

"Alt er awesome i mitt liv"

Social motivations for Norwegian-English
code-switching

Master's Thesis by
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Acknowledgements

And now, it is time to say goodbye to thesis writing. It is a bittersweet feeling, because although I have been looking forward to this day for a while now, I suddenly realize that I would actually have liked to spend some more time inside the enlightening (albeit stressful) bubble that is the process of writing your master's thesis. I am really happy with the result, however, and would not have gotten through this process and ended up like in this relatively sane condition without the help of some amazing people.

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Abstract

This thesis examines which factors influence the use of English code-switching (CS) by Norwegians, and in the course of this examination, discusses what the social motivations are for such behaviour. The theoretical approaches of, among others, Myers-Scotton (1993), Auer (1984), and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), provide an overview of the main sociolinguistic perspectives on CS. These have formed a wide theoretical backdrop for this study, which helped facilitate the analyses and discussions of its results. Eight informants, divided into two groups, were observed for and asked about language behaviour and attitudes. The first group consisted of four informants of mixed educational and vocational backgrounds, while the second group's four informants are all students of English. Conducting both group and individual interviews, in which the informants were encouraged to speak as freely as possible, made it possible to provide both quantitative and qualitative analyses of these informants' CS patterns. The quantitative analysis shows that the mixed group mostly had simple single-word switches, while the English group had significantly more switches, which were generally also more complex. Both groups predominantly used CS within Norwegian sentences, and there were few instances of CS between whole sentences. The qualitative analysis revealed that both groups often mark their use of English elements, either by flagging words by preceding discourse markers such as *sånn* and *eh*, or by using exaggerated accents and other indications of reported speech. The results indicate that one of the main motivations for code-switching between Norwegian and English is to optimize clear and meaning-specific communication between participants in a conversation. A second motivation is to identify with and express personal or cultural belonging to specific social and/or linguistic groups, which may or may not be present in that conversation. Factors which may influence such motivations are the interlocutors in the conversation and the relationships between them, as well as the speakers' proficiency in each language and how this influences their language repertoires.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introducing the thesis

Sånn *from the top of your head*, som det heiter, har du nokon gong følt på sånn... Ja, no berre tok eg det her ved roten og berre *naila* det. – Ronny Brede Aase ¹

This quote is from the Norwegian radio show *P3morgen*, a program on the Norwegian Broadcasting Cooperation's (NRK's) youth oriented station P3. Broadcast every weekday morning, the show has thousands of listeners, in all age groups. As it is, the quote also demonstrates the motivations for this particular study, by being an apparently accepted way of speaking to a nation-wide audience. Norway has several national languages, including Norwegian and Sami, but English is not one of them. This begs the question of why English words and phrases are observably used on a daily basis by a great number of Norwegians.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore some of the social factors that motivate English-Norwegian *code-switching* (CS) in Norway, and discuss some of the issues surrounding the presence of English in Norway. Thus the main research question is:

What are the factors that motivate the use of English code-switches by Norwegians?

Previous studies on the presence of English in Norway have, to the author's knowledge, primarily dealt with the written aspect of English loan words, and focussed on the challenges related to such English influences (e.g. Johansen & Graedler, 2002). Hopefully this study will provide new insights into this type of English code-switching behaviour. In order to try to determine the motivations for these language choices, however, it is necessary to clarify the definitions of the central terminology that is involved, as it is understood in this thesis.

1.2 Terminology

The term code-switching (CS) has been difficult to define. As explained by Milroy and Muysken (1995), "the field of code-switching research is replete with a confusing range of terms descriptive of various aspects of the phenomenon" (p. 12), and they abandoned their

¹ Translation: *Like from the top of your head, as it's called, have you ever felt that... Yes, not I just grabbed it by the roots and nailed it.* Aired 21.03.14, approximately 2:11:00 into the show. Retrieved from <http://radio.nrk.no/serie/p3morgen/mynr01005814/21-03-2014#t=2h4m20s>.

own attempt to find a common and standardized definition. This confusion has been highlighted by other CS researchers as well, with most selecting a definition that suits their particular theoretical and methodological needs. The working definition for this thesis will be Gumperz's (1977) definition of code-switching as “the juxtaposition of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems, within the same exchange” (p. 1). In this study, the juxtaposition is between Norwegian and English, and can take place within a single sentence or between sentences in a conversational stretch (for more information on these distinctions, see section 2.1).

1.3 A sociolinguistic study

There are many ways in which to approach to the study of code-switching, as shown by such works as Milroy and Muysken (1995) and Gardner-Chloros (2009), as well as the more general bilingualism perspective of Li Wei (2000). By studying formal and grammatical aspects of the languages and their bilingual representation, as well as the psycholinguistic processes behind CS, some researchers (e.g. Sankoff and Poplack, 1981; Backus, 2003) have tried to describe the mental and linguistic representations of CS. Other scholars look at the social aspects of CS, focusing on the extra-linguistic aspects as well as the speech productions themselves; the elements surrounding the speaker, how his choices influence other speakers, and which social factors determine linguistic choices in each situation. The latter research may answer the questions of what it is that motivates speakers to code-switch, when they might have chosen to speak just one language at the time. Even within sociolinguistics, the approaches and attempted answers to this and many other questions vary; this thesis will mention several of these approaches as they are relevant to the current case study. The primary division used here is inspired by Cashman's (2008) distinction between the symbolic and the sequential approaches to CS, the former being headed by such names as John Gumperz and Carol Myers-Scotton, and the latter by Peter Auer and Li Wei. This theoretical base, outlined in Chapter 2, will also include some additional approaches that do not fit the main distinction, but nonetheless provide useful insights that aid the discussions in this thesis.

The remainder of this section will describe the Norwegian language situation, as it is relevant to this thesis and sheds light on the study's findings. After Chapter 2 provides the aforementioned theoretical background, Chapter 3 will give a methodological description of the study that was conducted. Chapter 4 presents the key findings of this study, while the

final chapters offer discussions of what these results may imply, in addition to some tentative conclusions and thoughts about potential further studies.

1.4 English in Norway

Norwegian is not a big or wide-spread language, in the sense that its speakers are mainly located in Norway itself, with its population of approximately five million, and no other countries or territories have Norwegian as an official language. Norwegian is related to, and to a large extent also mutually intelligible with, the languages used in neighbouring Sweden and Denmark, but has its own official variety. In fact, Norwegian has two orthographic standards, *bokmål* and *nynorsk*, but these are not spoken languages²; all Norwegians speak their own local dialects, which resemble but are never identical to the written standards (for more information on the Norwegian dialects and standards, see e.g. Mæhlum, 2007).

As a consequence, linguistic variation is the rule rather than the exception in Norway, and though the myriad of dialects and the rivalry between *bokmål* and *nynorsk* are common conversational topics, the general acceptance of this linguistic variation is often claimed to be much higher than it is in many other countries. Yet, despite this acceptance, there is no consensus on whether or not the emergence of English as an additional language partner should be tolerated as part of this variation. This debate goes back decades; a Nordic language council that took place in 1962 was about English as a "threat" (Sandøy, 2006), and no Norwegian would deny that English has a strong standing in Norway today. The following will be a description of the presence of English in Norway, while the implications of this presence, as they apply to this study, will be discussed in Chapter 5.

1.4.1 English education and proficiency

In her book on foreign language teaching, Simensen (2007) observes that Norway is currently in a position where the traditional label of English as a foreign language is problematic, but also that it is not correct to call it a second language either. This is shown especially clearly in the current national curriculum, Kunnskapsløftet (Knowledge Promotion) from 2006³, in which English has its own curriculum, separate from both the Norwegian and the foreign language curricula (e.g. French or Spanish). English is taught to some extent at all levels of primary and lower secondary school, from the first until the tenth and final (mandatory) year, while foreign language teaching generally does not commence until the eighth year. As a

² The only exceptions are some theatre productions and news anchors in the NRK (Mæhlum, 2007).

³ This and more information available at the Department of Knowledge's websites, here: <http://www.udir.no/Stottemeny/English/Curriculum-in-English/>.

consequence, the approximate level of proficiency for pupils graduating from lower secondary school is fairly high, and the teaching aims are, among other things, to be able to "express oneself fluently and coherently, suited to the purpose and situation" and to "use central patterns for orthography, word inflection, sentence and text construction to produce texts" (Utdanningsdirektoratet).

Schools are not the only places where English is clearly present in Norway. English language music by both foreign and domestic artists is widely popular, and foreign film and television productions aimed at teen and adult audiences, are subtitled rather than dubbed into Norwegian. Both Mæhlum (2007) and Crystal (2003) point out that English has a stronger standing in Scandinavia and the Netherlands, despite it not being an official language, than it does in some countries where it has traditionally (and officially) held a greater position (e.g. some former British colonies). This type of extra exposure is mostly enjoyed by individuals who have already learned some English in a formal setting, which means that six-year-olds who have not started school, as well as the older generations who were not taught English in school, generally do not have a working knowledge of English. In other words, English does not have a dominant presence in Norwegian homes.

1.4.2 English loan words

Sandøy (2006) refers to a comprehensive study conducted in the Nordic countries in 2002, which tried to uncover some of the functions of and attitudes towards the importing of English words in these countries' national languages. The results of the study indicated that Norwegians are the most liberal when it comes to incorporating English elements into their language, while they also do the most to adapt these elements as much as possible to the host language. Sandøy's (2006) conclusion is that "Norwegians are not word purists, but they are great orthographic, phonological and morphological purists!" (p. 83) (thesis author's translation). The Norwegian language situation is characterized by great diversity of languages and dialects, and Sandøy points out that this diversity, and the way Norwegians are used to discussing it both publicly and privately, may be one of the reasons why Norwegians are so accepting of English influences in Norwegian.

Norway has a state mandated Language Council, *Språkrådet*, which works to protect the Norwegian languages. Among the Council's many responsibilities, is observing language use in Norway; revising and updating the official standards when needed; and encouraging the use of the Norwegian language at all levels of society (Språkrådet). In cooperation with the University of Oslo, the Council runs an online dictionary that is updated for the most

recent spelling of both *bokmål* and *nynorsk*⁴. As they observe language use in Norway, the Council also monitors the use of loan words. According to a study conducted on language use in the Oslo region in 2004 and 2005, more than 90% of all loan words are from English (Lea, 2009). Some of these loan words are integrated into Norwegian, while others are replaced by Norwegian neologisms. The foreign varieties become loans when they are preferred to the native variety on a community wide basis (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Part of the Council's mandate is to observe such preferred usage in the Norwegian community, and consider recommending the inclusion of such borrowings into the Norwegian language, and let the Ministry of Culture formalize the new word or spelling (Språkrådet). Examples of such Norwegian words which clearly originate from English, and which are all included in the online dictionary, are *setting*, *kikk* (originally *kick*), and *fancy*.

