ทัศนคติต่อภาษาและการสร้างอัตลักษณ์ของผู้พูดชาวไทยที่ใช้ภาษาอังกฤษในที่ทำงาน

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION OF THAI

SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH IN THE WORKFORCE

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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พิเชฐ ประกายอนุรัตน์ : ทัศนคติต่อภาษาและการสร้างอัตลักษณ์ของผู้พูดชาวไทยที่ใช้ภาษาอังกฤษในที่ทำงาน (LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION OF THAI SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH IN THE WORKFORCE) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: อ.ดร.ปริณาแข่งขัน, 158 หน้า.

เนื่องจากภาษาอังกฤษในปัจจุบันมีบทบาทเป็นภาษากลางของโลก นักวิชาการหลายท่านจึงเรียกร้องให้ปรับเปลี่ยนกระบวนทัศน์การเรียนการสอนภาษาอังกฤษจากเดิม "การสอนภาษาอังกฤษในฐานะภาษาต่างประเทศ" เป็น "การสอนภาษาอังกฤษในฐานะภาษานานาชาติ" ถึงแม้ว่าการปรับเปลี่ยนกระบวนทัศน์ดังกล่าวดูเหมาะสมกับยุคปัจจุบันซึ่งใช้ภาษาอังกฤษเป็น "ภาษากลาง" ของโลกแต่ในการปรับเปลี่ยนดังกล่าวยังมีความจำเป็นที่จะต้องศึกษาทัศคติของคนที่มีต่อภาษาอังกฤษในสำเนียงต่าง ๆ เนื่องจากทัศนคติต่อภาษานั้นสามารถส่งผลโดยตรงต่อการเรียนการสอนและการสร้างอัตลักษณ์ของผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษ งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ศึกษา (1) ทัศนคติของชาวไทยในวัยทำงาน 80 คน ที่มีต่อสำเนียงของผู้ที่พูดภาษาอังกฤษเป็นภาษาแม่ (ภาษาอังกฤษสำเนียงอเมริกันและอังกฤษ) และผู้ที่พูดภาษาอังกฤษเป็นภาษาที่สอง (ภาษาอังกฤษสำเนียงฟิลิปปินส์ สิงคโปร์ และไทย) ในสภาพแวดล้อมที่ใช้ภาษาอังกฤษเป็นภาษากลางในการสื่อสาร ในแง่ของสถานะทางสังคมและความสามารถ ความมีเสน่ห์ และคุณลักษณะทางภาษา (2) สำเนียงภาษาอังกฤษใดที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษชาวไทยเลือกใช้ (3) ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษชาวไทยสร้างอัตลักษณ์จากการใช้สำเนียงภาษาอังกฤษซึ่งเป็นภาษาที่สองอย่างไร และ (4) ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษชาวไทยจัดตำแหน่งตนเองและคู่สนทนาอย่างไรในสภาพแวดล้อมที่ภาษาอังกฤษถูกใช้เป็นภาษากลาง ซึ่งศึกษาโดยการใช้แบบทดสอบทัศคติที่มีต่อภาษา (80 คน) และการสัมภาษณ์กึ่งโครงสร้าง (10 คน) ผลการวิจัยแสดงให้เห็นว่าสำเนียงภาษาอังกฤษของผู้ที่พูดภาษาอังกฤษเป็นภาษาแม่ยังคงเป็นที่นิยมชื่นชอบ เนื่องจากเหตุผลด้านความเข้าใจง่ายของสำเนียง ความเป็นเจ้าของภาษา และการสร้างอัตลักษณ์ของตัวผู้พูด ผลการวิจัยจากการสัมภาษณ์กึ่งโครงสร้างยังชี้ให้เห็นว่าผู้เข้าสำรวจส่วนใหญ่สามารถใช้สำเนียงในแบบที่ต้องการ นอกจากนี้งานวิจัยยังแสดงให้เห็นถึงผลกระทบจากบริบทการเรียนภาษาอังกฤษของคนไทยที่มีต่อการมองตนเองและคู่สนทนาในสภาพแวดล้อมที่ใช้ภาษาอังกฤษเป็นสื่อกลาง ผลวิจัยดังกล่าวยังชี้ให้เห็นถึงความสำคัญของการสร้างความตระหนักรู้ด้านความหลากหลายของสำเนียงในภาษาอังกฤษเพื่อเตรียมผู้เรียนให้มีความพร้อมกับการใช้ภาษาอังกฤษเป็นภาษากลางในการติดต่อสื่อสารกับผู้พูดที่มีภาษาแม่แตกต่างกัน

ภาควิชา   ภาษาอังกฤษ   ลายมือชื่อนิสิต ┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈

สาขาวิชา   ภาษาอังกฤษ   ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก ┈┈┈┈┈┈┈

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PICHET PRAKAIANURAT: LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION OF THAI SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH IN THE WORKFORCE. ADVISOR: PREENA KANGKUN, Ph.D., 158 pp.

As English has become a world language, many scholars have called for a shift of teaching paradigm from teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) to English as an international language (EIL). While such view seems to be practical when English is being increasingly used as a global language, it also calls for a study of people's attitudes towards different English varieties since attitudes can play a role in identity construction, second language learning, and educational practices. This study aims to investigate (1) how Thai working adults perceive native varieties (British English and American English) and non-native varieties (Philippine English, Singaporean English, and Thai English) in terms of social status, social attractiveness, and linguistic quality, (2) which English varieties they aim for, (3) how they construct their identities through linguistic choices, and (4) how they position themselves and others in ELF encounters through the use of Verbal Guise Test (VGT) (80 participants) and semi-structured interviews (10 participants). The results showed that native varieties were still the dominant English accents that Thai speakers of English want to learn and use due to intelligibility, the ownership of English, and identity reasons. The results from the semi-structured interviews also indicated that most participants aimed for native varieties and had the ability to achieve the accent they aimed for. In addition, the study also reveals the potential effects of educational discourse on how Thai speakers of English positioned themselves and others in ELF encounters. The study suggests the significance of awareness raising about the diversity of English varieties to prepare them for the interactions in ELF contexts.

Department:	English	Student's Signature ....
Field of Study:	English	Advisor's Signature ....
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

With the growth of people using English as a means of communication across the globe, it is no surprise that the role of English as a world language or English as a lingua franca (ELF) has attracted the attention of many researchers to investigate how native speakers (NSs) and non-native speakers (NNSs) perceive different varieties of English, how well they can understand the accents produced by others, and how their attitudes correlate to their identity construction expressed through their linguistic choices and discourse . With regard to Kachru's (1990, 1992) three concentric model of World Englishes, different varieties of English can be categorised into the inner circle, outer circle, and expanding circle. The inner circle includes those countries using English as their first language such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, whereas the outer circle consists of post-colonised countries and English is also used as their official language or as their second language such as Singapore, the Philippines, and Malaysia. For the expanding circle, English is learnt and used as an international language (EIL) or learnt as a foreign language such as in China, Japan, Indonesia, and Thailand. In terms of the categorisation of English usage in the member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), outer-circle countries include Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore as they use English as an official or semi-official language, while the other six countries, namely Cambodia,

Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam, and Thailand are possibly said to belong to the expanding circle.

One of the heated debates within the ELF research body in the outer circle and expanding circle countries concerns which variety of English is "the most suitable pedagogic model" (Li, 2009: 81). In the situation when English is increasingly used as a global language or as lingua franca, (Deterding, 2007) many scholars raise criticisms towards the dominance of native speaker-based varieties in pedagogical practices (Jenkins, 2000; Jenkins, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 2011; Li, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2001, 2004, 2005) and call for a shift of paradigm from teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) to more socially sensitive pedagogy such as World Englishes (WE), English as an international language (EIL), and English as a lingua franca (ELF). The proponents of such view argue that non-native speakers of English should be allowed to retain their local identities through their accented English (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2001, 2004), and should be encouraged to focus on strategies to achieve their communicative goals and mutual intelligibility rather than following native norms since "nativelikeness is unattainable" and "native speaker-based model might not be an appropriate pedagogic goal for NNSs" (Kirkpatrick, 2006, cited in Li, 2009: 81; 2007). To support the shift of paradigm, several ELF scholars examine how intelligibility is affected by different English phonological elements ranging from segmental to suprasegmental levels, and one of the earliest studies that shed some light on this issue is the work by Jenkins (2000) on the phonology of international English. In this work, she highlights the Lingua Franca

Core (LFC), which consists of core phonological features that have been tested empirically to be important for intelligibility among NNSs. In ASEAN countries in particular, Kirkpatrick (2011) proposes a list of pronunciation features shared by ASEAN ELF users (see table 1), claiming that there is no need for English teachers to spend time correcting most of these features as they have little effect on intelligibility (Kirkpatrick, 2011: 123).

Table 1: Summary of phonological features shared by ASEAN ELF users

Feature	Example(s)
reduction of consonant clusters	first = [fəst] → [fəs]
dental fricative /θ/ as [t]	many thing [tɪŋ]
merging of long and short vowel sounds	/iː/ and /i/ → [i]
monophthongisation of FACE and GOAT diphthongs	face = [feɪs] → [fes] goat = [goʊt] →[got]
reduced initial aspiration	they will teach [diːtʃ]
bisyllabic triphthongs	in our [aʊwə] time
lack of reduced vowels	officially [ɒfɪʃəlɪ]; to [tuː] visit
stressed pronouns	and HE has been in Singapore
heavy end-stress	the incidental WAY

(Adapted from Kirkpatrick (2011: 173)

While the arguments for a shift of teaching paradigm that moves away from native-based norms mentioned above seem to be practical at a time when English serves its role as a global language, it seems likely that such ideas tend to be based on scholars' speculative and theoretical assumptions about learners' needs only (Sharifian, 2009: 13), paying less attention to learners' voices. In addition, learners' choices with regard to "identity construction" (Sung, 2014: 546) also seem to be ignored or overlooked. This has thus given rise to the importance of examining what Thai speakers' attitudes towards different varieties of English are, whether the scholars' assumptions regarding intelligibility are matched with Thai ELF speakers, since attitudes can play a role in learners' motivation in second language learning, the design of language policy and educational practices, and identity construction (Edwards, 1999; Kim, 2012; Kirkpatrick, 2011; Labov, 1972; Ladegaard, 2000; Li, 2009; Rindal, 2010; Snodin & Young, 2015; Sung, 2014).

In Thailand, English is taught as a foreign language and the two dominant English accents used as models in English learning are usually British English (BE) and General American English (GA) like most countries in ASEAN. Although these two varieties of English are the dominant pronunciation models, it should be noted that there are also Thai English teachers who teach English as a foreign language with Thai English accent (ThaiE) and increasingly Filipino English teachers are teaching English in Thailand (Wongsamuth, 2015), making Filipino English (PhilE) one of the English accents that can be heard in Thailand. In addition, since Singapore is an English-

speaking country with economic competitiveness on a global stage (Jones, 2015) and its

geographic location is relatively close to Thailand, Thai people may possibly choose

Singapore as a destination to improve their English or may have a chance to do business

with Singaporean people, making Singaporean more widespread or possibly chosen as

a model of pronunciation. It is thus interesting to see how Thai speakers of English

perceive these English varieties. Although some research has been conducted to

examine how Thai speakers perceive different varieties of English (Baker, 2009;

Jindapitak, 2010, 2015; Jindapitak & Teo, 2013; Ploywattanawong & Trakulkasemsuk,

2014; Prakaiborisuth, 2015), most of attitude studies in Thai context tend to focus on

social dimensions only, not taking into account the aspect like linguistic quality such

as intelligibility. This might provide an incomplete picture about people's perceptions

towards different English varieties. In addition, few studies in Thai context focus on the

relationship between accent and identity to see how Thai speakers of English use

linguistic repertoires to index social meanings and construct their social identities in

talk, and to what extent Thai speakers of English find it important to them to retain their

local identity through L2 pronunciation, which is underscored by most ELF scholars

(Jenkins, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2005). The participants included in most

previous studies are also university students (Baker, 2009; Jindapitak, 2010, 2015;

Jindapitak & Teo, 2013; Kirkpatrick, 2011; Ploywattanawong & Trakulkasemsuk,

2014; Prakaiborisuth, 2015), so it would be interesting to see if the perceptions towards

different varieties of English of people, whose exposure to English also comes from

their working life and whose aim to achieve communicative purposes is for their

professional achievements, are different from or similar to those of the previous studies.

It is also worth investigating how Thai working adults would construct their identities, and position themselves and others when interacting with other ELF speakers whose native language is not shared.

This study thus aims to fill in the gap by investigating how white-collar Thai workers, who use English as a means of communication as part of their job, perceive different varieties of English in both social dimensions and linguistic quality, how they make linguistic choices to discursively construct their identities – whether their speech would be more affiliated with global community (GA and BE) or local communities (PhilE, SingE, and ThaiE, which will be seen as ASEAN ELF models) – and how they would position themselves in ELF settings through discourse.

1.2 Research questions

The research questions of this present study are:

1 What are the attitudes of Thai speakers of English in the workforce towards native varieties (BE and GA) and non-native varieties (PhilE, SingE, and ThaiE – the three of which are ELF ASEAN models) in terms of social status and competence, social attractiveness, and linguistic quality?

2 Which variety of English do they aim for?

3 Do Thai speakers of English construct their identities in relation to native varieties or non-native varieties and why?

4   How do Thai speakers of English position themselves when talking about their English and the English of their interlocutors in ELF encounters?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study are as follows:

1   To investigate attitudes of Thai speakers of English in the workforce towards different varieties of English, including native varieties (BE and GA) and non-native varieties (PhilE, SingE, ThaiE) in terms of status and competence, social attractiveness, and linguistic quality.

2   To understand more about which varieties of English are the dominant English accents that Thai speakers of English aim for.

3   To analyze how Thai speakers of English construct and negotiate their identities by making use of their available linguistic repertoires, and examine whether they prefer to foreground the affiliation with global communities or local communities.

4   To give insights into how Thai speakers of English position themselves through discourse in ELF encounters.

1.4 Significance of the study

The present study is significant for the following reasons:

First, unlike most previous studies that are conducted with university students as participants in the studies (Baker, 2009; Jindapitak, 2010, 2015; Jindapitak & Teo, 2013; Kirkpatrick, 2011; Ploywattanawong & Trakulkasemsuk, 2014; Prakaiborisuth,

2015), the participants in this study are white-collar Thai workers, who sometimes use English as a means of communication in their jobs to achieve their professional goals. Therefore, it would be of interest to see if the attitudes of white-collar Thai workers towards different varieties of English would be similar to or different from those of the previous studies.

Second, this study will give insights into attitudes of Thai speakers of English in the workforce towards different varieties of English, which is significant because attitudes could possibly (1) contribute to stylistic variation, (2) influence how people would construct and negotiate their identities through their linguistic repertoires, and (3) affect second language learning. Gaining a more insightful picture of language and attitudes would thus provide some pedagogical implications to English language teaching in Thailand, where English is increasingly being used as a means of communication with those whose first language is not shared.

Third, this study would provide a clearer picture of how Thai speakers of English construct and negotiate their identities, and position themselves through their chosen linguistic repertoires and discourse in ELF encounters by incorporating both perception and production tasks. To the best of my knowledge, although some studies in Thailand examined how Thai people perceive different varieties of English, there are still few studies examining speech performance of Thai speakers of English, especially those from the workforce.

1.5 Scope of the study

The scope of this present study covers three aspects.

First, the study aims to examine attitudes of Thai speakers of English in the workforce, who might use English as a means of communication with other interlocutors whose English is also not their native language, towards different varieties of English, including both native English accents (BE and GA) and non-native English accents (PhilE, SingE, and ThaiE) in terms of social status and competence, social attractiveness, and linguistic quality by using a "verbal guise test" (VGT), an indirect method of studying attitudes by having participants rate different varieties of English based on ten semantic labels to elicit the data.

Second, the study makes use of an analytical approach "indexicality" (Silverstein; 2003), which relates linguistic repertoires to social meanings, thus indexing speakers' social identities and suggesting that they are in-group membership of that certain community. This framework would allow us to investigate how the participants make linguistic choices to discursively construct their identities in ELF encounters, and whether such identities expressed through their language use are more affiliated with local or global communities.

Last, the study would yield insights into how Thai people in the workforce would position themselves when using English as a lingua franca with other non-native English speakers through their talk.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Different frameworks on the use of English around the world

Although all of the terms "English as an International Language" (EIL), "World Englishes" (WE), and "English as a Lingua Franca" (ELF) are used to describe the same phenomenon, which is the widespread use of English across the globe, they are labeled differently to explain different characteristics and functions of the language. It is also noteworthy that these terms are sometimes interpreted differently by different scholars and researchers, thus leading to some overlaps among these three frameworks and leaving us with linguistically complex issue to discuss.

2.1.1 English as an international language (EIL)

EIL, which seems to be the broadest term (Sharifian, 2009), refers to both the use of English by native speakers to communicate with other native speakers or non-native speakers, and the use of English by non-native speakers with other non-native speakers (House, 2012: 186). Jenkins (2007: 160) describes EIL as "a means of communication across national and linguistic boundaries". Burns (2005: 24) refers the community of EIL speakers as an "international communicative network". House (2012: 186-187) defines EIL as the interaction that includes both WE and ELF speakers, which suggests that EIL paradigm should be seen as an umbrella term and the most complicated phenomenon as it emphasises the plurality of English with its diverse varieties representing multilingual and multicultural contexts, indicating the local or

regional identities of the speakers through cross-cultural variations. It should also be noted that while many scholars view EIL as the concept that focuses on the plurality of English, Pakir (2009: 229) considers such concept (which she calls International English or IE in her study) as the framework that emphasises monocentricity of English or standard language ideology, which regard native speaker norms as a model of communication. In this study, EIL entails a broad sense of interactions whose English is used as a means of communication among native speakers themselves and among non-native speakers.

2.1.2 English as a lingua franca (ELF)

The term ELF is defined as "a default language" that non-native English speakers of different L1 backgrounds use to contact one another (Seidlhofer, 2005: 339). The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) simply describes ELF as "English used as a common means of communication among speakers from different first language backgrounds". Firth (1996: 240) refers to it as a "contact language" between people whose L1 and cultures are not shared; thus, English is the selected foreign language for communication. McKay and Bokhorst-Heng (2008) also views ELF as the interactions between two speakers who do not share their first language and culture, which makes the term become a more specific concept as opposed to that of EIL. In this sense, ELF speakers are not learners of English and should not be seen as "incompetent English users" nor their language use be considered "errors" when their English does not conform to native English norms. In this way, many ELF researchers are critical to the

hegemony of maintaining native-speaker as language pedagogy and stress that "L2 speakers should be allowed, if not encouraged, to speak accented English", which will sensitively retain their L1 identity (Jenkins, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 2011), and should be viewed as the "legitimate users of ELF" (Seidlhofer, 2001; Sung, 2014).

2.1.3 World Englishes (WE)

WE, a framework mostly influenced by Kachru (1990) , refers to varieties of English used as an institutionalised language, which has undergone a long process of linguistic changes and adaption, leading to a "pluricentric English" showing "hybrid forms" (Pakir, 2009: 229). Pennycook (2007: 20) adds that "the World Englishes framework places nationalism at its core". According to Pakir (2009: 233), both WE and ELF share some similarities, including accentuating the pluricentricity of English and acknowledging linguistic variations in different English varieties, which resembles what Seidlhofer and Berns (2009: 190) highlighted, both WE and ELF research deals with how different English varieties develop in their own way as a communication means that index and express speakers' sociocultural identities rather than complying with native-based norms. By contrast, according to Pakir (2009: 234), both are different in that while the emphasis of WE is put on "sociolinguistic realities" in a range and in-depth English use in Outer Circle countries in particular, ELF focuses on identifying common features typically used among ELF speakers to serve their communicative functions. Pakir (2009: 233) also adds that ELF differs from WE in that under the WE paradigm all English users are included no matter which circle they come from.

Since the goal of this study is to examine how Thai speakers of English would construct their identities and position themselves through pronunciation and discourse in the context of ELF interactions, where English is used as a default language of communication by speakers whose L1 is not shared, more details for research on ELF will be provided to give more insights into characteristics and recent findings of ELF use in general and in ASEAN countries in particular.

2.2 Research on ELF

ELF has attracted much research and shifted the focus from NSs to NNSs (Majanen, 2008). However, many researchers question the definition and existence of ELF. The controversies range from that ELF describes functions of language rather than a form to that ELF cannot be considered as a distinct variety and should be treated as interlanguage used by non-native speakers of English (Elder & Davies, 2006cited in Kirkpatrick, 2011: 67-68; Modiano, 2006; Mollin, 2006). Mollin (2006: 41) argues that native speaker-based norms should still remain as the pedagogic model in English language teaching (ELT) as he counts such ELF as a register, which shows a functional level only, rather than a variety. At the same time, in terms of teaching materials, as there is no stable standard for such ELF model, the standard of teaching materials based on ELF thus tends to be "unreliable" (Mollin, 2006: 52). S. Canagarajah (2009) also challenge the scope of ELF research as most studies of ELF focused only NNSs – NNSs interaction, and exclude native speakers of English.

While many scholars and researchers raise many convincing arguments, recent ELF research has shown some shared linguistic features in European ELF, including syntactic, phonological, and pragmatic features. For grammatical features, the early empirical work was conducted by Seidlhofer (2004) by means of surveying and collecting data of ELF face-to-face interactions in different communicative settings and contexts through the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE). With both qualitative and quantitative analysis, this work provides preliminary empirical findings of ELF salient features used typically by numerous speakers from various " lingualcultural backgrounds" and all these features are still considered "communicatively effective" as it does not appear to impede communication among ELF speakers (Seidlhofer, 2004, cited in Jenkins, 2011: 289). These features include:

- Dropping the third person present tense –s

- Confusing the relative pronouns *who* and *which*

- Omitting the definite and indefinite articles where they are obligatory in ENL (English as a native language), and inserting them where they do not occur in ENL

- Failing to use correct tag questions (e.g., *isn't it?* or *no?* instead of *shouldn't they?*)

- Inserting redundant prepositions, as in *We have to study about …*

- Overusing certain verbs of high semantic generality, such as *do*, *have*, *make*, *put*, *take*

- Replacing infinitive constructions with that clauses, as in I want that

- Overdoing explicitness (e.g., *black color* rather than just *black*)

(Seidlhofer, 2004: 220)

Jenkins, Cogo, and Dewey (2011: 289) thus argues that these linguistic features should be viewed as "ELF variants" rather than errors as they were found to be systematic in the interaction of ELF speakers. Similar to Jenkins et al. (2011), Ferguson (2009: 130) also argues that ELF features should not be seen as errors, but "non-standard variants" that need to be included in linguistic repertoire for pedagogical goals rather than eliminated.

