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**Croatian-English Code-Switching Patterns of Croatian  
Facebook Users  
Master's Thesis**

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## 1 Introduction

The Croatian language has been enriched and extended by the means of the English language in the 20th, and especially in the 21st century.

Usage of the English language has, as well as the usage of the Internet, which is nowadays one of the most essential means of communication, expanded. These two processes influence each other. More explicitly, usage of English rises by the usage of the Internet, and the usage of the English-speaking Internet websites grows the more people become accustomed to and learn English. In the case of Facebook as one of the components of the Internet, it is a place where people are allowed to express their creativity in a multitude of ways, which also includes linguistic creativity.

Croatian Facebook users, as one would expect, mainly write in Croatian, since it is their mother tongue. However, not all the concepts they write about require Croatian in referring to them. Therefore, the code is sometimes switched from Croatian into English. The author has observed that English is used not only in order to cover the concepts not existing in the Croatian language, but also when Croatian equivalents are available. Therefore, this research was initiated. The CS from Croatian into English, along with its forms and functions was explored in a scientific, empirical manner due to its frequent occurrence which could not be neglected.

The composition and the contents of the paper will be laid out in the following lines. The terminology relevant to code-switching (code, code-switching, bilingualism, borrowings) and to Facebook as a means of communication (computer-mediated communication and social networks) is explicated in the first chapter. Afterwards the reader is introduced into the research by means of methodology and results presentation. All the findings, relevant questions and answers are incorporated into the discussion chapter. The conclusion about the code-switching into English on Facebook follows in Chapter 5, while some of the examples from the corpus are inserted into the Appendix. The other part of it is the questionnaire that has been conducted with the participants, in its original form.

Presentation of the structure and function of the switches in the public domain of Facebook (which includes the users' communication via status updates, comments and other posts) is the aim of this paper.

## 2 Code, code-switching, bilingualism

These three terms are crucial for the purpose of this paper. They are sociolinguistics-related and interconnected. *Codes* form *code-switching* and more *codes* can make a person *bilingual*. *Bilingualism* includes two or more *codes* and can entail *code-switching*. Because of the specific connections between these three terms, they will have to be introduced in a specific order, starting with the term code.

### 2.1 Code

Each of us, when speaking, uses a certain code. Be it a dialect at home with the family, formal professional language at a university, slang with friends or a language other than our mother tongue when traveling. These “types” of languages are meant when mentioning the term *code*, which will be discussed in the following lines because it is the basic term upon which the term *code-switching* was developed.

The term *code* has been coined by information theorists (Wardough 2006, 88) and in sociolinguistics was first used by Basil Bernstein when he conducted a research on the elaborated code of the middle class and the restricted code of the working class.

Each of the codes reveals the functions of different forms of social relationships (Bernstein 1962, 221) which manifests on linguistic features (lexicon, structure) of the differentiated codes. The elaborated code is appropriated to a formal discussion situation, it is verbally elaborated and it facilitates the verbal elaboration, whereas the restricted code is simplified and it limits the verbal expression and lexicon choice (Bernstein 1962, 233). Therefore, the structural elements are “highly predictable in the case of the restricted code and much less so in the case of an elaborated code” (Bernstein 1962, 233). Bernstein concluded that codes are indicators of qualities of different social structures (1962, 233), which has led us to the comprehension of this term as a social reflex visible in language use, but the Bernsteinian division could not be evaluated as accurate in the contemporary society since nowadays social classes are not typical groups with fixed boundaries as before.

However, it must be noted that the meaning of the term has expanded since its establishment. The elaborated and restricted code approach brought us to Wardough’s definition of codes as any kind of a system that individuals or groups employ for communication (Wardough 2006, 88).

Although the term *code* is neutral in itself (Wardhaugh 2006, 88) and it nowadays encompasses all sorts of language varieties, be it dialects, different types of slang, jargons, or simply natural languages, the term used in a vast majority of cases in linguistics (especially in sociolinguistics) is the term *variety*. Therefore, considering the topic of this paper, the author will rather use the term *variety* when referring to two distinct languages, English and Croatian, which are discussed as social reflexes becoming visible on the Facebook social networking site. The term *code* is outdated because of its allusions on the associated terms *elaborated* and *restricted code*.

To sum up the concept of *code* in the context of the term *code-switching*, in the case of this paper it refers to Croatian and English - the codes (or languages) that are switched. Switching two or more codes (or using them in separate occasions) is characteristic for bilingualism. The problematic aspects of bilingualism will be discussed in the following chapter.

## **2.2 Bilingualism - a sociolinguistic perspective**

To introduce the term *bilingualism* we must first refer to the concept of a global language, and to English as a widespread language since it is relevant for this study as one of the languages involved in bilingual activities.

David Crystal defines a global language as a language that "develops a special role that is recognized in every country" (Crystal 2003, 3). English is undoubtedly one of those languages. Its influence has spread to a vast number of life domains. It has permeated many cultures and become an extremely significant factor in the global human experience.

In the early 2000s around 1.5 billion people have already been fluent and competent in English. Crystal states that this figure continues to grow (Crystal 2003, 6). Myers-Scotton also recognizes this status of English. She emphasizes the fact that English has "moved with surprising speed into almost all nations and almost all settings" (Myers-Scotton 2006, 5).

This has especially been the case since World War II. which ended with the victory of the Allied forces among which were the United States. Their role "spread the prestige of all things American" (Myers-Scotton 2006, 407). The influence of English has notably spread even earlier in history through the technological advances of Britain in the nineteenth century, but the impact of English was even greater in the post-WWII world. Due to the aforementioned spread of USA's influence, many aspects of life and cultures worldwide have since been receiving and/or

accepting the “American phenomenon”. This also encompasses the English language. Myers-Scotton defines the United States as a “mass producer of cultural inventions in English” (Myers-Scotton 2006, 407) and exemplifies this by mentioning films and pop music. However, they are not the only things that serve as a device for the spread of English. She continues by stating that the United States are the major force in the era of capitalism (industry, commerce and finance). Of course, the process is global, but “American-led thinking about capitalism is what does dominate” (Myers-Scotton 2006, 407). Along with capitalism spreads the English language.

Crystal (2003) also tackles this topic and lists several areas in which the influence of English cannot be ignored: international relations, the media, advertising, broadcasting, cinema, popular music, travel, education (“English is now the main foreign language of European secondary school children” (Myers-Scotton 2006, 408)), communications and the Internet. He highlights the use of English online and its position as “the chief lingua franca of the Internet” (Crystal 2003, 117). He also refers to the United States as the biggest developer in twentieth-century computer science (Crystal 2003, 121).

Having all of this in mind, one must also understand that even though English has taken root as the go-to language of all things related to computers and the Internet, it should not be considered a threat, but an alternative to other languages because “on the Net, all languages are as equal as their users wish to make them” (Crystal 2003, 120). Therefore, claims about linguistic imperialism (of English) by Phillipson (Crystal 2003, 407) are not entirely consistent. The same can be stated for House’s division of languages into those for communication on one hand, and those for identification on the other (Crystal 2003, 407). In present times, the lines of this division are blurred because, as this paper suggests, people also use English as a language for identification in addition to communication which House claims is the primary function of English.

In the context of the aforementioned facts and claims, it is rare to find an exclusively monolingual person, especially in the time of highly developed international and intercultural relations, high rates of migration, and generally good connections by means of developed technology (House and Rehbein 2004, 1; Gal 2007, 149).

For example, Europeans, although having their national languages, during education in schools and universities learn at least one foreign language as an obligatory subject (Myers-Scotton 2006, 4), which is in most cases English. Therefore most of them could be

described as bilinguals with various degrees of proficiency. How this epithet differs in terms of language proficiency and general definition is quite problematic.

Usage of two or more languages or competence in more than one language is called bilingualism (Myers-Scotton 2006, 2; Filipović 1986, 30; Clyne 1998, ch. 2.18). This definition is nevertheless not sufficiently detailed.

Myers-Scotton, a socio- and psycholinguist, emphasizes that bilingualism is the ability to “use those two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation” (2006, 44), i.e. to demonstrate minimal use in a short conversation (2006, 44, 45). By this is the dilemma about the accuracy of the old, rigid definition of bilingualism as the ability to speak two or more languages as native languages (Clyne 1998, ch. 2.18) resolved.

Moreover, there have even been extreme proposals concerning the view on bilingualism in the 1950-s and ‘60-s, when the standpoints started to change. Diebold, for example, claimed that a bilingual person is a person able to understand sentences of another language, and Haugen, who said that a bilingual person is a person able to use a few sentences of another language (quoted in Filipović 1986, 34). Whatever the case may be, the latter linguist is closer to our definition, although both of those definitions have led us to the main point about bilingualism of the contemporary society.

Most bilinguals are native-like proficient and fluent only in their first language, and if they speak several second languages<sup>1</sup>, they do not govern their usage equally well due to the unequal exposure to all languages they speak, but also due to different frequency or situations they use them in (Myers-Scotton 2006, 3, 38; Wardaugh 2006, 96). This especially refers to late learners, who learn a language after the age of 12 (Myers-Scotton 2006, 37, 291).

Unlike early childhood bilingualism or early second-language learning, later second-language learning is more conscious. One has to invest much effort that does not always guarantee great command of a language and is mostly explicit (Myers-Scotton 2006, 344, 347). What the author wants to emphasize is the gradual categorization of bilinguals and the importance of observation of bilingualism phenomena from various aspects.

There is absolute (native-like) or gradient (Myers-Scotton 2006, 39), active or passive (Myers-Scotton 2006, 44, 294), and simultaneous (parallel acquisition of two or more languages) or sequential (acquisition of a language after the other) bilingualism (Myers-Scotton 2006, 294).

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<sup>1</sup> L1=first language, acquired first as a child; L2= any second language, acquired later, either as a child or adult (Myers-Scotton 2006, 2).

The last two are not of crucial importance, but are useful just for the emphasis of the degrees of proficiency in English in the research since all the participants are Croatian citizens of Croatian nationality, which means that most of them have learned English after Croatian. When it comes to passive bilingualism, it is logical that it is in itself a contradictory term, since language competences of average, healthy human beings consist of both production and reception, so in order to be bilingual, a human has to *produce* languages. Filipović puts a special emphasis on the complete change of the language, as well as *usage* of different phonological structures and syntax if a bilingual (1986, 30). The lexicon is the “weakest link” in a bilingual’s L2 proficiency because bilinguals most often have the smaller store of words than the monolinguals or native speakers of a relevant language (Myers-Scotton 2006, 40). That is also why bilinguals do not have to be defined as persons mastering two or more languages equally.

A bilingual person could also be called a *multilingual* person if he or she uses more than two languages. These two adjectives are quite synonymous in much of academic work. As Clyne puts it, multilingualism refers to either bilingualism of an individual or of the entire society (1998, ch. 2.18).

Both of the aforementioned terms can be sociolinguistically analyzed, i.e. the used language other than the L1 of an individual or society can be seen as a social reflex. Unlike sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics observes only the individual bilingualism- how it develops and processes. Of course, the psycho- and sociolinguistic approach frequently overlap.

Now that we have introduced two crucial terms for describing code-switching, we move on to code-switching itself.

### **2.3 Code-switching**

Code-switching is an interesting language contact phenomenon crucial for this research. It was observed from one specific perspective (Facebook social networking site), but because of its importance, a detailed elaboration of the very term has to be carried out.

People from not only different ethnic or migrant communities engage in code-switching, but also people living in their home countries and speaking their mother tongues most of the time. Those people come to contact with foreign languages the rest of the time or, more precisely, the non-native languages in their linguistic repertoire. However, they are exposed to foreign



languages and use them occasionally in forms of single words or even full sentences even when speaking with the co-members of their community, which is the case in this paper; Croatian, the host language mixes with English, the guest language.

A basic, introductory definition of code-switching (from now on: CS) is: “the use of two language varieties in the same conversation” (Myers-Scotton 2006, 161). According to Myers-Scotton, CS is a language act that occurs in the same conversational turn or in consecutive turns and includes morphemes from two *or more* language varieties. Scotton emphasizes that persons engaging in CS have to be fluent bilinguals (Myers-Scotton 1998, ch. 2.13).

According to the Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame Model, in CS a base, dominant language that “sets the grammatical frame in mixed constituents” is the matrix language (Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13), and the embedded, subordinate language is a guest language or the other language constituting CS (Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13).

The differentiation between borrowings and CS in terms of mono- and bilingualism of the speakers can be interpreted as follows: “monolinguals use borrowing, and only bilinguals engage in CS” (Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13).

CS research started in the 1950-s in modern sociolinguistics when functions and meanings of CS have been examined (Bailey 2007, 264). This language alternation phenomenon has in the 1960-s been treated as linguistic interference in a negative sense - as a linguistic, social or cognitive deficit (Bailey 2007, 264).