In the following theory chapter, there will be an attempt to distinguish borrowing from CS, as it applies to this thesis. It must be clear from the above, however, that such a distinction is difficult to make, and possibly that there is no clear and absolute way to distinguish between the two. Yet in order to discuss CS patterns in Norway, the thesis must have a working understanding of the two terms, and how to separate them.

⁴ The dictionary can be found at this link: <http://nob-ordbok.uio.no/>.

2. Theoretical overview

2.1 The grammatical structure of code-switching

Although the purpose of this thesis is to discuss the social factors that motivate CS, it is nearly impossible to avoid referring to some of the structural aspects of the language as well; as observed in the sociolinguistic literature, many researchers also employ grammatical descriptions in their socially oriented discussions. Therefore, before moving on to the social theory overview, there will be a brief introduction of some of these grammatical elements. The following can be considered a short glossary of the terms as they are understood in the context of this thesis, as the focus is not to give a full presentation of the grammatical theories on CS.

The terms *matrix* and *embedded language*, after the Matrix Language Frame (Myers-Scotton, 1997), are used as convenient labels in many CS studies. *Matrix language* refers to the language that can be considered the main language, or the base, of an utterance. The *embedded language*, on the other hand, is the language that is inserted into the matrix frame. In an utterance like (1)⁵, Norwegian will be labelled the matrix language, and English the embedded language.

- (1) Matilda: Åh, *good luck* med å oversette det!
 Oh, good luck with translating that!

These terms can be used purely descriptively, but some scholars who specifically study the structure of CS, have discussed the validity of these terms when used as a model (e.g. Gardner-Chloros, 2009). While the matrix and embedded language distinction may not be applicable to all bilingual situations, in most of the examples presented in this thesis, Norwegian is clearly the base language.

On a superficial level, it is possible to distinguish between *intersentential* and *intrasentential* switching. The former is when the CS occurs between separate sentences, while the latter type occurs within one sentence (Myers-Scotton, 1997). The sequence in (2) is an example of intersentential switching (albeit an incomplete sentence), while the above example in (1) is an intrasentential switch.

⁵ All examples are from the present study, the details of which are explained further in Section 3.

- (2) Gabriella: *And also many people... No snakkar vi jo engelsk, kvifor gjer vi det? And also many people... Now we're speaking English, why are we doing that?*

As with the matrix and embedded language terms, there will be examples that do not fit into these two categories, but the separation is a good starting point for characterizing CS.

Another important distinction is the one between borrowing and CS. The status of English loan words in Norway was briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, but the introduction addressed the difficulty of finding a clear definition of either borrowing or CS. Gardner-Chloros (2009) refers to several theorists who argue that borrowing and CS exist on a non-linear continuum; at some point on the continuum, a code-switch becomes a loan word. Moreover, there is a considerable individual variation in what speakers themselves consider to be borrowing, and what they view as CS. While this thesis does not want to set strict definitions for these terms either, since this study aims to discuss the motivations for CS, a working understanding of the terms is needed to be able to find instances of CS. For the sake of simplicity, the Language Council's online dictionary will be used as an authority on which English linguistic items are established as loan words into Norwegian, and which must still be considered as CS on the borrowing-CS continuum. Naturally, the Council is only authorized to standardize the *written* language, and because of the great individual linguistic variation in Norway, there is no reason why speakers should use these standards for anything but written language. Even though an orthographic representation of language must clearly come second when the aim is to characterize spoken language, it is considered more reliable to use the Council as a source, than to rely on the author's judgements alone; since the Council monitors borrowings as they are used in the community as a whole *before* incorporating them in dictionaries, this will be a more objective reference than one person's own observations. In analyzing the CS patterns of the informants of this study, items which appear as accepted Norwegian words in one or both written varieties, have been excluded from the list of CS.

2.2 The symbolic approach

2.2.1 Gumperz breaking ground

John Gumperz is often considered the first scholar to focus on CS as a field of study in its own right (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993; Cashman, 2008). A 1972 article by Blom and Gumperz on the motivations for CS in a small town in Norway, introduced a model for describing

different types of switches: *situational* and *metaphorical* switching. The situational type of CS "assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation" (p. 424), where any changes in the physical situation of the conversation may also cause a change in the language. With metaphorical CS, however, the situation remains the same, and the linguistic change is caused by alterations in "particular kinds of topics or subject matter" (p. 425). Over the years Gumperz altered his definitions, and ten years later he appeared to use *conversational* switching for what he previously called metaphorical switching (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Myers-Scotton interprets both terms to refer to the speaker's creative behaviour, as opposed to the more physical changes (e.g. new participants or location) that cause situational CS.

Gumperz also includes the terms *contextualization* and *we/they code* in his discussions (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The code distinction, which Gumperz (1982) argues is a symbolic one, marks the difference between the we-code; the informal in-group variety, which is often the minority language, and the they-code; "the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group" (p. 66) language. The way that speakers interpret different language choices and codes, is through *contextualization cues* (Gumperz, 1982). These features may be lexical, stylistic or prosodic, but "the situated interpretation of the meaning of any one such shift in context is always a matter of social convention" (p. 132), meaning that the intent of the cue is potentially different in each situation. Furthermore, through his analyses, Gumperz (1982) observes that CS may have similar conversational functions in various situations, and created a list of the most common functions: quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification and personalization versus objectivization (pp. 75-81). He further claims that these functions are observable across situations that vary greatly both linguistically and socially.

Myers-Scotton (1993) points out the vagueness and inconsistency of Gumperz's models, and that, although they appeared at a point when there were no other good alternatives for the interpretation of CS data, they do not sufficiently explain the motivations for CS. She also argues that while contextualization cues may help to explain what is happening, they are not good explanations of why it is happening. Additionally, she points out that there is a necessary connection and codependence between the situational and metaphorical CS, and that metaphorical switching can even be divided into subcategories. She expands on this in her own theory of social motivations for CS.

2.2.2 Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model was not developed only as a model for explaining CS, but was in fact based on theoretical ideas that help to explain code choice in general. Speakers generally make unmarked linguistic choices, which are those that cause less deviation from the speech community's norms than the marked ones. Mostly unconsciously, these decisions are made on a situational basis, after "[s]peakers assess the potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 75). The line between marked and unmarked is not absolute, however, and Myers-Scotton sees markedness as a continuum. In any conversation, the speakers share a rights-and-obligations set (RO set), where the unmarked items are those that bring no particular attention to themselves and fit well within the set of that specific situation. When participants have a shared background and similar experiences, the unmarked linguistic items correspond with the participants' expectations of that situation. The marked choice, however, when a speaker diverges from the given RO set, is an attempt to negotiate a different RO set and its situational factors. Myers-Scotton (1993) explicitly states that she does not want to define these factors, but merely points out that they are important in the choice of linguistic code, and consequently in the creation of each RO set. The point argued by Myers-Scotton, is that it is in fact the speakers' choices that determine the community norms and the RO sets, and not the societal factors surrounding the speakers. While she says that speakers need such a framework in order to interpret linguistic codes, she also emphasizes that it is not the norm that makes the choice, but the speaker; the norms are only "signposts of markedness" (p. 110). The underlying principle of the model is that of *negotiation*, which states that speakers are in constant negotiation to signal and determine the RO set that should be active in that particular situation. The maxims that follow from this principle, are the *unmarked-choice maxim*, the *marked-choice maxim*, and the *exploratory-choice maxim*. While these maxims are not only relevant to CS, but also other linguistic choices, such as style or tone, it is to CS that Myers-Scotton has applied it.

There are two main types of unmarked CS. Sequential unmarked CS is much like Gumperz's situational switching, where the CS is motivated by a change in the conversation's outer factors, such as participants leaving or joining in. With CS as an unmarked choice, however, "speakers engage in a continuous pattern of using two (or more) languages; often the switching is intrasentential and sometimes within the same word" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 117). According to Myers-Scotton, unmarked CS typically contains more intrasentential switching than sequential unmarked CS, which operates more intersententially.

In making a marked choice, the speaker attempts to negotiate a new RO set, by moving away from the present unmarked one. In this new RO set, if it is accepted in the new situation, the marked choice will become unmarked. Myers-Scotton (1993) lists several reasons for choosing a marked code, but underlines that the primary motivation is "to negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants" (p. 132). The marked choice, however, does not always have to succeed; sometimes the negotiation fails, and the same RO set remains in place. In cases where the RO set and the unmarked choice is unclear, a speaker can also use CS to *explore* and initiate an RO set of her own. Briefly put, both CS and lack of CS can be marked or unmarked choices, depending on the situation in which they are used, and the social factors surrounding that situation.

As an extension of her model, Myers-Scotton later included the element of Rational Choice, arguing that speakers make rational choices when choosing linguistic codes, even if it is the social factors (cf. the Markedness Model) that determine the speaker's set of potential choices (Cashman, 2008). Different filters help determine the speaker's final choice, starting with both structural (i.e. language repertoire) and markedness constraints, before rationally deciding which choice will best allow the speaker to accomplish his goals in that particular situation (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001).

2.2.3 Criticism of the symbolic approach

The main criticism of the symbolic approaches to CS, is that they rely too heavily on the analyst's interpretations of speaker motivations (e.g. Auer, 1984; Li Wei, 1994). While all analyses attempt to uncover the functions, and therefore the meaning, of CS by reading into the potential symbolic value of language use, the analyst is not relying on the speakers' own meanings, but rather her own interpretation of the potential meanings (Li Wei, 1998). Thus the conclusions are not based on speakers' conversational actions to the extent that they should be. Even Myers-Scotton (1993) herself, as she explains the markedness maxims and their theoretical applications, mentions that some of them still lack empirical support. Li Wei (1994) points out that this is true of Gumperz's models as well. He also claims that, though Gumperz provides an adequate explanation of conversational functions and their social implications, the connection between them is vague.

As reported by Li Wei (1994), Auer (1991) also sees several problems with Gumperz's list of functions. They are found to be confusing, poorly defined and misleadingly closed, as language is a creative process, potentially with endless functions; the relation between language and its functions "is by no means unambiguous" (Auer, 1995, p. 118). The

following sections look at some of the other approaches that try to deal with these language ambiguities.

2.3 The sequential approach

2.3.1 Conversation Analysis

There is a claim that neither the grammatical nor the symbolic approach to CS is fully able to explain what happens in bilingual conversation, because they do not look at what is happening within the conversation. When Auer (1984) made this claim, he argued in favour of a conversation analysis (CA) approach to CS. Originally a sociological theory, the idea is to look at interaction from an ethnomethodology standpoint, where meaning is created sequentially, through conversational turns, rather than by the symbolic meaning of the language(s) used (Cashman, 2008). A speaker's utterance is viewed only within the context of any previous utterances, and the interlocutor's interpretation of this utterance in turn creates the following utterances (Auer, 1995). CA emphasizes the creation of meaning as a sequential process, and this is one of Auer's main arguments in favour of the approach. Another main argument, is that this analysis focuses more on the conversational events as they appear, than other approaches which rely more on the analyst's interpretations (Auer, 1995).

