UNIVERSITAT POLITÈCNICA DE VALÈNCIA

DOCTORAL THESIS

Associates or *zamestnanci*? Language choice, attitudes and code-switching practices: The case of workplace email communication in Slovakia

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Applied Linguistics
Universitat Politècnica de València

Author: **Andrea Lengyelová**
Supervisor: Dr. Carmen Pérez Sabater

June 2019, Valencia

ABSTRACT

Code-switching (CS) is subject to the wide range of interrelations between medium and situation factors. Generally, from a linguistic point of view, CS occurs when a speaker alternates between two or more languages, or language varieties, in the course of a single conversation. The practice has been noticed all around the world in many contexts, language and culture contact situations. Hence, based on earlier studies of CS phenomenon, but shifting towards a more specific environment, the workplace, the present study aims to fill a considerable gap in scholarly knowledge about the online/ written CS practices of Slovak native speakers in the context of workplace email communication. Therefore, the study focuses on language choice, language attitudes and CS practices among colleagues in a multilingual workplace environment of a multinational hospitality company in Slovakia, focusing solely on the participants' workplace interactions, in particular their email messages written in Slovak (the national language) with switches to English.

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of this research project, as well as its dual focus on language attitudes on the one hand and actual CS practices on the other, this thesis addresses a number of research questions and provides a series of analyses centring around the following objectives. The main focus of the quantitative, questionnaire-based study is to examine the participants' metalinguistic awareness of the extent of switching to English during their communication (particularly focusing on their CMC interactions) and to determine their reasons for doing so, while uncovering the attitudes they hold towards this phenomenon. Furthermore, as the depth of knowledge obtained through questionnaire survey is limited, the corpus analysis of email interactions is conducted in order to investigate more closely the extent of switching and the types, forms and functions of CS involved. Employing a mixed method approach in the process, motivations and reasons why our participants choose English over their native language are examined. Hence, the study represents the first comprehensive analysis of its kind on Slovak-English CS in CMC using authentic naturally-occurring computer-mediated corporate interactions.

Keywords: code-switching, CMC, email, workplace communication, attitudes

RESUMEN

El cambio de código está sujeto a una gran variedad de factores que dependen del medio de comunicación y de la situación comunicativa. En general, según la lingüística, el cambio de código ocurre cuando un hablante alterna entre dos o más lenguas o variedades de una lengua en una misma conversación. Estas prácticas comunicativas se han tratado en muchos contextos, lenguas y contacto entre culturas. Sin embargo, no hay estudios sobre el tema en el contexto eslovaco, de ahí la relevancia del trabajo recogido en esta tesis doctoral que tiene como fin último paliar esta escasez de estudios lingüísticos. En concreto, aquí analizamos el cambio de código exclusivamente en comunicaciones realizadas por correo electrónico en un entorno laboral multilingüe y multicultural. El estudio se centra en la elección de lengua, las actitudes hacia una lengua y la mezcla de lenguas en las comunicaciones entre los compañeros de trabajo de una multinacional hotelera radicada en Eslovaquia. El análisis examina únicamente los correos escritos en eslovaco que presentan cambios de código al inglés.

Debido a la naturaleza multidisciplinar de este proyecto de investigación, así como a su carácter dual, es decir, el examen de las actitudes hacia una lengua por una parte y las prácticas de cambio de código por otra, esta tesis plantea varias preguntas de investigación y tiene una serie de objetivos que pasamos a detallar. El objetivo principal del estudio cuantitativo basado en el cuestionario diseñado es examinar hasta qué punto los encuestados son conscientes de los cambios de código al inglés durante sus comunicaciones, en particular durante sus conversaciones electrónicas, y determinar las razones por las que se lleva a cabo este cambio de código, sacando a la luz las actitudes hacia este fenómeno lingüístico. Además, dado que los conocimientos que aportan los cuestionarios son generalmente limitados, se ha llevado a cabo un análisis del discurso para observar más detalladamente el alcance de los cambios de lengua, los tipos y las funciones que presentan. La metodología empleada, que sigue el método mixto de investigación, se utiliza para analizar las motivaciones y las razones por las que nuestros participantes prefieren usar el inglés en lugar de su lengua nativa. Así pues, esta tesis doctoral recoge el primer análisis completo de este tipo sobre el cambio de código eslovaco/inglés en la comunicación electrónica que examina conversaciones auténticas por Internet dentro de una corporación.

Palabras clave: cambio de código, comunicación electrónica, correo electrónico, comunicación en entornos laborales, actitudes hacia la lengua

RESUM

El canvi de codi està subjecte a una gran varietat de factors que depenen del mitjà de comunicació i de la situació comunicativa. En general, segons la lingüística, el canvi de codi ocorre quan un parlant alterna entre dues o més llengües o varietats d'una llengua en una mateixa conversa. Aquestes pràctiques comunicatives han estat tractades en molts contexts, llengües i contacte entre cultures. No obstant això, no hi ha estudis sobre el tema en el context eslovac, d'aquí la rellevància del treball recollit en aquesta tesi doctoral que té com a finalitat última pal.liar l'escassetat d'estudis lingüístics sobre el tema. En concret, ací analitzem el canvi de codi exclusivament en comunicacions realitzades per correu electrònic en un entorn laboral multilingüe i multicultural. L'estudi se centra en l'elecció de llengua, les actituds cap a una llengua i la mescla de llengües en les comunicacions entre els companys de treball d'una multinacional hotelera radicada a Eslovàquia. L'anàlisi examina únicament els correus escrits en eslovac que presenten canvis de codi a l'anglés.

A causa de la naturalesa multidisciplinària d'aquest projecte d'investigació, així com al seu caràcter dual, és a dir, l'examen de les actituds cap a una llengua per una part i les pràctiques de canvi de codi per altra, aquesta tesi planteja diverses preguntes d'investigació i té una sèrie d'objectius que detallarem a continuació. L'objectiu principal de l'estudi quantitatiu basat en el qüestionari dissenyat és examinar fins a quin punt les persones enquestades són conscients del canvi de codi a l'anglés durant les seues comunicacions, en particular durant les seues converses electròniques, i determinar les raons per les quals es duu a terme aquest canvi de codi, traient a la llum les actituds cap a aquest fenomen lingüístic. A més, atés que els coneixements que aporten els qüestionaris són generalment limitats, s'ha realitzat una anàlisi del discurs per a observar més detalladament l'abast dels canvis de llengua, els tipus i les funcions que representen. La metodologia emprada, que segueix el mètode mixt d'investigació, s'utilitza per a analitzar les motivacions i les raons per les quals els nostres participants prefereixen fer ús de l'anglés en comptes de la seua llengua nativa. Per tant, aquesta tesi doctoral recull la primera anàlisi completa d'aquest tipus sobre el canvi de codi eslovac/anglés en la comunicació electrònica que examina converses autèntiques per Internet dins d'una corporació.

Paraules clau: canvi de codi, comunicació electrònica, correu electrònic, comunicació en entorns laborals, actituds cap a la llengua.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my PhD supervisor - Dr. Carmen Pérez Sabater, for her continuos support throughout the years of my PhD study and for her guidance during the time of research and writing of this thesis. On the academic level, Carmen helped me and taught me a lot, I thank her for always being there for me, for her patience, motivation, advice and feedback. On a personal level, she truly inspired me by her positive attitude and kind words. I could not have imagined having a better supervisor and mentor for my PhD study.

Besides, I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Jannis Androutsopoulos for the opportunity to carry out a short-term research stay at the Universität Hamburg, Germany, as a visiting doctoral researcher, for his insightful comments and for encouraging me to do better. His recommendations regarding selected parts of the data, analytical strategies, the structure of separate chapters and overall thesis organisation (leading to drafting a preliminary list of contents) certainly contributed to my research, accelerated my progress and they are very much appreciated. The traineeship was partly funded by Erasmus+ grant, for which I am grateful.

Moreover, this thesis could not have been written without the generosity of my ex-colleagues who allowed me to create and analyse copies of their email messages needed for this study, granting me a permission to use these data for scientific and research purposes in an anonymised form. I would also like to take the opportunity to thank all the respondents who participated in the questionnaire study. Without their active participation, this study would not have been possible either.

I am also indebted to my external thesis evaluators/examiners: Dr. Jan Chovanec, Dr. Rosana Dolon Herrero and Prof. Dr. Nuria Lorenzo Dus, for taking the time to read and comment on my first thesis submission. Their highly positive feedback and words of encouragement made it all worth it.

Furthermore, I am grateful to several friends back home in Slovakia, here in Spain as well as all around the world, for inspiring me to follow my dreams. I am especially thankful to those who shared the ups and downs of being a PhD student with me, those who always tried to cheer me up, those who have shown interest in my research and those who kept reminding me to always look on the bright side of life. Thank you all.

And last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my family: my parents and my brother Boris for their unconditional love and support throughout the years of writing of this thesis and throughout my life in general. They have always believed in me and supported me in every possible way. Despite the distance, they have patiently put up with me going on and on about my PhD (on the phone as well as in person) and they have always encouraged me to simply do the best I can. Without them, I would not have been able to be here and to complete this challenging journey of mine, so I thank them for everything and dedicate this thesis to them.

Andrea Lengyelová

Valencia, June 2019

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH
(The state of the art)

LIST OF FIGURES

Theoretical part:

Empirical/ Analytical part:

LIST OF TABLES

Theoretical part:

Empirical/ Analytical part:

ABBREVIATIONS

CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CMC	Computer-Mediated Communication
CMD	Computer-Mediated Discourse
CoP	Community of Practice
CS	code-switching
P	participant
PMS	Property Management System
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

Note: In this dissertation thesis, countries, nationalities and languages are referred to by their official abbreviations following the standards created by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO).

In terms of the country and the nationality, the international standard *ISO 3166-1:2013 – Codes for the representation of names of countries and their subdivisions – Part 1: Country codes* was employed. Hence, when referring to the nationality of our research participants, the abbreviations used in this thesis correspond to *ISO 3166-1 alpha-3* – three-letter country codes as follows:

CZE	Czech/ Czech republic (Czechia)
SRB	Serbian/ Serbia
SVK	Slovak/ Slovak republic (Slovakia)

With regard to the languages, *ISO 639-1:2002 - Codes for the representation of names of languages - Part 1* was employed. Hence, when referring to the languages spoken by our research participants, the abbreviations used in this thesis correspond to *ISO 639-1 alpha-2* - two-letter codes as follows:

cs	Czech
en	English
sk	Slovak

CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research rationale

Code-switching (CS) is a common linguistic practice traditionally associated predominantly with bilingual and multilingual communities which have attracted most linguistic attention. Generally, from a linguistic point of view, CS occurs when a speaker alternates between two or more languages, or language varieties, in the course of a single conversation. The practice has been noticed all around the world in many contexts, language and culture contact situations. However, since the Internet became an integral part of everyday life, it has significantly transformed the way people communicate with each other. Digitally-mediated communication (online via both computers and mobile devices) offers opportunities for written CS on "an unprecedented scale" (Androutsopoulos, 2013: 667). Studies of CS in computer-mediated communication (CMC) have identified CS patterns in a range of platforms, social settings and linguistic contexts. Although, investigating the occurrence of CS in electronic writing still remains less well researched in comparison to other linguistic processes in CMC and it is particularly under-researched in languages other than English. Hence, while most linguistic research on CS in CMC has focused primarily on bilingual and multilingual communities (predominantly investigating CS between majority and minority languages such as heritage, community, immigrant languages), we argue that more attention should be paid to language choices of non-native English speakers in countries where the history of language contact with English is more recent and where it is used as a foreign language (EFL) or as a lingua franca (ELF), the global medium of communication. Moreover, even though English is considered to be a lingua franca of the Internet, most of its users are non-native speakers of English (Danet and Herring, 2007a: abstract). Yet, the English-based scholarly literature on CMC does not reflect this diversity, as for example, studies of Slavic languages are particularly under-represented in the field. With regard to language choices and CS, in their Introduction to *The Multilingual*

Internet - Language, Culture, and Communication Online, Danet and Herring (2007b: 17), editors of the volume, point out that:

> Wherever multilingualism exists, language choice becomes an issue. Language choice online depends on the technological, sociocultural, and political context. One commonality across contexts, however, is the use of English as a lingua franca. English-educated bilinguals often use both English and their national language online (Kelly Holmes, 2004; Sue Wright, 2004).