For phonology, Jenkins (2000) investigated interactions among six ELF speakers (two Japanese, three Swiss-German, and one Swiss-French) provides a list of phonological features called Lingua Franca Core (LFC), the phonological features empirically tested to be important for intelligibility, and non-core features. Intelligibility here and in this present study refers to the ability of listeners to recognise the words or utterances (Smith & Nelson, 1985). It should be noted that Jenkins et al. (2011: 288) stressed that LFC was not set for a pedagogical goal or a pronunciation model, but a set of phonological features necessary for intelligibility. The core features include:

- Most consonant sounds.

- Appropriate consonant cluster simplification

- Vowel length distinction

- Nuclear stress

<div align="right">(Jenkins, 2000: 132)</div>

Jenkins (2002) also found the phenomenon of accommodation(Beebe & Giles, 1984) – when speakers adjust their linguistic behaviour in response to their interlocutors' behaviour – by ELF speakers as they tried to substitute some "non-standard" with more "standard" phonological features to increase the intelligibility of their pronunciation for other NNSs interlocutors.

2.3 ELF in ASEAN countries

For ELF context in ASEAN, Deterding and Kirkpatrick (2006) investigated pronunciation features of ELF in ASEAN from twenty speakers — two from each of the ASEAN countries — and found pronunciation features shared by ASEAN ELF users (see table1). They also found that intelligibility is affected and communication breakdown occurs in the following cases:

- *the use of [a:] in pearl*

- *the omission of /r/ in three*

- *the pronunciation of sauce with an initial [f]*

- *the use of [t] in us.*

<div align="right">(Deterding & Kirkpatrick, 2006: 406)</div>

They also added that all of these sounds are uncommon features in ASEAN pronunciation, causing problems in international communication, and all of these sounds are the phonological features that should not be pronounced differently from a known standard norm (Deterding & Kirkpatrick, 2006: 406).

By contrast, no evidence has shown such intelligibility difficulty in pronunciation features shared by ASEAN speakers, and some features like not reducing vowels in unstressed syllables can actually help enhance understanding in such international communication. Deterding and Kirkpatrick (2006) drew a conclusion that there is no need for ASEAN people to follow the norms of native speakers and that speakers from America or Britain might in fact "need to learn these features". Kirkpatrick (2011: 68) also emphasised that the native speaker norms should not be the pronunciation goal for NNSs as ELF proficiency levels should be based on ELF speakers themselves. However, such claims might be based only on the researchers' assumption of what learners need as there is little empirical evidence supporting the cases and, as Mollin (2006: 52) suggested, it is not the linguists but learners themselves who should say which English they need to learn. It is therefore worth investigating how L1 Thai learners view the ASEAN ELF model and to what extent such model is intelligible among them.

2.4 Language attitude

Language attitude has become a focus of attention for sociolinguists and social psychologists over the last few decades. Not only is language considered a communicative device conveying information, but it also psychologically constructs

and defines individual identities and social characteristics of the speakers, whether through their own language or the languages of others (Coupland, 2007; Edwards, 1999; Fiedler, 2011; Jenkins, 2007; Kim, 2012; Ladegaard, 1998, 2000; Rindal, 2010; Sung, 2014).

In general, many research studies conducted to investigate native English speakers' attitudes towards different varieties of English showed consistent results that standard speech varieties tend to be evaluated most positively in terms of status and frequently rated highly on traits such as ambition, intelligence and confidence as opposed to other English varieties, whereas non-standard speech varieties are likely to be rated more pleasant and friendly than that of standard speech varieties (Ahn, 2015; Bresnahan, Ohashi, Nebashi, Liu, & Shearman, 2002; Coupland, 2007; Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003; Jenkins, 2007; Jindapitak, 2010, 2015; Jindapitak & Teo, 2013; Kim, 2012; Ladegaard, 2000; Ladegaard & Sachdev, 2006; Li, 2009; Prakaiborisuth, 2015; Rindal, 2010).

Jenkins (2007: 157) investigated attitudes of NSs towards different varieties of English, including standard and regional accents by NS and accented English accents by NNSs, and found that standard BE and GA accents are rated better and more favorably than other NS accents and other NNS accents. In the study, English varieties included were UK English, Us English, Canadian English, Irish English, Dutch English, French English, Indian English, Japanese English, and Swedish English.

Bresnahan et al. (2002) examined the attitudes of American people towards American English and foreign accented English based on the variation of role identities (friend and teacher assistant) and intelligibility. A verbal guise technique was employed to elicit 311 participants' attitudes (160 females, 150 males, and one unclassified). To select the guises of foreign accented English, the researcher selected the two that were considered to be the most and the least intelligible evaluated by 20 raters using the NITD measure (Subtelny, 1980), a five-scale checklist with descriptive criteria for each level asking to what extent the guise is intelligible to the participants, and a measure of actual comprehension of what was said. The result showed that American English was rated to be significantly the most intelligible, followed by the foreign intelligible English, which confirmed that more intelligible accented English was viewed more favorably for attitudes. Intelligibility of accent was also found to have an effect on emotional response as the more intelligible the accent is, the more positive affective response is. The result also showed that the role identities affected participants' attitudes as they rated the accents produced by their friends to be more intelligible when compared with that of the teacher assistant.

For studies on attitudes of non-native speakers towards different varieties of English, the results also showed the same trends as that of native speakers'. That is, standard speech varieties are rated more prestigiously than any other variety in terms of status, correctness, and competence, while non-standard speech varieties are rated highly in terms of pleasantness and friendliness (Ahn, 2015; Chen, 2011; Jenkins, 2007;

Jindapitak, 2010; Kim, 2012; Li, 2009; Ploywattanawong & Trakulkasemsuk, 2014; Prakaiborisuth, 2015; Rindal, 2010; Sung, 2014; Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011).

Tokumoto and Shibata (2011) investigated how Japanese, Malaysian, and Korean students perceived their accented English. The research instruments were divided into three main question areas: accentedness judgment, intelligibility judgment, and acceptability judgment. The result showed that Malaysian students highly value their own accent as an acceptable and intelligible accent as opposed to the other two groups of participants with the lower score on attitudes towards their own accents and believed that their accented English is not so intelligible. The researcher suggested this might be due to the attitudinal differences among students in these different countries. As Malaysian students view English as a second language in the society (and was in the outer circle of World Englishes by Kachru), English is "assembly deeply-rooted" and has served as a lingua franca, particularly in business and this might lead to a more positive attitude towards their accent. By contrast, Japanese and South Korean consider English as a foreign language and learners of English in these countries are assumed to be exposed mainly to native-English instructors and have fewer opportunities to use English outside the class. This limited exposure is thus likely to derive their biased attitudes towards their own variety of English.

Kim (2012) examined the perception and attitude of Korean learners of English towards different English accents. The participants were 22 undergraduates and graduates enrolling in Mid-western U.S. university and were in their mid-twenties to

mid-thirties, studying English as a foreign language with at least six-year exposure to English classroom and in an intermediate English proficiency level on average. The participants were classified by sex, duration of stay in the U.S., age and major. They were asked to fill out the survey of the NITD intelligibility and personality checklist after listening ten differently accented English speakers, categorised into three main groups: the three of which were Korean speakers of English, the other three of which were general American English, and the rest of which were four variously accented English guises.

The result showed that the Korean learners were familiar with General American English and preferred GAE accents regardless of the different racial groups. Chinese English and strong accented Korean English were rated the lowest in terms of intelligibility and personality. It is also interesting to note that in terms of age, those in their thirties showed least preference and intelligibility to AAVE accented speaker, which may be interpreted as the cause of their absence of exposure to the AAVE accent.

While the research body on language attitude has been growing, many researchers are also interested in examining the relationship between language attitudes and identity. As Joseph (2004, cited in Omoniyi and White, 2006: 14) claimed "language and identity are inseparable", it would therefore be crucial to examine how the language ideology that people hold influences the way they would construct and negotiate their identities in interactions, which are expressed through their language use.

Li (2009) examined the attitudes and identity of 107 Chinese speakers of English from different academic fields in Hong Kong, 89 of whom were university students and 18 of whom were working adults. The majority of the participants (77 Hong Kong participants) had studied English for over ten years, while the other 30 participants had studied English for approximately seven to nine years. It is also important to note that 30 of all the participants had lived in English speaking countries before, mainly as exchange students. The survey questionnaire was used to ask the participants about their personal information, their preferred identities regarding whether they want to sound like native or non-native speakers, and their attitudes towards non-native English varieties. In order to spark a debate about if non-native accents should be corrected, the words in a sentence 'I think this product is nice' were pronounced with phonological variables commonly shared by non-native speakers of English in East Asia.

The results showed that the majority of the participants, including both students and working adults, preferred to sound like native speakers if possible and native-based accents were also perceived more prestigiously in terms of intelligibility worldwide. By contrast, some of the participants said that they preferred to speak with the localised Hong Kong accent to retain their local Hong Kong identity, but at the same time they also would like to sound like native speakers to achieve intelligibility, leading to the conflicting identities they would like to project. In this way, the participants must choose whether they wanted to retain their local identity or they preferred to globally construct their identity as global citizens through their accent to mitigate intelligibility

problems. Moreover, although most of the participants said that there is no need for non-native accents to be corrected in ELF interactions, they still believed that if certain words were pronounced in deviant way from native-based models in English classroom, teachers should highlight such 'errors' and teach learners how native speakers would pronounce them. In other words, they still perceived such phonological variants as illegitimate or as learners' errors.

Li (2009) explained that such cases emerged because of the hegemony of native speaker accents in English classroom and the lack of knowledge and familiarity with other non-native English varieties, making the participants view non-native accents as illegitimate and less intelligible. From a pedagogical perspective, Li (2009) also suggested that it should be considered carefully if educational practitioners decide to teach English based on localised accent only and ignore native-based models as it might not meet the learners' needs.

Although this study could perhaps show the relationship between language and identity, it is still important to see how different researchers investigate identities by making use of different approaches or paradigms. More studies in such discipline will be provided accordingly in order for us to understand how people could construct their identities by manipulating their use of language and how language could unveil multilayered and multifaceted identities of the speakers.

2.5 Identity construction through language use

"[T]he individual creates for himself the patterns of his

linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the

group or groups with which from time to time he

wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those

from whom he wishes to be distinguished" (Le Page &

Tabouret-Keller, 1985: 181).

Research studies on language and identity have been central to the investigation

in sociolinguistics (Eckert, 2000: 42), and have undergone major development in recent

years, starting from a significant milestone of variation studies based on essentialism by

variationists Labov (1966, 1972) and Trudgill (1974), which traditionally see identity as

static, fixed and given, to ethnographic studies focusing on social and demographic

categories such as race, sex, and age of the speakers (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, 2005;

Eckert, 2012; Schilling-Estes, 2004). Although these first two waves of variation studies

can yield more insights into the phenomenon of stylistic practices, they cannot well

explain the case when people use the language that is not " their own ethnic

distinctiveness" to suggest their desired social categories and ethnic groups (Bucholtz,

2004: 130).

According to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), language choices are "acts of

identity" that speakers perform to project their persona in association with the groups

they want to be either similar to or distinguished from, highlighting the human agency

or 'performativity' for their linguistic choices. Such view might be considered an important transition that emerged contemporary paradigms such as constructionism (Gergen, 1985) and post-structuralism, which view identities as negotiated and emergent in interactions rather than a pre-existing or static entity (Block, 2009; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, 2005; Coupland, 2003, 2007; Hatoss, 2012; Omoniyi & White, 2006; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Rampton, 1995; Rindal, 2010). Eckert and Wenger (2005) suggested that identity is negotiated and constructed instead of projected or reflected as it is used to be viewed. Rather than seeing identities established by either social structures or human agency solely, Block (2009) viewed it as the configuration of both inner and outer world of individuals. This present study thus views identity as a dynamic and emergent entity in ongoing interactions or local discourse, which becomes "multifaceted and multilayered", rather than being in a such limited domain as "macro-level demographic categories", and can vary from one context to another based on its different socio-political and cultural discourses (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Coupland, 2007; Mendoza-Denton, 2002; Omoniyi & White, 2006; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Rindal, 2010; Schilling-Estes, 2004).

As this study would investigate how people construct their identities through their use of language such as phonological features and discourse, previous studies with regard to how people make use of language to construct their identities will be explained in detail.

2.5.1 Style and identity

Many research studies focusing on speaker agency and their speech performances have been conducted to show how speakers creatively use linguistic repertoires to discursively construct their identities and shape such facets of their identities as gender and ethnicity (Bell, 2001; Bucholtz, 2004; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Coupland, 2007; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Rampton, 1995; Rindal, 2010; Schilling-Estes, 2004). Although most of the studies on speech performances tend to focus on how native speakers make choices of their own linguistic resources, research body in the context of how non-native English speakers would construct their identities through linguistic choices has also been growing (Ladegaard, 2000; Rampton, 1995; Rindal, 2010).

By making use of indexicality, which relates the use of linguistic repertoires to social meanings (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 2003), Rindal (2010) examined the pronunciation and language attitudes towards British and American English among Norwegian learners of English. The participants were 23 students aged 17 to 18 years old, studying English for seven years. The study is based on both production test and perception test. For the production test, participants were asked to read a wordlist with target phonological variables such as (r), (t), (GOAT) and (LOT), and a paired casual conversation. The perception test deals with a matched-guise technique with 17 semantically labeled scales, which were divided into three semantic categories: status and competence, social attractiveness, and linguistic quality, to evaluate participants'

attitudes on a scale from 1 to 5. Adding to attitude tests, participants were asked to fill a questionnaire with regard to (1) background, interests and experience with the English language (2) which accent they aimed for (3) reasons why that variety arranged to explore their attitudes towards different accents of English further.

The study showed that the Norwegian speakers produced variants that could be classified as either American English or British English, based on auditory analysis, and that American English variants were more likely to be used, although they might not sound completely native-like. In terms of attitudes, the BE guises were rated more favorably for 11 out of 17 dimensions. Rindal (2010) concludes that Norwegian learners of English create social meaning through English linguistic resources available to construct and index their identity as they used the available linguistic resources such as the marked phonological variants of a particular accent to represent their persona related to their attitudes towards such English accent. That is, they created their own linguistic behaviours to resemble the groups they wish to be identified (GA and RP) to negotiate and construct their self-identity.

Ladegaard (2000) investigated Danish learners' attitudes and perception of Received Pronunciation (RP), American, Australian, Scottish and Cockney accents. The study included 96 EFL learners (72 females and 24 males) with the mean age at 23 years old and for the research instrument, there were 2 main phases: perception tests and production tests. The former included three separate parts – the first two aimed to elicit participants' attitudes towards different varieties of English selected with the use of

verbal-guise technique (VT), while the last was a direct questionnaire regarding "(i) demographic questions; (ii) learning English motivations; (iii) experiences in visiting English speaking countries; (iv) which accents (if any) the participants were aiming at (v) which culture of English-speaking countries they preferred in particular".

The result indicated that Danish learners of English rated BE speakers to be the most attractive model for their pronunciation, while American, Australian and Scottish speakers were rated lower and Cockney speakers were rated the lowest. The result also supported language-culture discrepancy as it showed the plausibility of having positive attitudes towards members of another ethnolinguistic group and preferred some certain elements of that community or culture but not adopting all of them, including the language. That is to say, the language learners' ability and desire to be identified in the groups they wish to resemble should not be considered as a major cause that shapes their language behaviours. According to Social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), which highlights intergroup possess, Danish learners of English might feel that they are in-group members of England as opposed to Australia or America because they are geographically closer to each other and more similar in terms of culture. The researcher thus claimed that this is why Danish participants prefer BE speakers, and concluded that attitudes towards language are perhaps unrelated to linguistic behaviours.

2.5.2 Identity and discourse

In terms of discourse analysis, Virkkula and Nikula (2010) examined how seven Finnish engineering students working in Germany would construct their identity as foreign language users through their spoken discourse, focusing both content and form in interactions, in lingua franca contexts by employing poststructuralist theories. The participants were aged from 21 to 26 years old studying in a polytechnic and had an internship in Germany for a period of four to six months. During their stay in Germany, they primarily used English as a means of communication in their daily lives with other non-native English users, with the exception of their workplace where they were recommended to speak German. None of them had been abroad for more than two weeks and their English exposure mainly came from their English classrooms with no more than seven years.

To investigate their identity construction, interviews were conducted for both before and after their stay in Germany, which helped explore the effects of time spent overseas on how they would position themselves in relation to English and whether they considered themselves as language learners or language users after they spent some time overseas. The questions in the interviews ranged from their attitudes towards their own English proficiency in general and their experiences as foreign language users before and after staying abroad in particular, to their feelings as users of English in ELF encounters.

The results showed that participants viewed themselves and constructed their identities differently after their stay in Germany, suggesting the potential effect of time spent overseas on how they would perceive themselves. In the first interviews, participants evaluated their English skills negatively in terms of grammar, pronunciation, or a range of their vocabulary use through discourses, which is primarily based on the comparison with the native norms within the discourse of education and schooling. These evaluations suggested that participants discursively constructed their identities as incompetent language learners who considered native English speakers as "the potential evaluators" of their English skills. Although such deficient-language-learner identities seemed to be evident in the first interviews among participants, it should also be noted that the identity of language users also emerged sometimes as many participants appeared to pragmatically view English as a language for communication.

In the second interviews, it is interesting to see that after participants spent some time overseas, they positioned themselves and constructed their identities differently in many aspects, changing from incompetent learners of English to successful English users, who were less concerned about language accuracy, and paid more attention to communicative skills and ways to cope with language barriers. This would thus mean that participants also changed their views towards English from educational perspectives to a more global perspective in which English is used as a contact language in ELF encounters.

Sung (2014) examined how nine university students in Hong Kong speaking

Cantonese would discursively construct their identities in ELF communications, with

the emphasis on whether they preferred to foreground an affiliation with their local or

global identities in such contexts. The participants were from different academic

backgrounds with advanced English proficiency level, and their age ranged from 18 to

24 years old.

To explore their identities, the researcher made use of both a questionnaire to

gather personal biological information of the participants and semi-structure

interviews, which were conducted twice. For the first interview, the participants were

asked about their experience in using English as a lingua franca inside and outside

university, and their perceived identities in such ELF settings in general. After a six-

month period, all of these nine participants were asked to participate in the second

interview, which aimed to investigate further whether they wished to discursively

construct local or global identities in ELF contexts. All of these one-to-one interviews

with the length of one hour to two hours were tape-recorded and conducted mainly in

Cantonese, which was later translated into English.

The results showed that the participants displayed varying degrees of

affiliation with local and global identities, which could be categorised into three

different groups. The first group included two out of nine participants, who displayed

the preference to construct and index their local identities in ELF settings through the

use of their local accent as they believed it would help establish the immediate commonality with other people or they were proud of being Hong Kong citizens.

By contrast, the other two participants in this study preferred to foreground the affiliation with the global identities with the desire to sound global through the use of phonological features based on native-speaker norms. They viewed global identities as the opposite side of local identities, in which cannot be blended, and had a stronger sense of global memberships after their experience in intercultural encounters, seeing no values attached to being seen as Hong Kong citizens.

While the former two groups of participants chose to enact identities specifically in either global or local ways, the other five participants showed the desire to construct hybrid identities or "glocal identity", meaning that they preferred to construct both global and local identities simultaneously in ELF contexts through different linguistic repertoires. That is, one of the participants said she would prefer to use some exclamation particles in Chinese such as *la* to construct her Hong Kong identities while speaking with the native-speaker accent to affiliate global community. Another case is when a participant wanted to be identified with a competent user of English at the same time as retaining her Chinese identities as she showed a preference to sound like native speakers and index global identities, but did not want to be identified with "the American born Chinese" who speaks English as a native language. Sung (2014: 51) argued that such cases might be due to the language ideology of native-speaker English (Jenkins, 2007, cited in Sung: 51) that the participants have. In this way, linguistic choices based on native-speaker norms might

be used in a creative way and owned as a "commodity at the local discourse"

(Holliday, 2009: 30, cited in Sung, 2014: 51), emerging 'glocalisation' – the

phenomenon when global components are adapted to suit the local needs(Robertson,

1995).

To the best of my knowledge, there are still few research studies investigating

how non-native speakers of English make use of available linguistic resources to

discursively construct and negotiate their self-identity by exploring through a means of

indexicality in Thai context. This study thus aims to examine whether Thai speakers of

English would intentionally project their Thai or ASEAN self-image because of the

desire to maintain their ethnic identity or because of pragmatic reasons, or they would

index global identities by creating their own linguistic behaviours to resemble a group

of those from the Inner Circle (i.e. BE and GA). Besides, in order to have a more

complete picture of how Thai speakers of English construct their identity, particularly

in ELF contexts, this study also makes use of positioning theory, an analytical lens that

will help us understand more how Thai speakers of English negotiate their own identity,

which is reflected through spoken discourse. As this study makes use of indexicality

and positioning principles, each approach is discussed in turn.

2.6 Indexicality

Indexicality is an analytical approach used to examine how people construct

their identities through discourse which associates linguistic features social meanings

(Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 2003). Bucholtz and Hall (2010: 21) explains that indexicality

works when "associations between language and identity are rooted in cultural beliefs and values". In other words, indexicality is the process whereby people express social meanings through their use of linguistic repertoires such as phonological features or linguistic forms to construct their identities by invoking the socially prototypical discourses. According to Silverstein (2003, cited in Leimgruber, 2013: 101), indexicality can be referential and non-referential. While the former refers to the sematic value of the utterances spoken by the interlocutors, the latter deals with the meanings beyond the facts said by the speakers as the utterances simultaneously presupposes the social and ideological discourses invoked by the semiotic associations between the use of language and certain groups of people (Leimgruber, 2013: 101). The example of this non-referential indexicality can be seen in the study by Labov (1972) on the use of post-vocalic /r/ in the words like "fourth floor" by employees working at three different department stores, demonstrating that the use of rhotic /r/ is associated with lower-middle class in New York, and thus the use of such phonological features by the speakers can index the social class as in-group members of working class. In addition to accents or stylistic practices, indexical expressions also include the use of personal indexicals such as "we" to index the in-group memberships or close relationships between the speakers and the interlocutors while the use of "they" to index the otherness.

