

## Abstract

This thesis investigates Norwegian-English written online code-switching on the blog written by Norwegian blogger Caroline Berg Eriksen. It is divided into two focus areas, where one is to explore what kind of code-switching can be found on this blog, and the other investigates possible motivations behind this code-switching. The results show that Eriksen uses single words, compound words, adapted borrowings, mixed language utterances, sentence fragments and complete sentences in English. Eriksen uses code-switching in her headlines, sub-headlines, in written text, in pictures, and in picture captions. Some of Eriksen's switches turned out to be quotes, names, idioms and expressions, while some proved to be her own. There is also a correlation between topics and the number of switches. Many of Eriksen's switches proved to be motivated. Some were quotes or original names of books or movies. Many of Eriksen's switches seem to occur due to the lack of an appropriate Norwegian alternative, which proved to be a popular opinion among questionnaire respondents as well. Some did not seem to have a clear motivation, and it was concluded that these switches are cases of code-switching simply because the other language is available. This might also be due to a wish to project her identity as a young cosmopolitan woman who lives a life in which English plays a significant role.



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# Table of Contents

1.0 Introduction .....	1
2.0 Literature Review .....	3
2.1 Theoretical Context of Code-Switching.....	3
2.1.1 What is Code Switching.....	3
2.1.2 Definitional Problems .....	3
2.1.3 Important Work in the Study of Code-Switching .....	4
2.1.4 Motivations for Code-Switching.....	6
2.1.5 Identity and Code-Switching.....	7
2.1.6 Approaches to the Study of Code-Switching .....	8
2.2 Written Code-Switching.....	9
2.2.1 Important Concepts in the Study of Written Code-Switching .....	10
2.2.2 Spoken & Written Genres .....	11
2.2.3 Alternative Frameworks for Written Code-Switching .....	12
2.3 The Norwegian Language Situation.....	13
2.3.1 English through the Education System .....	13
2.3.2 English in Norwegian Popular Culture .....	15
2.3.3 English and Norwegian ‘Fusions’ .....	17
2.4 Blogging .....	18
2.4.1 Blogging’s Relationship with Code-Switching.....	19
2.4.2 Multimodality.....	19
2.4.3 Blogs in Norway.....	20
2.4.4 Code-Switching in Norwegian / Scandinavian Blogs.....	21
3.0 Methods.....	23
3.1 Participants .....	24
3.1.1 The Blogger: Caroline Berg Eriksen .....	24
3.1.2 The Respondents to the Circulated Question about English Words .....	26
3.2 Corpus from Eriksen’s Blog.....	27
3.3 Question about CS utilization .....	27
3.4 Methodological and Analytical Problems and Limitations.....	28
4.0 Results and Discussion.....	31
4.1 Code-Switching on Eriksen’s Blog.....	31
4.1.1 Types of CS on Eriksen’s Blog.....	32

4.1.1.1 Single and Compound Words .....	33
4.1.1.2 Complete English Sentences .....	34
4.1.1.3 Mixed Language Use & Sentence Fragments .....	36
4.1.1.4 Adapted Borrowings .....	37
4.1.1.5 Quotes, Lyrics, Titles .....	39
4.1.1.6 Expressions, Idioms, Sayings .....	40
4.1.1.7 Onomatopoeia .....	41
4.1.2 Where does CS occur on Eriksen's blog? .....	41
4.1.2.1 Headlines .....	43
4.1.2.2 Sub-headlines .....	45
4.1.2.3 In-text .....	46
4.1.2.4 Pictures .....	49
4.1.2.5 Captions .....	51
4.1.2.6 The Navigation Bar .....	52
4.1.3 CS in Relation to Topic .....	52
4.1.3.1 Fashion .....	54
4.1.3.2 Beauty .....	55
4.1.3.3 Exercise .....	56
4.1.3.4 Home & Interior .....	58
4.1.3.5 Food .....	59
4.2 Motivations .....	60
4.2.1 Motivations According to Literature .....	60
4.2.2 Motivations According to Eriksen .....	62
4.2.3 Motivations According to Questionnaire Results .....	66
5.0 Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research .....	71
5.1 Summary of Research Findings .....	71
5.2 Suggestions for Further Research .....	74
References .....	77

Appendix I: List of Switches on Eriksen's Blog

Appendix II: Conversations about English on Eriksen's Blog

Appendix III: Question about Language Use

## Tables and Figures

Table 1: Types of Code-Switching on Eriksen’s Blog.....	32
Table 2: Distribution of Code-Switching on Eriksen’s Blog.....	42
Table 3: Responses to circulated question about language use in numbers and percentage, with translations.....	67
Figure 1: Distribution of Code-Switching on Eriksen’s Blog in Percentage.....	42

# 1.0 Introduction

The world we live in is dominated by the English language, and English is the lingua franca of the world, making it necessary for people to learn the language even when it is not their native language. Norway is a country where English is not an official language, but it has a large presence in the country, and inhabitants start learning English from a young age. English is present for example in advertisements, on TV and in movies, in education, and in business. Officially, English has the status of a foreign language in Norway, but as shall be seen in this thesis, the language has a large presence in the country and this affects how people utilize the languages.

People with more than one language available to them, regardless of proficiency level, are capable of code-switching. Code-switching (CS) is a language contact phenomenon that occurs when different languages come in contact with each other (Gardner-Chloros, 2009a), and involves in essence the use of more than one language in the same utterance or speech exchange. However, as will be seen in chapter 2, CS is not easy to define. But despite this lack of clear definition, a large amount of research has been conducted on CS. Studies on CS have bloomed within the field of multilingualism since the 1980s (Muysken, 2011). However, most studies have focused on spoken CS, and a much smaller amount of research has been conducted on written CS (Sebba, Mahootian, & Jonsson, 2012, p. 1). Furthermore, most studies on CS have focused on language societies where more than one language is official, such as French and English in Quebec in Canada, or Spanish and English in some parts of the US (Graedler, 1999). A much smaller amount of research has been conducted on CS and second language use, which is the case for English in Norway.

In this thesis, Norwegian-English written CS has been explored by focusing on the Norwegian blogger Caroline Berg Eriksen. Eriksen is a woman who turned 30 years old while data was being collected from her blog, she has been blogging since 2009, and been on the most-read bloggers list since 2010. Eriksen's blog is her full-time job, and she blogs about a large variety of topics, which will be seen in chapter 4. Data was collected from Eriksen's blog over four consecutive months in order to answer the following two research questions:

1. What kind of Norwegian-English code-switching can be found on the blog written by Caroline Berg Eriksen?
2. What might the motivation behind this code-switching be?

The motivation behind this thesis is my interest in language patterns I have observed in myself as well as in my friends and family members who are of the same age as me and younger. For years, I have been fascinated by the fact that millennials in Norway seem to include a lot of English in the way they use language, both how they speak and how they write online. We belong to a generation where a lot of communication happens through screens on electronic devices rather than face to face, and it is my belief that how we use the technology that was not available to the generations before us has made the language we write in online resemble our spoken language. I have observed frequent use of short phrases such as *I know* and *I love it*, as well as the use of English adjectives in Norwegian sentences: *det var så awesome* (that was so awesome) and *all musikk har samme sound om dagen* (all music has the same sound these days). I have also observed quotes and idioms being used, as well as adapted borrowings where an English word has been used with a Norwegian inflection, sometimes with the effect of giving the word a slightly different meaning; in the sentence *jeg må dra hjem og shine leiligheta* (I must go home and shine the apartment) the meaning of “shine” is to clean. Since this kind of language use has been observed both with distant and close family as well as within my circle of friends, it was my hypothesis that this kind of language use is not uncommon among millennials in Norway. Therefore, I decided to write my master’s thesis investigating what kind of CS can be found and what are the possible motivations behind it.

Chapter 2 consists of literature review, giving theoretical context to CS, providing reasons for why CS is difficult to define, important works within CS, concepts, and motivations for CS. The Norwegian language situation and the position of blogging in between spoken and written genres are also provided in this chapter. Chapter 3 describes the methods used for collecting data for this thesis and the participants; data was collected from Eriksen’s blog as well as a circulated question about language use. Chapter 4 consists of result presentation and discussion. 4.1 focuses on data collected from Eriksen’s blog in order to answer research question 1, and also provides explanations or motivations behind some of Eriksen’s switches. 4.2 focuses on research question 2, and deals with Eriksen’s explicit utterances regarding her English use, a small questionnaire I conducted, and what literature says about motivations behind CS. Chapter 5 sums up the findings, provides answers for the research questions, and makes suggestions as to what should be researched further in the future. Appendix I contains Eriksen’s switches, Appendix II contains conversations about the use of English on Eriksen’s blog, and Appendix III contains data from the circulated question about language use.



## 2.0 Literature Review

This chapter presents a literary overview of CS, including a theoretical context, definitional problems, important work in the field, approaches to studying CS, how written CS is different from spoken CS, and alternative frameworks. There is also a section on the Norwegian language situation, as this study focuses on Norwegian-English CS in Norway, and a section on blogging, because this study focuses on material published on and collected from a blog.

### 2.1 Theoretical Context of Code-Switching

#### 2.1.1 What is Code Switching

Code-switching is in essence a phenomenon resulting from contact between languages, found in bilingual and multilingual language users, both in spoken and in written discourse. It is the alternation between languages, and may present itself as longer switches from one language to another at clause border, called inter-sentential CS, or as insertion of single morpheme items, words, and phrases within a clause, called intra-sentential CS (cf. e.g. Bullock and Toribio (2009a)). Speakers of more than one language may code-switch regardless of their degree of proficiency, and Gardner-Chloros states that everyone who comes into contact with more than one language or dialect is affected by CS (2009a, p. 4). However, a way of speaking which has been called “mixed discourse” is the norm in many multilingual societies, and therefore it is meaningless to say that the languages involved are two separate languages, which makes defining what constitutes CS rather more complicated than it may seem at first glance.

#### 2.1.2 Definitional Problems

Although scholars have looked at CS from multiple and largely different angles, most of them define CS in more or less the same way. Examples include “the alternating use of more than one language” (Auer, 1984, p. 1), “the use of two or more languages within the same conversation” (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. vii), and “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 59). However, Nilep (2006) argues that a definition of CS as the mix of separate languages assumes that languages are somewhat stable, that they are autonomous and bound entities, and it is known what constitutes each language and what does not, but any attempt to define *language* is controversial in linguistics (p. 16). Scholars have essentially put

off answering this fundamental question, Nilep says. Unfortunately, an extensive discussion of this underlying problem in defining CS is beyond the scope of this paper.

Another definitional problem with CS regards the distinction between CS and other concepts, such as code mixing, interference, integration, lexical borrowing, and nonce borrowing. Haugen, Poplack, and Sankoff are a few linguists who have differentiated CS from the aforementioned concepts. Gardner-Chloros, Myers-Scotton, Thomason, and Treffers-Daller, on the other hand, are among those who believe that there is no clear distinction between CS and lexical borrowing, but that they are on a diachronic continuum; words will start off as switches before gradually turning into established loan words. Gardner-Chloros says that some scholars have made a distinction between CS and code-mixing, based on the level of convergence between the languages (2009a, pp. 12-13). Rampton (1998) goes as far as calling a type of language that mixes languages in this way ‘future language’, and writes about how Creole was used by young people in a community rather than stylized Asian English as a way to authentically express their identity, more on this in section 2.1.5 (pp. 304-305).

In social psychology, CS has been used to refer to the language choices speakers make in a bilingual setting, and CS may be used to describe all outcomes of contact between languages, regardless of convergence (Gardner-Chloros, 2009a). Eastman (1992) is among the scholars who do not think there is a clear divide between CS and other terms, and wrote that “efforts to distinguish code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing are doomed” (p. 1). Lastly, Gardner-Chloros writes that it is pointless to argue about what CS *is*, because it is not a physical entity that exists in the world, but a term developed by linguists to help them describe their data (2009a, p. 10). CS is, in other words, an idea, a construct, and a tool for scholars to utilize when describing the phenomena they are investigating.

### 2.1.3 Important Work in the Study of Code-Switching

Although defining CS has been and is difficult, it is not impossible to research the phenomenon, and a great deal of research has been done from multiple angles. Most notably is the work of John J. Gumperz on CS and contextualization which has been influential in multiple linguistic fields. Gumperz argued that the relationship between speakers is an important factor for the speaker’s choice of code. Blom and Gumperz (1972) differentiated between *situational* and *metaphorical* CS. In situational CS, there is a clear and identifiable reason for the switch, such as change of setting, which could symbolize the change in the relationship between the two

people, for example changing from neighborly exchanges regarding family to a salesperson talking to a customer about goods. In metaphorical CS, there is no such change of setting, but the different codes represent different sets of social meanings, and the speaker makes use of both by switching code. Gumperz (1982) coined the term *conversational code-switching* with the definition stated in the previous paragraph, which Sebba states as “the starting point for so much research into bilingual discourse” (Sebba et al., 2012, p. 6).

Another important and influential contributor to the study of CS is Carol Myers-Scotton. Her *markedness model* states that for any conversation between bilinguals there is a marked and an unmarked choice of code, where the marked choice is the unexpected or unconventional choice, whereas the unmarked is the expected choice of code for any given situation (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The markedness model is a part of Myers-Scotton’s *Matrix Language Frame Model*, which states that there is one matrix language, which is the main language, and one embedded language, which is the language switched items occur in (Myers-Scotton, 1997).

Lastly, the third of the most influential contributors to theory in CS studies, as noted by Androutsopoulos (2013), is Peter Auer with his conversation-analytic framework, where he used terminology and the analytic framework of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis to argue that every utterance produced by a speaker in conversational interaction creates frames for the next one, forever changing some parts of the situation while maintaining others (Wei, 1998, p. 157). In a conversation between bilinguals, therefore, “whatever language a participant chooses for the organization of his/her turn, or for a utterance which is a part of the turn, the choice exerts an influence on subsequent language choices by the same or other speakers” (Auer, 1984). In other words, the language a speaker chooses for the whole or parts of their turn in conversation, affects and may trigger specific language use for themselves or others.

Sebba (2012) writes that most researchers have drawn on these three available theories for spoken CS. He furthermore states that all of Gumperz’ concepts have the potential to be applied to written language alternation, and most of them have been. Myers-Scotton’s markedness model can be applied to written CS to some extent, but more so on the conversation-like and interactive written genres like online chat and email than less interactive genres or in contexts where one or more of the participating parties are anonymous. The same can be said for Auer’s conversation analysis model, which is applicable to conversation-like material, but impossible to apply to non-interactive written data due to the crucial role of interlocutors’ responses in the model (Sebba et al., 2012, pp. 4-5).

### 2.1.4 Motivations for Code-Switching

A lot of studies have been conducted on motivations for code-switching. Bullock and Toribio (2009b) write that utilizing CS is a choice that people make, “a decision influenced by a number of social and discursive factors” (p. 10). For example, people may code-switch to signal group membership and solidarity, or for identity purposes. In some parts of the world, switching is considered overt prestige, they say, and people in high positions are expected to do so as it is the most sophisticated form of public speaking. The communicative intentions of the speaker also play a part in CS, according to Gumperz (1982). He says that CS is a choice “used to mark quotations, emphasis, realignment of speech roles, reiteration, and elaboration, among others” (Bullock & Toribio, 2009b, p. 10). However, Bullock & Toribio state, it is not always the case that the speaker is using CS to mark communicative intent. Sometimes, bilingual speakers will utilize CS simply because they can.

Gardner-Chloros (2009b) lists three factors that affect CS in any given instance: outside, speaker related, and conversation related factors. Outside factors are independent of the speakers, but affect the speakers of the relevant languages in the specific community. Examples of such factors are prestige, power relations, and associations each language gives to a way of life. Speaker related factors include the speakers’ competence in the languages, social networks, relationships, attitudes, and perception of themselves or others. Conversationally, CS can be a tool and a resource to structure the discourse differently from monolingual speakers (pp. 98-99). At this point, it is important to note that motivations for CS need not be related to only one of these factors, as the factors are overlapping and fluid rather than strictly separated.

Rosenhouse and Kowner (2008) state that English lexical ‘invasion’ as they call it, is a process that is both natural and inevitable. Since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, English has played an increasingly vital role when it comes to politics, economy, and culture, they say, and is therefore highly influential and is used in code-switching to various degrees. They furthermore present three motives or motivations for borrowing words from English into other languages: “the need to coin new terminology and concepts, the tendency to emulate a dominant group and the tendency to create a special jargon in closed groups” (Rosenhouse & Kowner, 2008, pp. 276-277). Other factors that contribute to increased use of English include educational institutions, open borders, travel, access to mass communication, high consumption of products and popular culture from English speaking countries, and mass media such as radio, TV, movies, and of course the Internet. Furthermore, they say there is a correlation between code-switching and the speaker’s level of education, how often they read books and journals in

English, and watch movies or TV in English, whether they have contacts on the Internet with whom they speak English, and the number of items of English origin they have around them. They conclude that CS occurs mainly through material consumption items and the media, and that it particularly occurs among the younger generation of people (Rosenhouse & Kowner, 2008, pp. 276-295).

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, there are many motivations for individuals to utilize CS. One of these motivations is particularly interesting for this thesis, and that is the identity purpose. Therefore, identity and CS will be looked more in-depth in the following section.

### 2.1.5 Identity and Code-Switching

Sebba (2012, p. 11) states that recent research has shown that CS plays an important part in the construction of identity in multiple ways. The work of Jonsson (2005) shows that language mixing in Chicano plays “allows for the reflection, construction and reconstruction of a hybrid/third space identity” at a global level (p. 254). But language mixing is used in identity construction on the individual level as well, as noted by Sebba (2012, p. 11), who then cites Angermeyer (2005), who argued that the switch from Russian to English in a Russian classified advertisement was the authors’ way of projecting more than one social identity while also signaling that English-Russian bilingualism was a quality she looked for in a partner. Similarly, Mahootian (2005) notes that Spanish-English CS has become a distinct and accepted variety used by bilinguals to mark identity with other bilinguals and furthermore argues that mixing codes “is used to underscore that a bilingual identity that is connected to, yet distinct from, the identity of speakers in their monolingual contexts” (p. 362). This is in line with Gardner-Chloros (2009a) who writes that bilinguals often “switch varieties in order to communicate something beyond the superficial meaning of their words” and that combining languages is a way of expressing identity (pp.4-5).

Furthermore, Li Wei (1998, p. 156) argues that bilinguals choose which code to use in any given situation, the underlying assumption being that only one code is appropriate to use, which is in line with a study done by Li and Tse (2002). They conducted a study on university students in Hong Kong that were asked not to use English under any circumstances for a day, and report back on how the day had gone, what difficulties they had experienced from speaking purely Cantonese/Chinese. The results from this study were that the students experienced

communication problems and felt inconvenienced by being denied the use of English, as they struggled to find Cantonese/Chinese equivalents, which were unfamiliar or unknown to the students, non-existent, or perceived as stylistically or semantically inappropriate. This experiment shows that CS has become a part of this generation's identity, as noted by San (2009).

At any given point during a conversation, a person may assume or be attributed with an identity or identities based on the way they speak, including what codes they utilize (Sebba & Wooton, 1998, p. 277). Antaki, Condor, and Levine (1996) wrote that identities “never just appear, they are always *used*; they only make sense as part of an *interactional structure* [...] they are highly flexible” (emphasis in original) (p. 479). However, Sebba and Wooton say that although language use is inarguably a part of the identity construction process, other aspects are important as well; “social identities are made manifest through *talk*, not just through the actual language or ‘code’ used but also through the content and the context” and furthermore they state that social identities are made salient over time, and do not just appear from a single mention of a specific word or an utterance in a different code (1998, p. 184).

From the research mentioned above, it is seen that as CS is a part of identity construction in spoken as well as written discourse, the latter being what this thesis focuses on. Using CS when writing for an audience says something about the writer's identity, both how they perceive themselves and how they wish to be perceived by others, namely the readers. This is particularly interesting when the writer and the audience belong to a country where one of the languages involved is not an official language, as is the case with the material looked at in this thesis<sup>1</sup>. Rampton (1998, pp. 308-309) furthermore writes that CS and second language learning often contradicts how CS is most often seen – as coherently integrated into the communicative flow, as is the case among language users in bilingual or multilingual societies where switching between languages is common practice.

### 2.1.6 Approaches to the Study of Code-Switching

The study of CS has many sides, but there are only three major approaches: structural, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic (Bullock & Toribio, 2009a). The structural approach concerns itself with identifying what CS can reveal about language structure across all levels

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<sup>1</sup> Norway and mono-/multilingualism is discussed in section 2.3 and its subsections.

(semantic, syntactic, morphologic, phonologic, and lexical). The psycholinguistic approach investigates CS to uncover and understand the cognitive mechanisms involved in bilingual language production, perception, and acquisition. And the sociolinguistic approach looks at the social factors surrounding CS, and the role CS plays in social constructs such as power and prestige (pp. 14-17). A full account of CS, they say, is impossible without including findings from all of these; however, it is beyond the scope of any research project to do so. Gardner-Chloros (2009a) writes that the huge interest in CS one hand, and the difficulties of studying it on the other hand, has led to the crystallization of a lot of work around a these main approaches; the sociolinguistic/ethnographic description of CS situations being the approach containing the majority of CS studies (pp. 9-10). As noted by Auer (1984, p. 2), although grammatical constraints are necessary, CS contains communicative intent that would remain unexplained when the focus is merely on syntactic surface constraints; in other words, taking social and cultural functions and context into considerations seems necessary in order to ascertain the meaning of the produced switches.

## 2.2 Written Code-Switching

Graedler (1999) says that written language mainly differs from spoken language in that it allows for planning, editing, and self-censure, and therefore there is a possibility that there will be less CS found in written material than in spontaneous spoken language. But it is possible that in some ways written language allows for more freedom than spoken language, she says, and brings up mathematical formulas and typographic symbols as examples of things it is possible to write without knowing how to read or say them, and argues that this freedom also expands to include the use of foreign languages in writing (pp. 328-329).

Gardner-Chloros (2009a) writes that although sociolinguists have treated CS mainly as a phenomenon found in spoken discourse, it is also found in written texts from various historical time periods, including French-English in Medieval English texts (p. 40) and Latin-Greek in letters from the Roman orator Cicero to his friend Atticus (p. 88). One can also find CS in contemporary literature such as *White Teeth* by Zadie Smith (English-Creole), in newsletters like *Hakohol* in North London (Yiddish-Hebrew), as well as in written discourse that “takes on the informality of conversation”, such as email and the texting and chatting practiced by young people (Gardner-Chloros, 2009a, p. 21) CS in writing is therefore not a new phenomenon that has arrived with new technology like text messaging and the internet, like many may believe.