At the beginning of the next decade CS research was more intensive - Gumperz, Blom and Scotton continued the research on social meaning of and motivation for CS (Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13), but with an opposite stance than mentioned above referring to deficit - they presented it as a “form of skilled performance through which individual social actors could communicate various social and pragmatic meanings”, or the strategy to influence interpersonal relations and neutralize interpersonal interactions (Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13).

In the 1980-s, one of the most prominent researchers of CS were Auer and Gumperz. In their opinion, CS can be divided into situational and metaphorical CS. Situational CS refers to external factors such as situational context, while the metaphorical one refers to sociocultural background. When situations in which participants find themselves change (e.g. school, home, institutions, or a simple change of participants in a conversation), the code changes. Topic change is not involved, but the domain is (Wardough 2006, 104). Metaphorical CS refers to the change of topic that

results in the change of the code used. Not all the topics require a change in language, but “the choice of code adds a distinct flavor to what is said about the topic”, and it “encodes certain social values” (Wardough 2006, 104).

However, situational and metaphorical CS do not play a crucial role in the speaker’s decision for CS, but rather the discourse structure, as Auer and Gumperz claim (quoted in Myers-Scotton 2006, 172, 173; Androutsopolous 2013, 669, 670). Besides, Myers-Scotton herself claims that CS is a discourse device with a more pragmatic function - to express and stress speakers’ social intentions by means of language (Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13).

In the same period Heller claimed that CS patterns are a reflex of norms and a repertoire of a group, as well as group values (quoted in Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13), which is also claimed by Poplack and her associates who highlighted the importance of community norms in comparison to individual abilities, demographic variables or even personal linguistic proficiency (quoted in Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13).

As Myers-Scotton puts it, in the 1990-s CS was observed as a means for the negotiation of interpersonal relationships. Speakers and addressees weigh costs and rewards of choices made - marked (unexpected) and unmarked (expected). She highlights the importance of social and discourse motivations for CS, and more importantly, claims that social or psycholinguistic characteristics of different groups in the community and structural characteristics of their CS are related (Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13). She also suggests that CS structures are important features of second-language acquisition, i.e. non-native bilingual speech production (Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13).

Types of CS can be analyzed from the structural, syntactic aspect. In conversation, CS can occur between participants’ turns or within a single participant’s turn (Wardough 2006, 101). However, when talking about the change of code within a single participant’s turn, we can detect intrasentential switching if the switch occurs on the level of words within sentences, clauses and phrases, while the change of code within the phrases, clauses and sentences, i.e. within a clause boundary is called intersentential switching (Wardough 2006, 101). Both of the two sorts can include single words, except in the cases in which morphological adaptation occurs.

CS is a multifaceted and diverse phenomenon that shows flexibility and openness of the speakers in regards to language (Wardough 2006, 115). It is a subconscious act (Wardough 2006, 104, 110; Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13) performed by proficient bilinguals who have the ability to

produce well-formed constituents in the languages used in their CS, but the abilities in languages involved in CS are never equal (Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13). Linguistic repertoires of the speakers engaged in CS are namely crucial for engaging in the very act of CS.

However, demographic features such as education, local residence, region of origin, social class and occupation sometimes define the speaker's linguistic repertoire and his or her relations with a group, as well as the norms of CS within a group (Wardough 2006, 106). Other factors among the speaker determining speech, according to Coupland, are setting, topic and audience (Coupland 2007, 59), which can be counted as motivation for CS.

There are numerous reasons for CS. Myers-Scotton says that speakers switch codes because it "suits their intentions" (Myers-Scotton 1998, 2.13). She, among other authors, identifies several reasons for CS: choice of topic (Wardough 2006, 104; Myers-Scotton 2006, 143), perception of social and cultural distance (Wardough 2006, 104), appropriateness of codes in certain contexts (Wardough 2006, 113), social attractiveness and communication effectiveness (Coupland 2007, 62; Myers-Scotton 2006, 155), and filling pragmatic and lexical gaps (Myers-Scotton 2006, 143). Most of these reasons are sociolinguistic by nature, but tend to overlap with some other areas (for instance psychological ones). These general reasons for CS can be analyzed further on the basis of concrete examples, which will be done later on in this paper.

We have established that discourse structure plays an important role in the interlocutors' motivation for CS. The reasons mentioned above are in relation to discourse functions broader and less specific. Gumperz lists several discourse functions of CS. These are: switching codes for reported speech, specifying the addressee, clarification, emphasis, expressivity, message type differentiation (e.g. separating facts from comments) and the contrast between subjective and objective opinions (quoted in Androutsopolous 2013, 670).

A sociolinguist exploring modern communication phenomena in contact linguistics is Jannis Androutsopolous who added a few discourse functions of CS on the basis of Gumperz's list (Androutsopolous 2013, 681). According to him, CS has formulaic discourse purposes. For instance, in greetings, farewells and good wishes. He also mentions CS as a tool for performing culturally-specific genres (for instance, poetry, jokes or proverbs). Contextualizing a topical or perspective shift and distinguishing between facts and opinion or information and affect are pragmatic functions of CS that are also classified as discourse functions by Androutsopolous. The last function specified is that of designating the tone of a communicative act (humorous or

serious).

The CS phenomenon has been explored in conversation, but not excessively in written language, especially not in the computer-mediated communication. In CMC not only CS appears - borrowings do as well.

## **2.4 Borrowings**

Since every natural language is an open and flexible system formed by its speakers and their everyday necessities and activities (for what they mostly need verbal communication), it is quite unrealistic to keep and maintain “pure” English, German, Croatian or any language that is spoken in communities that socially and culturally participate in sharing information and ideas from the contemporary world.

Language contact has always existed and no language has ever appeared “out of the blue”; all languages have their story and history. Since societies change, develop, and grow, the same changes are visible in languages - they are flexible and the linguistic change that occurs is not only endocentric, but also exocentric. More explicitly, a language X does not expand its vocabulary only from language X, but also takes words from language Y. With the appearance of various new concepts, ideas, objects (especially technological ones) and generally phenomena in our reality, languages also have to enrich and, as means of communication, serve their speakers for the purpose of naming the new concepts from the extra-linguistic reality.

Since those expressions are not always easy to find, the process called lexical borrowing has to emerge. Foreign words from a giving language are imported in the receiving language and to a receiving culture or civilization (Filipović 1986, 34). Additionally, the contact between these two is featured as either direct or indirect, i.e. intermediary borrowing (Filipović 1986, 34). Borrowings fill in the gaps in recipient language vocabularies when new objects, terms, ideas or concepts of a foreign culture or civilization need to be named (Filipović 1990,15) and become established in a receiving language and monolingual users of a receiving language use them (Myers-Scotton 2006, 45).

When it comes to borrowings from the English language, they are called anglicisms. Taking into account the global status of English nowadays, it is obvious via which means they constantly emerge. Before the Internet, media such as TV, radio, newspapers, magazines, dictionaries and of course speakers of English were the main source of anglicisms and the spread of English, as

Filipović listed them (1990, 16). “Englishisation”, as some call it, is inevitable due to migration and international activities in various domains, especially in politics and business.

However, in his analysis of anglicisms in Serbo-Croatian, Filipović defined them as words that are taken from English, adapted to Serbo-Croatian and accordingly behave as Serbo-Croatian words that represent the concepts from the English speaking countries (1990, 16, 17). An important point that he makes about anglicisms is that they have to originate from a full member of the English language (1990, 17). In other words, the model words for anglicisms do not have to be of English origin, but they have to be established in the English standard dictionary. Technical terms, i.e. internationalisms and pseudoanglicisms (the latter are partly composed of anglicisms, and partly of elements that do not exist in the English language, but only appear to do so<sup>2</sup>), are also accounted for as anglicisms. The former are anglicisms because of the origin of the scientific discoveries in England and the United States, as well as a linguistic factor - the names they were first given were English words (Filipović 1990, 18).

Anglicisms can, when specified in a geographical sense, be divided into americanisms and briticism (those two terms are widely accepted), but this division is useful for emphasizing the differences between those two cultures.

Anglicisms can be linguistically adapted and analyzed on an orthographic/phonological, morphological and semantic level, which will be shown in the research chapter.

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<sup>2</sup> E.g. *golman*, which means *goalkeeper*, but the noun *man* is not applied for this meaning in standard English.

### **3 Computer-mediated communication and social networking sites**

As we have previously mentioned, CS has not been excessively explored in computer-mediated communication. To explain CS in this context, the term computer-mediated communication must first be introduced along with social networking sites which are the medium of CS production in this research.

#### **3.1 Computer-mediated communication**

In this research paper, the medium via which CS is performed is Facebook. As such, it is accessible only via the Internet. Communication via Facebook can be sorted into computer-mediated communication (CMC).

CMC is a term present for a large amount of time and during that time it has changed significantly along with the development of the medium it takes place on - the computer. It has been in use since the invention of the first electronic digital computer. Thurlow et al. state that this took place during WWII (Thurlow et al. 2004, 14). If a more recent and concrete example should be taken into account, they also mention the first exchanges of emails in the 1960-s (Thurlow et al. 2004, 14).

Following this, Herring's definition of CMC is "communication that takes place between human beings via the instrumentality of computers" (Thurlow et al. 2004, 15). It is important to note that today computers are not the only devices used to connect to the Internet. We also use devices such as smartphones and tablets for Internet-mediated communication (among phone calls and other functions)<sup>3</sup>.

The Internet is not a homogeneous network. It is constantly developing and expanding. Therefore it is necessary to note that it is a complex system providing us with various modes of communication which develop alongside technological and social changes in the world.

Considering the fact that computers are an instrument used in CMC, they negate the necessity of human beings that want to communicate to be in the same place at the same time (to communicate face-to-face). Therefore, CMC is frequently criticized for actually worsening the

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<sup>3</sup> The term KSC (Keyboard-to-screen communication) is suggested by Dürscheid and Jucker because the emphasis lays on the need for technical devices in communication between both the producer and recipient (Dürscheid and Jucker 2012, 41). However, the term CMC seems more established and more adequate for the sake of this paper (smartphones, tablets and other similar devices are also computers).

quality of human communication; Thurlow et al. disagree that CMC is “asocial” and “antisocial” (2004, 46). The emergence of social networking sites supports their claim, because they resemble face-to-face communication more than any other websites. Although face-to-face communication in the full sense of the word is not possible via the Internet, various communication modes are nowadays present.

Danet and Herring mention that research has shown that, especially in recent years, “CMC tends to display both speech-like and written language features, as well as distinctively digital ones” (Danet and Herring 2007, 12). Because of this, the “traditional” exclusive dichotomies such as asynchronous vs. synchronous, written vs. spoken, monologic vs. dialogic, text vs. utterance, public vs. private, mobile vs. stationary and monomodal vs. multimodal (Dürscheid and Jucker 2012, 42) no longer seem to be valid. Those distinctions are blurred and modes of communication via computers are hybridized. Dürscheid and Jucker propose alternative terminologies that should be applied when dealing with CMC. The reasons for this are “the new realities of online communication” (Dürscheid and Jucker 2012, 39). In “quasi-synchronous communication” (Dürscheid and Jucker 2012, 43) *communicative acts* and *communicative act sequences* (2012, 39) occur.

Quasi-synchronous communication is, in a way, synchronous communication taking place via the Internet - messages are transmitted not turn-by-turn, but stroke-by-stroke and “production and reception of a message must take place at the same time” (Dürscheid and Jucker 2012, 43). Furthermore, communicative acts are defined as “entities that have traditionally been termed *text* or *utterance*”, while communicative act sequences are “strings of communicative acts” (Dürscheid and Jucker 2012, 46), which are on the modern Internet websites popularly known as comments, replies, updates and posts.

The aforementioned modern Internet websites are what we describe as social networking sites which are also linked to the term *social networks*. Both of these terms, among some others, will be discussed in the following section.

### **3.2 Social networks: a three-pronged approach**

Classical communication (communication offline) generates communities, i.e. social networks, whose members achieve communication. When it comes to communication online,

social networks can develop on distinctly different social networking sites, but also on a multitude of other websites which enable semi-public communication between their users. In conclusion, there are three types of social networks.

In sociolinguistics, the term *social network* is of crucial importance. The influence individuals have on groups' language and groups on individuals' language is inevitable and it forms the features of a social network's language.