This approach, however, is not completely isolated from previous theories on CS. As seen above, Auer finds faults in Gumperz's list of CS functions, but his idea of *contextualization cues*, is an important tool for conversation analysts; certain turns in a conversation are seen as specific cues, which assist the interlocutors in interpreting the situation. When this cue takes the form of CS, the cue lies in the "juxtaposition of languages" (Auer, 1995, p. 119), and it is this contrast that forms the basis of analysis within this approach. There is a great number of conversational tools that can work as contextualization cues, such as intonation and body language, and because of the term's broad reach, Auer (1995) argues that "we have to distinguish a second case where contextualisation cues establish a contrast and thereby indicate that something new is going to come; but they also and at the same time restrict the number of possible plausible inferences as to what this might be" (p. 124). The CA approach, therefore, does not ignore the social norms and constructs of meaning, but the first focus is to examine whether any patterns arise in the conversational turn-taking. The social background is only relevant as it reveals itself in the conversation, and the focus of the researcher is not on what the speakers' backgrounds may be, based on generalized norms. If and when the background is made relevant in the conversation, it may

also be included in the analysis (Auer, 1998, p. 7); the "why" of CS is only revealed, and relevant, after the "how" has been examined.

Any speaker, as mentioned above, has a great number of contextualization cues at their disposal. What sets bilinguals apart from monolinguals, however, is their ability to use more than one language (variety), which provides a larger potential repertoire of cues. What conversation analysts do, is examine the salience of language switches, as they occur in a conversation. Therefore, since they dismiss the social context as a starting point for analysis, these analysts must look at how the series of conversational events are connected; to determine the saliency of a particular instance of CS, they must look at both the preceding and the ensuing events in that conversation. Through this analysis, the analysts may determine that CS is more or less salient, based on the interlocutors' reactions and responses. This, in turn, may be relevant for determining macro-level social norms and influences.

2.3.2 Social Network Analysis

Some researchers (e.g. Milroy & Li Wei, 1995) are concerned with creating a framework that will incorporate the conversational analysis with the broader social aspects, with an "aim to link micro-interactional behaviours of the speaker with macro-societal structures and social relations" (Li Wei, 1994, p. 3). Social network analysis has one foot in the social sciences, and has been adopted by sociolinguists to find new ways of categorizing social groups (Li Wei, 1994). While factors such as age, gender and socio-economic status are interesting on their own and naturally influence language use, the social network attempts to combine these into smaller, more individual categories. Milroy and Li Wei's (1995) claim is that the big categories cannot account for all language variation, while these social networks can explain how "these 'anomalous' speakers seem to have contracted personal social network ties rather different from those typical of members of their peer generation" (p. 146). The social network approach examines the relation between language choice and the wider social context.

The speakers' conversational choices, however, are studied within the CA framework; the belief is that linguistic meaning is created in each conversation, and that these linguistic choices must be studied on a turn-by-turn basis, as advocated by Auer. Li Wei (1994) points out, however, that there is "a tendency to over-emphasise" (p. 22) speakers' linguistic freedoms, and that they do to some extent reflect the social norms that speakers are subject to. Milroy and Li Wei (1995) state that both levels of analysis are needed to get an idea of the motivations for the linguistic choices of a community. In other words, because the social

networks are formed from social customs and pressures, they must necessarily play some part in the linguistic behaviour of speakers.

While Myers-Scotton advocates a model where meaning is "brought along", the model represented by Auer sees it as "brought about" (Auer, 1992 as cited in Li Wei, 1998). In either case, the interlocutors are essential, because both linguistic and social meaning must be created in cooperation with others; an instance of CS will not have an effect before someone reacts (and responds) to it (Li Wei, 1998). The social network approach attempts to combine the symbolic and conversational analyses, focusing on smaller social groups which create their own linguistic norms, and which are "actively contributing to the constitution of social relations and social structure through their interactive behaviour" (Li Wei, 1994, p. 32).

2.3.3 Criticism of the sequential approach

The main criticism against the CA approach, according to Cashman (2008), is the same point that these analysts bring up in support of their own theories: that the analysis focuses on the conversation itself, and only incorporates social context as it appears in the conversation. These criticisms do not only come from linguists. For instance, anthropologist Blommaert (2001) argues that some of these social contexts may not be apparent in a conversation, but "*are made* relevant by later re-entextualizations of that talk by others" (p. 19) (original emphasis).

Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) make similar points: speakers themselves make linguistic choices, and these are not solely based on present contextualization cues alone, but also on the social information they carry with them into the conversation. This, in Myers-Scotton's (2006) interpretation terminology, means that the CA approach does not acknowledge a marked choice until it can be observed in a conversation, by an interlocutor's reactions. Social network theorists, despite using the CA framework for their analyses, also acknowledge that linguistic behaviour is, to an extent, indicative of the speakers' social background (Li Wei, 1994).

The social network approach possibly seems like an ideal combination of the sequential analysis and a study of social backgrounds, but it may not be equally suitable for all types of studies. The study presented by Li Wei (1994), for example, is a fairly comprehensive one, made up of three generations of Cantonese-English bilinguals in Tyneside. This requires a thorough mapping of the speakers' language use, including when they choose which variety, and to whom they speak it, in addition to basic information like

age and education. Therefore, this type of analysis may be better suited for more longitudinal and extensive studies, which have the means to investigate a greater number of speakers from a greater range of backgrounds, as well as all pertinent areas of their language use.

2.4 Alternative approaches

The above is an overview of some of the most important developments in the CS literature and its main contributors, divided into the symbolic and sequential approaches; the symbolic approach argues that speakers use their language as socially constructed symbolism to convey meaning, while the sequential approach views CS in context and see the meaning that the switching itself creates. Not all studies fit squarely into one or the other theoretical approach, however, and several attempts have been made to combine the two (Cashman, 2008). The abovementioned social network approach may be seen as one of these attempts, and the following sections will look further at some other approaches to CS research, which attempt to explain CS in their own way. First there will be a look at an approach that focuses on each speaker's (linguistic) identity, before a brief overview of Pieter Muysken's typology, and finally an introduction to a linguistic community that is similar to Norway, and how researchers have attempted to explain CS patterns there.

2.4.1 Acts of identity

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) developed an approach to studying language, where linguistic behaviour is analyzed "as a series of *acts of identity*" (p. 14) (original emphasis), by which the speaker signals both an individual and a group identity. This means that the speaker makes linguistic choices in each conversational situation based on a desire to either fit in with or distance himself from a social group, "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 who he wishes to be distinguished" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 181). In other words, their focus is on the individual choices of each speaker in the way they wish to represent themselves, as opposed to a focus on the collective norms that shape these individuals' group membership(s).

Myers-Scotton (1993) acknowledges that this type of analysis, like in the CA approach, is helpful as a descriptive tool for linguistic analysis, but takes issue with the method as an explanatory framework. As shown in the preceding sections, she herself favours generalizing in order to build theories that may be applicable to a range of situations, in the sense that the individual's linguistic creativity is a direct result of the underlying norms that are implied in each conversation. This explains why, despite the creativity and individual

choices made by each speaker, there is an observable tendency that individuals "interpret the same interaction as communicating more or less the same social intention" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 61). While explaining a speaker's language choice as his expression of identity can be valid, it does not explain *why* he makes these choices, and only a greater comparison of several speakers and their backgrounds provides a good basis for generalizing linguistic behaviour.

2.4.2 Muysken's typology

Muysken (2000) develops a grammatical framework for interpreting CS, and looks at how his three main grammatical divisions can be used to determine the most influential factors on language choice. The grammatical divisions are defined and discussed while he re-examines some previous studies on CS in different bilingual societies (e.g. English/Spanish in the USA by Poplack (1980) and Turkish/Dutch in the Netherlands by Boeshoten (1990)). The first one is *insertion*, where there is a clear matrix language, with lexical elements of an embedded language. In the second category, *alternation*, there are still constraints on the language mixing, but they allow for more elements to be switched. *Congruent lexicalization* is the final category, in which the CS has few grammatical constraints, and even observes word-internal switches. These divisions, however, as Muysken himself points out, are not absolutes; the processes can be difficult to separate, and be simultaneously present to varying degrees.

Muysken's grammatical categories are not the main interest here, but rather how he relates these to the context in which the languages are used. As a general pattern, he claims that the amount of alternation and congruent lexicalization will increase in relation to the amount of language contact, and that "we may think of alternation as being associated with a greater separateness of the two languages, of insertion as linked to the primacy of one language over the other, and of congruent lexicalization as entailing links with two languages at the same time" (Muysken, 2000, p. 249). Furthermore, he observes that there is no single factor that influences the CS patterns in bilingual communities, but a combination of several social and linguistic ones. Influential factors are: the structure of the language; which variety is dominant in usage; conventional switching patterns; generational shifts; proficiency in each variety; and societal norms of and attitudes towards CS (Muysken, 2000, p. 247). In other words, the level of proficiency in each language variety will determine how and to which extent the speaker feels comfortable switching between them. This, in turn, is often connected to the generational variation in proficiency, due to different exposure to the languages (cf. first-generation immigrants learning a new language in adulthood versus their children

learning it natively). Not least, how and when speakers code-switch is affected by the attitudes towards switching in a particular speech community, as well as the norms which influence these attitudes.

The indication of Muysken's typology is that, even though societal norms and expectations influence the amount of CS in any context, the speaker's proficiency in each language is also an influential factor; there is a correlation between proficiency in the embedded language and the extent of CS (both in frequency and complexity). These insights may prove useful for this study, which does a comparative study between two groups with different linguistic backgrounds.

2.4.3 Other approaches

The linguistic situation in Hong Kong, as described by Li and Tse (2002), is similar to that of Norway: educated speakers supplement their first language with English elements in informal speech situations. Both societies have also experienced public and official criticism of this type of CS; in Hong Kong it is seen as "an alleged indicator of declining language standards and the speaker's inability to use "pure" Chinese or English" (p. 149), and similar ideas have been expressed in Norway (cf. Chapter 1). Li and Tse (2002) intend to show, however, that the Cantonese-English CS variety found in Hong Kong is its own code, because speakers do not find that Cantonese-only speech adequately conveys the same content.

Based on their study, which is based on speakers' diaries and judgments in cases of code-switched speech, Li and Tse conclude that:

...it would be unwise for any theoretical model of code-alternation which claims to have universal validity and explanatory adequacy to leave out the bilingual's concern for, and "calculation" of, referential meaning in the communication process. The notion of "translation equivalence" is illusory. A theory of code-alternation which takes no account of the meaning-making potential of the linguistic signs themselves fails to do justice to code-alternation as a semiotic system (D. Li, 2001). (Li & Tse, 2002, p. 184)

Thus these researchers argue for the relevance of referential meaning in the study of CS. In their study the informants themselves marked down their own CS patterns, and were asked to reflect on their use of English in the form of code-switching. As such, their study has the clear advantage that the analysts do not have to apply their own interpretations of the selection of instances of CS. This is also one of the authors' own points, and to their knowledge, there have been no studies investigating bilinguals' judgments on their own CS.