Sebba (2012) also writes about this uneven distribution of attention to CS in spoken and written genres; that a large amount of research since the 1970s has concerned itself with CS in spoken discourse, while a much smaller amount of research has been conducted on written CS. Sebba (2013, p. 98) furthermore states that with regards to spoken CS, one genre has received lots of focus, namely *conversation*, whereas no genre has received specific focus when it comes to written CS. This has led to confusion regarding whether CS exists in written texts, and if so, whether it is the same, a slightly different, or a largely different phenomenon from CS in speech. This is surprising, he says, because there is a great variety of written data which contains more than one language, old and new, from medieval times like Gardner-Chloros said, to genres which are still developing like advertisement and email; nevertheless, written CS is relatively unexplored and under-researched compared to spoken CS (Sebba et al., 2012, p. 1). However, it would be wrong to say that hardly any research has been done on written CS, Sebba says, because there has in fact been a lot of research done on written CS. The written research is distinguished by three characteristics: there is no independent theoretical framework for written CS; the research published consists mostly of stand-alone papers, usually no more than two by the same author, leading to the conclusion that their main interests lie elsewhere; and a lot of research is unpublished. Sebba says that written CS is a popular topic for MA dissertations, and if they were to be published and accessible it is his belief that they would add up to a substantial data resource (2012, pp. 1-2).

### 2.2.1 Important Concepts in the Study of Written Code-Switching

As mentioned in section 2.1.4, Sebba (2012) states that most scholars have based their studies of written CS on frameworks and concepts developed for spoken CS. He furthermore stated that all of Gumperz' (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982) concepts for spoken CS could potentially be applied to written CS, including the notions of situational and metaphorical switching, and a typology of discourse functions of CS (Sebba, 2013, p. 99; Sebba et al., 2012, p. 4). Montes-Alcalá (2001, p. 196) does not agree with Sebba's statement; she writes that metaphorical switching "fulfills emphatic or constructive functions" and can be applied to written CS for that reason, but that situational switching cannot, due to the fact that there are no physical parties involved—which is true for genres such as journal writing, which Montes-Alcalá's study was concerned with, as well as blogs, which this study is concerned with. However, Olsen (2014, p. 14) stated that as long as there is a situation with possible receiving parties it should be possible to talk about situational CS in writing as well as metaphorical CS,



and since blogs are written for readers to read such a situation is undeniably present for this study.

### 2.2.2 Spoken & Written Genres

The written genres that have been studied the most with regards to CS, are the genres that are closer to speech than writing, such as email, letters, and diasporic web forums (Sebba, 2013, pp. 98-99). The CS found in these genres highly resemble spoken CS. If the focus is narrowed down from all written material to genres only found on the Internet, Crystal (2006, p. 44) has ranged different genres on a scale depending on how much the genre resembles speech; the closest written genre to spoken language being instant messaging, next were chat groups and virtual worlds, followed by emails and blogs in an uncertain middle position, and writing on websites was deemed to be the genre furthest away and that had the fewest things in common with spoken discourse.

Graedler (1999) conducted a study on Norwegian-English CS in written texts, as her view was that written CS is an important aspect of bilingual production worthy of linguistic study. She found that although written and spoken CS often differ due to the differences between written and spoken discourse, some written genres share characteristics of spoken discourse, such as personal letters, and therefore also show parallels to speech with respect to CS (p. 341). Graedler's research on the use of English in a printed publication, *N&D*, showed that English was used with a certain communicative intent. In advertisements, CS tended to serve to attract attention and signal prestige, often separate from the main Norwegian text. In reviews and feature articles, CS served as epigrams of the whole text and were dependent on the Norwegian text as well as the reader's extended cultural knowledge. Graedler furthermore says that "the switched elements are frequently copied as readymade wholes from English. In this respect they resemble regular loanwords, but they also involve the additional effect of what one researcher has called quoting behavior, or the use of sayings and proverbs to express something that the speaker for some reason does not wish to say directly" (1999, p. 341). Graedler's second finding is that CS in written text often exploits the visual impact of foreign appearance, standing out from the Norwegian text by being separated from it, in headers or other ways, and therefore the impact of the CS depends just as much on the form as the content. This is important, which will be demonstrated in section (analysis of results).

### 2.2.3 Alternative Frameworks for Written Code-Switching

Sebba (2013) writes, as stated earlier in this chapter, that no theories have been developed specifically for written CS. He brings up the *Markedness Model* (Myers-Scotton, 1993) and the *Conversation Analysis* model (Auer, 1984, 1995, 1998, 2010; Li Wei, 1998, 2005; cited in Sebba 2013), which can somewhat be adapted to more conversation-like and interactive written genres. The markedness model, he says, would however be harder to apply to less conversation-like genres, where one or both parties may be anonymous. The conversation analysis model would in practice be impossible to apply to less interactive written genres, as it relies on the quick responses from interlocutors, Sebba says (2013, p. 99). Although the majority of studies conducted on written CS have applied the frameworks associated with Gumperz, Myers-Scotton, and Auer, researches often experience difficulties due to the fact that none of these were developed to deal with written texts, according to Sebba (ibid).

Sebba (2013) proposes an analytical framework for written CS which “will allow for a rich analysis of a wide range of multilingual texts” (p. 106). Firstly, the researcher needs to take three different units into consideration when looking at multilingual text: grammatical units (e.g. sentences, morphemes), genre-specific units which are relevant to structure and cohesion (e.g. paragraphs, headings), and visual/spatial units (e.g. column, box, frame), which are separated from the rest by blank spaces, lines, bands, or other visual devices. Secondly, one must consider language-spatial relationships. In some bilingual texts, such as road signs, there might be complete symmetry when it comes to the space the text occupies in each language, in others there might be no symmetry, and in yet others there might be a mixture of symmetry and asymmetry. Thirdly, Sebba says the researcher must look at the language-content relationship; *equivalent* texts have similar content in two or more languages, *disjoint* texts have different content, and it is also possible to have *overlapping* language content where some of the content is repeated while some is not. Lastly, one must look at the language mixing type. Sebba says there are several possibilities, one being extreme monolingual units (in one specified language). Then there are mixed units, which contain elements from two or more languages; they may be smaller visual units or textual units, where the textual units may be similar to spoken utterances containing CS in the respect that it may be inter-sentential or intra-sentential. However, Sebba says that not all language mixing is necessarily CS. For example, a road sign containing two symmetrically arranged, content-equivalent monolingual units is a mixed unit but it is not CS by any normal definition. Language-neutral units, as opposed to mixed units, are units where the items can be said to belong to both or all languages involved at the same time. Sebba says

these are typically smaller units such as words or headings, but this category also includes brand names and proper names (Sebba, 2013, pp. 206-208). The goal is for this framework to aid researchers in the analysis of for example “multilingual signage, magazines, advertisements, web pages, newspapers and product labels” (Sebba, 2013, p. 114).

## 2.3 The Norwegian Language Situation

Norway is officially a multilingual country, where the official languages are Norwegian, and in some parts of the country, Sami, which is only used by a few thousand people. There are many varieties of both spoken languages, a discussion of which are beyond the scope of this research paper, which focus lies on written language. Of Norwegian, there are two standardized ways of writing, *bokmål* and *nynorsk*, both of which are taught in school. As stated above, there are only a few thousand out of 5 million Norwegians who speak Sami, and the majority of the population therefore comprehend only one of the two official languages, namely Norwegian.

English generally has the status of a first foreign language in Norway (Graedler, 1999), but according to Machan (2014), out of the 5 million people in Norway, 4.5 million speak English, to some extent. Norwegians are, however, generally believed to have a high level of proficiency in English, a belief supported by a 2004 eight-country comparative European survey of 16-year-olds' English proficiency (Hellekjær, 2009). Although Hellekjær argues and points to studies that show that Norwegians generally lack English cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP), he also states that all of these studies point out that most Norwegians seem orally proficient in everyday situations and possess basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS), meaning that they do not have issues communicating in everyday life about everyday things. This could be due to the fact that English has been taught to Norwegian children in school starting at a very young age since the 1960s (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2003/2004, p. 10), which will be the main topic of the following paragraph.

### 2.3.1 English through the Education System

The following paragraph contains the overarching reasons why Norwegians, according to the government, should be taught English from a young age. Looking at this is interesting for this thesis because studies show that learning a foreign or second language from a young age gives the speaker a higher level of proficiency (Johnson & Newport, 1989). As has been stated above,

studies of CS have traditionally tended to focus on bilingual environments, where using both languages was natural or norm amongst the language users. As also stated above, English is not an official language in Norway, but Norwegians are taught English from a young age. Therefore, assuming that most Norwegians acquire a high level of proficiency in English, utilizing Norwegian-English CS could be considered as natural in Norway as it is in a country where English is one of the standard or official languages. The distribution of the languages may be different—English is most likely less used in Norway than in for example Kenya where English is an official language used in government—but CS should still be present, if it is true that CS occurs regardless of the speaker’s proficiency in the language the CS into (Gardner-Chloros, 2009b).

Norway has a Directorate for Education and Training (UDIR), which “is responsible for the development of kindergarten, and primary and secondary education” (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2015). UDIR makes curricula for all years of education in Norway, from the first grade of elementary school through all the different programs of high school. The subject of English is taught from the first grade through the first year of high school, and is an elective for the second and third year in high school, if one chooses a theoretical program where the aim is to qualify for university rather than to qualify for a job at the end of the high school education.

On UDIR’s website under *Purpose*, it is written that English is a world language, which we will often find useful when meeting people from other countries here at home or while traveling. Furthermore, it says that it is necessary to have knowledge of the English language and how to use it in various contexts, as the world we live in uses English for international communication, and that to learn English contributes to multilingualism which may be an important part of our personal development. Lastly, it states that the development of communication and language skills as well as cultural insight can lead to increased interaction with, understanding of, and respect for people of different backgrounds. Therefore, comprehension of language and culture becomes a part of the general education and contributes to strengthening democratic engagement and citizenship (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2015; my translation).

In conclusion, UDIR states that English is taught from a young age so that Norwegians can become competent users of English, because it becomes necessary the moment we cross our borders, and sometimes even within our own country. It is therefore reasonable to argue that most Norwegians who have attended school since the 1960s, have a place somewhere on the cline of bilingualism, and are therefore capable of CS, even if one’s English is limited.

### 2.3.2 English in Norwegian Popular Culture

English has a large presence in Norway outside of the education system as well. Johansson and Graedler (2005) compiled a list of areas in which English is largely present, in the form of more or less integrated loanwords. Popular music is first on that list; music in Norway has always been influenced by other languages, they say, notably French, German, and Italian, but since the Second World War English has had an increasingly large presence in the music industry. English is the language of hip-hop, rock, and pop music, they say. It is seen in how the musicians speak, how they are spoken about, band names, and the language they produce music in. Musicians who wish to reach an audience outside of Norway sing in English; it is easier to disguise a bad lyric when using English, and some things are easier to say in English than in Norwegian, such as *I love you* versus *jeg elsker deg* (pp. 186-188).

Next up is fashion, where English has become the main exporter of words in the last few decades, especially when the target group consists of people under the age of 35. The way in which fashion is discussed is firmly established, they say: “in Norwegian, clothes are *designet* ('designed') and shown at *fashion shows*; the models walk on the *catwalk*, even if *trendene* ('the trends') are changing” (Johansson & Graedler, 2005, p. 189).

Sports is another topic where English words are used a lot, examples include *keeper* instead of *målvakt*. *Bag*, *booke*, *charger*, *cruise*, and *gamble* are other words often found in texts related to sports. We also see English words with Norwegian endings, such as *backer* instead of the English *backs*, for the defenders near the goal in football (Johansson & Graedler, 2005, p. 191). Such adapted borrowings of English words with Norwegian endings is seen in the data collected for this study as well.

One major contributor to the English-speaking environment in Norway is the amount of English speaking films present. In 1992, 60% of the films on the market were American, and they were, and still are, very rarely dubbed, so there are numerous opportunities to listen to the English language, Johansson and Graedler say. Furthermore, there has been an increase in film titles not being translated, from less than 3% in 1950 to over 30% in 1992. In advertisement for films, a combination of English and Norwegian is often used (Johansson & Graedler, 2005, p. 193). Alongside films is TV, which is another major influencer, as English speaking TV shows have become a part of everyday-life for people in Norway. Even TV produced in Norwegian contains English words and expressions, Johansson and Graedler say; particularly in shows that are aimed at young people, somewhat less in sports and entertainment programs, and even less in

debates, documentaries, and news programs (2005, p. 193). TV advertisement is perhaps where the use of English is the most present however, especially in ads for foreign products. Here, English is used exclusively, or in mixture with Norwegian, or as catch phrases, such as *Pepsi – the choice of a new generation* (pp. 193-194).

English is present also in advertisement outside of TV. Johansson and Graedler state that it is easier to use English in advertisement than other types of written material, because advertisement can consist of single words and stand-alone phrases where the need to adapt and integrate into Norwegian morphology and sentence structure is less than in other written texts. The most important conclusion as to why English is so often used in advertisement however, is that English sells. The topics where English is most noticeable are transport, technical gadgets, and leisure activities; one of the reasons for this can be the lack of appropriate Norwegian equivalents (Johansson & Graedler, 2005, p. 195).

There is also a lot of English to be found in the areas of business, economics, and finance. Historically, this reflected trade relations between Norway and Great Britain, but since the end of the 1980s this has been attributed to the wish for a trendy image (Lind, 1988; in Johansson & Graedler, 2005, p. 1960). The use of English words here is often not necessary, as there are equivalents (cash flow – *kontantstrømmen*; dotcom-company - *nettselskap*), but the business world has an international orientation and Norwegian business schools now offer economics classes in English and encourage English as the working language, as an advantage to students who wish to work internationally. English is also used in job titles, such as *ad manager* and *trainee*, and in some cases a fusion of English and Norwegian is used, such as *claims konsulent* (claims consultant). The domain of information technology has incorporated many English terms, despite considerable work on promoting Norwegian terminology. Examples include *logge inn/ut*, *online*, *offline*, *printe(r)*, and *scanne(r)* (Johansson & Graedler, 2005, pp. 196-197). In this thesis, we will call these words adapted borrowings, whether they are written in two words like *claims konsulent*, with a hyphen, or English words with Norwegian word endings such as *logge*.

Lastly, Johansson and Graedler talk about Internet chatting, which was becoming an increasingly popular phenomenon at that time. The participants were mostly teenagers, and English was frequently used. The medium itself was English, many participants used English in their nick names, and many used set expressions when communicating, such as *alright then*, *long time no see*, *forget it*, *how is life*, and *have fun*, as well as quotes from movies and songs, such as *My heart will go on and on* (Titanic) and *Everything's gonna be alright* (Bob Marley).

Playful innovations of words were also found, such as these variations of the word “please”: *please, pleas, pleace, plis, pliiiiiiiis, and pleez* (Johansson & Graedler, 2005, pp. 197-198).

### 2.3.3 English and Norwegian ‘Fusions’

English and Norwegian are not always in complementary distribution. As is often the case in multilingual societies, they get mixed together. Machan (2014) provides examples of such ‘fusions’, as he calls them, such as the kitchenware store *Kitch’n*, and a sign outside a bookstore saying “Please Help Yourself Gratis Bøker”. While Machan calls these words ‘fusions’, we will stick to ‘adapted borrowings’ in this thesis. Machan goes on to question whether this kind of writing is English or Norwegian:

Purists can be aghast at the way English is developing as its speakers, increasingly, are second- and third-language learners from around the world. Of course, purists once were aghast at the way English took shape in regional British dialects or in the United States. Perhaps some still are. But Norwegian English is a creative, expressive, and often witty way to use language. And it reflects the kind of adaptation that is necessary for any language to remain alive. Is it English? As a Norwegian once responded to my question in another context, “Ja-ish.” (Machan, 2014).

Graedler writes that English, from a global perspective, “represents a potentially forceful linguistic presence even in societies where it does not play an important role as mother tongue” (Graedler, 1999, p. 329). It can therefore be concluded that a large percentage of the Norwegian population speaks English, even though it is not an official language, and that even though the English that many Norwegians use is not ‘pure’, they still consider it English and therefore themselves speakers of the English language.

Graedler says most Norwegians who speak English are either monolingual or dominant in Norwegian, and not balanced bilinguals, meaning that many do not speak English fluently, but can make themselves understood to people who do not speak Norwegian by using a mixture of English and Norwegian, such as the adapted borrowings Machan talked about. Gardner-Chloros writes that although much research has been conducted on the learning process of a second language, not a lot of research has focused on their CS. However, since even “native” bilinguals rarely are balanced, she says, there is no reason to consider CS by L2 speakers any differently (Gardner-Chloros, 2009a, p. 17).

## 2.4 Blogging

Crystal (2006) defines a blog as “a web application which allows the user to enter, display, and edit posts at any time. It is essentially a content-management system – a way of getting content onto a web page” (p. 240). The word *blog* is short for *weblog*, and it is a personalized web page where the owner, or *blogger*, can post *blog posts* as rarely or frequently as they desire. Blog posts usually appear chronologically with the most recent entry at the top, and often blogs are put into categories the reader can browse. Most blogs are owned by a single person, and their posts are essentially monologs. Often, blogs are interactive in the way that it is possible for the readers to leave comments in a comment section below the entry, and the blogger can respond to these should he or she wish to, hence a blog is more interactive than most other websites, which are not designed for the reader to interact with the author.

Blogging can be used in a large variety of ways. Crystal writes that when blogging started taking off in the early 2000s, “people were quick to see the potential of blogging as a new form of public awareness, combining elements of journalism, advertising, public relations, outreach, consumer news, propaganda, and interest-group formation, as well as providing easy means of tapping into public opinion and obtaining feedback” (Crystal, 2006, p. 241), making it a popular medium for a large variety of people. In addition to Crystal’s list, many people use blogs as a sort of public diary, where they write about their days, hobbies, interests, family, and life in general.

There are also people who make a living from blogging, which is the case for the blogger whose material has been used for this study. For these types of bloggers, the frequency with which they post is important. Newson, Houghton, and Patten (2008) write that to keep your readers coming back, it is important to blog regularly. If you do not blog regularly, you will not enjoy doing it, your readers will disappear, and you will not see a reason to continue blogging. For anyone wishing to investigate CS on blogs, the frequency of the posts could potentially be a factor that needs to be taken into consideration; it is natural to think that someone who posts frequently has a more relaxed relationship with their blog and the language they use, and it is possible that this affects the amount or type of CS, as evident by research on spoken CS and the fact that colloquial speech has more CS than formal speech. This is also the reason why Newson furthermore encourages keeping the language on the blog simple, perhaps in a conversational style. Lastly, Newson encourages the use of photos, which can “make the blog look smart, add humor, and generally make it stand out from the pack” (2008, pp. 29-36). One of the most successful Norwegian bloggers, Caroline Berg Eriksen, who will be looked at closer in section



chapter 4, utilizes especially this last point, using many photos in most of her posts, breaking up the chunks of text, making the readers feel more like they are reading a magazine with glossy pages than a diary or journal posted on the Internet.

#### 2.4.1 Blogging's Relationship with Code-Switching

As mentioned above, a blog can be used in a variety of ways by a variety of people. It is also possible for one writer to use their blog in many different ways, for example as a sort of public diary about their life, to promote and advertise for products, or to spread public awareness about something they care about. This blend of what is private and what is public is unique to the blog genre, as the content of a personal blog may be highly personal, but the choice of posting it on the Internet rather than writing in a personal journal means that the bloggers need to be aware of the potentially public accessibility of their writing, and therefore what language they choose to write in on their blog (Crystal, 2006, p. 242).

The in-between position that blogs have, between written and spoken language, gives the author a great deal of linguistic freedom. Some may choose to “write as they speak”, including dialect words, non-standard spelling, and code-switching. There are no editors that the texts must go through before being published online, meaning the author will not be censored. The blog is the property of the blogger, and he or she may write on it however they see fit. Many utilize this freedom to write in a way that is more natural to them, when they do not have to write within a framework set by someone else that has rules regarding language use.

#### 2.4.2 Multimodality

Crystal (2006) states that blogging utilizes many of the same elements as journalism and advertising do. Journalistic articles and advertisements are very often multimodal, meaning they utilize more than one mode to convey meaning (Jewitt, 2009, p. 1). Blogs, as written instances of communication, for the most part do not employ gesture, gaze, speech, and posture, but they can use both image and writing, making them multimodal should they choose to do so.

Multimodal theory, according to Burn and Parker (2003), is a type of semiotics. Kress (2009) states that it is a social semiotic approach to contemporary communication. It is a theory which aims to understand different ways of communication, including through technology such as writing and the internet. The theory looks for ways to systematically describe how different

modes relate to each other, and how this might change the meaning of the communication. To take an example related to blogging, this can be how pictures change the meaning of the words written in the blog entry, or how the two separately might mean different things than they do when put together.

Multimodality is furthermore connected to culture, because as Kress says, “differences between societies and cultures means differences in representation and meaning” (Kress, 2009, p. 8). However, just as Chomsky stated there is a universal grammar, Kress states that there are some general semiotic principles that all humans have in common. Humans, he says, “make signs in which form and meaning stand in a motivated relation” (2009, pp. 9-10). From a blogging perspective, a blogger may choose whichever pictures he or she wants, but it comes natural to us as humans to choose pictures that have some sort of relation to the written text. If blogging about food, it would be natural to include a picture of said food, or the cooking process, while it would be unnatural to include a picture of a pair of shoes. The shoes might not be out of place on the blog as a whole, if the blogger blogs about fashion as well as food, but it would be out of place in that specific blog entry.

### 2.4.3 Blogs in Norway

Blogging has been popular in Norway for about a decade, and Norway even has its own blogging platform, [www.blogg.no](http://www.blogg.no), which was started in 2005. Over 2 million blogs have been created on the platform, and about 50.000 of these are updated weekly<sup>2</sup>. Uglum (2013) writes that the most read Norwegian blogs have over 50.000 individual readers every single day, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that to write and read blogs is quite common in Norway.

Uglum also writes that although many blogs can be described as web-based, publicly accessible diaries or journals, many also resemble online newspapers; the main difference between an online newspaper and a blog being that the blogger is fully in control of what they post as there is no editor and therefore no critical control over what is posted (Uglum, 2013). This resemblance between blogs and online newspapers is relevant for this thesis, and has been discussed in chapter 4.