To our knowledge, no prior studies have examined Slovak-English CS in written, spoken or computer-mediated communication. Although a number of previous studies conducted in Slovakia investigated anglicisms and their impact on the language culture in the country in particular, the topic of CS as such seems to be either entirely absent or marginal. Similarly, there are no studies on CS in the context of workplace communication either. This research gap may be explained by the fact that companies are reluctant to share sensitive information that may potentially harm their reputation. Furthermore, it may also be due to the fact that in Slovakia, there is a noticeable lack of publications covering the dynamic period of the development of contemporary Slovak language (after 1989) in general, particularly the ones reflecting a significant change which occurred in the Slovak language contacts. More specifically, with regard to a language shift from Russian to English, Kačala and Krajčovič (2006: 209) observe that:

> In terms of language, this is reflected, for example, in the disproportionate use of English words and phrases, not only of the notional ones, but also interjections, further in the case of English naming of products, institutions, shops, English naming of television and radio programs, in non-adapted pronunciation of English names, titles and abbreviations in electronic media, and so on. *(translated from the Slovak original)*

Therefore, in a similar vein, a particular motivation for the present study is our concern over the extent and amount of English words and phrases inserted into everyday discourse in Slovakia, permeating through all areas. What initially sparked

our interest in this topic was the situation when we were scrolling through the major Slovak job portal www.profesia.sk, looking for a job, and what we found was that the majority of job titles in international companies were listed in English only. Later, we came across the article with title 'Tajný život bratislavských hotelov' (en translation: Secret life of Bratislava's hotels), which among other addressed the issue of language choice with regard to job titles in the context of hospitality sector as follows:

- Original text from the article in Slovak with English words highlighted - in red:

  Tu ich volajú **associates** a najviac si cenia ich **attitude**. [...] Minulosťou sú chyžná, recepčná a portiér. Hotelierstvo je globalizovaný biznis a medzinárodný je aj žargón, ktorý používa. Privíta vás **Front office**, hygiena je vecou **Housekeeping**u. Niekto má pod palcom Banketing, iný **Food & Beverage**, kúpele hľadajte pod **Shine SPA**.

- English translation:

  They call them **associates** here and what they appreciate the most is their **attitude**. [...] Housekeeper, receptionist and portier/ bellman belong to the past. Hospitality is a globalized business and the jargon that is being used is international as well. You are welcomed by **Front office**, hygiene is a matter of **Housekeeping**. Someone takes care of Banqueting, others manage **Food & Beverage**, and you can find spa under **Shine SPA**.

Moreover, while CS has been the focus of linguistic research, little of this research has focused on social psychological aspects such as attitudes and self-reports associated with CS. Negative assessments of the state of *language culture* are a common phenomenon among many European languages, particularly with regard to increased influx of *anglicisms* into national languages. In terms of attitudes towards English, purist visions have been constantly present in discussions, however, the opinions of the language users - either the experts (mainly linguists) or the general public - are polarised; from complete disapproval to uncritical acceptance.

Hence, in addition to the theoretical significance of studying language attitudes and language behaviour, further motivation for this kind of research arose from

noticing a significant gap in the literature on the topic in the Slovak context and the lack of consideration of the phenomenon of CS brought about by globalisation and 'new' language contact (Slovak - English). As a consequence, even at the national level, concerns have emerged regarding the maintenance of national languages and identities. In this regard, Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis, and Finnis (2005: 54) point out that "in response to these forces of globalisation, many studies have focused on the increased penetration of linguae francae and especially English (ENG) into global markets". The more general rationale for our research project is to contribute to understanding of relatively new socio-linguistic situation in Slovakia by examining CS patterns in the workplace email communication among colleagues in the hotel belonging to one of the largest international hotel chains in the world.

Code-switching is subject to the wide range of interrelations between medium and situation factors. In terms of its significance, Androutsopoulos (2013: 667) pointed out that "CS in CMC is relevant not only because it is there (and not yet well understood) but also for the insights it can offer to pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and discourse studies". Based on earlier studies of CS phenomenon, but shifting towards a more specific environment, the workplace, this study aims to fill a considerable gap in scholarly knowledge about the online/ written CS practices of Slovak native speakers in the context of workplace email communication. Therefore, the study focuses on language choice, language attitudes and CS practices among colleagues in a multilingual workplace environment of a multinational hospitality company in Slovakia, focusing solely on the participants' workplace interactions, in particular their email messages written in Slovak (the national language as well as the mother tongue of the majority of our research participants) with switches to English. In the analytical chapters of this thesis, code-switched passages will be examined in order to explore the mechanisms by which CS conveys meaning. In this regard, Gumperz (1982: 72) claims that "what we need are detailed investigations of speakers' use of code switching strategies, in actual conversational exchanges, to show that they exhibit some form of linguistic patterning, that they contribute to the interpretation of constituent messages". Hence, for all the above reasons, the study represents the first comprehensive analysis of this kind on Slovak-English CS in CMC using authentic naturally-occurring computer-mediated institutional interactions.

1.2 Research objectives and questions

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of this research project as well as its dual focus on language attitudes on the one hand and actual code-switching practices on the other, this thesis addresses a number of research questions and provides a series of analyses centring around the following objectives.

The main focus of our quantitative, questionnaire-based study is to examine the participants' metalinguistic awareness of the extent of switching to English during their communication (particularly focusing on their CMC interactions) and to determine their reasons for doing so, while uncovering the attitudes they hold towards this phenomenon. Through the analysis of questionnaire survey specifically designed for the purposes of our research, we will attempt to shed some light on patterns of language use and language attitudes that our research participants, colleagues in a multilingual workplace environment of a multinational hospitality company in Slovakia, hold towards code-switching and the use of English in their workplace communication and in general. Therefore, in order to gain these insights, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

- What is the participants' metalinguistic awareness of the extent of switching to English and what are the reasons behind such linguistic choices?
- What are the research participants' self-reported frequencies of switching to English in relation to different reasons and functions of CS?
- What are the participants' attitudes towards language switching in general and with regard to various different domains of language use (CMC, workplace,..)?

Furthermore, as the depth of knowledge obtained through questionnaire survey is limited, in order to further understand motivations, reasons and situations when our participants choose English over their native language, the corpus analysis of naturally-occurring email interactions is conducted in order to investigate more closely the amount, types, forms and functions of CS involved, employing a mixed method approach in the process. Therefore, the research questions that this study sets out to address (that are qualitative in nature) are as follows:

- How do our participants deploy their multilingual resources in workplace email communication?
- What are the forms and functions of code-switching in their digitally mediated interactions?
- What is the function and relevance of code-switching in the participants' workplace environment?

Secondly, following Herring (2007), we will consider the interrelation of medium and social/situation factors with the aim to understand the pragmatic functions and social purposes of CS online.

More specifically, the study aims to outline the reasons behind the participants' CS practices in CMC, hypothesising that they will accomplish many (or at least some of) the socio-pragmatic functions that have been traditionally associated with face-to-face/ oral CS, along with other new ones that are medium-specific, due to the nature of this kind of data. Even though adequacy and transferability of the frameworks originally developed for the analysis of spoken discourse to written discourse (including CMC data) has been questioned (Hinrichs, 2006: 29, Androutsopoulos, 2013: 668), this study looks at whether the theories of CS (describing motivations and discourse functions of CS) based on spoken data apply to CS data from CMC contexts as well (Barasa, 2016), formulating the following research questions:

- How is CS manifested and distributed in our CMC (email) data?
- In this context, how are the interactions (email messages) shaped by the mediated environment?
- Do discourse functions of CS originally developed for the analysis of spoken discourse apply to CS in CMC?

These research questions are addressed in the empirical/ analytical part of the thesis (Chapters 4-5). Finally, the key findings are then summarised and further discussed in the concluding chapter (Chapter 6), while raising the final question:

- Is there a connection between language attitudes and language behaviour?

1.3 Thesis organisation: Structure of the thesis

Drawing on the notions of language choice, language attitudes, code switching, as well as others and building on the related body of literature available, this dissertation thesis embraces a broad, interdisciplinary perspective in order to examine CS practices in the context of CMC and language attitudes among colleagues in a multilingual workplace environment of a multinational hospitality company in Slovakia. This thesis is thus organised into six chapters and it is structured as follows:

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the thesis and a general overview of its theme, including the research rationale explaining the motivation behind the choice of the topic as well as the importance of researching it, followed by presenting our research objectives and questions examined in the empirical part, concluded by this section, which describes the overall structure of the thesis.

The theoretical framework of this thesis consisting of literature review presented in **Chapter 2** provides an overview of the state of the art, bringing together contributions by several authors within different areas of linguistics, including applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, as well as pragmatics, psychology, anthropology, history, ethnography and culture studies in order to provide a more complex understanding of the nature of CS.

Firstly, Section 2.1 sets the context by providing a brief historical and sociolinguistic overview of language situation in the Slovak Republic with a particular focus on the various factors that played a role in the formation of Slovak as the country's official language. Apart from that, we will outline what other languages are spoken in the country, including minority ethnic languages and foreign languages, while highlighting the language shift from Russian to English as well as the introduction of the language law in Slovakia. Subsequently, particularities of the Slovak language in comparison to English language will be pinpointed in order to provide an insight in terms of their similarities and differences for further understanding of how these languages interact when in contact. Finally, drawing on the findings of the Special

Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages' (2012), attitudes towards multilingualism and English language in Slovakia will be briefly presented.

Secondly, Section 2.2 provides a theoretical background for the the study of CS by introducing a brief outline of CS research framework, reviewing its major theories. Starting with introducing the concept of CS and presenting a number of definitions of the phenomenon proposed by various scholars, it offers a brief insight into the history of CS and establishes how the term 'code switching' is employed here - in our study, addressing the issue of making a distinction between CS and other language contact phenomena. In terms of the major sociolinguistic theories of CS, the frameworks within which CS has been studied are discussed focusing on three most influential contributions to the field, namely: Gumperz' (1977, 1982) concepts such as the distinction between situational and metaphorical CS, the distinction between 'we-code' and 'they-code' and the notion of CS as a contextualization cue, Myers-Scotton's (1993, 1998) Markedness Model, in particular her concepts of CS as a marked (i.e. unexpected, unconventional) or unmarked (expected) choice and Auer's (1995, 1998, 1999, 2000) conversation-analytic framework for the study of bilingual interaction. In terms of types and forms of CS, we provide a review of the following grammatical theories of CS: Poplack's (1980) Free Morpheme and Equivalence Constraints Model, Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Frame Model and Muysken's (2000) Typology of Code-Mixing. Finally, the section closes with the discussion of different lists/ typologies/ classifications of functions of and reasons for CS addressed in the CS literature, particularly the following ones: Myers-Scotton's 'social motivations', Gumperz's classification of discourse functions of CS, Auer's typologies of code-switching and Hoffman's classification of CS functions, along with their critiques and limitations.

Thirdly, in Section 2.3, a review of relevant studies investigating CS in CMC is provided. Even though individual studies of CS in CMC are limited in number, they have examined a wide range of platforms, sociolinguistic settings and contexts with the aim to identify CS patterns using various approaches and methods in the process. However, due to the orientation of our own research project, we will particularly focus on reviewing research on CS in email communication.

In the following section (Section 2.4), relevant literature regarding the study of attitudes from both linguistics and psychology is reviewed. Firstly, an overview of the broader context underlying the significance of researching attitudes within various settings is provided, including theoretical foundations of the study of attitudes in social psychology. Particular attention is then drawn to the complex nature of language attitudes in particular, examining its importance in the field of sociolinguistics. Furthermore, the composition of language attitudes is reviewed in detail, focusing primarily on its affective, behavioural and cognitive components and subsequently, a problematic relationship between attitudes and behaviour is discussed. Finally the overview of previous research on language attitudes towards CS in language contact situations, among mono-/bi- and multi-linguals, between English and minority languages, in educational context and in CMC is provided.