Luke (1998) also uses CS data from Hong Kong, and argues that there are two types of CS: *expedient* and *orientational*. The expedient kind of switching is motivated by practical needs, while orientational CS is used when wanting to identify with a different (linguistic) group. These mixing patterns can be found in informal speech patterns, where speakers might otherwise have chosen what Luke calls "low Cantonese" (as opposed to "high" in more formal settings). The presented theory is that speakers in Hong Kong end up using a CS variety when they find the Chinese language lacking in some way. With expedient CS, the speaker is unable to find the accurate meaning in low Cantonese, and chooses English instead of the more formal high Cantonese. In orientational CS, however, the speaker chooses English over a low Cantonese term, because of the Western associations that come with the English form.

2.5 Theoretical application

On one side of the theoretical spectrum, analysts argue that language is socially symbolic, while discourse analysts on the other side claim that linguistic meaning is created on a conversational basis. Regardless of theoretical framework, however, there is no doubt that interlocutors are crucial for any creation of meaning in conversation; without interlocutors, there is no interpretation of verbal actions. It is also clear that, whether or not these verbal actions are called contextualization cues, unmarked utterances or something else, language carries with it *some* non-literal and symbolic meanings. As should be clear from the above theories, there is no clear and unambiguous answer to what the functions of CS are, and like everything else in human behaviour, language will vary individually. As such, it is possible that one theory is not necessarily equipped for explaining all situations equally well, and that different cases are better explained by using different approaches.

As will become apparent in the following sections, this thesis will not adhere strictly to one or the other theoretical approach, but will rather use these collective insights to try to uncover some of the motivations for Norwegian CS; finding the functions of CS in this small study, will also bring out the motivations for switching languages. This will shed further light on these theories, because, for the purpose of gaining a good understanding of CS in this Norwegian context, they will be used both separately and together in the following discussions.

3. Methodology

The research component of this thesis was divided into two parts, involving eight informants in two different informant groups. The first part was a group interview in the form of a conversation between the participants in each group, where the interviewer was as unobtrusive as possible. The second part was an individual interview, where the informants were asked more specifically about their language choices and attitudes. All group and individual interviews were, by written consent⁶, recorded. The first group consisted of four women from different educational and vocational backgrounds, where none of them have studied English formally beyond secondary school. This is in contrast to the second group, which consisted of three women and one man, all of whom are MA level students of English.

The purpose of having two different groups was primarily to have a point of comparison, since the main difference between the two groups is the level of formal English education they have. Therefore, one should expect the group of English students to be more proficient in English. As should be apparent from the preceding theory chapter, proficiency is one determining factor in CS behaviour, and this is one opportunity to examine to which extent it makes a difference in these groups' CS patterns. The suspected outcome is that the English students will code-switch *more*, in the sense that they will use more English words than the non-English student group, but also that the switches will be more *complex*, in the sense that there will be more compounds and longer phrases; single-word switches are often the most common type of CS, and are attainable even for those with a lower proficiency in the embedded language (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Moreover, neither group is likely to have many intersentential switches, if any at all; Norwegian is the primary language of all the informants, and as Muysken (2000) points out, the dominant variety of a community is likely to affect CS patterns.

3.1 The informants

Certain criteria were used to select informants for the study. First, for the conversation to run as freely as possible, the informants should know each other beforehand. Second, they should know as little as possible about the object of the study, to prevent them from altering their speech too much from their normal patterns. Third, all the informants should also have been taught roughly the same amount of English in their primary and secondary education. The participants were all known to the author, who asked them personally to take part in the

⁶ The consent form can be found in Appendix I.

study. There were several advantages to this. First of all, looking within personal contacts expedited the process of finding speakers who fit the criteria and then asking them to participate. Additionally, it meant that the presence of the interviewer during the group interviews was not entirely unnatural, which in turn helped to facilitate a more informal and natural setting. All these points help avoid some of the difficulties surrounding the well-known Observer's Paradox (Labov, 1972): a researcher wants to observe the natural occurrences of a phenomenon, but cannot do so without being present himself, thus compromising the naturalness of the phenomenon. When the informants know each other well, and the observer herself is also a member of the same peer group, the presence of the observer (in this case the author herself) is less obtrusive (Nortier, 2006).

As previously mentioned, the informants of the first group, hereafter referred to as the mixed group, come from a variety of backgrounds. As part of the same musical ensemble, however, they have all known each other for years. None of them have studied English after secondary school or lived in an English speaking country for an extended period of time, but all have a higher education of at least two years. Listed with ages rounded to the nearest five, with fictional names, the informants are:

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Emma, 20 | psychology student, from Eastern Norway |
| Christine, 25 | consultant at an international company, from Western Norway |
| Monica, 30 | primary school teacher, from Northern Norway |
| Gabriella, 30 | financial consultant in a bank, from Eastern Norway |

None of the informants were explicitly told about the purpose of the study, but as previously mentioned, all were familiar with the author's field of study as being English.

The group of English students, hereafter called the English group, are all currently studying at the MA level, and being enrolled in the same study program, they all know each other to a certain extent. Three of the informants knew that the study was about language choice, but were selected nonetheless, as it was judged as more important to find informants that were comfortable around each other, than people who were completely unfamiliar with the study. This group consisted of the following persons:

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Linda, 25 | English student, from Eastern Norway |
| Matilda, 25 | English student, from Mid-Norway (has lived in English speaking country for 18 months) |
| Espen, 25 | English student, from Eastern Norway |
| Rita, 25 | English student, from Northern Norway (has lived in English speaking country for 12 months) |

3.2 The study

The primary goal of the study is to observe natural occurrences of English-Norwegian CS, and to enable a discussion of the social motivations for such linguistic choices. A secondary goal is to get an impression of the informants' ideas about and attitudes towards language, both Norwegian and English. By asking questions about language, the participants might consider *what* they said, but think less about *how* they said it. These answers should also indicate how accepting the informants are of CS.

Approximately one month apart, both groups were invited to the author's own living room for the interviews, where they were comfortably seated and offered both drinks and snacks. The purpose of this was to make the situation as natural as possible, as well as to provide the informants with something to do, other than the conversation itself. The interviews ran for approximately 1,5 hours, during which time the informants were introduced to different conversational topics. These topics were prepared beforehand, and their purpose was simple: if the speakers felt too self-conscious and the conversation did not run smoothly, asking an open-ended question about travel or entertainment might be something to get them started. The participants were informed about the structure of the interviews, as well as the formalities, such as the recording devices and the (non-)involvement of the interviewer, before they started. In general, there was little need to contribute, since both groups kept a good conversational flow. The way the group interview was structured, however, the second component should contain more language specific talk, directed by a few metalinguistic questions. The informants were asked to comment on typical traits of Norwegian and Norwegians speaking English, and what the presence of English in Norway meant for them, personally and professionally. The purpose of this was to hear some of the informants' thoughts on Norway's language situation.

As the group interview came to a close, the next step was to speak to the informants one by one. As in the second part of the group interview, the questions at this stage were mostly about language use and attitudes, and the informants' thoughts about their own

linguistic identities⁷. These interviews ran between 15 and 30 minutes, during which time the interviewer took notes. These notes were short and incomplete and were only intended as supplements to the recordings. They therefore proved insufficient when the audio files of the mixed group's individual interviews turned out to be corrupt and unintelligible. As the notes were inadequate for making complete transcripts, these individual interviews were re-done at a later date. The informants were asked the same questions, but given that several weeks had passed since the first interviews, this was not seen as problematic – there were no right or wrong answers, and even if the informants remembered the questions and had time to reflect on them, the value of these types of replies would not decrease.

All informants were asked to fill out information about their age, birth place, education, current work situation, and whether or not they had lived in an English speaking country for more than three months. The latter added another insight into their competence of English; naturally, being immersed in a language community for an extended period of time, will greatly influence a person's proficiency in this language.

3.3 Language selection and transcriptions

The eight informants come from different areas of Norway, and this is reflected by their eight different dialects. These could have been further reflected in the transcripts, but the choice was made to relay all uses of Norwegian in one of the standardized Norwegian languages; *nynorsk*. There are two reasons for this. First, it is a way to increase the anonymity of the informants, as dialects are a clear identity marker in Norway. To represent these dialects orthographically is also very difficult, and would be much more time consuming. Second, *nynorsk* is the author's own preferred written language, as opposed to *bokmål* (cf. the overview of the Norwegian language situation in Chapter 1). Therefore it is also the variety that has been used in all Norwegian interview material. Through their personal contact with the author, all the informants were familiar with her use of *nynorsk*, including the invitation to be a part of the study. Therefore, despite *nynorsk* being the minority standard variety, it should not have been alienating for them to encounter it in the materials they were given (i.e. the consent form).

For the transcriptions of the informants' bilingual quotes, Norwegian, as the main language, is unmarked, while English elements are in italics. Where English lexis contain

⁷ For a complete list of the questions in these interviews, see Appendices II and III. Note that the questions from part one of the group interviews are not included, because they include information that might compromise the anonymity of the informants.

Norwegian morphemes, the whole word is marked as English. For each quote, there is an English translation of the entire sentence. The variety of *nynorsk* is a moderate one, in an attempt to find a middle ground between the informants' different dialects and the written standard. While aiming to adhere to the official guidelines of the language, certain words were selected because they are more similar to the spoken language of the informants (e.g. *eksempel* instead of *døme*, and *oversette* instead of *omsetje*).

