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CODE-SWITCHING BETWEEN ENGLISH AND CROATIAN IN CROATIAN
UNIVERSITY STUDENTS OF ENGLISH

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Graduation Thesis

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Abstract

Code-switching - alternating between two languages or codes of communication, is as widespread as bilingualism itself. According to Pavlenko (2006), the attitudes towards code-switching in traditionally monolingual societies, such as Croatian society, have been largely negative (p.2). Some authors believe that even in today's increasingly bilingual world, alternating between languages is still viewed in a bad light (Coulmas, 2005, p.109) A questionnaire-based research study was carried out among English majors at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. The principal goals of this research study were to investigate the participants' personal attitudes towards code-switching between Croatian and English and the relationship between their code-switching habits and their self-perception both as English majors and as members of Croatian society. The combined quantitative and qualitative analysis of their responses showed that their attitudes towards code-switching were neutral to negative, while the most important factor of influence on the participants' self-reported code-switching habits was the interlocutor and their English language proficiency. The results confirmed that Croatian English majors are aware that code-switching is a commonplace phenomenon among them. However, they do not necessarily feel that this is justified by the nature of their studies. There was strong evidence in support of the hypothesis that there is a difference in foreign language proficiency between the younger Croatian generation, born from the late 20th century onwards, and the older generations, which influences the speakers' code-switching choices. The study indicates that attitudes towards code-switching may be changing to be more favorable than in the past. The English language in Croatia seems to be transcending the category of a "foreign" language and becoming a secondary but nonetheless legitimate means of communication for many speakers, which

could signal a major change in the attitudes of Croatian society towards code-switching and towards bilinguals in general.

Key words: code-switching, bilinguals, self-perception, attitudes, interlocutor

1. Introduction

The influential status of the English language in European countries is undeniable, and Croatia is no exception. Due to their intense exposure to English, both through institutionalized learning and through the media, younger generations of Croats have become Croatian-English bilinguals, often alternating between languages in conversation. This phenomenon is called code-switching. The primary focus of this paper will be to investigate the code-switching habits of Croatian university students of English, exploring their attitudes towards this type of linguistic behavior and their personal feelings about code-switching in general.

The first part of this paper presents a theoretical framework within which our research will be conducted, including the clarification of the terminology related to bilingualism and to the phenomenon of code-switching itself, as well as taking a look at the status of English in today's Croatian society and providing a concise overview of the research which has been conducted in this field. The following section will explore the sociolinguistic view of code-switching, providing an insight into society's attitudes towards this type of linguistic behavior. Separate sections will also be dedicated to the relationship between code-switching and self-perception and to the social role of code-switching.

Finally, we shall present the research study conducted among English majors at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. The results will be analyzed combining the quantitative and qualitative methods and compared to our hypotheses about the relationship between Croatian English majors' code-switching habits and their self-perception and attitudes. We hope that this study will provide a basis for future research into the various aspects of code-switching.

2. Theoretical framework

2. 1. Code-switching: terminology and function

Bilingual speakers are individuals who master more than one language/code of communication in the course of their life. This includes their first language and any other language acquired later, whether in a natural or institutionalized setting. The first language acquired in infancy is alternatively referred to as a *first language*, *mother tongue*, *native language* or the *primary language*. Medved Krajnović (2010) points out the complications with using these terms, especially the latter, which implies that a person's first acquired language is also their dominant language, which is not always the case. Medved Krajnović suggests the term 'first language' (L1) as the most appropriate, and that is the term employed in this paper. The subsequently acquired language will accordingly be called the 'second language'.

Bilingual speakers possess the ability to spontaneously switch from one language to another according to the situation in which they find themselves, depending on their interlocutor or the topic of the conversation. This type of language behavior is called *code-switching*, *code-mixing* or *language mixing*, with terms such as *borrowing*, *interference*, *transfer* and *switching* being used alternatively to designate either the same type of language behavior or some aspects of it. For example, Bhatia and Ritchie (2004) make a distinction between 'code-switching' and 'code-mixing', the main difference being that code-switching is intersentential while code-mixing is intrasentential, which is also the distinction made by Wardhaugh (1998). Other authors (e.g. Beardsome, 1991, as cited in Bhatia & Ritchie, 2004), reject the term 'mixing' altogether, labeling it as too unclear. Bhatia and Ritchie employ the umbrella term 'language mixing/switching' (LM/S) (2004, p. 376). Spolsky (1998) sees code-

switching as the beginning of *borrowing* which occurs, as he claims, “when the new word becomes more or less integrated into the second language” (p. 49).

However, many prominent authors such as Pavlenko (2006), Myers-Scotton & Jake (2008), Dorleijn & Nortier (2008), Gardner-Chloros (2009) and Dewaele and Wei (2014), use the term 'code-switching' to designate all types of linguistic behavior that include switches from one language/code to another, ranging from morphemic changes to entire sentences or larger discourse units, and which Gardner-Chloros describes as “varied combinations of two or more linguistic varieties” (2009, p. 4). Code-switching' is therefore the term which we have chosen to use in this paper. Perhaps the simplest and clearest definition of this phenomenon is that offered by Li Wei (2007, p.14), who describes it as “changes from one language to another in the course of conversation.”

Coulmas defines an ‘ideal’ code-switcher as “a phantom appearing in almost as many guises as there are scholars interested in his or her performance.” (2005, p. 113). Code-switchers are bilingual persons with different personalities, linguistic and social backgrounds, levels of proficiency, etc. The question of the speaker’s proficiency in his or her languages and its relation to their code-switching habits is an interesting and complex one. It should be stressed that a bilingual code-switcher in the sense we described above is not necessarily a person with a similar level of mastery of both languages, something that Spolsky (1998) calls a ‘balanced bilingual’. Coulmas does describe a code-switcher as “fluent in both languages, although they may not be completely balanced bilinguals” (2005, p. 113), while Spolsky defines a bilingual as “a person who has some functional ability in a second language.” (1998, p. 45). However, since the specific social group of code-switchers which we will examine in this study are English majors, it is to be expected that their proficiency levels will be high,

which should be taken into account when it comes to their code-switching choices, as well as their attitudes towards this phenomenon.

