame and projecting her intent to have the behaviour corrected. In other words, the admonisher not only projects her disalignment with the admonished when the behaviour takes place, but she also projects the disalignment at the language level. Furthermore, her ensuing language choice (adherence to Taiwanese or resumption of Mandarin) and framing activities (frame maintenance or frame break) are contingent on whether the admonished target reacts in compliance or defiance. In other-initiated admonishment sequences, on the other hand, a Vietnamese spouse's translation of the admonisher's utterances projects alignment with the admonisher in terms of her co-addressing the problem behaviour, yet she projects disalignment with the

admonisher at the language level which enables the floor to change from grandparent-grandchild interaction to mother-child interaction. Therefore, it is argued that the Vietnamese spouses' deployment of the two languages is crucial in the architecture of the admonishment sequences in the transnational families.

5.3.3.1 Taiwanese and Mandarin as turn-allocation and framing devices

In admonishment sequences, what can be drawn from a Taiwanese-preferred family member's floor bidding and retreat phenomena is that the Vietnamese spouses' ability to translate or alternate between the two languages seems to play an essential role in determining participants' turn-taking in an admonishment sequence. First, while conventionally the current speaker selects a next speaker in current turn or self-selects as the next speaker (which may or may not encounter other participants' competition for the floor), a Vietnamese spouse carves out a potential collaborative floor for another present family member with the language that he/she prefers in admonishment sequences. The present Taiwanese family member thus can but need not to involve in the admonishing action initiated by a Vietnamese spouse. In other words, the Vietnamese participants can use Taiwanese to explicitly or implicitly invite a Taiwanese-preferred adult family member to cooperate and lead to possible speaker change.

When a Vietnamese spouse's admonishment utterances do not result in the compliance of the admonished and neither does she receive help from a Taiwanese-preferred family member after invitation, she then adheres to the alternated language, i.e. Taiwanese, to maintain the admonishment frame. Secondly, when a Vietnamese spouse offers her stake in an admonishment sequence initiated by a Taiwanese-preferred family member, she provides a Mandarin translation of the admonisher's utterances to herald her alignment with the initiator and then maintains the admonishment frame by issuing a follow-up admonishment to address the same behaviour in Mandarin. Her use

of Mandarin, however, leads to the admonishment initiator's minimal contribution to the floor or even total concession. It is therefore fair to say that with the ability to master the two languages, the Vietnamese spouses use both Taiwanese and Mandarin as devices to manage turn allocation in admonishment sequences.

Moreover, since the two languages are used as contextualisation cues to signal the initiation, maintenance and break of the admonishment frame, they can also be regarded as essential framing devices pertaining to admonishment sequences. Furthermore, with a Vietnamese spouse's use of both languages in initiating, maintaining and shifting an admonishment frame, a collaborative Taiwanese-preferred family member is seen to navigate his/her various participant positions: 'audience → admonishment co-author → audience' as in Extract 4.5; 'admonishment sponsor → audience' as in Extract 4.6; 'admonishment author → audience' as in both Extract 4.9 and Extract 4.10 (cf. Levinson 1996). Accordingly, a Vietnamese spouse also has her participant status change with the deployment of the linguistic resources: 'audience → admonishment relayer → admonishment co-author' as in both Extract 4.9 and Extract 4.10 (cf. *ibid.*). Therefore, both Taiwanese and Mandarin are essential framing devices which have direct influence on the floor work in admonishment sequences. When both of them are deployed in such context, adult members can navigate and negotiate corresponding discourse identities on a turn-by-turn basis. With the reciprocal ascription of discourse identities in admonishment sequences, adult family members collaboratively fulfil their role and responsibility of disciplining the youngest member to abide by the co-constructed family norms. In doing so, a Vietnamese spouse and another Taiwanese family member thus reciprocally orient to the MCD 'Family', engage in doing being family member and have familyhood talked into being.