While indexicality is viewed as one of the ways people use to index their social positions and construct their identities, indexical process can also play a role as a process to negotiate identities (Kumashiro, 2013: 43). One of the studies to throw some

lights on this phenomenon was conducted by (Rampton, 1995). He demonstrates a process called "language crossing" whereby people negotiate their imposed ethnic identities and cross their cultural boundaries by using linguistic features that do not belong to their ethnic groups. In this way, people creatively create their own linguistic behaviours to negotiate their presumed or ascribed identities, indexing social attributes and social values through their use of linguistic repertoires to position themselves as in-group members of target community.

2.7 Positioning theory

While indexicality refers to the semiotic association made between the linguistic features and social meanings, social values, and social beliefs, positioning theory is an analytical concept proposed by Davies and Harré (1990: 48) to describe a discursive process " whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and intersubjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines" to reveal the rights, duties, and responsibilities of the speakers. The term 'discursive practice' is used to describe the phenomenon when people index their " psychological and social meanings in discourse" and index their subject position (Hatoss, 2012: 50). A subject position refers to "a metaphorical concept through reference to which a person's moral and personal attributes as a speaker are compendiously collected" (Kumashiro, 2013: 68). Instead of viewing identities as "role", the analysis of subject positions allows researchers to examine multifaceted and multilayered identities emergent in the moments of ongoing interactions rather than being viewed as imposed or assumed

entities, enabling researchers to investigate the complexity of the discursive practices

constituted and reconstituted by the speakers throughout the unfold storylines. That is

to say, with positioning theory, we can see how people position themselves or reposition

themselves to negotiate their identities in the dynamic interactions socially constructed

and situated in the storylines though discourse and language choices.

Traditionally, Davies and Harré (1990) made the distinction between interactive

positioning and reflexive positioning to describe the process of how subject position is

indexed in interactions. While the former deals with how the speaker positions the

interlocutor, the latter has to do with when the speaker positions himself or herself

(Davies & Harré, 1990: 48). Since there are no fixed templates of how to make use of

this framework, positioning theory has been used and further developed differently by

different researchers to investigate the discursive productions of one's multi-faceted

identities in interactions (Anderson, 2009; Bamberg, 1997; De Fina, Schiffrin, &

Bamberg, 2006; Hatoss, 2012; Martin-Beltrán, 2010; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

Drawing on the positioning theory, Bamberg (1997) examines positioning on three

different levels as he also takes structure and performance approach into account – Level

1: how the character of the narrator is positioned within the retelling stories, Level 2:

how the speaker positions himself or herself, and Level 3: how the speaker positions

himself to himself or herself to herself beyond the local discourse of the story lines.

Similar to (Bamberg, 1997), De Fina et al. (2006) also investigates positioning in three

different levels, but in different ways. In the positioning framework by De Fina et al.

(2006), Positioning Level 1 is "the factual world", where denotational content is located, while Positioning Level 2 represents "the interactional world", where referential content is situated. Building upon these two positioning levels, Positioning Level 3, "the story world", displays identities as De Fina et al. (2006: 208) regards "what is said" as a source of how people position themselves and construct their identities. Building upon Anderson's (2009) positioning framework that analyses identities in micro, meso, and ideological levels, Martin-Beltrán (2010) analyses the process of positioning in three levels of discourse – Level 1: personal/self-positioning (how the speaker positions himself/herself in interactions), Level 2: interpersonal positioning (how speakers position their interlocutors and how speakers are being positioned by their interlocutor), and Level 3: institutional positioning (how the local discursive contexts position the speakers or are positioned in interactions).

Based on the Martin-Beltrán's (2010) positioning framework, this study investigated the act of positioning by taking into account both the local interpersonal discourse and the ideological discourse situated in ELF communities in three levels: self-positioning, interpersonal positioning, and institutional positioning. By using this framework, we can see how Thai speakers of English position themselves (Level 1), position others or are positioned by others (Level 2), and how institutional and societal contexts position them (Level 3), helping reveal the multifaceted and multilayered

identities of Thai ELF speakers emergent during ongoing interactions in ELF discourses.

2.8 The role of English and ELF research in Thailand

Unlike its ASEAN neighbors, Thailand has never been colonised by English-speaking countries and the diversity of populations is also less than that of other ASEAN nations(Luangthongkum, 2007, cited in Kirkpatrick, 2010: 48-49). People in Thailand, like those of the ASEAN countries, are required to study English as a compulsory subject in schools, which native speaker norms are set as the pedagogic model and perceived as legitimate English accents.

Although English is taught as a required subject starting from the primary level, it is also noteworthy that outside the classroom Thai speakers still have limited exposures to English as the official language used in Thailand is Thai – even though they have been more exposed to the English language than they once were in the past through media, newspapers, or radio broadcasting. Such limited exposures to English are also intensified in rural areas or local communities, where people might see less value of learning English than those from certain urban areas that are visited by tourists. As (Foley, 2005: 227) said, English is vitally important to Thai people and English proficiency is set as criteria for "national economic competitiveness" and qualifications to get a well-paid job (Hayes, 2016), but such value is more likely to be more obvious in "more urban areas such as Bangkok where foreigners are involved in industrial investment, business and tourism" than in rural areas, where people might have less

chance to contact foreigners. That is to say, people who come from certain urban areas are more likely to be exposed to different varieties of English, such as American English, British English, Australian English, Philippine English, Singapore English, or Thai English, mainly through their formal classroom instructions, especially for those who study in international schools or universities, or through multilingual interactions for those who have to work in business or tourism sectors. According to Todd (2006, cited in Kongkerd, 2013: 5), Thai people who work in the tourism industry have to communicate in English with the foreign tourists whose English is not their first language and approximately 70 % of the tourists coming to Thailand are Asian people, which suggests that English is mostly used as a lingua franca in Thailand.

As Jenkins et al. (2011: 285) pointed out, the phenomenon of ELF has drawn researchers' attention from different "geographical locations" to examine the use of English in particular locations — Haberman in Denmark, House in Germany, James in Austria, Jenkins in UK, Mauranen in Finland, Seidlhofer in Austria, Kirkpatrick and Deterding in East Asian settings and Kirkpatrick's Asian Corpus of English (ACE) in Hong Kong, while research studies of ELF in Thailand are also growing to cast more light in this fashion in this specific geographical location (Jindapitak, 2010, 2015; Jindapitak & Teo, 2013; Ploywattanawong & Trakulkasemsuk, 2014; Prakaiborisuth, 2015).

Jindapitak (2010) investigated language attitudes among Thai students majoring in English. The verbal-guise technique (VGT) and questionnaires for collecting

demographic data and investigating participants' ability to identify each variety of English were used as research instruments to examine Thai learners' awareness of different varieties of English and their attitudes towards six varieties of English, including American English (GA), British English (RP), Indian English (InE), Filipino English (PhilE), Japanese English (JpE) and Thai English (ThaiE).

The results indicated that American English and British English were rated more favorably and prestigiously than other non-native English accents, while Indian English was perceived most negatively in all attributes. It was also found that the informants lacked awareness of varieties of English as they could only distinguish native accents from non-native accents, suggesting that some factors might affect the way of identifying the accents such as phonological features, familiarity, standardness, correctness, and intelligibility of certain varieties. In addition, based on the multiple-choice questionnaire, the majority of informants preferred native speaker English accents as their pedagogic model as they believed that the "inner circle variety" represents the "standard", "international", and "intelligible" form of English. On the other hand, the minority of informants preferred the "expanding-circle variety" (Thai English) because it was trendy and representative of their own identity.

Further study was conducted by Jindapitak and Teo (2013) to investigate how 52 third-year university students majoring in English from Thaksin University viewed the importance of understanding varieties of English and which English accent they want to set as pedagogic models and the rationales behind their preference by making

use of a questionnaire. Almost all participants had never lived or travelled abroad; only four travelled to Malaysia for a short period of time.

The results showed that the majority of the participants preferred such native English accents as American English and British English as their pedagogic models on the grounds of their prestige and status, and linguistic reasons rather than aesthetic, economic or identity reasons. That is, participants found these two mainstream English accents more attractive, intelligible, well-educated, and prestigious. Although native accents were more preferred by most of the participants, they still believed that non-native varieties are worth learning and understanding. The researchers concluded that to meet learners' needs, learners should be allowed to study mainstream English accents as they want, and, at the same time, the voices of other students who may set non-native varieties as their learning models should also be heard. It is also necessary for English learners to be exposed to and become familiar with other English varieties, which will help increase their sense of linguistic tolerance.

Jindapitak (2015) examined attitudes among 116 English major students towards the role of English as a lingua franca and their perceptions towards eight varieties of English, namely American English, British English, Australian English, Indian English, Filipino English, Singaporean English, Malaysian English, and Thai English. All the participants were asked to do VGT to elicit their attitudes towards selected English accents, and then asked to complete the questionnaire, which consisted of two major areas of questions: the importance and possibility of acquiring native-like accent, and to

what extent it is important to learn and understand non-native English accents. After that, 36 of the participants were selected to participate in a semi-structured interview conducted in Thai so as to gain a more insight into how participants viewed the selected English accents.

The results showed that mainstream English accents such as American English, British English, and Australian English were rated more prestigiously than non-native accents in all dimensions, and remained the dominant English accents that participants want to learn and use. Non-native accents that were rated more favorably were Singaporean English and Malaysian English, while Indian English and Filipino English were rated least positively. The researcher also highlighted that although Indian English and Filipino English were perceived less favorably than other non-native English accents, their mean scores tended to show a neutral evaluation rather than negative one.

Based on the questionnaire and semi-structured interview, it is found that most of the participants tended to believe that nativelikeness can be achieved if they had adequate practices, and many participants seemed to view their own English accent negatively. At the same time, they still believed that it is necessary for them to understand non-native accents. In other words, the participants still considered native-based norms as the prestigious standard English accents to learn and use, but the role of English as a lingua franca should also recognised and highlighted in English language classroom, suggesting that participants appeared to be aware of the role of English as a lingua franca. In addition, the relationship between intelligibility and

familiarity was also pointed out in this study as English accents of neighboring countries such as Singaporean English and Malaysian English were found to be more intelligible than other non-native accents. These findings also support the beliefs that familiarity might play a role in how people perceive different varieties of English and to what extent different accents are found intelligible to the listeners rather than linguistic similarity between the two English accents (Munro, Derwing, & Sato, 2006).

Prakaiborisuth (2015) examined attitudes among first-year university students towards ASEAN Englishes, including Brunei, Burmese, Cambodian, Indian, Laotian, Malaysian, Singaporean, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Thai English accents. The participants included 100 non-English-major freshmen, 70 of whom were from King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi (KMUTT) and 30 of whom were from Chulalongkorn University (CU). A verbal-guise test with five-scale scores was used to elicit the data, which consisted of ten target-accent stimuli that was based on the discussion of a similar topic.

The findings showed that although English varieties from outer circle tended to be closer to native norms, they were not rated significantly more prestigiously in comparison with those of the expanding circle English accents, suggesting that attitudes were not primarily based on to what extent the accents are similar to native norms. The participants also rated most of the ASEAN accents in a neutral way, neither prestigiously nor negatively, which was different from previous studies whose results showed that non-native English varieties were usually rated less positively. Only

Singaporean and Malaysian English accents were viewed more preferential in almost all dimensions except such social attractiveness dimensions as sincerity, friendliness, or pleasantness that were viewed neutral, while Lao English was rated least prestigiously in most of the dimensions except friendliness, levels of education, and job status, which was perceived moderately.

What seems to be consensus among these previous studies is that mainstream English varieties are still considered more prestigious than non-native varieties, and remain a more preferred pedagogic model for English learners in Thailand. However, such studies tended to be conducted with university students and solely rely on perception tasks, which focus on the social dimensions only, to understand how Thai people perceive different varieties of English and how they view the role of English as a lingua franca, leaving us with the incomplete pictures to understand attitude-behaviour relationships: how their attitudes correlate with the way people construct their identities through the use of available linguistic repertoires and the way they position themselves in ELF settings through discourse.

In this present study, I will incorporate both perception and production tasks to investigate attitudes of Thai working adults towards different varieties of English (both native and non-native varieties), and examine how they construct and negotiate their identities through linguistic choices and discourse in order for us to gain a more insight into such phenomenon, which will be explained in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Participants

The participants in this study were 80 white-collar Thai workers (35 males and 45 females) from working fields such as 'Business' (38 participants) and 'Service and Hospitality (42 participants), all of which are believed to be the working sectors that have to speak English as a default language to communicate with both native speakers and non-native speakers whose first language is not shared (Foley, 2005; Wongsamuth, 2015). Their age ranged from 25 – 35 years old (born from 1981-1991), which can be considered as Generation Y (Cennamo & Gardner, 2008: 892). Thai people in this generation grew up by the time the internet and new technology were introduced (Cennamo & Gardner, 2008: 893), started learning English as a compulsory subject since grade 1 effective during the 1980s(Chamcharatsri, 2013: 22), and value the ability to speak English as a necessary skill to promote the tourism and economy of the country (Bennui & Hashim, 2014: 222).

3.2 Procedure

There were 3 phases in this study: an evaluation of English proficiency levels, a perception task (VGT), and production tasks (semi-structured interview). Each phase was conducted on a weekly basis so as to avoid the lengthy process that might affect the reliability of the findings. At the first phase, 114 participants were recruited and an

Oxford Quick Placement Test (OQPT) (2001) was administered to evaluate their English proficiency levels. As the study would like to focus on the attitudes of those who can speak English as part of their job to communicate with others, those who scored 30 to 47 out of 60 were considered "independent users (intermediate and upper-intermediate levels) and included in this study. 80 participants passing the criteria were asked to participate in the second phase of the study, a perception task (VGT) to elicit their attitudes towards five selected English varieties. Next, 10 participants who had participated in a perception task were randomly asked to take part in the last stage of the study, production tasks, to further investigate their attitudes towards different English varieties and examine the relationship between their attitudes and identity, and their subject positions (how they see themselves) in ELF interactions. In the next section, the details of perception task and production tasks are provided to let us see how the research instrument was developed.

3.2.1 Perception task

A week after the participants did an Oxford Quick Placement Test (2001), a verbal-guise test (VGT) was conducted to elicit participants' attitudes towards different English accents, which were produced by native speakers of their accents, to assure the authenticity of the guises, unlike the traditional match-guise test (MGT) that will use a person who can speak many accents. VGT was selected as one of the methods to examine people's perceptions in this study because this approach is believed to able to inherently elicit true people's attitudes that might not be revealed by using techniques

like observation or a direct interview (Garrett et al., 2003). To make the guises for VGT,

native speakers of their accents were given a map, and then asked to explain it in the

same way when they have to give directions to their friends or to tourists. These

directions were recorded and used as a stimuli guise in the VGT. By doing this, the

guises will be more naturalistic than reading a passage, but in terms of content they are

still carefully monitored. To elicit the attitudes, 80 participants, who were intermediate

and upper-intermediate speakers of English, were asked to listen to the stimuli guises

and rate them on ten semantic labels on a scale of 1 (the lowest) to 5 (the highest) (see

Appendix 3), which were written in Thai to make sure that the participants understood

each label, during a short pause after each one ends. Following Ladegaard (1998) and

Rindal (2010), the 10 semantic labels were selected and categorised into three major

dimensions, namely status and competence, social attractiveness, and quality (see Table

2).

STATUS & COMPETENCE	intelligence, education, leadership, social status
SOCIAL ATTRACTIVENESS	attractiveness, reliability, friendliness
LINGUISTIC QUALITY	intelligibility, model of pronunciation, aesthetic quality

Table 2: Semantic Categories in a Verbal Guise Technique

Five English accents were selected as stimuli guises in this study, namely BE, GA, PhilE, SingE, and ThaiE. While BE and GA are the mainstream English varieties usually set as a learning model for Thai learners of English, ThaiE is selected as the participants in this study are Thai speakers of English. PhilE and SingE are also included in this study because the number of Filipino teachers teaching English in Thailand (Wongsamuth, 2015), while Singapore is an English-speaking country where Thai people might choose as a destination to improve their language skills, not to mention its economic and educational success (Jones, 2015). In short, all of these five selected English varieties are believed to be the English accents that might be heard and selected as a model of pronunciation for Thai speakers of English. Since this study aims to understand attitudes of Thai ELF users from the workforce towards native English varieties (BE and GA), and non-native varieties such as Philippine English (PhilE), Singapore English (SingE), and Thai English (ThaiE), the latter three of which appear to have similar characteristics to the ASEAN ELF model (see Table 3) and will thus be referred to as ASEAN ELF models in this study. The phonological features of five selected English varieties were detailed in the following section.

3.2.1.1 The phonological variables

It should be noted that the selected phonological features would be used as criteria to select speakers to produce stimuli guises and also used as criteria in the production tasks to distinguish whether the linguistic choices made by the participants show a stronger affiliation with global community (GA and BE) or local community

(PhilE, SingE, and ThaiE – ASEAN ELF model), to construct and negotiate their identities.Following Deterding (2007), Kirkpatrick (2011), Leimgruber (2013), Low and Hashim (2012), and Wells (1982), some of the salient phonological variants of BE, GA, PhilE, SingE, and ThaiE have been selected, explained, and summarised (see Table 3) as follows:

- Variable (r) refers to non-rhotic [r] in postvocalic contexts in RP, whereas this variant is always pronounced with rhotic [ɹ] in GA. By contrast, there are no salient phonological features of this variable found in PhilE, SingE, ThaiE, and ASEAN ELF model.

- (t) refers to intervocalic [t], which is pronounced as a voiceless aspirated [tʰ] in BE, whereas in GA the consonant [t] is pronounced with a alveolar tap [ɾ]. In Thai, it is pronounced as either a voiceless aspirated [tʰ] or even as an unaspirated [t]. All PhilE, SingE, and ASEAN ELF model have no dominant phonological features of such variables.

- In the lexical set of FACE, both BE and GA has a front narrow closing or half-closing diphthong [eɪ], while Filipino, Singaporean and Thai people tend to substitute this sound by a long monophthong [e].

- (θ) refers to a voiceless interdental fricative [θ], which is generally used in both BE and GA, whereas for PhilE, SingE, and ThaiE this consonant sound is

normally substituted by intervocalic [t] or [tʰ], which is similar to that of ASEAN ELF model.

- Variable (ð) refers to a voiced dental fricative sound available in both BE and GA. By contrast, this sound is likely to be replaced by [d] in PhilE, SingE, and ThaiE and likely to be the case in ASEAN ELF model.

- The lexical set of GOAT in BE is a diphthong [əʊ] with a central starting point, while in GA it can be pronounced as either a diphthong [oʊ] or a rounded monophthongal [o]. For PhilE, SingE, ThaiE, and ASEAN ELF model, this set of words tends to be pronounced with less rounded monopthongal [o].

- The lexical set of LOT in BE has a more rounded vowel [ɒ] as opposed to that of GA, which has an unrounded vowel [ɑ], similar to PhilE. SingE and ThaiE, by contrast, have a low-mid back rounded vowel [ɔ]. For ASEAN ELF model,

- there is no specific variant noted whether ASEAN ELF speakers will use [ɒ] or [ɑ]

- The lexical sets of FLEECE and KIT in BE and GA have a stressed vowel [ɪ] and [i]. By contrast, in PhilE and SingE, these long and short vowel sounds tend to be merged, similar to ASEAN ELF model. However, in ThaiE [ɪ] and [i] vowels are pronounced with a relatively shorter [ɪ] or longer [i] when compared with BE and GA.

- Consonant clusters in BE and GA are always pronounced, whereas in PhilE, SingE, ThaiE, and ASEAN ELF model they are usually reduced or omitted.

- At the suprasegmental levels, BE and GA are stress-timed and the vowels in these varieties are usually reduced, without the heavy-end stress and pronoun stress. By contrast, non-native varieties such as PhilE, ThaiE, and SingE are syllable-timed. Vowels in these non-native varieties tend to be fully pronounced with the stress on pronoun and heavy-end stress.

Table 3:Phonological Variables among BE, GA, PhilE, ThaiE, and ASEAN ELF model

	Variable	BE	GA	PhilE	ThaiE	SingE	ASEAN ELF	Examples
SEGMENTALS	(θ)	[θ]	[θ]	[t]	[t]	[t] or [f]	[t]	thing, three
	(ð)	[ð]	[ð]	[d]	[d]	[d]	[d]	father, those
	post-vocalic (r)	ø	[ɹ]	?	?	?	?	water, sister
	intervocalic (t)	[tʰ]	[ɾ]	?	[t],[tʰ]	?	?	little, atom
	FACE	[eɪ]	[eɪ]	[e]	[e]	[e]	[e]	tape, late
	GOAT	[əʊ]	[oʊ]	[o]	[o]	[o]	[o]	boat, code, soap
	LOT	[ɒ]	[ɑː]	[ɑ]	[ɔ]	[ɔ]	?	job, possible, not
	FLEECE	[i]	[i]	[i]	longer [i]	[i]	[i]	feed, these
	KIT	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	shorter [ɪ]	merging of long and short vowel sounds	merging of long and short vowel sounds	fit, this
	Consonant Cluster	full	full	Reduced	Reduced	Reduced	Reduced	first → firs
SUPRASEGMENTALS	Rhythm	Stress-timed	Stress-timed	Syllable-timed	Syllable-timed	Syllable-timed	Syllable-timed	
	Stress Pronoun	x	x	/	/	/	/	HE has been in Singapore
	Reduced Vowel	/	/	x	x	x	x	to = [tu] → [tə]
	Heavy end-stress	x	x	/	/	/	/	the incidental WAY

3.2.1.2 Speakers

The VGT included five native speakers of their accents who were carefully selected based on the following criteria: gender (the speakers should be male), age (with the age range of 25-35 years old), and voice quality (their voice should be clear with the speed that is not too fast and slow) to improve the authenticity and reliability of the guises. In order to find the speakers who meet these criteria to make stimuli guises (hereafter called potential speakers), I, the researcher, asked my friends who work in different working fields and different workplaces to help find the eligible ones. For BE, GA, PhilE, and ThaiE, I asked my friends who work in the hotel and in international school in Thailand, or those who study overseas (in England) whether they know anyone who meet the requirements. In case those who meet the criteria live in Bangkok, I made an appointment and asked the potential speakers to meet in person to explain the procedure of what they have to do by myself. In the case that the potential speakers lived overseas, I asked my friends who were studying overseas to explain the procedure of what the potential speakers are expected to do, and control the quality of the guise in terms of the voice quality to make sure that the voice is clear and not too fast or slow.