When looking into the sociolinguistic significance of code-switching, it is important to keep in mind the notion of what Spolsky (1998) calls ‘domains’, defining them as social situations comprised of “place, role-relationship and topic” (p. 34). As we have previously mentioned, bilingual speakers will more or less spontaneously adjust their linguistic choices based on their environment, i.e. they will code-switch based on the domain in which they find themselves. According to Spolsky, the “home-school” and “home-work” switch is probably the most common” (1998, p. 46). Since the focus of the present research are the code-switching habits of Croatian English majors, we will especially look into how their linguistic choices change at home and in informal social interactions as opposed to the more formal university setting. If we hypothesize that, due to the nature of their studies, a university environment accommodates for a wider range of linguistic choices than a more monolingual Croatian-speaking home environment, we could speculate that the code-switching choices of Croatian English majors will be significantly different in these two domains.

2. 2. The status of the English language in today’s Croatian society

Over the course of the past several decades, English has firmly established its status as the dominant foreign language in Croatian society (Cindrić & Narančić-Kovač, 2005). It is the first foreign language taught in a vast majority of Croatian schools. However, this was not always the case. Due to historical and political reasons, other languages, such as German and Russian, were widely taught in Croatia in the first, and even second part of the 20th century. It

was not until the late 20th and early 21st century that English prevailed as the most important and widely taught foreign language in Croatia (Vilke, 2007).

Towards the close of the century, the influence of English and culture grew, and the advent of the English-dominated Internet marked a turning point in the status of the English language in the Western world (Dorleijn & Nortier, 2008), and Croatia alike. This is why there is a certain difference in foreign language proficiency between young Croatian generations born from the late 20th century onwards and the generations of their parents and grandparents, who are either less proficient in the English language or don't speak it at all. This difference is one of the factors which influence the language choices of young Croatian bilinguals.

More than through institutional teaching, English is present in the media, especially the Internet, TV, cinema and music. This difference is one of the factors which influence the language choices of young Croatian bilinguals (Djigunović & Geld, 2003). As Djigunović and Geld elaborate in their article, which focuses on incidental English vocabulary acquisition in Croatia, it is this omnipresence of English that creates a special kind of linguistic and cultural environment in which English is almost not a foreign language any more, but a kind of "lingua franca" which Croatian people perceive as a necessary means for academic and professional progress (p. 337). In their paper on the English language needs of Croatian students, Cindrić & Narančić-Kovač (2007) have found that English transcends the boundaries of the language classroom or even university or business environments and finds its way into informal conversations and private lives.

It is unquestionable that the English language in Croatia is pervasive and highly influential. Apart from the language itself, Croatia is under the influence of the English-speaking American and British cultures, mainly through the media such as the Internet, as

Pašalić and Marinov state in their article on the English language and globalization. The opinions of Croatian speakers on this subject are, however, divided. While the younger generations seem to embrace the English language and the largely Internet-based culture, there are many Croatian speakers who perceive the extensive presence of English in everyday speech as an annoyance (Djigunović & Geld, 2003). Others feel even more adverse towards English, which they view as the “killer” language which threatens language diversity and the survival of “smaller” languages like Croatian (Pašalić & Marinov, 2008, p. 255). Pašalić and Marinov call these views “English-phobic” and connect them to political and ideological attitudes which, in their opinion, make it difficult for Croatian people to develop realistic views of the relationship between Croatian and English. (2008, p. 256).

As Pašalić and Marinov note in their article, there is a need for better dialogue between the Croatian government and the institutions which preserve and standardize the Croatian language (2008). There is a distinct lack of standardized terminology, both in the case of scientific and everyday terms, and bilingual Croats are often forced to resort to English terms, some of which become so widely used that it is no longer considered code-switching but, as Spolsky defines it, “borrowing”, meaning that these words (such as *shopping*, *cool*, *mainstream* and *selfie*, to name a few) have become integrated in the Croatian language to the extent that their Croatian alternatives either do not exist or their use in everyday speech sounds unnatural (1998, p. 49). The influence and the effects of English on Croatian need to be researched and the findings made available to the Croatian public. Until such findings are available, it is to be expected that the opinions of Croatian people on this subject will remain divided and that their attitudes towards code-switching between Croatian and English will not be sufficiently grounded in reality.

2. 3. Previous research in adult FL speaker code-switching

The aspects of the complex phenomenon of code-switching are numerous and have been researched by authors such as Medved-Krajnović (2003), Bhatia and Ritchie, (2004), Coulmas (2005), Pavlenko (2006), Myers-Scotton and Jake (2008), Gardner-Chloros (2009), Dewaele and Wei (2014), and others, who have delved into the various aspects of code-switching, from its morphological and syntactic characteristics to its connection to self-perception and its role in society. The focus of the present study are neither the causes and triggers of code switching, nor its grammatical, lexical and syntactic specificities, but rather its connection to the speakers' identity and emotions.

In their 2008 research study Medved Krajnović and Juraga investigated the perception of the influence of foreign language learning on the language learner's personality. The results of their questionnaire-based study showed that bilinguals show great interest in the connection between their personality and language learning, whether or not they believe that their personality changes as a result of learning and speaking foreign languages (Medved Krajnović & Juraga, 2008). Their study (2008) relied on introspection because they perceive self-perception as something that not only reveals personality, but also defines it.

A very recent and relevant research study is that of Dewaele and Wei (2014) who investigated inter and intra-individual variation in self-reported code-switching patterns of adult multilinguals. In this large-scale quantitative study they investigated factors such as personality, gender and cognitive empathy, which they found to be pertinent for multilingual speakers' code-switching (2014). One of their findings which is particularly relevant to our present study is that an important factor of influence on multilinguals' code-switching choices were interlocutors (Dewaele & Wei, 2014).

Aneta Pavlenko particularly focuses on exploring the relation between language and self-perception, as well as between language and emotions. In her book “Bilingual selves” she delves into the psychology of bilingual speakers in order to come to a better understanding of how living with multiple languages shapes one’s sense of self. In Pavlenko’s own words, her goal in her book was “to understand the key influences that shape individuals’ perceptions of the relationship between their languages and selves” (2006, p. 6).

In collaboration with Dewaele, Pavlenko conducted a study of the connections between bilingualism, multilingualism and emotions. For the purposes of that research, Dewaele and Pavlenko designed the ‘Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire’ (Pavlenko, 2006). Using the self-evaluation method, they tested over 1,500 participants through a web questionnaire. Their results showed that the majority of the bilingual and multilingual participants reported feeling a change of identity, or rather, a change of ‘role’ or ‘persona’ according to the language they were using (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 10). Their study also made a strong case for the validity of introspective data.