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<sup>2</sup> Blogg.no (2012), retrieved from <http://faq.blogg.no/?side=omoss>

#### 2.4.4 Code-Switching in Norwegian / Scandinavian Blogs

When choosing a blog for this project, it was necessary to find blogs on which code-switching is visually salient. It was necessary to read multiple blogs in order to find bloggers that code-switch both frequently and over time (see section 3.1). It was also of interest to find bloggers that have a large audience, which they are aware of, as therefore it is a reasonable assumption that their posts are more thought through and planned more carefully, including the language that they use, than someone who mostly blogs for themselves without many or any readers at all. Several blogs were visited, and most of the top bloggers on [www.blogg.no](http://www.blogg.no) use English words from time to time. From *Mammatilmichelle* the following examples can be seen: “*siste finish*” (finishing touches) (Rasmussen, 2017a), “*live på facebook siden min*” (live on my facebook page) and “*dessverre helt gone*” (sadly completely gone) (Rasmussen, 2017b). On *Sophie Elise*’s blog you can find switches such as “*shampoo og balsam*” (shampoo and conditioner) (Isachsen, 2017b), “*advokat og management*” (lawyer and management) (Isachsen, 2017a), and the word *extensions* repeated multiple times in both hair and eyelash contexts (Isachsen, 2017b) (Isachsen, 2017c). *Martine Lunde* also has some switches on her blog, such as “*aldri har outfits på bloggen*” (never have outfits on the blog) (Lunde, 2017a), as well as some adapted borrowings of English words with Norwegian inflections, for example “*lease bil*” (to lease a car) (Lunde, 2017a), and “*booke en tur snart*” (to book a trip soon) (Lunde, 2017b). These are some of the most read blogs in Norway, and are on the top list on the front page of [www.blogg.no](http://www.blogg.no). However, their switches are few and far between, and cannot compare to one of the other most read bloggers, who deviated from the platform a few years ago. On her blog, one can see headline upon headline written in English, sub-headlines, picture texts, captions and more. Therefore, the choice fell on this blogger: *Caroline Berg Eriksen*<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Caroline Berg Eriksen: [www.carolinebergeriksen.no](http://www.carolinebergeriksen.no)



### 3.0 Methods

This thesis investigates what kind of Norwegian-English CS can be found in written online texts. The choice was made to focus on texts published by a single Norwegian blogger, Caroline Berg Eriksen; this will be discussed further in section 3.1. Furthermore, I circulated the question “why do you use English words, when there are Norwegian words you could use instead” on my Facebook page, encouraging my friends to answer it and share it on their pages in order to get more respondents. The aim of this was to collect opinions from language users on why they themselves utilize CS. This material has been analyzed in chapter 4. In 4.1, Eriksen’s switches have been categorized and discussed according to switch type, where they occur, and topic relation. This section also discusses possible motivation behind the switches. In 4.2, motivations for CS are discussed using data from the circulated question, statements from Eriksen herself, and literature on this.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, CS is not an easily defined term. In this thesis, CS is viewed as one end of a continuum, and that switches gradually become integrated loan words that are eventually accepted as words in the main language. I decided to screenshot an item as when it did not feel like a Norwegian word to me, a native speaker of Norwegian, and therefore it must belong somewhere on the continuum. To help determine whether a word is a switch or an integrated lexical borrowing, two dictionaries were used. One is called Bokmålsordboka (the bokmål dictionary, accessible from [www.ordbok.uib.no](http://www.ordbok.uib.no)), and this one was used in order to identify established loan words that are acceptable to use in Norwegian. Words that cannot be found in this dictionary are likely to be on the other side of the continuum, towards CS. The other dictionary that was used was Norsk ordbok (the Norwegian dictionary, accessible from <http://no2014.uio.no/perl/ordbok/no2014.cgi>) which aim is to give an account of words that are used in Norwegian oral language. This is because a word may be frequently used by Norwegian speakers and therefore not be seen as a foreign word for a while before it makes its way into Bokmålsordboka. The words that are found in the Norsk ordbok but not in Bokmålsordboka are words that are frequently used in Norwegian but have not yet achieved official status. It is important to note that these dictionaries have been used as guides, but cannot be relied on entirely to identify the status of a word.

## 3.1 Participants

My wish was to study written CS among Norwegians on the Internet, partly because it is one of my personal interests, but also because research has tended to focus on spoken CS for decades, and written CS is under-researched by comparison (Sebba et al., 2012, p. 1). Furthermore, the research done on written CS has focused mostly on bilingual places in the world, such as French and English in Canada where both are official languages. Very little research has been done on CS in countries where one of the languages is not an official language, as is the case with English in Norway. I wish to contribute to this field, as interest will most likely only increase in this topic over the upcoming years.

Due to the scope of this thesis it was necessary to narrow down the focus material, and therefore I decided to focus on only one form of Internet writing: blogging. Blogs differ from other forms of internet writing such as chatrooms or Facebook posts in that they are meant for an open audience, whereas chats are meant to be read only by the other people in the chat, and Facebook posts are meant for the people you are friends with on Facebook<sup>4</sup>. Once a blog post is published, it is out there for the world to read, and the intention is for people to read it. You never know who will access your blog at any given point in time, and that means the blogger has to write in a style that is suitable for a possibly large audience.

### 3.1.1 The Blogger: Caroline Berg Eriksen

When considering blogs for this research project, many aspects had to be taken into consideration. The choice fell on Eriksen; as mentioned in section 2.4 she is one of the most read bloggers in Norway at any given time. Her blog was furthermore chosen because she updates regularly, mostly daily, sometimes more than once a day. This is an advantage as it gives more data in a shorter time period—my data was collected over four months, from November 2016 to February 2017, and in that time period Eriksen posted a total of 200 blog entries, between 49 and 53 per month. If I were to collect 200 entries of data from a blogger that only updates once or twice a week, the entries would span over a longer time period, and time itself might be a factor affecting the language the blogger uses when writing—this is further discussed in section 3.2. A shorter time period means the blogger does not change and grow so much as a person, so their language use might be more consistent. From another point

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<sup>4</sup> Here, I am talking about the average person with a Facebook profile, not celebrities or “pages” with lots of followers.

of view, if I were to collect data over four months from someone who updates once or twice a week, there would be much less material and by extension possibly fewer instances of CS. It was important to choose a blog that is updated frequently in order to obtain a substantial amount of CS-ed material.

In addition to frequent updates, Eriksen also blogs about a variety of topics, including fashion and beauty, food, exercise, home and interior, and daily life. This means that her language is varied, more so than someone blogging only about fitness or only about motherhood, for instance. For me, this was important because I wanted to make sure I got a large variety of CS-ed words—my intuition was that a one-sided blogger would have a few CS-ed words repeatedly, whereas a blogger that writes about multiple topics would have a larger number of different CS-ed words for me to work with.

Lastly, Eriksen’s blog was chosen because after quickly skimming a few entries by the most read bloggers in Norway, her blog is the one in which CS is most attested and visually salient. It is present in her headlines, sub-headlines, in the written texts, in picture captions, and on edited pictures where she has put writing into the picture.

Another interesting point about Eriksen’s blog is that she reads all comments left by readers before allowing them to be posted, and she can frequently be observed replying to comments. CS can be found in her replies, and multiple people have asked questions about her use of English on her blog, which she has replied to as well. She also replied to questions about her use of English in January 2017 when I asked her, which will be discussed in 4.2.2. While Eriksen replying to comments is not a reason for choosing her blog, it does say something about her language, and her comments provides insight into her use of English which is useful for answering research question number 2 about possible motivations for CS.

Eriksen started blogging in May 2009, and her blog became the most visited blog in Norway early in 2010. Her blog has stayed among the top-most visited bloggers since then, with over 400,000 individual readers, according to her *Ocast* page<sup>5</sup> in February 2017. Eriksen can therefore be considered an established blogger, who takes her blogging seriously, as running her blog is her job. Eriksen’s target group is mostly women aged 18-30, who are among the people in Norway who started learning English at a young age and who have had English influence around them for a long time, and can therefore also be considered highly likely to

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<sup>5</sup> A place where publishers, media groups, and influencers can create media kits in order to share information with media buyers. Retrieved from <http://ocast.com/nb-mx/influencer/caroline-berg-eriksen-314/stats>

utilize CS. This is not to say that women are more likely to CS than men, but that people in this age group started learning English early and that they are more likely to CS than older generations. The fact that Eriksen's target group are women does not have anything to do with the language aspect here, nor is that important for this thesis. The data collected from Eriksen's blog will be discussed further in section 3.4.

### 3.1.2 The Respondents to the Circulated Question about English Words

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, in addition to Eriksen's blog, I chose to circulate a question about CS utilization among my Facebook friends to investigate CS utilization. The majority of my Facebook friends are student my age, as well as some family members. The question, which was posted along with the answer options on the website Survey Monkey ([www.surveymonkey.com](http://www.surveymonkey.com)), was then shared by some the participants on Facebook, so that their friends and family could see it. Based on age and lists of friends, it is reasonable to assume that the respondents' ages varied from around 20 to around 60. However, it is impossible to be certain as there is no way to filter the results due to anonymity.

This assumed age group is different from Eriksen's target group of 18-30. This might be significant, but it also might not be, for the following reason: Survey Monkey only allows free trial users to collect 100 responses. Out of the first 100 responses, five people skipped the question without answering it, leaving me with 95 answers. By the time I was notified of this limit by Survey Monkey, 180 people had answered the question, in two days. Due to the sharing feature on Facebook, it is reasonable to assume that the first people to answer were the people on my friend list, which are mainly students in their 20s. The question was shared by my parents several hours later, meaning that their answers and their friends' answers were submitted later, closer to the limit of 100 responses. Based on this, it is reasonable to assume that although there were definitely a few respondents over the age of Eriksen's target audience, the majority of the 100 responses I was able to collect were from people in their 20s, some in their 30s, and a very small number of people in their late 40s and 50s (based on the age of the friends of my parents who shared the question on Facebook).



### 3.2 Corpus from Eriksen's Blog

In order to answer research question 1, data was collected from Eriksen's blog over a four-month period, between the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 2016 and the 28<sup>th</sup> of February 2017, as previously mentioned in section 3.1. This was done in the form of screenshots being captured and saved as picture files of CS-ed elements on her blog. Screenshots allow me to review the entries later without scrolling through several months' worth of blog entries, and also ensures that the data is saved in case Eriksen deletes or changes her entries. It was decided to include entries over four consecutive months in order to show that Eriksen code-switches regularly and frequently, and furthermore to ensure that a large variety of different topics were blogged about. Eriksen's switches are discussed in chapter 4.1, and a complete list of Eriksen's switches can be found in Appendix I.

Furthermore, screenshots were captured of Eriksen's comment section where it was found that readers had been discussing Eriksen's language use, or Eriksen herself had made statements regarding her use of English. These comments were found through google searches using Eriksen's full name and keywords such as "why" and "English", and have been used in order to answer research question 2. These have been discussed in section 4.2.2, and the screenshots can be viewed in Appendix II.

### 3.3 Question about CS utilization

In order to answer research question 2, about possible motivations for CS, I decided to ask people what their motivations or reasons for utilizing English are, specifically why they choose to use English when there are Norwegian words they could use instead. Although people's motivations might vary, the hope was that this would enable me to say something more general about motivations behind Norwegian-English CS among Norwegians. Conducting a mini survey of sorts would give me current answers among Norwegians who use English words, as opposed to reviewing studies conducted under different circumstances, in different parts of the world, using different age groups, and with different research questions, many from several years ago. This is not to say that these studies do not provide useful information or relevant material for this thesis, merely that I wanted to see what my peers, who are within Eriksen's target group's age, many around Eriksen's age themselves, have to say about their own language use.

When the question was shared, it was specified that there was only *one* question, which I believe contributed to the large amount of responses to the question. The title, question and the multiple choices were all written in Norwegian. It was not specified that only Norwegian speakers should answer the question, but it is reasonable to assume that anyone who does not speak Norwegian did not take it for this reason. However, the five that skipped the question might have done so due to the fact that everything on the page was in a language they could not understand. It should be noted that their presence does not alter the results, which I have presented and discussed in chapter 4.

Translated by me, the title of the question was: *Why do we use English when we speak and write Norwegian?* And the question asked was: *Why do you use English words, when there are Norwegian words you could use instead?* It was not specified that there are some words we use that do not have a good Norwegian translation, such as “science fiction”, “design”, and “stalker”, but the question implied that it was about words for which there is a good Norwegian word, as is the case for the following examples taken from Eriksen’s blog: “makeup” (sminke) (Eriksen, 2017b), “sneakers” (joggesko) (Eriksen, 2017d), and “yummy” (nam) (Eriksen, 2017c). 11 choices were provided, and it was possible to choose more than one. The alternatives are listed and the responses discussed in 4.2.3.

It should be noted that while the first alternative above says “speak/write” the others just say “speak”. While this thesis focuses on written CS rather than spoken utterances, there are genres of writing that are closer to spoken language than others, as noted by Sebba (2013) and Crystal (2006). Instant messaging and tweets are arguably much closer to spoken language than the written language one finds in novels and newspapers, while blogging falls somewhere in the middle of the scale. As mentioned in 3.2, Eriksen says she uses a lot of English words on her blog because that is how she usually speaks, and therefore using the word “speak” instead of “write” in the alternatives above was a choice made to not confuse the participants into thinking the question was about more formal genres, as this thesis is about a genre that falls on the middle of the spectrum and leans towards more spoken varieties of written genres.

### 3.4 Methodological and Analytical Problems and Limitations

There is no such thing as a perfect method or a perfect way of analyzing data. As all methods go, this one also has flaws. Firstly, as blog entries were being read and screenshots were being captured when switches were found, it is entirely possible that some switches were missed. It

is possible that some instances of CS were not captured because the data collecting was done by a human and not by a machine, and therefore some might simply not have been seen or viewed as instances of CS in that moment.

Then there is the issue of categorizing Eriksen's switches. I have, to the best of my abilities, tried to separate complete sentences from sentences containing mixed language—some of Eriksen's switches were originally categorized as complete sentences because they were items that stood by themselves, such as a headline, but were later revised to be mixed language sentences because they could not work as a sentence by itself in written text. Here too, human errors can have occurred.

The use of the two dictionaries, Bokmålsordboka and Norsk ordbok, was mentioned above. As already stated, they cannot be completely relied on to identify whether a word is an item of CS or an integrated loanword, but they do give a general idea and a starting point for discussion regarding the status of the switch.

The question that was circulated, was done so using the social networking platform Facebook. As SurveyMonkey, where the question and alternatives were created, is anonymous, there is no way of knowing things such as the participants' age. However, based on how the sharing function of Facebook works, it can reasonably be assumed that the majority of participants were within the age of Eriksen's target group of 18-35, while a few might be older based on the question being shared by my parents to people in their 50s. However, this question was circulated with the purpose of investigating people's opinions on their use of English words and phrases, and the results the question yielded provided information that were useful to the discussion regarding motivations for use of English, regardless of the age of the participants. There was also an alternative provided that they do not use English, as well as the option of leaving without answering, which a few people used as well.

There are also logistical restraints of doing a master's thesis. More time, money, and resources would have allowed me for example to investigate multiple bloggers, or language use across various platforms, and conducted a larger and more in-depth study of people's opinions regarding their language use, for example. This could have given me a richer and more illustrated corpus, which might have yielded different results than this study does. This study can only say something about how Eriksen uses language on her blog, and not how she uses language in general, how other people use language on their blogs, or in general.



## 4.0 Results and Discussion

The purpose of this study was to investigate what kind of Norwegian-English code-switching can be found on the blog written by the Norwegian blogger Caroline Berg Eriksen as well as possible motivations for this CS, as stated in the previous chapters. This chapter presents the results of four months of data collection, and discusses them in relation to the material presented in the literature review in chapter 2. Before we begin, it is useful to revisit the research questions for this thesis, which are:

1. What kind of Norwegian-English code-switching can be found on the blog written by Caroline Berg Eriksen?
2. What might the motivation behind this code-switching be?

The first part of this chapter will present the data collected from Eriksen's blog and discuss the data up against the literature review, in an attempt to answer research question 1. The second part of this chapter focuses on research question 2, and will use literature from chapter 2 as well as the question circulated online to attempt to answer what possible motivations behind Eriksen's CS might be, and also include what Eriksen herself has said about her use of English. Research question 2 will also be touched upon in the first part of this chapter, as some of the switches have been discussed regarding Eriksen's motivation behind that particular switch.

### 4.1 Code-Switching on Eriksen's Blog

From November 2016 through February 2017, Eriksen published 200 blog entries on her blog. From these, 195 screenshots of CS were captured, showing 212 instances of CS. That is more than one English word per blog post. However, some entries did not contain any CS at all, while others contained more than one instance of CS. This shows that Eriksen utilizes CS regularly and frequently, and also that there are some topics where using English comes more naturally to her than others. This section deals with the different types of CS that can be found on Eriksen's blog, where CS occurs, and a discussion on topics Eriksen blogged about over the four-month period and the relationship between topics and CS.

### 4.1.1 Types of CS on Eriksen's Blog

Many different types of switches were found on Eriksen's blog, as can be seen from Table 1 below. The largest category was single and compound words. Second largest was the category of complete sentences written in English. In third comes what will henceforth be referred to as mixed language sentences, which means sentences that are partly in Norwegian and partly in English, where the English part constitutes a larger unit than a single or compound word. The fourth largest category are words that are adapted borrowings of Norwegian and English—in most cases these are English words with Norwegian endings or inflections, but there are also some compound words consisting of one English and one Norwegian word. Next are quotes, song lyrics, and titles of books and movies that do have Norwegian translations—these have been grouped together due to their similarity. Expressions, idioms, and sayings comes in sixth, and lastly are instances of onomatopoeia, of which there was only one. It should be noted that some of the instances of CS on Eriksen's blog were not so easy to categorize; for example, a quote can be a complete sentence or a sentence fragment, and there were switches that appeared to be quotes but were not credited and also not easy to find through Internet searches, therefore one cannot be certain whether it was a quote.

Single and Compound Words	Complete English Sentences	Mixed Language Sentences	Adapted borrowings	Quotes, Lyrics, Titles	Expressions, Idioms, Sayings	Onomatopoeia
85	37	79	32	26	17	1

*Table 1: Types of CS on Eriksen's Blog*

Table 1 shows that many kinds of CS can be found on Eriksen's blog: single words, compound words, complete and mixed language sentences, adapted borrowings, quotes, idioms, and onomatopoeia. It should be noted that some switches have been placed in more than one category, hence the total number of switches in Table 1 is larger than the total number of switches counted on Eriksen's blog. Nevertheless, Table 1 gives a rough sense of the CS found on the blog and in what proportion.

#### 4.1.1.1 Single and Compound Words

85 of Eriksen's switches are single and compound words, as seen in Table 2 above, which makes this the largest category of switch types. Single and compound word switches are found in headlines, pictures, picture captions, and in written text. The only place single or compound word switches are not found is in sub-headlines, which are discussed in 4.1.2.2. As several of Eriksen's switches occur more than once, there were 55 individual switched words. Many of these words are related to specific topics, such as fashion, beauty, and exercise, which will be discussed in more detail in section 4.1.3. There are some words that can only be seen as names of pieces of clothing, such as *jeans*, *bomberjacket*, *sneakers*, and *chocker*, while other words describe these items as *fluffy*, *oversized*, *baggy*, and *comfy*. There are other adjectives as well—a musician is being described as *amazing*, a video challenge as *funny*, and a set of pajamas as *awesome*. Some words are exclamations, such as *what?!*, *finally*, and *holy!*

Eriksen uses the words *on* and *off* in a paragraph talking about not using the internet, or being *offline* versus being online. In this context, it is most natural to see “on” and “off” as abbreviations for “online” and “offline”, which literal translations are “direktekoplet” (directly connected) and “frakoplet” (disconnected). These words do not carry the same meaning in Norwegian as they do in English. They refer to for example a computer being online or offline, but cannot be used to describe a person being online with the meaning that they are spending time on the internet. The words can be seen as, to some extent, integrated loanwords in Norwegian. The words exist in dictionaries, but the semantics is different from how Eriksen uses these words. However, Eriksen is not alone in using the words in this way, as people can frequently be observed to use them how Eriksen does. Therefore, the words themselves must be seen as integrated loanwords, while the definition of the words may vary depending on who uses it and the context the word is being used in.

Several scholars, among them Garnder-Chloros and Myers-Scotton, believe that CS and integrated loanwords are on opposite ends of a sliding scale, and that a word may start out as a switch and end up integrating well into the matrix language, as stated in chapter 2. Among the well-integrated words on Eriksen's blog are the above-mentioned examples *jeans*, *action*, and *offline*. Many young people use expression words such as “what?!” and “awesome” in the way Eriksen has done on her blog as well, so while these words cannot yet be found in a Norwegian dictionary, they might be on their way to integration. The same is true for *take away/take out* (food that is ordered and then taken out of the restaurant to be eaten somewhere else); it is difficult to find Norwegian translations for these words that carry the same meaning, and

therefore people have resorted to cultural borrowings in order to compensate for the lack of an appropriate Norwegian word. Another similar example is *babyshower*. Although the word “gavedryss” (literally: present-sprinkle) might be used, that word can be used in other contexts as well, such as “bridal shower”, making it less specific than the English word *babyshower*. However, these words are not marked in any way on Eriksen’s blog, they are just written as if the words were Norwegian like the rest of the sentence they are in. The only word Eriksen has marked as a foreign word is “*stalker*” which is put in quotation marks, and she wrote *so-called* before it. This could suggest that Eriksen judges this word to be more foreign, closer to the CS end of the scale than the end of integrated loanwords, while she considers the rest of her English words to belong more naturally in her Norwegian sentences.

#### 4.1.1.2 Complete English Sentences

37 of Eriksen’s switches proved to be complete English sentences. 11 of these were headlines, four were sub-headlines, 15 were found on pictures, three were in picture captions, and four appeared in written text. A switch has been identified as a complete sentence when it can stand alone in written text. Many of Eriksen’s headlines are completely in English, but that does not automatically mean that they are complete sentences—sometimes, the headline is just a clause or a part of a sentence that needs more text around it to work anywhere else, as will be seen in section 4.1.1.3. This section deals with the sentences that can stand on their own.

In written text, there were three exclamations and one statement. The exclamations were: *Don’t miss it!*, *I love it!*, and *Tell me!*. The declarative sentence was *Story of my life*. The declarative sentence can also be categorized as a quote or lyric, as there are multiple songs with this phrase as the title, or it can be categorized as a saying or expression, as it is often used to convey the meaning that “these kinds of things always happen to me”, usually indicating something negative. Idioms and expressions are discussed further in 4.1.1.6. The exclamation sentences are short and encouraging, they resemble something one might see in an advertisement. They are, in other words, not very complex sentences, and do not require a lot of knowledge of the language to be understood. Rampton (1998) stated that CS is traditionally seen as an integrated part of the communicative flow, and that studying CS in relation to a second language contradicts this, in other words that CS need not be integrated into the communicative flow. Gardner-Chloros (2009a) furthermore stated that CS is possible at any level for proficiency. It is hard to tell what level of proficiency in English Eriksen is at by the material looked at so



far—it is possible that she is rather fluent, but it is also possible that she is not. However, Eriksen’s level of fluency is not the focus of this thesis—her use of English is. It is evident that she does use some complete sentences, but in written text they are few and far between, and resemble fixed expressions more than free switches.

Of the complete sentences found on pictures, there are three possible quotes (quotes, lyrics, and titles are discussed further in 4.1.1.5). Two of them appear on collages with images from the movie *Eat, Pray, Love*, about which Eriksen wrote a blog post recommending it to her readers. The quotes are not cited, she has not explicitly written that they are from the movie, but this combination of pictures from the movie and the words make it highly probable that these sentences are in fact quotes. The last sentence that might be a quote is a sentence written in italics on a white background alongside a picture, see Appendix I, item 187. The sentence is: *reading gives us some place to go when we have to stay where we are*, and the picture is found in an entry advertising the audio book app Storytel. However, google searches only lead to pages listing it as a quote by Mason Cooley, and no results leading to the source of the quote. This sentence is believed to be a quote because it is located on a picture, not in running text, and because Eriksen has not made any such switches herself—her complete sentences are all shorter than this one.