The chapter then closes with a summary and positioning of my own research project (Section 2.5).

Chapter 3 provides a description of various methods used in this study. Due to its multidisciplinary nature as well as its dual focus on language attitudes and CS practices, the methodology consists of a combination of methods. In this chapter, the participants of the study are introduced, including their socio-biographic and linguistic profiles, followed by description of the methodology used for the quantitative, questionnaire-based study and the methodology employed for the corpus analysis of email messages, including the description of the process of data collection, as well as the structure and compilation of the corpus. Finally, the chapter is concluded by addressing the issue of confidentiality, anonymity and other ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to the questionnaire survey analysis. After describing the consecutive steps in processing the questionnaire data (i.e. data coding, processing closed and open-ended questions), the next section deals with descriptive statistics. Finally, the chapter is concluded by quantitative data analyses of the questionnaire responses (predominantly grouped attitude statements), describing and summarising the participants' self-reported frequencies of switching to English in

relation to different reasons and functions of CS as well as their attitudes towards language switching in general and with regard to various different domains of language use, including CMC and workplace communication. In summary, the chapter provides a detailed description of our research participants' self-reported language use and language attitudes towards CS based on the findings that originate from self-completed questionnaires. Moreover, in terms of contributing to the interpretive process dealing with CS as a core theme of the thesis, attitudes expressed by the participants will throw new light on the phenomenon under investigation.

Chapter 5 provides a fine-grained email corpus analysis with the aim to examine the participants' extent of switching to English during their communication (focusing on their CMC interactions) and to investigate more closely the amount, types, forms and functions of CS involved. First of all, the consecutive steps in processing and coding of email corpus data are described, followed by providing an overview of the distribution of language/s in the corpus according to the language/s that the messages under investigation are written in. Then, the next section deals with degree and types of CS in 'Email messages written in Slovak with switches to English', presenting the results of the initial quantitative analysis of the total of 455 email messages which involve some kind of CS, while making the structural distinction between inter- and intra-sentential switching. Subsequently, taking a closer look, socio-pragmatic and stylistic functions achieved by inter-sentential switching in our data are introduced. Finally, the chapter is concluded by examining forms and functions of intra-sentential switching.

The thesis closes with **Chapter 6** which offers a discussion of the most important findings and provides a set of final conclusions. Furthermore, it also discusses how the findings of our study relate to the proposed research objectives and to the findings from previous studies. Finally, in addition to certain limitations of our current research project, its theoretical and practical implications are outlined and possible directions for further research are addressed.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Setting the context: historical and sociolinguistic overview of language situation in the Slovak Republic

2.1.1 General facts about Slovakia

Slovakia, officially the Slovak Republic (Slovak: *Slovensko* or *Slovenská republika*) is a Central European country (Figure 1), neighbouring both Slavic (Poland to the north, Ukraine to the east, the Czech Republic to the northwest) and non-Slavic countries (Hungary to the south, Austria to the west) (Figure 2).

Figure 1: Location of Slovakia *(in dark green)* **in Europe** *(green and dark grey)* **and in the European Union** *(green)*

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=8105290

Figure 2: Location of Slovakia: Slovakia and its neighbouring countries

Source: http://monitor.icef.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/slovakia-map.jpg

Its geographic location and historical development created the considerably multi-ethnic and multicultural character of the country. According to the 2011 census (Census of Population and Housing 2011), the population of Slovakia is about 5,4 million people and even though it is diverse, with several ethnic groups, the majority of the inhabitants are Slovaks (80,7%). Minority ethnic groups include the Hungarians (8,5%), Roma (2,0%), Czechs (0,6%), Rusyns/ Ruthenians (0,6%), Poles / Polish (0,1%), Ukrainians (0,1%), Germans (0,1%), Moravians (0,1%) and others (7,2% unspecified).

Slovakia's territory, which is mostly mountainous, spans about 49,035 square kilometres (18,933 square miles) and it is divided into eight administrative regions, with Bratislava as the capital. Furthermore, Bratislava is also the largest city of the country and it borders Austria in the west and Hungary in the south making it the only national capital in the world to border two foreign countries. This geographical position in Central Europe has long made Bratislava a crossroads for international trade traffic in the region.

2.1.2 Brief history of Slovak language in the 20th century

From creation to dissolution of Czechoslovakia (1918 - 1993)

Before moving on to the summary of foreign language influences on the development of the Slovak language and languages spoken in Slovakia (including the regional and minority languages as well as foreign languages taught at schools), it is important to provide a short overview of modern history of the Slovak language. Special attention will be paid to the development of the contemporary literary Slovak language in the 20th century, from the time of creation to dissolution of Czechoslovakia (1918 - 1993), which led to the position and status of Slovak as the official language of the Slovak Republic. That being said, applying periodisation according to linguistic and sociopolitical milestones in the course of the 20th century, we provide an overview of the historical development of Czechoslovakia as a prerequisite for understanding the current sociolinguistic situation in the contemporary Slovak republic.

After World War I and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the union between Slovakia and the present-day Czech Republic began with the declaration of independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and establishment of Czechoslovakia in October 1918. In that time, Slovak and Czech became the official languages for the first time in history, with German as the first foreign language (until 1939). In 1920, the Czechoslovak Constitution and the constitutional law on minorities proclaimed the ‘Czechoslovak language’ as the single official language of the new country, classifying Czech and Slovak as dialects of one tongue. Since the ‘Czechoslovak language’ did not exist, the law recognised its two variants: Czech, which was usually used in administration in the Czech lands and Slovak, which was mainly used in Slovakia, even though in practice, their position was not equal. Apart from the political reasons, this asymmetrical situation was caused by a different historical experience and numerous Czech officials, teachers and clerks who came to Slovakia in order to help to restore the educational system and administration because Slovaks educated in the Slovak language were missing.

From 1939 to 1945, following forced division of Czechoslovakia and partial incorporation into Nazi Germany, the state did not de facto exist. Instead, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was created, along with a separate, totalitarian, clero-fascist Slovak State which became a puppet of Nazi Germany. In 1944, the Slovak National Uprising, organised by the Slovak resistance movement during World War II, was launched in an attempt to resist German troops that had occupied Slovak territory and to overthrow the government of Jozef Tiso. Although this armed uprising was largely defeated by Nazi Germany, it represents one of the key events of modern Slovak history, which strengthened the national consciousness of the Slovaks. The Uprising supported the idea of a Czechoslovakia in which the Czechs and Slovaks would live as equal nations, without the pre-war Prague centralism. Meanwhile, guerrilla operations continued until the Soviet Army (along with the Czechoslovak Army and others) liberated Slovakia in 1945. Following the defeat of the Nazis and the end of World War II, Czechoslovakia was re-established as an independent country.

From 1948 to 1990, Czechoslovakia was part of the Eastern Bloc, when the country was under the communist rule as a satellite state of the Soviet Union. In fact, it is important to point out that Czechoslovakia was never part of the Soviet Union and remained independent to a degree. After WWII and the political changes in the country, the situation with foreign language teaching radically changed as well. Russian became a compulsory subject in all types of schools for many years. Attempts for liberalisation of communism in Czechoslovakia culminated in a period of mass protests in 1968, known as the Prague Spring, which was forcibly ended by the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. The end of Communist rule in Czechoslovakia in 1989, during the peaceful Velvet Revolution, was followed once again by the country's dissolution, this time into two successor states.

On 1 January 1993, Czechoslovakia split into the two sovereign, independent states of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Slovakia was bound to the present-day Czech Republic as part of Czechoslovakia from 1918 until its peaceful dissolution in 1993 (event sometimes known as the Velvet Divorce). Slovak became the official language of Slovakia, and Czech the official language of the Czech Rep.

2.1.3 Foreign language influences on the development of the Slovak language

Borrowing words from other languages belongs to one of the most productive ways of extending and enriching vocabulary. As we have partly attempted to illustrate with a brief summary of the historical background in the previous section, the Slovak language coexisted with other Slavic and non-Slavic languages since the earliest times and as Kopecká et al. (2011: 63) point out:

> Because the Slovak language has only had a standard form only since Bernolák's codification (*note: 1787*), other languages, i.e. Latin, German, Czech, and Hungarian, filled the role of language of common communication until that time. These languages influenced literary Slovak to a certain degree and above all enriched its vocabulary.

Thus, the highest numbers of borrowings in the old Slovak vocabulary come from Latin, German, Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Greek - in that order (Kopecká et al., 2011: 9-53). The Latin language was used in Hungarian Kingdom from the 10th to the 14th centuries as the language of Roman Catholic Church and later as a language of Middle Age science, among others. From 16th to 18th century, Latin also influenced the literary Slovak language, mainly its vocabulary, terminology, word formation and syntax. German influenced the Slovak language "already in the period of the oldest economic and cultural contacts of Slavs with Germanic people from the 6th to the 10th centuries" (Kopecká et al., 2011: 64). The German word for coins, 'münzen', for example, became the basis for the Slovak word for coins, 'mince'. Czechisms represent the third largest group of borrowings, followed by Hungarianisms. The cohabitation of Slovaks and Hungarians (as well as Czechs) in one common state was reflected in both languages. Throughout history, the Slovak language had contacts with other languages as well (e.g. French, Italian, Spanish, Turkish, Hebrew, Arabic, Ukrainian, etc.), although they did not significantly influence its linguistic system, they enriched the Slovak vocabulary to a certain extent. Most recently, Slovak vocabulary is largely influenced by English. In most cases, English words are immediately adapted to a Slovak spelling, in line with the Slovak language pronunciation (e.g. en 'weekend' is spelled as 'víkend' in sk).

In terms of the process of borrowing words from foreign languages, as one of the most common processes of word-formation, we can possibly distinguish two basic groups of reasons for doing so, which are as follows (Katreniaková, 2002: 25):

I. Extra-lingual:

1. the cultural influence of one language on another language
2. country contacts (contacts with other countries)
3. increased interest in the study of a particular language
4. the authority of the language from which the word is borrowed
5. historically conditioned interest in the culture of a certain country
6. the level of language culture of social classes (layers) accepting a new word

II. Intra-lingual:

1. non-existence of a word (equivalent) for a new term
2. the tendency to create and use a one-word term instead of a descriptive multi-word expression
3. the need for precision, exactness and one-wordness
4. the need to differentiate the present meaning of a word
5. inability to create derivations from already-existing words in the receiving language
6. word-formation of the same type with the use of one common element

Although the Slovak and the Czech language evolved separately and independently under different conditions for a long period of time (Slovakia became a part of the Kingdom of Hungary in the 11th century), they have remained close to each other. In fact, Czech and Slovak have a long history of interaction and mutual influence well before the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918. Even the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1993 did not lead to any major linguistic developments in either the Czech or the Slovak language. The two remain mutually intelligible, meaning that Slovak language speakers can understand Czech and vice versa, mainly due to their existence as a part of the former Czechoslovakia. Apart from the increase in terms of vocabulary, neither the Czech nor the Slovak language have undergone any significant developmental changes since the 16th century.

2.1.4 Languages spoken in Slovakia

2.1.4.1 Status of the Slovak language in Slovakia

The Slovak language is the official language of the Slovak Republic. In the Indo-European family of languages, Slovak belongs to the Western branch of Slavic languages, together with Polish, Czech, and Lower and Upper Sorbian. Since joining the European Union (EU) in May 2004 it has also been one of the administrative languages of the EU. There are currently 24 official languages recognised within the EU. Slovak is spoken by approximately 6 million people, most of them residing in Slovakia (4.5 million inhabitants of Slovakia), more than 1 million emigrants in the United States and Canada, and approximately 300 thousand people in the Czech Republic (Šimková et al., 2012: 46). Smaller language groups of Slovaks (or Slovak speakers) are situated in many other countries worldwide.