As Marshall states, the concept of social network represents a network of interconnected people that has a definite structure with patterns of regularities (Marshall 2004, 18). According to Boussevain, social networks display who is linked to whom, in what way the members of the social network are connected, and how this affects their behavior (Marshall 2004, 19). Therefore, sociolinguists explore the linguistic behavior of members of social networks. "Social networks exert influence directly and indirectly on their members' social behavior", Marshall concludes (2004, 20). Social behavior, of course, includes linguistic behavior and vice versa. Contacts included in one's social network will therefore exert some kind of influence on the behavior of the same network member. The more close contacts a person has in his or her social network, the more shared knowledge and mutual values, beliefs and generally social network's norms will he or she nourish and apply, consciously or unconsciously, or at least understand. One's linguistic code choices are determined by his or her social intentions, while individual linguistic repertoires are determined by the social group memberships (Marshall 2004, 58). Codes and linguistic behavior used are supposed to ensure successful communication and social achievements for the speaker within his or her social network.

When it comes to the communication channels for maintaining social networks, in the modern era they are maintained online and transferred in the online context. They "bloom" - new social networks emerge and even the old, offline social networks revive. As Rheingold says, online communities are formed "on the basis of social interaction, the length of people's involvement and the strength of their feelings" (Thurlow et al. 2004, 111). This is possible on the Internet; on the one hand on websites on which any user of the Internet can view the content and communicate with other users on the same website (forums, portals, chat sites, etc.) and social networking sites on the other hand.

Francisco Yus therefore distinguishes *social networks on the Internet* "which can be developed and sustained in different ways and in different environments" and *social networking*



*sites* “which undoubtedly offer a user-friendly interface for interactions, uploading content, etc.” and are a sub-group of the websites on which social networks develop and gather (2011, 111).

Social networking sites (SNS) are one of the online meeting points since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Facebook is one of them. These complex web-based services consist of profile pages of their users which, among a photo, contain a general and short description of the user (age, hometown, work place, personal interests, etc.) and the specific information (posted photos, videos, status updates, links, list of contacts, and a wide area for entries, comments and shares) about them.

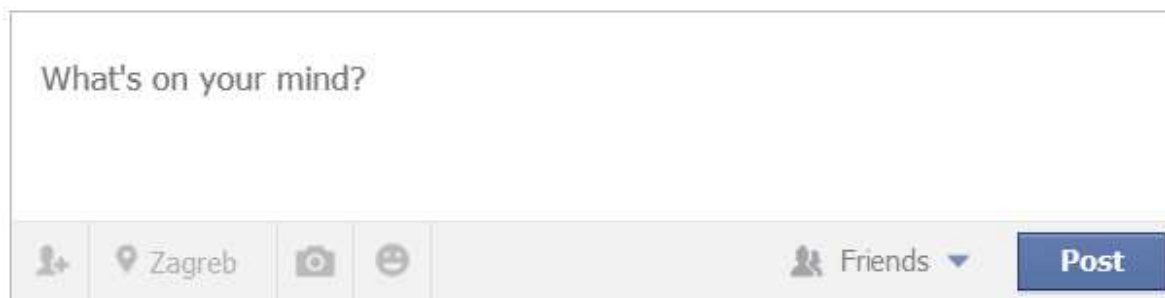
As Donath and Boyd claim, users can “interact, share information, coordinate actions and , in general, keep in touch” (quoted in Yus 2011, 112). Communication means on Facebook are, other than that, private messages, comment boxes, chat etc., which shows us the hybridity of SNS communication.

According to DeAndrea et al. (quoted in Yus 2011, 118), Facebook has two functions: the surveillance function (we use Facebook to see what our “friends” do, look like and how they think - generally behave online, and obviously offline) and the communicative function (communication does not only take place via messages and comments, but also via the profiles themselves and the information visible there). All of the points mentioned above construct the user’s identity. Not only the user’s, but also the identities of his or her contacts or friends. According to the Social Identity Theory, SNS behaviour of all SNS users can be based on their necessity to label themselves inside a group with which they communicate, identify and generally connect (quoted in Yus 2011, 117).

SNS should be viewed as an element of technological advances of the modern world which multilingual talk takes place on, and that implies the new circumstances in which communication occurs. This multilingual talk is therefore namely a completely autonomous and self-contained type of CMC.

It is an understatement that the participants in SNS communication are *allowed* to express themselves whenever, in *any* linguistic way (this refers primarily to the linguistic form - languages, varieties, and language from the aspect of linguistic levels), or with a certain or any member of the social network they want - they are strongly encouraged to do so. *Expression boxes* that are offered on Facebook pages, such as “What’s on your mind” and “Write a

comment”<sup>4</sup> are the triggers of linguistic activity and creativity on Facebook - if one wants to communicate something, one can just click on the box on the top of his or her Facebook page (or click on the comment box of contacts’ posts) and the audience can see the message immediately. By means of these expression boxes users write on Facebook, i.e. create the specific language of Facebook.



Picture 1. Expression box for status updates on Facebook’s news feed

The interface specific only for social networking sites, or, in this case Facebook, allows various sub-channels of communication. Boyd and Ellison state that constructed profiles on SNS can be public or semi-public, which applies to contact lists as well (quoted in Yus 2011, 111).

Status updates primarily serve as a communication tool that motivates one-to-one and one-to-many communication. Dürscheid and Jucker define them as tools for “dialogic conversation” (Dürscheid and Jucker 2012, 58). Communication on social networking sites does not have to be two-sided, as Boyd says - “invisible audiences” (quoted in Yus 2011, 112) are present on social networking sites. If we were talking about the offline world, “the audiences may belong to distinct social contexts” (Dürscheid and Jucker 2012, 56). However, Facebook collapses the spatial, social and temporal boundaries that separate them in reality (Dürscheid and Jucker 2012, 56). Other traditional communication aspects that do not refer to Facebook are monomodality (Dürscheid and Jucker 2012, 57), asynchronicity or synchronicity (just like other CMC characteristics) and the distinction between mass and interpersonal communication (Thurlow et al. 2004, 193).

Facebook is a socializing SNS; its main function is to connect its users and allow them to communicate, which is also noticeable from its slogans “Facebook helps you connect and share

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<sup>4</sup> [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com)

with the people in your life” and “Connect with your friends and the world around you on Facebook”<sup>5</sup>. The reason why the author used Facebook and not some other social networking site as a research medium is because it is the most popular social networking site in Croatia<sup>6</sup>. Most people have acquainted themselves with the principles of Facebook communication and those who use it can express themselves freely without overthinking. The other reason is the multimodal nature of the website. Shared videos, pictures, articles, updated statuses and comments are all different kinds of Facebook communication modalities and as such they contain different kinds of language paired to them.

After the relevant terminology has been introduced, the research for which it was necessary is presented.

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<sup>5</sup> [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com)

<sup>6</sup> Hina. “Facebook osvojio svijet: Više od 935 milijuna korisnika, 1,5 milijuna Hrvata ima profil!”. Jutarnji. Jutarnji list, 18 September 2012.  
<http://www.jutarnji.hr/po-broju-korisnika-facebook-a-smo-70--na-svijetu--cak-1-5-milijuna-hrvata-ima-profil-na-toj-d-rustvenoj-mrezi-/1054483>. (accessed on: 8 February 2014)

## **4 Research**

Linguistic research of CS online started in the mid-1990-s (Androutsopolous 2013a, 667). Although written CS was mostly found in advertising and journalistic writing (2013a, 667), today it can be found in other online media which social networking sites are a part of.

Facebook as a social networking site is an interesting and underexplored CMC space which is full of current linguistic trends and habits of the users. It displays a great variety of genres, jargons, vernaculars, slangs and linguistic choices at one place. Through the written form of users' language on Facebook news feed (the public aspect of Facebook), common linguistic patterns can be easily established in a very transparent way. This global network has an enormous impact on its users: they have "opened up" to it, and so has their language as a means of communication on it. As we know, language does not have only the referential function (it is not only a communication and information transmission tool), but it is also a social and emotional reflex with many more functions. CS, as one of many language tools, also has its functions.

Not only the functions of CS are analyzed in this paper, but also their structure. However, in order to elaborate on them, introduction into the research itself is mandatory.

### **4.1 Methodology**

Everyday face-to-face communication and spoken interactions are, as a research subject, much more likely to be studied in a shorter period of time, i.e. one can collect research data much quicker.

Due to the synchronicity and temporal finiteness of spoken communication and chats in CMC, researchers are able to assemble different language materials in a small amount of time. Unlike communication types that are present not only in the offline sphere (e.g. private messages and chats on social networking sites), public communication on social networking sites demands longer dedication of researchers who are obliged to be constantly present on Facebook, Twitter and similar social networks in order to fully observe the whole conversation flow. Facebook posts, comments and status updates happen both synchronously and asynchronously.

#### **4.1.1 Data collection**

This research on CS patterns on Facebook lasted for four weeks (14<sup>th</sup> November - 14<sup>th</sup> December 2013). During that time CS patterns from Croatian to English were gathered. Based on them, the aim of the research was to establish the reasons why Facebook users switch codes from Croatian to English and how they form it in writing.

This ethnographic qualitative research was conducted by the researcher observing the social network in which the communication was taking place. Therefore, the study could be also characterized as deductive because the sample for the study has been chosen on the basis of performed CS, and not inductively (first choosing the sample and afterwards observing if there are any switches). The authors of posts with switches of codes have been asked both for their consent for the use of the data in this paper, and for filling out the questionnaire.

Their posts were public on Facebook (visible on the author's news feed page). Private messages, chat and closed groups were not included. Status updates and comments mentioned above were a major part of the collected material, i.e. CS examples. The rest of the posts taken into account were composed of videos and photos with different captions.

As mentioned earlier, in addition to the qualitative part, there is also a quantitative element of the research that was used as the auxiliary research tool - the anonymous questionnaire. The role of this research method was to examine the social background of linguistic activities in the public sphere of Facebook.

#### **4.1.2 Participants**

The survey sample consists of fifty subjects whose switches in writing were archived by using the screenshot method and filed into the corpus, and all of whom are non-native speakers of English with Croatian as their mother tongue and are the author's Facebook friends. The author chose this sample due to its convenience (the ease of gaining permission) and due to the fact that the author's participation is needed.

When it comes to their privacy in terms of information collected from the site, their identities are completely omitted.

### 4.1.3 Data analysis

The purpose of this research was to analyze and systematize CS patterns that are common in the social network of a limited circle of Facebook users, who use both English (in a variable amount depending on the users themselves) and Croatian (which is dominant) in their communication. The posts collected on the author's Facebook news feed make the corpus of switches in this paper. The extralinguistic and linguistic motivation for CS is the focus of the analysis.

The other question is how CS is used and structured, even though this is not of crucial importance, since the focus of sociolinguistic research lies in social impulses that encourage linguistic reality. However, the structure does play a role in conveying social meaning, i.e. structures can also signal important socially-related features.

As it has already been said in the theoretical framework, social networking sites are, as social networks in the sociolinguistic sense, individual in their own way - each social network is different, each individual's network is specific to that individual. In order not to generalize about all social networks on Facebook and the linguistic repertoires of their members (not globally nor locally), it has to be emphasized that this research was done on only one limited social network that is a component of the global one. For this reason, the results of the study presented in this paper do not represent the whole population of Facebook users.

The participants' knowledge of English and reasons for the usage of mixed English and Croatian linguistic units was the topic of the questionnaire. Of course, there were also a few basic socio-demographic questions at the beginning of the questionnaire. However, the non-demographic questions relevant to the research matter can be divided into two groups: exposure to the English language in everyday life on one hand, and mixing of English and Croatian on Facebook on the other. The questionnaire can be found in the Appendix.

Using the mixed qualitative and quantitative methodology, the purpose was to present the reasons for English non-native speakers' CS on the webpage that is only partly a reflex of their lives offline. The CS patterns and reasons are elaborated further in the results chapter on the basis of the conducted research (corpus and questionnaire).

## 4.2 The corpus and its results

Corpus analysis is the qualitative part of the research due to the fact that the assembled language patterns from the public sphere of Facebook communication are analyzed, with the focus being on CS. Therefore, the author gathered examples in which English and Croatian were mixed within a single component of Facebook (a status update, video or photo post, comment, string of comments). In this chapter the corpus composition and analysis are to be found.

The examples that make up the corpus were found by browsing the author's Facebook news feed (main page that aggregates all the posts by a profile owner's friends). The examples were captured via screen-shotting and were processed in an image editor. Then they were sorted into folders depending on various criteria which were determined by examining all the examples in bulk and analyzing their linguistic structure and functions.

The primary and only category of the corpus was intended to be CS. However, anglicisms emerged as a second category. The essence of anglicisms was not the goal of the research, but an unexpected result which became obvious during the detailed examination of the corpus.

Since English words have been used in the Croatian language consistently for decades, they still do "invade" the Croatian language more and more, and some of them are used to such an extent that it is unclear whether they are standardized or not, for some of the English units used in Facebook posts by the participants, it was questionable whether they are borrowings or single-word-code-switching. However, the method for establishing the difference was HJP. What HJP is will be discussed later.