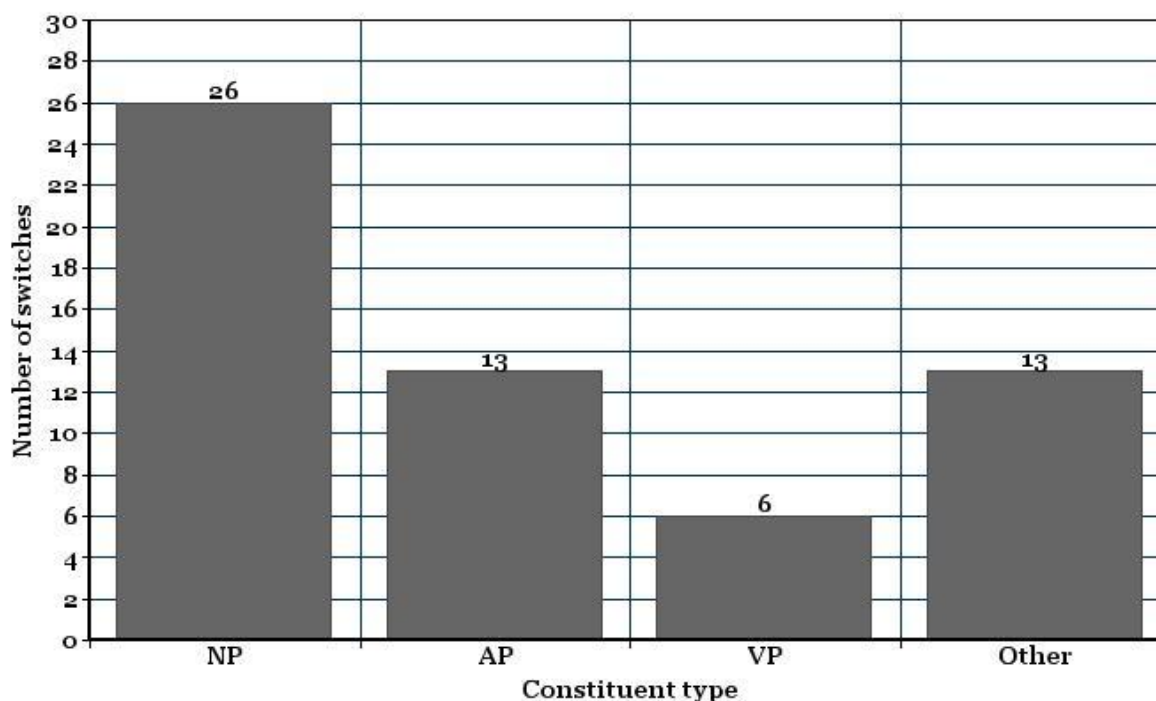
4. Results

The first part of this chapter will be devoted to a summary of the main results of the study, as they appear from the two informant groups. This part attempts to give a quantitative account of the CS behaviour of the informants, but it should be noted that this measure is necessarily subjective; natural speech is rarely unambiguous, and some of the language in the research materials needed to be interpreted by the author (e.g. pauses and partly inaudible utterances). Therefore, some of the numbers can be considered as quantitative indicators rather than absolute facts⁸. It should become clear, however, that these personal interpretations do not greatly undermine the significance of the findings. In any case, the presentations and discussions in the second part of the chapter, should demonstrate the helpfulness of such numeric indicators.

4.1 Mixed group

The majority of the CS produced by the mixed group was in the form of intrasentential switches, in single words or two-word compounds. A numeric representation of these switches is shown in Graph I.

Graph I: Mixed Group CS



⁸ The limitations of the study are further discussed in the final section of this chapter; section 4.4.

The graph clearly shows that the majority of the switches were NPs, of which (3) is a representative example; words like *snowboard*, *tours*, *like*, *hashtag* and *high school* were embedded into Norwegian utterances. The APs were fairly simple as well, with items such as *crazy*, *perfect* and *lost*. This latter category did, however, show slightly more complex and creative uses of the embedded language; the adjective in (4) is originally a noun, and in (5) the switch contains two constituents after each other.

- (3) Emma: Det er ei gamal venninne av oss, då, som har begynt med sånn her *bodyfitness*.
It's an old friend of ours, who has started doing this bodyfitness.
- (4) Emma: Skikkelig *douchebag* å putte hvetemel i...
Really douchebag(y) to put wheat flour in...
- (5) Christine: Altså, sånn, *stiff upper lip*, *posh* greie.
Like, this, stiff upper lip, posh thing.

The VPs, although they were few, were integrated into the matrix language to a larger extent, as shown by the inflectional marker, *a*, in (6). The two other switches were *hooka med* (meaning *hooked up with*) and *poppe inn* (meaning *pop by*), which also show an adaptation to the Norwegian frame.

- (6) Christine: Eg søkte han, *googla* han på nettet.
I researched him, googled him online.

The remaining instances of CS were mostly in the form of exclamations or interjections of the type *no*, *yes*, *sweet* and *fuck*, in addition to the expression in (7).

- (7) Monica: *Oh wow*, det er jo kult, sant.
Oh wow, that's cool, right.

Taking all the interviews into account, Gabriella showed the least amount of switching, followed closely by Monica. They also had the simplest cases of CS, which often resembled loan words, in the sense that they were fairly non-intrusive and short (e.g. *lost* and

shit), and are used by many Norwegians⁹. Emma used slightly more simple switches, and also used them more creatively, such as by using the noun *douchebag* as an adjective as in (4). The group member who decidedly used the most English, Christine, also used more compounds and longer constituents (as represented by (5)). As was the case with Emma, Christine's usage was more creative and independent, and some of the words were clearly more advanced, meaning that they come from more specific language registers (e.g. *revenue*).

The intersentential CS in the mixed group, was almost exclusively in the form of quotations, titles¹⁰, and represented or accented¹¹ speech. This means that longer constituents of English were mostly uttered in an exaggerated accent, or otherwise clearly representing something or someone separate from the speaker herself. In addition to the so-called *Norwenglish* accent (the stereotypical English spoken by Norwegians), Monica also used an American Southern accent to imitate *redneck* speech (the stereotypical English spoken by Americans in the Southern states). Any larger stretches of speech were either in a clear *Norwenglish* accent, or some other type of imitation. The two instances of intersentential CS which occurred naturally were when Christine commented "*Epic fail*" in the midst of a burst laughter, and Monica repeated and added to one of Gabriella's switches. The latter example is shown in (8).

- (8) Gabriella: Det er vel forskjell på dialekter i *United States of America* og då.
There is a difference between dialects in (the) United States of America too.
- Monica: *In the United States of America?*

The quotations occurred both inter- and intrasententially, and included quotes from films and songs. These were either marked by an exaggerated accent, or used specifically in discussions of pronunciation (e.g. of the r-sound in the word *breast*) and of meaning (e.g. *I love you*).

⁹ This is based on the author's own observations and knowledge of Norwegian language use.

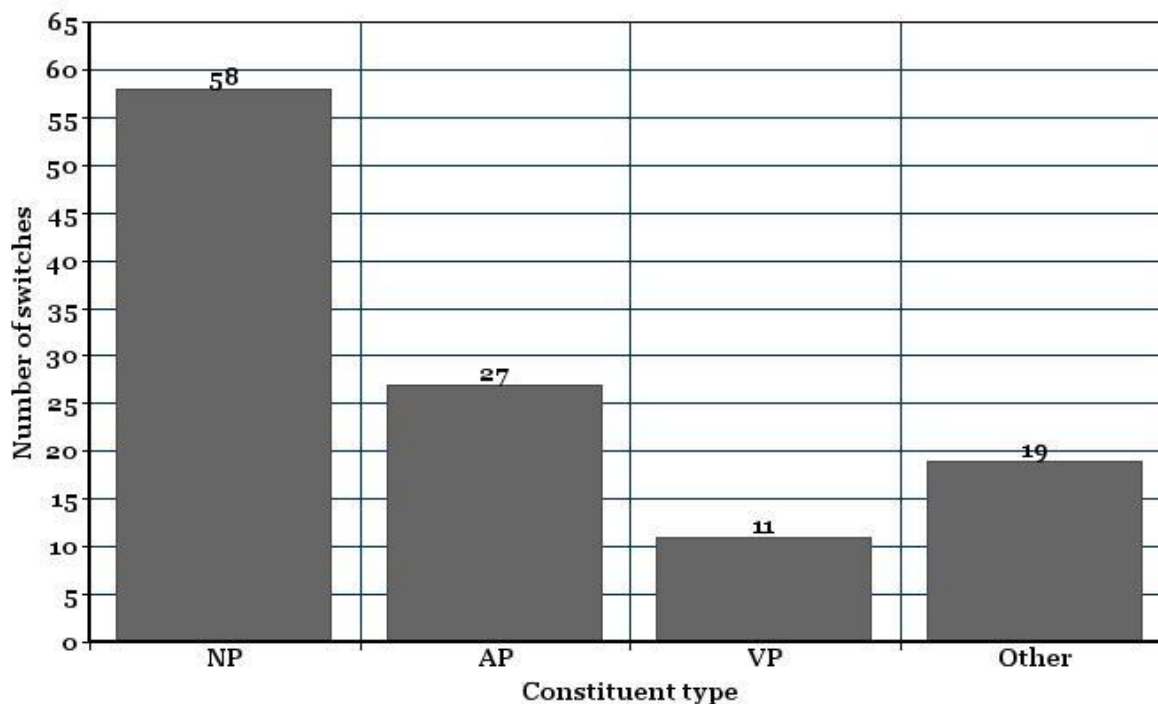
¹⁰ Any discussion of titles was excluded from this study altogether, because this usage is so common in Norway: English songs are naturally referred to by their original titles, as are most television, film and other English language titles.

¹¹ Naturally, everyone speaks in an accent. References to accent use in the following analysis and discussions are to the observed exaggerated and put-on accents rather than the speakers' own natural ones.

4.2 English group

As in the mixed group, the informants in the English group displayed a great amount of intrasentential CS, but as shown in Graph II, the number of switches almost doubled in this second group.

Graph II: English Group CS



Not only was the total number of switches higher, but they were also more complicated; the majority of the single words were from a more advanced vocabulary (e.g. *attitude*, *biased*, *mainstream*), there were more compounds (e.g. *trade union* and *mind map*), and the constituents were more complex (e.g. *my boyfriend*, *regular basis*, *the American way*). The examples provided in (9)-(13) represent some of these switches, including some single words. As with the mixed group, some of the English words used are from a simple vocabulary, and resemble borrowings in the sense that they are more likely to be used by a general public (e.g. *like*¹² and *date*).

- (9) Espen: Vi er litt for *mainstream*, til...
We are a bit too mainstream, for...

¹² Often used when referring *liking* something on social media sites.

(10) Matilda: Så eg sat og gumla det rett *in her face*.
So I sat and ate it right in her face.

(11) Rita: Alt er *awesome* i mitt liv.
Everything is awesome in my life.

(12) Linda: Korleis skal vi oversette *hashtag*?
How should we translate hashtag?

(13) Matilda: Det er noko, eh, *foreign* der...
There is something, eh, foreign there...

The VPs were a mix of single words and more complex structures. Some of the verbs were used with Norwegian auxiliaries and/or inflectional markers (e.g. (hadde) *banna*, *twerke* and *gama*), shown by a complete example in (14), while (15) shows an example without inflectional marking.

(14) Rita: Skal vi *reenacte*?
Shall we reenact?

(15) Matilda: Altså når eg først *put it out there*, Aladdin hadde blitt ein bra film då.
When I first put it out there, Aladdin would have been a good movie.

Similarly to the mixed group, this group also used a variation of expressions like *oh Jesus*, *damn you*, *good luck* and *y'all*, labelled "Others" in the graph. When they appeared within utterances, they were fairly short and simple, as the most complex instance is shown in (16).

(16) Linda: Men å ja, det er meir, *more to this story*.
But oh yes, there is more, more to this story.

Some of these expressions also appeared as intersentential CS, mostly as brief interjections between utterances, e.g. *just saying*, *I like it*, and *I know*. These were not much longer than (17), however, without somehow being marked by an exaggerated accent or as reported

speech of some kind. Quantitatively, the English group code-switched more between utterances than the mixed group, but there were no big qualitative differences; especially the longer stretches of English in intersentential CS were marked by an accent (e.g. Norwenglish) or indications of reported speech or quotations.