5.3.3.2 The identity work in admonishment sequences

As the 6 extracts have demonstrated, the instances of Vietnamese spouses' language alternation or translating action are void of language-related-identity relevance in the sense that their use of Taiwanese or Mandarin is irrelevant to their claiming the Taiwanese identity and its incumbencies. However, it is argued that there is a set of relevant language-related standardised relational pair (SRP) oriented to by the participants whenever code alternation or translation occurs. Specifically, the present study argues that 'the preference for same language talk' (Auer 1984) should be treated as a category-bound attribute associating with this set of SRP 'X+Y languages user—X+Y languages user'. As Auer (2005) remarks bilingual or monolingual speakers tend not to claim the membership of Monolingual/Bilingual simply because they speak only one or more than one language, both 'Bilingual' and 'Monolingual' cannot be regarded as membership categories. While this argument is tenable, it makes no sense to talk about 'the preference for same language talk' if the category 'Bilingual' is of little relevance. What is more sensible is that one deconstructs the 'Bilingual' category into specific language-pair users and allows users of these same language pairs to ascribe, reject or contest such common identity. Therefore, in order to make 'the preference for same language talk' an interactional accomplishment, participants must demonstrate usership of the same linguistic combination. That is, all parties in bilingual interaction have to group themselves together under the same category (e.g. 'Taiwanese+Mandarin User') in language-related activities, and make relevant the SRP 'Taiwanese+Mandarin User—Taiwanese+Mandarin User'. 'The preference for same language talk' which is an interactional accomplishment decided by participants' negotiation and consisting of participants' claims for themselves and for co-participants of language-related attributes (Auer 1984), can thus be of relevance in bilingual talk-in-interaction. It is therefore argued that 'the preference for same language talk' is a category-bound activity taking place in bilingual speech and can index interactants to be members of the same language community and have access to the same linguistic codes. In light of

Zimmerman's (1998) identity types, such SRP should be categorised as situated identity oriented to when participants engage in precincts of language alternation or translation undertaking. By engaging in these language-related activities, participants not only display an orientation to their identity as members sharing the same linguistic resources, but they also bring specific language-related situations into existence and have it sustained. Therefore, the Vietnamese participants' practice of language alternation in self-initiated admonishment sequences and practice of translation in other-initiated admonishment sequences have demonstrated their orientation to the SRP 'Taiwanese+Mandarin User—Taiwanese+Mandarin User'. Also, the Vietnamese participants have ascribed themselves as well as their interlocutors to the membership category 'Taiwanese+Mandarin User' and have made the the SRP 'Taiwanese+Mandarin User—Taiwanese+Mandarin User' a categorial resource in the bilingual family.

In addition to the language-related SRP 'Taiwanese+Mandarin User—Taiwanese+Mandarin User', the membership category device 'Family' and its affiliated membership categories (i.e. 'Grandmother', 'Grandchild', 'Father' and 'Child') are of great relevance in admonishment sequences. As was discussed previously, the admonished child in Extract 4.6 is targeted by his mother because he makes loud grumble at his grandmother after the grandmother offers vegetables to the boy. The mother is seen to weave the membership category 'Grandmother' into the formulation of the child's behaviour as a wrongdoing. She first projects the grandmother's food offering as an action out of benevolence as it is triggered by the concern a grandmother has for her grandson, which is a normative activity bound to the category 'Grandmother' ('Grandma was showing her concern about you'). By doing so, both categories 'Grandmother' and 'Grandchild' are made relevant in the sequence. Later, the mother reiterates that the food offering action is out of the grandmother's good will through the utterance 'You sit so far away. She was helping you get the food' (Line 19). In other words, the admonishment initiator treats the two membership

categories 'Grandmother' and 'Grandchild', as resources and invokes the predicates associating with them to frame an admonishment sequence.

In Extract 4.7 and Extract 4.8, membership categories affiliated with the MCD 'Family' are used for another interactional goal. In both extracts, a Vietnamese participant is seen to orient to the categories 'Father' and 'Child' for explicitly and implicitly inviting her husband for cooperation in her self-initiated admonishment sequence. By orienting to the categories, she ascribes the category 'Father' to her husband and invokes its associating predicates which includes teaching the son a proper lesson and monitoring the son's behaviour. Therefore, the categories are used by a Vietnamese participant to solicit cooperation and proceed to the admonishment-based interaction by involving another family member.