More exclamations, such as *OMG! We did it!* and *It’s a girl!* are also found on pictures. There is one instance of a repeat of the headline which is also found in one picture: *my little hair story the last 2-3 years* (the headline read *2014-2016: my little hair story*), and in another instance the Norwegian headline has been translated into English and put on another picture. Of the three picture captions, two are exclamations consisting of three words, while one is a longer sentence: *whipped cream shaped like a gingerbread cookie*, which describes what is seen in the picture it belongs to. This last sentence is the longest sentence Eriksen writes in English that does not appear to be a quote. However, while the shorter sentences and the presumed quote above are perfectly fine, something seems less acceptable about this sentence—native speakers consulted agree. Eriksen is talking about a cookie man shape, often associated with gingerbread cookies, but a cookie can have any shapes and there are many other shapes that are normal for gingerbread cookies as well. This could indicate one of two things: either that cooking is not a domain where English has a large presence in Eriksen’s life (more on this in section 4.1.3.5), or that Eriksen can write perfectly acceptable short sentences in English, but she struggles writing longer sentences herself. In other words, it has to do with her level of proficiency.

Two of the 11 headlines that are complete sentences can be considered quotes/lyrics and titles: *it's the most wonderful time of the year* is from a well-known Christmas carol, and *she said yes to the dress* is based on the TLC TV-show “Say Yes to the Dress”, which is discussed more in section 4.1.2.1. For the most part, the complete sentences in English in headlines seem to be topic related, mainly fashion, which is discussed in 4.1.3.1. One headline, *always keep track of time*, is clearly an advertisement for a wrist watch, which Eriksen presents as the perfect gift for someone who has everything. According to Johansson and Graedler (2005), advertisement is an area that is largely affected by CS, and it is easy to incorporate English into advertising because advertisements can consist of isolated words and phrases. In this case, however, a complete sentence is used—although it is isolated from the main bulk of text in the way that it appears in the headline of the blog entry. It can be argued that a lot of Eriksen’s headlines work in the same way, as headlines need to draw the reader’s attention and sell the content of the blog entry, so to speak, in very few words.

#### 4.1.1.3 Mixed Language Use & Sentence Fragments

The second largest types of switches on Eriksen’s blog are what have here been called mixed language sentences, in other words switches that are larger than a compound word, but smaller than a complete sentence. 79 instances of sentences containing mixed language use were found over the course of four months, both inter-sentential and intra-sentential. They are found in headlines, such as *christmas [sic] gift wrapping* and *that morning moment*. In headlines, we can find instances of CS that have been classed as mixed language use despite standing alone and not as a part of a Norwegian sentence. They cannot be classified as complete sentences in English, because they are sentence fragments. So even though they are stand-alone items, they have been called mixed language sentences because they cannot work on their own in any other place than a headline.

Mixed language sentences in English are also found in written text. In written text, a switch has been identified as mixed language use when it is found inside or as a part of a sentence otherwise written in Norwegian, which made them easier to identify than the ones found in headlines. Examples of mixed sentences are: *Jeg får bare strut my stuff mens jeg ennå kan* (I will just have to strut my stuff while I still can) and *Vil du ha is på pinne the healthy and easy way?* (do you want ice cream (on a stick) the healthy and easy way). These are clearly not instances of integrated lexical borrowing, because they are units that are larger than a lexical item. This

suggests that Eriksen is motivated by something to perform this switch. It could for example be the effect that the words have when put together in English. “Strut my stuff” refers to showing off her breast area that is a result of her recent pregnancy, but it is hard to make the same implication in Norwegian without explicitly saying “show off” and “breasts”.

We can also find sentences with mixed language use in English on the pictures on Eriksen’s blog. Here, they work in much the same way as the headlines, as they are not a part of a Norwegian sentence but cannot be said to be complete sentences either. They work alongside the pictures, and in many cases, there is a clause with an arrow pointing to a piece of clothing for instance, as many of these switches are found on collages of clothes, and they say things as *perfect for fall*, *bling bling bomber*, and *pretty pretty velvet set*. *Weekly update* and *current craving* are other such examples, appearing alongside pictures from Eriksen’s pregnancy in 2016—she had had the baby by the time data collecting from her blog started, but she included several of these pictures in a blog post reviewing the year. Some mixed language sentences were also found in picture captions, such as *my favorites from the collection*, where the picture has the function of filling out the rest of the sentence. Many of these seem to be topic related, or have a function of summing up the entry using a few words and pictures.

#### 4.1.1.4 Adapted Borrowings

As previously mentioned, it is often the case in multilingual societies that the languages are not held separate but rather get mixed together. Machan (2014) called these ‘fusions’ and used the kitchenware store *Kitch’n* as an example, as well as “please help yourself – gratis bøker”. In this thesis, the latter has been categorized as mixed language sentences, as we have just seen, while the term ‘adapted borrowings’ has been used for the word level of switches where languages are mixed. Eriksen has a lot of these, where an English word has received Norwegian inflection, or a compound word consists of one part English and one part Norwegian, not necessarily in that order.

One example is the word *photoshoot*, which is only spelled in English once, but spelled *fotoshoot* several other times, which is a mix of the Norwegian word “foto” (photo) and the English “shoot”. At least once, Eriksen also refers to the photoshoot as *shooten*, a fusion of the English “shoot” and the singular definite article “-en” in Norwegian, equivalent to English “the”, and once she writes *fotoshooten*, starting and ending the word in Norwegian with the English word in the middle. Here, Eriksen has adapted the borrowing to fit Norwegian

morphology, which she has done many other times as well. Another example of this is the word “fresh”, which can be seen written as *freshe* (plural inflection), *fresht* (3<sup>rd</sup> person singular neutral), and *freshere* (comparative adjective, “something is fresher than something else”). “To join” has received present tense inflection by adding -e: *joine*. The same has happened to the verb form of “nail”, as in to do something perfectly, by adding an -r: *nailer*. “Scrolled” and “kicked” have been written with the Norwegian past tense marker -t: *scrollet* and *kicket*.

Some of Eriksen’s adapted borrowings are compound words with hyphens, such as *12 days-oppsettet* (the 12 days-setup), *to do-listen* (the to do-list), *kaffelatte-ish* (coffee latte-ish) and *merry go round-karusell* (merry go round-carousel). In *12 days-oppsettet*, Eriksen is talking about a workout program that works in the same way as the Christmas carol “12 Days of Christmas”, which is further discussed in 4.1.2.1. Although it is possible to translate this, as the song title does not contain any words that Norwegian does not have an equivalent of, Eriksen has already talked about this workout program calling it “the 12 days of Christmas workout”. Translating it at this point might confuse the reader as the phrase in the way it is written already refers to something previously talked about.

*To do-liste* can be translated into Norwegian by using either “huskeliste” (remember-list) or “gjøremålsliste” (task-list), where the latter is closer to “to do-list” than the former, which is a wider concept. However, research has shown that where options are available in more than one language, bilinguals often choose the language that is faster or easier to say (Gardner-Chloros, 2009a), and “to do” is undeniably faster than “gjøremål” and marginally so than “huske” as it has the same amount of syllables but is one letter shorter. In addition, “to” and “do” are a minimal pair where only one sound separates them, in this case the unvoiced “t” from the voiced “d”, which makes them rhyme which furthermore eases pronunciation.

The hyphening of *merry go round* and *karusell* is interesting, as a merry go round is a type of carousel. In this adapted borrowing, it is possible that Eriksen sees the word *karusell* as a wider concept containing many different kinds, as Bokmålsordboka defines it as an installment with seats that turns around (fast), and that *merry go round* specifies the kind of carousel she wants the reader to picture—where the seats are horses that move up and down. This interpretation is supported by a picture of a merry go round as well.

*Kaffelatte-ish* is an interesting adapted borrowing. The context here is that Eriksen is talking about a specific shade of grey paint, and she does not want it to turn the color of a latte (coffee with milk) when the sun hits the wall. Nilssen (2016) investigated the use of -ish in Norwegian

and found that it has more uses than originally thought. It can mean “approximately”, “something like/similar to” and “in a way”, to mention a few. Nilssen draws parallels to the Norwegian suffix “-aktig” which is used to compare something to something else. This is exactly the way Eriksen uses *-ish* in this adapted borrowing; she is comparing the color she does not want to the color of a specific type of coffee. It is also possible that she chooses *-ish* over *-aktig* because it has fewer syllables when pronounced and fewer letters when written, making it faster. However, as shall also be seen in chapter 4.2, Norwegians frequently use “-ish” to convey the meaning of “approximately”, and therefore it seems like the word is on its way to integration into the language. This is one of the cases where Bokmålsordboka and Norsk ordbok are not reliable, because this word that has been observed to be used frequently across the country has not yet found their way into either of these dictionaries.

#### 4.1.1.5 Quotes, Lyrics, Titles

Eriksen uses English a total of 26 times when she is either quoting something or writing about a book or a movie, or uses the titles of songs and lyrics either as headlines or refers to it or plays off it in written text. Gumperz (1982) wrote that, among other things, CS is used to mark quotation, which can be seen throughout Eriksen’s blog. She quotes songs, as in the headline *driving home for christmas* [sic] and *Let it go*, and she quotes movie titles such as *Eat, pray, love* [sic] and *home alone*. She appears to quote movies for example when she has written *I think I deserve something beautiful* in one of four images in a collage where the remaining three are of Julia Roberts in *Eat, Pray, Love*. In one post, she quotes the patches she ironed onto her clothes which was the topic of that blog post: *I’m a unicat!* and *boss lady – that’s me!*

Some of these items could have been written in Norwegian. *Eat, Pray, Love* is a movie based on a book which has a Norwegian translation and title: “Spis, elsk, lev”. What is interesting is that Eriksen actually uses this Norwegian title once in her written text, but uses the English title in all other cases except this one, including other places in written text. There seems to be no specific triggers for this, and no logical explanation for why she has done it. In fact, as Eriksen writes the original title in English first, the Norwegian title seems out of place in the entry. Furthermore, the song *Let it go* is from the Disney movie *Frozen* has been dubbed into Norwegian with the title “Frost” and the song has been recorded in Norwegian with the title “La det gå”. The logical explanation for Eriksen’s choice here is that she was not in fact playing

the Norwegian version of the song, she was playing the English original, in which case it makes sense to use the original title of it.

#### 4.1.1.6 Expressions, Idioms, Sayings

Idioms are units of words larger than single words, but that convey meaning in the way that single words do, because the meaning of the idiom is different from the meaning of the individual words it consists of. Idioms furthermore cannot be altered, they are in a way frozen in word order. Expressions and sayings are similar, in that they are a group of words that belong together in that order and as a unit they convey a meaning of some sort. Eriksen has a few of these on her blog: her husband has eggs, bacon *and all that jazz* for breakfast—meaning that he has a full English with eggs and bacon and other things that go with it; the phrase has nothing to do with jazz music. The phrase *story of my life* is not an actual story about her life, but refers to a negative incident of a kind that happens to her a lot—in this case that she was looking for something for a really long time only to find it hiding in plain sight. A party was *over the top* simply because she could do it that way; of course, this does not refer to a literal top, but rather that it was excessive or exaggerated because she had the opportunity to make it so. Jackendoff (2002) wrote that idioms are stored in long term memory, from how meaning is constructed, and because of this it would be difficult to translate idioms, because the group of words would not carry the same meaning in another language as they do in the original language. Therefore, to preserve the meaning of “all that jazz” and “over the top” it seems necessary for Eriksen to write them in English, because “all den jazzen” and “over toppen” in Norwegian are just groups of words, not meaning-bearing units like they are in English.

Some of Eriksen’s switches which were discussed in 4.1.1.2 can also be considered expressions, namely *I love it!* and *Don’t miss it!* Although they are complete sentences, they are short and simple, and they resemble something that might appear in an advertisement. Understanding or even using such a phrase does not require much proficiency in the language, as they would not usually appear out of context either—there would be surrounding text or a picture to show what “it” refers to. “I love it” can be used in a variety of contexts, such as clothes, food, technology, and places, but it would have the same advertising effect in all of these, saying “I love X so you should check it out”. But it is not natural to exclaim “don’t miss it!” in very many contexts—you would say it about a special sale, as Eriksen does, but it would not be natural to say it about for example the train that is about to leave. This is significant because Eriksen’s blog resembles

a magazine, and she has stated before that running her blog is like running her very own magazine (Eriksen, 2017a), and magazines have advertisements that use statements such as “I love it” and “don’t miss it” in the same way Eriksen does on her blog.

#### 4.1.1.7 Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia are words that imitate sounds, such as “meow” imitates the sound a cat makes and “tic toc” imitates the sound of a clock. Eriksen uses one such word on her blog: *BAM!* This word can be found in the Oxford dictionaries, which describes it as a word used to either describe a loud sound or something happening abruptly<sup>6</sup>. The Norwegian Bokmålsordboka<sup>7</sup> has no entry for this word, and neither does Norsk ordbok<sup>8</sup>. However, a word might become integrated into a new language very quickly, so “bam” might still be an integrated lexical borrowing even though it cannot be found in the dictionaries, and it is also possible that lexicographers reject words like “bam” on puristic grounds, so this is another example of a case where the dictionaries cannot be completely relied on.

The context of this switch is that a chandelier did not work, so they took it down and attempted to fix it, and when they put it back up again, *BAM!* There was light. Here, “bam” fulfills a pragmatic function, which a Norwegian speaker might have picked up from English speaking TV or movies, to fill a function that no native word covers, which would make this another instance of cultural borrowing.

#### 4.1.2 Where does CS occur on Eriksen’s blog?

The material collected shows that Eriksen uses CS in multiple places on her blog. She uses CS in the headlines of her blog entries, in written text in, single lines working like headlines within the blog entry called sub-headlines in this thesis, in a few pictures where Eriksen has edited text into the pictures, and lines of text belonging to the pictures usually written underneath, called picture captions. Her CS has therefore been divided into the following five categories:

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<sup>6</sup> Oxford Dictionaries (2017). Bam. In *English Oxford Dictionaries*, Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/bam>

<sup>7</sup> Universitetet i Bergen & Språkrådet (2017). Bam. In *Bokmålsordboka..* [http://ordbok.uib.no/perl/ordbok.cgi?OPP=bam&ant\\_bokmaal=5&ant\\_nynorsk=5&begge=+&ordbok=begge](http://ordbok.uib.no/perl/ordbok.cgi?OPP=bam&ant_bokmaal=5&ant_nynorsk=5&begge=+&ordbok=begge)

<sup>8</sup> Universitetet i Oslo (n.d.). Bam. In *Norsk ordbok*. Retrieved from <http://no2014.uio.no/perl/ordbok/no2014.cgi?soek=bam>

headlines, sub-headlines, in-text, picture, and captions. The distribution of Eriksen’s CS within each category can be seen in Table 2 below.

	Headline	Sub-headline	In-text	Picture	Caption
November	12	1	35	5	-
December	18	-	30	8	6
January	11	1	24	1	-
February	15	2	40	2	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>7</b>

Table 2: Distribution of CS on Eriksen’s blog

To aid visualization of these numbers, Figure 1 below shows the total number of switches per category in percentage. Note that this is the percentage of the 212 switches collected; 212 switches equal 100%. This means that 58% of the 212 switches were found in written text, and not that 58% of written text was CS.

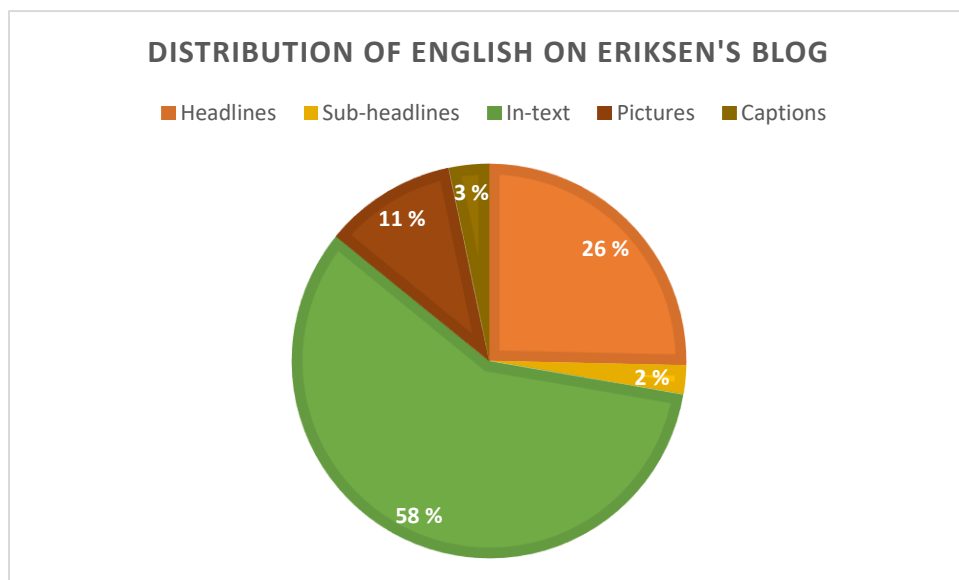


Figure 1: Distribution of CS on Eriksen's blog in percentage

From Table 2 and Figure 1, it is evident that more than half of Eriksen’s switches occur in one single category: in-text switches. The 129 instances of in-text switches account for 58% of the



total material. Headlines are the second largest category; with 56 switches, they account for 26% of the material. The remaining 16%, or 27 switches, are divided between three categories: sub-headlines, pictures, and captions. The complete list of CS on Eriksen's blog can be found in Appendix I.

#### 4.1.2.1 Headlines

Of the 56 headlines that contained English, 44 were written entirely in English. The remaining 12 were written in Norwegian but contained one or more word in English. Of the headlines written entirely in English, the shortest one contained only one word: *piñata* – which is originally a Spanish word, but has been integrated into the English language to the point where it is found in dictionaries<sup>9</sup>, which is not the case for the Norwegian language<sup>10 11</sup>. However, Norwegian does not have a good word for *piñata*, so it might be considered to belong more towards the loan word end of the scale rather than a switch, a cultural loan word from cultures where carnivals are more than a day for children to dress up, which is what is associated with the word in a Norwegian context.

Several other single words in English make appearances in otherwise Norwegian headlines. One example is the word *road trip*, also spelled *roadtrip*, which appears three times in four months. *Take away*, *house tour*, *finish*, and *prelaunch* are other such words. These might be cases of switches for convenience: a Norwegian translation of the word *prelaunch* could be “forhåndslansering” which is a much longer word with five syllables as opposed to two, and studies have shown that bilinguals choose words based on length, colorfulness, or what fits the situation best (e.g. Tay (1989)), which may be the case for all of the above mentioned words.

Then there are headlines containing smaller phrases, such as *pink coat* and *home alone*. From the content of the blog entry of *home alone* it becomes evident that this title refers to the movie with the title “Home Alone”, which Eriksen writes is one of her favorite Christmas movies. The entry of *pink coat* is about a jacket which is pink, but does not have the quote/title function of the similar *home alone*. The headlines *embrace life* and *sunday [sic] mood* are similar to that of

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<sup>9</sup> Oxford Dictionaries (2017). Piñata. In *Oxford English Dictionaries*. Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/pinata>

<sup>10</sup> Universitetet i Bergen & Språkrådet (2017). Piñata. In *Bokmålsordboka*. Retrieved from [http://ordbok.uib.no/perl/ordbok.cgi?OPP=pi%C3%B1ata&ant\\_bokmaal=5&ant\\_nynorsk=5&begge=&ordbok=begge](http://ordbok.uib.no/perl/ordbok.cgi?OPP=pi%C3%B1ata&ant_bokmaal=5&ant_nynorsk=5&begge=&ordbok=begge)

<sup>11</sup> Universitetet i Oslo (n.d.). Piñata. In *Norsk ordbok*. Retrieved from <http://no2014.uio.no/perl/ordbok/no2014.cgi?soek=pi%C3%B1ata>

*pink coat*; they have something to do with the content, but cannot be considered to be a quote or a lyric or a title of any kind. Their function seems to be to present the content of the entry with as few words as possible—which is of course the function of the headline. But there does not seem to be any specific triggers or motivations for these headlines to be in English in the same way that “home alone” does.

There are, however, other headlines that are quotes or titles, or play upon familiar phrases and lyrics. One example is *driving home for new years [sic] eve*, which is a spin on the Christmas song “driving home for Christmas”—which is also the title of another entry about a week earlier—and *its’ the most wonderful time of the year* which is a very famous line from another Christmas carol. The title *she said yes to the dress*, which is about a friend choosing her wedding gown, is very much a reference to the TV show “Say Yes to the Dress” in which brides to be try on wedding gowns until they find the right one, which they “say yes” to. Gumperz (1982) said that one of the functions of CS is to mark quotation (Bullock & Toribio, 2009b), which Eriksen does in these headlines. Her headlines give the reader associations, makes them think of Christmas and sets the mood by implying a Christmas carol, or gives an idea of what the blog entry is about. For example, many of her readers will have heard of the TV show “Say Yes to the Dress”, and while it is easy to translate the words, “hun sa ja til kjolen” does not carry the same meaning to the reader as the TV show’s title is not translated either, and therefore to write the title in English gives the reader an idea of what the entry is about before they even begin to read it.

A few headlines contain what can only be considered set phrases in English, such as idioms or metaphors. *(not) a walk in the park* is one such headline, *out and about* is another. Any reader familiar with English expressions knows that “a walk in the park” is a metaphor for something that is easy. By adding *(not)* in front of the metaphor, Eriksen is then implying that something she has written about in this entry was perhaps not as easy as originally thought. *Save the date* is another set phrase in English, usually associated with wedding invitations—Eriksen, however, uses the phrase when she talks about sending out invitations for her 30<sup>th</sup> birthday, which took place within the four-month period when data was collected. Eriksen also used the phrase *behind the scenes* twice—once on its own and once in the headline *video: behind the scenes*. Although it could be translated to “bak scenen” (‘behind the stage’, “scene” being an integrated loan word for “stage”), or “bak kulissene” (‘behind the backdrop’) the Norwegian phrases tend to be taken to have a more literal meaning, in a theater context. As Eriksen is talking about the remodeling of her house, the English phrase with a more figurative being of

something that is usually hidden from public view might fit better, and hence explain Eriksen's choice.