After the corpus was assembled and edited, it was categorized. In order to be efficient and systematic in the analysis, the categories are analyzed according to their range.

The majority of the corpus, as it turns out, consists of CS that makes up 87% of the corpus. CS can be divided into three categories according to the linguistic structure: single words (22%), phrases (25%), and clauses and sentences (40%), which are the most wide-spread category. Anglicisms (on the same division level as CS in the corpus) are not a category to be neglected in the whole of the analysis. Out of 300 total examples<sup>7</sup>, anglicisms make up approximately 13% of the total corpus. One minor part of the single words from the corpus turned out to be anglicisms. The greatest importance, of course, lies in CS in the form of sentences and phrases.

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<sup>7</sup> Borrowings, single words, phrases, sentences and clauses.

The corpus analysis is initiated by the category that is structurally the simplest and the most adjusted to Croatian - the borrowings. They are Croatian words in a way. Their initial specification is required in order to differentiate them from the elements of the corpus, i.e. CS.

#### 4.2.1 Anglicisms

The author has taken anglicisms into account when collecting data, and afterwards they were looked for in the Croatian language portal (Hrvatski jezični portal or HJP<sup>8</sup>) in order to confirm their status of borrowings as legitimate Croatian words with the English etymology.

The domains in which borrowings in Facebook status updates and comments occur are most often: nightlife, pop-culture, including music and art, general activities and everyday life, feeling and opinion expression, and common courtesy.

Borrowings appearing on the Croatian language portal are: *backstage, band, crack, deadline, DJ, elektro, etno, flajer, free, frontmen, house, kauboj, kul, live, party, pink, please, setup, sorry, stejdž, team, total, trance, trek, and update*<sup>9</sup>. In this linguistic form they appear on the portal (the orthography is in some cases Croatian, and in some English). Their orthographic, morphologic, syntactic and semantic form in the corpus is in some cases much different than this one here - they are either for functional or creative reasons orthographically changed, or morphologically and syntactically adjusted to the context. Of course, the meaning of some examples is also different than the one stated in HJP. However, the fact that slangs, jargons and informal varieties in general are used in the Facebook discourse explicates the existing form of examples on Facebook.

Orthographic adjustment happens because Facebook users are not always aware of the norms of borrowing usage in writing, i.e. they mix up English and Croatian spelling norms or they want to be creative and/or spontaneous and therefore they deliberately step outside of the norms. As it is shown in the last two examples, anglicisms with the Croatian orthography are in some cases “hyper-Englishized”.

- 2008. *mnogo DJeva i kruova na krovu.*
- *haus na kreku.*

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<sup>8</sup> Croatian language portal is an online dictionary database compiled on the basis of dictionaries and lexicographical editions of Novi Liber and it can be considered as a dictionary in its own right.

<sup>9</sup> The anglicisms with the exact same meaning as in the corpus. Other examples and their distinct semantic forms are discussed in the semantic adjustment section.



- *Može i ethno bilo kojeg govornog područja iliti podrijetla...*
- *Nisu ovo Indijci nego Indijanci i cowboyi!*

Morpho-syntactic adjustment is necessary because Croatian is the base language of the posts. Word forms have to correspond with the grammatical frame of their environment.

- *Koliko ti je inače trajao najdulji afterčić?<sup>10</sup>*
- *2008. mnogo DJeva i kruova na krovu.*
- *haus na kreku.*
- *Ah da, i ova privatizacija hrvatskih voda koja se odvija u backstageu je od ful minorne vaznosti, cuz who needs water these days anyway?!?*
- *note to myself, ne davati flyere nikome ispod 25*
- *IGOR BAKSA live act, akustik frontman banda Komedija*
- *ja sam u Teamu Barišnjikov*
- *Gotovo je s trekom na Himalaje.*

We can see that orthographic and grammatical adjustment occurs simultaneously. The reason are spontaneity in Facebook communication and effectiveness the writers want to achieve. There are three specific cases in the anglicism folder:

- *kak si ona partija, e.*
- *E da nam je sad zajedno malo zachillat*
- *Ima nas, a što nas se više tlači to se više wake up-amo i mislim da naša manjina počinja shvaćati da stvari više nisu za zekanciju*

Here we have three English words that are not borrowings, but are grammatically adjusted to Croatian. The noun *party* is an anglicism in Croatian (it appears as such in the corpus), but the verb with the form *partijati* exists only as a slang form in Croatian. It is grammatically adjusted by means of the infinitive suffix. The other example, *zachillati*, does not have its place in the HJP neither in the form of the noun *chill*. Therefore, we consider it as an English word with Croatian inflections: the prefix *za-* and the infinitive suffix *-ti*. The English phrasal verb *to wake up* is used as a hybrid of Croatian grammar and English lexeme. The complexity is emphasized even more

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<sup>10</sup> *Afterčić* = *after* + diminutive suffix *-čić*. The semantic factor is included in the morphology.

with the use of the preposition *up*, which is not omitted, but included in the final form of the newly coined word.

There are no such words in HJP, but they are morphologically adjusted to Croatian. The English lexemes are “borrowed” in order to form a base for a complex construction formed by the use of the English lexeme and Croatian inflection.

Other anglicisms have broadened their meaning in Facebook posts or a specific meaning is listed in HJP (e.g. *movie star* and not *movie*), but are regardless categorized as anglicisms. This means that a semantic adjustment occurred. However, they are still considered anglicisms, and as such they are listed below, sometimes with orthographic and grammatical changes.

- *jel traje jos onaj after od srijede?*
- *Koliko ti je inače trajao najdulji afterčič?*
- *Becki djecaci i duboki bass!*
- *2008. mnogo DJeva i kruova na krovu.*
- *“resisting by existing” dobar muvi danas na Human Rights Film Festivalu*
- *BEEBIT modni korner - plastic fantastic*
- *stranger, ak me razmete*

For example, the word *after* (meaning the after party or a party after a party) is in HJP listed as a prefix in the formation of compound nouns *aftershave*, *afterbeat* and *after-hours*. *Korner*, according to HJP, primarily signifies a kick performed in a football match, and not a section of a room. *Crew* is listed with the primary meaning referring to the ship staff. Other examples are also semantically broadened on Facebook, i.e. semantically narrowed in HJP.

The last series of borrowings are the most problematic ones. They are nouns not recognized as borrowings in HJP, but are either culturally specific (*post-it* and *Halloween*) and frequently appear in Croatian because of lexical gaps (music and other subcultural genre terms - *boogie funk*, *chill ambient*, *chillout*, *ethno neo folk*, *cyber goth*). Therefore, regardless of their occasional informal use in Croatian and lack of formal listing in HJP as standard anglicisms the author categorized them into borrowings.

Here we can see how language is fluid, flexible and how it adjusts to various social happenings. If needed, the speakers adopt new concepts, and automatically new words for naming them.

## 4.2.2 Code-switching patterns

However, the domains in which CS appear are also an important point. It turned out that most prevalent category in status updates and comments in which CS occurs deals with expressing emotions, mood and opinion. The second most prevalent category deals with nightlife and all sorts of social gatherings. Other frequent domains are music, movies and TV shows, culinary themes, various work and college related obligations, traveling, politics and technology. The rest of the categories are represented in a lesser extent, and they are: fashion and style, literature, male and female relationships and stereotypes, and sports.

### 4.2.2.1 Code-switching structure

As far as structure is concerned, the next part of the corpus analysis are CS examples with the minimum structural and semantic range - single words. They will be linguistically analyzed in the context of Facebook public communication.

Androutsopolous differentiates two types of CS in CMC: conversational (which can be dual or in an even larger amount of interlocutors), and on the other hand non-conversational, in which CS is performed by a single author (2013a, 671). In the public sphere of Facebook (status updates, comments, posts), CS comprises both of the sorts. Not taking this and the linguistic scope of CS into consideration, its performance “presupposes a bi- or multilingual audience” (Androutsopolous 2013a, 677).

Single-word CS consists of lexical words (adjectives, nouns, adverbs and verbs in the corpus) which occur most frequently of all single-word-CS. Some of the examples are listed below.

- *Rekoh ti da mi je awesome. Da me podsjeća na ri, ne bi to mislila haha* (adjective)
- *hm not my sound at all :) to je sporo i headnodding. nema tu plesa. ali thnx.* (adjective)
- *i ovo je kjut.* (adjective)
- *Sutra rokam fotke, koje su - mindblowing :) (adjective)*
- *isto tako ... chill u krevetu =))* (noun)
- *zakon, pitajju tebe za mišljenje :facepalm:* (noun)

- *You made my day.. :) Ignore-mode mi je uključen za ovaj mjesec.* (noun)
- *Hahahahahaha iz srca sam se nasmijao, miha tenks:)))* (noun)
- *Znaci ovo je najulitmativniji win! Nesto bolje nisam vidila duuugo! Ludi japanci!!!* (noun)
- *Kabanice checked? 8)* (verb)
- *Predivno! Go Benjamin :)* (verb)
- *hahahahahahahahahahahahahahaha!!!! jedna od najboljih scena ever! :DDD* (temporal adverb)
- *Proolly nije čula ni za kondome XDDD (probably, adverb of manner)*
- *Nevjerojatno!!!!!! Upravo dbih obavijest kako mi je ova fotka među prvih 10 u prvom tjednu glasanja!!!! Woooohooooo!!!!!! Znači da klikali na "Vote"?! Hvala vam!!!!!!* (exclamation)

Interjections and exclamations were a part of the single-word CS that has a semi-functional and semi-lexical function. *Damn, erm, hell yeah, oh, woohoo* signify the mood and reactions of the author. A subcategory of onomatopoeic words (*echo echo echo, slurp*) was established because of their specific usage. In a different context they would be viewed as nouns. However, in the examples from the corpus they were used in a different fashion. One more important observation that functional words are never used alone, as single words, since they do not convey full meanings.

Single-word CS differs from borrowings in terms of their non-occurrence in dictionaries of a recipient language (in this case, HJP), their grammatical features (they are still governed by the rules of the donor, i.e. English language), and they do not appear frequently in the recipient language. Nevertheless, the more the speakers increase their usage, the more those single words have the chance to be standardized or recognized as borrowings.

The other CS category in terms of the structure are phrases. Phrases are in the corpus major constituents of a clause or a sentence, and they are grouped into the category if they consist of two or more than two words, but are a smaller unit than a sentence or clause. Idioms, collocations, phrasal verbs, and various other combinations of lexical and functional words are considered phrasal CS by the author.

Phrasal CS is divided into Croatian-introduced, which are the most numerous group, and Croatian-introducing phrases. The former refer to the English phrases which are preceded by

certain Croatian elements with which they are connected grammatically (e.g. *ako dođu na inmusic, već se early bird ticket isplatio*), while the latter refer to reverse process - English phrases are followed by Croatian elements syntactically adjusted to the English ones (e.g. *i know that feeling bro al ne sekiraj se, dobil budes sijede i cir na zelucu :D*). In order to depict the occurrence of phrases in the corpus, some examples are extracted from the corpus:

- *stari ljudi su puuuno življi nego što izgledaju! jedva čekam svoj mir, krevet i da mi nitko usred noći ne lupa po zidu ili priča sam sa sobom 24/7.*
- *radio nula,... onda ti je tamo i chillout i lazy office music*
- *Vlatkica je so last year :D ;D*
- *Sjećam se nekog lika s post-itom ali evo morala sam guglat da ga se sjetim i guess what, nisam ga se sjetila ni kad sam ga vidila*
- *at first I was like ajme tako je lijep dan i sunce i sve i predozirana sam kavom i ful bi mogla pospremit stan i napisat zadaće i bit ful aktivna, but now I'm all like jebeš to gledaću serije i umirat u lijenosti dok mi netko ne gurne bocu u usta i odvede me vanka.*
- *note to myself, ne davati flyere nikome ispod 25 :D*

Participants mostly start posts in Croatian since their mother tongue is Croatian, and with it they can introduce topics in a larger variety of ways. When lexical gaps and desire for linguistic impact (with the aim of various effects and individualization) appear, they start using English. This will, however, be elaborated in the discussion section.

The last, the most complex and the largest category are clauses and sentences. Therefore, the most detailed analysis is required. The structural analysis is the first and the most simple component of the analysis.

The clauses and sentences category consists of examples that feature a verb, and those which do not, i.e. verb-containing clauses and sentences, and verbless clauses and sentences.

Verb-containing clauses and sentences are the major part, while only 20% are verbless sentences and clauses. This leads us to an assumption that some users are quite skilled in forming complex English structures (not only using single words and phrases, which is seen as a simpler action) that are featured by verb-containing clauses and sentences. They sometimes appear in strings.