5.3.3.3 Participants' means to negotiate the language of interaction

Another issue relating to the two languages is participants' means to negotiate the language of interaction. In Auer's (1984) work, he mentions that if participants decide to deviate from the norm of preference-for-same-language-talk, and introduce a new language to manage their interaction, this practice becomes an interpretable and analysable entity. Moreover, he (ibid.) mentions that transfer does not lead participants to give up the current language-of-interaction, and it usually refers to the language alternation which speakers temporarily use a second language for lexical items. On the other hand, code-switching introduces a new language which will be adopted by participants for the ensuing talk until another signal of language choice negotiation is oriented to. From Auer's arguments, it is thus identifiable that the Vietnamese participants' code alternation patterns are not only discourse-related code-switching but also participant-related code-switching. It is so because a Vietnamese participant is found to use both Taiwanese and Mandarin to manage turn allocation and thus contributes to the overall organisation of admonishment sequences making the code alternation discourse-related. On

the other hand, it is found that their code alternation patterns involve the accommodation of another family member's linguistic competence or preference (i.e. inviting a Taiwanese-preferred family member by alternating to Taiwanese), they can thus be identified as participant-related. Most importantly, the Vietnamese participants' code alternation in both directions (from Mandarin to Taiwanese and from Taiwanese to Mandarin) is not used to mark lexical items but is used for ensuing interaction. By studying the unfolding of admonishment sequences, the Vietnamese participants' code alternation patterns in admonishment sequences are mapped out. However, there seems to be a concern over the means that participants use to negotiate the language they use for interaction.

As the extracts have suggested, the exchanges between adult members involving in admonishment sequences seem to have projected the interactional preference to co-construct same-language sequential environment. That is, a Taiwanese-preferred adult member can verbally collaborate with a Vietnamese spouse after she initiates an admonishment in the language that he/she prefers. On the other hand, he/she is seen to retreat from the collaborative floor after Mandarin (the language that he/she rarely uses) is resumed. Such floor bidding and retreat phenomena seem to have confirmed Auer's assumption that there is preference for same language talk and bilingual speakers do engage in negotiation of language-of-interaction when a new language is introduced. On closer inspection, however, the assumption can be feeble as the child who is the target of the adults' admonishment utterances hardly shows the attempt to accommodate the adults' mutual language choice. It is because the admonished children in Extract 4.5, Extract 4.6 and Extract 4.8 react to the adults' admonishment utterances compliantly or defiantly in a non-verbal or silent manner. While the adult members may negotiate the language choice for co-admonishing the target, the children, though being one participant of the interaction, seem to be excluded from the language choice negotiation process when it takes place.

However, the children are the actors whose behaviour initiates the language-of-interaction negotiation and whose ensuing compliance or defiance determines the adults' further language choice exemplified by the mothers' resumption of Mandarin to end the admonishment sequence in a compliant scenario (as in Extract 4.6) or their use of Taiwanese to maintain the admonishment frame in a defiant scenario (as in Extract 4.8). It is therefore argued that the children can take part in the language choice negotiation process in silence or non-verbally, particularly in the Vietnamese spouses' self-initiated admonishment sequences. From the analytic aspect of adjacency pairs, the adults in Extract 4.6 are seen to have created FPPs (i.e. interrogatives used to figure out triggers of a repairable/admonishable behaviour) in Taiwanese and projected the children as next speaker to offer confirmation or explanation as SPPs. However, the admonished child does not take the turns but leaves them unoccupied until one of the adults self-selects as the next speaker. While the noticeable silence can be conventionally regarded as a dispreference marker in a question-answer discursive activity, yet judging from the interactional trajectory, it is found that the mother regards the child's silence as a preferred action and a form of compliance in that she resumes Mandarin and ends the admonishment frame since. Therefore, it seems that in the Vietnamese spouses' self-initiated admonishment sequences, the admonished target's silence can be treated by the admonisher as a preferred SPP. In an alternative scenario in Extract 4.8, the admonished boy challenges his mother non-verbally by shaking his head horizontally which is regarded as defiance by the admonishment initiator, so that she sticks to Taiwanese and issues a follow-up admonishment.