Eriksen uses a lot of 'adapted borrowings' in her blog entries as well. In headlines, these include *kick off for årets julegaverace* (kick off for the year's Christmas present race) and *mine 15 beste snacks-tips* (my 15 best snack tips). Machan (2014) wrote about how Norwegian-English is creative in how the languages are being used, and Eriksen is taking advantage of this by inserting English words as well as fusing English and Norwegian in some places where she sees fit. It can be discussed whether the word "snacks" is in fact a CS-ed word. In English, a snack is usually a small meal between meals<sup>12</sup>, and might be a yogurt or some fruit or nuts, something that can be eaten on the go or while waiting for a meal to be cooked. In Norwegian, *snacks*, always in plural, usually refers to potato chips, salted peanuts, or something else one might associate with a Saturday night in, and is often found in the same category as candy<sup>13</sup>. Eriksen writes *snacks* with the plural -s in the same way the Norwegian word is written, but her entry is about good and healthy food, more in line with the English definition of the word. Therefore, it is not so easy to judge whether this adapted borrowing is a CS-ed item or not, it largely depends on one's definition and interpretation of the word *snacks*.

As the majority of the headlines containing English are written entirely in English, however, it seems to be a theme with Eriksen to keep her headlines uniform. We know that she posted 200 blog entries in the four months data was collected from, 56 headlines contained English words, 44 were written entirely in English. That means that only 12 headlines in four months contained mixed language use, which could suggest that she prefers to use one language or another in her headlines, and that mixing is a rare occurrence she tries to avoid. This will be discussed further in 4.2.

#### 4.1.2.2 Sub-headlines

Eriksen only had four sub-headlines in English during the time when material was collected from her blog. The main function of these seem to be to break up the text and to restate the content from the headline of the blog entries. The sub-headline *top christmas [sic] music right now* was found in an entry about Eriksen's favorite Christmas music, as was the Norwegian

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<sup>12</sup> Oxford Dictionaries (2017). Snack. In *Oxford English Dictionaries*. Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/snack>

<sup>13</sup> Universitetet i Bergen & Språkrådet (2017). Snacks. In *Bokmålsordboka*. Retrieved from [http://ordbok.uib.no/perl/ordbok.cgi?OPP=snacks&ant\\_bokmaal=5&ant\\_nynorsk=5&begge=+&ordbok=begge](http://ordbok.uib.no/perl/ordbok.cgi?OPP=snacks&ant_bokmaal=5&ant_nynorsk=5&begge=+&ordbok=begge)

headline of the entry: “favoritt-julesanger” (favorite Christmas carols). *15 questions from 2016* is a direct translation of the Norwegian headline of the same entry—the headline is repeated in the entry but in English. *29 things to do before you turn 30* is found above a list in an entry where the title is “29 ting du bør gjøre før du er 30” (29 things you should do before you are 30).

The only sub-headline that is not a direct translation or variation of the headline of the blog entry is *let’s talk about yummy food*. The title of this entry is “mine 15 beste snacks-tips” (my 15 best snacks tips), so the sub-headline is within the topic, but not a close translation of the headline as was the case with the previous two and to some extent the first of the sub-headlines. This blog entry begins with a paragraph of text, before this sub-headline breaks up the entry. After, there is a series of pictures showing Eriksen’s snack choices with a line or two about each. So the sub-headline functions as a title of the picture series—much in the same way as *top christmas [sic] music right now* is a title above a list of songs, *15 questions from 2016* is a title above a list of questions and answers, and *29 things to do before you turn 30* is the title above the list of things and Eriksen’s statements on whether she has done them. All of the sub-headlines follow a paragraph of text, function as the headline of a list of some sort, and have a close relation to the headline of the blog entry. They also seem to emphasize or reiterate the topic for the blog entry, which is in line with one of the main reasons people choose CS, according to Gumperz (1982).

#### 4.1.2.3 In-text

In section 4.1.1 above, seven different types of CS were identified on Eriksen’s blog, and all seven categories can be found in written text. Most of the switches found in written text are single and compound words, with adapted borrowings being the second largest category, and sentences containing mixed language use comes in third. In written text is where the largest variety of switches are found, as this is the place where the majority of the switches collected took place (see Figure 1).

Many of the single and compound words are adjectives describing something that is otherwise written in Norwegian. These words are *amazing*, *fluffy*, *funny*, *awesome*, *stretchy*, *oversized*, *comfy*, *baggy*, and *yummy*. Some of these can easily be translated without losing meaning: *funny* is “morsom” and *comfy* is short for *comfortable* and can easily be “komfortabel”. Other words are not as easy to translate, such as *oversized*; as “overstor” is not a word in Norwegian, “stor”

would be the closest word, which translates back into English as “large” and therefore loses some of its original meaning. “For stor” is another possibility, but that translates back into English as “too large”, and implicates that the sweater is a size too large rather than a sweater that is made to be too large in the appropriate size, the latter being on purpose while the former is not. *Awesome* and *amazing* are descriptive words that are normal to use in English in Norway (cf. Johannessen (2014)). Adjectives such as “neat”, “cool”, “awesome”, “fantastic” and so on tend to go in and out of fashion, and while Norwegians do use “kult” (cool), “supert” (super), and “fantastisk” (fantastic), the English *awesome* and *amazing* are just as fashionable at the moment, which may explain Eriksen’s use of these words.

Out of all the CS collected from Eriksen’s blog, there is only one instance that is marked by quotation marks: “*stalker*”. The sentence is: *jeg fikk besøk av en såkalt “stalker”* (I had a visit from a so-called “stalker”). Oxford dictionaries defines the word as “a person who harasses or persecutes someone with unwanted and obsessive attention”<sup>14</sup>. The Norwegian word “forfølger” means a person who follows someone else. It carries negative connotations, and is the closest possible translation of “stalker”. That Eriksen has chosen to use an English word here does not differ from her choice to use English words in any other context, but it is interesting why this is the only instance of CS, out of more than 200 in four months, that she has chosen to mark as a word that does not fit in, while all other English words and phrases are written as if there was no change of language at all. This word is marked with quotation marks as well as the word “so-called” before it, suggesting that this is not a word that belongs, but that there is no other word to describe this person that showed up at her house. This again suggests that the Norwegian word *forfølger*, which can either be a verb in present tense or a singular noun, might not carry the same meaning as the English word *stalker*. Another possibility here is that the word “forfølger” feels more old-fashioned, more restricted, possibly to someone following you around on the street or in town, while “stalker” in English has a broader definition, including someone stalking you online, finding out your address, and coming to your house.

There are three instances of single words in English where the use of the words in the Norwegian context is different from the use of the words in English. When Eriksen says the shoe store Bianco told her to go ahead and design a pair of shoes for them, she says she was so happy when *jeg fikk go fra Bianco* (I got go from Bianco). Correct phrasing in English might

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<sup>14</sup> Oxford Dictionaries (2017). Stalker. In *Oxford English Dictionaries*. Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/stalker>

be something like “when I got the go ahead from Bianco”, but to say that someone gave you *go* meaning that they gave you permission or told you to go ahead is quite common in Norwegian. Another example of this is when Eriksen talks about finishing some boxes for Christmas presents: *disse eskene trenger en siste touch før de er helt klare* (these boxes need a last touch before they are completely ready). In English one might say that the boxes need some finishing touches, but “en siste touch” is another phrase that is not uncommon to hear in Norwegian, especially among people who often use English words in their everyday language. Lastly, Eriksen talks about an item that *er et must – flaskebaby eller ei* (is a must – bottle-baby or not). In this case, Eriksen’s phrasing works in English as well – it means that something is a must-have, but often the “have” is left out and one often say that something simply is a “must”. From the way Eriksen uses the words seen in this paragraph, however, it appears that while in English you can leave out the “have” in “must have”, in Norwegian you can leave out half of an English phrase more often than what is possible in English, because the English word has been adapted.

Two of Eriksen’s switches at word level are expressions: *What?!* and *holy!*. *What?!* is found by itself in-between two Norwegian sentences, while *holy!* is found at the end of a Norwegian sentence. Both words have Norwegian translations, but they carry different connotations and areas of usage in English than they do in Norwegian. When Eriksen writes *What?!* it is in the context of “I don’t believe it!” or “can you believe it?” – she is talking about how she had the hair at the back of her neck shaved off the previous year. The Norwegian “hva” is used in the same way as “what” at the beginning of a “WH-question”, or to ask “what (did you say)” —the latter is also the case for the more informal “hæ”. The Norwegian translation of “holy” is “hellig” but it is only used to describe something as holy, and not as an expression in the way Eriksen has used it, after saying they have over nine pieces of chocolate from their advent calendar to eat that evening due to traveling. Saying *holy shit* in English is not uncommon for Norwegians, as many Norwegians use English swear words, but in the four months when material was being collected, Eriksen did not swear once on her blog. This was the closest she came to it, and she only used the first half of the expression followed by an exclamation point.

Eriksen has a much larger use of mixed language sentences in written text than anywhere else on her blog. As with the complete sentences, most of these mixed sentences are short, and many are fixed expressions or quote-like, not free switches. Such fixed expressions include *the ugly Christmas sweater*, *I know—*, *go to*, *over the top*, *on the go*, *all right*, *once in a lifetime*, *for the win*, and *and she said YES to the dress*. Several of these were discussed in section 4.1.1.6 about expressions and idioms. The last switch in this list is the most complex, as it is the last half of

a compound sentence. However, as was discussed in section 4.1.1.5 about quotes, “Say yes to the dress” is the title of a popular TV show and therefore most of this sentence is a quote. There is another part-sentence that is more complex than the above mentioned fixed expression-like clauses as well: *vil du ha is på pinne the healthy and easy way?* (do you want ice cream (on a stick) the healthy and easy way?). This is the longest free switch Eriksen has in written text, because all her other switches are either small clauses or words, or quotes as is the case with *and she said yes to the dress*—which is something that would not have been said if it was not for the TV show with that title and concept. There seems to be no trigger for this switch, so it is possible that this is a case of switching code “just because she can”, as previously mentioned by Bullock and Toribio (2009b).

#### 4.1.2.4 Pictures

Eriksen posts a lot of pictures on her blog. While the majority are photographs, there are also a few collages she has made, and it is in these collages that text and CS appears. In the material collected, there were 16 such picture collages. The first one consists of several pictures of Eriksen as well as a white square the same size where the writing *my little hair story the last 2-3 years* appears. This text corresponds with the headline of the entry, which was “2014-2016: my little hair story”. This is the only instance where this sort of repeated writing appears on pictures, and it seems to have the same sort of reiteration function as the sub-headlines do.

There are four pictures with English writing on them that have been identified as quotes. Two are collages consisting of three images from the movie *Eat, Pray, Love* and one square with writing on it: *I think I deserve something beautiful and you are, after all, what you think, your emotions are the slaves to your thoughts, and you are the slave to your emotions*. These collages are a part of a lengthy blog entry about the movie *Eat, Pray Love*, which Eriksen states is a movie she can watch again and again without getting tired of it, and recommends it for a Friday night in. The third one is a picture of a moon with stars and a heart with an arrow through it on each side of the word *LOVE* which appear underneath the sentence *Reading gives us some place to go when we have to stay where we are*. This sentence is attributed to Mason Cooley, and is widely circulated on the internet, but it has proven difficult to find the source of this quote. However, Eriksen uses this quote in an entry promoting an audio book app called Storytel, where she talks about how much she loves to read but there are never enough hours in the day, and this app allows her to listen to books wherever she is while also doing other things. It is

possible that she was looking for a quote that fit the content of the blog entry and her love for stories, and therefore chose this quote.

Four images can be considered to be life-related images, whereof one is about Eriksen's parachuting experience. This was one of the items on her list of *29 things to do before you turn 30*, and the picture is a collage with three images from the experience and one white square with the text *OMG! WE DID IT!* This is an exclamation much like the complete sentence switches "I love it!" and "don't miss it!" which can also be considered expressions, and they work in the same way—they are complete sentences, but they do not work without the text or image that they refer to.

The other three are related to Eriksen's pregnancy and are all collages as well. Two of them consist of a photograph of Eriksen on the left side and text on the right side. One of them reads: *in week 35 baby is as big as a... ..honeydew melon!* The other contains a weekly update where the top banner says *weekly update*, the next four lines say: *due date: 4th of september [sic]*, *pregnant in week 40, 39 weeks + 5 days*, and *5 days to go*. There is another banner at the bottom which says *it's a little girl!* The last of the pregnancy pictures is a collage showing a honeydew melon, a sonogram picture, and a bowl of yogurt with raspberries, and three lines of text with arrows pointing to the image the text corresponds to: *she is as big as this, our love, and current craving*. As these pictures were a part of Eriksen's 2016 Review blog entry, there was not a lot of context to be found for these pictures. However, the original entries containing these pictures contain more context. The picture with the weekly update was always between the headline and text in the pregnancy update entries. The other pictures, about cravings and the size of the baby, came further down in the entry after chunks of text, and all images contain the content of the blog entry in short form and in English. This makes it easy for readers to see the content of the entry without needing to read the text, as well as for potential international readers to see what is going on without needing to use translation software to read the blog entry, as the English texts on these pictures repeat in short what is written in the longer chunks of Norwegian text.

The remaining 5 pictures that include CS are collages of clothes with text sprinkled in-between. The words and phrases are mostly describing the items in the picture, such as *bling bling bomber, velvet chocker, and jumpsuits*. There are also phrases such as *let's party, take a hike, and favorite!* And there were two instances of signs, one saying *exclusive collection from gina tricot [sic]* and another *news from get inspired [sic]*. The latter is less obviously sign-like than the exclusive collection one as it is just a line of black text against the white background, while the exclusive collection text is in white on a black circle on the white background. While the



signs state explicitly where the clothes in the pictures are from, the remaining words are seemingly random descriptions of some of these items. What is interesting is that the picture collages do not contain any Norwegian at all, but are written entirely in English, with the possible exception of what is discussed in the next paragraph.

On two of the fashion pictures, there are units that are either in English or Norwegian, but it cannot be known for sure. These units are: *under 100*, *under 200*, and *under 300*. The number refers to the Norwegian currency kroner, but the word “under” can be interpreted to be either English or Norwegian, as the only difference is pronunciation. If these units are interpreted to be in Norwegian, that is the only Norwegian writing found on pictures with the exception of the *12 days of Christmas workout plan*, which was 50% Norwegian, 50% English (more on this in 4.1.3.3). If the units on the fashion pictures are interpreted to be in English, the workout picture is the only one of the pictures that mixes languages, as all the others are purely in English. This could possibly be topic related, which will be discussed in section 4.1.3.

#### 4.1.2.5 Captions

Despite posting many pictures on her blog, Eriksen did not have a lot of picture captions over the course of four months. Seven captions containing English were collected. There were six single words of which five were in one caption separated by “/”, three complete sentences, and three mixed language sentences. One of the mixed language switches can also be considered a quote. The caption goes: - *boss lady – that’s me!* -. As mentioned earlier, *boss lady* refers to an iron-on patch Eriksen put on one of her bomber jackets to give it a new look. These captions were easy to identify as captions, because they were closely related to the picture they belonged to; they said something about the picture. The same is true for the captions *my favorites from the collection*, where the accompanying picture showed several pieces of clothing, as well as *whipped cream shaped like a gingerbread cookie* where the caption restates what is shown in the picture above it, despite sounding somewhat weird by itself.

However, not all of the items that have been categorized as captions were this easy to identify. The sentence *let’s go PINK!* was seemingly randomly placed in-between two pictures in a series of pictures following a larger bulk of text about her oldest child’s birthday party. It has been categorized as a caption because it did not fit into any of the other categories, and also because the color pink was largely present in the pictures from the party. Similarly, *finally* is a single word written in-between two pictures Eriksen posted in an entry about a cross-country road trip,

and has been considered a caption as the pictures surrounding it show her on a couch, presumably having arrived at the destination after several hours of driving. This switch is furthermore the only caption consisting of only one word. The other captions are either complete sentences or sentences consisting of mixed language use, apart from a list of words and phrases following a collage of clothes: *topp / skjørt / body / bukse / jumpsuit / jumpsuit med choker / paljettgenser / singlet HER / choker / veske / jakke*. Several of the words in this caption are written in English. As they are related to a single topic, fashion, they have been discussed further in section 4.1.3.1. The captions that are not related to a topic like this latter example seems to have no motivation or trigger, and is perhaps only written in English because Eriksen could write them in English, like the headlines that do not seem to be motivated by anything specific.

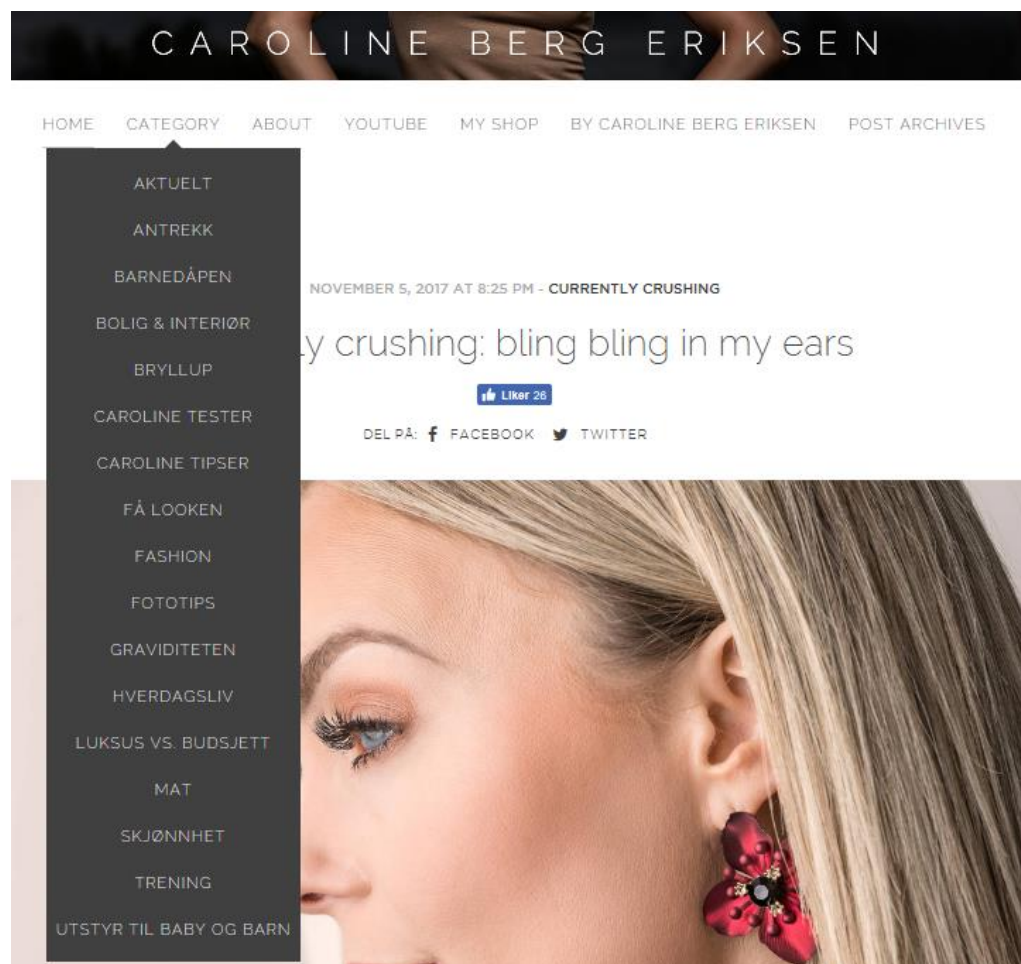
#### 4.1.2.6 The Navigation Bar

The analyzed material in this thesis is gathered from Eriksen's blog entries only. English can be found outside of the individual entries too, namely in the navigation bar at the top of the front page of the blog. The navigation bar includes the following tabs: Home, Category, About, YouTube, My Shop, By Caroline Berg Eriksen, and Post Archives. On most blog platforms, the navigation bar can be edited by the user as frequently as desired, and it can therefore be assumed that Eriksen, at some point in time, made a conscious choice to have the tabs on her navigation bar in English. As the focus of this thesis is Eriksen's CS and how she uses English in her frequently updated entries, the decision was made not to include the navigation bar in the analysis. It is also possible that some of the tabs were premade by the platform Eriksen uses, and that she could not edit them (likely examples here are "home", "category" and "post archives"), and it is entirely possible that the additional tabs mentioned above were written in English for aesthetic reasons or to keep the navigation bar uniform.

#### 4.1.3 CS in Relation to Topic

As mentioned in 4.1.1.1, Eriksen's navigation bar contains a tab of categories. The list of categories is quite extensive, with no less than 17 different ones. In the four months when material was gathered from, Eriksen posted to most of these categories on her blog. The categories are: Aktuelt (current or relevant), Antrekk (outfit), Barnedåpen (the Christening), Bolig & interiør (home & interior), Bryllup (wedding), Caroline tester (Caroline tests), Caroline

tipser (Caroline tipses) Få looken (get the look), Fashion (fashion), Fototips (photo tips), Graviditeten (the pregnancy), Hverdagsliv (daily life), Luksus vs budsjett (luxury vs. budget), Mat (food), Skjønnhet (beauty), Trening (exercise), and Utstyr til baby og barn (equipment for baby and child). The categories can also be seen in the following picture from Eriksen's blog:



It should be noted that the switches discussed below are not necessarily labeled that category by Eriksen, as many of her blog entries are published without a category, but they have been placed in the categories below based on the content of the entries the switches occurred in.

It is known that CS often occurs in relation to topics, and that languages have domains, either within a bilingual community or for the bilingual individual, meaning people who have more than one language accessible to them will develop a habit of using one language over the other in specific contexts (Fishman, 1965, p. 71). This section discusses some of the topics Eriksen

blogged about while data was being collected, and whether there is a relation between topic and amount of CS.

#### 4.1.3.1 Fashion

Already from the above-mentioned categories there are hints as to where CS might occur frequently: within fashion, which is an English word itself, and “få looken” which contains an adapted borrowing. This is in line with Johansson and Graedler (2002) and Johansson and Graedler (2005), who state that fashion is one of the areas where English has had a large impact on the Norwegian language. On the topic of fashion, Eriksen makes a total of 90 switches, where 14 appear in headlines, 38 in written text, 28 in pictures, and 10 in captions.

Many of Eriksen’s switches within the category of fashion are names that refer to a specific item. A *jumpsuit* is a piece of clothing where the top and bottom is one piece. A *choker* is a necklace that wraps around your neck. A *bomberjacket* is a specific style of jacket. These are words that do not necessarily have a Norwegian equivalent, thus forcing Eriksen to use the English well-known words.

Eriksen also uses many English adjectives to describe fashion items: *fluffy*, *baggy*, *comfy*, *stretchy*, and *oversized* are examples of that, so is the adapted borrowings *freshe* (fresh+plural word ending -e in Norwegian) and *fresht* (fresh+3<sup>rd</sup> person singular neutral word ending -t in Norwegian). These have been discussed above and will therefore not be repeated here, but they do fall within this category and are therefore worth mentioning.