To do this, I had explained to my friends about the background of the study and what they were supposed to do before the recording in order to ensure that his friends understood the process clearly. As I would like to have the stimuli guises that can be comparable to each other in terms of voice quality and tone of the speakers, I tried to find three native speakers of each accent to produce the stimuli guises and thus make a comparison which stimuli guises are the most suitable ones to be representative of each

accent. This means that each of the accent was produced by three different native speakers of their accent, and these stimuli guises were compared and selected to be used in the study by myself. While I can find those who produce guises for BE, GA, PhilE, and ThaiE, I had some difficulty finding native Singaporeans to produce stimuli guises for SingE since Singaporeans who teach in Thai international school that I know were all female, which did not meet the requirements. The only Singaporean that I found was a graduate student who was studying his master's degree in Perth, Australia, and he was thus asked to produce the stimuli guise which was monitored by the researcher's friend who studied in Australia. Even though it is the only guise for SingE that the researcher had, it is found that this SingE guise was also comparable to the guises for other English accents in terms of the voice quality and tone.

In order to confirm the authenticity of the speakers who produced the stimuli guises that were compared and selected to be used in the study, the description of their personal information and their linguistic characteristics are provided below.

Speaker A (BE) was born and raised in Warwickshire, England in 1986. At the time of recording, he was doing online businesses in Thailand. His phonological features are considered standard English, and can be categorised as RP in particular (referred to as BE in this study). His speech includes non-rhotic [r] in post-vocalic context, [ɒ] in a word like 'got' [ɡɒt], and no [ɾ] in a word like 'center' [ˈsentə] (Wells, 1982).

Speaker B (GA) was born in Los Angeles in 1991 and stayed in Thailand at the time of recording. He spoke Standard American or General American, which Wells

(1982: 470) describes as "an American accent without marked regional characteristics". The speech of speaker B includes phonological features such as rhotic [ɹ] and an alveolar tap [ɾ] in a word like 'water' [ˈwɔɾər].

Speaker C (PhilE) was born in the Philippines in 1983 and lives in Bangkok, Thailand at the time of recording. He is a teacher teaching arts and music in an international school in Thailand. His speech includes unaspirated [p] in the word like 'airport' [ˈerpɔːrt], and the substitution of [t] and [d] in the words like 'thing' [tɪŋ] and 'then' [den] respectively.

Speaker D (SingE) was born in Singapore in 1991 and earned his bachelor's degree from the University in Singapore. At the time of the recording, he was studying for his master's degree in the field of Education in Perth, Australia, but he has no noticeable Australian influence on his accent. His salient phonetical features include the use of unaspirated [p] and [t] in the words like 'airport' [ˈerpɔːrt] and center' [ˈsentə] respectively.

Speaker E (ThaiE) was born in Bangkok, Thailand, and works as a human resources officer at the time of recording. He was an English major, but he has never been to English-speaking countries, meaning that his exposure to English is mainly from English classroom. He sometimes has to speak English when contacting foreign customers. His speech includes unaspirated [t] in a word like 'center', the substitution of

[ʃ] for [tʃ] in words like 'reach' [riʃ], and [t] to substitutes the sound [θ], and [d] to substitutes the sound [ð].

3.2.2 Production tasks

For the last phase, ten participants who had participated in the perception task were randomly selected to participate in a sociolinguistic interview (Labov, 1984), beginning with reading a wordlist and semi-structured interviews.

In a wordlist reading task, seven phonological variables, including (θ), (ð), (r), (t), FACE, GOAT, and consonant clusters, were selected to examine if the participants construct their identities by foregrounding affiliation with global or local communities through their use of phonological features. The wordlist includes 46 variables in total. Each of (θ), (ð), (t), FACE, and consonant clusters includes 6 tokens, while each of (r) and GOAT includes 8 tokens (Appendix1).

After the wordlist reading task, semi-structured interviews were then arranged by two speakers with different mother tongues, one is Thai and the other is Filipino. The same 10 participants reading the wordlist were asked to discuss (1) general topics (i.e. movies, working life, or holiday), (2) their opinions in English about their accent and other different varieties of English in ASEAN countries, (3) which English variety they aim for, and (4) their experiences of using English as a means of communication in ASEAN ELF contexts (see Appendix 4). It should be noted that I understand the potential effect of observer's paradox on the reliability of the results as the participants

might be aware that they were being observed, and they might pay attention to their manner of speech. However, the methodological design of this study should help minimise such effect since the participants had to discuss topics ranging from their daily lives to more emotional issues like their negative experiences towards their language in use. In addition, the participants taking part in semi-structured interviews also know me, who was one of the interviewers, which may help make the context of the semi-structured interviews more casual. As a result, they were more likely to focus on sharing their life experience and expressing their opinions towards the topics being discussed rather than paying attention to their linguistic behaviour. The interviews were conducted in English and lasted approximately 15 to 20 minutes. Each participant was simultaneously interviewed by the two interviewers (Filipino and Thai), while their speech was recorded and then later transcribed. Since this study aims to examine how Thai speakers of English construct their identities and position themselves in ELF encounters, the semi-structured interviews were designed to be conducted by both Thai and Filipino interviewers simultaneously as the interaction including those from different L1 backgrounds using English as a means of communication is considered as ASEAN ELF interactions.

As the semi-structured interviews were conducted by both Thai speaker (the researcher) and the Filipino speaker, it is important to make sure that the Filipino who had to play a main role in asking questions understood the process of the study and what he was expected to do in order to elicit the data. To do this, the training session

for the Filipino interviewer had been conducted before the actual interviews were conducted. In the training session, the researcher explained to the Filipino interviewer in brief about the background information of the study and the data that he was supposed to elicit from the participants. Then, I asked the Filipino interviewer the questions which were the same as the set of questions the participants would be asked. This demonstration was thus expected to let the Filing interviewer understand better about what he had to do during the semi-structured interviews to elicit the data.

The speech styles of the participants were then analysed and calculated by the researcher based on the chart of phonological variable in Table 3 to see whether the participants were more likely to foreground affiliation with global or local communities by examining their speech performance from both production tasks, and whether there is a stylistic variation by making a comparison and contrast between these two discourses of production – reading a wordlist and interactional interview. In order to ensure the precision of such analysis, the speech styles of two participants were analysed and calculated by the second rater who is a graduate student with linguistic knowledge and linguistic competence. It is found that 87.5 % of the total variant tokens were analysed the same by both raters.

Following Ladegaard (2000), in case the participants produced more than two-thirds of the variants similar to the GA, RP, or ASEAN ELF models for such particular variables, their behaviours will be labeled as that predominant English accent. It should be noted here that the tokens that could not be clearly identified will be excluded from the analysis.

The interviews can also allow us to examine how participants position themselves and construct their identities through the discourses in interactions. The identities that the researcher expect to see are whether the participants construct global identity or local identity, and whether position themselves as language user or language learner in ELF discourse. Following De Fina et al. (2006), this study will treat "what is said" as a discourse that allows us to analyse and see how participants' identities are negotiated and how they position themselves and others in ASEAN ELF contexts.

3.3 How to interpret the data and answer the research questions

Question 1: what are the attitudes of Thai speakers of English in the workforce towards native varieties (BE and GA) and non-native varieties (PhilE, SingE, and ThaiE – ELF ASEAN models) in terms of social status and competence, social attractiveness, and linguistic quality?

For this question, the verbal guise technique (VGT) is used to elicit attitudes of Thai speakers of English towards different varieties of English. They will rate each English variety in the scale of 1 – 5 and the total number of the score for each accent will be calculated to find the average and compared how much they differ from one another and see which English variety most Thai learners of English want to set as a pedagogic model, whether ASEAN ELF varieties of English like PhilE, SingE, and ThaiE are more or less intelligible than those of inner circle English varieties.

Question 2: which variety of English do they aim for?

Through the VGT, the participants answered which variety of English they aim for in general, while in semi-structured interviews of 10 selected Thai speakers of English will also answer this question.

Question 3: do Thai speakers of English construct their identities in relation to native varieties or non-native varieties they aim for and why?

Interactions in semi-structured interviews and VGT allowed us to see (1) whether the ten selected speakers can achieve the English accent they aim for, (2) how their attitudes correlated with their performances, (3) how they negotiated their identities in ASEAN ELF discourse, (4) whether there was a style shifting when reading a wordlist when compared with interacting with other non-native English speakers in English.

Question 4: how do Thai speakers of English position themselves when talking about their English and the English of their interlocutors in ELF encounters?

The interview allowed us to see how Thai speakers of English position themselves when talking about their English and their ELF interaction with other ELF speakers, reflected through their linguistic choices and narratives. The data was analysed qualitatively through discourse and interpretative analysis of the researcher. Based on positioning theory developed by Martin-Beltrán (2010), this study analysed the act of positioning in three levels, namely self-positioning (level 1), interpersonal

positioning (level 2), and institutional positioning (level 3) by qualitatively interpreting the evaluative lexical items such as "good" or "bad", which suggest how Thai working adults positioned themselves or were positioned by others in ELF discourse. This will give us a more insightful picture of how they construct their identity and index their subject positions when they have to communicate with other ELF speakers.

All of these will also lead to the pedagogical implications about how English should be taught in a multicultural context like Thailand by also taking into account the voices from Thai speakers of English in the workforce, apart from those of Thai English teachers or linguists, as the voices of English learners and English users should also be heard.
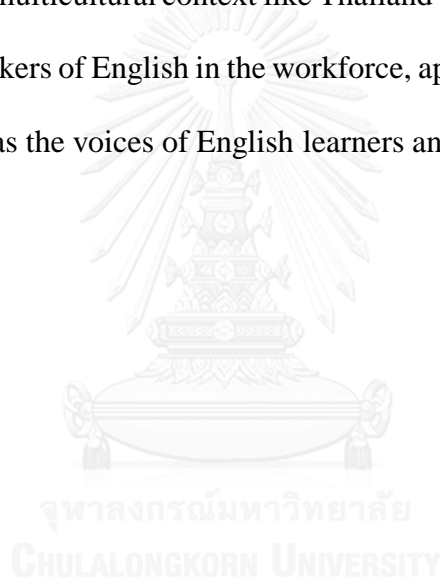
CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the results of the study described in the previous chapter, beginning with the findings from VGT to reveal how Thai working adults perceived different English varieties. After that, the results from semi-structured interviews were then provided to answer the question "which English varieties they aimed for", followed by the results of whether or not the participants can achieve the accents they aimed for and, how they positioned themselves in ELF interactions.

4.1 Attitudes of Thai working adults towards native and non-native varieties

The first research question was what are the attitudes of Thai speakers of English in the workforce towards native varieties (BE and GA) and non-native varieties (PhiE, SE, and ThaiE – ELF ASEAN models) in terms of social status and competence, social attractiveness, and linguistic quality. Findings were based on the VGT.

4.1.1 Evaluations of five different English varieties

The VGT revealed that native varieties received more favorable evaluations than non-native varieties (Table 4). In terms of hierarchical ranking, GA was rated most positively with the mean evaluation of 4.01, followed by BE as the second highest (3.97) favourable English variety. Among non-native varieties, PhiE received the most positive evaluation and was the third preferred English accent with the mean value of

3.53, while the mean evaluations of ThaiE and SingE were at 2.95 and 2.74

respectively. Although the latter two were rated the lowest when compared with the

other three varieties, it should be noted that they were still considered moderately

rated rather than negatively rated since they were not below the neutral mean value of

2.5. The results also showed that the number of the standard deviations for stereotyped

reactions of non-native varieties were higher than those of native varieties, suggesting

that the participants appeared to have more diverse attitudes towards non-native

varieties than towards native varieties.

Speaker	Mean	SD	N
GA	4.01	0.144914	80
BE	3.97	0.149443	80
PhilE	3.53	0.235938	80
ThaiE	2.95	0.397911	80
SingE	2.74	0.348835	80

Table 4: Mean scores and standard deviations of the evaluation of five speakers

4.1.2 Attitudes towards different English varieties in terms of status and competence, social attractiveness, and linguistic quality

As explained earlier in 3.3.1 that ten sematic labels would be classified into three main categories: status and competence, social attractiveness, and linguistic quality, the mean scores for different English varieties categorised by these three categories would be presented first in order to give a broader picture of how the participants perceived different English varieties, and the scores of each semantic label would be displayed and discussed in detail later so as to cast more insights into the attitudes of Thai working adults towards native and non-native English varieties.

As can be seen from the figure 1, the overall results from the VGT showed that native varieties (both BE and GA) received higher scores than the non-native counterparts in all three categories, and were still believed to be better models for English learning for the participants, while SE received the lowest evaluations when compared with the other four English accents.
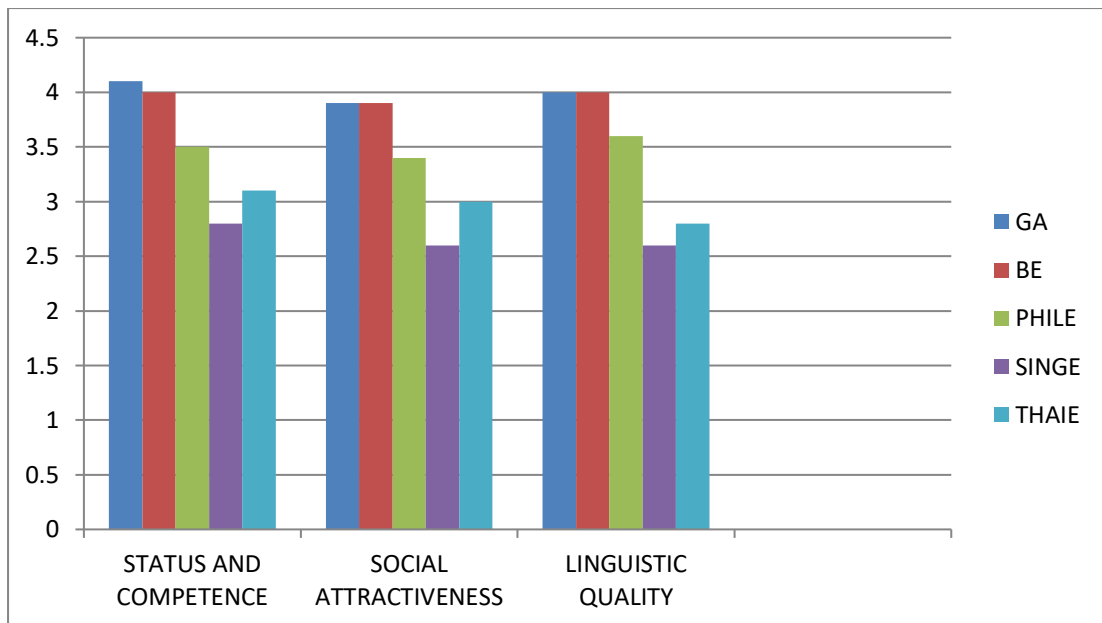
Figure 1: Mean scores for different English varieties categorised by three semantic categories

In terms of social status and competence, the GA score (4.1) was slightly higher than that of BE (3.9), while their evaluations on social attractiveness and linguistic quality categories were equal at 3.9 and 4.0 respectively. On the other hand, non-native English varieties such as PhilE, ThaiE, and SingE were rated as the participants' third, fourth, and fifth most preferred English varieties respectively in all three categories. The results revealed that PhilE was rated most positively in terms of its linguistic quality (3.6), while ThaiE and SingE were scored highest in terms of their status and competence with the mean evaluations of 3.1 and 2.8 respectively.

In order to explore how participants perceived different English varieties in detail, the mean evaluation of different English varieties on each semantic dimension would be discussed in turn, to cast more insights into how Thai working adults

perceived native and non-native English varieties differently for each of its attributes

(Table 5).

DIMENSIONS	GA	BE	PhilE	SingE	ThaiE
Status and Competence					
Intelligence	4.3	4.1	3.6	2.9	3.2
Education	4.0	4.1	3.7	3.0	3.2
Leadership	4.1	3.9	3.4	2.5	2.9
Social Status	3.9	3.8	3.4	2.9	3.0
Social Attractiveness					
Reliability	4.1	4.0	3.6	2.9	2.9
Friendliness	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.0	3.4
Attractiveness	3.9	3.8	3.0	2.5	2.4
Linguistic Quality					
Intelligibility	4.0	3.9	3.8	3.2	3.5
Good model of English	3.9	4.1	3.4	2.1	2.3
Good for job seeking	4.1	4.2	3.7	2.4	2.7

Table 5: **Mean dimension scores for attitudes of Thai speakers of English towards different varieties of English in terms of social status and competence, social attractiveness, and linguistic quality**

4.1.2.1 Intelligence

participants rated different English varieties in terms of intelligence differently. The highest evaluation in this label goes to GA with the mean value of 4.3 and this attribute was actually the dimension that GA received the highest mean value in comparison with the other 9 dimensions. The second highest mean evaluation for this attribute was received by BE (4.1). while PhiE and ThaiE were rated moderately positive at 3.6 and 3.2 respectively. Unlike the other four English accents, SingE received the lowest evaluation in this attribute with the mean value of 2.9. Although SE was rated as the least intelligent, it should be noted that it is still above the mean score of 2.5, possibly suggesting that the participants have neutral attitudes towards SE for intelligence dimension.

4.1.2.2 Education

In terms of education, which is one of the three dimensions out of the ten that BE was rated more favorably than GA, BE received a more positive evaluation than GA with the mean score of 4.1 and 4.0 respectively. PhilE was rated the third highest for this dimension (3.7), while ThaiE and SingE scores were about the same at 3.2 and 3.0 respectively.

4.1.2.3 Leadership

For leadership attribute, the only English variety that was rated favorably with the mean value exceeding 4.0 was GA (4.1), while both BE and PhilE were scored at

3.9 and 3.4 respectively. ThaiE received a relatively neutral evaluation on this respect

with the mean value of 2.9, while SingE was again rated the lowest with the mean

score of 2.5, which was considered the exact neutral point.

4.1.2.4 Social status

In terms of social status, none of the English varieties received the evaluation

exceeding 4.0. Both native varieties GA and BE received about the same mean

evaluations, at 3.9 and 3.8 respectively, followed by PhiE with the mean score of 3.4.

While ThaiE was rated quite positively at 3.0, SingE was scored the lowest of all and

received the evaluation of 2.9.

4.1.2.5 Reliability

GA was rated as the most reliable English accent with the mean value of 4.1,

followed by BE which was slightly lower than that of GA, at 4.0. While PhiE was

scored as the third highest in terms of reliability with the mean score of 3.6, SingE and

ThaiE were perceived as equally reliable (2.9).

4.1.2.6 Friendliness

In terms of friendliness, all five English varieties were rated relatively

positively with the mean value exceeding 3.0. Both native varieties GA and BE were

rated equally prestigiously for this attribute at 3.8, while PhilE was scored slightly less

friendly for white-collar Thai workers than those of native varieties, with the mean

evaluation of 3.7. The fourth highest friendly English accent was ThaiE (3.4), while

SingE was scored the (3.0). It is noteworthy that out of 10 dimensions GA received the

lowest mean evaluation for this attribute, while this attribute was actually one of the

dimensions that SingE was rated most positively, but it was still the lowest when

compared to the other four English varieties.

4.1.2.7 Attractiveness

Both native varieties GA and BE were found quite similarly attractive with the

mean scores of 3.9 and 3.8 respectively, while PhiE was rated as the third highest

attractive variety (3.0), followed by SingE (2.5). ThaiE was rated as the least attractive

in comparison with the other four varieties of English and ThaiE was also rated least

prestigiously for its attractiveness when compared with the mean evaluation for other

nine dimensions.

4.1.2.8 Intelligibility

It is found that all English varieties were rated positively for their

intelligibility with the mean value of higher than 3.0. GA was found to be more easy-to-

understand than any other English and was rated at 4.0, while BE was rated as the

second highest intelligible English accents, followed by PhilE (3.8). ThaiE was also

rated favorably for its intelligibility with the mean value of 3.5, whereas SingE was

found least intelligible, but it was still scored positively (3.2).

4.1.2.9 Good model of English

In terms of model for English learning, there is quite a considerable difference between the attitudes that Thai working adults have towards native and non-native varieties as native varieties were rated quite favorably, while non-native varieties except PhilE received somewhat negative evaluations for this dimension with the mean value of lower than 2.5. The English accent that most Thai working adults found as the most appropriate model for English learning is BE with the mean evaluation of 4.1, the only accent that received the evaluation exceeding 4.0, while GA was found as the second most preferred model for English learning (3.9). Unlike the other non-native varieties, PhilE was the only non-native variety that was rated positively in terms of English-learning model with the mean value of 3.4, which was slightly lower than those of native English varieties. On the other hand, ThaiE received a relatively negative evaluation for this attribute with the mean value of 2.3, whereas SingE were rated very negatively as a pedagogic model with the mean evaluation of 2.1 respectively, which was actually lower than the neutral point of 2.5. It should also be noted that out of the 10 attributes these two English varieties were also rated least prestigiously in this dimension as well.

4.1.3.10 Good for job seeking

Like previous attributes, native varieties such as BE and GA and a non-native variety like PhilE were rated positively and found beneficial for job seeking. BE

received a higher score than GA for this dimension with the mean value of 4.2 and 4.1

respectively, while PhilE was also rated very prestigiously in terms of job seeking

(3.7). ThaiE was scored moderately for this aspect with the mean evaluation of 2.7,

whereas SingE was rated rather negatively when compared with other accents with

the mean value of lower than neutral point (2.4).