In view of these empirical evidences in the Vietnamese spouses' self-initiated admonishment episodes, Auer's assumption of preference-for-same-language-talk should be specified. That is, it is imperative to take into account both verbal and non-verbal actions along with silence as participants' means of negotiation when participants engage in the language-of-interaction negotiation process. Without such consideration, the admonished children's non-verbal and silent

participation can easily be ignored making it impossible to analyse and interpret adult members' subsequent language choice.

5.4 Summary

Based on the findings presented in Extracts 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4, the researcher makes the following arguments. First, the Vietnamese spouses make it clear that their Vietnamese identity can be oriented to at the cost of distancing them from their children (as in Extracts 4.2 and 4.3). With reference to Piller's (2002) work, the Vietnamese participants in this study differ from Piller's participants in that they do not show an attempt to 'overcome' their national differences with their children. Instead, they acknowledge that there are differences and manifest the differences by first projecting themselves as an insider and their children as an outsider to further challenge and rebut the children's knowledge of Vietnam. Moreover, the Vietnamese mothers in this study make their Vietnamese identity salient in mother-child interaction since their children are about school-aged, and use their Vietnamese identity as a categorical resource to highlight national differences. With such discursive activity undertaken by the mothers at dinnertime when children acquire family, social and cultural norms and socialisation of family values through familial mundane talks, national differences are argued to be oriented to as a resource to frame the mother-child interaction. Nonetheless, national differences are not only invoked purposefully in mother-child interaction. It is also found that an adult Taiwanese member may engage in acknowledging national differences by collaboratively creating acquiesced room with a Vietnamese spouse to negotiate national identities in the family. There is yet no empirical evidence in the data to suggest his/her further endeavour to 'overcome' them (such as depicting differences as attractive or enriching in Piller's study). In a nutshell, participants involving in the study show that while cross-border communication is interactively constructed, yet the public and private contexts sometimes do demarcate, especially in mother-child interaction through the Vietnamese mothers' use of 'we + Vietnam' compounds. Moreover, the extracts have

demonstrated that the demarcation can at times be regarded as relevant to the organisation of talk-in-interaction between a Vietnamese spouse and an adult Taiwanese family member. In comparison to the relationship between national identities and household identities, Extract 4.4 can be seen as a single case analysis which shows a Vietnamese spouse's self-selection of the category 'wife' to pair up with her husband in forming the husband-wife SRP just to claim the membership of the household. It provides an analytic window to grasp how she positions herself in the family, how she relates couplehood to familyhood and how she understands incumbency as a family member.

On the other hand, the researcher makes the following arguments based on the findings presented in Extracts 4.5-4.10. First, the Vietnamese spouses' ability to translate or alternate between Taiwanese and Mandarin seems to play an essential role in determining participants' turn-taking in an admonishment sequence. They can be used as contextualisation cues to initiate, maintain and break the admonishment frame, and thus can also be used as framing devices. Furthermore, adult participants involved in admonishment sequences change their participant status in accordance with the framing activities (e.g. initiating, maintaining and shifting admonishment frame) undertaken by a Vietnamese spouse's deployment of Taiwanese and Mandarin. In other words, adult members can navigate and negotiate corresponding discourse identities on a turn-by-turn basis in admonishment sequences, and collaboratively fulfil their responsibility of disciplining the youngest members to abide by the co-constructed family norms (as in Extract 4.5, Extract 4.6, Extract 4.9 and Extract 4.10). In doing so, a Vietnamese spouse and another Taiwanese family member thus reciprocally orient to the MCD 'Family' and its affiliated membership categories and have familyhood talked into being.