Johansson and Graedler (2005) wrote about the influence of English within the world of fashion in Norway (see section 2.3.2). Their chapter states that there is a high amount of English words flowing into what they refer to as youth fashion, providing examples from magazines where the target group are under the age of 35. Eriksen is under the age of 35, as is her target audience, and Eriksen’s blog entries about fashion display many of the same switches as Johansson and Graedler’s talk about, such as the word *bomberjacket*, which Eriksen spells in English at some times and as an adapted borrowing, *bomberjakke*, at other times. Although Johansson and Graedler wrote about fashion magazines, presumably written by fashion journalists, while Eriksen writes a blog, it is important to keep in mind that Eriksen has a degree in journalism (Eriksen, 2017a), and has explicitly stated that since writing her blog is her job it is kind of like running her own magazine where she gets to be the journalist, the editor, and the photographer.

Eriksen's blog can therefore be compared to magazines, and her language choices to that of magazine journalists.

#### 4.1.3.2 Beauty

Beauty is a topic closely related to fashion, as they both are related to appearance and how we present ourselves to the world. Beauty is also a category on Eriksen's blog, although she calls it *skjønnhet*, which is the Norwegian word for beauty. In this category, she posts blog entries about makeup, hair styles and hair products, skin care, and products aimed at women to make them more beautiful. In the four months of blog entries collected for this thesis, four instances of CS have been identified as belonging to this category. One is a headline: *prelaunch: swiss clinic lanserer hudpleieserie* (prelaunch: swiss clinic launches skincare series). Three are in-text switches: *eye pads*, *remover*, and *makeup*. As discussed in 4.1.2.1, *prelaunch* might have been written in that way because the Norwegian alternative, *forhåndslasering* is longer and more complex in spelling. It could also have been chosen to avoid using the word "lansere" twice and create variation of the words in the headline. A third possibility is that because the name of the brand, Swiss Clinic, is in English, it was more natural to start in one language, English, and finish in another language, Norwegian, as opposed to having one word in Norwegian, two English words, and then another two Norwegian words.

The remaining three switches are found in the following sentences:

*...sammen med avkjølende eye pads, for jeg har verdens mest intense trøttetryne akkurat nå* (along with cooling eye pads, because I have the world's most intense tired-face right now)

*...det følger med en remover og ekstra tape* (it comes with a remover and extra tape)

*Vi startet tidlig i dag, med makeup og hår fra klokken syv!* (We started early today, with makeup and hair from 7 o'clock!)

These words seem, at first glance, like random insertions of English words. In the case of "eye pads", there is no Norwegian word that properly covers the English definition Eriksen is using here, which is something cold to put on your eyes to reduce swelling and make you look more awake. The word cannot be found in Bokmålsordboka or Norsk ordbok, suggesting it is neither an integrated lexical borrowing nor a word commonly used in spoken language. It is concluded

to be a switch based on the necessity for a word to describe an item that does not have a name in the matrix language.

The word “remover” in this context seems to refer to a tool used to remove something. In Norwegian, some phrases containing this word, such as “makeup remover” and “nail polish remover” have perfectly fine translations: “sminkefjerner” and “neglelakkfjerner”. However, Eriksen’s entry is about hair extensions that are attached using tape, hence they come with extra tape in case they fall out prematurely, and if you want to remove them before they wear out, there is “a remover”. The Norwegian translation, “fjerner”, as a noun, is not found in Bokmålsordboka, only the verb to remove, “fjerne”. This suggests that in order to work as a noun in Norwegian, it has to be put together with what it is removing, such as makeup or nail polish, as seen above. Since Eriksen is not writing explicitly what the remover removes in a compound word, it does not work to say that the hair extension come with a “fjerner” in Norwegian, because that word alone implies the present tense of the word “remove”, “fjerne”. It is possible that this is the reason why she has written “remover” in English, where the word works as a noun.

The word “makeup” can easily be translated into Norwegian: “sminke”. It works regardless of whether one is talking about everyday makeup worn by adults, or makeup put on anyone, adult or child, in the context of dressing up. In the entry, Eriksen talks about a carnival at her child’s kindergarten, where the child is dressing up like a ladybug, and she was applying makeup as a part of this costume. In Norwegian, it is possible to specify the kind of makeup, such as “karnevalsminke” (carnival makeup), or one can choose to let the context speak for itself and just use “sminke”—both work in Eriksen’s case, since what follows the text are pictures of her daughter dressed up as a ladybug. Here, there is no logical explanation for Eriksen’s switch. She knows the Norwegian word, as she uses it all the time on her blog, and there does not seem to be any context restraints on the use of the Norwegian word, nor does the English word contain definitions that are absent from the Norwegian word, so it seems that this is just a choice Eriksen has made when writing this post.

#### 4.1.3.3 Exercise

Another topic that stood out when it comes to switches is exercise. Some of these switches have to do with workout wear: *sneakers* are a type of shoe typically used when working out, although it was discussed earlier that Eriksen might have used the English word to separate this shoe

from the Norwegian “joggesko” (jogging shoe). Nevertheless, the switch *take a hike* was found in a picture next to this type of shoe, and hiking is a form of exercise. The switch *news from get inspired* [sic] is found in a picture where the title of the blog entry is the same sentence in Norwegian: *nyheter fra get inspired* [sic]. For readers who do not already know, it is clarified in the blog entry that *Get Inspired* is an online store, and upon visiting the website one can see that it calls itself “your sport fashion store”<sup>15</sup>. *News from get inspired* [sic] is about clothes and shoes, and therefore belongs in the fashion category, but it is also about exercise as the store specializes in workout wear—clothes, shoes, accessories and so on.

*Let's sweat 2017* was the title of an entry Eriksen published on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of January, and it was the first entry of the year where she talked about exercise. Working on gaining muscle as well as improving her running time were new year’s resolutions of Eriksen, which is what she talks about in this blog entry. She writes that she wants to focus on getting back into shape since she spent most of 2016 being pregnant, and the way to do that is to get sweaty, a lot and often.

Lastly, as briefly mentioned before, Eriksen has a *12 days of christmas* [sic] *workout plan*. From Eriksen’s entries, it becomes evident that she found this idea on the website Pinterest while searching for exercises to do when she has very little time or is traveling without access to a lot of equipment. She found people who have made programs based on the Christmas song “12 days of Christmas”, she said, and decided to make her own version of it, which is what she has posted about several times on her blog. Six of the 12 exercises are written in Norwegian, while the following six are written in English: *push ups*, *kettlebell swings*, *jumping jacks*, *sit ups*, *burpees*, and *mountain climbers*. The words “pushup” and “situp” can be found in Norwegian dictionaries and must therefore be considered integrated lexical borrowings—the rest, however, are nowhere to be found. Johansson and Graedler (2005) have stated that sports is a topic with a large amount of English loan words, and that between the 1930s and 1990s the loans have gone from being specific terminology to include more general loan words. This, Johansson and Graedler say, reflects how English has had an increasing influence on Norwegian culture from the 1930s to the 1990s, and this influence has only increased in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as well. The topic of exercise is close or similar to sports in many ways—if you are practicing a sport, you are exercising. Therefore, it is only natural that there should be many English words in articles and even blog entries about exercise, as sports is one of the areas largely affected by English words, which we can see evidence of on Eriksen’s blog.

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<sup>15</sup> Get Inspired: <https://www.getinspired.no/>

#### 4.1.3.4 Home & Interior

In the four months during which data was collected from Eriksen's blog, she blogged quite a bit about home and interior, because she and her husband bought a house that needed renovating before they could move into it. Eriksen's entries reflect what is going on in her life, and while they were fixing up the old house she therefore blogged a lot about that for a few weeks. However, there are only a few instances of CS in the entries about home and interior.

The phrase *house tour* is written twice, once in a headline and once in written text. The headline goes: *video: house tour og fargevalg* (video: house tour and color-choice). In-text, this switch occurred in the sentence: *Rett før helgen filmet vi en liten house tour til dere!* (Right before the weekend we filmed a little house tour for you!). "House tour" is inarguably shorter than the closest Norwegian equivalent "husomvisning" which also does not flow well or yields many results when searching for it on the internet. "House tour" has nearly 350 million results on Google, so this could be a strategic choice on Eriksen's part to get more clicks on her blog. It could also be a semantic choice—that Eriksen does not consider "omvisning" and "tour" to mean the same thing. If you go on a guided tour of a museum, "tour" would be "omvisning" in Norwegian, but a Google search for this word only yields results for famous places like the castle and the opera house, so the Norwegian translation does seem to have a narrower definition than the English word does. Therefore, this could be considered another switch because Norwegian lacks an appropriate translation.

Two of the switches in this category are expressions or idioms: *for the win*, and *once in a lifetime*. "For the win" occurs in a sentence where Eriksen is talking about how good her kitchen looks after painting it the color classic white: *...nydelig farge, klassisk hvit for the win* (beautiful color, classic white for the win). "Once in a lifetime" appears in the context of how people have been so supportive and making suggestions regarding the renovation of the house, as doing such a project is probably something she and her husband will only do once: *Dette er nok once in a lifetime for oss også* (This is probably once in a lifetime for us too). The expressions are fixed and could appear like that in any context, and are therefore not unique to the topic of home and interior. However, they have been included here based on the context in which they appeared.

Eriksen uses two adapted borrowings in the context of home and interior: *shines*, and *kaffelatte-ish*. As *kaffelatte-ish* has been discussed before, this discussion shall not be repeated here. The word "shines" does not look as a merge out of context like this, but it appears in the sentence: *så her må huset shines litt* (so here the house needs to be shined). What Eriksen means is that



she needs to clean or tidy the house, make it shine, so to speak. In English, it is common to say that something is sparkling clean, and that is what is inferred with how Eriksen is using the word “shine” here. This can be used about other things as well, not necessarily the home, but it needs to be a space that can go from being untidy or dirty to tidy or clean. Therefore, this word is quite restricted in its use—it can be used about a car or a garage or a storage unit, or it can be used about literally making something shine, such as polishing your silverware. Nevertheless, the word is restricted to home-related spaces and items and making them clean and/or organized.

#### 4.1.3.5 Food

About once or twice a week, Eriksen posts a blog entry about food. She calls this “oppskrift-onsdag” which translates to “recipe Wednesday”. Most of Eriksen’s recipe entries contain very little CS compared to other topics such as fashion, but a few instances of CS have been found in her recipe entries as well. Three were headlines: *leftover salad, ...and a cup of joe*, and *let’s talk about bliss balls*. Four were found in written text, where two were single words: *yummy* and *snack*, one was a compound word: *bliss balls*, and one was an inter-sentential switch where the sentence started in Norwegian and ended in English: *Vil du ha is på pinne the healthy and easy way?* And lastly, there was one picture caption written entirely in English: *whipped cream shaped like a gingerbread cookie*.

In the entry title *...and a cup of joe*, Eriksen has mostly posted pictures of herself showing off her clothes and accessories for the day, while also holding a paper cup. This cup turns out to be from a company called “Joe and the juice”<sup>16</sup>, a Danish company providing coffee, juice, and more. Here, Eriksen merely plays on the company name for her headline, and it is possible she uses English to keep the headline uniform—which appears to be the case several places on her blog. It is also possible that she has chosen her words because “a cup of joe” is a US idiom for a cup of coffee, and Eriksen frequently talks about how she drinks several cups of coffee in the morning. It could also be that Eriksen has gotten paid to advertise this company, and that her title along with the cup she is holding in every picture in this blog entry is just to tell the world that she purchased something from Joe and the juice and indirectly encourages others to do so as well.

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<sup>16</sup> Joe and the Juice: <https://www.joejuice.com/>

A quick search yields 18.4 million results on Google for “bliss balls”. This suggests that the concept is not something Eriksen came up with, and that when she is talking about *bliss balls* she is using the word as a proper name. The headline *let’s talk about bliss balls* is then possibly all in one language in order to avoid mixed language use in the headline, which has been mentioned before.

Eriksen’s food switches are few and far between, suggesting that this is not a domain where English has a large presence in her life. This makes sense, as cooking is typically a “home domain” and goes under the “home language”, usually the mother tongue, which in Eriksen’s case is Norwegian. Other topics such as fashion are typically not home domains, and what languages that are used within these domains have less to do with the individual people, and more to do with the industry. Eriksen’s more frequent use of English in this domain may have something to do with English having a larger presence in that domain regardless of the individuals, such as Eriksen, and their languages.

## 4.2 Motivations

Section 4.1 attempted to answer research question 1: what kind of CS can be found on Eriksen’s blog? As seen in section 4.1, Eriksen utilizes many different types of CS in a number of different places on her blog. This section will focus on research question 2: what might the motivations for this CS be? In other words, why does Eriksen use English words and phrases and sentences on her blog? This has been touched upon in the discussion in 4.1 as well, but this section attempts to look at motivations in a broader sense.

### 4.2.1 Motivations According to Literature

Gardner-Chloros (2009b) writes that “it is argued here that CS should be considered first and foremost from a sociolinguistic perspective, that is to say from a perspective where language behavior and use are related to speakers’ (social) identity and characteristics, or to aspects of their social life in the broad sense” (p. 97). Gardner-Chloros states here that there is a relationship between CS and identity and social life, and therefore these two factors may be motivations for utilizing CS. Through her use of CS, Eriksen seems to be constructing an identity as a young cosmopolitan woman, whose social life involves things such as fancy parties and events. Therefore, in these contexts, CS appears in headlines, when talking about clothes

and shoes and accessories, and in pictures of said items. Sports and exercise is also a part of Eriksen's identity, as her blog used to be called "fotballfrue" (football-wife) before she changed it to her full name. She frequently blogs about exercise as well as active-wear and within these topics CS appears as well, which was seen in section 4.1.1.3.

As mentioned several times before, Gumperz (1982) stated that motivations for utilizing CS include factors such as to mark quotation, emphasis, reiteration, and elaboration. Eriksen does use CS in this way—she quotes movies, titles and songs using English rather than translating, even when translations are available, which was the case for several titles of movies and songs she blogged about. She also repeats Norwegian headlines in English as sub-headlines, making use of CS for reiteration.

Out of the three factors identified by Gardner-Chloros (2009b)—outside, speaker related, and conversation related—the latter two can be seen in use on Eriksen's blog. The speaker related factors for CS include the speaker's competence, which Eriksen shows through frequent use of English in many places with very few errors, as well as the fact that she states that she uses English in her life outside of the blog as well. Then there is the perception of herself and of others—in a comment, she states that we are becoming increasingly international, which suggests that she feels that it is natural to use English, and it should be considered so by others as well. She also uses CS as a tool and a resource to structure her discourse, which is a conversation-related factor. This can be seen from her restatement of Norwegian headlines in English sub-headlines, English captions between pictures to break up the picture sequence, and English headlines for otherwise dominantly Norwegian blog entries.

Rosenhouse and Kowner (2008) stated that one important motivation for using English words in another language is the need for terminology. This is particularly true when it comes to new technology, and there are a few examples of that on Eriksen's blog. She uses the phrase "add new" in English when talking about writing a new blog post, and she uses the words "offline", "on" and "off" when talking about spending time on and off the internet while the rest of the text is in Norwegian. Eriksen also uses what we might call cultural borrowings, such as the word "piñata" and "takeout" for which there are no Norwegian words but most people would understand what they mean, even though they cannot be found in dictionaries.

Many scholars have published works on how identity construction and identity projection are motivations for CS, such as Bullock and Toribio (2009b), Sebba et al. (2012), Gardner-Chloros (2009b), and Li Wei (1998). After analyzing Eriksen's blog posts and how she uses CS, along

with her statements on her use of English, it becomes apparent that using English is a part of who she is, or how she wants to be perceived by others. As will be seen in the next section, she has stated that even though running the blog is her job, the blog is about her and her life, so it is also personal, and she constructs her personality and identity through it, including how she represents herself as speaking on social media. What is interesting here, is that Rampton (1998) says that while traditional views on CS is that it is coherently integrated into the communicative flow, studies on CS and second language contradicts that. The traditional view, he states, is that when English is used as an L2, CS is not integrated into the communicative flow in the way that it is for people in bilingual speech communities (Rampton, 1998). He continues to say that studies specifically conducted on L2 and CS, contradict this; that CS can be integrated into the communicative flow for L2 speakers as well. Eriksen's CS does seem to be integrated into the communicative flow, as there is only one instance where CS is marked by quotation marks in a total of 212 instances. This could either mean that English is not as "foreign" as a second language in Norway, or it could mean that Eriksen's communication being one-way affects her language and that this kind of communication is different from the kind of communication Rampton was talking about.

#### 4.2.2 Motivations According to Eriksen

Eriksen's use of English has not gone unnoticed by her readers. Three instances of conversation about this were found in the comments of her blog entries and captured with research question 2 in mind. In one instance, a reader asked Eriksen about her use of the word "Christmas calendar", and the reader stated that native speakers of English would say "advent calendar" instead. A second reader responded to this saying it is not important, while a third reader responded to this comment by saying it is important because if Eriksen is going to use English on her blog she should be using grammatically correct English (see items 1 and 2 in Appendix II). The first person also commented that Eriksen should write the headline in Norwegian since the written text in the blog entry is in Norwegian. A fourth reader responded to this that she thinks it is cool that Eriksen uses some English on her blog. Eriksen did not respond to these comments, but she has left them on her blog, suggesting she does not mind people discussing her and her language use. These comments by readers have been included here to show that people have opinions on Eriksen's language use, which could affect her use of English.

Item 3 and 4 in Appendix II show Eriksen's responses to two separate inquiries about her use of English words, the first one was asked in March 2016 and the second, by me, in January 2017. As can be seen from these two screenshots, Eriksen is consistent in her reply about language use, despite the questions being asked nearly a year apart.

In 2016 a reader left this comment on Eriksen's blog (my translation):

Why do you choose to use so many English words when you write? Is it something that you, as a journalist, have reflected over as you made the choice? I think it is sad that we wash out our language, especially when equal words in Norwegian exist...

Eriksen responded with (my translation):

I actually use a lot of English words in my daily speech and even though the blog is my job, I allow myself certain freedoms as it is also personal :) For me it is completely natural to mix some of the languages, we become increasingly more international too and I also have many foreign readers :)

The comment starts with a basic question about why Eriksen uses English, and continues to appeal to her education as a journalist when asking if she has reflected over the choice she has made. Lastly, the reader writes a statement about how sad it is that Norwegian is being replaced by English when Norwegian has words that can be used instead of the English ones Eriksen uses. The reader implies that a lot of Eriksen's English words are unnecessary, and implicitly states a negative attitude toward Eriksen's use of English over Norwegian. Nevertheless, the reader wants to give Eriksen the chance to explain herself, through the first question posted.

Eriksen's first explanation is that she uses English words when she speaks, and therefore it is natural for her to use English words when she writes. Several places on her blog she has talked about how she has an education within journalism and that running her blog for a living is like being journalist and editor and photographer all for her own magazine. She approaches this in her reply to the reader by stating that yes, the blog is her job, but it is also very personal to her, and therefore she feels that it is okay to write more closely to how she speaks than the formal language she would have used if she was writing for a magazine or a newspaper. Her next justification is that we, presumably meaning Norwegian people, are becoming more international. English is the current lingua franca in the world, and Norway becoming more international means English acquiring a larger presence in Norway, and therefore, she says, it is natural for her, as one of the people becoming more international, to use English in her daily language. This statement can be supported by scholars such as Rosenhouse and Kowner (2008), who wrote that English invading other languages is a part of a natural evolution of languages.

Lastly, Eriksen states that she uses English because she has a lot of foreign readers. This is the most implausible motivation or reason for using English, as she usually does not use enough English for her entries to make sense to anyone who does not understand Norwegian. The English headlines and sub-headlines might give a foreign reader an indicator of what the entry is about, but her English words scattered here and there throughout her chunks of Norwegian writing are not enough to enable the reader to understand the content if he or she does not have any knowledge of Norwegian.

In some cases, Eriksen's use of English writing on pictures does seem to have a summing-up function of what is written in Norwegian, such as the pregnancy updates which can be seen in items 181-183 in Appendix I, and the collages of pictures of pieces of clothing in 175-178, 180, and 184 in Appendix I. While claiming that she uses English on her blog because she uses English when she speaks is a believable and reasonable motivation or explanation, claiming that she uses English because of her international readers seems implausible as she does not use *enough* English for the writing in her entries to make any sense to a reader who does not speak or understand Norwegian. According to Blogglisten<sup>17</sup>, Eriksen has approximately 3000 individual readers whose IP addresses are located outside of Norway, but it is impossible to know who these readers are, and it is more likely that they are Norwegians residing abroad, rather than people from other countries reading a blog written in a language they do not understand. The statistics furthermore does not show whether the IP addresses are located in Sweden and Denmark, where the readers would be able to understand Eriksen's entries, or elsewhere in the world. It is unknown whether Eriksen herself knows this, but she does not give any indication of it, so it is possible that she is motivated to use English by knowing she has foreign readers despite the fact that foreign readers would need to use translation programs to read the majority of the text on her blog and her few words in English would not make any difference.

After finding this comment with a reply, I decided to ask Eriksen specifically about her use of English headlines. After introducing myself and telling Eriksen about my project, I asked if she would be willing to answer a few questions that would be of great help to me. I asked her the following (my translation):

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<sup>17</sup> Mediehuset Nettavisen (2017). *Blogglisten*. Retrieved from <http://blogglisten.no/blogg?q=carolinebergeriksen.no>

You very often use English headlines on your blog, but in the last week there have been almost exclusively Norwegian headlines. Is this a conscious choice you make? If so, what makes you choose to write headlines in English or Norwegian for your blog entries?

Eriksen responded with (my translation):

You know, I just go by the feeling<sup>18</sup> (hehe :p) I write headlines depending on what I feel fits and do not put too much thought into whether it is English or Norwegian. I do use a lot of English words and expressions in my daily speech too, so often it comes natural to me. Sometimes I am conscious about using Norwegian and not English if I see that Norwegian actually works best. Since this is a blog I think it is cool that I can take the freedom to do it too :)

A few things in Eriksen's reply here are similar to the reply she wrote to another reader 10 months earlier: she states that she uses English in her spoken language on a regular basis, and she gives herself the freedom to do so because she is writing a blog. The fact that she claims to use the language that fits better backs up what she said in the previous comment, about how using English comes natural to her, which she also states in this reply. At first, she writes that she does not put much thought into whether the headline is in Norwegian or English, but then she goes on to state that she consciously chooses Norwegian if she sees that it works better than English, suggesting she does put some thought into it and weighs the Norwegian and English options against each other before choosing Norwegian if it works better. This suggests that she chooses either one of English or Norwegian if it does not make much of a difference, meaning that where her headlines are written in English she did not consider the Norwegian option to work better as she would have chosen Norwegian if that were the case. However, it is not clear what "works better" actually means to Eriksen, and it is clear that what works better for her might not work better for others—such as her use of *Christmas calendar* above, which did not sit right with a couple of the readers that commented on the entry, leading them to suggest she stick to Norwegian.