Another recent study which focuses on similar aspects of code-switching as our present study is that of Jim Hlavac. In his research study conducted in 2012 on a large sample of bilingual Croatian-English speakers, Hlavac, himself a second-generation Croatian-English bilingual, investigates the psycholinguistic, metalinguistic and socio-psychological aspects of code-switching. In his paper, Hlavac performs a qualitative analysis of the transcriptions he made after interviewing participants in his research. Among his findings is the fact that code-switching between Croatian and English “reflects the speaker’s and the listener’s desired linguistic choices with the roles and discourse contexts that they are able to enact within them” (Hlavac, 2012, p. 68), which makes another case for the importance of different roles and environments in the bilingual speaker’s code-switching choices.

2. 4. The sociolinguistic approach to code-switching

The authors investigating this phenomenon, such as Coulmas (2005), are well aware that the practice of switching codes in a conversation, often within the same sentences, can cause negative reactions by monolingual listeners, or even by other bilinguals. Coulmas states that, despite it being a widespread phenomenon, code-switching is still often viewed as a “bastardized blend” of languages, which shows that the speaker’s “command of the languages involved is limited” (2005, p. 109). Pavlenko also argues that the attitudes of traditionally monolingual societies towards code-switching have been negative (2006, p. 2).

However, sociolinguistics duly recognizes the complexity of this phenomenon, as well as its social motivations. Wardhaugh, for example, sees code-switching as a commonplace phenomenon in bilingual and multilingual societies and countries and defines it in opposition with diglossia, which “reinforces [the] differences [between two codes], while code switching “tends to reduce them” (1998, p.103). This underscores the role of code-switching as a means of distinguishing two or more languages, with all their ethnic, political, ideological and economic implications, within a single society. Code-switching can either be a conscious or a subconscious process. Whether or not an individual’s code-switching choices are conscious or subconscious, they are necessarily influenced by both the macro-social and the micro-social situation in which communication takes place. In other words, the status of the given languages between which an individual switches will influence the code-switching choices, and so will the specific setting in which a conversation takes place, the interlocutor, their proficiency, background, their relation to the speaker, etc.

Languages depend on their speakers for their vitality, growth and, ultimately, their survival. As many nations and peoples in today’s world are reduced in numbers, their languages often share the same fate. Besides this immediate threat to the survival of ‘smaller’

languages, such as Croatian, there is also the phenomenon of linguistic globalization marked by the clear dominance of ‘stronger’ languages such as English. Even if the number of speakers of a given ‘small’ language is not significantly reduced, the language can still be in danger of falling under the influence of the dominant language and its culture. Spolsky notices that many speakers of less influential languages are often afraid that their language and their national identity may be threatened, especially by English-speaking countries such as the US and Great Britain (1998). Since these cultures ‘infiltrate’ other societies, including Croatian society, through media and especially the Internet (Dorleijn & Nortier, 2008), speakers of languages such as Croatian can become quite immersed in the English language and are often faced with linguistic choices marked by a variety of complex social motivations.

Spolsky speaks of the phenomenon of ‘language loyalty’, where the speakers of a language are faced with the influence of “more powerful languages” and often try to ‘resist’ them in order to preserve their own language and national identity. (1998, p. 55). In her book ‘Language Choice’, Suzanne Romaine says: “It has often been said that bilingualism is a step along the road to linguistic extinction. (...) it is not hard to find cases where language death is preceded by bilingualism and extensive code-switching.” (2000, p. 57). This “threat” of the dominant language is felt even by balanced bilinguals.

In the case of this research study, it is to be expected that Croatian English majors, although proficient in both Croatian and English, will be aware of society’s concerns over the phenomenon of linguistic globalization, whether or not they personally share this concern. The relation between a personal sense of cultural belonging and the code-switching habits of Croatian English majors will be one of the primary focuses of this research.

3. Code-switching, attitudes and self-perception

Being a bilingual person in a traditionally monolingual society entails the same difficulties as those faced by many minorities. No individual, regardless of how many languages they speak, lives in a social vacuum. A person's self-perception is necessarily influenced by the attitudes of the society in which they live. In societies which were traditionally monolingual, the attitudes towards bilinguals were often negative (Pavlenko, 2006). Pavlenko even mentions terms such as "conflicting personalities", "shifting linguistic allegiances" and "schizophrenia" which were traditionally associated with bilingual and multilingual individuals (2006, p. 2).

Croatian society is also an example of a traditionally monolingual society where the use of the dominant language is expected in most situations, while the use of foreign languages seems to be reserved for appropriate environments, such as language classes, university lectures and business meetings. If an individual 'breaches' this unspoken linguistic norm by using code-switching in their daily life, other members of society may have negative attitudes towards this kind of linguistic behavior (Pavlenko, 2006).

Regardless of the person's level of self-confidence, he or she is necessarily influenced by society's views, therefore many bilinguals can themselves have negative attitudes towards code-switching. According to Bhatia and Ritchie, "with the exception of highly linguistically aware bilinguals, the vast majority of bilinguals (...) hold a negative view of code-mixed speech" (2004, p. 389). They even go one step further, claiming that bilinguals often perceive their own code-switching as "a sign of 'laziness,' an 'inadvertent' speech act, an 'impurity,' an instance of linguistic decadence and a potential danger to their own linguistic performance." (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2004, p. 389).

A bilingual person's attitude towards their second language will also depend on their subjective, personal perception of the language in question. We could speculate about whether

a person's self-perception in relation to the language shapes their attitudes towards the language, or if their feelings about the language determine whether they identify with the language in question and its culture or not.

A speaker's emotions and attitudes towards the language itself are an important factor which explains the language's influence on their self-perception. Pavlenko notes that the first language is often perceived as more emotional, but that, interestingly, it doesn't have to be the speaker's preferred language when it comes to talking about things of great emotional significance (2006). If a second language, such as English in the case of Croatian speakers, has emotional value for the speaker, they are more likely to have positive attitudes towards the cultures of English-speaking countries, as well as towards switching to English in conversation, regardless of the prevalent attitude towards code-switching in their society or community.

4. The social role of code-switching

The primary function of language is communication, the transfer of meaning. With this goal in mind, it is to be expected that the speaker will use whatever linguistic means are at his or her disposal in order to facilitate communication, code-switching being one of such means.