The Slovak language has several forms:

- standard Slovak - mainly used in written form and in official communication
- colloquial Slovak - represents a standard mainly used in verbal communication; a common spoken language used in spontaneous unofficial everyday communication

Moreover, each form has specific sub-groups (language varieties), which form the stratification of the national language, namely:

- literary language (sk: *spisovný jazyk*)
- nationwide standard language
- nationwide substandard language
- regional variant
- local variant, territorial variant (dialects)

  Speakers of Slovak in the country use three common and mutually intelligible dialects: eastern, central and western dialects.
- social variant (slang, jargon, argot, professional languages)

2.1.4.2 Regional and minority languages spoken in Slovakia

While majority of the population speak Slovak, other languages are used as well, especially by the ethnic minorities. Based on the results of the latest Census of Population and Housing in 2011, population by ethnicity and thus a number of speakers of regional or minority languages in Slovakia is as follows:

Table 1: Slovakia's 2011 Census of Population and Housing - Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Census of Population and Housing 2011 - Population by ethnicity	
	In absolute	As percentage
	5,397,036	100.0
Slovak	4,352,775	80.7
Hungarian	458,467	8.5
Roma	105,738	2.0
Czech	30,367	0.6
Ruthenian	33,482	0.6
Ukrainian	7,430	0.1
German	4,690	0.1
Polish	3,084	0.1
Croatian	1,022	0.0
Serbian	698	0.0
Russian	1,997	0.0
Jewish	631	0.0
Moravian	3,286	0.1
Bulgarian	1,051	0.0
other	9,825	0.2
unidentified	382,493	7.0

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic

According to the Fifth Report on the Implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in the Slovak Republic (2018), in accordance

with Article 3, paragraph 1, of the Charter, the 'regional or minority languages' in the Slovak republic are the following languages: Bulgarian, Czech, Croatian, Hungarian, German, Polish, Roma, Rusyn/ Ruthenian and Ukrainian. In Slovakia, minority languages hold co-official status in the municipalities in which the size of the minority population meets the legal threshold of at least 15%, based on the results of two consecutive censuses. Under these conditions, citizens with permanent residence have the right to use their minority language in that municipality in official communication.

The largest of the ethnic minorities in Slovakia are the Hungarians, making Hungarian the second biggest ethnic language spoken in the country (after Slovak), predominantly in the southern regions. The Roma or Gypsies who are the second largest minority group speak Romani. Slovakia recognises Rusyn (Ruthenian) as a minority language, with about 33,000 of the population of Slovakia using the Rusyn language, mainly in some of the northeast parts of the country.

The State Language Law of Slovakia (1995) regulates the use of the Slovak language in the country, claiming that it is "the most important feature of distinctiveness of the Slovak nation, the most esteemed value of its cultural heritage and an articulation of sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, as well as a universal means of understanding for its citizens". In 2009, the State Language Law of Slovakia underwent a major amendment. It contains a declaration that the Slovak language has priority over any other language spoken in the country. Penalties in the form of fines will be issued to its citizens for incorrect use of the language as prescribed by the law despite repeated written notices. This amendment has been largely criticised by Hungarians for being discriminatory towards them and their rights to use the Hungarian language, causing a large controversy. Despite this, the law does not apply to the Czech language. According to the amendment (September 2009) to the State Language Act (270/1995 Z.z.), in Slovakia, the Czech language is considered to be "fundamentally intelligible with the state language" and therefore may be used in contact with state offices and bodies by its native speakers. However, regardless of its official status, Czech is used commonly in daily communication by Czech native speakers as an equal language.

2.1.4.3 Language shift in Slovakia: from Russian to English

The sociocultural and language situation in the Slovak Republic has undergone a considerable change after the fall of the communist regime in 1989. However, it should be pointed out that there is a noticeable lack of publications covering this dynamic period of the development of contemporary Slovak language, particularly the ones covering a language shift in Slovakia, from Russian to English. The very first summary overview of the linguistic situation and language culture in the country after 1989 and 1993 (i.e. creation of the independent Slovak republic) is offered by Kačala and Krajčovič (2006) in their book titled *Prehľad dejín spisovnej slovenčiny* [en: An Overview of the History of the Literary Slovak Language]. In this regard and with a particular focus on a recent (disproportionate) use of English in the country, Kačala and Krajčovič (2006: 209) observe that:

> A significant change occurred in the Slovak language contacts. From previously politically motivated and encouraged orientation to Russian language, the orientation has suddenly shifted to English. Needless to say, this orientation also has a political and economic, as well as a security background, however in the case of many influential people, it is manifested by thoughtless abandonment of our own, cultural and spiritual resources, and in undignified imitation of foreign examples. In terms of language, this is reflected, for example, in the disproportionate use of English words and phrases, not only of the notional ones, but also interjections, further in the case of English naming of products, institutions, shops, English naming of television and radio programs, in non-adapted pronunciation of English names, titles and abbreviations in electronic media, and so on.
>
> *[sk original: Výrazná zmena nastala v jazykových kontaktoch slovenčiny. Z dovtedajšej politicky motivovanej a podporovanej orientácie na ruštinu sa odrazu stala orientácia na angličtinu. Táto orientácia má, pravdaže, tiež politické a hospodárske, ba aj bezpečnostné pozadie, u mnohých vplyvných ľudí sa však prejavuje v bezhlavom opúšťaní našich vlastných, kultúrnych a duchovných zdrojov a v nedôstojnom napodobňovaní cudzích vzorov. V oblasti jazyka sa to prejavuje napríklad v neprimeranom rozsahu používaných anglických slov a zvratov, a to nielen nocionálnych, ale povedzme aj citosloviec, ďalej v anglických pomenovaniach výrobkov, inštitúcií, obchodov, v anglických názvoch televíznych a rozhlasových programov, v neadaptovanej výslovnosti anglických mien, názvov a skratiek v elektronických médiach a pod.]*

Foreign language education in Slovakia has had a long tradition, however, "the attention paid to a particular foreign language among the school subjects varied during different historical periods" (Gadusová et al., 2002: 227). The previously-mentioned political changes in 1989 have also influenced the teaching of foreign languages in Slovakia. Obligatory teaching of Russian which used to be the only compulsory foreign language subject in all types of schools for many years was suspended and English and German started being taught instead.

According to the Eurostat report on 'Foreign language learning in the European Union' (2016), presenting statistics on language learning in primary and secondary schools of the European Union's (EU's) Member States as well as EFTA and candidate countries, Slovakia is currently ranked among the top EU countries regarding the knowledge of foreign languages.

Within primary education, a majority of pupils (80.6 %) learn English in the vast majority of EU Member States. In this regard, it is important to point out that learning English is mandatory in several countries within primary as well as secondary education institutions. Moreover, as claimed in Eurostat report (2016):

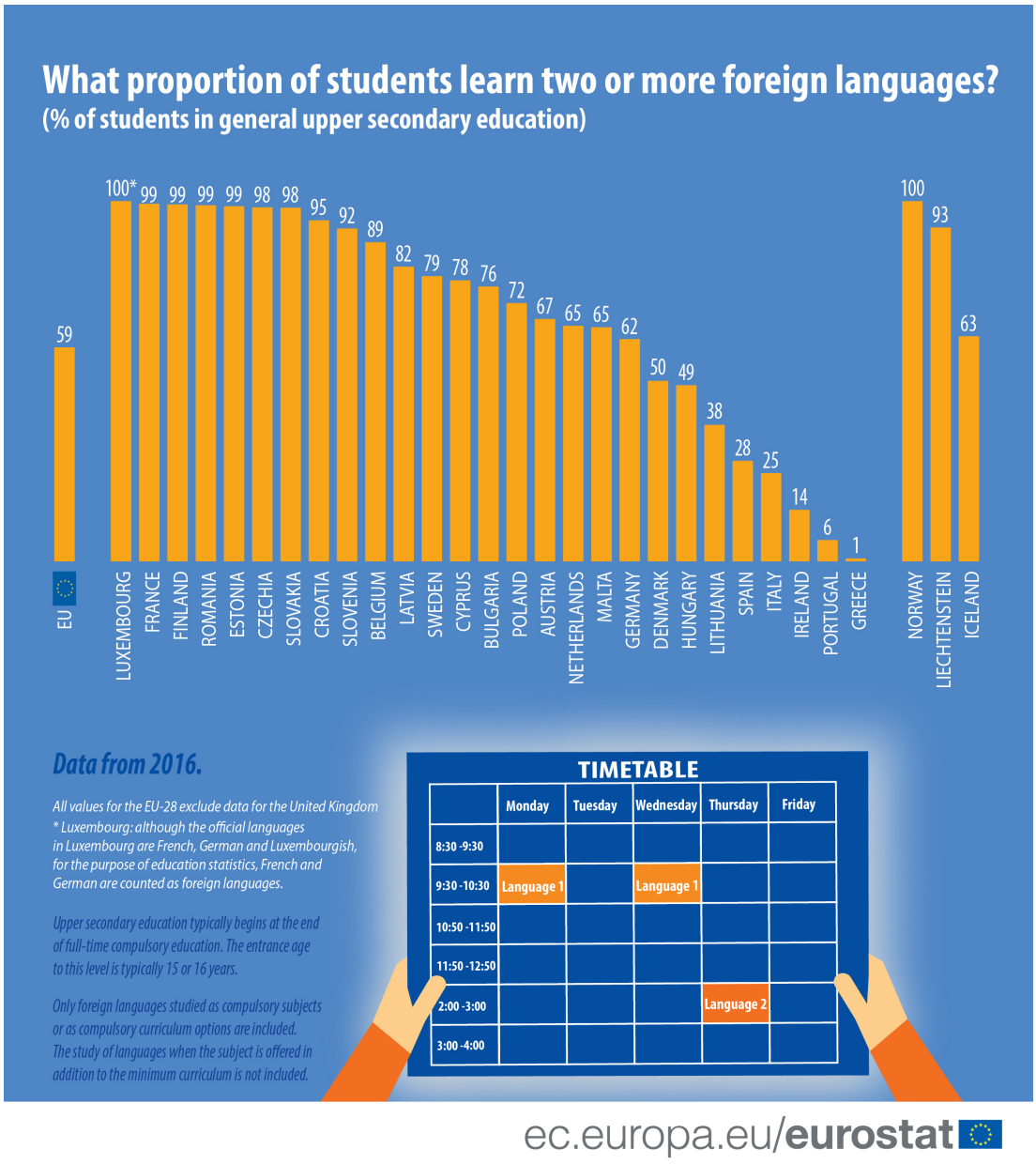
> Many of the eastern and northern European Member States that joined the EU in 2004 or 2007 were characterised by the fact that learning Russian was compulsory in the past. This situation has changed rapidly and in most of these countries there has been a marked increase in the proportion of pupils learning English — by 2016 this share often exceeded 50 % of all primary school pupils.

According to the Eurostat report (2016), a majority (82.7 %) of primary school pupils in Slovakia learnt English as a foreign language in 2016. Compulsory English at primary schools was introduced in Slovakia in 2011 and at present, all students begin learning English in the third grade. Another foreign language is added in the seventh grade as a an optional subject. Before, English was offered only as an optional subject in certain grades and levels of education in the form of a 90-minute lesson once a week, making its effectiveness rather low (Gadusová et al., 2002: 227).