Eriksen provides multiple motivations for using English on her blog. She says it comes natural to her to mix languages, and she allows herself to mix because her writing is being published on a blog as opposed to in a printed magazine. Her blog is her job, but it is also very personal to her, which is why she feels that she can write in the way she speaks and therefore mix English and Norwegian, and as the owner of the blog she has the freedom to make this choice. She says she will choose Norwegian if it fits better, suggesting that the English headlines or words are used when Norwegian and English both fit, or English fits better than Norwegian. Her most far-

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<sup>18</sup> This word was written as «feelingen» (the feeling) in Norwegian, hence the laughter and emoji afterwards.

fetches statement is that she uses English because of her international readers—it is unlikely that a reader with no knowledge of Norwegian will understand much of Eriksen’s blog entries from the small amount of English she uses, although headlines, sub-headlines, pictures and captions can give some idea of what her blog entries are about.

#### 4.2.3 Motivations According to Questionnaire Results

As mentioned in the Methods chapter, a question about language use was circulated on the internet. The goal was to collect information about why people think they themselves use English, in the same way as asking Eriksen about her use of English on her blog. The hope was that the responses from this question would give a more general idea of motivations among Norwegians as it would collect responses from up to 100 people.

The question was written in Norwegian, and translates to: *Why do you use English words, when there are Norwegian words you could use instead?* This, of course, presumes that there is a Norwegian equivalent for the English words being used, and as we have seen from the data presented and discussed in chapter 4.1 that is not always the case. However, there is one alternative that accounts for this. Table 3 below shows the alternatives the participants could choose to respond to the question with, written in Norwegian and translated into English, how many responders chose this alternative, and what percentage of the total amount of responses this accounts for. The responses are in descending order. The numbers add up to more than the 100 people who could answer, because one person could choose as many answers as they wanted.



<b>Norwegian alternative</b>	<b>English translation</b>	<b>Number of responses</b>
Jeg kommer ikke på / kan ikke det norske ordet	I cannot think of / do not know the Norwegian word	49
Jeg tenker ikke over at jeg bruker engelske ord	I do not think about the fact that I use English words	39
Jeg liker ordet bedre på engelsk / synes det passer bedre	I like the word better in English / think that it fits better	35
Det er sånn jeg snakker og skriver / det er mest naturlig for meg	That is the way I speak and write / it is the most natural for me	26
Jeg blander aldri språk; jeg er bevisst på å holde de adskilt og bare bruke norske ord når jeg snakker norsk	I never mix languages; I make a conscious decision to keep them apart and only use Norwegian words when I speak Norwegian	10
Det er en del av min internasjonale identitet	It is a part of my international identity	4
Å bruke Engelsk får meg til å føle at jeg er en del av noe større enn bare lille Norge	To use English makes me feel like I am a part of something bigger than just little Norway	3
Jeg har alltid snakket begge språkene (en forelder er norsk, en annen er engelsk, vi snakker sånn hjemme)	I have always spoken both languages (one parent is Norwegian, one is English, we speak this way at home)	2
Engelsk er kult, norsk er kjedelig	English is cool, Norwegian is boring	1
For å vise at jeg ikke "bare" er norsk	To show that I am not "just" Norwegian	1
<b>TOTAL:</b>		<b>170</b>

Table 3: Responses to circulated question about language use in numbers and percentage, with translations

As five people skipped the question, Table 3 shows how many of the 95 respondents chose each alternative as their motivation for using English words. As it was possible to choose multiple answers, the total is 170 while only 95 people answered. This is an average of 1.7 responses per person, meaning some chose more than one while some chose just one alternative. 49 people say they use English because they do not know or cannot remember the Norwegian word. 39 people do not think about the fact that they use English words. This option implies that it is natural to use English words, but does not explicitly say so. 35 people use English words because they think it fits better than the Norwegian alternative. 26 people chose the alternative that explicitly states that it is natural to use English, that it is a part of their natural language. These four options that have gotten the most clicks, all state that the person does in fact use English words in their daily language. The next option, which 10 people had chosen, states that they do not use English words and make a conscious choice to keep the languages separate. 4

people say they use English to show their international identity, 3 say using English makes them feel like they are a part of something larger than the little country of Norway, 2 people state they have always spoken both languages, that they are the strict definition of bilingual having been raised that way. 1 person states that English is cool while Norwegian is boring, and 1 person says the use English to show that they are not just Norwegian. Every alternative was chosen by at least one person, so no alternative was left blank.

Some of the alternatives above say close to the same thing, just in different words. For example, “to show that I am not ‘just’ Norwegian” and “to use English makes me feel like I am a part of something larger than just little Norway” both resemble “it is a part of my international identity”. This was done on purpose, to see if different phrasing would elicit different responses, as this was considered a possible motivation for using English. However, none of these options were chosen by many people, respectively 1, 3, and 4, so they do not tell us as much as the other responses do. It does however tie in a little with one of Eriksen’s replies to one of the questions from the previous section: she said that we, presumably referring to Norwegians, are becoming more international, and that this explains the presence of English in Norwegian discourse. It can also be argued that people do not want to appear as disloyal to their native country and language, and therefore alternatives such as “that is just how I speak” yield more results than an alternative that could possibly state that they are disloyal in any way.

Only one person chose the alternative that Norwegian is boring while English is cool, suggesting that people are not largely motivated by one language being cooler than the other. The lack of people choosing this alternative could also have to do with the fact that the alternative contains two claims: one, that Norwegian is boring, and two, that English is cool. Had the two been written as separate alternatives, they may have been chosen by more people, as thinking that English is cool does not automatically also mean that Norwegian is boring. One of Eriksen’s commenters discussed in the previous section stated that she thought it was cool that Eriksen used English words, so it is possible that having two separate options for this would have resulted in more people choosing to say that English is cool, as they would not simultaneously have to say that Norwegian is boring.

What does motivate people to use English can be seen from the questions with the highest number of responses. The alternative that was chosen by the highest number of participants was that they do not remember or do not know the word they want to use in Norwegian. 49 people chose this one. Interestingly, only 2 people said they have been raised bilingually in Norwegian and English by their parents, so this cannot be the explanation for most of the people who chose

this alternative. This suggests that that English has a large influence on Norwegians and the way they speak, making it natural for them to speak this way, which is suggested by the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> most chosen options as well. This is similar to what Eriksen said in her replies to the questions about why she uses English, too: because it comes natural to her, it is the way she speaks.

There is one alternative answer to the question which has not yet been discussed: *Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_*. This option allowed for the participants to write a short text about their language use, if they either did not feel that the alternatives provided accurate enough answers, or if there was something else they wanted to add. 12 people chose to leave comments, and their answers have been translated below (by me). The comments in Norwegian can be seen in item 2 and 3 in Appendix III.

1. *I try to speak Norwegian, but might “let in” a word or two [in English]. Terminology is different; there, I use English.*
2. *[I] use many English words and phrases through work as a pilot. On “the private”, I try not to mix.*
3. *Married to an English speaker.*
4. *[I] become Anglified through media!*
5. *I am used to using English in school so sometimes I cannot think of the Norwegian word fast enough.*
6. *I try to be conscious not to use English words in Norwegian, but some English words still sneak into the language. I think this is mainly because there is no good Norwegian word that means exactly the same or that describes the same thing as well. An example of this is the English word “random”. The Norwegian word “tilfeldig” does somehow not mean quite the same.*
7. *[I] DO NOT use English words.*
8. *I use very few English words when I speak and write, and I think this has something to do with my generation. I was born in 1969 and I hear that those who are younger have a few English words and phrases. When they say they are meeting around six, they say six-ish.*
9. *[I] do not like the Norwegian swear words, so I use the English ones instead.*
10. *[I] probably pick up a lot from films/series, social media.*
11. *I use both. English words more day-to-day when [I am] not so serious and it does not matter so much (nice, sorry, etc.) but I use Norwegian words if I am being serious.*

12. *Sometimes I do not think about it. If I am looking for a word, the English words might appear before the Norwegian.*

From these comments, we can see several things. Firstly, that some people use English in school or at work, or that terminology they use is in English. Some of these say that they try not to use English when they speak otherwise, but that sometimes it cannot be helped, that words sneak in or that there is no appropriate Norwegian word for what they want to say. Going back to Eriksen's switches, it can be seen that she uses English for the same reason. One example that stands out is when she wrote "a so-called 'stalker'", with "stalker" being in English, suggesting that she could not find a Norwegian word conveying the same meaning. Secondly, one person stated that he or she uses English in a non-serious, informal context. Eriksen said the same—her blog is her work but it is also personal and therefore she allows herself to use English words that she would use when speaking normally. One respondent said he or she was born in 1969 and therefore does not use a lot of English—however, this person has noticed younger people using English in their language, with the example of the suffix "-ish" to indicate "approximately" or "around". Eriksen used this suffix to describe a color, and Eriksen who was born in 1987 is younger than the respondent who claimed younger people do this without specifying how much younger. Two of the commenters said that he media, movies and TV, and social media are responsible for their use of English. This ties in with Eriksen's claim that we as Norwegians are becoming more international, that English has a larger presence in our lives now than it did a few decades ago. Johansson and Graedler (2005) stated that material from 1992 showed a large presence of English in TV, movies, and advertisement, and there is every reason to believe the English influence has mushroomed since then, due to more TV channels, greater access to movies, and the Internet. Therefore, it is a reasonable claim by the respondents to say they use English because they are affected by English in media.

What the responses to the circulated question show, is that many use English in the same way that Eriksen does. It is a natural part of their language. School, work, and media are some of the things they mention affect their language use. Sometimes they do not think about it, the English words just appear—suggesting again that this is natural for them. Sometimes they choose to use English because they think it fits the situation better, that there is no suitable Norwegian word, or because they just like the words better in English. One person in their late 40s states that even though he or she does not use much English, they have noticed younger people doing so.

## 5.0 Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

The aim of this study was to investigate Norwegian-English written CS online, and it was decided to focus on one well-known blogger: Caroline Berg Eriksen. Focusing on one blogger would allow for an in-depth study of language use. Eriksen was chosen because CS is attested and visually salient on her blog, and because she updates frequent and regularly—usually more than once a day—which provided a lot of material to work with. This chapter summarizes the research findings, relates them to the research questions, and suggests how further research could be conducted in this area.

### 5.1 Summary of Research Findings

This thesis posed two research questions which have been explored in the previous chapter:

1. What kind of Norwegian-English code-switching can be found on the blog written by Caroline Berg Eriksen?
2. What might the motivation behind this code-switching be?

Data was collected from four consecutive months, in which Eriksen posted 200 blog entries, and 212 instances of CS were discovered in these entries. Some of Eriksen's entries contained no CS, while others contained several instances of CS. In addition, a question was circulated online to gather people's opinions on why they use English words and phrases in an otherwise Norwegian language situation—the purpose of this was to investigate motivations more generally.

It was found that Eriksen uses English in many different places on her blog entries: in headlines, sub-headlines within entries, in written text, photoshopped onto pictures, and in picture captions. Eriksen uses many different types of CS on her blog as well. Most of her switches were single and compound words, followed by sentences consisting of mixed language use. Eriksen also writes complete sentences in English, and she uses adapted borrowings—English words that have been adapted to fit Norwegian morphology. In addition to this, Eriksen writes quotes, lyrics and titles in English, uses some expressions and idioms, and there is one instance of English onomatopoeia on her blog.

Eriksen uses many single and compound words on her blog, such as nouns: *jeans*, *bomberjacket*, *sneakers*, and *choker*, as well as adjectives to describe these: *fluffy*, *oversized*, *baggy*, and *comfy*. These are topic related, the topic being fashion, which is its own category on

Eriksen's blog, and something she blogs about frequently. Other words Eriksen uses include *live*, *offline*, *awesome*, *roadtrip*, and *takeaway*. She also uses many expressions such as *what?!* and *holy!* Eriksen has one switch that she has marked as a word that does not fit in: *jeg fikk besøk av en såkalt "stalker"* (I had a visit from a so-called "stalker"). The rest of Eriksen's switches, regardless of how short or long they are, are not marked in this way, and are written as if there was no change of language at all. This could indicate that Eriksen considers these words as a part of her natural language, while "stalker" is not, since she has marked it both by using quotation marks and writing "so-called" before it. The majority of Eriksen's single and compound word switches seem to occur due to lack of a sufficient Norwegian word, which Rosenhouse and Kowner (2008) said was one of the main motivations for adopting English words into a language..

Eriksen had many sentences that were written completely in English, but the majority of these are very short, consisting of up to four words: *story of my life*, *I love it*, and *it's a girl* are examples of these. The few longer sentences that Eriksen has written in Norwegian appear to be quotes, even though she has not explicitly stated so. Nevertheless, a line of text on a black background appearing as one of four images in a collage where the remaining images are from a movie she has talked about, makes it clear that it is a quote. Eriksen's only English sentence that is longer than four words does not sound natural according to native English speakers that were consulted: *whipped cream shaped like a gingerbread cookie*. This suggests that Eriksen is not as comfortable writing longer sentences in English as shorter ones, or that using longer sentences in English does not come natural to her.

There are many sentences on Eriksen's blog that consists of mixed language use or sentence fragments that are larger than a compound word, such as a clause, but not a complete sentence. Many of these appear in headlines, such as *pink coat* and *that morning moment*, and several appear in picture collages, such as *this one*, *love it*, and *the classic one*. She also has instances of these in written text, such as *jeg får bare strut my stuff mens jeg ennå kan* (I just have to strut my stuff while I still can).

A large number of Eriksen's switches are adapted borrowings. Examples include *shines*, which she uses in the context of needing to clean the house, and *freshe*, which is a pluralization of the word "fresh", which she uses to talk about new clothes for sale from the sporting goods store Get Inspired.

Eriksen also uses a few expressions that must be seen as idioms. Examples include *all that jazz* – a Norwegian translation, “all den jazzen” would not contain the same metaphorical meaning and it would therefore be pointless to translate a phrase like this. She also wrote that a party was *over the top* – of course, this does not mean that it found place over a literal top, but that it was exaggerated or excessive, and “over toppen” in Norwegian does not convey the same meaning as it is just random words put together.

While headlines, in-text, pictures, and captions contain most of these different types of CS, sub-headlines only contain complete sentences. This seems to be because of the function of the sub-headline, which is to reiterate the headline or content of the blog entry.

It was also found that Eriksen’s CS seems to be, to some extent, topic related. Eriksen uses a lot more English when she is blogging about fashion, beauty, and exercise, than she does when she is blogging about life at home and food, for example. This can be connected to languages having domains (Fishman, 1965), and that outside factors such as media and import industry affect for example fashion, while there are fewer or no such factors that affect home life and cooking.

In order to investigate Eriksen’s motivations for using English, beyond whether each individual switch has an appropriate Norwegian translation, the comment section of Eriksen’s blog was used. It was found that Eriksen has been asked why she uses English on her blog, and she responded that she uses a lot of English words in her daily language, and because her blog is personal to her as well as being her job she allows herself these freedoms. She furthermore stated that we (presumably Norwegians) are becoming increasingly more international, and added as a side note that she also has a lot of international readers. The latter point seems rather implausible, as her amount of CS would not allow anyone who does not understand Norwegian to read and understand her blog, but it could still be a motivation for her.

The circulated question asked the participants “Why do you use English words, when there are Norwegian words you could use instead?” (my translation). The question itself assumes that there is an appropriate Norwegian word for every English word, which the discussion in this thesis has showed that is not the case, but the participants could choose as many as they wanted of the 11 answers provided, and one of them stated that there is no good Norwegian word for the English word. Responses were collected from 95 people, and the most popular alternatives provided stated that “I cannot think of / do not know the Norwegian word”, “I do not think about the fact that I use English words”, “I like the word better in English” and “this is how I

speak / it is natural to me". One of the alternatives stated that the participant was raised bilingually, but this option was only chosen by a few people, suggesting that one does not need to be raised bilingual in order to consider English words natural to use in a Norwegian context. There was also an option to write a text comment, and 11 people made use of this. Some state that they do it on purpose either because it is an informal context or because they like a word better in English than in Norwegian, while other comments have a more negative attitude, stating that they try to avoid it but some words still sneak in. One person left a comment specifically stating that he or she thought it was a generation thing – the person has written that he or she uses very little English, but younger people use it a lot, and provides an example with the suffix *-ish*.

When the answers collected from the questionnaire and literature on motivations are compared to Eriksen's switches, it can be seen that many of her switches are clearly motivated by something. Several are switches for quotes and reiteration, which Gumperz (1982) listed as motivations for CS. Eriksen also uses a lot of English where there are no Norwegian words that convey the same meaning or there is no Norwegian word for this, such as the names of types of clothing items like *bomberjackets*, which Rosenhouse and Kowner (2008) names as a motivation. However, some of Eriksen's switches do not seem to be motivated by any factor at all. Examples include her use of *makeup* instead of "sminke", and the switch from Norwegian to English in *vil du ha is på pinne the healthy and easy way?* (do you want ice cream (on a stick) the healthy and easy way?). Rosenhouse and Kowner (2008) have stated that the English invasion of other languages is an inevitable and natural process, and Eriksen claimed that she uses English on her blog because she uses English in her everyday language. Bullock and Toribio (2009b) said that sometimes there is no explanation as to why someone chooses to utilize CS—sometimes, bilinguals will CS simply because they can, which seems to be the case with some of Eriksen's switches. However, it is possible that these switches are also motivated, by for example Eriksen's wish to project an identity, that she is a young cosmopolitan woman, and her life includes things such as the world of fashion where English plays a significant role.

## 5.2 Suggestions for Further Research

While the wish was to study Norwegian-English CS online, the time and space restraints on a master's thesis limited the focus to look at one person whose language use was already known to contain English on a regular basis. There are many ways in which future research could



take this further. Future research on this topic could look at a wider selection of material, such as from different platforms. Instagram, Facebook, and Snapchats are all social networking platforms used by Norwegians for several years where writing is used and there is a potential for CS. Future research should also focus on other people, to see whether others utilize CS in the same way Eriksen does. While the material from this thesis can mostly just say something about how Eriksen utilizes CS, a study that looks at different blogs or at different platforms would be able to say something more general about Norwegian-English CS online, and find patterns which this thesis has not.



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## Appendix I: List of Switches on Eriksen's Blog

Where the entire item is in English, it is written in normal text. Where the English item is a part of a larger Norwegian sentence or clause, the English is written in bold.

### Headlines

1. 2014-2016: *my little hair story*
2. *you are invited to a gingerbread cookie party*
3. fredagsfilmen: *eat, pray, love*
4. *my favorite footwear for those party nights*
5. *dress up in bianco*
6. *it's cold outside*
7. *behind the scenes*
8. *video: behind the scenes*
9. *christmasy [sic] morning vibes*
10. *always keep track of time*
11. *they are ready for the gingerbread house decorating party*
12. *red knit sweater*
13. siste *finish* på Nelias adventskalender
14. *fluffy in the cold*
15. *christmas [sic] surprise – flash sale*
16. *gingerbread house decorating party*
17. *gingerbread house decorating party vol. 2*
18. **prelaunch:** *swiss clinic lanserer hudpleieserie*
19. *12 days of christmas [sic] workout*
20. *add some color to your day*
21. *kick off for årets julegaverace*
22. *party outfit – christmas [sic] 2016*
23. *once upon a christmas*
24. *it's the most wonderful time of the year*
25. *hot cocoa tips for christmas [sic]*
26. *driving home for christmas [sic]*
27. tutu, mandag og *road trip*
28. ferdig med *roadtrip* for en stund

29. *christmas gift wrapping*
30. *driving home for new years [sic] eve*
31. *home alone*
32. *let's sweat 2017*
33. *left over salad*
34. *warm sweater – bright light*
35. *skål for det nye og take away*
36. *pink coat*
37. *on the road again and again and again*
38. *roadtrip hele dagen*
39. *... and a cup of joe*
40. *let's throw a big party*
41. *goodbye 20's – hello 30's*
42. *embrace life*
43. *nyheter hos get inspired*
44. *video: house tour og fargevalg*
45. *weekend outfit, wine and dine*
46. *(not) a walk in the park*
47. *she said yes to the dress*
48. *hyttegenser, fyr i peisen og save the date*
49. *piñata*
50. *sunday [sic] mood*
51. *tips: pimp your clothes*
52. *pom pom shoes*
53. *Mine 15 beste snacks-tips*
54. *that morning moment*
55. *let's talk about bliss balls*
56. *out and about*

## Sub-headlines

57. *top christmas [sic] music right now*
58. *15 questions from 2016*
59. *29 things to do before you turn 30*
60. *let's talk about yummy food*



## In-text

61. Tenker hele tiden at jeg skal ta med en digger pute til bilturene, men så glemmer jeg det hver gang. *Note to self!* Kanskje jeg bare skal ha en liggende i bilen.
62. Tidlig i seng er i hvert fall en *done deal!!*
63. Jeg gleder meg til *fotoshooten* neste uke [...].
64. [...] og barberete håret mitt i nakken i januar / februar. *What?!* Det var SÅ kort [...]
65. Spesielt når minusgradene *kicker* inn.
66. Plutselig ER vel han den skyldige også. Vel! *Sweet dreams ♥* I morgen er det helg :-)
67. [...] og nå er det vel bare et spørsmål om tid før *the ugly christmas* [sic] *sweater* blir trukket frem fra skapet også ;-)
68. [...] men jeg er blant dem som sluker filmen og kan se den flere ganger. *Eat, pray, love* er perfekt når du vil drømme deg litt bort fra hverdagen.
69. Jeg får bare *strut my stuff* mens jeg ennå kan ;-)
70. [...] og jeg ble så glad da jeg fikk *go* fra Bianco til å lage en sko i velour.
71. [...] og aller best passer den kanskje sammen med blyantskjørt og korte dressbukser eller en *jumpsuit* med vide bein.
72. [...] det er liksom noe ekstra sjarmerende over disse bildene. *Back to the 80's!*
73. I morgen har jeg en *fotoshoot* på planen [...].
74. Her kommer noen bilder fra *shooten* jeg gjorde i går.
75. Da er hun *all in!*
76. [...] så derfor har vi en *familiedate* i kveld [...].
77. [...] for vi har mekket sammen en video fra *fotoshooten* på fredag!
78. Og hva kan u gi en som har alt? *I know* – en klokke!
79. Her om dagen før galskapen (les: viruset) *kicket* inn, kom jeg i julestemning [...].
80. [...] i Oslo for møter med samarbeidspartnere eller andre *happenings*, og jeg kjenner at jeg fort kunne blitt lei [...].
81. Min *go to* løsning når jeg har det travelt!
82. Jeg hadde en helt fantastisk fin kveld på konsert med storesøster i går (Jake Bugg var helt *amazing live*) og Naia hadde det også fint [...].
83. [...] så her må huset *shines* litt [...].
84. Desember går fort, og når *julegaverushet* *kicker* inn blir det som regel mye styr og mas.
85. Så vi satt på *Let it Go* så det ljomet da vi gikk opp trappen [...].
86. Jeg tok faktisk vare på *datotaggene* fra i fjor, men lager også disse selv i stedet.