We have seen that, as research shows (Coulmas, 2005; Pavlenko, 2006; Pašalić & Marinov, 2008) the attitudes of society towards bilinguals and code-switching can be negative, yet bilingual speakers still code-switch, especially as a sign of solidarity with their interlocutor(s). The sociolinguist Janet Holmes says that "A speaker may (...) switch to another language as a signal of group membership and shared ethnicity with an addressee." (2001, p. 35).

Apart from the tendency to facilitate communication, there is another social factor which influences the speaker's choices. Spolsky calls it 'metaphorical switching' (1998, p. 50). It pertains to the role-relationship aspect of a certain domain in which speakers find themselves. In view of this function of code-switching, Spolsky compares it to registers, jargon and slang as varieties of language which have the social role of signaling that the speaker belongs to a certain class, ethnic or other group (1998). Alternating between languages/codes in conversation would be a way for bilinguals to signal common attitudes or claim "group membership or solidarity" (Spolsky, 1998, p. 50). When speaking to other members of the same social group, a bilingual person shows a certain part of his or her identity which is not necessarily the same identity assumed in their other social roles.

Holmes also points out that bilinguals often find it easier to discuss a certain topic in one language/code as opposed to another (2001). This could explain the motivation behind many instances of code-switching among bilinguals with shared areas of knowledge, (especially if such knowledge involves specific terminology) such as scientists, business associates, high school or college students, players in the same gaming community, etc.

5. Study

5. 1. Aims

The aim of the study is twofold: to investigate the code-switching habits of Croatian English majors in informal conversations and their attitudes towards these habits, as well as to explore the self-reported connection between the participants' code-switching habits and their sense of national identity. It is our belief that the results of this study would provide interesting insight into the attitudes and perceptions of young Croatian-English bilinguals and shed some light on the relationship between the Croatian and English languages in today's Croatian society.

In this study, we will address the following hypotheses:

1. Croatian English majors code-switch in informal conversations (outside university lectures). We base this hypothesis on a body of research on bilingualism and code-switching (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2004; Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Grosjean, 1982, 1989, 2008; Wei, 2008; Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2009), as well as on our personal observations of English majors' code-switching practice during the years of studying English at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb.

2. Croatian English majors feel that their code-switching is justified by the fact that they are members of a specific social group (English majors). If confirmed, this hypothesis could be linked to what Spolsky calls "group membership or solidarity" (1998, p. 50), and also to Holmes' findings about bilinguals switching to a different language/code when discussing particular topics (2001). In this case, we could hypothesize that Croatian English majors would find it easier to discuss topics related to their studies in English rather than Croatian, since English is the language used in their university lectures.

3. Attitudes of Croatian English majors towards code-switching in informal conversations (outside university lectures) are largely negative. We base this hypothesis on the findings on bilingual speakers' attitudes towards code-switching by authors such as Holmes (2001, p. 42), Coulmas (2005, p. 109), and Pavlenko (2006, p. 2).

4. Croatian English majors' code-switching in informal conversations depends on whether their interlocutor is another English major or not, i.e. whether their interlocutor's knowledge of English corresponds to their own. This would confirm the importance of the interlocutor as a factor of influence on the bilingual speaker's linguistic choices (Spolsky, 1998; Holmes, 2001; Dewaele & Wei, 2014).

5. Croatian English majors, as members of a young generation which is more 'immersed' in English, when communicating with the older generations, will adjust their linguistic choices to their interlocutors who are less proficient in English. As previously mentioned regarding hypothesis 4, this could confirm the interlocutor's level of proficiency in the second language as an important factor influencing the bilingual speaker's code-switching choices.

6. Croatian English majors will feel that the attitudes of Croatian society towards code-switching are largely negative. If confirmed, this would support the findings of authors such as Coulmas (2005) and Pavlenko (2006) who claim that in traditionally monolingual societies alternating between languages/codes of communication is not regarded favorably.

5. 2. Participants

The study was conducted at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, on a sample of Croatian English majors, students whose L1 is Croatian and who have acquired English as either the second L1 or the second language. The sample involved students from both pre-graduate and graduate study, as well as several students who have completed their graduate studies. Their English proficiency level was expected to be high, which was confirmed by the average CEL course grade provided, which was 3.3 for male participants and 3.2 for female participants, 3.2 for the whole sample.

As can be seen in Table 1, there were 22 female and 8 male participants between the ages of 19 and 29, only 37.5% of the participants were male, while the majority were female. Only two participants studied English as a single major, while others were enrolled in a variety of other study groups, including Pedagogy, Italian, Information Science, Archaeology, Russian, Swedish, Linguistics, Comparative Literature, French, Philosophy and Croatian language and literature.

Table 1

Participants – Sociodemographic data

	Male	Female	Total
Number of participants	8	22	30
Average age (years)	21.6	21.9	21.8

5. 3. Instrument

For the purpose of this study, we designed a three-part questionnaire consisting of 25 questions. The responses to 20 questions were designed to be measured on a five-point-Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). The remaining three were open-ended questions.

The questionnaire elicited the following sociolinguistic data: gender, age, other study group, average grade in Contemporary English Language (CEL) course, length of studying English prior to college and length of stay in an English-speaking country. Data such as ‘other study group’ and ‘average CEL grade’ will not be investigated in detail as their purpose was rather to ensure a diverse, representative sample of English majors while the parameters such as the participants’ multilingualism and proficiency are not pertinent for our present study.

The questions in the first part of the questionnaire were designed to examine the participants’ self-reported attitudes and emotions concerning their bilingual identity. The following seven questions were designed to be rated on a 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree) Likert-type scale:

1. *I code-switch between Croatian and English in informal conversations (outside of university lectures).*
2. *I think that code-switching is normal for English majors.*
3. *I think there is no point in trying to prevent code-switching.*
4. *I think that English majors are more justified in code-switching than other people.*
5. *I think that code-switching is cool.*
6. *I think that code-switching shows greater proficiency in English.*

7. I think that code-switching is a lazy and pretentious type of speech and should be avoided.

In addition to these, there were two open-ended questions:

8. How do you personally as an English major feel about your code-switching habits? Explain.

9. How do you feel about code-switching behavior in general? Explain.

The purpose of Part II of the questionnaire was to investigate the variations in the participants' code-switching choices based on who they are talking to, as well as their feelings concerning code-switching in different situations. This part consisted of the following questions which were again designed to be rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 to 5.