Secondly, it is argued that the SRP, 'Taiwanese+Mandarin User—Taiwanese+Mandarin User', is relevant in the families. By engaging in language-related activities (such as language alternation or translation), the Vietnamese participants not only claim for themselves and for their co-

participants as members sharing the same linguistic resources (i.e. Taiwanese and Mandarin), but they also bring specific language-related situations (e.g. the admonishment frame) into existence and have it sustained. Thirdly, it is argued that Auer's assumption of preference-for-same-language-talk should be specified and that both verbal and non-verbal actions along with silence can be participants' means to negotiate the language of interaction. It is so because in an admonishment sequence, the admonished target's non-verbal and silent participation can easily be ignored as if they were excluded from the negotiation process. However, since their reaction to the admonisher's admonishment utterances determines adult members' subsequent language choice and framing activities, it is only by taking into account the admonished target's non-verbal and silent participation that Auer's argument (1984) of 'preference for same language talk' can be tenable in such context.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Overview of the Research Project

It was mentioned in Chapter 1 that Vietnamese female spouses in Taiwan have drawn researchers' special attention. While lots of studies have tapped into crucial issues facilitating understanding of this particular social group, none of them deals with naturally occurring face-to-face interaction between these female spouses and their Taiwanese family members. Moreover, since the Taiwanese-Vietnamese marriage is often negatively labelled as a commodified marriage featuring a lack of understanding between the couple personally, linguistically and culturally from the onset, the researcher finds face-to-face and real-life interaction an ideal realm, to investigate how a Vietnamese female spouse manages identity work and positions herself in the husband's family in a host society where she originally had few resources available to socialise. In view of the research gap existing in the studies regarding Vietnamese female spouses in Taiwan and the indigenous attributes of the Taiwanese-Vietnamese transnational marriage, the thesis will focus on the face-to-face talk-in-interaction in Taiwanese families having a Vietnamese female spouse. In addition, since the Taiwanese society is multi-lingual which may require a Vietnamese female spouse to acquire both Taiwanese and Mandarin to communicate with people around her, the researcher is interested in identifying how and why a Vietnamese female spouse uses both languages in a spate of talk after they have become accessible interactional resources.

It has been found that the membership categories 'Taiwanese' and 'Vietnamese' have interactional value in participants' talk-in-interaction. A Vietnamese spouse's deployment of these two categories relates to her use of first-person plural pronouns to form the 'we + country' compound. The compound is found to be not only a distinctive identity-related device, but also an epistemics-related device. Moreover, national differences are invoked with

different trajectories in mother-child interaction and that between a Vietnamese spouse and an adult family member. On the other hand, it was found that the Vietnamese participants orient to Taiwanese and Mandarin as salient resources in admonishment sequences. Specifically, the two languages serve as contextualisation cues and framing devices in three different types of admonishment sequences. With the ability to use the two languages in such context, a Vietnamese spouse co-constructs family norms with another Taiwanese family member while at the same time has the MCD 'Family' invoked and thus has familyhood talked into being.

6.2 Contributions

Having reviewed the research questions and briefed the findings, the discussion now turns to the contributions of this present study. To begin with, the study is highly original in that no related existing studies have ever used CA and MCA to investigate familial talk-in-interaction between a Vietnamese spouse and her Taiwanese family members. By studying the naturally occurring data with both approaches, this thesis has identified the categorial resources invoked in transnational-familial talk-in-interaction. From the discursive construction of these identity categories, the Vietnamese spouses have demonstrated how they manage identity work and position themselves in the family; on the other hand, the way that participants negotiate national identities in family discourse has made salient the transnationality pertaining to the families. This thesis has further explicated how familyhood is achieved through the Vietnamese participants' orientation to available linguistic resources in the transnational families. It is identified that familyhood can be achieved in an admonishment context, in which language varieties are used by adult family members to facilitate their alignment with each other in educating the youngest generation.