In short, native varieties were rated more favorably than non-native varieties

(ASEAN ELF models in particular) in all dimensions and still remained as the English

varieties that most Thai working adults would like to set as their pedagogic model.

Although GA mean scores were higher than those of BE in more dimensions (six out

of ten dimensions – intelligence, leadership, social status, reliability, attractiveness,

and intelligibility), the participants still believed that BE is a better model of English

and for their job seeking. This possibly suggests that Thai English learners might

favour one English variety while still believing that the other English is more suitable

to be set as pedagogic model. However, to get a better understanding of language

attitudes, it is also important to see why people might prefer particular English

varieties and aim for certain English accents through semi-structured interviews,

which will be discussed in the next section.

4.2 Varieties of English Thai working adults aim for

The second research question was which variety of English Thai working

adults aim for. This question is answered by making use of both VGT and semi-

structured interviews. As previously discussed, the results from VGT indicated that native varieties were still seen as better models for English learning with BE being the most favorable English model for the majority of the participants, while GA was the second most preferred English variety that they want to set as their pedagogic model, followed by non-native English variety like PhiE. Interestingly, it was also found that non-native variety like SingE, which can be said to belong to outer circle, was rated lower as a good model for English than ThaiE from expanding circle.

Although the results from VGT help throw some light into attitudes of Thai working adults towards different English varieties and highlight how different English varieties were evaluated differently in each semantic dimension, which is clearly classified, it should be noted that there are no clear definitions of each semantic label provided in previous studies that elicit people's attitudes through the use of verbal guise technique or match guise technique. In order to gain more insights into attitudes, findings from semi-structured interviews have also been included to complement the VGT results, providing more in-depth descriptions of why they wanted to sound like native or non-native speakers. In semi-structured interviews, ten participants who had participated in the VGT were randomly selected and were directly asked about which English accent they aimed for and why they wanted to speak with that accent. The results in semi-structured interviews were relatively consistent with findings found in the VGT in that native varieties were the dominant English accents since nine out of the ten participants said they preferred to sound like native speakers and thus aimed for native varieties as their model of pronunciation, especially for GA and BE. To

gain more insights into the attitudes of the participants towards native and non-native ASEAN varieties, further investigations on what reasons were for their preferences and motivated them to aim for certain English varieties are needed. Following are the reasons that the participants mentioned as to why they aim for certain English varieties.

4.2.1 Intelligibility as the reason for accent aim

When asked about what reasons lied behind their preferences to native-based varieties, many of the participants regarded intelligibility as one of their primary reasons why native varieties became their preferred English accent to use. For example, Participant no. 4 remarked that native varieties are more "international" and more "correct" to use than non-native varieties, which makes other people understand what he says better. This suggests that he prioritised communicative goals as his primary reason to speak with native varieties. Another Participant, Participant no. 1, also mentioned the importance of intelligibility as the major reason why he aimed for native varieties as he believes that stressing the word in the wrong position may cause communicative breakdown.

Specifically, Participant no. 3 remarked that between native varieties he preferred GA because of its "easy-to-understand" attribute and he also described GA as a more "universal" and "effective" means of communication than BE. In addition,

Participants no. 1 and Participant no. 4 also indicated GA is a "clearer" and "easier-to-understand" English model, making them aim for GA rather than BE.

It can be seen that some participants prioritised intelligibility as their primary reasons for accent aiming and regarded the aim to achieve communicative goals as their overriding rationales for using certain English varieties. It is interesting to see that such arguments are consistent with the results found in the VGT that native varieties were rated more intelligibly than non-native counterparts and between native varieties GA also received higher mean evaluations of intelligibility than BE. Therefore, it is possible to say that intelligibility becomes one the major reasons why participants aimed for native varieties rather than ASEAN non-native varieties, and GA rather than BE in particular.

4.2.2 The ownership of English as the reason for accent aim

Another reason why participants aimed for native varieties mentioned in the interview is that they believed the owners of English are those coming from inner-circle countries such as America or Britain and it is better for them to sound like native speakers. As Participant no. 1 said, native varieties might be better to be set as pedagogical model for English learners because native varieties are spoken by "the owner of the language". It is also interesting to see that there is an emergence of contrasting ideas stated by Participant no. 1. On the one hand, he seemed to have neutral attitudes towards different varieties of English as it should be seen acceptable once they are intelligible. However, he then prioritised the ownership of English as the

reason why people should conform to native-based varieties. That is, although a certain English accent is intelligible and communicative goals are achieved without the use of native varieties, native varieties are still found to be a more prestigious variety to learn and use because inner-circle speakers are considered the owner of English. Moreover, Participant no. 2 and Participant no. 5 also remarked that native varieties are "authentic" and "original" as opposed to non-native varieties like SE and PhilE. These suggest that participants believed English belongs to American and British people. Although outer-circle countries like Singapore and Philippines speak English as their official language, the participants still hold the beliefs that they are not the owner of English, and that their English should not be seen as an appropriate model of English to learn and use.

4.2.3 Identity as the reason for accent aim

Many participants explained that they preferred certain English varieties and aimed towards specific accents for the sake of constructing their identity. Identity in this sense means "how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space" (Norton, 1997: 410).

4.2.3.1 Global identities

In today's globalised society, it is possible for people to negotiate their identities by constructing global identities that provide them "a sense of belongings to a worldwide culture" (Arnett, 2002: 777, cited in Sung, 2014: 45). The results in this

study showed that many participants aimed for native varieties in order to construct

identities as competent English speakers of the world communities by using native

varieties (Lamb, 2004, cited in Sung, 2014: 45). For example, Participant no. 5 believed

that native varieties are more "standard", which makes the speakers "look good in the

eyes of other people and look like knowledgeable person" because of its perceived

attractiveness and higher social status and competence. Participant no. 3 indicated that

native varieties, BE in particular, can give a sense of superiority and more elegance

when speaking. These examples show that one of the possibilities for participants'

accent preferences is the identity reason. That is, the participants associated native

varieties as "standard", "noble", and "superior", which might make perceive themselves

higher or superior in the eyes of users themselves and the eyes of others. Such

positive social attributes may thus play a key role in how people construct their

identity through the use of available linguistic choices. For example, Participant no. 4

remarked that they aimed for native varieties, especially when he applied for a job to

construct his identity as a proficient English speaker of the world and thus considered

as a "professional" in his working field. This suggests that he associated native

varieties with "correctness" and high social status and competence, overriding him to

make use of linguistic repertoires based on native varieties to construct his identity as

a person who is eligible for the work that he applied for or to be seen as person with

high social status and competence.

4.2.3.2 Local identities

While the concept of global identities is defined as how native-based varieties are used to index a sense of belongings to worldwide communities, the idea of local identities is conceptualised as the expression of L1 identity or national identity through the use of English. While most of the participants in this study aimed for native-based varieties with the desire to construct their identities as proficient speakers of English of the worldwide culture, there is one participant, Participant no. 7, who maintained that it is not necessary for him to sound like native speakers and thus aimed for a non-native variety of English like ThaiE. This is to say, they aimed for non-native variety to retain their national identity. However, it is found that the reason that he aimed for such non-native variety was not to express local identity, but due to practical reasons as well as his "lack of ability" as he said that he does not "try enough to speak like native speakers". This suggests that Participant no. 7 viewed the aim for ThaiE as the inevitable choice for him because he lacks an effort to change his accent, and his identity as a Thai thus stays with him through his use of local accent. This is similar to what Participant no. 2 said in that Thai identity that still remains with her seems to be unavoidable as she "was born" in Thailand.

4.3 Identity construction of Thai speakers of English through the use of linguistic features

The third research question was how people use different varieties in their interactions and whether or not the ten participants can achieve the accents that they aimed for to index social meanings and thus construct their identities through their linguistic repertoires. To examine these, actual productions of ten participants elicited from a wordlist reading and semi-structured interviews were analysed and calculated based on the phonological chart in Table 3. It should be noted that even though the actual productions of the participants were not completely like those of native speakers, they can still be classified as British English, American English, or ASEAN ELF models based on Table 3. The use of certain native-based or non-native phonological features by Thai speakers of English would thus be considered as "the act of identity" that they performed to index positive attribute, value, and the sense of belonging to the group they want to be identified with through phonological features associated with different prototypical styles of certain speech communities. That is to say, the term British English, American English, or ASEAN ELF models in this sense no longer refer to the accents spoken by native speakers only, but include the use of salient phonological features of certain varieties by non-native speakers so as to foreground affiliations to the communities that they wanted to belong to. The results will be shown and discussed with complementary comments by the participants to provide better understandings of how they constructed their identities through the use

of available linguistic repertoires that index social meanings and foreground affiliations with their target speech communities.

4.3.1 Mean percentages of the variants used in relation to the accent aim and the affiliations with global and local communities

In the semi-structured interview, ten participants were asked to indicate which English varieties they aimed for in particular. Nine participants said that they aimed for native varieties (GA for 7 and BE for 2) and one participant remarked he aimed for a local variety (ThaiE). Following Ladegaard (2000), if they used more than two-thirds of the variants in relation to the accent that they aimed towards, they would thus be considered as the users of certain accents, which means that they achieved the accents they aimed for. As table 6 shows, eight out of ten participants attained the English varieties that they aimed for with the percentages of phonological variants used in relation to their preferred accents being higher than 66.6%. By contrast, two of the participants failed to achieve the accents that they aimed for, specifically, those aiming for a British English accent. Such case might be due to the fact that they found British English more difficult to pronounce than any other accent and they may thus opt to use another English accent, even though they might perceive the target accent as more attractive and superior. As Participant no. 2 remarked:

1. *I like British accent and I try to copy it every time when it is on TV shows or Youtube, but my month cannot go like that all the time [...] I like British accent,*

but I feel uncomfortable to speak like that all the time. (Participant no. 2, BE

aimer)

The excerpt above indicated that it is possible for Thai speakers of English to prefer

certain English varieties and aimed towards those accents, but failed to speak with

such accents because they might find it difficult or "uncomfortable" talking with such

accents all the time. With the higher sociopolitical power and media influence of

America in Thailand, it is possible that these two participants who aimed towards BE

might feel "uncomfortable" talking with BE all the time as they may be more familiar

with and more accustomed to American English.

	Accent Aim	Variants used in relation to the accent aim (%)	Global Identity Affiliation (%)	Local Identity Affiliation (%)
Participant 1	American English (GA)	92	83	17
Participant 3	American English (GA)	85	82	18
Participant 4	American English (GA)	86	70	30
Participant 6	American English (GA)	81	82	18
Participant 8	American English (GA)	95	83	17
Participant 9	American English (GA)	88	67	33
Participant 10	American English (GA)	75	79	21
Participant 7	Thai English (ThaiE)	77	23	77

Participant 5	British English (RP)	22	75	25
Participant 2	British English (RP)	34	47	53

Table 6: The percentages of variants used in relation to their accent aim and the affiliations with global and local communities

When we looked at the percentages of affiliations, the findings showed that almost all of the participants achieved to foreground the affiliations with the communities that they wanted to be identified with through pronunciation to index the sense of belonging to their target group communities. That is, those who aimed towards native varieties (GA and BE) and non-native varieties (ThaiE) successfully indexed the global identities and local identities with percentages of affiliations exceeding 75%. However, for the Participant no. 2 (BE aimer), Participant no. 4 (GA aimer), and Participant no. 9 (GA aimer), their use of international linguistic features to index global identities and position themselves as one the in-group communities was lower than 70 %. Although the results showed the discrepancy between their actual productions and the percentage of global identity affiliation, it is nevertheless found that these participants might be more likely to use local linguistic features because they opted to construct "glocal" identities, meaning that they chose to construct hybrid identities by adapting the global element to meet the local needs (Robertson, 1995, cited in Sung, 2014: 53). Like Jenkins (2007: 82) pointed out, "below the level of consciousness there may be a desire to express L1 group identity by means of retaining some aspects of the L1 accent in the L2, and that this may conflict with a conscious belief that a native-like accent is somewhat better". In other words,

Participant no. 2, 4, and 9 who aimed towards native varieties to construct global

identities still see the value of being viewed as in-group members of local

communities, unlike the other participants who found it not necessary to show their

local identities in ELF interactions.

As the excerpt 2 and 3 demonstrate, Participant no. 2 and Participant no. 9

tended to value being viewed as in-group membership of Thai citizens who can speak

English: have ambivalent feelings towards whether retaining local identity is

important to her

2. *For me, I like people to know me that I am Thai. Actually, I don't want to*

    (retain), you know. Thailand doesn't have a good reputation of the country that

    much, but I can't escape from the fact that I was born here. (Participant no.2,

    BE aimer)

3. *It's very important for me to present how I am and where I am from. Because*

    Thai culture is very nice like being humble and talking with respect to other

    people, not aggressive. (Participant no. 9, GA aimer)

Participant no. 2 started out by saying that she wants to let other people know that she

is Thai, but then stating that it is because she cannot "escape" from being Thai. While

being viewed as Thai people seems to be an unavoidable choice for Participant no. 2,

Participant no. 9 tended to have the opposite view as she thinks that Thai local identity

is important to her and she tended to have positive attitudes towards Thai culture.

While Participant no. 2 and 9 found it necessary to show their local identities in ELF interactions, Participant no. 4 and Participant no. 5 viewed accommodation as a way to facilitate the communication and make the interlocutor understand more easily:

4. *Well actually, I think it depends on who you talk with. For example, when you speak with Singaporeans, you need to talk like them because I think if I speak correctly like native speakers, they don't understand a hundred percent.* (Participant no.4, GA aimer)

5. *You know Singaporean usually use la la, and when they say la la, I also say so. It can make the conversation more cozy. It can make them feel very comfortable when they talk with us.* (Participant no. 5, BE aimer)

While Participant no. 4 reported that sometimes he might accommodate his speech to his interlocutor to promote mutual intelligibility, Participant no. 5 regarded the use of linguistic particles as a means of constructing local identities, which helps establish a closer relationship with interlocutors in talks. This excerpt indicated that Participant no. 5 associated the local Singaporean particle *la* with a sense of friendliness, indexing ASEAN local identity, in this case is Singaporean, to make the interlocutor feel more comfortable talking with him. It is found that even though he aimed towards BE to construct his identities as international English users and index positive self-images as a proficient English speaker through the use of certain native varieties, he still wanted to be identified as an Asian local by accommodating his speech styles in ELF discourses when talking with other Asians from time to time.

In short, the lower rate of global-community affiliations among these three

participants who aimed for native varieties might be because they may prefer to

construct "glocal" identities or hybrid identities.

In the next section, we are going to see to how much the selected linguistic

features were used by the participants in general to help us have a clearer picture of

how the participants make use of linguistic repertoires to construct their identities.

4.3.2 Global-community and local-community affiliations: percentages of

the use of each phonological feature

In this section, more details of how the participants made use of different

phonological features for the sake of identity construction and foregrounding

affiliations with the communities that they wanted to be identified with will be

provided. Following Rindal (2010), those who aimed for native varieties (global) and

non-native varieties but still within the SEA region (local) would be referred as global-

community aimers and local-community aimers respectively. The findings are

presented as follows: the mean percentages of phonological usage by the participants

in general, the comparison between the percentages of their actual productions and the

affiliations that they aimed towards, and the usage of variants used in two different

speech situations.

4.3.2.1 Mean percentages of phonological variants used by the

participants.

As can be seen from the table 7, the majority of Thai speakers of English were more likely to speak English with native-based norms than non-native counterparts for all selected phonological variables, especially for the linguistic features such as FACE, consonant cluster, (θ), and intervocalic (t) with the mean productions exceeding 80%. This indicated that native varieties were the predominant English accents used among the participants in general to foreground the affiliation with global communities, construct their identities as global citizens, and index the positive self-image as competent English users. The results were found in line with findings from VGT and semi-structured interview in that native varieties were perceived more prestigiously than non-native counterparts in all dimensions, and were the dominant English accents that Thai speakers of English wanted to learn and use. In order to gain a clearer picture of to what extent each linguistic choice was used by the participants to construct their identities, in the next section the mean variants used by those who aimed for native and non-native varieties were provided, which will allow us to see whether the participants achieved the English accents that they aimed towards.

Variable	Global identity affiliation (BE and GA)	Local Identity affiliation (ASEAN ELF models)	(N)
FACE	96%	4%	358
Consonant Cluster	81%	19%	320
(θ)	89%	11%	666

(ð)	52%	48%	540
GOAT	65%	35%	329
Intervocalic (t)	90%	10%	150
All variables	81%	19%	2363

Table 7: Mean percentages of six phonological variants used by all participants.

4.3.2.2 Mean variants used by global and local aimers

As the table 8 shows, the participants tended to make linguistic choices based on their accent preferences and their accent aims since those aiming for native-based standards were more likely to use native-based linguistic features than non-native varieties, while those aiming for non-native varieties also tended to use more non-native variants.

For global-community aimers, although their use of native-based variants was higher than that of non-native features for all six phonological variables, they tended to use fewer native variants for (ð) and GOAT (at 56.1% and 68.4% respectively). This might be due to the fact that these phonological features are found more difficult for Thai speakers of English to pronounce because of L1-orthogrphic effects. Meanwhile, for the local aimer, the use of local variants for (ð) and GOAT was considerably greater than the native-based counterparts and the other phonological features. By contrast, the local-community aimer was more likely to use native variants for FACE and consonant clusters, which might be because they were

trained to pronounce them this way in English classroom instructions and they thereby became more accustomed to pronouncing these sounds, not to mention that these phonological variants were relatively similar to the pronunciation of consonant and vowel sounds in Thai which might be easy for them to pronounce. Despite the high use of native linguistic features in the pronunciation of FACE and consonant clusters by the local-community aimer, the percentages of such production were still lower than those of global-community aimers, suggesting that their linguistic choices were more or less influenced by the aims of accent that they have.

Variable	Identity aim	Global identity affiliation (%)	Local identity affiliation (%)
(θ)	Global aim	80.9	19.1
	Local aim	26.6	73.4
(ð)	Global aim	56.1	43.9
	Local aim	00.0	100
Intervocalic (t)	Global aim	98.7	1.3
	Local aim	73.2	26.8
FACE	Global aim	96.8	3.2
	Local aim	76.9	23.1
Consonant Cluster	Global aim	84.5	15.5
	Local aim	51.7	48.27
GOAT	Global aim	68.4	31.6
	Local aim	23.0	87.0

Table 8: Mean variants used by global and local aimers

4.3.2.3 Mean variable usage by global and local aimers in two speech situations

In this section, the variants used in a wordlist-reading task and casual conversation are calculated separately to see whether there is a style shifting in two different speech discourses. The results showed that the stylistic variations in these two different contexts can be seen in the pronunciation of (θ), (ð), and GOAT (table 9). In the case of (θ), the style shifting occurs in the production by both global aimers and local aimer. That is, (θ) was more likely to be pronounced as [t] in casual conversations (9.3% in the wordlist-reading task and 22.1% in casual conversations for global aimers, and 66.7% in the wordlist task and 77.8% in everyday conversation for the local aimer). For (ð) and GOAT, there was a greater use of [d] to substitute (ð) and [o] to replace GOAT by global aimers, rising by 37.3% and 13.8% respectively, while there was a little difference in the use of these features by local aimers. The shift in these two different speech situations could possibly be attributed to the effect of English orthography as Thai speakers of English might pay more attention to some certain phonological features when reading from the wordlist. In addition, they might also find it difficult to pronounce such sounds as (θ), (ð), and GOAT are not available in phonological systems of Thai language. While the results shown can perhaps shed some lights on the influence of human agency on the way people construct their identity through pronunciation, it is still worthwhile to see how global-community

aimers who aimed towards BE and GA accents would make use of different linguistic

variants to construct their identities, which will be provided in the next section.

Variable	Identity Aim	Reading a wordlist		Casual Conversation	
		Global identity affiliation (%)	Local identity affiliation (%)	Global identity affiliation (%)	Local identity affiliation (%)
(θ)	Global aim	90.7	9.3	77.9	22.1
	Local aim	33.3	66.7	22.2	77.8
(ð)	Global aim	88.8	11.2	51.5	48.5
	Local aim	00.0	100	0.0	100
FACE	Global aim	98.1	1.9	96.2	3.8
	Local aim	50.0	50.0	57.1	42.9
Consonant Cluster	Global aim	90.7	9.3	85.6	14.4
	Local aim	50.0	50.0	52.1	47.9
GOAT	Global aim	60.0	40.0	56.6	44.4
	Local aim	25.0	75.0	22.2	77.8

Table 9: Mean variable usage in two speech situations by global and local identity aimers

4.3.3 BE and GA Affiliations: Percentages of the Use of Each Phonological Features

Specifically, the percentages of variants used by those who aimed for BE and

GA in particular were provided in the following sections, which would let us see how

global aimers constructed their identities through the use of each salient phonological

features of BE and GA and to what extent they were motivated to make linguistic

choices based on their accent preferences. Following Rindal (2010), those who aimed

for BE are refered as BE aimers, while those who aimed towards GA will be called as

GA aimers. The results were ordered from (1) the mean variants used by the BE and

GA aimers to see whether BE or GA was the dominant English accents that global-

community aimers used in general, (2) the percentages of their actual pronunciation in

relation to the accent that they aimed towards to see how different linguistic features

were used by the participants to construct their identities, to (3) the variants used by

BE and GA aimers in two different speech situations to see whether there is a

variation in these two different speaking discourses.

4.3.3.1 Mean BE and GA variants used by BE and GA aimers

Out of the nine participants who aimed towards native varieties, six

participants aimed for GA and two participants oriented towards BE. The speech

styles of BE aimers and GA aimers were analysed to see whether BE or GA is the

dominant English accent used by the participants and whether their actual

pronunciation is in relation to the English accents that they aimed for. The results

showed that the majority of the participants used GA variants more frequently than

BE counterparts for all selected phonological variables (see table 10), suggesting that

GA prevailed as the dominant English accent that the participants used. Although the

percentages of GA variants used by the participants were considerably higher than

those of BE features, it is interesting to see that for the intervocalic (t) all of the

participants were more likely to pronounce this phonological variable with $[t^h]$ than $[ɾ]$.