1. I try to avoid code-switching when I talk to people who are not as proficient in English as I am.

2. I code-switch with other English majors more than with other people.

3. When I code-switch with English majors and other people who are proficient in English, I feel good about it.

4. When I code-switch with people who are less proficient in English, I feel bad about it.

5. I have different feelings about my code-switching depending on who I am talking to.

6. The more the person I am talking to code-switches, the more I do it as well.

The third part of the questionnaire was meant to investigate the participants' code-switching choices when they communicate with members of their parents' and grandparents' generations, their feelings concerning the preservation of the Croatian language and Croatian

cultural heritage, as well as their personal perception of the attitudes of Croatian society towards code-switching. These factors were examined through the following questions:

- 1. I try to avoid code-switching when I talk to my parents/grandparents and other members of my parents' and grandparents' generations.*
- 2. I avoid code-switching with my generation and younger generations.*
- 3. I feel that my parents/grandparents do not approve of code-switching.*
- 4. I feel that the majority of Croatian society does not approve of code-switching.*
- 5. Preserving the Croatian language and Croatian cultural heritage is important to me.*
- 6. I feel that code-switching is detrimental to the Croatian language.*
- 7. I feel that the cultures of English-speaking countries influence Croatian society too much.*
- 8. I would prefer living in an English-speaking country to living in Croatia.*
- 9. I would prefer to adopt a different nationality other than Croatian.*

The final, open-ended question was related to questions 1 and 4 of this part of the questionnaire: *“If you rated questions 1 and 4, with ‘4’ or ‘5’, explain your answer”*. The purpose of this question was to provide further insight into the participants’ code-switching choices in conversation with the generations of their parents and grandparents. Our hypothesis was that these choices would be influenced by the difference in English language proficiency between English majors and their less proficient interlocutors.

The questionnaire was partly inspired, though not strictly based on Pavlenko and Dewaele’s 2003 ‘Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire’, especially the questions in Parts I and II which concern the participants’ attitudes towards their own code-switching habits, as

well as to code-switching in general. However, changes were made to the original items to fit the purpose of this study.

5. 3. 1. Pilot

The pilot study was conducted at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. The participants were two university students of English. The first participant was a 22-year-old graduate male student of English and Philosophy who was raised as a Croatian-English bilingual and lived in America for 11 years. The other participant was a 26-year-old female graduate of English and Pedagogy whose L1 is Croatian and who learned English as a second language.

The participants filled out the questionnaire online and submitted their comments via email. Overall, they found the questionnaire to be comprehensible, undemanding and relevant. In the pilot version of the questionnaire, some of the questions in Part I and Part III were longer than in the final version. Due changes were made to the original version of the questionnaire; certain items were shortened and simplified in order to be more comprehensible so that they may offer clearer and more easily analyzable data.

5. 3. 2. Procedure

The questionnaire was distributed to Croatian English majors in the first, second and third year of undergraduate studies of English, in the first and second year of graduate studies, as well as to a number of students who have completed their graduate studies. This was done in

order for the sample to be as representative as possible for English majors at the university where the research was conducted.

Ten copies of the questionnaire were distributed to undergraduate students during a lecture in an undergraduate course in the Department of English. Before the participants filled out the questionnaire, which took 10 minutes at most, a short verbal explanation of the terminology such as ‘first language’ and ‘code switching’ was provided in order to ensure that all participants understood the phenomenon that was being investigated. The definition provided was that of Wei (2007) who defined code-switching as “changes from one language to another in the course of conversation” (p. 14).

The aims of the study were also briefly explained. The students were told that the purpose of this study was to gain better insight into the code-switching habits of Croatian English majors and the influence of their code-switching between Croatian and English on their self-perception and their emotions. None of the participants had trouble understanding either the terminology or the research goals, and they appeared to be interested in the subject matter and highly motivated to participate in the study. Several of them expressed the wish to be informed of the results of the research via email.

The questionnaire was also made available online. The electronic version of the questionnaire contained a brief explanation of the terminology pertaining to the research study. Twenty participants submitted their responses online. The answers to the closed questions provided by the 30 participants were analyzed using SPSS Statistics software while the open-ended questions were analyzed qualitatively. The results of the two analyses were combined in order to provide answers to our hypotheses. The following section of this paper presents the data analysis and the discussion of the results.

6. Results and discussion

6.1. Croatian English majors' code-switching: habits and attitudes

In this section we will analyze the responses to questions from Part I of the questionnaire, pertaining to our first two hypotheses: that Croatian English majors code-switch between Croatian and English in informal conversations, and that they consider this code-switching justified by the fact that they are English majors. Table 2 presents the ratings of questions 1, 2 and 4 in Part I of the questionnaire which explored the participants' code-switching habits and their attitudes towards these habits. Apart from these three statistically analyzed questions, the participants' feelings about their own code-switching were also analyzed through the open-ended question (8) "How do you personally as an English major feel about your code-switching habits? Explain."

Table 2

*Croatian English majors' code-switching between
Croatian and English and their attitudes towards it*

Part I				
Question number	Question	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
(1)	I code-switch between Croatian and English in informal conversations (outside of university lectures).	30	4.00	1.11
(2)	I think that code-switching is normal for English majors.	30	4.33	0.76
(4)	I think that English majors are more justified in code-switching than other people.	30	2.97	1.25

In answer to the question whether they code-switch between Croatian and English in informal conversations (1), the participants gave a largely positive response, the mean being 4.0 on a 1 - 5 Likert-type scale. This confirmed our first hypothesis, namely that Croatian English majors code-switch between Croatian and English in informal conversations (outside of their university lectures). The statistical mean value for question 2, whether code-switching is normal for English majors, was 4.33, showing that this language behavior is common among English majors. This was also confirmed in the participants' responses to the open-ended question on how they felt about their own code-switching habits (8). Only five out of 30 participants reported rarely code-switching between Croatian and English, while the majority of 25 participants agreed that code-switching is common among English majors. One participant summed up the reasons behind this commonplace practice among English majors in the written response to the open-ended question:

“I simply think it [code-switching] shows how involved I am in my studies –I spend so much time reading, writing and watching things in English, my vocabulary in English is perhaps better developed than that in Croatian. Also, a lot of things in pop-culture which I like to talk about don't translate well into Croatian.”