Turning to language learning in upper secondary general education (ISCED level 3); Eurostat report (2016) shows that 98.3% of Slovak students in the general upper secondary education learn two or more foreign languages, ranking highly over the average 59.4% in the European Union (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Infographic: Foreign language learning in the European Union

(Foreign language learning in general upper secondary education in the EU)

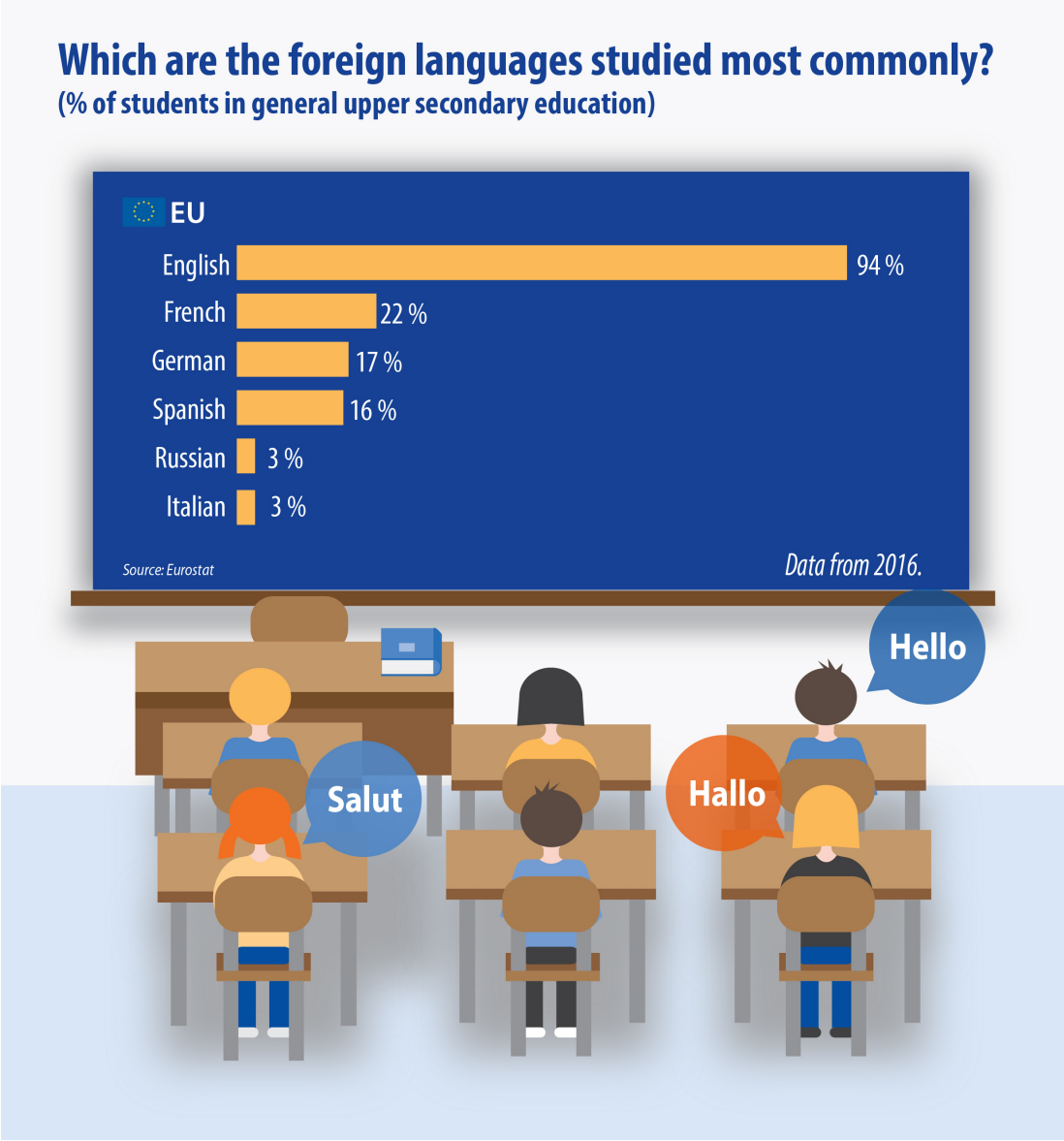


Source: Eurostat - Statistics Explained: Foreign Language Learning Statistics

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Foreign_language_learning_statistics

As shown in the Eurostat's (2016) infographic below (Figure 4), almost all (94.0 %) EU-28 students at this level were studying English as a foreign language in 2016, making it the most commonly studied foreign language in general upper secondary education in the EU. In Slovakia, it was 98.6 % in 2016.

Figure 4: Infographic: Foreign language learning in the European Union
(Most commonly studied foreign language in general upper secondary education in the EU)



Source: Eurostat - Statistics Explained: Foreign Language Learning Statistics
https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Foreign_language_learning_statistics

In terms of the actual ability to speak foreign languages, according to the Special Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages' (2012), in Slovakia (as well as in the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary), there has been a notable downward shift since 2005 in the proportions of respondents able to speak foreign languages such as Russian (significantly dropped by -12 points to 17% in SK) and German (dropped by -10 points to 22% in SK). As the interpretation of these results, authors of the Special Eurobarometer 386 report (2012: 16) claim that:

> It is likely that in these post-Communist countries these downward shifts are the result of a 'lost' generation. Many of those who were able to speak German (following the Second World War) or who learnt Russian at school (it is now much less commonly taught) are now deceased, or, as time has elapsed, have forgotten how to speak these languages.

In terms of the ability to use foreign languages to communicate online (e.g. using email, Twitter, Facebook etc.), the report (2012: 35-37) shows that only two fifths of Europeans (39%) say that they can use at least one foreign language in this way. Again, English was the most widely cited language, with a similar proportion of respondents (EU: 26% vs. SK: 17%) likely to say they understand English well enough to be able to communicate online.

Moreover, according to the report (2012: 50), regularly using foreign languages when watching films/television or listening to the radio is the most common way of using foreign languages in Slovakia (58%), as opposed to European trends which show that the the most common situation in which 50% of Europeans are likely to regularly use foreign languages that they can speak is when they are on holidays abroad.

2.1.4.4 English in business communication in Slovakia

As far as the economic area is concerned, foreign investors (mostly American, German, British, Austrian, Swiss, etc.) started entering the Slovak market, giving rise to a number of multinational companies and corporations with a foreign management. However, it was not only a new economic situation which developed in these companies (with the entrance of a foreign capital), but also a new language and sociocultural situation. The local Slovak employees had to start dealing with a new, specific language situation which emerged, as well as the foreign cultural standards. All together, this had a certain impact on their performance and activities, they had to accept the new styles of management and communication. Multinational companies or corporation (large ones in particular) are trying to regulate the communication within the company. As Nekvapil and Nekula (2005: 83) pointed out, this is achieved mainly by "introducing an official corporate language in the company, employing people fluent in the language, and promoting language courses". As a result, particularly the email communication and management activities (during conferences, meetings, etc.) are often conducted and dominated by English.

With regard to the use of foreign languages in various situations in the EU, the Special Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages' (2012: 45-54) shows that just over half of Europeans (53%) vs. 52% Slovaks use foreign languages at work and 45% of Europeans vs. 56% Slovaks think that their foreign language skills helped them improve job prospects or to get a better job in their home country (2012: 63-65). Moreover, Europeans reported regularly using foreign languages at work either when:

- writing emails or letters at work (EU: 18% vs. SK: 11%)
- reading at work (EU: 17% vs. SK: 10%)
- for conversations at work, either face-to-face or by telephone (EU: 27% vs. SK: 19%)

In their study on the language planning situation in multinational companies in the Czech Republic, based on the analysis of questionnaires and semi-structured

interviews, Nekvapil and Nekula (2005) found that "the foreign employees seldom adapt to the language of the local employees, while the adaptation of the local employees to the language of the foreign ones is not only usual but also expected''. This language contact also consequently leads to switching between languages in a communication.

From a sociolinguistic point of view and not only with regard to business communication, but in general, one of the most discussed issues in Slovakia in terms of borrowing words from English is the question of appropriateness or inappropriateness of the use of *'anglicisms'* in the Slovak language. The opinions of the language users - either the experts (mainly linguists) or the general public - are polarised; from complete disapproval to uncritical acceptance. Mislovičová (1994: 6) considers the main problem to be the fact that recently, the number of English words penetrating the Slovak language is so large that there is 'no time' to go through the process of adaptation. In terms of the recent (disproportionate) use of English words and phrases (anglicisms) in Slovakia, Kačala and Krajčovič (2006: 209) argue that:

> Such situation not only does not indicate firm roots in domestic culture, but it also confirms the negation of elementary principles of communication, as for the majority of the population such widely used words are incomprehensible to the point that they make normal communication difficult.
>
> *[sk original: Taký stav nielenže nesvedčí o pevnej zakorenenosti v domácej kultúre, lež potvrdzuje aj negovanie elementárnych komunikačných zásad, lebo väčšine obyvateľstva sú takto široko používané slová nezrozumiteľné, a tak sťažujú normálnu komunikáciu.]*

In conclusion, Kačala and Krajčovič (2006: 209) argue that such phenomena in whole-society communication should adequately be regulated by the Slovak language law. Hence, with the aim to shed some light on attitudes that Slovaks hold towards multilingualism and English language in particular, the following section provides a brief discussion supported by the findings of Special Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages'.

2.1.5 Particularities of the Slovak language in comparison to English language

In this section, we will provide a short overview of particularities of the Slovak language in comparison to English language with regard to their grammatical, morphological and syntactic features.

The contemporary Slovak language makes use of a Latin script with small modifications that include the four diacritical marks (ˇ, ´, ¨, ˆ) placed above certain letters of the alphabet. Besides vowels and consonants, several diphthongs (ia, ie, iu, ô) occur. Unlike English, Slovak does not have articles.

Typologically, Slovak is a highly inflectional language with elements of analytical constructions (especially in some verb forms). On the other hand, English is an analytic language, which means that it does not synthesise grammatical morphemes with word stems but uses mostly independent prepositions or word order to express morphological categories.

From syntactic point of view, Slovak is characterised by a basic S(ubject) - V(erb) - O(bject) construction scheme, however, word order is relatively free, since strong inflection enables the identification of grammatical roles (S, V, O, predicate, etc.) regardless of word placement. On the contrary, English sentence word order is rather fixed and follows the S(ubject) - (V)erb/ Predicate - O(bject) pattern.

In Slovak, nouns have inherent gender. There are in fact three genders: masculine, feminine, and neutral. Hence, adjectives and pronouns in Slovak must agree with nouns in case, number, and gender. By contrast, in English, gender is not grammatical but natural and mostly used with pronouns. Moreover, English nouns typically have common gender (therefore reference is indifferently used to male and female).

Moreover, the Slovak language has six grammatical cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, locative and instrumental).

2.1.6 Attitudes towards multilingualism and English language in Slovakia

This section begins by examining Slovaks' attitudes towards multilingualism in relation to a range of issues associated with the learning and usage of foreign languages. More specifically, it looks at the extent to which Slovaks think that people in the EU should be able to speak languages other than their mother tongue, and whether there should be a single common language, comparing the results with other EU Member States. Then, the section continues by looking at what languages Slovaks believe are the most useful languages, both for their own personal development and for children to learn, as compared to European trends in attitudes to language learning.

Based on the results of the Special Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages' (2012), there is "a broad consensus among Europeans that everyone in the EU should be able to speak at least one foreign language" (2012: 109-123):

- 86% of Slovak respondents vs. 84% of Europeans think that all EU citizens should be able to speak at least one language in addition to their mother tongue,
- a significant majority of Europeans (72%) vs. 71% of Slovak respondents think that everyone in the EU should be able to speak more than one foreign language in addition to their mother tongue

Moreover, even though opinions vary quite widely at the national level, 69% of Europeans are "widely in favour of people in the EU being able to speak a common language" (2012: 110-116). In line with the European trends, with overall one of the highest numbers among Member States, 77% of respondents in Slovakia agree that everyone in the EU should be able to speak a common language.

According to the results of the Special Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages' (2012), most Europeans think that English is the most useful language (Table 2), firstly for their own personal development; EU average: 67%, and secondly for children to learn for their future; EU average: 79% (2012: 69-82). Overall, the survey provides information about the EU citizens' attitudes towards foreign languages and multilingualism within the European Union.

Table 2: The most useful languages for personal development according to the Special Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages'

QE1a Thinking about languages other than your mother tongue, which two languages do you think are the most useful for your personal development?