The originality of the study has also made some theoretical contribution in that it adds to the body of identity research by studying, from an MCA perspective, the way that Vietnamese participants co-construct identity categories with family

members in familial discourse. The research findings, therefore, may shed light on identity-in-interaction and talk-in-interaction inherent in a transnational family and thus can serve as a reference point for research on cross-border marriage and couples. Moreover, as admonishment sequences are less investigated in CA research, this study has thus taken a tentative step forward. The research findings have shed light on the interrelationship between languages and the framing activities in an admonishment sequence. It has also found that participants' deployment of Taiwanese and Mandarin has crucial influence on the turn-taking system and floor work in admonishment sequences. Moreover, the present study has identified that the admonished target's silent participation in an admonishment sequence can be regarded by the admonisher as a form of compliance and thus is treated as a preferred SPP preventing the admonishment sequence from being expanded. On the contrary however, the target's verbal defiance or non-verbal provocative behaviour can be regarded by the admonisher as dispreferred SPPs leading to tension culmination and expansion of admonishment utterances. The findings therefore enrich CA's interpretation of preferred and dispreferred actions in an admonishment episode.

Moreover, the study has a social value in enriching the research on the foreign brides phenomenon in Taiwan. While some of the studies of foreign brides phenomenon treat foreign spouses' poor mastery of Mandarin as an obstacle to their children's education and language development (see Section 1.2), this study, on the contrary, shows that the Vietnamese participants are fluent users of not only Mandarin but also Taiwanese. Its implication is that if some female foreign spouses (such as the ones in this study) are capable of acquiring not one but two of the languages used in Taiwan, should not one examine which social or interactional resources certain foreign spouses are deprived of to make them struggle in their quest for second or third language acquisition. Moreover, would it not be more possible that the mothers' deprived-of resources are also the reason for their children's lower academic achievement and slower language development. On the other hand, if foreign spouses' poor Mandarin proficiency has caused problems for their children's language acquisition and

learning, why is it not an issue in the families in which the mother is from Japan, Korea, or the United States? This study, therefore, seems to have demythologised the down-trodden image of South-east Asian female spouses in this aspect.

Additionally, even if most of the Vietnamese-Taiwanese marriages are heavily commodified and are not based on true love, the 10 extracts have demonstrated that a Vietnamese female spouse is not that much different from a stereo-typical female Taiwanese spouse who shoulders household responsibilities as a family member and educates the children as a normal mother would do. The research findings may not serve as direct evidence to counter the negative stereotypes and labels ascribed to Vietnamese spouses and their marriage, but they suggest that Vietnamese female spouses can fabricate interactional resources (i.e. available linguistic codes and the MCD 'Family') into devices (i.e. the 'we + country' compounds) to actively engage in familial communicative events and fulfil their responsibilities both as a family member and as a mother. Therefore, while part of this study discusses Vietnamese participants' national differences, the extracts have also shown the similarities these Vietnamese spouses share with other married females, be them Taiwanese or other nationals. As Constable (2005) remarks all marriages cross borders of some sort (e.g. gender, class, culture etc.), the marriage between a Vietnamese female and a Taiwanese male is only one of many forms of cross-border union.

6.3 Limitations

While this present study is highly original and has its social and theoretical values, it also has its limitations. The primary one is that it collects a rather small 7-hour corpus, and only involves 3 Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational families. One may argue that with such a small sample size, the research findings can only be very limited and cannot be generalised to other Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational families. As was mentioned in Chapter 3

generalisation is not the main concern of both CA and MCA because they see each case as ultimately unique, they may but need not be applied to a huge corpus, and their main focus is on explicating the micro management that provides for a generalising description of the social interaction in a particular context under investigation. In light of this, participants engaging in this study have demonstrated their micro management of co-constructing category identities (i.e. national and familial ones) in the family, and have also demonstrated their sequential organisation in admonishment sequences with the deployment of available languages. Each interactional phenomenon highlighted in the study, therefore, should be treated as a product of social machinery constituted of participants' organisation of social actions at a local level (cf. Benson and Hughes cited in Seedhouse 2005). The research findings therefore have not only demonstrated specific features in admonishment sequences and those in which the enactment of 'Taiwanese' or 'Vietnamese' is relevant, but they have also demonstrated that these specifics are regularities occurring in these contexts for the achieving of certain interactional goals.