(17) Rita: *It's the dark side.*

The examples in (18) and (19) are interesting, because of the way the CS occurs: Norwegian is arguably¹³ still the matrix language, but the relationship between the two languages is more equal than in any of the other code-switches that occur in the interviews. Although it is not clear, Rita's example can be perceived as reported speech, as she is referencing a literary analysis that all the informants are familiar with. The same can be said for Matilda's utterance, which is clearly a quote. The interesting point here, however, is that she chose to relay it in a mixed code, rather than in English only. The English element was also conveyed in a Norwenglish accent.

(18) Rita: Men det er jo veldig interessant når *the iceberg is the penis and the boat is the something...*
But it is very interesting when the iceberg is the penis and the boat is the something...

(19) Matilda: ... som seier "ah, foreldra mine kjem på besøk, *make a good dinner.*"
... *who says "ah, my parents are coming for a visit, make a good dinner."*

As these are two of the most complicated instances of CS in the interviews of the English group, it is interesting to note that they were uttered by the only two informants who have lived in an English speaking country; Matilda spent 18 months abroad and code-switches the most out of all the informants, while Rita spent 12 months abroad and comes in a clear, and fairly close, second. These informants not only code-switched the most, but made more complex and, as these last two examples show, creative use of the English language.

¹³ This is arguable because the classification of inter- and intrasentential CS is a simple categorization, and examples such as (18) could also be argued to be intersentential. As pointed out in section 2.1, these categories are used here to simplify the discussion, and therefore a more thorough grammatical analysis has been avoided.

4.3 Findings across the groups

Where the previous sections aimed to give separate summaries of the informant groups' CS behaviour, the following will look at some of the findings across the different groups, and what they might indicate. When suitable, there will be direct references to the theories that were presented in Chapter 2, but there will also be more focus on relating the general findings to the relevant theories in the discussions of the next chapter.

4.3.1 Reported speech

As has already been pointed out, both groups made frequent use of different accents when CS was used to mark some kind of reported speech (the umbrella term that will be used from this point on), either to quote something, or in discussing the pronunciation or meaning of a word or an expression. Gumperz (1982) also mentions quotations on his list of functions of CS (cf. section 2.2.1), but the results of this study expand upon his category. Some of these accents were French, RP English, or Southern American, but the most commonly used one was Norwenglish. This is a stereotypical sing-song variation of Norwegians speaking English, and though the accent is used naturally by many Norwegians, it is also used mockingly and humorously by others. In fact, when asked to name recognizable traits of Norwegian English, this accent and these characteristics was the first thing mentioned by both informant groups. In the individual interviews, the informants were also asked why they perceive this accent to be used. Several of them pointed out that it is the natural accent of some Norwegians, and that they should accept that this is the case. At the same time, it was commented that the accent can also be used for comedic effect, and that this in turn can be used as a defence mechanism: instead of putting yourself in a potentially vulnerable position by using a language that is not your native language, you put on a stereotypical, funny accent, which makes people laugh *with* you, not *at* you.

These insights are especially interesting because the informants themselves seemed to use accented speech for the same purposes; it was clear that the informants used these accents consciously, as specific tools in those situations. For example, the so-called *redneck* speak in (20) was clearly meant to emphasize a point about American pronunciation, and (21) is commonly used to illustrate the silliness of Norwenglish.

(20) Monica: *"Watchin' NASCAR and drinkin' beer"*

(21) Gabriella: *It's not only only, but but.*

In the same way that CS itself is a way for the speaker to mark that he is not representing himself, using an accent distances the speaker from the utterance even further. Given the quantitative difference between the two groups when it came to intrasentential CS, it is not surprising that the English group had more instances of intersentential switching than the mixed group. Upon further examination, however, it appears that the English group also had a tendency to mark these instances with accents or as reported speech in some way. There is no significant difference in the way that the groups use this reported speech marking, when seen relative to their total number of switches. Therefore, in this regard, it cannot be said that there is a great qualitative difference in the groups' CS usage.

In either case, the use of such reported speech may mean that, in some cases, the speakers wanted to add an extra layer of meaning to the conversation. The instances of CS that Luke (1998) labelled *orientational* in Hong Kong, are an attempt to convey some of the Western cultural references that belong to that linguistic content, which are lacking from the native (almost-)equivalent of the term (cf. section 2.4.3). Similarly, referring to something as *redneck*, instead of using (a set of) closely related Norwegian words (e.g. *conservative*, *slow*, *farmer*), adds an extra set of meanings that do not naturally come with the Norwegian expressions; the term does not have a Norwegian equivalent since it uniquely refers to an American cultural phenomenon. According to Luke's theory, this choice is made to show an identification with a different linguistic community, in this case the Anglo-American one. In this act of identity (cf. section 2.4.1) by Monica, she makes a choice that identifies her with an American cultural group. At the same time, however, she also distances herself from this act by using reported speech. This marking of CS may be a way for Monica, as well as the other informants in the study, to connect several aspects of their linguistic identity, by showing that one does not exclude the other.

4.3.2 Discourse markers

Throughout the interviews, all the informants made code-switches that were preceded by the discourse marker *sånn* or an *eh*-sound, or sometimes even a combination of the two. The use of such devices is sometimes referred to as flagged CS (e.g. Poplack, 1988). Some of the examples shown in the preceding sections show uses of *sånn* especially, and (22)-(26) illustrate some further uses and combinations of both markers.

- (22) Christine: Han var visst sånn omviser på, eller hadde litt sånn *tours*... på innsida.
Apparently he was like a guide at, or had these tours... on the inside.
- (23) Monica: Blir ofte litt sånn, når du prøvar blir du lett litt sånn *redneck* inn i mellom.
Often becomes a little, when you try you easily become a little redneck from time to time.
- (24) Matilda: Eg føler at eg er veldig sånn, eh, *biased*...
I feel like I am very like, eh, biased...
- (25) Espen: ... då har eg nok benytta meg av, eh, *English* og... nokre sånne eksempel.
... then I've probably used, eh, English and... some examples like that.
- (26) Linda: Ein ny digital æra, eh, *is upon us*, og då tenkte eg...
A new digital era, eh, is upon us, and so I thought...

Not all speech is equally well planned, and sometimes speakers need to make linguistic decisions while they speak, rather than before. Gardner-Chloros (2009) points out "how CS reinforces or complements other discourse structuring devices which are available to monolinguals" (p. 73). This type of flagging is common in monolingual speech as well, and it also occurs without CS in this study's corpus.

Gardner-Chloros (2009) discusses a study by Gardner-Chloros, Charles and Cheshire (2000), which claimed that the use of certain discourse markers in English/Punjabi bilinguals marked the CS twice over, and therefore made the CS twice as salient to the interlocutors. It may be the case that these flagged code-switches have the same effect in this study, and bring more attention to these switches than the ones that do not have this marking. As previously mentioned, some of the code-switches are more advanced and less similar to loan words than others, and it is primarily in these cases that *sånn* is used; the CS in (22)-(26) would not be mistaken for borrowings. As such, these markers are more frequent in the English group, since they also had more, and more complex, CS. This may indicate that the speakers were drawing out their speech with these discourse markers in order to think of how to phrase what

they wanted to say, to look for an alternative to what they originally wanted to say, or just to consider the expression a bit longer before making the final decision to use it. Myers-Scotton (cf. section 2.2.2) would call this a process of negotiation, where the speaker is experimenting in his use of CS, and gauges the interlocutors' responses in the course of the conversation to see if they accept a change in the RO set. The use of extra discourse markers may be a way to clarify that this is an act of negotiation.

It is also possible, however, that the use of extra discourse markers is the speaker's means of communicating to the interlocutors that "I know I am making a marked choice here, but I choose to switch codes anyway, because...", without intending it to be a negotiation. Rather than marking the CS doubly, the flagging negates the markedness of the switch, because it shows the interlocutors that there is a purpose to the CS. There is a slight, but significant, difference between using a discourse marker to flag the markedness of the CS, and using one out of fear that the CS *may* be marked. The informants in the English group, who used these discourse markers more than the mixed group, may use the markers as a preemptive measure, to make sure that the interlocutors do not "take offence" by the violation of the RO set.

4.4 Limitations

The nature of this thesis and the limited time for conducting and completing its research component, only allowed for a small-scale study with a limited number of informants. Ideally, if this study aims to give information about the English-Norwegian CS habits of the Norwegian population, it should include a larger number of informants, across a broader range of backgrounds and generations. For example, only one of the eight informants is male, which is due to the fact that the musical ensemble the mixed background informants belong to is all-female, and the English students who could participate were mostly female. Thus the very nature of this research as a small case study can only give a limited picture of the general CS behaviour of the groups to which these informants belong, and even less information about CS in other groups. As such, it can only speculate about what this study may indicate about the CS behaviour of the larger Norwegian public.

The Observer's Paradox has already been mentioned as one limitation, for obvious reasons: there are no guarantees that the presence of an observer does not alter the subjects' (linguistic) behaviour to some extent. For ethical reasons, it is impossible to conduct this type of sociolinguistic research without gaining consent from those who are being studied. This means that the subjects must know that they are being studied, and it is impossible to

determine whether this influences what they say, and how they say it. Though the informants in this study were all known to the author and familiar with the other members of their conversational groups, and the setting for the interviews was made to be as natural as possible, the informants were all aware that they were being studied in some way. As a consequence of this, the results cannot be treated entirely objectively, but are subject to some type of interpretation by the analyst.

As all elements of the study were formed and executed individually by the author of the thesis, they must necessarily involve a certain amount of subjectivity. Language is ambiguous by nature, and must always be interpreted to some extent. As was pointed out in the beginning of Chapter 4, since the linguistic material in this study is spoken, there is even more room for interpretation, as the productions did not come with quotation marks, punctuation or other emphasis to clarify or disambiguate the utterances. Any such oral markers were left to be interpreted by the interlocutors, including the author. The classification and quantification of some linguistic representations, such as the borderline cases between intersentential and intrasentential CS, were especially challenging. Some of these interpretations may be erroneous, or the research materials may just have been seen differently by others. It is the belief of the author, however, that even if each linguistic element could be interpreted differently, the general findings would not be greatly altered.

5. Discussions

5.1 The importance of the interlocutors

Language is always directed towards someone, and in spoken language the conversational partners are important for the creation of meaning. Hence, the interlocutors are an important factor when making communicative choices. In this study, the informant Christine is an illustrative example of this, indicating that both the type and number of interlocutors can be influential for the presence of CS.

Christine was the member of the mixed group who switched the most in the group interview, and who seemed the most confident in doing this. Though not at the level of the English group, some of her switches were more complex than the borrowing-like CS that was more typical of the mixed group. Generally, however, she demonstrated similar CS patterns to the rest of the mixed group in their joint conversation, but while the other group members stayed largely consistent when moving on to their individual interviews, Christine suddenly seemed more comfortable with using more English in her interview. Her code-switching in the short interview included two longer and more complex switches:

(27) Christine: Altså, sånn, *stiff upper lip, posh greie.*
 Like, this, stiff upper lip, posh thing.