However, the participants' opinions were divided on whether they are more justified in switching between Croatian and English than other people. The mean for question 4 - “I think that English majors are more justified in code-switching than other people” - was 2.96 with the standard deviation 1.24, which didn't support our second hypothesis – that Croatian English majors feel that their code-switching is justified by the nature of their studies.

Further insight into the participants' attitudes towards English majors' code-switching was provided through the responses to the open-ended question (8) in Part I of the

questionnaire: “How do you personally as an English major feel about your code-switching habits? Explain.”

Table 2

English majors’ feelings about their code-switching habits

Part I, Question 8	Positive	Neutral	Negative
How do you as an English major feel about your code-switching habits? Explain.	10	8	12

As can be seen from Table 2, ten participants expressed a rather positive opinion, of which only two employed the highly positive descriptors “*justified*” and “*cool*”, eight participants expressed a neutral opinion, while 12 responded that they tried to avoid code-switching, either due to their interlocutor’s lower English language proficiency, or because they consider code-switching “*annoying*”, “*pretentious*” or “*unhealthy for their Croatian*”. These results contradicted our hypothesis and showed that, while they acknowledge that code-switching between Croatian and English is commonplace among them, Croatian English majors did not feel that this language behavior is justified by the nature of their studies.

The fact that our participants’ opinions on their own code-switching were divided, or slightly more negative than positive, are in accordance with the writing of authors such as Holmes (2001), who says that many bilingual speakers tend to apologize for code-switching, especially when their attention is drawn to this behavior, and that they condemn it and generally disapprove of mixing languages (p. 45). The participants’ opinions on the influence of English on Croatian, that were partly addressed here, will be discussed in more detail later.

6.3. Croatian English majors' attitudes to code-switching in general

Table 3 presents the ratings of questions 3 and 5-7 in Part I of the questionnaire, which explore the participants' attitudes to code-switching in general. These pertain to our third hypothesis, namely that the attitudes of Croatian English majors to code-switching in general are largely negative.

Table 3

Croatian English majors' attitudes to code-switching

Part I				
Question number	Question	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
(3)	I think there is no point in trying to prevent code-switching	30	3.43	1.04
(5)	I think that code-switching is cool.	30	2.93	1.26
(6)	I think that code-switching shows greater proficiency in English.	30	2.67	1.18
(7)	I think that code-switching is a lazy and pretentious type of speech and should be avoided.	30	2.47	1.17

For questions 3 and 5-7 in Part I of the questionnaire, the standard deviation was a little over 1 for the responses to each question, which shows that there was only a slight difference in opinions. For the questions whether they consider code-switching “cool” (5) and whether they think it shows a greater proficiency in English (6), the means were 2.9 and 2.6 respectively. The answers gravitated towards “undecided” more often than towards “agreed”.

Question 7, whether they consider code-switching a “lazy and pretentious type of speech which should be avoided”, got the lowest average mean - 2.4. The written responses to the open-ended question (9) “How do you feel about code-switching behavior in general? Explain” shed additional light on the participants’ attitudes towards code-switching.

Table 4

English majors’ feelings about code-switching in general

Part I, Question 9	Positive	Neutral	Negative
How do you feel about code-switching in general? Explain.	9	10	11

As shown in Table 4, 9 out of 30 participants expressed neutral to positive attitudes, of which only two were expressly positive, describing code-switching as “cool” and making the conversation “fun and more dynamic”. Ten participants were neutral and a slight majority of 11 participants expressed neutral attitudes towards code-switching. The opinions of the latter group were mostly that it is “overused” and unnecessary when “Croatian terms exist”. Three participants expressed highly negative attitudes towards code-switching, describing it as being a form of “intellectual laziness” and having a “detrimental effect on Croatian”, while one participant professed to “detest it.”

Although these responses gravitated more towards “undecided” than “negative”, when compared to the analysis of the responses to the open-ended questions 8 and 9 from Part I where the slight majority of answers were negative, we can conclude that our hypothesis about Croatian English majors’ attitudes towards code-switching being negative was confirmed.

6.4. Code-switching depending on the interlocutor

Part II of the questionnaire investigated the participants' attitudes towards code-switching depending on the person or persons with whom they are communicating. The statistical mean values of the questions in this part of the questionnaire can be seen in Table 5.

Table 5

Variations in Croatian English majors' code-switching depending on the interlocutor

Part II				
Question number	Question	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
(1)	I try to avoid code-switching when I talk to people who are not as proficient in English as I am.	30	3.70	1.18
(2)	I code-switch with other English majors more than with other people.	30	3.97	1.40
(3)	When I code-switch with English majors and other people who are proficient in English, I feel good about it.	30	3.33	1.18
(4)	When I code-switch with people who are less proficient in English, I feel bad about it.	30	2.73	0.98
(5)	I have different feelings about my code-switching depending on who I am talking to.	30	3.53	1.17
(6)	The more the person I am talking to code-switches, the more I do it as well.	30	3.77	1.22

Our initial hypothesis was that the code-switching choices of Croatian English majors in informal conversations would depend on who their interlocutor is and how proficient that person is in English. The questions with the highest mean were 1: “I try to avoid code-switching when I talk to people who are not as proficient in English as I am”, which had the mean 3.7, with the standard deviation 1.17, and 2: “I code-switch with other English majors more than with other people”, with the mean of 3.96, although the standard deviation was relatively high: 1.4. As we can see, the participants’ responses to questions 1-5 did not show enough agreement to confirm our hypothesis. However, if we combine these neutral-to-positive results with the data obtained in response to the open-ended questions 8, 9 and 10, we can conclude that the interlocutor and his or her English language proficiency is an important factor which influences Croatian English majors’ code-switching choices. This is in accordance with the writing of authors such as Holmes (2001), Gardner-Chloros (2009) and Dewaele and Li (2014).

Questions 1 and 2 in Part III of the questionnaire explored whether Croatian English majors code-switch between Croatian and English when talking to their parents’ and grandparents’ generations as opposed to talking to their peers. We speculated that there would be a significant difference in foreign language repertoires between English majors, whose proficiency in English is higher than that of the average Croatian citizen, and their parents and grandparents. The existence of this difference in FL repertoire was confirmed both through the ratings of questions 1 and 2 and through the written responses to the open-ended question (10) which elicited the participants’ explanations of their code-switching choices when communicating with their parents’ and grandparents’ generations.