Verbless clauses, as one might say, are very similar to phrasal CS, but the author differentiates them from the latter using a general grammar principle describing sentences and clauses: they can stand alone (although clauses can also be a part of sentences separated by a comma, conjunction or a parenthesis). This is therefore the reason why the category of sentential CS has a subcategory of clausal CS.

- *... Afro Latin party @ my place + pancakes... pozovite se ...*
- *Dobro jutroooo! Flowers for the housewarming! ;) Hehe*
- *ja se baš sjetih tebe jer naime, ne znam jel možeš iskopat na netu, ali nova reklama za bingo ima neku kakti švedanku i legitimne titlove pa kaže - ne moraš bit švedanka da bi bio bogat. fail. with capital F.*

Verb-containing sentences and clauses show various degrees of length. They range from extremely simple sentences and clauses to highly complex structures, and even strings of such structures.

- *A pretty long journey has come to its end... got my Master's degree in Rhetoric and German Language and Literature!! :) Or as some would say:  
Magistra edukacije govornišva i njemačkog jezika i književnosti!!! Wohooooo!*
- *if a hipster-beard is a two/three-day beard, I'm afraid I don't agree*
- *U dva filma zaredom sam danas (preko TV-a) vidio frazu: "Don't confuse [my] kindness with weakness." Oh, Hollywood, you're so full of clichés and shit.*
- *Sveti Nikola, zašto si me zaboravio? ... \*reality hits you hard, bro\**
- *ic ofišl: slaba sam na umiranje dana*
- *ovo je nesto malo vece od kolacica, vidjet ces kad bude gotovo, ill keep u posted!*
- *Najbolje vjencanje ikad! Thank you ms and mr Cohen for having us there! It was awesome!!!  
<3 Jewish weddings are something special for sure!!*
- *klasik 2. trip hop dont stop.*

The structural description of sentential and clausal CS also has to be conducted in terms of the surroundings of the CS elements. Namely, there are cases in which the clauses and sentences in question are: preceded by a Croatian element, followed by a Croatian element, are both preceded and followed by a Croatian element, or they stand alone without any additional Croatian elements within a single post.

Both categories of this part of the corpus taken into consideration, the most prevalent occurrence is the usage of English after Croatian elements (approximately 45%), followed by independent English sentences and clauses (approximately 30%), then usage of English before Croatian elements (20%), and finally the least used method of CS is using English sentences and clauses both preceded and followed by (or surrounded by) Croatian elements within a single post (5%).

English following the Croatian structures in CS can indicate the users', speakers of Croatian as their mother tongue, tendency to first introduce the topic in Croatian because they are more comfortable or skilled in its usage or it comes more spontaneously to them and follow it with an English clause or a sentence to achieve a greater impact or capture the attention of the readers more efficiently.

English-only clauses and sentences within a single post are used for certain effects, as well as the English clauses and sentences preceding the Croatian ones. Their primary function is to achieve a linguistic emphasis and capture the attention of potential readers. However, individual reasons are not taken into account by the scope of this paper because this would require an extensive psycholinguistic research.

Croatian-surrounded CS is only a sign of the users' ease in usage of Croatian, so they use English to a lesser extent.

The structural CS division into intersentential and intrasentential CS does not have to be elaborated additionally, since the author's corpus analysis has proven that both types do occur, although the author has taken another approach. For this type of communication (online and written), it is sometimes difficult to adhere to such a strict division - CS most often occurs within a single post in the corpus, i.e. in Facebook examples. However, it has been observed in the examples of single-word CS in Facebook-mediated communication (FMC<sup>11</sup>) that intrasentential CS occurs. More complex elements - clauses and sentences in the corpus prove the existence of intersentential CS. Since the definition of intra- and intersentential CS is established on the basis of verbal communication, it can also be applied here because FMC can act as a transcript of "imagined" verbal communication. Though this may not always be the case - there are also previously mentioned examples of authors relaying their message to an imagined audience from which a response is not always needed or asked for.

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<sup>11</sup> The term FMC is only the abbreviated form of Facebook-mediated communication used by the author. As such, it is a component of CMC.

#### 4.2.2.2 Code-switching functions

Functions of and motivation for CS are an important segment of Facebook CS features. They have been previously studied by Androutsopolous. His research is of crucial importance due to his descriptions of CS functions in CMC in general, but also on Facebook specifically.

In his paper “Non-native English and Subcultural Identities in Media Discourse”, Androutsopolous examines a conducted research similar as the one in this paper. Language contact, i.e. CS in writing between German, the national language, and English, the L2 language in youth culture in Germany (Androutsopolous 2004, 84) was explored in online guest-books. Usage of English in his analysis did not include only borrowings, but also single words, phrases and whole sentences. The music forums in which communication took place were the source of creation, formation and development of “exclusive” youth identities by German music fans by means of language, i.e. CS into English (2004, 84, 85). Their usage of English indicates not only the pure linguistic aim (to communicate), but also “identification with some aspect of English speaking pop culture” (2004, 84). The participants’ language showed patterns of common terminology and slang, which English expressions were part of as verbal routines, very often in vernacular, colloquial English (2004, 85).

All of the CS functions Androutsopolous aggregates into verbal routines can be considered as a cluster of CS functions. They are fixed or set linguistic items continuously used in certain contexts, and „ready-made“ solutions for particular communicative needs and situations (2004, 89). Social networks, communities and cultures „project“ them.

There are seven types of verbal routines „which are sometimes classified as „set phrases“ and Androutsopolous introduces them by means of both new and already established terminology (2004, 89, 90): 1) greetings and farewells, 2) expressive speech acts, expletives and expressive interjections (e.g. *thanks, sorry*), 3) discourse markers (*ok, well, anyway*), 4) slogans, whose functions are statement and directive and which are always sub-culturally specific, 5) advertisement slogans for particular activities or products (*check it out, visit our sites*), 6) „props“ or greeting and/or congratulating routine that is central to music cultures (*peace* or *peace II da realheadz*) and 7) phrases such as *no way, that's all, let's go*, etc.

Therefore, from the pragmatic point of view, verbal routines are either openers and closers, expressive speech acts (thanks, apologies, expressions of enthusiasm), or they are a reflex of



sub-cultural norms and values, e.g. slogans.

The conclusion of his research is that different sorts of switches in online guest-books mostly occur for phatic, expressive, dialogical and self-presentational reasons, in vernacular English, unlike CS in magazines where CS patterns are of lesser range of variation and part of the mass-media discourse, such as quotations, allusions, emphatic repetitions and so on (2004, 92). CS online is in a way an indicator of social styles and social position of the speaker, i.e. social styles are motivation for CS (2004, 92). “Code-switchers” in his research are not considered bilinguals, because they use English idioms “based on quite limited set of resources” (2004, 93). The use of routines is something in between borrowings and spontaneous CS and they are components of this routine-like communication. They mark membership in a group (2004, 93). English language units are therefore “major ingredients of social style” (2004, 93) and the overall identity, as the author’s research suggests. Social networks online “create new literacy spaces” in which CS and language mixing (and not only that) are not only allowed, but also encouraged, which is not the case in traditional media formats (2004, 93).

Androutsopolous in his 2013 research in the paper “Networked multilingualism: Some language practices on Facebook and their implications” examines again CMC as a “rich site of multilingualism and CS” (Androutsopolus 2013b, 2). Users of Facebook, i.e. participants are Greek migrants in Germany (secondary school students) switching codes between Greek, German and English for various reasons in various areas of Facebook (status updates, friends’ posts, posts consisting of videos and photos). Greek is their mother tongue, while proficiency in German varies from user to user, regardless of their everyday exposure to German and regarding moving of some of them to Germany earlier, and some later.

English is a school language, but also a language from the media and pop-culture and it is generally regularly used. Nevertheless, their CS into Greek and English is, as it has turned out, mostly in vernacular varieties of the aforementioned languages (2013b, 12), although their only L1 is Greek.

CS in CMC is a stylistic choice (2013b, 11), dependent on addressees and topics, and sometimes on sociolinguistic background (country of upbringing - Germany or Greece). Status updates posted by the participants are “closer to those for interpersonal exchange” (2013b, 18). CS is usually instantiated by somebody, and later on responses of others include minimally two languages within one post. Addressee specification is one more important motivation for CS

(2013b, 7). This means that they engage in CS depending on the interlocutors. Another reason is usage “for fun, for show” (2013b, 7). However, applying Androutsopolous’ terminology (2013b, 10), CS is on Facebook most often instantiated in both initiative (status updates and posts) and responsive posts (comments). The point is that switches most often “multiply” in responsive posts, that is, when somebody engages in CS, the interlocutors do the same when responding, if their linguistic repertoire allows them to do so. Various videos and posts from other websites shared on Facebook profiles can contain captions in various languages, which most often motivates multilingualism on Facebook by extending linguistic repertoires of the participants (2013b, 19). As the results show, English is also the language designating intimacy among the profile owners and their friends, i.e. contacts (2013b, 19). Therefore, languages from individual linguistic repertoires are used in various genres on Facebook (2013b, 19).

Students’ usage of English, which frequently occurred, did so in the form of single lexical items (including both established and nonce borrowings), English phrases embedded in German posts, some of the posts completely in English, while the content of some posts were formulaic expressions and quotations from pop music area (2013b, 12). They were very often entirely in English, which is basically copy-pasting of English music lyrics, and not a completely bilingual activity - no exceptional knowledge of English was needed (2013b, 6). Many posts, however, included creative and playful uses of language.

Androutsopolous sums up these research results as follows: the students’ language choices (CS) online are a self-presentation, dialogic exchange (2013b, 1), identity construction and social relations management (2013b, 3) tool used according to the context.

He claims that successful multilingual communication can be achieved even without the “necessary” level of competence - it is important how the speakers will use their knowledge for the purpose of successful communication (2013b, 2). This was done on Facebook by performing language in creative, poetic, spontaneous and individualized ways, although the base language of most wall dialogues was German. Androutsopolous argues that unmarked CS occurs in spoken communication, whereas in written communication and digital writing manifests marked CS: CS with inversions, unconventional and creative expressions, etc. (2013b, 4). He stresses that spoken vernacular in language variation in Facebook posts, i.e. in digital writing, comes spontaneously because speakers (or writers) “stick to the language they write best” (2013b, 4), and since writing is a more conscious act than speaking, the writers manipulate written signs and surpass

boundaries in orthography (2013b, 5). Other than that, interlocutors online and linguistic resources online (infinity of the resources on the Internet) trigger linguistic heterogeneity (2013b, 6). Semi-publicness of social networking sites excludes continuous usage of standard varieties and monoglottal communication (2013b, 6).

Both of the researches are recent and share similarities with the research conducted for the purpose of this paper. The relevant concepts and findings are going to be discussed in the following paragraphs: functions of CS. The author lists them using the established and new terminology after presenting the relevant CS terminology and after the research conducted on Facebook. They can be divided into four categories: lexical, pragmatic, social and emotional functions.

First, let us start with lexical functions as the first, linguistic function. In some cases in writing lexical gaps occur, although the authors of the posts have time to write and edit their posts. Although Croatian linguistic equivalents exist, sometimes the post authors subconsciously choose to use English units. CS with lexical single words most often occurs due to the fact that they can express the meaning contained in a larger and/or more complex units of Croatian.

- *hm not my sound at all :( to je sporo i headnodding. nema tu plesa. :) ali thnx.*
- *Sutra rokam fotke, koje su - mindblowing :) Stay tuned!*
- *bio je pisac, scrunchie, ego do plafora*

Specific vocabulary is a very frequent reason for CS. Pop-culture and subcultural genres and phenomena from the English-speaking cultures most often require English usage.

- *bitna je distinkcija da je DUBLJE! a plesova ima raznih! Jah to all! Keep them rolling, selector!*
- *ok, Bec je u kuci veceras. LIVE / DJ > FAT SHIT NO KOMPROMISS aka FSNK. duboki techy bassevi ali ne subliminalno nego za ples. boompty. zaplivajmo zajedno :) u skladu s becom skolom gentlemanizma iliti vam kavalirstva CURE imaju FREE upad do 00:30h!*
- *Aaaaaaa, fuliranje, uspinjača, zima, kuhano vino, nabrijem se na kobasu, kad vidim štand -Binimoto sushi. Kakav mrtvi sushi, u predbozicom Zagrebu, jebate, saka u oko. Jos take out varijanta, uzmem, maznem porciju, kad ono - mljac, katapultiralo me u Kyoto, isti smek, odlicno*
- *hahahaha poker face cijelo vrijeme!*

Established phrases and formulaic expressions most frequently overlap with the category of specific vocabulary because the authors “pick them up” easily and they stem from domains associated with the vocabulary.