	English	French	German	Spanish	Chinese	Italian	Russian	None – don't think any other languages are useful	Don't know
EU27	67%	16%	17%	14%	6%	5%	4%	12%	3%
BE	**76%**	49%	6%	8%	4%	3%	*0%*	7%	0%
BG	**57%**	5%	20%	7%	*0%*	4%	14%	24%	6%
CZ	**59%**	3%	32%	1%	*0%*	1%	7%	25%	0%
DK	**92%**	9%	48%	14%	5%	1%	*0%*	4%	0%
DE	**82%**	21%	10%	13%	4%	3%	6%	7%	2%
EE	**75%**	4%	10%	2%	2%	*0%*	47%	4%	1%
IE	6%	**38%**	25%	24%	9%	4%	*1%*	20%	5%
EL	**74%**	13%	20%	3%	5%	5%	*2%*	21%	0%
ES	**82%**	15%	14%	10%	13%	*1%*	*1%*	8%	2%
FR	**79%**	6%	13%	33%	8%	5%	*0%*	10%	1%
IT	**70%**	11%	8%	9%	7%	14%	*1%*	13%	1%
CY	**94%**	18%	10%	4%	*1%*	6%	19%	3%	0%
LV	**72%**	2%	17%	2%	*0%*	*0%*	50%	3%	1%
LT	**66%**	2%	13%	2%	1%	*0%*	62%	7%	3%
LU	40%	**72%**	47%	3%	*0%*	1%	1%	0%	0%
HU	**64%**	5%	48%	2%	*1%*	2%	2%	16%	3%
MT	**94%**	9%	3%	2%	*1%*	59%	*1%*	2%	1%
NL	**95%**	13%	44%	18%	7%	*1%*	*1%*	0%	0%
AT	**76%**	18%	10%	7%	*2%*	10%	5%	15%	2%
PL	**65%**	3%	31%	2%	*1%*	*1%*	8%	14%	7%
PT	**53%**	22%	4%	11%	1%	1%	*0%*	32%	2%
RO	**59%**	25%	13%	5%	*1%*	9%	2%	19%	8%
SI	**79%**	4%	50%	3%	*2%*	11%	2%	3%	5%
SK	**63%**	4%	44%	2%	*0%*	1%	8%	12%	6%
FI	**88%**	5%	13%	7%	2%	*1%*	25%	2%	1%
SE	**93%**	11%	29%	18%	4%	2%	*0%*	2%	0%
UK	19%	**34%**	12%	26%	11%	5%	*2%*	15%	8%

Highest percentage per country — *Lowest percentage per country*

Highest percentage per item — Lowest percentage per item

Source: Special Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages' (2012: 74)

In terms of the perceived usefulness of languages in Slovakia, the Special Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages' (2012: 71) shows that in line with European trends, apart from their mother tongue, 63% of respondents from Slovakia identified English as the most useful language for their personal development, followed by German (44%). Even though there has been a notable worsening of opinion on its usefulness by -9 points since the 2005 survey, only 8% of Slovak citizens believe that Russian is useful for their personal development.

Apart from that, the respondents were also asked to name the two languages they believed to be the most useful for children to learn for their future (Table 3).

<u>Table 3</u>: The most useful languages for children to learn for their future according to the Special Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages'

QE1b And for children to learn for their future?

	English	French	German	Spanish	Chinese	Russian	Italian	None – don't think any other languages are useful	Don't know
EU27	79%	20%	20%	16%	14%	4%	2%	2%	3%
BE	**88%**	48%	4%	8%	9%	*1%*	*1%*	1%	0%
BG	**90%**	5%	36%	9%	*1%*	14%	3%	1%	4%
CZ	**92%**	5%	44%	2%	*1%*	10%	*1%*	1%	0%
DK	**96%**	7%	30%	20%	26%	1%	*0%*	0%	0%
DE	**94%**	27%	9%	17%	9%	6%	*1%*	1%	1%
EE	**91%**	4%	12%	2%	3%	48%	*0%*	1%	1%
IE	5%	**50%**	42%	25%	20%	*1%*	4%	1%	5%
EL	**92%**	16%	34%	3%	13%	3%	4%	2%	1%
ES	**92%**	19%	15%	11%	24%	1%	*0%*	2%	2%
FR	**92%**	5%	15%	28%	28%	*0%*	1%	1%	1%
IT	**84%**	14%	10%	11%	12%	*2%*	5%	4%	2%
CY	**98%**	29%	16%	4%	*1%*	26%	5%	0%	0%
LV	**92%**	5%	21%	1%	*0%*	48%	*0%*	0%	1%
LT	**95%**	4%	19%	2%	2%	49%	*0%*	1%	2%
LU	**71%**	63%	27%	5%	9%	*0%*	1%	1%	0%
HU	**85%**	6%	59%	2%	2%	2%	*1%*	3%	2%
MT	**97%**	21%	9%	3%	1%	*0%*	48%	0%	1%
NL	**96%**	11%	31%	27%	16%	*0%*	*0%*	0%	0%
AT	**93%**	27%	6%	9%	*4%*	8%	10%	2%	1%
PL	**87%**	4%	40%	2%	4%	7%	*1%*	2%	4%
PT	**87%**	32%	5%	10%	4%	*0%*	*0%*	3%	5%
RO	**68%**	36%	23%	4%	*1%*	*1%*	8%	10%	10%
SI	**93%**	8%	58%	5%	6%	3%	8%	0%	1%
SK	**87%**	6%	60%	3%	3%	15%	*1%*	1%	1%
FI	**89%**	7%	17%	5%	5%	34%	*0%*	1%	0%
SE	**95%**	9%	15%	34%	19%	1%	*0%*	1%	1%
UK	16%	**43%**	20%	34%	23%	*2%*	*2%*	4%	10%

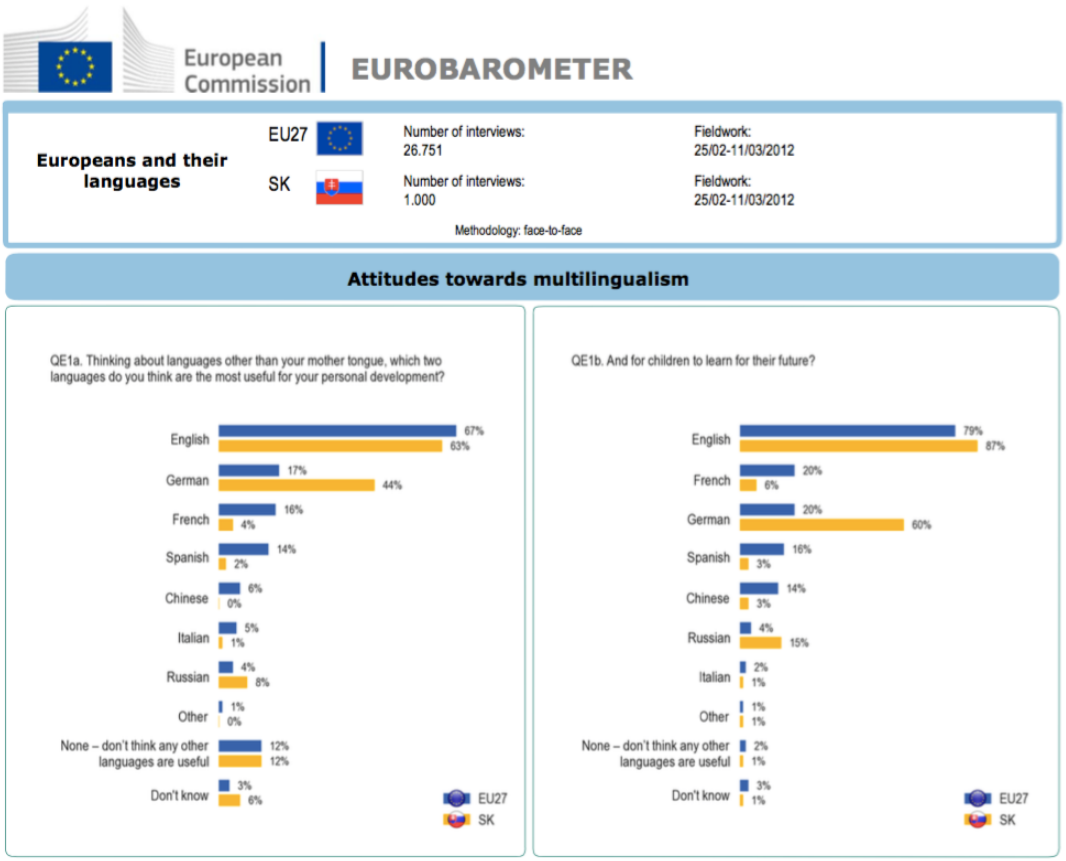
Highest percentage per country
Highest percentage per item

Lowest percentage per country
Lowest percentage per item

Source: Special Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages' (2012: 79)

English was, again, perceived to be the most useful language for children to learn in Slovakia (87%), surpassing German (60%). Compared with the trends seen on languages that are useful for personal development in Slovakia, the proportion of Slovak citizens believing English is important language for children to learn is slightly higher (63% vs. 87%). On the other hand, compared with the results from the 2005 survey and as opposed to the trends in Europe, where views on how useful Russian is as a language for a child to learn for their future (which remains largely unchanged across all Member States), in Slovakia, 15% of the respondents are much more likely than they were in 2005 to think it a useful language (+9 points increase). Attitudes towards multilingualism in Slovakia, following the Eurobarometer report (2012), are graphically represented on the picture (Figure 5) below.

<u>Figure 5</u>: Attitudes towards multilingualism in Slovakia according to the Special Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages'



Source: Special Eurobarometer 386 report on 'Europeans and their Languages'- Factsheet (2012: 1)

CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH
(The state of the art)

2.2 Code-switching

This section provides a theoretical background for the the study of CS by introducing a brief outline of CS research framework, reviewing its major theories. In order to do that, the section is structured as follows:

Firstly, Section 2.2.1 begins by introducing the concept of code-switching (CS) by presenting a number of definitions of the phenomenon proposed by various scholars (2.2.1.1). After that, a brief insight into the history of CS is offered, looking at the evidence from the past, as compared to the present state of the art in the field (2.2.1.2). The section then continues by establishing how the term 'code-switching' is employed here - in our study, in order to avoid potential terminological controversy (2.2.1.3).

Secondly, Section 2.2.2 presents a brief distinction between code-switching and other language contact phenomena including: code-mixing (2.2.2.1), (lexical) borrowing (2.2.2.2), nonce borrowing (2.2.2.3), style-shifting (2.2.2.4), diglossia (2.2.2.5), and others such as code-alternation, language transfer/transference/ inference, etc. (2.2.2.6).

Thirdly, in terms of the major sociolinguistic theories of CS, Section 2.2.3 covers the frameworks within which CS is studied. This includes reviewing the concepts introduced by John J. Gumperz (1977, 1982) such as the distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching, the distinction between 'we-code' and 'they-code' and the notion of CS as a contextualization cue (2.2.3.1) Then, one of the more complex theories of CS motivations - Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1993, 1998), in particular her concepts of CS as a marked (i.e. unexpected, unconventional) or unmarked (expected) choice, are presented (2.2.3.2). And finally,

Auer's conversation-analytic framework for the study of bilingual interaction proposed by Peter Auer (1995, 1998, 1999, 2000), which builds on and develops some of Gumperz' ideas, is discussed (2.2.3.3).

Fourthly, in terms of types and forms of CS, there are numerous taxonomies of CS in the literature, both formal and functional. With regard to the grammatical theories of CS (as well as the various grammatical constraints on CS) that have been proposed in the literature, three of them will be briefly reviewed in Section 2.2.4. These include: Poplack's (1980) Free Morpheme and Equivalence Constraints Model (2.2.4.1), Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Frame Model (2.2.4.2) and Muysken's (2000) Typology of Code-Mixing (2.2.4.3).

Finally, Section 2.2.5 discusses different lists/ typologies/ classifications of functions of and reasons for CS addressed in the CS literature, particularly the following ones: Myers-Scotton's 'social motivations' (2.2.5.1), Gumperz's classification of discourse functions of CS (2.2.5.2), Auer's typologies of code-switching (2.2.5.3) and Hoffman's classification of CS functions (2.2.5.4). Furthermore, critiques of such 'lists' are discussed at the end of the section, drawing attention to their limitations (2.2.5.5).

2.2.1 The concept of code-switching (CS)

2.2.1.1 Definitions of CS

Before moving on to discussing the concept of code-switching further, along with related theories and models, we shall start by listing some of the definitions of 'code-switching' first, because as Auer (1998b: 21) points out, "what linguists mean by the term code-switching is itself in need of clarification", adding that "this clarification will not be an easy one to give, but it is essential in order to judge its relevance for (socio)linguistic theory at large".