(28) Christine: *Fake it till you make it, då. På eit vis, altså...*
 Fake it till you make it, then. In a way, like...

This type of CS, with more complex constituents, was not made in the group interview without some type of added accent (e.g. Norwenglish). Christine's linguistic behaviour in the individual interview shows that she is capable of more complex CS, yet she did not use it in this group context. Since the group conversation was much longer than the individual interview, and the topics covered were roughly the same, neither time nor topic should have been determining factors for this change.

One explanation for this discrepancy may be the number of participants in each context: while there were four speakers in the group conversation, the individual interview only had two. It is a common experience that, the larger the group, the more difficult it is to control the conversation and the directions it takes, and the more difficult it becomes to predict the behaviour of all the participants. Christine was an active participant in the

conversation, but may have hesitated to code-switch too much before she felt confident about the interlocutors' attitudes towards such linguistic behaviour. When she was being interviewed alone, there was only one other person present, and this person was the one conducting the interview, not a conversational partner in the same sense as the others. She may have felt less inhibited in her linguistic choices. In other words, there was a change in the factors surrounding the conversation, which led to what Gumperz called situational switching (cf. section 2.2.1). In this case, the change in both location (a different room) and interlocutors, also allowed for a change in CS pattern. In Myers-Scotton's terminology (cf. section 2.2.2), this could also have led to a change in the established RO set – different conversational groupings (or pairs) can have differing (implicit) agreements on markedness.

Another explanation for this variation may be that it is not as much the number of conversational participants, but rather how they are connected to each other; their social networks (cf. section 2.3.2). The participants in the mixed group, as indicated by the name, come from a variety of geographical, educational and vocational backgrounds. Superficially, the main thing they have in common, is that they are members of the same musical ensemble, and therefore this is also a social network that they are all members of. Christine, as a member of this network, is aware of its sociolinguistic norms, and knows that the use of English may not be welcomed equally well by all its members. She is aware that the interviewer is a student of English, as well as a member of this ensemble. As a consequence, there is a smaller chance of English being considered marked in the individual interview than the group interview. To explain *why* Christine is so inclined to use English in the first place, however, one needs to look at her professional life. Though she has a BA in musicology, she works in an international company, where the primary language is English. In other words, she uses English on a daily basis, and she even mentioned in the group interview that there are certain situations in which “English is more available” to her than Norwegian. Her professional network corresponds with that of the English students, in the sense that English is their working language, and therefore, in addressing an English student, there is little need for Christine to suppress her English CS.

It should also be noted that this pattern was apparent in both of the individual interviews that were conducted with Christine. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the audio recordings of the first round of one-to-one interviews was lost, and the hand-written notes were insufficient for accurate transcriptions. They are, however, sufficiently detailed to conclude that Christine showed a similar pattern of both more and more complex CS in this interview than in the group interactions. While these three interviews are not sufficient to say

that Christine would consistently show the same behavioural pattern, they are nevertheless an indication.

There is also the possibility that both the number of interlocutors and their social networks are possible factors for determining language use in a communicative situation. When Christine code-switched more in the individual interview, there were both fewer participants *and* a change in participant background, meaning that either one or both of them could have been deciding factors for this CS behaviour. Either way, Christine's variable linguistic choices shows that CS is not purely a grammatical phenomenon, but that it is at least partly influenced by social factors as well. There is an apparent difference between the CS that a person is capable of making, and the CS that they actually make in a given situation.

5.2 Formality and familiarity

When the informants were asked if there are any situations in which they would avoid using English, they all said that they would not use it with anyone who does not know the language, such as grandparents. Rita and Linda, who are both informants in the English group, also explained that they were unlikely to code-switch in a situation such as a job interview, because of its formality level. In other words, they perceive CS to be the marked choice in such situations. Similarly, Luke (1998) reports that Cantonese speakers have two varieties to choose from; "low" and "high" Cantonese (cf. section 2.4.2). Most instances of English CS, according to Luke, occur in the lower register, in which speakers will rather supplement with English elements than more formal, Cantonese ones. The informants' statements on the informality of CS, or rather the formality of *not* using CS, indicate that English CS can in fact be a formality marker in Norwegian.

The most informal speech situations, at least in Norway, are normally found around groups of friends and family. In a group of friends who know each other well and have few inhibitions, there is likely to be more acceptance of idiosyncratic behaviour, or to put it another way: there may be no or very little idiosyncratic behaviour at all. This extends to linguistic behaviour, meaning that extensive CS in informal gatherings, even if it is not a choice made by all the members of that group, will not become marked. Consequently, there is little need for linguistic negotiation, because most choices will be unmarked, and the more informal the situation, the smaller the list of marked alternatives. This formality level has no clear division, but is better viewed as a continuum of formality that varies for each

conversational situation. With regards to markedness, this correlates to Myers-Scotton's idea of marked and unmarked choices existing on a continuum as well (cf. section 2.2.2).

5.3 Extended language repertoires

All the informants in this study have grown up monolingually with Norwegian as their first language, but have acquired English as a second language, mainly through comprehensive schooling and exposure through different media. As shown in this study, their proficiency in English is such that they are able to code-switch between Norwegian and English, although to a varying degree. Nonetheless, this means that their total language repertoire is not limited to Norwegian, but includes elements of English as well.

There must be something that prevents speakers who know several languages, from employing their entire repertoire when they speak; if people used their entire linguistic knowledge in all situations, there would be a constant mixing of languages. This is part of what psycholinguists call speakers' *executive control* function, which allows them to separate their languages while still being able to access both (or more) languages (e.g. Bialystok & Viswanathan). This is not dissimilar to Myers-Scotton's argument that speakers' linguistic code choices are the results of their rational choices, which are in turn motivated by a number of factors (cf. section 2.2.2). The informants in this study are no different, and Christine's case clearly shows that there can be a discrepancy between linguistic knowledge and linguistic production. Through this study, it would appear that one of these determining factors is the social networks that speakers and their hearers belong to, and how they expect CS to be received. This corresponds to what Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) say about each speaker making linguistic decisions as part of an act of identity, by which she signals a belonging or a distance to a social group (cf. section 2.4.1). In using Christine as an example, it is possible to argue that she is generally not using her entire language repertoire in the group conversation, because she seeks to identify with her interlocutors in this group of people who do not use English extensively in their Norwegian speech. In the individual interview, on the other hand, she can showcase a different side of her identity without compromising this group belonging.

In their conversation with each other, several informants discussed the 'purity' of the Norwegian language, and how the inclusion of too much English can be detrimental to its development and future existence. While they all see the value of English as an important communicative tool, Monica in particular expressed the fear that the extensive use of English will have a negative effect on the use of Norwegian on its own. Yet the linguistic analyses of

this study shows that all the informants used English in the form of CS during the interviews. When asked explicitly about when they might use English, most of the informants, including Monica, mentioned situations where the English word or expression was a better alternative than the corresponding Norwegian one. They stated that they use English CS when they cannot find a Norwegian word that is "good enough" (Monica), when they cannot think of a Norwegian word at all (Christine), or simply because the English word is accessed "more quickly" (Matilda).

The motivations for CS that are expressed by some of the informants in this study, correspond with what researchers of CS in Hong Kong have labelled referential or expedient mixing (cf. section 2.4.2). They criticize the notion of translation equivalence, which assumes that linguistic expressions in one language will always exist in equivalents in another. If this were the case, it may have been easier for some of the more CS sceptical informants in this study to avoid English code-switches completely, but instead they both implicitly and explicitly provided evidence that this is not always possible. This corresponds to the simple definition presented earlier in this thesis, which states that code-switched elements become full loans when they are used widely by an entire community. This may happen because, like the participants in this study claim, there is no natural equivalent available to them, or the English expression is a better fit for that specific meaning; the pure Norwegian form does not adequately produce the same meaning as the switched form does. It is possible, therefore, that some of the CS demonstrated in this study will at one point be integrated into the Norwegian language as loan words.

5.4 English proficiency

The above discussions touch upon some of the factors which surround CS behaviour, and many of these connect back to the issue of proficiency, or more specifically, Norwegians' proficiency in English. Norwegians are, overall, considered to be highly proficient in English, and there is no doubt that the extensive teaching of the language must have some positive effect on Norwegians' knowledge of it. English as an important communicative device was undisputed by the informants, and they had clear opinions about the usefulness of being able to speak such a global, international language. They were also clear about its status as a lingua franca, in the sense that none of them wished to replace their Norwegian first language with English; though they expressed that having both languages as native languages would have been nice, none of them seemed to feel that their knowledge of English was inadequate.

All the informants stated that Norwegian is their first language, but the mixed group informants said that they "understand everything" (Gabriella) in English, even if they struggle more in some modes than others (e.g. writing versus speaking). Not surprisingly, the English group informants were more nuanced in their answers, as may be expected of anyone who has studied English in higher education. While they report their English as "good", they also emphasize that they do not know the language as a native speaker would, which means that certain domains, such as the informal language on social media (Matilda) or references to children's culture (Rita), are less developed than others. This is clearly true of many native speakers of English as well, however, since speakers do not have equal linguistic competence in all registers and domains. Therefore, while some of the informants feel that this lack of specific competence is problematic, it may be that this does not actually reduce their relative proficiency in English.

Both Gumperz and Muysken point out proficiency as one factor which influences CS, which raises an interesting question in this study: if these speakers feel nearly fluent in English, and expect others in their community to be at approximately the same level, why do they not code-switch more between English and Norwegian? The informants' lack of uninhibited and unmarked CS are indications of some attitudinal restrictions. The mixed group especially could be said to represent the average Norwegian, in the sense that they have primarily learned English through the public school system and media exposure. The CS in the English group shows that these informants are slightly more confident in their English usage, and better able to incorporate it into Norwegian, but the difference between the two groups' CS behaviour is generally not that extensive; both groups' CS patterns show that they are not using English to the best of their abilities. The fact that the informants state explicitly and show implicitly that they restrict the amount of English they use in Norwegian language contexts, clearly indicates that there are societal constraints on the amount of English that can be interspersed into Norwegian speech.

Linguistic choices are clearly connected to the speaker's expressions of identity. The study's informants' different acts of identity (cf. section 2.4.1) show that there is a desire to identify with a linguistic group that does not correspond exclusively to the Norwegian one. Monica, for example, has a slightly purist view on the Norwegian language, and expresses a fear that an extensive use of English may be harmful to the Norwegian language's future. This is an opinion that she definitely shares with many Norwegians. When she herself makes references to and in *redneck* speech, however, she illustrates how her proficiency in English has created an identity that allows her to make these references, but in the English rather than

the Norwegian language. As such, there are issues of identity behind choosing to code-switch, as well as choosing not to; the collective Norwegian linguistic identity may not be ready for extensive code-switching between Norwegian and English, despite a wide-spread high proficiency in English, but certain members of this Norwegian linguistic community still have separate linguistic identities which they can only express through such acts of CS.