- *Sjećam se nekog lika s post-itom ali evo morala sam guglat da ga se sjetim i guess what, nisam ga se sjetila ni kad sam ga vidila*
- *Kakav tablet mablet, internet pinternet, old school, gud old tajms :) Sunce piči, danas ne radim ništa, baš ništa ne radim, a i tada kada danas ništa ne radim, e tek tada ne radim ništa, i svima želim isto, odoh na kavu, aj bok :))*
- *Happens every time! A da uopće ne govorim o onom neredu koji naprave svojim brisanjem gunicom. Čovek bi očekival da im mišići samo od toga budu nabrekli na rukama. ALI NE. I dalje su svi isti. Većinom s dalmoškim naglaskom, naravski.*

Quotes (movies, books, politicians, music) from the English-speaking discourse or quotes of the interlocutors in the same conversation are included in Facebook posts or authors quote their interlocutors to retain their original meaning:

- *a long time ago in a galaxy far far away..*
- *You live you learn, you crash you burn*
- *Hvala majčici na novom mobaču. ne odvajam se of njega već 3h. Koje osvježanje nakon polu-radećeg gejfona 3. Ne gejfona 3s čak nego gejfona 3. maj prešsssssss*
- *Istarske disharmonične ljestvice na prerađenim utrobama domaće stoke (ili suvremenim "no animal was harmed during the process" varijantama istih)? Thanks, but no thanks!*

Some lexemes are used in a certain form for the purpose of language economy. Most often, abbreviations occur or some English phrases and words are more simple and smaller in scope than the Croatian ones.

- *Pun mi je k svega i ove godine.... treba mi novi život ASAP -.-'*
- *aha, kužim djevojko, a jesu digli cijene, imaju li onaj hepi auvr još*
- *inače, ja sam dal custom made krampa sa zlatnim zupcima delat, koji ima ekstrapenetracijska svojstva kompatibilna sa nejakim truplima strojara*
- *Naravno, pomaže još nekoliko elemenata, ali bez osmijeha, to nije TO... ne vrijedi ti niti*

*Prada za do grada niti Guči za po kući, niti smoki ajs, sjenila, kukac pakac, ništa ti to ne vrijedi...*

Pragmatic functions are: emphasis (*Stvarno people, kako se ne umorite. Kako.*), attention grabbing (*BREAKING NEWS:Jovanović tužio Bauhaus zbog slogana "SVE ZA DOM" bahahahahahaha*), the expression of greetings, farewells, and wishes (*good luck*), expressive speech acts (*thanks, sorry*), clarification (*++Oслиkavanje lica (face painting)*), opinion expression (*still better than the hipster-beard, or ouuuuuuuu jea, me lajk redhed*), discourse marking (*good point or you know*) and topical/perspective shift (*Zna Vili! Vaguely related, but still fun:*).

Social functions are: expression of in-group membership, identity construction, audience specification (authors direct their messages to the contacts from abroad or who are very proficient and/or frequent users of English), audience adjustment (continuing conversation i.e. CS into English after the participants or their contacts started switching codes), transmitting slogans and messages (*check this out, sharing is indeed caring, keep calm and move away*), the need to convey music- and pop-culture-related meanings (*already a classic.ako se docepam pulta zavrtim 14.12. pa da svi zapjevamo*), as well as conveying the meanings taken from Internet slang (*That awkward moment kad shvatiš da ti starci ne znaju tko je Predrag Matvejević... Glavno da se čita Miro Gavran i Dan Brown*).

Emotions also play an important role in constructing the functions of CS in FMC. Therefore, it can be stated that the users employ CS as a means of clearly stating their mood (*prvi sastanak OeAD Kroatien dogovoren :) looking forward to*) and introducing elements of humor in their posts (*one does not simply release your handbrake !!!*). This is what we call the emotional function of CS.

Very often, functions of CS overlap and are interconnected. Their respective domains share some similar features which instigate their mixed usage. Language is not a strict, fixed system with exclusively set boundaries - one form can contain more contents. The questionnaire results will help us to elaborate on the research questions.

### 4.3 The questionnaire and its results

The questionnaire conduction followed after the collection of the data. In order to re-examine the social background of the participants, the short questionnaire was sent to the participants who are the creators of the posts from the corpus. They in a way presented themselves as viable subjects for this research by switching codes in communication via their status updates and comments. Afterwards, the author collected the very posts and requested for the research consent.

The role of this auxiliary method for the research was to provide more detailed insight into the participants in general and their linguistic habits on the Facebook social networking site. The questionnaire consisted of a few sociodemographic questions on sex, age, education, profession, while the rest of the questions served to explore their usage of English and the reasons for CS on Facebook.

50 persons filled out the anonymous questionnaire which can be found in the appendix.

There were 15 male and 35 female persons in ages ranging from 19 to 35 (interestingly, the most frequent ages are from 23 to 28). Most of the participants are students (50%), while 75% of them are high-educated and/or at least are in their final years of college. When it comes to their occupation, it turned out that 20% of the participants are English and German translators and/or are experts in the humanities, as well as economists (18%). All of the participants' nationalities are Croatian (1 was Bosnian), and in the period the questionnaire was available, 90% of the participants were living in Croatia - 99% in urban areas. The same percentage applies to Croatian as the mother tongue, because two participants gave German equal status.

Multiple choice questions were directed on languages on Facebook. 57% claimed that their English competence is excellent, while 39% very good. Only 4% said that their English is good. In total, only 33% of the participants spent time abroad, either for education or employment purposes, and most of them were constantly exposed to the English language, and some of them to a large degree, but never unexposed. 63% of the participants are exposed to the English language on a daily basis (listening to music, reading books, watching movies and TV or using the Internet in English), 31% are frequently exposed, while only 6% is occasionally exposed. Over a half of the participants have a small number of Facebook friends abroad, while only 2% have more than 70% of Facebook contacts from abroad. Surprisingly, only 20% of the participants self-evaluated that they very frequently use English combined with Croatian within a

single Facebook status or comment. An equal percentage of them (39%) stated that English is a language either for rare or for often usage. The reasons for CS are mostly: topic (78%), the lack of appropriate expressions in Croatian (63%), and adjusting to the conversation flow, that is, interlocutors (35%). Same-age groups and younger Facebook friends are the most frequent categories the participants switch codes with. Participants mostly mix English and Croatian with their friends and family, or they do not care if they are understood by everybody - English serves them for the sake of their own posts.

At the end of the questionnaire, the additional, optional section was offered - the participants were offered to leave comments if any. The most interesting comment was the claim that he or she could not choose an answer responding to his or her linguistic habits on Facebook because he or she never uses English and neither likes it. However, participation in the questionnaire was not possible if the usage of English on Facebook was not recorded, and this means that people are sometimes not aware of their English usage regardless of their linguistic attitudes. Another interesting comment was added by a person claiming that English is used when speaking with the audience from abroad because of assimilation and courtesy and in established phrases such as *that awkward moment*, *thank you captain obvious* and *no shit sherlock*. The latter, however, stem from CMC. On the other hand, he or she explicates Croatian as a language on Facebook for communication about everyday phenomena and general topics most of the people are concerned with.

The results of the study are explicated, both in qualitative and quantitative ways. In order to come to a conclusion, one more section follows - the Discussion.

#### **4.4 Discussion**

As it has been shown by the questionnaire and corpus analysis results, CS is not a reliable indicator of bilingualism. The participants have shown proficiency and creativity in the English language in various degrees - ranging from simple structures to complex strings of structures.

Arguments for considering CS as essentially bound to spoken face-to-face interaction are today questioned and further analyzed (2013a, 668). Media culture and music influence young people's local ("glocal") codes used on the Internet (2013a, 678). The speakers' (or rather writers')

choice of codes often corresponds with their “groups’ language orientations, including stylized representations of vernacular “Englishes”” (2013a, 679). Androutsopolous’ term *minimal bilingualism* (Androutsopolous 2013a) defines not all the English competences of all the participants (some have shown exceptional proficiency), but it is the pre-requisite for CS on Facebook. Minimal knowledge about a certain culture, which includes some of its linguistic patterns (language and culture are inseparable) can encourage CS in FMC. Therefore, Myers-Scotton’s claim about fluency of bilinguals engaging in CS (1998, ch. 2.13) is not valid in this case. Namely, the level of fluency in Facebook CS is in most cases not transparent.

A great part of the posts with CS are subculture-related with the emphasis being on music, clubbing and nightlife, and Internet-related (Internet memes<sup>12</sup> and slang). A high degree of knowledge is not visible from such posts, but rather from posts containing the users’ own creations. According to the questionnaire answers, almost all of the participants consider themselves excellent in the use of English. But this was, however, only their self-estimation.

The questionnaire has shown that approximately 20% of the participants are English and/or German students or translators. As opposed to the rest of the participants, this group possesses a higher level of competence of the English language. It could be assumed that the more complex and longer CS patterns are their creations, but this, however, can not be fully confirmed by this research due to the anonymity and large scope of the corpus and the research itself.

An assumption could be made regarding the age groups using English as a non-native language on Facebook. Since Croatian was switched with English by young adults who claim that they mostly switch those two languages with their peers, one could assume that this age group is currently most exposed to English and expose others to English. The more educated the participants are, the more they use English and the more sophisticated it is.

Spontaneity, informality and a carefree approach to language in FMC are visible on the basis of various factors. First, as the questionnaire results suggest, most of the participants engage in CS as their individual means of expressions. Most of their Facebook friends are considered to be the invisible audience when talking about public posts because they do not care how their language is perceived by the audience. Besides, the “chaotic” orthography, grammar and lexical creativity prove that they find FMC (in which they mostly communicate in English and Croatian with the contacts from their private sphere - family and friends) as informal as face-to-face

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<sup>12</sup> Internet memes are catchphrases, pictures or videos that spread from person to person on the Internet, expand globally, and thus develop widespread concepts. They are often humorous.



communication with their close offline friends. Therefore, the presupposition is that they would switch codes even offline, or at least to a similar degree.

Claims that authentic CS is hosted only in synchronous CMC (among verbal communication), and that a “higher level of consciousness” is necessary in producing CS in writing should not be taken for granted (2013a, 685). CS online bears certain pragmatic functions and various degrees of consciousness can be deployed while writing in various CMC areas, in some of which communication is quick and spontaneous, while in other it requires drafting and editing (2013a, 685).

CS into the embedded, guest language often occurs in the orthography of the matrix language (2013a, 687). Authors want to achieve certain pragmatic effects if writing in another language’s orthography is not a necessity (2013a, 687). Danet and Herring describe digital writing in both synchronous and asynchronous modes as often “artful, playful, stylized performance, thereby partially resembling traditional oral genres” (2007, 8), and claim that even second-language learners are also playful online (2007, 13), which partly corresponds with the description of the participants’ competence in English on Facebook.

The form of the switches varies in terms of orthography, morphology and creativity by means of orthographic variation. Large amount of the CS is orthographically adjusted and changed in the corpus. Namely, English lexemes are represented by means of the Croatian alphabet, i.e. their pronunciation is presented in the Croatian orthography. This kind of linguistic variation is possibly used to achieve humorous effects (e.g. imitation of pronunciation), for fun, in a spontaneous manner, in order to break orthographic norms as an expression of rebellion, because of the desire for linguistic economy, for emphasis or because of the uncertainty of the English spelling. Linguistic forms are abbreviated regardless of their linguistic range (single word or the whole phrase), in some cases they have L2 errors, typing errors and non-accurate spelling, excessive or no capitalization at all, multiple words joined into a single word, lack of punctuation or even overpunctuation and use of various symbols for emphasis (e.g. \*mood or thought expressed between asterisks\*). Language play and blends are frequent occurrence (*gejfon, tablet mablet, internet pinternet*). Extremely often CS is displayed in slang and vernacular English. Morphology and syntax are also often non-standard, both in Croatian and English. The users are creative in bending the prescribed rules of word formation or word order. Linguistic creativity and writing possibilities in FMC are limitless and they “convey paralinguistic cues”, as Thurlow

et al. claim (2004, 52). The additional features of interactional style in CMC for “reinstating the socio-emotional content” listed by Thurlow et al. are letter and numerical homophones (e.g. *RU=are you*, *h8=hate*), and “onomatopoeic and/or stylized spelling” (2004, 124, 125). In this research they appear, but to a lesser extent. However, they indicate the variety of linguistic possibilities and creativity on Facebook.