Generally, from a linguistic point of view, code-switching occurs when a speaker alternates between two or more languages, or language varieties, in the context of a single conversation. Simply put, it's the phenomenon by which speakers switch back and forth between their common languages in spoken or written communication. According to Gumperz (1982: 59), conversational CS can be defined as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" or as Romaine's (1992: 110) definition puts it, CS is "the use of more than one language, variety, or style by a speaker within an utterance or discourse, or between different interlocutors or situations". In addition to that, Myers-Scotton (1993: 1) uses CS as a cover term and defines it as "alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation", arguing that CS is a social phenomenon, and if it occurs, when it occurs and to what extent are all matters that have a psycholinguistic/ sociolinguistic basis (1992: 22). In line with the previous definitions, Heller and Pfaff (1996: 594) define CS as "the use of more than one linguistic variety, by a single speaker in the course of a single conversation". In a similar vein, Poplack's definition of CS refers to "the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent" (1980: 583) or "the mixing, by bilinguals (or multilinguals), of two or more languages in discourse, often with no change of interlocutor or topic" (2001: 2062). Paolillo (2011: 2) also considers CS to be a distinctive characteristic of bilingual conversation, defining it as "the use of two (or more) languages side-by-side, often with more than one language being used in a single sentence".

2.2.1.2 Brief history of CS - the evidence from the past

Code-switching is a common linguistic practice traditionally associated predominantly with bilingual and multilingual communities which have attracted most linguistic attention. The practice has been noticed all around the world in many contexts, language and culture contact situations. Looking back to the history, Gumperz (1977: 5) argues that CS practices can be noticed throughout the world, including "literary histories of seventeenth century Germany, nineteenth century Russia and Edwardian England", which "describe the speech habits of upper class speakers whose German, Russian or English is interspersed with French phrases".

However, when it comes to the history and evidence of CS, it goes back way back to the past. In this regard, Gardner-Chloros (2009: 20) points out that CS can be found in written texts from various historical periods including examples such as Latin–Greek CS in Cicero's letters to his friend Atticus, French–Italian CS in a 13th century Coptic phrasebook, English–French CS in a variety of Medieval English texts; through to literary works such as Chicano poetry (Valdes-Fallis, 1977) and novels where spoken CS is represented, such as Tolstoy's War and Peace (Timm, 1978), Eco's The Name of the Rose (where Salvatore speaks a multilingual jargon), and through to contemporary novelists such as Zadie Smith (English–Creole CS in White Teeth). The evidence of the linguistic phenomenon of CS between Latin and Greek in the letters of Cicero to his friend Atticus is one of the examples of "code-switching in antiquity" which was "common all over the ancient world where Latin and Greek were in contact with local languages" (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 88). This has been discussed by Adams et al. (2002: 17) who, in this regard, claim that:

> The evidence of Cicero and others suggests that the Roman nobility knew Greek and that the Greek they knew was the educated end of a continuum [...] which extended to the freedmen and servile class. That these Romans regularly use Greek words/phrases and quotations in their Latin (the phenomenon of code-switching), probably writing Greek for the most part in Greek script, is very likely to be a sign of their claim to the cultural-political authority of the classical Greeks. It probably again also reflects the widespread use of Greek in

> the city of Rome. Both of these observations help to explain why Greek was not permissible in public discourse, in other words the diglossia of bilingualism. The political consciousness of the Romans would not tolerate the expression of ideas in another language. The bilingualism of Rome served to reinforce this, since the lower-class status of primary Greek speakers cannot have failed to have impressed itself on the élite.''

With regard to the present, Gumperz (1982: 64) describes the background of language practices of the minority groups and language usage in bilingual communities as follows:

> In our own time many urban residents of the ex-colonial countries of Asia and Africa freely alternate between their own tongue and the language of the colonizing power. Code switching is perhaps most frequently found in the informal speech of those members of cohesive minority groups in modern urbanizing regions who speak the native tongue at home, while using the majority language at work and when dealing with members of groups other than their own.

However, as Poplack (2001: 2062) claims, "though CS is apparently a hallmark of bilingual communities world-wide, it has only begun to attract serious scholarly attention in the last few decades''. In the literature on bilingualism, code-switching was until quite recently treated as "a marginal or transitory phenomenon, as if it were a form of linguistic interference which accompanies the learning of a new grammatical system'', associating this phenomenon either with language change or second language acquisition (Gumperz, 1982: 63). In a similar vein, Auer (1998b: 1) points out that CS used to be "a matter for a few specialists in the 1950s and 1960s, of peripheral importance for linguistics as a whole'', while it is now recognised as a phenomenon and a subject matter which is "able to shed light on fundamental linguistic issues, from Universal Grammar to the formation of group identities and ethnic boundaries through verbal behaviour'', making it a worthy subject of study for both general theoretical and applied linguistic research purposes.

2.2.1.3 How the term CS is employed here - in our study

In view of the lack of a generally accepted terminology and of a clear-cut distinction between CS and other language contact phenomena (discussed in the following section), it is necessary to define code-switching in the specific sense in which the term is employed here. Hence, in order to avoid terminological controversy, this study adopts the traditional view of code-switching, that is, switching between two or more languages. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, we will follow Romaine's (1992: 110) broad definition of CS as "the use of more than one language, variety, or style by a speaker within an utterance or discourse, or between different interlocutors or situations''. More specifically, in our research, we will employ the concept of code-switching in the sense of "the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences'' (Clyne, 1987: 740). That being said, it should be also noted that we will be using the term code-switching (CS, language switching) as an umbrella term to cover the phenomena of alternating/ switching between two languages (English and Slovak) or dialects of the same language within the same conversation. Moreover, we may also refer to code-alternation in a similar sense (as an umbrella term or as a synonym to code-switching), however this should not be confused with the technical definition of the term.

2.2.2 Distinction between CS and other language contact phenomena

Code-switching differs from other major manifestations of language contact in various aspects. In this section, a basic terminology proposed in the literature under consideration will be reviewed and a brief distinction between code-switching, code-mixing, (lexical) borrowing, nonce borrowing, style-shifting, diglossia, code-alternation, language transfer/transference/inference and others will be drawn in order to separate CS from other processes or other language contact phenomena.

While some scholars use either term to refer to the same practice, others assume more specific definitions. It goes without saying that, clarification of these terms is crucial for the process of data analysis and interpretation and as Clyne (1987: 741) points out, "apart from generating confusion, vagueness in terminology can influence the results of research''. Even though some language contact manifestations (e.g. CS forms and borrowing forms) resemble each other more than they differ, they are not identical.

Therefore, a number of scholars including Poplack (2001: 2063) call for assessment of the descriptive adequacy of a theory of CS, which requires at least 2 methodological issues be resolved:

1) classification of other-language phenomena
2) confronting the predictions of the theory with the data of actual bilingual behavior

In addition to that, Auer (1995: 117) argues that apart from distinguishing between various different instances of language contact phenomena, it is necessary to distinguish "between contact phenomena classified as such by the linguist, and contact phenomena seen and used as such by the bilingual participants themselves''. Moreover, according to Auer (1995: 117), the question whether the participants "see and use it'' takes us "from structural systems continually referring to each other, to the speakers'', leading to "the shift from a structural towards an interpretative approach to bilingualism''.

Overall, during the last few decades, a wide range of phenomena (often covered by the term ‘code-switching’ in the literature) have been described in which two languages are juxtaposed in discourse (inter- or intra-sententially). These include cases of the juxtaposition of two languages other than CS variously referred to as ‘code-alternation’, ‘code-mixing’, etc. In this regard, Georgakopoulou (1997: 148) points out that CS is often “taken as an umbrella-term which encompasses a continuum of code alternations, more or less rapid, occurring in the same turn or in different turns, and involving phenomena such as transfer and code-mixing”.

In contrast, Milroy and Muysken (1995: 12) point out that the field of CS research is “replete with a confusing range of terms descriptive of various aspects of the phenomenon”, adding that “sometimes the referential scope of a set of these terms overlaps and sometimes particular terms are used in different ways by different writers”, as we will demonstrate in this section. Hence, in order to classify other-language phenomena accurately and correctly, the following terms need to be clarified and the distinction must be made.

2.2.2.1 Code-switching vs. code-mixing

Firstly, a major distinction has been made between the following two thematically related terms: code-switching and code-mixing. Even though the usage of these terms varies, they are often used interchangeably.

In this regard, Auer (1999: 310) points out that the term ‘code-switching’ is reserved for “those cases in which the juxtaposition of two codes (languages) is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event by participants”. On the other hand, the term ‘code mixing’ is used for “those cases of the juxtaposition of two languages in which the use of two languages is meaningful (to participants) not in a local but only in a more global sense, i.e. when seen as a recurrent pattern” (Auer, 1999: 310). In summary, Auer (1999: 310) argues that this transition (from CS to LM) is “above all an issue to be dealt with by interpretive sociolinguistic approaches since it is located on the level of how speakers perceive and use the ‘codes’ in question”.

On the other hand, Clyne (1987: 740) believes that “a problem occurs when switching and mixing are employed contrastively”. In order to illustrate the use of terminology when referring to different language contact phenomena, which may possibly generate further confusion, we will use the following example:

> While Pfaff (1979) and Romaine (1986) use 'mixing' as a generic term to cover both 'borrowing' (Clyne’s 'transference') and 'code switching', Wentz and McClure (1977) employ 'code switching' as the generic term with 'code changing' (note: Clyne’s 'code switching') and 'code mixing' (note: Clyne’s 'transference') as the subcategories; and Di Sciullo et al. (1986) [...] appear to use 'code mixing' as a generic term and as the main term for the phenomenon under consideration, with 'switching' occasionally appearing as a synonym [...] (Clyne: 1987: 740)

Moreover, drawing on the structural, syntactic distinction between two different types of switches, some researchers reserve the term ‘code-switching’ for inter-sentential switches only, while using the term ‘code-mixing’ to refer to the intra-sentential switches. When it comes to the reason, Boztepe (2003: 4) points out that “only code-mixing (i.e., intra-sentential CS) requires the integration of the rules of the two languages involved in the discourse”.

2.2.2.2 Code-switching vs. lexical borrowing

In terms of the distinction between code-switching and borrowing (discussed by e.g. Poplack, 1980, 2001; Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1992), several criteria have been proposed to distinguish between these concepts, following the structural approach to CS which addresses the question of clearing the boundaries between CS and lexical borrowing before starting the analysis.

At this point, it should be noted that this distinction and particularly the concept of ‘borrowing’ (lexical borrowing as well as nonce borrowing) will be discussed in a little more detail than any other language contact phenomenon mentioned in this section, as it is closely related to the study of CS.

Some scholars, including Pfaff (1979) and Poplack (1980) draw attention to the need to distinguish between CS and borrowing with regard to the formulation of the syntactic constraints on where switching can occur within the sentence, thus referring to the intra-sentential CS as the only relevant type of switching in terms of syntactic constraints.

According to Gumperz (1982: 66, 1977: 6), borrowing can be defined as "the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other'' while "the items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language'' and "they are treated as part of its lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structures''. On the other hand, as Gumperz (1982: 66) explains, "code switching, by contrast, relies on the meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must consciously or subconsciously process as strings formed according to the internal rules of two distinct grammatical systems''.

However, the problem of distinguishing CS from borrowing is a more complex issue, as the difference between them is often somewhat unclear. According to Boztepe (2003: 5), there are "two contradictory approaches as to whether and how to distinguish between the two terms''.

To begin with, Poplack (1980, 1981, 2001) and Poplack et al.* (1987, 1981*, 1990*) have argued that single other-language lexical items are fundamentally different from longer stretches of switches and moreover, borrowings and CS are in fact based on different mechanisms. Drawing on participant observation performance data of CS from the bilingual Puerto Rican community in NYC, Poplack (1980: 584) proposed identification of CS based on the type of integration of foreign words into the base language (the recipient language). Distinguishing between different levels of integration into the base language, namely a) phonological, b) morphological and c) syntactic, served as the criteria for determining the status of such single words; non-native lexical items in bilingual utterances. According to this approach, four possible combinations of integration have been identified (Table 4 below).