The two informants who show the greatest amount of CS and have the most advanced switches, Matilda and Rita, are also the ones who most readily admit that their proficiency is limited; there are areas of usage in which they find their English notably lacking. They are also the ones who have spent extended periods of time in an English speaking country, which indicates that they are among the informants who have had more practice in *using* English in non-professional settings and are more familiar with native speaker norms. That they still feel inadequate in certain situations, is further support that the knowledge that Norwegians have of English, though good and adequate in many cases, is not necessarily sufficient in all contexts. In 2007, a report was issued on the status of foreign languages in Norwegian businesses (Hellekjær, 2007), which supports this last assertion. In a survey conducted in 2005, over 1000 businesses, of which nearly 700 deal with import or export, were asked about their use of and need for different languages. In most of these businesses English is the main secondary language, and the findings of the survey indicate that many employees in these businesses know English well, but not well enough to use it successfully in the multitude of tasks that they face in their work. A certain level of competence is needed to plan and negotiate sales, or navigate social situations related to such business, for example at conferences. In most of these businesses, employees have no formal English education beyond secondary school, and some of the surveyed employers report that they have experienced these difficulties, and even lost potential revenue, because of linguistic challenges.

This comparative study gives the same indications, because there *is* a certain difference in proficiency levels between the mixed and the English group. While the fact that all the informants use English in the same way, for example by adding accents, shows that the difference between the two groups is not large, the fact that the English group code-switches more still shows that these informants are slightly more competent in and comfortable with using English. This small yet significant contrast indicates that more English language education can make a difference in general language proficiency, especially if paired with more practical usage of the language.

6. Conclusions

6.1 Summary

This thesis has looked into the CS behaviour of eight Norwegian informants, in two different groups. The four women in the mixed background group mostly used English in simple single-word switches which largely occurred intrasententially. The group of four English students also favoured intrasentential CS, but used more complex switches, both in the form of longer constituents and utilizing words from more specialized registers. The observed occurrences of intersentential CS in both groups were often flagged by discourse markers such as *sånn* or *eh*, or clearly marked as represented speech by the use of quotations and/or exaggerated accents.

There are a number of factors which appear to have influenced the choices the informants made to (not) code-switch in these interviews. One factor is the number and/or type of interlocutors in each conversational setting. How many participants the conversation has, how (well) they know each other and which social backgrounds they share, have the potential to influence linguistic choices. A second factor is each speaker's proficiency in the languages that are being used, in this case Norwegian and English; the more proficient a speaker is in a language, the more confident she should feel in using this language actively. This relates directly to the speaker's total language repertoire, which increases exponentially with increasing proficiency, and therefore repertoire, of each individual language. The collective attitudes towards CS, however, both individually and in larger groups, may influence how extensively this language repertoire is used. One or all of these factors may influence how each speaker relates to and identifies with the other members in the conversation, which in turn influences how they choose to portray this through their linguistic behaviour.

These results correspond roughly to the predictions that were made at the beginning of this study: the English student group showed signs of being more proficient in English than the mixed group, as their CS was more complex and more frequent. Neither group was predicted to have many, or any, intersentential code-switches, which proved to be partly correct: there was some CS between sentences, although not much more than expected. That the informant would distance themselves from these instances of CS by using put-on accents and reported speech, was not a predicted result.

6.2 Motivations for CS

Even if the CS behaviour of the two informant groups show some differences, it is likely that the speakers carry with them the same underlying motivations for using code-switched language. Both the results and the subsequent analysis in relation to CS theories, allow for some tentative conclusions on what these motivations are. The first motivation is one that is common to all types of language use, namely to *communicate*. These informants are using code-switched speech in order to be understood by their peers, and to express meanings as accurately as possible. Using CS is a way to communicate a set of meanings that may not be as accurately expressed by using a purely Norwegian code; the code-switched elements may carry a more specific and exclusive content, or contain extra-linguistic connotations that cannot be found in the native (near-)equivalent.

This leads to a second motivation for CS, which is to *identify with* a specific social and/or linguistic group. This can be done by altering speech patterns in accordance to which group the speaker is currently a participating member in; the desire to be accepted as an equal member of the group leads the speaker to adhere to the (unspoken) rules in that situation. This may involve avoidance of certain marked linguistic choices, and therefore English CS is not always used to its full potential. This wish to express a certain identity may also lead to language use that expresses a belonging to a group that is not currently present, for example an Anglo-American one. This identity may be expressed by using CS, at least in cases where the same goal cannot be reached by one language alone. These expressions of belonging or separation from varying groups, are in turn different depending on the group in question. The informant Christine clearly exemplifies how a speaker may feel comfortable expressing a certain part of her identity in one group or network, while realizing that there are attitudinal restrictions against that same behaviour in others. The extreme version of this was illustrated by the study's informants when they explained the need to use only Norwegian when addressing people for whom Norwegian is their only language.

6.3 Final remarks

There is a general belief that Norwegians are very good in English, and "everyone" knows it a little bit. All eight informants in this study are clearly proficient in English, but the way English is (not) used in the form of CS in Norwegian conversations, also shows that there is a marked difference between understanding and "knowing" a language, and being able to use it confidently in a conversational setting. The use of CS is extremely common in any situation where two or more (varieties of) languages meet, but the extent of the CS can differ greatly.

In the Norwegian context, the restricted use of extensive CS is an indication of a strong national identity connected to the Norwegian language, which results in a form of purism; although it is accepted (and encouraged) that Norwegians should know English well, it is not generally accepted that it should be used at the expense of the Norwegian language.

There are several ways in which the research conducted for the purpose of this thesis could be taken further. First of all, one of its most obvious limitations, is the lack of breadth, both in number and background of informants, but also in the research materials used. A larger study that covers more age groups from a variety of social and socioeconomic backgrounds with both quantitative and qualitative studies, would create more reliable grounds for predicting society-wide tendencies in language use. For example, a study that looked further into the social networks of Norwegian speakers, might uncover links that this study could not; the analysis of Christine's CS behaviour in this study indicates that such social networks play an important role in CS choices. It also shows how linguistic identities are expressed differently at different times. Such a longitudinal study may also be better able to predict tendencies for future language use. If increasing proficiency in English may eventually lead to a wider acceptance of its use, tracking such developments would be interesting.

While there are obvious problems with trying to generalize English proficiency and linguistic identity in Norway based on the small group study in this thesis, the analysis of these informants' linguistic behaviour indicates that there may be a shift in Norway's language situation, as represented by code-switching. When the generations who have grown up learning English in school become the oldest living generations, and the younger generations continue to learn English, there will be fewer pragmatic reasons to avoid using English. Despite a strong Norwegian linguistic identity, as illustrated by informants in this study, it is possible that this shift in general English proficiency will simultaneously lead to a wider use of English; if this study's mixed group represents the average Norwegian today, the slightly more proficient English group may represent the average Norwegian some point in the future. This may be reflected by a more complex CS pattern and a use of switched forms that more closely resemble that of the English students in this thesis, but the strong Norwegian identity and linguistic pride is not to be underestimated.

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Appendix I: Consent form for informants

Samtykke for deltaking i forskingsprosjekt

Eg seier hermed ja til å delta i forskingsprosjektet til Maria Boer Johannessen, som skal danne basen til ei masteroppgåve i engelsk ved Noregs Teknisk-Naturvitskaplege Universitet (NTNU). Eg seier meg difor einig i følgjande punkt:

1. Eg deltek frivillig i prosjektet, og er inneforstått med at eg ikkje får betalt, og at eg kan trekke meg frå forsøket når som helst i prosessen.
2. Dersom eg opplev heile eller delar av samtalan/intervjua som ubehagelig eller krenkande, har eg rett til å la vere å svare eller trekke meg tilbake frå heile eller delar av opplegget.
3. Deltaking i prosjektet inneber ei gruppesamtale/-intervju, eit individelt intervju utført av forfattaren av oppgåva, og å utfylle eit spørjeskjema. Heile opplegget kan ta opp mot tre timar, med fleire pauser mellom delane. Intervjuaren kjem til å ta notatar undervegs i prosjektet, og alt av samtalar og intervju vil blir teke opp på opptakar. Dersom eg ikkje vil bli teken opp på band, kan eg ikkje delta i prosjektet.
4. Undersøkingane vil ikkje identifisere meg med namn i nokon delar av prosjektet, og anonymiteten min vil vere sikra gjennom heile prosessen.
5. Eg har lese og forstått dei forklaringane eg har fått, og fått svar på alle spørsmål eg har. Eg deltek frivillig i dette prosjektet.
6. Eg har fått eit eige eksemplar av denne kontrakta.

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| _____ | _____ |
| Underskrift | Dato |
| _____ | _____ |
| Namn i blokkbokstavar | Signaturen til forfattaren |

For meir informasjon, ta kontakt med:

Maria Boer Johannessen (mariaboe@stud.ntnu.no)

Appendix II: Questions for the focused group conversation

Del II: fokusert gruppesamtale

1. Sjå for deg at du står i eit heilt mørkt rom, men du kan høyre masse folk som pratar. Er du i stand til å plukke ut dei som er norske?
2. Kva, om noko i det heile, er typisk for det norske språket?
3. Merkar du at ein nordmann som snakkar engelsk er norsk? Korleis det?
4. Brukar nordmenn mykje engelsk? Kvifor?
5. *Må* vi egentleg bruke engelsk? Korleis hadde det gått om vi ikkje var så veldig gode i eit andrespråk - i dagleglivet, eller profesjonelt?
6. Føretrekk du britisk eller amerikansk aksent på engelsk?

Appendix III: Questions for the individual interviews

Del III: Individuelle intervju

1. Kva er morsmålet ditt?
2. Kva synest du om at norsk er morsmålet ditt?
3. Ville du heller ha hatt eit meir internasjonalt språk som morsmål, som t.d. engelsk?
4. Viss engelsk ber preg av at det er internasjonalt, kva er det som kjenneteikner norsk?
5. Brukar du engelsk på dagleg basis? Vil du seie at du brukar det kvar dag?
6. Er engelskbruken din mest munnleg eller mest skriftleg?
7. Kor god vil du sei at du er i engelsk? Kor mykje forstår du, og kor mykje kan du snakke?
8. Ville du sagt at du er tospråkleg?
9. Denne typen (nesten)tospråklegheit, vil du sei at den er positiv?
10. Kvifor brukar du engelsk?
11. Brukar du innimellom engelske ord?
12. Er det situasjonar der det ikkje er akseptert å bruke engelsk?
13. Er det situasjonar der det er venta at ein skal bruke engelsk?
14. Når du snakkar engelsk, brukar du din naturlege aksent?
15. Er det lettare å snakke engelsk med ein tulleaksent enn vanleg, naturleg akstent?
16. Kvifor (ikkje), trur du? Kvifor trur du mange tyr til m.a. Trønder-English?