There is no general rule to when and why Facebook users switch codes since Facebook’s news feed is a very fluid component of the entire SNS and users are constantly under the effects of both its dynamic nature and various extra-linguistic factors. However, one thing can be said for certain. When a person constantly switches codes, this indicates his or her “dual identities or memberships in both of the cultures that the languages index” (Myers-Scotton 2006, 167). Due to the nature of this research, it is complex to state which particular participants possess a high level of English competence, and which do not. A general observation is made on the basis of the questionnaire and the data collected in the corpus.

Main reasons for switching codes are the topic (most often pop-culture and generally lexical gaps), adjustment to the interlocutors in order to establish connections and develop a sense of belonging. *Any* act we perform during our lives is a “symbolic marker” that serves in representation of ourselves and it has an important role in who we want to be and how we want to be seen by others (Thurlow et al. 2004, 96). However, our perception and presentation of ourselves by ourselves is always put in a relationship with others. This ongoing and lifelong process is called identity construction (Thurlow et al. 2004, 96) and CS is one of the tools for constructing identities. In CMC context, “both websites and identities are under construction” (Thurlow et al. 2004, 99).

It is usually said that we connect with the people we identify with, but we also connect by means of the language we want to be identified with. More conclusions follow in the final chapter.

## 5 Conclusion

After the extensive research and the related discussion, certain conclusions arise.

The nature of Facebook language can be described as hybrid because the traditional lines between standard and vernacular varieties are blurred. Depending on who they consider their primary audience, the authors of Facebook posts adjust their linguistic choices accordingly, i.e. according to the linguistic expectations of the audience. In-group membership and individual and group identity construction are one of the main causes for CS. Except the audience, the authors also use CS depending on the domain which they are writing about. The most frequent domains that trigger CS are music, movies, Internet- and pop-culture, and CS most often bears the referential function to these domains.

The switches are most often produced by young adults, as was shown by the data collected in the questionnaire. English is, therefore, primarily the language of young subculture-members and students of foreign languages, whose presence was recorded in the corpus and the questionnaire. The rest of the participants and CS-producers use English as an often-occurring phenomenon in the Croatian culture (which nowadays is under an ever-growing influence of English transmitted through the Internet, advertisements, music and other modern media) and under the influence of their competence in English as a universal means of communication in specific occasions (English as a *lingua franca*). English-culture concepts are omnipresent in their everyday lives, in some cases even without any associations with a particular subculture-group or without a high level of proficiency in English.

It has also been noted that Facebook posts are both synchronous and asynchronous communication, or simply put - they are quasi-synchronous modes, on the basis of which we can state that Facebook users engaged in writing in comments, status updates and posts can spontaneously, but also via editing produce language on Facebook. For sure it can be stated that they are to a certain degree bilingual, but some of them, with their simple and in Croatian often used English constructions, can not be classified as prototypical bilinguals. Therefore, it can be concluded that code-switching patterns of Facebook users in Croatia are the patterns of minimal bilingualism and that their CS does not imply everyday successful offline communication in English. It can be stated that CS in Facebook posts is an indicator of minimal bilingualism, rather than conventionalized bilingualism.

In order to specify the degree of bilingualism and provide a more detailed analysis of CS patterns of Croatian users of English on Facebook, future work should include studying private domains of FMC (Facebook chat and private asynchronous messages), and over an even longer period of time. Also, a case study on a small number of participants could be conducted. Other age groups could be targeted as subjects of the research. Namely, teenagers, young adults, adults and seniors in order to observe each groups' frequency of Croatian-English CS.

Due to the recent trends in usage of English in both international communication and, as is the case in this paper, within the Croatian language, or together with Croatian in the same conversation (excluding anglicisms), it can be assumed that the role of English will be ever-growing. However, the question remains to which level it will spread and in what ways Croatian will adapt and/or resist its influence.

## 6 Appendix

### 6.1 Corpus

NOTE: The frames in single posts mark the specific examples from the posts and its associated comments from the corpus, since each CS was viewed separately. Therefore, the frames can in this case be neglected and all the switches in the posts can be viewed on the same level.

- 

1. Fali onaj kraj "open up" (echo echo echo echo...);  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PYk41tFErAw>

**Hit Depo 2nd Intro (1993)**  
youtube.com  
Fali onaj kraj "open up" (echo echo echo echo...);  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PYk41tFErAw>

Like · Comment · Share · December 11 at 11:30pm · 🌐

Write a comment...
- 

2. Aha! I na ovom natječaju je otvoreno glasanje... Pomagajte - glasajte ako vam se sviđa! Hvala! 😊

**My Face In The Buses Of Pinus Pinea - The Last Sendoff**  
viewbug.com  
Photo by CareAss

Like · Comment · Share · December 4 at 12:14am · 🌐

👍 4 people like this.

A glasajte maloooooo, pliiiiiiiizzzzzz.....  
December 9 at 8:10am · Like

Hvala svima što stišću "Like" - to je baš lijepo od vast! Potrebno je isto kliknuti na "Vote" jer me samo to može dovesti do nagrade. Hvala! 😊  
December 10 at 9:28am · Like · 🍷 1

Nevjerojatno!!!! Upravo dbih obavijest kako mi je ova fotka među prvih 10 u prvom tjednu glasanja!!!! Woohooooo!!!! Znači da klikali na "Vote"?! Hvala vam!!!!!! 🍷👍  
7 hours ago · Like · 🍷 1

A glasanje je otvoreno do 17. 12. - to znači samo još 3 dana! Kliknite na još koji "Vote", molim!  
7 hours ago · Like



Aaaaaaa, fulliranje, uspinjača, zima, kuhano vino, nabrijem se na kobasu, kad vidim Stand -Binimoto sushi. Kakav mrtvi sushi, u predbozicom Zagrebu, jebate, saka u oko. Jos **take out** varijanta, uzmem, maznem porciju, kad ono - mljac, katapultiralo me u Kyoto, isti smek, odlicno 😊 Svaka cast, mijenjaju se predbozicni trendovi u mom gradu 😊 Da netko ne bi mislio da se grebem za 15 kuna, skuzio me simpa gazda konobar Libijac, ionako mi ne dozvoljava da platim 😊 Neka ovo ostane ovdje zapisano, odoh dalje u demek, velike su sanse da se ujutro ovoga necu sjecati :))

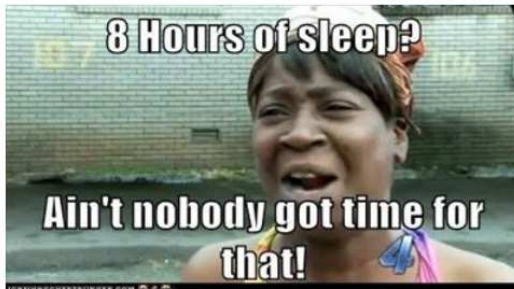


3.

Like · Comment · Share · 2,789 · 102 · 18 · 16 hours ago · 🌐



stari ljudi su puuno živiji nego što izgledaju! jedva čekam svoj mir, krevet i da mi nitko usred noći ne lupa po zidu ili priča sam sa sobom **24/7** 😊  
"Sometimes i give sleeping pills to my roomies so I can sleep" 😊



4.

Like · Comment · Share · 11 hours ago via LG Social+ · Edited · 🌐

3 people like this.

ma bakici treba nes za spavanje pod hitno uvalit, ionako misli da si nocna sestra hahaha 😊  
11 hours ago · Like



nikad dosta informacija **aka** never2much.info 😊

**never2much.info - FSJK po drugi put u Zg!**

never2much.info

Nakon prošlornjesečnih gostiju iz Beograda, na novo izdanje Sicko Disca u Sirupu, ove subote se vraćaju FSJK iz Beča s LIVE/DJ varijantom. Osim njih tu je i rezident ekipa SD-a - Freez, Marmat, Jan Frensin. Upad je ponovno 30kn

Like · Comment · Share · 55 minutes ago near Zagreb · 🌐

likes this.

5.

Write a comment...

🥰 feeling wonderful  
Bukirana **Budapest, Hungary** za veljaču



Like · Comment · Share · 2 hours ago · 🌐

👍 and 3 others like this.

ako ćeš trebati neke savjete gdje konzumirati jeftin alkohol ili muškarce slobodno se javi 😊  
25 minutes ago · Like

Write a comment... 📷

6.

svi su tu, dnevna soba Forresta Gumpa.



Gefällt mir · Kommentieren · Teilen · vor etwa einer Stunde · 👤

👍 15 Personen gefällt das.

samo nema **fofen madona vit d big bubis**  
vor 59 Minuten · Gefällt mir · 👍 3

Fali samo Forrest, prepariran dakako

7.

Našla sam nešto novo što mogu mrziti. Šabat ❤️

Like · Comment · Share · about an hour ago near Jaffa-Tel Aviv, Israel · 👤

samo mrznja ❤️ mizantrofija foeva 😊  
about an hour ago · Like · 👍 1

Mrznja **is my way of life** hahaha ❤️  
about an hour ago via mobile · Like · 👍 1

Nemoj tako, židovi su dobri ljudi. Znaju napraviti dobru atmosferu 😊  
about an hour ago · Like

: Ma sve to stoji al brate, ne može cijeli svijet stat jer je njima **sabat**. Ljudi trebaju doći do aerodroma, you know 😊  
about an hour ago via mobile · Like

Write a comment... 📷

8.

still didn't get ear-raped with wham! hm. maybe last christmas was finally their last.

Like · Comment · Share · 10 hours ago · 👤

and 15 others like this.

hahahaha, you wish! ;o  
7 hours ago · Like · 🍀 1


ok, to ni blo mišljeno kot žmigec ampak kot solza  
**very important info!**  
See Translation  
7 hours ago · Like · 🍀 1

Write a comment...

9.

tunajzdnajt!

BUBU WITH LOVE modna revija  
IVA DIZZY PHOTOGRAPHY izložba  
LORD AND THE LIAR live act, indie from Poland  
IGOR BAKSA live act, akustik frontman banda Komedija  
K.I.L. DIGITAL **DJ set**, electro djir  
KATE&ARTA muzicke selektorice, greatest hits u know and dont  
BEEBIT modni kornet - plastic fantastic  
MODNI ORMAR after party  
++Oslikavanje lica (face painting)  
++Jungle tribe neobicna putovanja  
in coop with BALCONY TV ZAGREB



ART CLUBBING 26.studenog @pepermint

10.

**"resisting by existing"** dobar muvi danas na Human Rights Film Festivalu



**Naseljenici - Naši Novi Susjedi s Puškama // Trailer**  
youtube.com  
"Naseljenici - Naši novi susjedi s puškama"  
srednjemetražni je dokumentarni film koji se bavi

Like · Comment · Share · December 11 at 8:52pm · 🌐

Write a comment...

11.



Shameless, **S02E07** jako dobra serija, hvala nebesima, netko je na Domi to proključio, pa je pustaju, ali u tamo nekom lijevom, porno terminu. Mislim, ja to zaista ne kuzim, zasto sve ono sto je dobro i kreativno, sto ne zatupljuje, nego inspirira, telke kupuju ili sa sto godina zakasnjnja, ili uopce ne kupuju, ili vrte u porno terminu. Breaking Bad, Shameless, Banshee... da ne pricam o late nightu i mom Craigu Fergusonu, kojeg pobožno, svake veceri prije spavanja, vec godinama, odgledam na jubituu. Nemaju love? Ma daj, molim te, a potrose lovu na hrpu skupih gluposti za zatupljivanje. Long live internet, pa si sam slozis cjelovecernji program, kako tebi odgovara 😊



12.

... **Afro Latin party** @ my place + pancakes... pozovite se 😊 ...

Like · Comment · Share · 46 minutes ago · 👤

and . like this.

kad kad? 😊  
43 minutes ago · Like

za uru vremena 😊  
haha  
42 minutes ago · Like

ko će doć?  
42 minutes ago · Like

idem se čut s curama.  
41 minutes ago · Like

kaže per da može tek oko 7 pa ćemo onda valjda doć.ok? 😊  
35 minutes ago · Like

Evo, ja se pozvala! Ali sat vremena mi je prekratko za nabacit party look :) drugi put javi bar 3 sata ranije 😊  
35 minutes ago via mobile · Like

ma dodite kad god tko god 😊  
34 minutes ago · Like

13.

at FFZG  
Ljepljenje plakata po ovom vremenu - **dedication to the cause** 😊

Like · Comment · Share · 20 minutes ago in Zagreb · 🌐

5 people like this.

Write a comment... 📷

14.

 Oglas za posao: 'Traže se instruktore i promotorice za promoviranje vrhunskog edukacijskog programa - 'Kako do bogatog dečka?'