This might be because Thai speakers of English were more accustomed to the

pronunciation of aspirated [t], which is similar to a consonant sound in Thai, while there is no equivalent [ɾ] in Thai. They may thus tend to use [tʰ] more frequently than the other choice. In the next section, we will see the percentages of variants used by

both BE aimers and GA aimers to see how they make use of linguistic repertoires to construct their identities.

Variable	BE	GA	(N)
Post-vocalic (r)	8%	92%	568
Intervocalic (t)	62%	38%	74
GOAT	3%	97%	152
All variables	13%	87%	794

Table 10: Mean percentages of three phonological variants used by global aimers

4.3.3.2 Mean scores of variants used by the participants who aim to construct global identities

In this section, the phonological variants used by BE and GA aimers are calculated separately to see whether the actual pronunciations were in relation to the English accents that they aimed for by looking through the percentages of the use of each phonological feature. The findings showed that the participants tended to speak English with the accents that they aimed for as those who aimed towards GA were more likely to use GA variants than BE linguistic features (see table 11). Although the use of BE variants by those who aimed for BE might not be higher than use of GA

variants, it is interesting to see that the percentages of BE variants used by BE aimers were still higher than those of the GA aimers, meaning that the participants were somewhat driven by the accent aims that they had. The high usage of (r) by BE aimers might be because Thai speakers of English were usually taught and trained to pronounce the [r] sound like American people, and they might thus feel unaccustomed to the pronunciation of the words without [r] sound, especially in a postvocalic position. For the GOAT sound, BE aimers might find a diphthong with a central starting point difficult to pronounce as there is no such equivalent sounds in Thai. This might explain why BE aimers frequently used GA variants for such variable.

Variable	Accent Aim	RP	GA
post-vocalic (r)	GA aim BE aim	2.7 % 28.5 %	97.3 % 71.4 %
Intervocalic (t)	GA aim BE aim	41.5 % 75.3 %	58.5 % 21.6 %
GOAT	GA aim BE aim	0.0 % 3.0 %	67.3 % 72.9 %

Table 11:Mean variants used by global aimers

4.3.3.3 mean BE and GA variants used by BE and GA aimers in two speech situations

In this section, the variants used in two different speech situations by BE and GA aimers will be compared to see whether the participants would change their speech styles in these two different discourses. The results showed that the stylistic variations occurred in the speech of BE aimers for all three phonological variables –

post-vocalic (r), intervocalic (t), and GOAT – and GA aimers for the pronunciation of

intervocalic (t) (see table 12). For BE aimers, the pronunciation of post-vocalic (r) and

GOAT tended to be more Americanised in casual conversations as the percentages of

BE variants used decreased from 47.5% to 31.9% for post-vocalic (r), and from 25% to

4.8% for GOAT. This might be due to the effects the popularity of American media in

Thai society that can influence how participants perceived English varieties and make

linguistic choices. By contrast, both BE aimers and GA aimers tended to pronounce [t]

in intervocalic position with aspirated [t] in casual speech contexts. The use of

aspirated [t] by BE aimers and GA aimers increased from 66.7% to 81.9% and from

42.6% to 53.9% respectively.

Variable	Identity Aim	Reading a wordlist		Casual Conversation	
		BE (%)	GA (%)	BE (%)	GA (%)
Post-vocalic (r)	BE aim	47.5	62.5	31.9	68.1
	GA aim	1.4	98.6	3	97
Intervocalic (t)	BE aim	66.7	33.3	81.9	18.1
	GA aim	42.6	57.4	53.9	46.1
GOAT	BE aim	25	75	4.8	95.2
	GA aim	00	100	00	100

Table 12: Mean variable usage in two speech situations by global identity aimers

All in all, the results in this section indicated that Thai speakers of English should be viewed as active agents who index social meanings through linguistic features and create their own linguistic behaviour to resemble the target communities that they want to be identified with (Kiesling & Schilling-Estes, 1998; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Sung, 2014) since the majority of the participants (8 out of the ten) can achieve the accent that they aimed for. The findings also suggest that some participants might not be able to freely choose linguistic patterns due to practical reasons or the lack of ability.

4.4 Discourse and Identity: How Thai speakers of English position themselves in ELF discourses

The forth research question was how Thai speakers of English position themselves when talking about their English and the English of their interlocutors in ELF encounters. The findings, which were elicited from ten participants taking part in semi-structured interviews asking their experiences when using English as a means of communication in ELF settings, were analysed qualitatively based on the discourse and interpretative analysis of the researcher. By using positioning theory developed by (Martin-Beltrán, 2010) to interpret the data, this study analysed the findings based on the act of positioning in three levels, namely self-positioning (level 1), interpersonal positioning (level 2), and institutional positioning (level 3), which helps shed more lights into how they construct their identity and index their subject positions in ELF settings. Since this study aims to examine whether Thai speakers of English construct

their identities in ELF encounters as an in-group or out-group membership of the ELF

communities, and whether they position themselves as language users or language

learners in such context, the findings are categorised into major themes below.

4.4.1 Positioning English as part of their lives

One of the themes found in the semi-structured interviews is that the

participants constructed English as what is commonly in their lives. When asked how

often they speak English, most of the participants said they used English "every day"

or "always" speak English as part of their job, indicating that English has become part

of their lives and they are aware of this fact:

6. Interviewer 1:   *How often do you speak English?*

   Participant no 3:   *I'll say every day because I personally have foreign*

                            friends, and the work that I am currently doing is also

                            dealing with foreigners [non-native English speakers]

                            and English speakers [native English speakers] as well

As the example 6 shows, Participant no. 3 said he used English "every day",

positioning English as part of his life and positioning himself as a legitimate user of

English (self-positioning - level 1), who speak English with not only native "English

speakers", but also with "foreigners" (non-native speakers), and not only for working,

but also for talking with his "foreign friends" For him, English serves the function as

an international language and as a device to achieve his professional and societal

purposes. At the same time, he also positioned his ELF interlocutors as legitimate

users of English (interpersonal positioning-level 2), and was positioned by his working

institutional discourse as a person who has rights and duty to use English as a means

of communication to talk with other ELF interlocutors (institutional positioning-level

3). This excerpt can well demonstrate how Participant no.3 positioned himself and was

positioned as an English user in three levels of positioning discourse through the

ongoing interactions. While Participant no. 3 discussed his use of English mainly

based on their working lives, Participant no. 1 explained his use of English as

something to "practise":

7. Participant no. 1:   *I speak English every day because my work needs me to*

speak English and I practise it every day, except

Sunday and Saturday

Interviewer 1:   *What do you mean by "practise"? So, you consider*

yourself to be an English learner rather than English

user?

Participant no.1:   *I consider myself as an English learner. (.) My routine is*

English user, but my behaviour is English learner, so I

think I am an English learner.

Interviewer 1:   *Can you explain to me more about your "behaviour"*

that makes you think you are an English learner?

Participant no. 1:   *I like to read sport news in English and there are many new words every day that I have got from reading and when I find something new, I just googled it or find its definition, so I think it's just the way to learn English.*

In the example 6, when the Participant No.1 was asked how often he speaks English, he responded to this question by saying that he speaks English "every day" due to his job duties, constructing English as part of his life and positioning himself as a membership of English discourse community. Although Participant no. 1 said that he had to speak English every day and as part of his job, he still considered the use of English as something to "practise", showing that for him English is positioned as something to learn. This means that he tended to base his use of English on educational discourses, in addition to the professional discourse. Even though he is aware that he used English as part of his working life and it becomes his daily life, he still believed that he needs to improve his English, positioning himself as a person who is still learning English. His subject position as a language learner becomes clearer when he was asked straightforwardly whether he considered himself as a language learner or language user. As can be seen in the extract 6, he considered himself as language learner with the explanation that his behaviour is English learner as he usually practises his English and learns new vocabularies when reading.

Based on positioning theory, we can see that Participant no. 1 negotiated his identity during his dynamic interactions with the interviewers. On an institutional level (Level

3), his work positioned him as an English user who have rights and duties to speak English to achieve the assigned professional goals. However, his subject position as an English user was contested by Partcipant no.1 himself as he appeared to position himself as English learner (Level 1). That is to say, even though Participant no.1 did not dismiss his role as English user in his "routine", it seems likely that he was more likely to tie himself to his past as a language learner, making Participant no.1 self-categorise himself as a language learner. This suggests that he was more likely to draw on the educational discourses when talking about English, positioning himself as language learner despite the emergent language user identity that also stays with him. Even though the ways each individual positions English and how they position themselves may vary, what seems to be the consensus is that they all felt that English becomes part of their lives and plays a significant role as a means of communication.

4.4.2 Language learners VS. language users: their self-evaluation of language proficiency.

Another most noticeable finding is that the participants positioned themselves and their own English proficiencies differently based on to what extent they draw the discourse of English classroom instruction and consider it as the criteria of being successful English users. That is, even though all of the participants have spent some time in the workforce and used English as part of their jobs to communicate with others in ELF contexts, educational discourse still tended to have a direct impact on how the participants positioned themselves as language users and how they evaluated their

English proficiency. As the extracts below show, those who assess their language proficiency based on native-based standards or certain language skills rather than communicative purposes were more likely to view themselves as lacking proper language skills and position themselves as the incompetent language users.

8. Interviewer 1:   *How do you feel about your spoken English?*

    Participant no. 7:   *Sometimes I am nervous. I am not good at English and I am afraid whether listeners understand me or not.*

    Interviewer 1:   *Why do you say that?*

    Participant no. 7:   *Because I am nervous about my accent, the meanings, and the sentence structure as I am not sure it is correct or not.*

As can be seen from the example 8, Participant no. 7 describes his English proficiency as "not good" because he is sometimes concerned about whether his communicative goals are achieved or not, positioning himself as an illegitimate user of English (self-positioning-level 1). Although he seemed to focus on the communicative purposes at the first turn-taking, when asked further about why he felt so, he explained that he was nervous when speaking English because of his accent and his grammar, which might cause the communicative breakdown. In this way, the discourse of standard English ideology emerged and thus positioned Participant no. 7 as an incompetent user

of English with the lack of rights to speak "good" English (institutional positioning-level 3). Such evaluative discourse shows that he evaluated his English proficiency based on native-based skills and educational contexts in which the success of language learning is usually based on the ability to use the language like native speakers. The similar stance of seeing themselves as the illegitimate users of English can also be seen from the talk of Participant no.5 who also believed that his English proficiency is "poor", and such evaluation is influenced by the discourse of language education and the native performance.

9. Interviewer 1: *What do you think about your English?*

   Participant no. 5: *Poor (LAUGH). For me, I think my English is not good.*

   Interviewer 1: *Why is that?*

   Participant no. 5: *I don't know. I'm always concerned about the grammars and the vocabulary. Sometimes I cannot use like the way that native speakers use, you know. For example, in some sentences I can use the easy words to make people understand, but sometimes I just put some very hard words. It's very poor for me.*

   Interviewer 2: *[---] So, do you think your English is inferior when compared with that of other people?*

Particpant no.5: *Yeah. I feel very inferior (LAUGH)*

Interviewer 2: *And, what makes you think so?*

Participant no.5 *Because if compared to my friends who work as air hostess or steward, they use English as a global language (.) better than me.*

Interviewer 2: *Can you be more specific about what aspects or what skills that make you feel inferior?*

Participant no. 5 *Because I am not confident that much when talking to other people. I am always concerned about the grammars.*

As the extract 9 shows, when asked about his English, Participant no. 5 explicitly assessed his language skills as "poor", followed by the mention of grammars and vocabulary as the justification for his negative evaluation. He then compared his language performance with that of native speakers, suggesting that the evaluation of his language skills is based on the native standards. Participant no.5 also positioned himself as an inferior English user when compared to his friends because he is not confident about his grammars.

This excerpt can well illustrate how Participant no. 5 positioned himself and was positioned by others as an incompetent English user in the personal, interpersonal, and

institutional levels in a moment of interactions. On a personal level, Participant no. 5 positioned himself as an illegitimate user of English who has no rights to speak "good" English by describing his English proficiency with the negative evaluative word "poor". On an interpersonal level, he positioned his friends as a more competent English user who has the ability to use English "better" than him, and the societal discourse and language ideology that people in the society have about what standard English should be also positioned Participant no.5 as those who might not have the ability to speak proper English. With the use of positioning theory, it can be seen that these different levels of discursive practice were indexed and interrelated in each moment of interactions simultaneously, which helps provide more insights into the phenomenon of how identities are constructed through discourse in talk.

While Participant no.7 and Participant no. 5 explicitly described their English proficiency in a negative way, Participant no. 4 started to answer the question "do you think your English is good?" by saying that his English proficiency is "good", followed by the concessive conjunction "but" to show his contrasting idea towards his own English proficiency.

10. Interview 1:   *Do you think your English is good?*

Participant no. 4:   *I think it's good, but it's not perfect. It's good enough to contact people.*

Interview 1:   *And, you said that it's not perfect enough. What makes*

you think so?

Participant no. 4   *I know myself. It's like I feel bad because my grammar is*

not that correct. Like, there are some grammatical errors

sometimes when typing or writing, but speaking (.) I think

they understand me 70 percent or 80 percent (.) I mean

my foreign friends.

Interview 2:   *You think grammar is an important thing?*

Participant no. 4:   *It's important when you work. It can show whether you*

are well educated or not (LAUGH) (.) how you study.

In extract 10, Participant no. 4 explained that his English language skills are "good" because he can speak English to communicate with other people, but it is still "not perfect". When further questioned why he felt so, he explained that grammar, which he described as "not that correct", is the factor that makes him feel "bad" towards his language skills, especially for his writing and speaking skills. This shows that educational discourse, which usually puts emphasis on native speaker norms as correctness, can have an impact on how Participant no.4 felt towards his own English proficiency and thus positioned himself as an English language learner in ELF encounters as he evaluated his own English proficiency on certain language skill like grammar, even though his communicative goals are achieved "at least 70% or 80%".

When he was asked to what extent grammar is important, he said that it is important in terms of work, and at this point the discourse of education was explicitly evoked as he considered grammar as a potential evaluation of the attribute like "well-educated". This indicated that Participant no. 7 drew both the discourse of language education and language user, but the self-evaluation of his language proficiency is primarily based on the discourse of education rather than the communicative achievement.

All of these interactions allow us to see that Participant no. 1, Participant no. 5, and Participant no. 4 tended to evaluate their language skills in relation to what is correct based on native-based norms and certain language skills such as grammar, accent, and vocabulary, which are often emphasized in language classroom instruction rather than the ability to use English as a means of communication, positioned themselves as incompetent and illegitimate users of English (level 1). By contrast, those who put an emphasis on communicative purposes rather than correctness tended to have positive attitudes towards their English proficiency and thus positioned themselves as proficient language users, as the following extracts show:

11. Interviewer 1: *What do you think about your English?*

   Participant no. 3: *Well, let's say I am satisfied with the skills that I have because at least I can convey my messages and also understand what others are speaking.*

Participant no. 2:   *I feel (.) actually for other people I think it is*

understandable. When I talk to native speakers (.) I mean

to the people who are using English more than us, they

understand me, and they just said to me last time (.) I mean

my Australian friends (.) like you are speaking English

better than us. What you are speaking, we understand.

In extract 11, Participant no. 3 said that he felt "satisfied" with his language skills as he tended to focus on conveying a message as a goal of communication, positioning himself as proficient English users (self-positioning - level 1). Unlike those who evaluated English based on particular language skills such as grammar or vocabulary, Participant no. 3 prioritised the ability to achieve the communicative goals as the main aim and had a positive evaluation towards his English proficiency. Similarly, Participant no. 2 also positioned herself as an English language user rather language learner as she thinks her English is "understandable", suggesting that she achieved the communicative purposes. On the interpersonal level (level 2), in her story line, she was also positioned as a successful language user as her Australian friends understood what she said. Even though she still saw native speakers of English as the evaluators of her English proficiency, she did not compare her language skills with native speakers in specific ways.

In short, it may be concluded that the ways Thai speakers of English position themselves and are positioned in ELF encounters may be influenced by the educational

and professional discourses: those who draw on the discourse of language learning that focuses on certain linguistic knowledge such as grammar or vocabulary tended to position themselves as incompetent English users, while those who favoured more on communication goals tended to have positive attitudes towards their own English proficiency and position themselves as legitimate users of English.

4.4.3 Positioning in ELF encounters

This section illustrates how Thai speakers of English may position themselves and other ELF speakers when talking about their experience in ELF interactions. It should be noted that although the participants were from somewhat similar field of work (business, service and hospitality) , their experience in ELF encounters may be linguistically and culturally different as they might have to deal with those from Asia, Middle East, or Europe, making each individual possibly have different attitudes towards their ELF interactions.

Participant no. 1 tended to have negative attitudes towards his ELF encounters and feel less comfortable to talk with ELF speakers even though he generally had more chance to talk with non-native speakers in English more:

12. Interviewer 1:   *Between native and non-native speakers of English,*

                     whom do you think you have more chance to talk with?

Participant no. 1:   *Non-native speakers are more.*

Interviewer 1: *And, between native and non-native speakers of English, whom do you think you feel more comfortable to talk with?*

Participant no.1: *I feel very comfortable when I speak with native English speakers. They understand me, and they correct me when I say something incorrect.*

Interviewer 1: *Why do you feel less comfortable when speaking English with non-native speakers?*

Participant no. 1: *For me, I have customers from the middle east, their sound is influenced by their mother tongue. I didn't understand at first when I talked with them. So, I think speaking English with native speakers is more comfortable for me.*

Interviewer 2: *And, how do you feel when you talked to non-native speakers of English, but you don't understand them because of their accent?*

Participant no. 1: *It drives me very crazy. I didn't understand and got confused and I think it's like that conversation was not very successful because I don't understand what they are trying to say.*

> Interviewer 2:   *And, how do you deal with it?*

> Participant no. 1:   *I just tell them to speak more slowly.*

In example 12, Participant no. 1 said that he was more likely to talk with non-native

speakers more, but he felt more comfortable talking with native speakers of English

because they understand him better, and he also had a chance to learn from native

speakers by letting native speakers "correct" him when he said something wrong. In

this way, he constructed interactions in English as a learning process, positioning

native speakers of English as the appropriate evaluators of his language (level 2) and

positioning himself as a language learner (level 1). When questioned further why he

felt less comfortable talking with non-native speakers, he said that he felt interactions

with non-native speakers were problematic due to their difficult-to-understand accent,

which can cause the communicative breakdown (as he said that conversation was not

very successful). When Participant no. 1 was asked how he felt when he did not

understand his interlocutors because of their accent, he responded to this situation in a

strongly negative way with the expression "it drives me very crazy" being intensified

by the use of "very". In this way, he positioned himself as a more legitimate user of

English with the higher English proficiency (level 1) when compared with his non-

native interlocutor, who was positioned as less proficient English user (level 2), based

on the language ideology that he holds. Such practice of positioning other ELF

speakers as less proficient speakers of English creates the context that these ELF

interlocutors do not belong to an English-speaking community, making Participant

no.1 feel less comfortable talking with them and thus perceived such interactions negatively. Although he tended to have fairly negative attitudes towards ELF discourse, he still chose to continue speaking with ELF interlocutors by asking them for further clarifications to achieve their communicative goals rather than avoiding talking with them.

Like Participant no. 1, Participant no. 3 felt more comfortable talking with native speakers even though he tended to be equally exposed to native and non-native speakers:

13. Interviewer 1:   *Between native and non-native speakers of English,*

     whom do you think you have more chance to talk with?

Participant no.3:   *I say both (.) Well, because I have to meet lots of people,*

     so both native and non-native speakers (.) So, I'd say it is

     equal.

Interviewer 1:   *And, between these two groups of people, whom do you*

     feel more comfortable to talk with?

Participant no. 3:   *I'll say native speakers because sometimes non-native*

     speakers have some barriers. Sometimes it's the

     language itself or sometimes it's their aspects of culture

     that make the communication sometimes doesn't go

     through 100 percent.

Interviewer 2:   *So, apart from the language barrier that you mentioned, what other things that make you feel less comfortable to talk with non-native speakers?*

Participant no. 3:   *Well (.) Let's see (.) sometimes [---] the level of the language that each person uses sometimes varies. [---] and sometimes non-native speakers are not fluent in English, so sometimes the messages that I send to them might not reach them and they might not understand fully the message that I want to convey.*

Interviewer 2:   *So, fluent is one of the problems?*

Participant no. 3   *Yeah, it's one of the problems. Well, I'd say the culture between two people also affect the way we communicate. Sometimes, the situations or the thing that we meet, they never experience them before, so when we explain it to them, they only get the literal meaning, but don't fully understand or get the whole thing we want to explain.*

In excerpt 12, Participant no. 3 positioned his non-native speakers as inferior in terms of English proficiency (Level 2) as he mentioned that non-native speakers sometimes have "language barrier" and they are not "fluent in English", indexing ELF

speakers as the non-members of English-speaking communities. At the same time, on a personal level, he positioned himself as a more proficient English speaker who belong to English community discourse, making him feel more comfortable talking with native speakers who were positioned as having the shared "aspects of culture" with him and making his conversation with native speakers more likely to be successful. What is interesting is that although he views the level of language as a major cause of his unsuccessful communicative practices with non-native speakers, he tended to base his evaluation on communicative competences rather than specific aspects of language such as grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation. Aside from the linguistic competence that may cause difficulty in ELF interactions, he also mentioned cultural differences between he and his non-native interlocutors as one of the causes of communicative breakdown, indicating that he feels closer to native communities and has a stronger sense of belonging to native speaker cultures as he had a lower degree of acculturation to non-native communities, constructing "otherness" with regard to other non-native speakers of English. Even though he expressed somewhat negative attitudes towards his ELF encounters and positioned other non-native speakers of English as not having good English in general, when asked how they feel when he speaks English with other non-native speakers, but he does not understand them because of the accent, he appears to have neutral attitudes towards such situations, which he describes as "normal" and thus feels "nothing":

14. Interviewer 1:   *And, how do you feel when you speak with non-native*

   speakers of English, but you don't understand them

   because of their accent?