Another limitation of this study concerns the way that participants were selected. Since the present study aims to identify how Taiwanese and Mandarin are used by Vietnamese spouses as interactional resources, the researcher selected each Vietnamese participant with an agenda, i.e. she must use both languages in interacting with her family members, regardless of her proficiency in either of the languages. In other words, this study does not examine Vietnamese spouses' familial talk-in-interaction in which only Mandarin is used as the language of interaction. The Vietnamese spouses who had not yet acquired Taiwanese were thus excluded and they were also those living in Taiwan for a relatively short duration. In comparison, the three Vietnamese spouses involving in this study had been living in Taiwan for at least 5 years. By selecting participants with this agenda, the study excludes a group of relatively new immigrants to Taiwanese society, and inevitably overlooks Vietnamese spouses' talk-in-interaction in which the participants have even fewer resources available for them to engage in communicative events within the family.

Moreover, since the researcher did not take experimental controls regarding the sociological and psychological characteristics of the participants, the study cannot contribute to understanding how sociological and psychological variables impact on interactional trajectories in a Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational family setting. According to Heritage (1988), however, the use of such controls on variables may not only influence the character of interaction, but also sacrifice the naturalness of social interaction. It is therefore argued that such limitation features not only this present study but also those adopting an EM/CA/MCA micro-analytic approach.

6.4 Suggestions for Future Research

In view of the contributions and limitations, this very last subsection aims to provide some suggestions for future studies. To begin with, researchers interested in identifying the interrelationship between foreign spouses' sociological/psychological background and their social interaction may adopt a macro-analytic approach that takes into account variables extrinsic to the local sequential context. On the other hand, since CA and MCA have been proved to be useful analytic tools in their use to investigate familial interaction in Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational families, future research on the foreign brides phenomenon in Taiwan may adopt them to study issues regarding language, discourse, communication and interaction. In particular, they can be used to study how new-arrival immigrants reposition themselves in their husband's family and identify the (presumably scarce) interactional resources available to them. Moreover, CA and MCA can be used to study how (e.g. in which context and for what purpose) the categories of 'L2 user (non-native speaker)' and 'L1 user (native speaker)' are relevant to familial interaction in transnational families. Also, the two approaches can be used to investigate how foreign spouses from various countries use Mandarin or Taiwanese as a lingua franca. These topics will contribute to studies of L2 interaction from an EM/CA/MCA perspective, and may identify how the identity categories 'L1 user' and 'L2 user' are used as interactional resources. While the suggestions are

made in particular for future research on the foreign brides phenomenon in Taiwan, they can also be applicable to a wider global context for identifying talk-in-interaction patterns inherent in cross-border marriages and transnational families.

Since the study has also identified that the admonished target's silent participation can be treated as a preferred SPP whereas his/her verbal defiance or non-verbal provocative behaviour can be treated as dispreferred SPPs, CA analysts can further examine other forms of preferred and dispreferred actions in admonishment sequences. Also, since this study has identified the relationship between participants' language choice and the framing activities employed in admonishment sequences in the Vietnamese-Taiwanese transnational families, future research could also look into admonishment sequences in other bilingual or multilingual families. Even if this study has discovered that Taiwanese and Mandarin serve as contextualisation cues and framing devices and that they are deployed for discourse-related (i.e. turn-allocation) and participant-related (i.e. interlocutor's language preference) factors, it is suggested that further studies could explore other functions that languages have in admonishment sequences in different multi-lingual settings. Others could also conduct studies of admonishment sequences in institutions (e.g. admonishment sequences among classmates and those between teachers and students) and explore how the architecture of admonishment sequences are influenced or constrained by the institutional goals and participants' institutional roles. All these suggested research directions should enhance understanding of the way social actors organise sequential interaction when admonishment sequences take place.