Table 6

Croatian English majors' code-switching in communication with their parents' and grandparents' generations

Part III				
Question number	Question	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
(1)	I try to avoid code-switching when I talk to my parents/grandparents and other members of the generations of my parents and grandparents.	30	4.33	0.88
(2)	I avoid code-switching with my generation and younger generations.	30	2.30	1.29
(3)	I feel that my parents/grandparents do not approve of code-switching.	30	2.73	1.26

If we observe the ratings of questions 1 in Part III of the questionnaire, “I try to avoid code-switching when I talk to my parents/grandparents and other members of the generations of my parents and grandparents”, the mean was high - 4.33 - with a low standard deviation of 0.88.

This issue was further clarified in the written answers to the open-ended question (10) in Part III: “If you rated questions 1 and 4, with ‘4’ or ‘5’, explain your answer.” Out of 30 respondents, 20 rated questions 1 and 4 with 4 and 5, acknowledging that they indeed avoid code-switching between Croatian and English when talking to older generations. Out of these 20, the overwhelming majority of 17 respondents explicitly stated the difference in proficiency as the reason for this. *“I avoid it because they don’t speak the language,” “My parents and grandparents don’t speak English”, “I simply know they wouldn’t understand*

me” and *“I would feel bad using English with my parents and grandparents if they don’t know the meaning of those words”* were some of the answers provided in response to this question, which show that the difference in proficiency is an important factor which governs their linguistic choices in interaction with their parents and grandparents.

In contrast with this, question 2, *“I avoid code-switching with my generation and younger generations”* had the lowest mean of all the questions in the questionnaire, 2.3. This further confirmed our hypothesis about the generational difference in proficiency in the English language. As previously stated, younger generations, born from the late 20th and early 21st century onward, seem to be considerably more immersed in the English language and the cultures of the English-speaking countries than the older generations. Consequently, our focus group, Croatian English majors, seem to switch into English more freely when conversing with their generation than with older generations, and they acknowledge this. In the answer to question 9, about the attitudes towards code-switching in general, one participant wrote: *“It’s useful because there are a lot of phrases in English that don’t exist in Croatian, especially jokes and memes which I use way too much. Way too much.* Another participant, describing her feelings about code-switching in general, wrote:

“In general, I don’t really like that because it seems that the majority of English expressions used in those cases are just some conversation fillers without much meaning and are mostly copied out of popular British and American culture.”

A comment worth noting was that of a male respondent who wrote:

“Some Croatian terms may seem unnatural or funny in informal speech, or in the Croatian language in general (thus, we choose to use the English versions), but like

an average spoiled brat of the Internet generation, why not use your beautiful mother tongue?”

The fact that the participant mentioned the Internet as a major factor of influence on young Croatians’ code-switching habits is in accordance with what Dorleijn & Nortier (2008, p. 127) say about this medium and its connection to code-switching.

These results confirmed our fourth and fifth hypotheses – that Croatian English majors’ code-switching depends on who their interlocutor is and how proficient he or she is in English, and that younger Croatian generations adjust their code-switching choices when communicating with older generations who either do not speak English or are less proficient.

6. 4. Croatian society and code-switching: English majors’ perception

Our final hypothesis was that Croatian English majors consider the attitude of Croatian society towards code-switching to be negative. Questions 4 to 9 of Part III of the questionnaire explored the participants’ attitudes towards the Croatian language and culture, as well as the connection between the participants’ sense of national identity and their attitudes to code-switching. As can be seen from table 7, there was some disagreement in their responses.

Table 7

Croatian English majors’ code-switching and their sense of national identity

Part III				
Question number	Question	N	Mean	Std. Deviation

(4)	I feel that the majority of Croatian society does not approve of code-switching.	30	2.70	1.09
(5)	Preserving the Croatian language and Croatian cultural heritage is important to me.	30	3.77	1.25
(6)	I feel that code-switching is detrimental to the Croatian language.	30	3.17	1.37
(7)	I feel that the cultures of English-speaking countries influence the Croatian society too much.	30	3.20	1.30
(8)	I would prefer living in an English-speaking country to living in Croatia.	30	3.23	1.30
(9)	I would prefer to adopt a different nationality other than Croatian.	30	2.47	1.46

Question 4 – “I feel that the majority of Croatian society does not approve of code-switching” had a mean of 2.7, with a standard deviation 1, which shows that the participants were undecided on this matter. Question 5, “Preserving the Croatian language and Croatian cultural heritage is important to me” was rated with 3.76, which would correspond to “agree” on the Likert-type scale. Questions 6, “I feel that code-switching is detrimental to the Croatian language” and 7, “I feel that the cultures of English-speaking countries influence the Croatian society too much” had means 3.16 and 3.2 respectively, which only slightly above “undecided”. The 3.23 mean of question 8 shows that a significant number of Croatian English majors would prefer to live in an English-speaking country. However, the last question (9), “I would prefer to adopt a different nationality other than Croatian” got the second lowest rating in the questionnaire, 2.46, which means that the majority of our respondents still feel a sense of national belonging and would not adopt the nationality of a

different country, despite their largely positive attitudes towards the English language and the cultures of the English-speaking countries.

Some of the written responses to open questions further clarified our participants' perception of the attitudes of Croatian society towards code-switching. One participant offered an interesting suggestion as to the reason for this purported negative attitude:

"(...) in my opinion, it seems as though the majority of Croats dislike code-switching, especially the older generations. The primary reason for that may lie in the fact that Croats are generally quite conservative and tend to vehemently oppose anything that might influence our cultural heritage, probably owing to historical reasons (i.e. the long struggle for independence)."

However, others expressed the opposite opinion: *"I don't believe that the majority of our society disapproves code-switching," "(...) I wouldn't say that the majority of Croatian society disapproves code-switching. For example, there are a lot of German words that have become a part of Croatian, and although there are Croatian equivalents for those words, hardly anyone uses them."*

A large-scale study of the attitudes of the Croatian public towards code-switching between Croatian and English could provide insight into the actual situation regarding this socio-linguistic phenomenon in our country. However, until such a study is conducted, it is impossible to ascertain whether the impressions of our respondents are based in reality, nor can they themselves know whether the society in which they live has a favorable view of themselves as bilinguals and their everyday linguistic choices.