 Sweet Jesus! WTF??! 😓

Gefällt mir · Kommentieren · vor 14 Stunden via Handy · 👤

👍 10 Personen gefällt das.

 hahahahaha..  
vor 14 Stunden via Handy · Gefällt mir · 👍 1

 moja :! Čitam, gledam i ne vjerujem.. 😊  
vor 13 Stunden via Handy · Gefällt mir · 👍 1

 eto ti posla a ti se zalis kako nema nicega za radit 😊 ahahahhahaha  
vor 13 Stunden via Handy · Gefällt mir · 👍 1

 molim link .. kriza je.. pristajem na sve.. 😊  
vor 14 Stunden via Handy · Gefällt mir

 haha pa treba im. jeftina obleka i slike ocito nisu dovoljne  
vor 13 Stunden via Handy · Gefällt mir · 👍 1

 Da nje žalosno, bilo bi smiješno...

vor 9 Minuten via Handy · Gefällt mir

 a što reći.. kokoši su postale očajne 😊  
vor 3 Minuten · Gefällt mir · 👍 1

 Vidis da i u očajnom stanju mozes zaradit... 😊  
vor einigen Sekunden via Handy · Gefällt mir

Schreibe einen Kommentar ... 

15.

 Meni ok, znam se nasmijati ful, ovisi o temi 😊 Ak nemas pametnijeg posla, svakak citaj ostale postove.  
5 hours ago via mobile · Like · 👍 1

 mislim da mu prvo moraš objasniti tko je Vlatka Pokos 😊  
2 hours ago · Like · 👍 1

 : Vlatkica je so last year 😊 ;D  
2 hours ago · Like

 ona je metafora za špicu, usput spomeni i Radeljaka 😊  
2 hours ago · Like

 Kad me pitao po čemu je poznata Dolores Lambaša, rekla sam mu da je hodala s dedekima koji imaju puno novaca XD  
2 hours ago · Like

 true! ali ne bih nju sad uvlačila u sve ovo, nekako mi sad otužno...  
2 hours ago · Like

 ma čisto sam se sjetila jer si spomenula radeljaka 😊  
about an hour ago · Like

Write a comment... 

16.

word.



[http://31.media.tumblr.com/5566efa4c31f1231a02b8032302b2b3b/tumblr\\_mnrop5vkK31s5lf2ro1\\_500.gif](http://31.media.tumblr.com/5566efa4c31f1231a02b8032302b2b3b/tumblr_mnrop5vkK31s5lf2ro1_500.gif)  
31.media.tumblr.com  
word.

Like · Comment · Share · 20 hours ago · 👤

👍 4 people like this.

o tome počesto razmišljam.  
20 hours ago · Like

... dakle, molim te lijepo...i ti  
... No life? No hope?? No future???

17.

👍 feeling awesome

A pretty long journey has come to its end... got my Master's degree in Rhetoric and German Language and Literature!! 🥳🥳 Or as some would say:  
Magistra edukacije govornišva i njemačkog jezika i književnosti!!!  
Wohoooooo! 🥳🥳

Unlike · Comment · Share · 18 minutes ago · 👤

👍 and 13 others like this.

čestitam ! 🥳 mislio sam ti uživo  
čestitat al nikako da te vidim 🥳  
14 minutes ago · Like

Write a comment...

18.

You made my day.. 🥳 Ignore-mode mi je uključen za ovaj mjesec.  
Yesterday at 7:45pm · Like

dobro, ja sam christmas-junkie 🥳 ali morala sam ovo podijelit s tobom 🥳  
Yesterday at 7:46pm · Like

Aj nou Cijenim to. 🥳  
Yesterday at 7:49pm · Like · 👍 1

Write a comment...

19.

Optimizma malo 😞 Ima nas, a što nas se više tlači to se više wake up-amo i mislim da naša manjina počinje shvaćati da stvari više nisu za zekanciju 😊  
14 hours ago · Like

ima nas, da, kao i onih koji ne idu na cajke npr. ima oko 20%. 😞 a stvari nisu za zezanje već odavno, sljedeće je vjerojatno ako nisi vjernik da ćeš platiti veći porez ili nešto slično... ma...ne vuci me za jezik, vatru ću početi rigati.  
14 hours ago · Like · 🍷 3

Spržiti će ti vatra jezičac. Stay calm and vote against 😊  
14 hours ago · Like · 🍷 1

at least im in good company. 😊  
14 hours ago · Like · 🍷 2

Jelena ja iskreno mislim su ti ljudi na krivoj strani povijesti i da im je ovo samo jedna od zadnjih prilika za isfrustrirani poluimpotentni vrisak na ovu temu i da su oni toga u dubini svjesni i da je uglavnom samo zato taj vrisak i toliko ružan i glasan - a sad, jesam li u pravu, ajmo to vidit za tipa 20 godina 😊  
13 hours ago · Like

Write a comment... 📷

20.

anobium punctatum ilitiga "bookworm" ❤️  
don't share this with [redacted]. check ✓  
pa nek mi opet kaže da ne znam izabrat poklon za božić!!



21.

Like · Comment · Share · Yesterday at 12:38pm · 👤

19. Februar 2012 🌟

Film Tjesna koža je do sada najgledaniji film u povijesti jugoslavenske kinematografije  
film Tjesna koža  
Tjesna koža  
tj e s n a  
\*I don't want to live on this planet anymore\*

Gefällt mir · Kommentieren 🍷 11 💬 2

22.

23.

Jednom u godinu dana uspiješ zaspiti prije ponoći i baš tad se svijet odluči srušiti i obavijestit te svim mogućim elektronskim putevima. Well FML.

Like · Comment · 11 hours ago near Zagreb · 🗨️

... r ista stvar,samo sto sam nasla Rafaelo u krevetu xD  
11 hours ago via mobile · Like · 🗨️ 1

... : ovo je pregay status stari  
10 hours ago · Like · 🗨️ 2

... ti makar imas nekakvu utjehu onda 😊  
10 hours ago · Like

... PROTIV!  
10 hours ago · Like · 🗨️ 1

... jedini logicni izbor 😊  
10 hours ago · Like · 🗨️ 1

... : FML?  
2 hours ago via mobile · Like

Write a comment...

24.

i'm stupid. kako nacrtat trokut u wordu?

Like · Comment · Share · 23 minutes ago · 🗨️

... ne možeš tamo pod umetni - oblici i onda da si staviš trokut kao oblik?  
22 minutes ago · Like

... : a pokušavam ali ništa ne iskace 😊  
22 minutes ago · Like

... neznam onda 😊  
21 minutes ago · Like

... <http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index...>

**ANSWERS** **How do I add a triangle as a symbol in Microsoft Word?**  
au.answers.yahoo.com  
go to start, all programs, accessories, system tools then character map and ther... See More

20 minutes ago · Like · 🗨️ 1

... moram moć pisat u njega 😊  
15 minutes ago · Like

... uspjela sam ga zakeljiti iz insert - shapes ali nece da mi pise unutra bemu  
14 minutes ago · Like

... HA HA I did it 😊  
fala 😊  
13 minutes ago · Edited · Like

25.

ono, kad sjedis na wc-u i uletava ti decko sa vijescu da ti je simpatija poginula.. Paul Walker RIP 😊

Like · Comment · Share · 6 hours ago near Zagreb · 🗨️

... neeeeeeeee 😊  
6 hours ago via mobile · Like

Write a comment...

26.

 **Yusef Wabwani**  
Ako se ja ne potrujem od street fooda u Izraelu, nitko neće. **Eat alllll the food!**  
Like · Comment · Share · 49 minutes ago near Jerusalem, Israel ·   
👍 3 people like this.  
 Write a comment...   
Write a comment...

27.

 **6. November · Bearbeitet**   
**ic ofiš!** slaba sam na umiranje dana  
  
[7.1258433310&type=1&relevant\\_count=1](#)

28.

 **working on my next project** 😊  
Like · Comment · Share · 20 minutes ago near London, United Kingdom ·   
👍 likes this.  
 **...**, its not cupcakes!! 😞  
9 minutes ago · Like  
 ohhh da mi je znat sta je 😊 **...** nije vidija sliku bar nije mi nista govoriya (mozda cekda da mu iznenadim) hahah 😊  
7 minutes ago · Like ·  1  
 **...**: ovo je nesto malo vece od kolacica, vidjet ces kad bude gotovo **ill keep u posted** 😊  
6 minutes ago · Like ·  1  
 im excited for you!!  
about a minute ago · Like ·  1  
Write a comment... 



kloniranje w/ Sicko Disko Musiq >> add me so i dont need to add u too  
😊 PLUR. **Sharing is indeed caring.**



Like · Comment · Share · 2 hours ago near Zagreb · 🌐

👍 4 people like this.

Write a comment.. 📷

29.

Zbog treka u Himalaje, bit cu offline iducih 12 dana (Max). Internet je uzasni skup, i jos k time jako spor. Cujemo se uskoro, **stay tuned** 😊

Like · Comment · Share · 👍 155 💬 15 · about an hour ago · 🌐

👍 155 people like this.

- gud lak 😊  
about an hour ago via mobile · Like
- Falit ce nam tvoji postevi!Neka te Bog dragi cuva!Sretno!  
about an hour ago via mobile · Like · 👍 1
- uživaj  
about an hour ago · Like
- : Sretno 😊  
about an hour ago via mobile · Like
- Sretno 😊  
about an hour ago via mobile · Like
- Sretno...!!!!!!  
about an hour ago via mobile · Like

30.

## 6.2 Questionnaire

### ANKETA - Jezici na Facebooku

Molim Vas da pažljivo ispunite sljedeća pitanja u svrhu istraživanja za diplomski rad na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu na Odsjeku za anglistiku. Ispituje se korištenje hrvatskog i engleskog jezika u komunikaciji na Facebooku. Anketa je anonimna i dobrovoljna.

#### PAŽNJA!

Pitanja se ne odnose na komunikaciju putem inboxa i chata, već samo na vaše statuse i vaše komentare ispod vaših ili tuđih statusa, fotografija i raznih drugih poveznica (ono što mogu vidjeti svi prijatelji).

Unaprijed Vam zahvaljujem na pomoći!

Dob:

Spol:

Postignuto obrazovanje: SSS – VŠS – VSS

Zanimanje:

Posao:

Narodnost:

Država i mjesto trenutnog boravka:

Materinski jezik:

1. Kako biste ocijenili svoje poznavanje engleskog jezika?

- a) odlično
- b) vrlo dobro
- c) dobro
- d) dovoljno

2. Jeste li bili u inozemstvu na duži period (najmanje šest mjeseci)?

- a) da, na školovanju (tijekom srednje škole i/ili na fakultetu)
- b) da, zbog posla
- c) ne, nikad nisam bio/la
- d) planiram ići na duži period

3. Ukoliko ste tada boravili na engleskom govornom području, koliko ste bili izloženi engleskom jeziku?

- a) stalno
- b) često
- c) povremeno
- d) nikad

4. Koliko ste (inače) dnevno izloženi engleskom jeziku (knjige, filmovi, glazba, Internet,...)?

- a) stalno
- b) često
- c) povremeno
- d) nikad



5. Koliki je postotak Vaših prijatelja na Facebooku iz inozemstva i/ili trenutno boravi u inozemstvu?

- a) 0-20%
- b) 20-50%
- c) 50-70%
- d) više od 70%

6. Koliko često unutar jednog statusa ili komentara koristite engleski u kombinaciji s hrvatskim jezikom? (npr. *“Pljusak, pobjegao mi bus, deset sati na poslu, izgorjela večera. What a day!”*)

- a) vrlo često
- b) često
- c) rijetko
- d) vrlo rijetko

7. Što utječe na Vaš odabir engleskog jezika u komunikaciji na Facebooku?

- a) određene teme zahtijevaju korištenje engleskog jezika
- b) želim pokazati svoje znanje engleskog jezika drugima
- c) nedostupnost prikladnih izraza na hrvatskom
- d) želim se prilagoditi tijekom razgovora odnosno sugovorniku/sugovornicima

8. Ukoliko Vaši sugovornici na Facebooku ne podrže, odnosno ne nastave (djelomičnu ili potpunu) komunikaciju na engleskom jeziku, Vi:

- a) nastavljate (djelomičnu) komunikaciju na engleskom
- b) nastavljate komunikaciju na engleskom
- c) nastavljate komunikaciju na hrvatskom
- d) uopće ne nastavljate komunikaciju

9. U komunikaciji s kojim dobnim skupinama miješate engleski i hrvatski jezik na Facebooku?

- a) s vršnjacima
- b) sa starijima
- c) s mlađima
- d) sa svima

10. Kada na Facebooku koristite engleski jezik, koristite ga za komunikaciju s:

- a) obitelji i/ili prijateljima
- b) kolegama i za formalnu komunikaciju
- c) oboje gore navedeno
- d) meni služi za moje osobne postove, nije mi bitno razumiju li me svi

Ukoliko imate nešto za dodati, upišite komentar:

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