Participant no. 3:   *Well, to me (.) it's normal because people have different*

   accents, even native speakers themselves also have

   different accents, and Thai people also have different

   accents when speaking in Thai. So, it's normal thing

   expected to see and to hear. So, to me, it's personally

   nothing. But, when we don't understand what the others

   are saying, we just ask them to repeat or tell them to

   explain. That's it.

On the other hand, some participants said they were more comfortable talking with non-native speakers and tended to have neutral attitudes when experiencing difficulty understanding the accent of non-native speakers. Participant no. 5 (see extract 13) said that he was more likely to talk with non-native speakers of English as most of his foreign friends are Chinese, Vietnamese, and Filipino, and he was also more comfortable talking with non-native speakers. He explained that he felt more positive when talking with non-native speakers because he believed the levels of his English proficiency and his non-native interlocutors were somewhat the same, which will let the speakers in ELF discourse try to find strategies to achieve their communicative goals like the use of "body language". This case shows that Participant no. 5 positioned

himself equally with the non-native addressees in terms of their language skills, which

makes him feel more comfortable when talking with non-native speakers, and feel

more positive that the interactions in ELF contexts would become more successful as

opposed to having conversations with native speakers. In this sense, it can be seen that

the act of positioning on personal and interpersonal levels is somewhat interrelated: on

a personal level, he positioned himself as an illegitimate user of English whose

"English is not good that much", while his ELF interlocutors were also positioned as

less proficient English users. Whereas he positioned themselves and ELF speakers

equally in terms of language proficiency who were the non-participants of English

communities, he positioned native speakers of English as others who have rights to

speak English better than them by invoking his past negative experience interacting

with native speakers of English. In this story-telling discourse, he explained that the

conversation ended after he did not understand what native speakers said, being

positioned as an "incompetent" English user (level 2) who has no rights of speaking

English by his native speaker interactors and thus being positioned as the out-group of

English-speaking communities. The construct of illegitimate user of English that stays

with him makes him feel less comfortable talking with native English speakers.

    15. Interviewer 1:   *Between native and non-native speakers of English,*

                                       whom do you think you have more chance to talk with?

Participant no. 5:   *Non-native speakers. In my life, I have a few British friends, but I have a lot of friends from China, Vietnam, and Philippines.*

Interviewer 1:   *And, between native and non-native English speakers, whom do you feel more comfortable to talk with?*

Participant no. 5:   *For me, non-native speakers because you can easily communicate with each other. When their English is not good that much, they will try to use their body language to make us understand. But, for native speakers, when they try to communicate with me in English and I don't understand them, they just stop talking with me. But with the other non-native speakers, they try to make or help each other to understand. And, when I talk to non-native speakers, I have no need to be worried about my grammar that much.*

Just like Participant no. 5, Participant no. 6 also highlighted that when talking with non-native speakers, he had no need to be concerned about linguistic errors as they shared similarities of language proficiency, positing themselves as equally as his non-native speakers in terms of linguistic competence (level 2):

16. Interviewer 1:   *Between native and non-native speakers of English,*

whom do you feel more comfortable to talk with?

Participant no. 10:   *I feel the same actually, but when you speak to non-*

native speakers, you kind of (.) I mean you have no need

to worry about the perfect sentences because they don't

know anyway. But when you talk to native speakers, they

know that you are not native and they try to understand

you.

Interviewer 1:   *And, how do you feel when you talk to other non-native*

speakers in English, but you don't understand them

because of their accent?

Participant no. 10:   *I just ask them to repeat what they say. So, I feel*

nothing.

In extract 16, although Participant no. 10 said that he felt comfortable talking

with native and non-native speakers at the beginning, he then introduced his

contrastive ideas by using the cohesive device like "but", followed by his more

positive attitudes towards the interactions with non-native speakers. Having said that

he had no need to be worried about the "perfect sentences", Participant no. 10

positioned himself as limited English speaker (level 1), suggesting he tends to have

positive evaluations to ELF encounters when compared with having conversations

with native speakers of English who have to "try to understand." That is to say, his

subject position in relation to non-native speakers was found equal, but it was

perceived to be lower in relation to native speakers of English who perform the role as

the "facilitator" to understand what non-native speakers say (level 2). When asked

further how he felt when he did not understand when other non-native speakers speak

because of their accents, they tended to have a neutral attitude towards such case ("feel

nothing") and he then just try to find some ways like to make the communication

successful like letting them "repeat" what they say.

In short, this chapter presents findings and suggests a range of significant

issues. Firstly, based on the VGT of 80 Thai working adults, it is found that native

varieties (GA and BE) were rated more prestigiously than non-native varieties (PhilE,

SingE, and ThaiE) for all three linguistic dimensions (social status and competence,

attractiveness, and linguistic quality) and were the still dominant English that Thai

working adults wanted to learn and use, with GA being the most favorable English

accent when compared with others. Secondly, the results showed that Thai working

adults were more likely to aim for native varieties, and GA in particular, because of

three main reasons: (1) intelligibility, (2) the ownership of English, and (3) identity

reasons. Thirdly, the results indicated that the participants tended to make linguistic

choices based on the accents that they aimed towards, and that most of the

participants achieve the accents that they aimed for and foreground the affiliation with

the communities that they wanted to be identified with, suggesting the influence of

human agency on the way people construct their identities by indexing positive self-images through pronunciation. Finally, drawing upon the analytical framework positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990), the findings based on researcher's interpretative analysis on the discourse allow us to see how the participants position themselves and were positioned by their interlocutors differently through proficiency levels. That is, those who evaluate their proficiencies based on certain language skills such as grammar and vocabulary tend to position themselves as illegitimate users of English, while those who pay attention to communication goals tend to position themselves as legitimate users of English. The following chapter discusses such findings and provides some pedagogical implications for English language teaching in Thailand where English is increasingly being used as a lingua franca.

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the results presented in the previous chapter will be discussed in terms of plausible explanations. It begins with the dominance of native-based standards, how to move towards socially sensitive pedagogy, the case of identity construction through linguistic repertories, the negotiation of identities in ELF discourse, and ends with a concluding section.

5.1 The prevailing ideology of native-based varieties

The findings in this study showed that among these Thai working adults, native-based varieties (BE and GA) were perceived more prestigiously and favorably than non-native counterparts (PhilE, SingE, and ThaiE) in all dimensions. These native varieties are the preferred English models that they wanted to learn and use, with GA as the most favorable English accent. The findings were consistent with most previous attitude studies (Jenkins, 2007; Jindapitak, 2010, 2015; Jindapitak & Teo, 2013; Kim, 2012; Li, 2009; Ploywattanawong & Trakulkasemsuk, 2014; Prakaiborisuth, 2015; Snodin & Young, 2015; Sung, 2014), and confirmed the idea that American English is expected to be positioned as a global language rather than British English (Crystal, 2003) as in this study seven out of the ten participants taking part in semi-structured interviews remarked that they aimed for American accent. The second research question on the English accent they aimed for also showed a similar trend: nine out of the ten participants said they aimed for native-based accents (seven are GA aimers and

two are BE aimers), while only one aimed for local variety (ThaiE). Jenkins (2007: 32-

33) explained such sterotyped evaluations towards native varieties as "standard native-

speaker English language ideology in linguistics",which is "historically deep-rooted"

(Milroy, 1999: 173) that the norms should be based on inner-circle countries. As

Edwards (1999: 102) said, rather than "innate linguistic superiority" or their "linguistic

inherent value", different English varieties tend to reflect the social perceptions of

such speech communities, evoking people's attitudes towards certain community

groups through their accents. Thus, it is likely that the reasons for native. varieties

being perceived more prestigious may be due to the dominance of socioeconomic and

political power of native varieties, and the effects of language policy and educational

practices in Thai society, which construct native norms as being superior

linguistically. In order to have more insights into such phenomenon, the possible cause

of prevailing ideology of native-based standards will be discussed in turn. However, it

should be noted that although they are discussed separately, they should not be seen

separable from each other.

5.1.1 The dominance of socioeconomic and political power of native varieties

One of the potential explanations for the perceptions of the linguistic

superiority of native varieties found in VGT and semi-structured interviews might be

based on the fact that native countries tend to have higher economic success and

political power than non-native counterparts, making Thai speakers of English

perceived native varieties more favourably than non-native varieties and GA more

prestigiously than BE in particular. In Southeast Asia, English has become one of the

languages used since the imperialism era in the 18th century and it is possible that

Thai speakers of English, like those from Asian countries, would like to "preserve the

English 'asset' for its historical 'owners' [...] with the kinds of standard language

ideology" (Jenkins, 2007: 34). In Thailand, the socio-political power of British colony

and the significance of English were recognised since the colonialism period,

especially in the reign of King Rama III when royal antecedents had to study English

with British and American people to communicate with westerners in order to develop

the country avoid colonialism (Plainoi, 1995: 57; Sukamolson, 1998: 69, cited in

Bennui and Hashim, 2014: 213) Although British colony was a powerful empire with

high socio-economic and political power during colonialism era, it was America that

took power and became the nation that played an important role in the world since the

World War II. As Snodin and Young (2015: 256) pointed out, the vitality of American

culture, and its social and economic power seem to be more significant than BE in

Thailand since the second world war. Thai speakers of English might thus tend to have

more positive evaluations towards GA than BE and become more likely to aim for GA

as a model of English than BE.

In addition, the dominance of GA in Thailand can also be seen in the forms of

media such as TV shows and programmes, films, and music that are widespread and

popular in Thailand. Even though some sociolinguists might not view media as the

potential factor that can affect the way people use the language (see Trudgill, 2014),

this study reveals the plausibility of the media influence on participants' perceptions

towards different English varieties as Participant no.2 said she would try to pronounce

the same way that British people do "on TV show or Youtube", while Participant no. 8

said she liked GA and familiar with it because "most of the movies these days are

from America". This goes in line with the findings from Rindal's (2010) attitude study

that showed Norwegian learners of English tended to have more positive evaluations

on GA than BE, more or less because of the media influence, despite BE being set as

the pedagogic model in English classroom instruction. In this way, media may

therefore be the likely factor that influences how Thai people perceive GA as a more

prestigious English accent than any other accent. Also, the sociopolitical power of

America and the vitality of its culture can possibly account for why the participants

perceived GA as the most dominant English accent to learn and use. Unlike

Ladegaard's (1998) study on attitudes in Denmark context that showed no significant

relationship between the vitality of American culture and the accent preferences to

aim for American English context, this study lends support to the "language-culture

consonance" that highlights the relationship between the language vitality of a certain

culture and their positive stereotyped evaluations towards certain English varieties.

5.1.2 The influence of educational discourses on how Thai working adults perceive different English varieties

Another plausible factor that makes the participants perceive native varieties more prestigious that non-native ones might be the effects of English language teaching in Thailand that usually set native varieties as a goal for language learners, constructing native varieties as the superior English varieties linguistically with the "standard English ideology" (Milroy, 1999) that they hold. In Thailand, English is a subject that has been included in the national curriculum since 1921 and set as a compulsory subject that Thai students are required to learn starting from Grade 1, according to National Education Act 1999 (Aksornkul, 1980; Foley, 2005, cited in Chamcharatsri, 2013: 22). Although Thai serves its function as an official language that most people in Thailand speak among themselves and English is considered *metropolitan* language that is used in some major cities or tourism places in Thailand (Chamcharatsri, 2013: 22), it should be noted that English is still fundamental in Thai educational system. According to A. S. Canagarajah (1999: 22), it is believed that educational policy and pedagogic practices can play a key role in influencing language learners' attitudes towards the dominance of native varieties and constructing the linguistic superiority of native-based norms. As English language teaching in Thailand usually sets native varieties as the goals for Thai learners to achieve, they might thus develop their monolingual ideologies and construct such norms as the sole standards. The influence of classroom discourse on how Thai speakers of English perceive native varieties as the monolingual norms can be seen in

findings from the VGT and semi-structured interviews. While the VGT reveals that the

participants rated native varieties more prestigiously in all dimensions, findings from

the interviews showed that almost all of the participants drew on educational

discourse when talking about their English by mentioning specific aspects of language

such as grammar, vocabulary, and accent, highlighting how educational practices can

influence their perceptions towards the deviations of native-based standards. Such case

is found to correlate with the study by Jindapitak (2015: 270) that language learners are

influenced by language policy in Thailand that placed an importance on native

varieties, making learners believe native-like competence is important to achieve.

Apart from the classroom instruction, the emphasis of native-based norms as

the sole possible goal for language learners can also be seen in the form of language

assessment and learning materials. As Matsuda (2012: 168), "in foreign language

classrooms, regardless of the language, textbooks and other teaching materials play an

important role [in] providing valuable language input". As most English language tests

and teaching materials tend to focus on to what extent language learners use the target

language the same way that native speakers do and provides the samples of language

use mainly based on native-based standards, English language learners might believe

that English belongs to those from the Inner Circle and that they learn English in order

to speak with native speakers only (Matsuda, 2012: 171), thus developing a sense of

native hegemony and have a feeling of "linguistic insecurity" (Jenkins, 2007: 247) or

"linguistic marginalization" (Kumaravadivelu, 2003: 548) (Kumaravadivelu, 2003: 548).

That is, with the limited exposure to the samples of existing varieties of English,

language learners may have negative stereotyped reactions towards other English

varieties that deviates from the native standards, as of findings based on the VGT in

this present study. Although there are some text books claiming that they include the

sample of 'international dialects and accents' like the practice tests for IELTS

preparations (Clutterbuck & Gould, 2009, cited in Jenkins, 2007: 242), it appears that

all four listening tests in the book are the recordings by native speakers of English,

while the single sample of non-native speakers is presented in speaking test which is

positioned as less proficient English speakers (Jenkins, 2007: 242). Since educational

practices and teaching materials can influence learners' perceptions towards certain

English varieties and towards their own English proficiencies, it is thus more

important than ever for Educational practitioners in this globalised world to be able to

provide insights into the rich world Englishes for learners and enable them to be

prepared for the interactions with both native speakers and non-native speakers whose

English is used as a means of communication.

5.2 Moving towards a socially sensitive ELT

"Posing the options as either 'native English norms' or 'new

English norms' is misleading. A proficient speaker of

English in the postmodern world needs an awareness of

both. He or She should be able to shuttle between

different norms, recognizing the systematic and

legitimate status of different varieties of English in this

diverse family of languages" (S. Canagarajah, 2006: 234).

Although the results showed that most participants are more motivated to learn

and use native-based norms, the importance of understanding world Englishes should

still be highlighted. With English now serving its function as an international language

or as a lingua franca, English speakers should have an awareness of the diversity of

English varieties that are linguistically and culturally different, and should be able to

view the legitimacy of different English varieties in this globalised world (S.

Canagarajah, 2006: 234). This study showed that the participants still hold prejudiced

and stereotyped responses towards non-native varieties, especially SingE being

perceived as the least favorable English accent, particularly in terms of a good model

of English. Such case might be due to the fact that most participants are less familiar

with SingE than the other four English accents, which helps emphasise the

significance of including examples of the diversity of English varieties and "L2-L2

interactions" in English learning materials so as to promote the sense of linguistic

tolerance and give more productive insights into how non-native speakers can achieve their communicative goals when facing the gaps between their English proficiency levels (McKay & Bokhorst-Heng, 2008: 196-197). Apart from the findings in the VGT, it is also found that language ideology that people have can also affect the way they position themselves, position others, and are positioned by others in interactions, which can lead to their different reactions to ELF settings. Participant no. 1, for example, positioned his ELF interlocutors as less proficient users of English due to their "L1-influenced accent" and made him feel "crazy" when talking with them. In this way, he positioned the use of phonological features deviant from native standards as an "error" that causes a trouble, making him feel less comfortable talking with ELF speakers. By contrast, Participant no. 5 positioned himself as being less proficient in English like his ELF speakers, making him feel more comfortable talking with other ELF speakers. That is to say, with the language ideology, "speakers develop certain norms for speaking with [their] interlocutors which involve modification, clarifications, accommodations, code-switching, or avoidance" (Martin-Beltrán, 2010: 273). This thus helps highlight the importance of raising people's awareness towards the linguistic diversity of English. Just as Matsuda (2003: 438) pointed out, the exposure to English varieties should not be limited only to native-based standards as learners should be given the opportunities to be exposed to other English varieties. To put this into practice, educational practitioners should therefore rely on teaching materials that (1) present the English variety that matches the instructional goals of the

course and the needs of the learners to motivate them to learn the target language , (2)

provide productive insights into the linguistic diversity of English to boost their

understanding about the richness of world Englishes, (3) represent a variety of

speakers to develop the idea that they can be legitimate users of English and help

them have a more realistic picture of their potential ELF interlocutors, and (4) reflects

the cultures of the speakers that are suitable for the local contexts to enable them to

more effectively interact with other ELF speakers as language and culture are seen as

inseparable (Matsuda, 2003: 172-179). Towards a socially sensitive pedagogy, learners'

needs should thus be revisited and English language teaching should be able to

prepare learners for the interactions in today's multilingual and multicultural contexts

(Alsagoff, McKay, Hu, & Renandya, 2012: 337). In short, it is necessary for us to raise

people's awareness of the diversity of English varieties, which should be viewed as

linguistic variations rather than errors (Kirkpatrick, 2010; Seidlhofer, 2005), and

enable them to be prepared for the interactions in ELF contexts where English is used

as a means of communication with those whose first language is not shared. At the

same time, English learners should be allowed to orient towards native or non-native

varieties based on their preferences as they should be seen as "unique individuals who

can exercise their agency in their use of ELF" (Sung, 2014: 555). In other words, rather

than being considered as the static input recipients, they should be viewed as agents

whose identities change throughout moment-to-moment interactions, with the rights to

choose their own English norms to use in order to index social meanings and

construct their identities through the use of their second language, which is further discussed in the next section.

5.3 Style as identity construction: indexing positive self-images through L2 pronunciations

It is found that the participants in this present study associated native varieties with a range of positive attributes such as status and competence ('authentic', 'knowledgeable', 'well-educated', 'correct', 'superior'), social attractiveness ('elegant', 'noble'), the ownership of English ('the owner of the language', 'the origin, mother tongue'), and linguistic quality ('easy-to-understand' and 'clear'). This goes in line with previous attitude studies (Jenkins, 2007; Li, 2009; Snodin & Young, 2015) showing that people can have different positive attitudes towards certain native English varieties, and that each native variety is "not viewed equally as the target varieties" (Snodin & Young, 2015: 253). It is thus possible to argue that the participants in this present study aimed for native varieties for the sake of identity construction as they associated salient native phonological features with certain positive attributes. The use of native variants thus indexes positive social meanings, constructing positive self-images by foregrounding affiliation with global communities, and position the speakers as sophisticated English speakers of the world (Participant no.4). As the results showed, most of the participants achieved the accent that they aimed for with the high rate of native variants used such as (θ), (ð), FACE, GOAT and consonant cluster, indexing positive identities as a proficient English users of the world. It is also

found that Participant no. 5 remarked he sometimes use Singaporean particle *la* to index a sense of friendliness and construct his identity as in-group member of local communities.Such findings lend support to the concept of human agency, which claims that people make linguistic choices and create their town linguistic styles to index the sense of belonging to the communities they want to be identified with (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985: 151), constructing their positive identities as a competent user of English (Sung, 2014: 554). Just as Kiesling and Schilling-Estes (1998: 11) said, "stylistic choices are not a mere reflection of speakers' demographic characteristics but are a matter of more active choice". This means we should view ELF speakers as active agents who have agency and rights to creatively create their own linguistic behaviours. However, unlike the study by Ladegaard and Sachdev (2006), this study found that those who aimed for BE as their model of pronunciation were not successful in achieving their aim as they were more likely to use GA variants in interactions, which might be partly due to the effect of L1 orthography and education practices that usually set GA as a model of pronunciation, making them more familiar with GA and more likely to use GA variants than BE ones. This suggests that some Thai speakers of English might be constrained by their linguistic competence or their "lack of effort" to freely choose linguistic patterns.

5.4 Constructing global and local identities in ELF interactions

In ELF literature, the issues of how non-native speakers feel towards the hegemony of native-based norms and to what extent it is important for them to retain

their local identity in ELF interactions still spark controversy among researchers. The results in this study indicated that the participants did not find learning native-based model against their will, like many scholars are concerned. Such result is found consistent with findings from Li's (2009) study that the participants showed little potential resistance or little demotivation to learn native English varieties. They were also less likely to perceive the importance of retaining local identity in ELF interactions, but rather regarded the use of local accent as 'innate' and 'unavoidable' rather than as "volitional" (Sung, 2014), which contradicts the assumption that non-native speakers find it necessary to retain their local identity when speaking English (Jenkins, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 2011). In addition, such assumption also appears to be misleading since it ignores the idea that "people can have multiple identities" (Derwing & Munro, 2009: 485) and the construction of identities should be "driven primarily by the conscious attempt at identity expression" (Sung, 2014: 554). That is, the construction of local identity through the use of linguistic repertoires should be the intentional process whereby speakers have a command of their linguistic choices (Derwing & Munro, 2009: 486). As the result from this study might suggest, the participant who aimed for local variety appeared to not have complete control over their use of linguistic features (Participant no.7), which thus suggests, similar to Sung's (2014) study, that their preferred local accent tends to be based on practical reasons rather than the construction of identity. Unlike Li's (2009) attitude study in Hongkong context, which showed that some participants found it important for them to maintain

their local Hong Kong identity by speaking localised Hongkong accent, this present

study found that Thai speakers of English do not find it necessary to retain Thai

identity through pronunciation. This case might be due to the fact that Thai English is

not well-established like other non-native varieties (SingE and PhilE) because Thai

speakers do not use English as an official language, which helps develop a sense of

"community" when using English like those in Singapore, Philippines, or Hong Kong.

As Bennui and Hashim (2014) found in their study on the development of English in

Thailand based on Schneider's Dynamic Model framework, English in Thailand is

still in the phrase of "Exonormative Stablization", meaning that Thai English is still

not considered as a nativised variety. Even through Thai working adults included in

this study have to speak English as part of their working daily live, they still interact

with their family, Thai friends, and other Thai people in Thai. As a result, Thai

speakers of English may be less likely to value the significance of speaking localised

Thai accent for the sake of expressing Thai identity and thus prioritise native norms as

their model of English.