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Appendix A (1)

Research Project

1. Topic :

The discursive construction of identity and language use patterns in Vietnamese-Taiwanese international families

2. Data Collection :

- A. Video-/audio recording at dinner time (To minimise possible intervention, the recording will mainly be conducted by the participants. Alternatively, the researcher will visit and observe the familial interaction after getting permission.) It is estimated that the recording process will last for 1-2 months, yet it may also be ceased when the recording data collected in each family come to 3 hours.
- B. 1-2 post-recording interviews (Each interview may take 1.5 hours and will also be video-/audio recorded.)

3.

Each family will be given 3,000 NTD for participation in and contribution to the research project.

Appendix A (2) **Letter of Consent**

Dear Sir/Madam:

My name is Wang Li-Fen, a PhD student based at Newcastle University, UK and major in educational and applied linguistics. I am currently writing my PhD thesis and will need your assistance for collecting data. The following are the introduction to my research topic and research process.

The overall aim of my thesis is to investigate the discursive construction of identity and language use patterns in Vietnamese-Taiwanese international families. In order to gain the appropriate data for analysis, I will be recording your conversation with your friends, family members or relatives at dinner time. The entire recording work will last 1-2 months in total. Your recorded speech will be transcribed into written document and digitalized as well as archived in electronic forms for possible later use on further language research.

If you agree to participate, please sign this letter and fill in the questionnaire attached to this letter. Agreeing to participate in this research does not commit you to anything, and you may change your mind and withdraw at any time. Note that any reporting will be completely anonymous, and neither your names nor your personal details will feature in any reporting of this research.

I will be happy to discuss any aspect of the research with you, so if you have any questions or comments, please don't hesitate to inform me.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Wang Li-fen

I understand that my speech will be recorded, and my name will not be revealed in any reports. I also agree that my recorded speech may be used later for archiving and for further language studies.

Signed:

Date:

Appendix A (3) Questionnaire

Name:

Sex:

Mother tongue:

Nation/City acquiring mother tongue:

Language(s) using in the recording:

Nation/City acquiring the language(s) using in the recording:

Age of acquiring/learning the language(s) using in the recording:

Level of formal education:

Occupation:

Date of birth:

Birth place:

Address:

Telephone number:

E-mail:

Thank you for your help!!!

Appendix B CA Transcription Conventions

(Adapted from Atkinson and Heritage 1984)

- [] Overlapping utterances – (beginning []) and (end])
 - = Contiguous utterances (Latching intra/inter turn)
 - (0.4) Represent the tenths of a second between utterances
 - (.) Represents a micro-pause (1 tenth of a second or less)
 - : Sound extension of a word (more colons demonstrate longer stretches)
 - . Fall in tone
 - , Continuing intonation (not necessarily between clauses)
 - An abrupt stop in articulation
 - ? Rising inflection (not necessarily a question)
- LOUD Capitals indicate increased volume
- loud** Different front sizes indicate gradually increased volume
- Underline words indicate emphasis
 - ↑↓ Rising or falling intonation (before part of word)
 - ° ° Surrounds talk that is quieter
 - > < Surrounds talk that is faster
 - < > Surrounds talk that is slower
 - (?) Inaudible utterances
 - (()) Analyst's notes

Appendix C

Glossing

(Adapted from Li 1999; Li and Thompson 1992)

3sg = third person singular pronoun

ASP = aspect marker (including perfective, durative, experiential, delimitative)

ASSOC = associative

CL = classifier

COP = copula

CRS = currently relevant state

CSC = complex stative construction

delim. = delimitative aspect marker

DISP = disposal marker

DM = discourse marker

dur. = durative aspect marker (e.g. 在 zai, 著 zhe)

GEN = genitive

NAME = proper noun

NEG = negation marker

NOM = nominalizer

PASS = passive voice marker

pfv = perfective aspect (e.g. 了 le)

Q = question marker

RT = reactive token

UFP = utterance final particle