7. Conclusion

This small-scale study of the relations between Croatian English majors' code-switching habits and their self-perception and attitudes combined the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the questionnaire results and showed that Croatian English majors code-switch between Croatian and English in informal conversations, and that their linguistic choices largely depend on who their interlocutor is and how proficient that person is in English. They acknowledge that code-switching is common among English majors, but they don't necessarily consider this justified by the nature of their studies. Their attitudes towards code-switching in general were found to be neutral to negative. The majority of participants expressed a negative view of the excessive use of code-switching. How much code-switching is too much, when and how Croatian English majors code-switch, what are the "trigger" words or topics and how is this related to the situation and the participants of the conversation could be topics for future research.

The difference in English language proficiency between their generation and older Croatian generations was confirmed. The participants' opinions on the influence of the English language and the cultures of the English-speaking countries on Croatian people were neither significantly negative nor positive, however, they seem to be well aware that the influence of English exists and that it has an impact on their own code-switching choices.

Given the small-scale nature of the study and the limited possibilities of the interpretation of data, we refrained from making broad generalizations regarding issues such as the attitudes of the whole Croatian society towards code-switching, or the actual degree of influence the English language has in Croatia. The sociological significance of code-switching in Croatia cannot be ignored and there are numerous possibilities for future research of this complex linguistic phenomenon.

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9. Appendix

9. 1. Questionnaire

Code-switching

Code-switching between Croatian and English in Croatian English majors

This questionnaire is anonymous. The data collected via this questionnaire will be used solely for the purpose of investigating the code-switching practice of Croatian university students of English and the influence of code-switching on their self-perception.

The code-switching referred to in this questionnaire is that between Croatian and English, primarily in informal situations (outside of university lectures).

The questionnaire consists of three parts. Please rate each statement according to the Likert-type scale: Strongly disagree (1), Disagree (2), Undecided (3), Agree (4) or Strongly agree (5).

*Required

Please provide the following information.*

Gender: F M

Age: _____

Other study group: _____

Average CEL grade: _____

How long have you studied English prior to college? _____

Have you lived in an English-speaking country?

If yes, which country and for how long? _____

Part I

Rate how much you agree with these statements:

1. I code-switch between Croatian and English in informal conversations (outside of university lectures).

1 2 3 4 5

2. I think that code-switching is normal for English majors.

1 2 3 4 5

3. I think there is no point in trying to prevent code-switching.

1 2 3 4 5

4. I think that English majors are more justified in code-switching than other people.

1 2 3 4 5

5. I think that code-switching is cool.

1 2 3 4 5

6. I think that code-switching shows greater proficiency in English.

1 2 3 4 5

7. I think that code-switching is a lazy and pretentious type of speech and should be avoided.

1 2 3 4 5

8. How do you personally as an English major feel about your code-switching habits?
Explain.

9. How do you feel about code-switching behavior in general? Explain.

Part II

Rate how much you agree with the following statements:

1. I try to avoid code-switching when I talk to people who are not as proficient in English as I am.

1 2 3 4 5

2. I code-switch with other English majors more than with other people.

1 2 3 4 5

3. When I code-switch with English majors and other people who are proficient in English, I feel good about it.

1 2 3 4 5

4. When I code-switch with people who are less proficient in English, I feel bad about it.

1 2 3 4 5

5. I have different feelings about my code-switching depending on who I am talking to.

1 2 3 4 5

6. The more the person I am talking to code-switches, the more I do it as well.

1 2 3 4 5

Part III

Rate how much you agree with the following statements:

1. I try to avoid code-switching when I talk to my parents/grandparents and other members of the generations of my parents and grandparents.

1 2 3 4 5

2. I avoid code-switching with my generation and younger generations.

1 2 3 4 5

3. I feel that my parents/grandparents do not approve of code-switching.

1 2 3 4 5

4. I feel that the majority of Croatian society does not approve of code-switching.

1 2 3 4 5

5. Preserving the Croatian language and Croatian cultural heritage is important to me.

1 2 3 4 5

6. I feel that code-switching is detrimental to the Croatian language.

1 2 3 4 5

7. I feel that the cultures of English-speaking countries influence the Croatian society too much.

1 2 3 4 5

8. I would prefer living in an English-speaking country to living in Croatia.

1 2 3 4 5

9. I would prefer to adopt a different nationality other than Croatian.

1 2 3 4 5

10. If you rated questions 1 and 4, with '4' or '5', explain your answer.

Sažetak

Prebacivanje koda u smislu izmjenjivanja dvaju jezika ili komunikacijskih kodova, rasprostranjeno je koliko i sama dvojezičnost. Pavlenko (2005) tvrdila su stavovi prema prebacivanju koda u tradicionalno jednojezičnim sredinama, kao što je hrvatsko društvo, uglavnom bili negativni (p.2) Neki autori smatraju da se čak i u današnjem sve više dvojezičnom svijetu na izmjenjivanje više jezika gleda u lošem svjetlu (Coulmas, 2005, p.109) Provedeno je istraživanje putem upitnika među studentima engleskog jezika na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Glavni ciljevi ovog istraživanja bili su istražiti osobne stavove sudionika prema prebacivanju koda, kao i povezanost između njihovih navika prebacivanja koda i njihove samopercepcije kao studenata engleskog jezika i kao članova hrvatskog društva. Kombiniranom kvantitativnom i kvalitativnom analizom njihovih odgovora utvrđeno je da su njihovi stavovi prema prebacivanju koda neutralni do negativni, dok je najvažniji čimbenik utjecaja na prebacivanje koda, prema riječima sudionika, sugovornik, tj. sugovornikovo poznavanje engleskog jezika. Rezultati su potvrdili kako su hrvatski studenti engleskog jezika svjesni da je prebacivanje koda među njima široko prisutno, međutim, ne smatraju nužno da je to opravdano prirodom njihova studija. Pronađeni su snažni dokazi u korist hipoteze da postoji razlika u poznavanju stranih jezika između mlađe hrvatske generacije, rođene od kasnog 20. st. na dalje i starijih generacija, a koja utječe na izbor prebacivanja koda kod sugovornika. Istraživanje ukazuje na to da bi se stavovi prema prebacivanju koda mogli mijenjati prema pozitivnijima u odnosu na prošlost. Čini se kako engleski jezik u Hrvatskoj nadilazi kategoriju „stranog jezika“ te za mnoge govornike postaje sekundarno, ali ipak legitimno sredstvo komunikacije, što bi moglo biti znak velike promjene u stavovima hrvatskog društva prema prebacivanju koda, kao i prema višejezičnim osobama.

Ključne riječi: prebacivanje koda, višejezične osobe, samopercepcija, stavovi, sugovornik