5.5 The negotiations of identity in ELF discourses

Drawing upon positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990; Martin-Beltrán,

2010), this study showed that Thai speakers of English positioned themselves,

positioned others, and were positioned by others in moment-to-moment interactions in

ELF settings, supporting the notion that identities should be viewed as emergent,

fluid, multifaced, and multilayered entities constructed through discourse in talks

rather than static and assumed ones. By making use of this framework, we can see the complexity of how legitimate ELF speaker identities were constructed and enacted by the company of others (Level 2) or by the institution (Level 3) rather than being ascribing by the speakers themselves alone (Level 1). For example, most participants were positioned as legitimate speakers of English by the institutional discourse (Level 3) whose jobs are to speak English with other people to achieve their professional goals. While some participants (Participant no. 2 and Participant no.3) accepted such subject position and thus positioned themselves as competent English speakers (Level 1), others (Participant no. 4, Participant no. 5, and Participant no. 6) appeared to reject this identity and repositioned themselves as illegitimate users of English by drawing educational discourse and constructing native standards as goals of their English usage. The examples in this study thus reveals the complex nature of how identities are socially situated and constructed in the dynamic interactions.

The negotiation of identities found in this study is also found somewhat consistent with the findings in the longitudinal study on the identity construction of Finish engineering students in ELF discourse by Virkkula and Nikula (2010) in a way that the participants moved from those who positioned themselves as English learners with the goals of English learning based on educational criteria, which is to pass the language examinations that test their English proficiencies on the particular language skills, to language users who have to speak English as a means of communication to achieve their professional goals and regard communicative success as their primary aim. This shifting of the role of English potentially has an impact on how they drew

different discourses to position themselves in interactions: some participants primarily

drew educational discourse when talking about English and positioned themselves as

English learners who have limited English proficiencies based on the native-based

rules, while others might draw professional discourse or even both when talking about

their English positioning them as proficient English speakers who can successfully

communicate with others in English. That is to say, "access to new social and

linguistic resources [in the workforce] resulted in the adoption of new identity

repertoires" (Virkkula & Nikula, 2010: 268) for the participants, affecting how they

positioned themselves in ELF settings.

At the same time, this study demonstrates the effects of how Thai speakers of

English position others and are positioned by others on their interactions in ELF

discourse. For the case of positioning others, it is found that those positioning other

ELF speakers as less proficient users of English felt more comfortable talking with

native speakers of English as they felt that those with limited English proficiencies

have some "language barrier", come from "different culture", and thus should not be

considered as in-group participants, which is consistent with findings in Virkkula's

and Nikula's (2010: 269) study that ELF speakers were not viewed equally as some

participants positioned themselves as more legitimate and more powerful users of

English. By contrast, the participants positioning other non-native interlocutors as

equally proficient in English tended to feel more comfortable talking with non-native

speakers. In terms of being positioned by others, it is found that Participant no. 5 was

positioned as incompetent users of English and thus felt less comfortable talking with them. This was found in line with the findings in Martin-Beltrán's (2010: 272) study that when facing a gap of proficiencies among the speakers and interlocutors, "speakers develop certain norms for speaking with [the] interlocutor which involve modifications, clarifications, accommodations, code-switching, or avoidance". In this context, the results showed that some participants might ask for clarification or avoid interacting with those whom they positioned as less proficient English speakers, rather than modifying accommodating, or code-switching their language.

5.6 Conclusion

With English increasingly being used as a global language or as a lingua franca, having given a call for a shift of teaching paradigm that moves towards more socially sensitive pedagogy , this study aims to investigate (1) the attitudes of Thai working towards native varieties (BE and GA) and non-native varieties (PhilE, SingE, and ThaiE) in terms of social status and competence, social attractiveness, and linguistic quality, (2) which English variety they aimed for, (3) to what extent they construct their identities and in relation to native varieties or non-native varieties and whether they achieved the accent that they aimed for, and (4) how they positioned themselves and other speakers of English in interactions. The findings of this study can be summarised as follows:

1. The results from both perception task (VGT) and production task (semi-structured interviews) showed consistent findings in a way that the dominance of native-based varieties (GA and BE) still prevails among Thai working adults, which underscores "standard native-speaker English language ideology in linguistics" (Jenkins, 2007: 32-33), as mainstream English accents were still rated more favourably than non-native varieties in all dimensions in VGT, while nine out of the ten participants remarked that they aimed for native-based norms. Specifically, GA was the most preferred English accent that Thai working adults want to learn and use (with the mean evaluation of 4.1 in VGT and seven out of the ten participants reporting in semi-structured interviews that they aimed for GA), supporting the notion that American English is more likely to play a role as a global language rather than BE (Crystal, 2003). Despite overall positive reactions towards GA, it should be noted that in terms of the attribute "good model of English" BE was rated slightly higher than GA, suggesting that it is possible for Thai speakers of English to prefer one English variety while still believing that the other English accent is more suitable to be set as pedagogic model. Among non-native varieties, it is found in VGT that PhilE was rated the highest in all dimensions, followed by ThaiE, while SingE was perceived least prestigious (with the mean stereotyped evaluations of 3.53, 2.95, and 2.74 respectively. Although the mean score of SingE showed that Thai people tend to have neutral rather than negative attitudes towards this accent, it is found that SingE was rated negatively in terms of "good model of pronunciation" attribute (2.1).

2. In semi-structured interviews, the majority of the participants aimed for native-based varieties (7 participants aimed for GA, while 2 participants aimed for BE), while only one out of the 10 participants aimed for non-native varieties like ThaiE. When asked further about the reasons for their accent preferences, they reported that they aimed for certain English varieties mainly due to three main reasons, namely intelligibility, the ownership of English, and identity reasons, suggesting that Thai speakers of English might favour and aim for certain English varieties based on linguistic matter ("clear" or "easy-to-understand") and political matter ("well-educated" or "superior"). With regard to the issue of identity, Thai working adults tended to aim for native varieties to index positive self-images and construct their identity as proficient English speakers through their L2 pronunciation as they found native-based varieties more prestigiously in VGT and associated native norms with positive attributes such as "knowledgeable", "well-educated", "international", "noble", "elegant", "correct", and "superior". On the other hand, the participant who aimed for non-native variety like Thai English accent (Participant no.7) seems to be due to the lack of ability rather than the intentional process of retaining his local identity, which contradicts the arguments proposed by most ELF scholars that non-native speakers would like to retain their local identity in ELF interactions for the sake of identity construction. This might be because Thai speakers of English have little chance to speak English in their daily lives and English in Thailand is not well-established like other English accents in ASEAN countries, making Thais speak English without a

sense of local community and less likely to value retaining their local identity through L2 pronunciation.

3. With regard to whether Thai working adults achieved the accent that they aimed for, and whether they foreground affiliation with global communities or local communities through their use of linguistic repertoires in ELF interactions, it is found that 8 out of the 10 participants achieved the accents that they aimed for since the percentages of variants used were in relation to their target accents (higher than 66.6%), highlighting the idea that ELF speakers should be viewed as active agents who have their own rights to exercise their agency and create linguistic patterns to index social meanings and a sense of belongings to the target communities through their L2 pronunciation (Coupland, 2007; Kiesling & Schilling-Estes, 1998; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Sung, 2014). Despite such view, the results in this study also suggest that some ELF speakers might still be constrained by linguistic competence or the ability to freely choose linguistic patterns since the two participants who aimed for BE failed to achieve their accent aims, with one of the BE aimers (Participant no. 2) claiming that she likes British English and aimed for British English, but feels "uncomfortable" talking with British English all the time.

The results also suggest the possibility for Thai speakers of English to construct global, local, or even glocal identities. While the majority of the participants (7 out of the 10) who aimed for native varieties (GA and BE) and non-native variety (ThaiE) successfully foreground affiliations with the global community and local community as they aimed with the percentages of affiliations exceeding 75%, it is found that the

use of linguistic variants in relation to global communities by three participants (one

BE aimer and two GA aimers) was somewhat lower than 70%. The findings suggest

that the discrepancy between their actual production and the percentages of global

identity affiliation might be due to their desire to construct "glocal" identities, hybrid

identities. This means that they may still value being viewed as in-group membership

of local communities from time to time, although they, in fact, aimed for native

varieties to index positive self-images as proficient speakers of English.

4. With the use of positioning theory (Anderson, 2009; Davies & Harré, 1990;

Martin-Beltrán, 2010), this study demonstrates how subject positions of Thai ELF

speakers were indexed in three different levels, namely self-positioning, interpersonal

positioning, and institutional positioning, allowing us to see the complexity of how

identities were being constructed and being contested between language learners and

language users, and legitimate and illegitimate users of English in interactions. It is

found that those evaluating their English proficiency based on native norms or certain

language skills such as grammar or vocabulary, which are usually emphasised in

classroom instructions tended to have negative attitudes towards their own English

competence and positioned themselves as incompetent English speakers. By contrast,

those who focused on communication goals rather than certain language skills tended

to be satisfied with their own English, positioning themselves as successful English

users. In addition, it is found that Thai speakers of English tended to position

themselves and others ELF speakers through proficiency levels, supporting the view

that even among ELF speakers themselves do not view their ELF interlocutors

equally, but in hierarchical orders (Jenkins, 2007: 201). In this study, the findings

showed that some Thai speakers of English might feel more powerful and position

themselves as more proficient speakers of English when compared with other ELF

speakers, making them feel more comfortable talking with native speakers who, as

they believed, were easier to communicate with. By contrast, those who positioned

themselves equally with other ELF speakers tended to be more comfortable talking

with non-native speakers of English. These results suggest that power relation has a

huge impact on how ELF users position themselves and other ELF users (Virkkula &

Nikula, 2010: 269).

5.6.1 Limitations and recommendations for future research.

This study investigates the attitudes of 80 working adults towards different

native and non-native English varieties through the use of VGT, and further examine

their attitudes and the actual production of 10 randomly selected participants through

semi-structured interviews. Although the number of the participants for the qualitative

part is rather small, this study could still reveal some interesting points and highlight

some penitential effect of attitudes on how Thai speakers of English make linguistic

choices and how they position themselves and others in ELF encounters. The scope of

this study is also limited to only Thai working people who come from business,

service and hospitality industry only, which might provide just some part of how Thai

working adults might perceive different English varieties, construct themselves

through the use of linguistic repertories, and position themselves and others in ELF

discourse. In addition, the actual production of participants' linguistic use is also based

on the semi-structured interviews, which might possibly be different from those of in other speech situations such as chatting with friends, discussion in class, or giving formal business presentations at the workplace. Thus, future research might focus on how Thai speakers of English from different working sectors or different age groups, perceive different English varieties, and investigate how they index social meanings through linguistic repertories in different speech situations with a larger sample of participants.

Moreover, as this study reveals that the act of positioning can have an effect on to what extent ELF speakers want to engage in ELF interactions, future studies might focus on how Thai learners of English position themselves and others in classroom discourse. Since the process and the consequences of the acts of positioning among teachers and students can have an effect on the motivation of learners to participate in target language communities (Martin-Beltrán, 2010), the study on such phenomenon will enable educational practitioners to gain more insights into how Thai learners of English construct their identities in classroom instructions and in language learning as a community of practice in particular.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Wordlist

1. r**oa**d	GOAT	21. l**oa**f	GOAT
2. f**a**vo**r**	FACE, [r]	22. **th**ese	[ð]
3. l**a**te	FACE	23. b**oa**t	GOAT
4. pa**nt**	Cluster	24. **th**em	[ð]
5. **thr**ee	[θ]	25. ci**t**y	[t]
6. fi**lm**	Cluster	26. n**o**te	GOAT
7. **th**inke**r**	[θ], [r]	27. fa**th**e**r**	[ð], [r]
8. be**tt**e**r**	[t], [r]	28. **fl**ock	Cluster
9. some**th**ing	(θ)	29. h**o**me	GOAT
10. dri**ft**	Cluster	30. compu**t**e**r**	[t], [r]
11. sis**t**e**r**	[t], [r]	31. **th**ose	[ð], GOAT
12. **a**ge	FACE	32. **o**cean	GOAT
13. w**ai**te**r**	FACE, [t], [r]	33. **th**eir	[ð]
14. **th**eory	[θ]	34. fir**st**	Cluster
15. d**ay**	FACE	35. **th**erefore	[ð]
16. **cr**ack	Cluster	36. **th**eme	(θ)
17. s**a**fe**r**	FACE, [r]		
18. li**tt**le	[t]		
19. s**oa**p	GOAT		
20. **th**ankfully	[θ]		

Appendix 2: VGT in English

PART A: Listen to the recordings and <u>circle the number</u> to indicate your first impression towards the accent of each speaker.

SPEAKER 1						
unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	intelligent
ill-educated	1	2	3	4	5	well-educated
low leadership	1	2	3	4	5	high leadership
low social status	1	2	3	4	5	high social status
unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	reliable
unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	friendly
unattractive	1	2	3	4	5	attractive
difficult to understand	1	2	3	4	5	easy to understand
bad model of English	1	2	3	4	5	good model of English
bad for job seeking	1	2	3	4	5	good for job seeking

SPEAKER 2						
unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	intelligent
ill-educated	1	2	3	4	5	well-educated
low leadership	1	2	3	4	5	high leadership
low social status	1	2	3	4	5	high social status
unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	reliable
unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	friendly
unattractive	1	2	3	4	5	attractive
difficult to understand	1	2	3	4	5	easy to understand
bad model of English	1	2	3	4	5	good model of English
bad for job seeking	1	2	3	4	5	good for job seeking

SPEAKER 3						
unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	intelligent
ill-educated	1	2	3	4	5	well-educated
low leadership	1	2	3	4	5	high leadership
low social status	1	2	3	4	5	high social status
unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	reliable
unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	friendly
unattractive	1	2	3	4	5	attractive
difficult to understand	1	2	3	4	5	easy to understand
bad model of English	1	2	3	4	5	good model of English
bad for job seeking	1	2	3	4	5	good for job seeking

SPEAKER 4						
unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	intelligent
ill-educated	1	2	3	4	5	well-educated
low leadership	1	2	3	4	5	high leadership
low social status	1	2	3	4	5	high social status
unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	reliable
unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	friendly
unattractive	1	2	3	4	5	attractive
difficult to understand	1	2	3	4	5	easy to understand
bad model of English	1	2	3	4	5	good model of English
bad for job seeking	1	2	3	4	5	good for job seeking

SPEAKER 5						
unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	intelligent
ill-educated	1	2	3	4	5	well-educated
low leadership	1	2	3	4	5	high leadership
low social status	1	2	3	4	5	high social status
unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	reliable
unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	friendly
unattractive	1	2	3	4	5	attractive
difficult to understand	1	2	3	4	5	easy to understand
bad model of English	1	2	3	4	5	good model of English
bad for job seeking	1	2	3	4	5	good for job seeking

Appendix 3: VGT in Thai

ส่วนที่ 1: ฟังเสียงพูดของผู้พูดแต่ละคนและวงกลมตัวเลขเพื่อระบุทัศนคติที่มีต่อเสียงพูดแต่ละคน

(This is the version used to collect the data)

ผู้พูดคนที่ 1						
ไม่ฉลาด	1	2	3	4	5	ฉลาด
การศึกษาไม่สูง	1	2	3	4	5	มีการศึกษา
ไม่มีความเป็นผู้นำ	1	2	3	4	5	มีความเป็นผู้นำ
สถานะทางสังคมต่ำ	1	2	3	4	5	สถานะทางสังคมสูง
ไม่น่าเชื่อถือ	1	2	3	4	5	น่าเชื่อถือ
ไม่เป็นมิตร	1	2	3	4	5	เป็นมิตร
ไม่มีเสน่ห์	1	2	3	4	5	มีเสน่ห์
เข้าใจยาก	1	2	3	4	5	เข้าใจง่าย
เป็นต้นแบบที่ไม่ดีในการออกเสียง	1	2	3	4	5	เป็นต้นแบบที่ดีในการออกเสียง
ไม่ดีต่อการหางาน	1	2	3	4	5	ดีต่อการหางาน

ผู้พูดคนที่ 2						
ไม่ฉลาด	1	2	3	4	5	ฉลาด
การศึกษาไม่สูง	1	2	3	4	5	มีการศึกษา
ไม่มีความเป็นผู้นำ	1	2	3	4	5	มีความเป็นผู้นำ
สถานะทางสังคมต่ำ	1	2	3	4	5	สถานะทางสังคมสูง
ไม่น่าเชื่อถือ	1	2	3	4	5	น่าเชื่อถือ
ไม่เป็นมิตร	1	2	3	4	5	เป็นมิตร
ไม่มีเสน่ห์	1	2	3	4	5	มีเสน่ห์
เข้าใจยาก	1	2	3	4	5	เข้าใจง่าย
เป็นต้นแบบที่ไม่ดีในการออกเสียง	1	2	3	4	5	เป็นต้นแบบที่ดีในการออกเสียง
ไม่ดีต่อการหางาน	1	2	3	4	5	ดีต่อการหางาน

ผู้พูดคนที่ 3						
← ————————————————— →						
ไม่ฉลาด	1	2	3	4	5	ฉลาด
การศึกษาไม่สูง	1	2	3	4	5	มีการศึกษา
ไม่มีความเป็นผู้นำ	1	2	3	4	5	มีความเป็นผู้นำ
สถานะทางสังคมต่ำ	1	2	3	4	5	สถานะทางสังคมสูง
ไม่น่าเชื่อถือ	1	2	3	4	5	น่าเชื่อถือ
ไม่เป็นมิตร	1	2	3	4	5	เป็นมิตร
ไม่มีเสน่ห์	1	2	3	4	5	มีเสน่ห์
เข้าใจยาก	1	2	3	4	5	เข้าใจง่าย
เป็นต้นแบบที่ไม่ดีในการออกเสียง	1	2	3	4	5	เป็นต้นแบบที่ดีในการออกเสียง
ไม่ดีต่อการหางาน	1	2	3	4	5	ดีต่อการหางาน

ผู้พูดคนที่ 4						
← ————————————————— →						
ไม่ฉลาด	1	2	3	4	5	ฉลาด
การศึกษาไม่สูง	1	2	3	4	5	มีการศึกษา
ไม่มีความเป็นผู้นำ	1	2	3	4	5	มีความเป็นผู้นำ
สถานะทางสังคมต่ำ	1	2	3	4	5	สถานะทางสังคมสูง
ไม่น่าเชื่อถือ	1	2	3	4	5	น่าเชื่อถือ
ไม่เป็นมิตร	1	2	3	4	5	เป็นมิตร
ไม่มีเสน่ห์	1	2	3	4	5	มีเสน่ห์
เข้าใจยาก	1	2	3	4	5	เข้าใจง่าย
เป็นต้นแบบที่ไม่ดีในการออกเสียง	1	2	3	4	5	เป็นต้นแบบที่ดีในการออกเสียง
ไม่ดีต่อการหางาน	1	2	3	4	5	ดีต่อการหางาน

ผู้พูดคนที่ 5						
ไม่ฉลาด	1	2	3	4	5	ฉลาด
การศึกษาไม่สูง	1	2	3	4	5	มีการศึกษา
ไม่มีความเป็นผู้นำ	1	2	3	4	5	มีความเป็นผู้นำ
สถานะทางสังคมต่ำ	1	2	3	4	5	สถานะทางสังคมสูง
ไม่น่าเชื่อถือ	1	2	3	4	5	น่าเชื่อถือ
ไม่เป็นมิตร	1	2	3	4	5	เป็นมิตร
ไม่มีเสน่ห์	1	2	3	4	5	มีเสน่ห์
เข้าใจยาก	1	2	3	4	5	เข้าใจง่าย
เป็นต้นแบบที่ไม่ดีในการออกเสียง	1	2	3	4	5	เป็นต้นแบบที่ดีในการออกเสียง
ไม่ดีต่อการหางาน	1	2	3	4	5	ดีต่อการหางาน

Appendix 4:

General questions to examine how participants make use of their linguistic resources to construct their identities.

Newspapers / Magazines

- Which magazines and newspaper do you read? [Why?]

- Do you prefer to read news through newspaper or the internet? [Why?]

- Have you ever read a newspaper or magazine in a foreign language? [When?/ Why?]

- Do you think reading a newspaper or magazine in English is a good way to learn English [Why? / Why not?]

Movies:

- What about learning English through movies? Do you think learning English through movies is better? [Why ? / How are they different from each other ?]

- If you want to go see movies with your girlfriend/boyfriend, which movie would you like to see together? [Why?]

- What is the latest movie that you saw? [When/ With whom?]

- What did you think of it? [Why?]

Restaurants:

- What restaurant do you enjoy going to most? [How often? / Where?/ Why?]

- Why do you think people go to restaurant when they want to celebrate something?

- Which are more popular in your country: fast food restaurant or traditional restaurant? [Why?]

- Some people say that food in an expensive restaurant is always better that food in a cheap restaurant. Would you agree? [Why?]

Appendix 5:

Questions to investigate how participants position themselves in ELF contexts.

- How often do you speak English?

- How do you feel about your spoken English?

- Do you want to sound like Thai speakers of English as long as other people can understand you, or do you want to sound like native speakers? Why?

- What is the English accent that you aim for? Why

- If you aim for American English or British English, why do you not aim for other accents?

- Is one of the accent more difficult to pronounce than the other? Why ?

- To what extent is it important for you to retain your Thai identity and show other people that you are native speakers of Thai who speak English?

- Between native and non-native speakers of English, whom do you think you will have more chances to talk with? Why? Can you give more specific examples?

- Between native and non-native speakers of English, whom do you feel more comfortable to talk with? Why?

- How do you feel when you talk with other non-native English speakers in English, but you don't understand them because of their accent? How would you handle it?

- Have you experienced anything negative from your English accent or from the way you speak English?

- Are you more concerned about how to make native speakers understand you or how to make non-native speakers understand you, or do you not distinguish them?

- Do you consider yourself to be an English user or English learner? Why ?

- Do you feel your English is inferior when compared with that of other people?

- Do you think it is important for you to learn other English accents in classroom?

VITA

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