87. [...] kan jo hende du finner noen *input* om du ikke er helt ferdig med årets kalender ennå [...].
88. Disse eskene trenger en siste *touch* før de er helt klare til å fylles med pakker [...].
89. Og så må jeg alltid ha en ekstra *fluffy* dusk på :-)
90. Den er et *must* – flaskebaby eller ei!
91. [...] men jeg synes utfordringen er så *funny* at jeg like gjerne poster den her.
92. I dag kjører Gina Tricot *FLASH SALE online* som en tidlig *Christmas Surprise* eksklusivt for mine lesere!
93. Sjekk gjerne ut innlegget jeg gjorde om deres *Exclusive Collection* her også – den er superfin!
94. Bursdagen ble jo helt *awesome*!
95. [...] det ble ekstremt stort og det ble *over the top* og det er fordi jeg fikk muligheten til å gjøre det sånn [...].
96. Håper i hvert fall at *12 days-oppsettet* mitt skal holde meg gående selv om vi har reist til Ålesund [...].
97. [...] da vi hadde *Bianco-eventet* sammen.
98. Da har vi offisielt startet *julegaveracet*!
99. De har utrolig mange fine skjørt som kan kombineres med bodyer eller topper i tillegg til fine *jumpsuits* og bukser som kan passe like bra som en kjole til årets festligheter :-)
100. På planen står *12 days of Christmas workouts* som jeg viste dere her om dagen [...].
101. I dag har vi jo over 9 godbiter som venter på oss, *holy*!
102. Litt *girlpower*, det er kult!
103. [...] men Nikola gjorde ett eller annet som fikk fargen *freshere* likevel :-)
104. Miniespresso gir deg enkelt og greit espresso *on the go*!
105. Lars-Kristian fikk seg også en liten *reality check* lenge før vi var kommet til Drammen [...].
106. Neglelakken og lepestiften kommer i en *golden editin-utgave* [sic] spesielt for jule- og nyttårstiden [...]
107. [...] og denne finnes kun i en begrenset periode. *Don't miss it!*
108. Kombinasjonen grønnkål, quinoa, rødløk, tørkede bær og kylling – *me oh my!*
109. I dag ser jeg litt annerledes ut, med behagelige *stretchy jeans*, *oversized* genser, lue og nesten ugg-sko på beina.

110. [...] det er alltid så hyggelig å åpne macen, trykke på *add new* og skrive litt til dere igjen.
111. *Comfy* genser, *stretchy jeans* og *baggy* lue er på.
112. Hvor *amazing* er ikke pysjamasen min?!
113. Jeg rakk akkurat å bestille den før den ble utsolgt – *I love it!*
114. [...] men jeg var sjeleglad da jeg kunne plane ut på sofaen med Lars-Kristian og ENGELIG se *Home Alone* da kvelden kom.
115. Og så, helt uforventet bare et par uker før termin overrasket jentene meg med en *babyshower!*
116. Jeg var på *fotoshoot!*
117. [...] og jeg var enda en tur i København for en *photoshoot*.
118. Kveldens kokk og mesterverket helstekt kalkun – *nailer* det hvert år!
119. [...] sammen med avkjølede *eye pads*, for jeg har verdens mest intense trøttetryne akkurat nå.
120. Har du noen nyttårsforsett? *Tell me!*
121. Da jentene hadde *babyshower* for meg!
122. [...] selv om det alltid stod som et punkt på *to do-listen*.
123. [...] og trenger rask mat som ikke er *take away*, det må vi ha til gode!
124. [...] så i dag ble det *take away* og middag på gulvet.
125. [...] så nå går han *all in*.
126. [...] når du blir tvers igjennom lykkelig av *take away*, ala wok bare noen minutter unna med bil.
127. Det følger med en *remover* og ekstra tape, pluss en liten hilsen fra meg :-)
128. Dette er altså resultatet av *shooten* jeg gjorde i november :-)
129. [...] men nå nærmet det seg *deadline* og plutselig dukket det opp ting jeg aldri hadde tenkt på før [...].
130. Jeg skal ærlig innrømme at det å trykke på *add new post* akkurat nå, det føles HELT fantastisk!
131. *All right*, da har vi kommet til den delen som jeg synes er aller morsomst [...].
132. Hadde gjort seg med 8 timers søvn *non stop!*
133. Men i stedet for øredobber ble det *choker* med masse glitter.
134. Synes vi fortjener en pause nå, sammen med *take out*. Jeg ER så lei av *take out* at jeg spyr [...].
135. [...] monterte på alle prismene igjen, slo på lyset og *BAM!* Der henger den.

136. Her er et lite *moodboard* – jeg tror jeg vil kjøre en kombinasjon med masse farger.
137. Nå har det kommet så mange *freshe* nyheter hos Get Inspired.
138. [...] mye av det er så funksjonelt og samtidig *fresht* [...].
139. Det vanskeligste av alt er kanskje å finne den perfekte gråfargen, den som verken blir *kaffelatte-ish* eller blå i diverse lys.
140. Og så viser det seg at det har ligget på toppen hele tiden? *Story of my life*. Og så har vi jo sovet nede i stua i en uke nå.
141. [...] så er det mat som ikke er *take away*, men som går fort å lage.
142. møt naboene dine – *done and done!*
143. vær en uke *offline* – det har jeg gjort! Eller, nesten. 5 dager *off* og det var også mer enn nok :-). Jeg klarer fint å være *off* selv om jeg er *on* – om det gir mening!
144. Jeg har jo tidligere vært ærlig om at jeg fikk fullstendig husangst etter at jeg fikk besøk av en såkalt «*stalker*» som forsøkte å oppsøke meg flere ganger.
145. Rett før helgen filmet vi en liten *house tour* til dere!
146. Åh, jeg hadde lyst til å danse hele tiden og var sekunder unna å kaste meg utpå parketten og *joine* den mest livlige sirkelen.
147. Det er så gøy og dette er nok *once in a lifetime* for oss også [...].
148. Vi var innom 2 forskjellige brudesalonger *and she said YES to the dress!* Tenk at hun har funnet den [...].
149. [...] nå synes jeg det var på tide å dele en med dere igjen, så da jeg *scrollet* meg gjennom min daglige nyhetsoppdatering mandag morgen og oppdaget oppskriften [...].
150. I dag har forresten kjøkkenet fått en HELT nydelig farge, klassisk hvit *for the win!*
151. Nå sitter jeg og koser meg med fyr i peisen her på hytta og skriver på konvoluttene til *save the date* for 30-årsfeiringen min!
152. [...] savnet han den engelske frokosten han alltid fyller tallerken med når vi er på hotell: egg, bacon *and all that jazz*.
153. Eller kanskje du har lest den? Hva synes du i så fall? *TELL ME!!*
154. *Piñata* er jo et *karnevalmust*, er du ikke enig?
155. I kveld dekket vi hele hytta med *confetti*, haha!
156. Vi startet dagen tidlig i dag, med *makeup* og hår fra klokken syv!
157. Da Nelia skulle døpes hadde jeg temaet *merry go round-karusell* og fargepaletten gikk i de samme som Nelia har på rommet sitt [...].

158. [...] lov til å snuse litt på vårplagg allerede nå. *Bomberjackets* i bade lange og korte varianter, skinnjakken [...].
159. De er like kule til *sneakers* som til høye hæler og er enkle å style [...].
160. Jeg har gitt t av mine *bomberjakker* en lite *makeover*! Det er ikke lenge siden jeg fant disse superfine strykelappene på h&m (sic) og jeg tenkte umiddelbart at de måtte være helt perfekte til å *pimpe* opp et par *jeans*, skjorter eller jakker som disse med.
161. De er lekne og fargerike, men kan også være helt vanlige hvite *sneakers* som jeg blir lei av det rosa og *fluffy* – noe jeg ikke tror jeg blir med det første.
162. *Pom poms* er jo dessuten å spotte på alt fra sko og vesker til hatter og gensere i år [...].
163. [...] å dele mine favorittoppskrifter i kategorien *snacks* og snop!
164. *Bliss balls*! Altså, jeg elsker alt som kan rulles sammen til en kule og dyttes inn i munnen. *Yummy*!
165. Sjokoladedekte mandler? *Me oh my*! Disse har jeg laget mange ganger [...].
166. Hvem sa at iskrem bare skal spises om sommeren? Vil du ha is på pinne *the healthy and easy way*? En helt nydelig kombinasjon av vanilje og blåbær [...].
167. Det er sånn det er, tross alt skal det være litt *action* i hverdagene ;-)
168. Dette vinner du ♥ 6 timers fotografering på bryllupsdagen ♥ *coffee table book* ♥ USB-minne med bildene i full oppløsning til en verdi av 25 000,-
169. Dessuten har det nesten nettopp blitt pusset opp fra topp til tå, det er så *fresht* her nå!
170. Det var vel senest på onsdag at jeg nevnte min forkjærlighet for *bliss balls* – alt som kan rulles sammen til en kule og dyttes i munnen er som regel snadder og disse er intet unntak! *Bliss balls* er rett og slett en *snack* du verken trenger å steke i ovnen eller forberede på noen måte [...].
171. Men det som er så fint med *boots* er at de passer like bra til en t-skjorte som til en finere topp [...].

# Pictures

172.



173.



174.





175.

my favorites from the collection



176.







177.

178.



### 12 days of Christmas workout plan

- |  |                        |                        |   |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|---|
|   | 1 x 30 sekunder planke | 7 x rumpeløft          |    |
|  | 2 x push ups           | 8 x utfall             |   |
|  | 3 x hoppende utfall    | 9 x burpees            |   |
|  | 4 x kettlebell swings  | 10 x mountain climbers |   |
|  | 5 x jumping jacks      | 11 x knebøy            |  |
|  | 6 x sit ups            | 12 x heppetau          |   |

179.



180.





in week 35  
baby is as big as a



honeydew melon!



181.



182.



- weekly update -



due date: 4th of september

pregnant in week 40

- 39 weeks + 5 days -

- 5 days to go -

it's a little girl

183.



184.



185.



186.

*Reading gives us some place to go when we have to stay where we are.*



187.

## Captions

188. *my favorits from the collection*

189. *let's go PINK!*

190. *topp / skjørt / body / bukse / jumpsuit / jumpsuit med choker / paljettgenser / singlet HER / choker / veske / jakke*

191. *whipped cream shaped like a gingerbread cookie*

192. *finally*

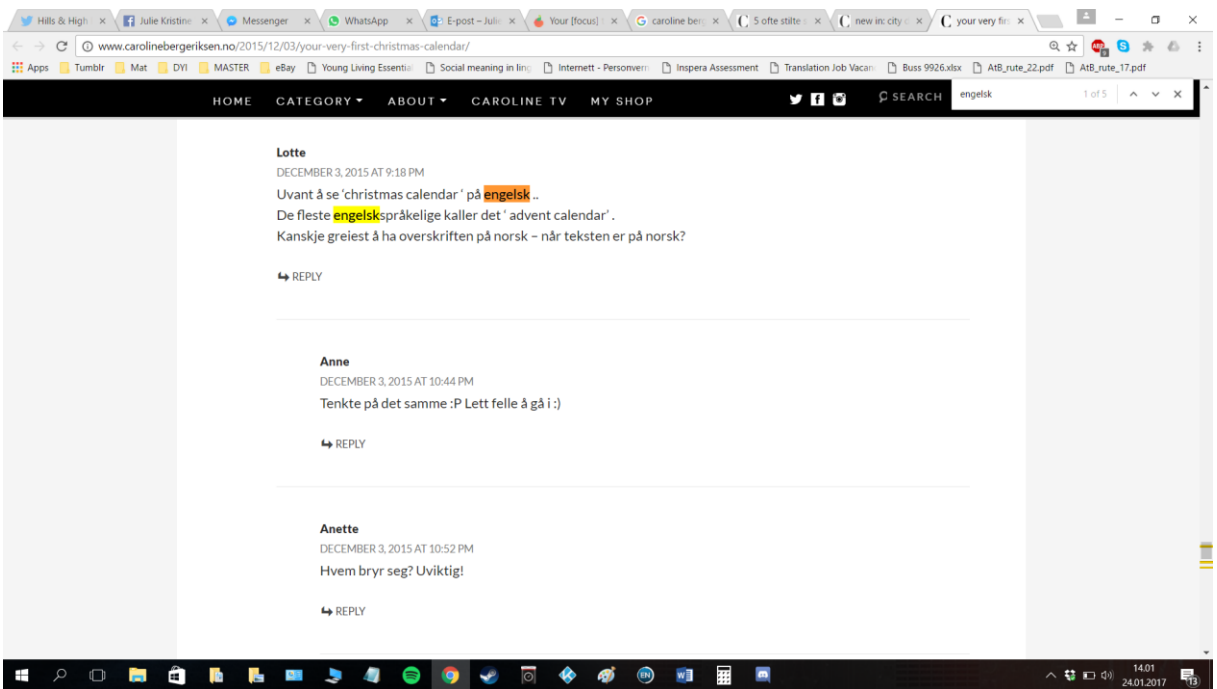
193. *Den rosa tok jeg de søtteste merkene på! I'm a unicat!*

194. *– boss lady – that's me! –*



## Appendix II: Conversations about English on Eriksen's Blog

1.



www.carolinebergeriksen.no/2015/12/03/your-very-first-christmas-calendar/

HOME CATEGORY ABOUT CAROLINE TV MY SHOP SEARCH engelsk 1 of 5

**Lotte**  
DECEMBER 3, 2015 AT 9:18 PM  
Uvant å se 'christmas calendar' på engelsk ..  
De fleste engelskspråkelige kaller det 'advent calendar'.  
Kanskje greiest å ha overskriften på norsk - når teksten er på norsk?

REPLY

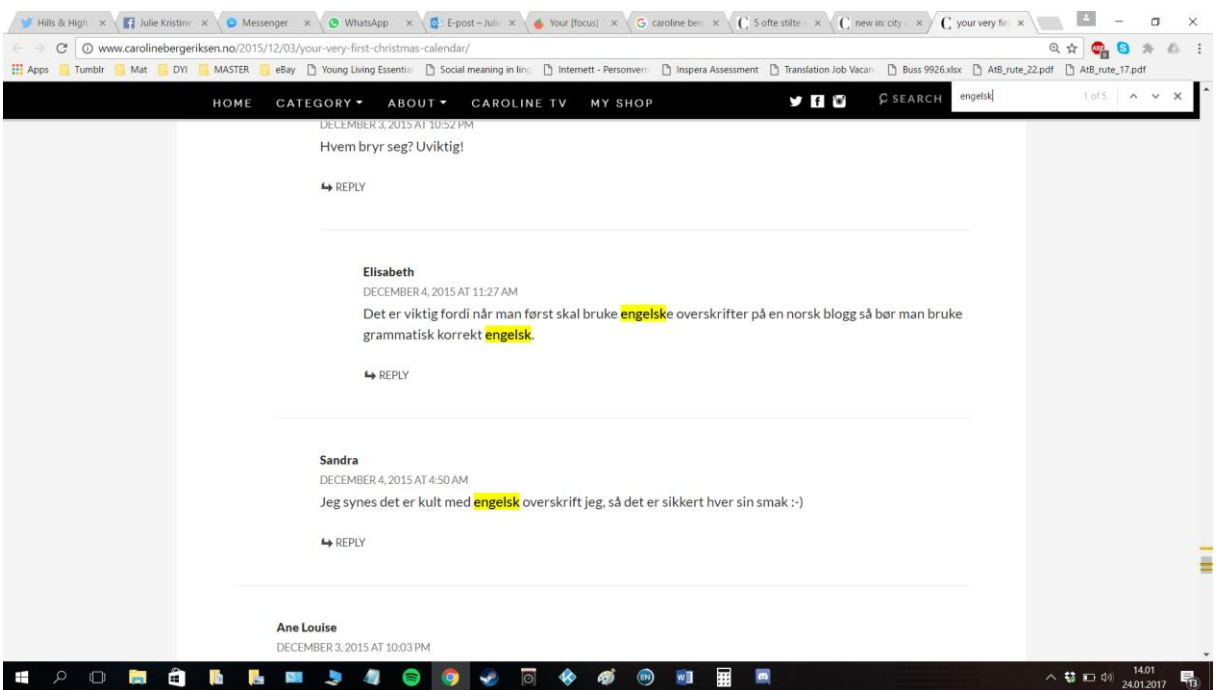
**Anne**  
DECEMBER 3, 2015 AT 10:44 PM  
Tenkte på det samme :P Lett felle å gå i :)

REPLY

**Anette**  
DECEMBER 3, 2015 AT 10:52 PM  
Hvem bryr seg? Uviktig!

REPLY

2.



www.carolinebergeriksen.no/2015/12/03/your-very-first-christmas-calendar/

HOME CATEGORY ABOUT CAROLINE TV MY SHOP SEARCH engelsk 1 of 5

DECEMBER 3, 2015 AT 10:52 PM  
Hvem bryr seg? Uviktig!

REPLY

**Elisabeth**  
DECEMBER 4, 2015 AT 11:27 AM  
Det er viktig fordi når man først skal bruke engelske overskrifter på en norsk blogg så bør man bruke grammatisk korrekt engelsk.

REPLY

**Sandra**  
DECEMBER 4, 2015 AT 4:50 AM  
Jeg synes det er kult med engelsk overskrift jeg, så det er sikkert hver sin smak :-)

REPLY

**Ane Louise**  
DECEMBER 3, 2015 AT 10:03 PM

**Marie**  
MARCH 22, 2016 AT 11:04 PM  
Hvorfor velger du å bruke så mange engelske ord når du skriver? Er det noe du, som journalist, har tatt et reflektert valg på? Jeg synes det er synd at vi vasker ut språket vårt, hvertfall når det finnes fullverdige norske ord...

↳ REPLY

**Caroline**  
MARCH 23, 2016 AT 8:06 AM  
Jeg bruker faktisk en del engelske ord i dagligtalen min og selv om bloggen er jobben min, tar jeg meg visse friheter ettersom den også er personlig :) For meg er det helt naturlig å blande litt av språkene, vi blir jo stadig mer og mer internasjonale og jeg har også mange utenlandske lesere :)

↳ REPLY

**Gunni**  
MARCH 22, 2016 AT 11:52 PM  
Jeg så den kjolen i dag, og må si meg enig med foranskrivende, litt kosakkpreg over den. Du ser sikkert bra ut i den.

3.

**Julie**  
JANUARY 26, 2017 AT 9:59 AM  
Hei Caroline! Jeg jobber for tiden med en masteroppgave om bruk av engelsk i norske tekster publisert på internett, og i den forbindelse lurte jeg på om du kunne svare meg på et lite spørsmål? :)  
  
Du bruker veldig ofte engelske overskrifter på bloggen din, men den siste uka har det vært nesten bare norske overskrifter. Er dette et bevisst valg du tar? I så fall, hva er det som får deg til å velge norsk eller engelsk overskrift på innleggene dine?  
  
Hadde satt utrolig stor pris på om du tok det tid til å svare! :D

↳ REPLY

**Caroline Berg Eriksen**  
JANUARY 26, 2017 AT 10:56 AM  
Vet du, det tar jeg bare helt på feelingen (haha :p) Jeg skriver overskrifter ut fra hva jeg synes passer og legger ikke altfor mye i om det er engelsk eller norsk. Jeg bruker jo en del engelske ord og uttrykk i dagligtalen også, så ofte blir det naturlig for meg. Noen ganger er jeg bevisst på å bruke norsk og ikke engelsk dersom jeg ser at det norske faktisk fungerer best. Ettersom dette er en blogg så synes jeg det er kult at jeg kan ta meg friheten til det også! :)

↳ REPLY

4.

## Appendix III: Question about Language Use

Svarvalg	Svar
▼ Jeg kommer ikke på / kan ikke det norske ordet	51,58% 49
▼ Jeg tenker ikke over at jeg bruker engelske ord	41,05% 39
▼ Jeg liker ordet bedre på engelsk / synes det passer bedre	36,84% 35
▼ Det er sånn jeg snakker og skriver / det er naturligst for meg	27,37% 26
▼ Jeg blander aldri språk, jeg er bevisst på å holde de adskilt og bare bruke norske ord når jeg snakker norsk	10,53% 10
▼ Det er en del av min internasjonale identitet	4,21% 4
▼ Å bruke engelsk får meg til å føle at jeg er en del av noe større enn bare lille Norge	3,16% 3
▼ Jeg har alltid snakket begge språkene (en forelder er norsk, en er engelsk, vi snakker sånn hjemme)	2,11% 2
▼ Engelsk er kult, norsk er kjedelig	1,05% 1
▼ For å vise at jeg er ikke "bare" norsk	1,05% 1
Totalt antall respondenter: 95	

1.

Jeg prøver å snakke norsk, men kanskje "slipper inn" ett og annet ord. Faguttrykk er noe annet, der bruker jeg engelsk 28.02.2017 11:42 <a href="#">Se respondentenes svar</a>
Bruker mange engelske ord og uttrykk gjennom jobben som flyger. På "privaten" prøver jeg ikke å blande. 28.02.2017 11:31 <a href="#">Se respondentenes svar</a>
Gift med engelskspråklig 28.02.2017 01:25 <a href="#">Se respondentenes svar</a>
Er blitt englifisert gjennom media! 28.02.2017 00:11 <a href="#">Se respondentenes svar</a>
Jeg er vant til å bruke engelsk på skolen så av og til kommer jeg ikke på det norske ordet fort nok 27.02.2017 15:09 <a href="#">Se respondentenes svar</a>
Jeg prøver å være bevisst på å ikke bruke engelske ord i norsken, men enkelte engelske ord sniker seg allikevel inn i språket. Dette tror jeg hovedsakelig er fordi det ikke er et godt norsk ord som har helt den samme betydningen eller som ikke beskriver det samme like godt. Eksempel på dette er det engelske ordet "random". Det norske ordet "tilfeldig" har på en måte ikke helt den samme betydningen. 27.02.2017 14:39 <a href="#">Se respondentenes svar</a>

2.

Bruker IKKE engelske ord 27.02.2017 14:33 <a href="#">Se respondentenes svar</a>
Jeg bruker veldig lite engelske ord når jeg snakker og skriver, og jeg tror det har noe med min generasjon å gjøre. Jeg er født i 1969 og jeg hører at de som er yngre har en del engelske ord og vendinger. Når de sier at de skal møtes i seks-tida, sier de seks-ish 27.02.2017 14:31 <a href="#">Se respondentenes svar</a>
Liker ikke de norske banneordene, så bruker de engelske isteden 27.02.2017 14:21 <a href="#">Se respondentenes svar</a>
Plukker nok mye opp fra film/serier, sosiale medier. 27.02.2017 14:10 <a href="#">Se respondentenes svar</a>
Jeg bruker både og. Engelske ord brukes mer til dagligdags hvor man ikke er så seriøs og betyr ikke så mye (nice, sorry ol.), mens jeg bruker norske ord hvis jeg skal være alvorlig. 27.02.2017 14:07 <a href="#">Se respondentenes svar</a>
Noen ganger tenker jeg ikke over det. Hvis jeg leter etter et ord, kan det engelske ordet ofte dukke opp før det norske. 27.02.2017 13:58 <a href="#">Se respondentenes svar</a>

3.