Table 4: Poplack's identification of code-switching according to type of integration into the base language

Type	Levels of Integration Into Base Language			CS?	Example
	phon	morph	syn		
1	✓	✓	✓	No	Es posible que te MOGUEEN. (They might mug you.) (002/1)
2	–	–	✓	Yes	Las palabras HEAVY-DUTY, bien grandes, se me han olvidado. (I've forgotten the real big, heavy-duty words.) (40/485)
3	✓	–	–	Yes	[da 'waɾi se] (58/100)
4	–	–	–	Yes	No creo que son FIFTY-DOLLAR SUEDE ONES. (I don't think they're fifty-dollar suede ones.) (05/271)

Source: Poplack (1980: 584)

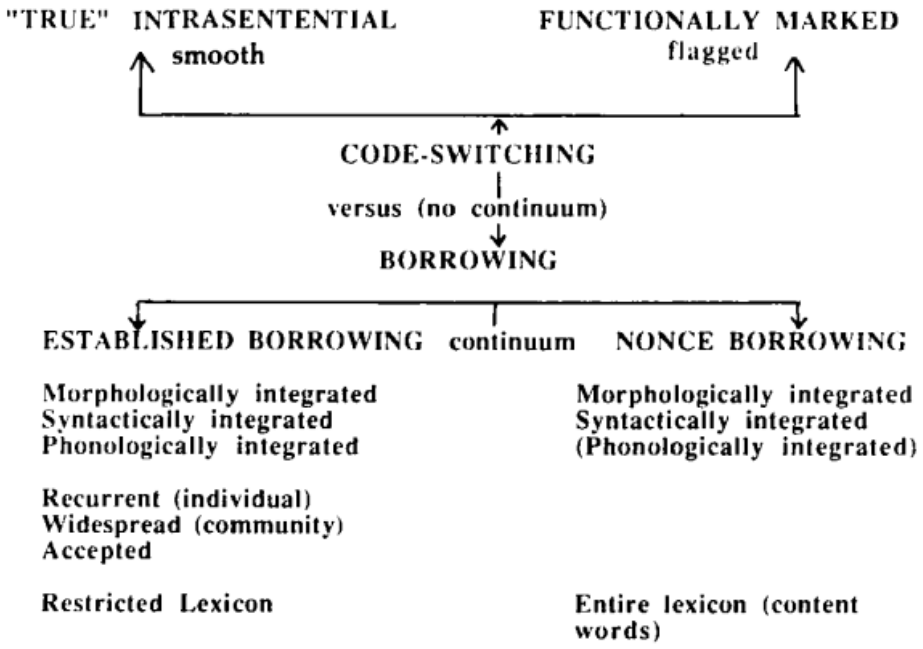
Therefore, based on this Poplack's (1980: 584) approach, Type 1 represents cases where a lexical item (such as the example 'mogueen' above) is phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated into the base language (in this case Spanish), although etymologically, it is a loan word from English 'mug'. In other words, lexical items falling into the first category of 'integration type' constitute borrowings and they are considered to be instances of monolingual discourse. In contrast, Type 4 represents cases of code-switching where "segments are totally unintegrated into the patterns of the base language" (Poplack, 1980: 584). The remaining two types represent cases where a lexical item shows a) only syntactic integration (Type 2), or b) only phonological integration (Type 3). Both of them are considered to be instances of CS, although example shown in Type 2 violates the 'equivalence constraint' (further discussed in Section 2.2.4.1) - it follows English phonological and morphological patterns, but violates English syntactic patterns by following the Spanish syntactic pattern of adjective placement.

2.2.2.3 Code-switching vs. nonce borrowing

In addition to lexical borrowing, another type of borrowing has since emerged. Nonce borrowing, like lexical borrowing as its counterpart, "tends to involve lone lexical items, generally major-class content words, and to assume the morphological, syntactic, and often, phonological identity of the recipient language'' (Poplack, 2001: 2063). On the other hand, unlike established lexical borrowings, they do not meet the criteria of frequency of use or degree of acceptance, as nonce borrowing is "neither recurrent nor widespread, and necessarily requires a certain level of bilingual competence'' (Poplack, 2001: 2063). This characteristic in particular makes nonce borrowing more similar to CS. Therefore, Poplack (2001: 2063) argues that for this reason, "distinguishing nonce borrowings from single-word CS is conceptually easy but methodologically difficult, especially when they surface bare, giving no apparent indication of language membership''.

Moreover, according to Poplack et al. (Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood, 1987), lexical borrowing is seen as a continuum ranging from 'established loanword' to 'nonce borrowing' (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Characterisation of code-switching and borrowing



Source: Poplack et al. (1987: 403)

The results of Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood's study (1987: 403) confirm that "the morphological and syntactic role of nonce borrowing is identical to that of established loanwords, which in turn reflect the grammatical patterns of the host language'', adding that "in this, both contrast with code-switches, which retain source-language morphology and syntax, as illustrated in Figure 6" (also our Figure 6 above).

Established loanwords (lexical borrowings) take on the morphological, syntactic, and often phonological features of the recipient language, while in the case of CS, there is no involvement of the morphology, syntax or phonology of the lexifier language (Poplack 2001: 2063). Poplack (2001: 2063) also explains that "the stock of the established loanwords is available to monolingual speakers of the recipient language, who access them normally along with the remainder of the recipient-language lexicon''. Loanwords therefore differ from 'native' words mainly in their etymological origin. In a similar vein, Paolillo (2011: 2) explains that "borrowing occurs when a language adopts words or other elements from another language and incorporates them into its existing grammar, whereas codeswitching takes place when the grammatical systems of both languages (as well as the words) are used in the same exchange''.

The problem associated with distinguishing and separating borrowings from CS can sometimes be a complex one. With regard to a number of empirical difficulties caused by this, Gumperz (1982: 66) argues that "linguists who have developed methods for the identification of loans have done so primarily from the perspective of language change''. Taking the etymological origin as their primary criterion, Gumperz claims that "by this criterion, strictly applied, most words in most modern world languages would count as borrowed''. Moreover, Gumperz (1982: 68) also adds that "whereas borrowing is a word and clause level phenomenon, code switching is ultimately a matter of conversational interpretation, so that the relevant inferential processes are strongly affected by contextual and social presuppositions''.

Even despite the characterisations and distinctions presented above, the status of these language contact phenomena remains questionable and could be even controversial, as while Poplack refers to (most of) CS material as 'nonce borrowing' (e.g. Sankoff, Poplack & Vanniarajan, 1990); some other researchers including for example Nortier (1990: 209) and Myers-Scotton (1992: 23), see no motivation for categorising such forms as 'nonce borrowings', at least in their data.

That brings us back to the question of approaches as to whether and how to distinguish between the two terms (CS vs. borrowing). In contrast with the previously-discussed approach, many researchers (e.g. Bentahila & Davies, 1983; Myers-Scotton, 1992, 1993) approach the problem by claiming that the perceived distinction between the two phenomena (concepts/terms/processes) is not really critical when it comes to analyses of bilingual speech.

Myers-Scotton (1992, 1993) rejects morphological and syntactic integration as a basis for distinguishing between CS and borrowing as she considers them to be universally related processes (parts of a single continuum). She differentiates between CS and borrowing forms in a sense that, as she claims, "B (*borrowing*) forms have become part of the ML (*Matrix Language*) mental lexicon; whereas CS forms remain as EL (*Embedded Language*) material which only occurs in ML morphosyntactic frames during CS discourse" (Myers-Scotton 1992: 21). In other words, borrowing affects the lexicon, the words that make up a language, while code-switching takes place in individual utterances. Moreover, in terms of CS discourse and the methodology of distinguishing between different language contact phenomena, Myers-Scotton (1992: 19), following her distinction between a donor language (EL) and a recipient language (ML), considers the following questions to be relevant:

1) Are all singly-occurring EL lexemes in such discourse borrowed forms, or are some codeswitched forms (CS forms)?
2) If some are CS forms, how are they differentiated from borrowings?
3) What is the relationship of either established borrowings or singly-occurring CS forms to multiword stretches of codeswitching?

Working with her Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF model of structural constraints on CS - further discussed in Section 2.2.4.2), Myers-Scotton (1992: 19) argues that "while some important differences do exist among the various forms of EL material appearing in codeswitching discourse, in general the forms arise from related processes". Even though Myers-Scotton does not see CS and borrowing as two distinct processes, and nor does she consider such a categorical distinction between CS and borrowing to be necessary or critical (unlike Poplack), she proposes frequency as the single criterion best linking borrowed forms (EL material) more closely with the recipient language (ML) mental lexicon (Myers-Scotton, 1992: 30).

Furthermore, Myers-Scotton (1992), inspired by Haugen's (1953: 373) claim that "borrowing always goes beyond the actual 'needs' of language", then makes a distinction between what she refers to as 'cultural borrowings' and 'core borrowings' (Myers-Scotton, 1992: 28-29). Cultural borrowings are those lexical items that "stand for objects or concepts new to the ML culture" (Myers-Scotton, 1992: 28). At this point, Myers-Scotton (1992: 29) also expressed her disagreement with those researchers (e.g., Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980: 409; Bentahila & Davies, 1983: 302;) who refer to borrowed items (cultural borrowings) in relation to "filling lexical gaps" in the recipient language. Instead, she argues that "not all established borrowings actually occur due to the perceived absence of an equivalent term in the recipient language culture" (Boztepe, 2003: 7). Therefore, in terms of the second type of borrowing, Myers-Scotton (2006: 215) points out that:

> Core borrowings are words that duplicate elements that the recipient language already has in its word store. They are gratuitous - by definition, [...] because the recipient language always has viable equivalents. Then, why are they borrowed? One answer is cultural pressure: When two languages are spoken in the same community, but one language prevails in most public discourse and certainly in all status-raising discourse, then the other language loses some of its vitality to that language, and it becomes the recipient language in borrowing and will even replace its own words with words from the dominant language.

2.2.2.4 Code-switching vs. style-shifting

A number of researchers argue that code-switching accomplishes for the bilingual speaker what style-shifting does for the monolingual one (e.g., Romaine, 1995, Milroy & Gordon, 2003). This point of view is illustrated by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 198) as follows:

> Monolingual and monodialectal speakers who do not have a clear sense of different codes in the community repertoire are usually said to shift between styles. Bilingual (or multilingual) speakers, speakers from diglossic communities, and bidialectal speakers on the other hand have access to community repertoires which are perceived (and usually named) as different languages or as different dialects of the same language, and such speakers are said to switch between codes.

Hence, Milroy and Gordon (2003: 198) further argue that "there are certainly some crucial differences between style-shifting and code-switching processes with respect to factors such as levels of speaker awareness, the linguistic practices in which speakers engage, and the linguistic materials which they can access for social symbolic purposes". In a similar vein, Gal (1979: 118) also pointed out that CS and style-shifting occur in "complementary distribution" depending on the linguistic means available to one's interlocutor, adding that "style-shifting occurs only where conversational language switching does not". Making a distinction and highlighting similarities between the monolingual style-shifting and bilingual code-switching, Milroy and Gordon (2003: 222) conclude that while "early variationist approaches treat style-shifting as essentially responsive either to the formality of the situation or to the social identity of the audience", more recent approaches rather treat style as "proactive and strategic".

In addition to that, Auer (1995: 117) warns that "a gradual transition from dialect into standard ('style-shifting') may be a very important interactional event, but it works differently from code-alternation and should not be confounded with it".

2.2.2.5 Code switching vs. diglossia

Code switching also differs (both linguistically and socially) from what has been characterised as diglossia in the sociolinguistic literature on bilingualism (Gumperz, 1977: 2, 1982: 60; Ferguson, 1964). In diglossia, as Gumperz (1977: 2) explains "code alternation is largely of the situational type", adding that "distinct varieties are employed in certain settings (such as home, school, work) that are associated with separate, bounded kinds of activities (public speaking, formal negotiations, special ceremonials, verbal games, etc.) or spoken with different categories of speakers (friends, family members, strangers, social inferiors, government officials, etc.)". In other words, in a diglossic situation, some topics are better suited to the use of one language over the other. Thus, the major difference between CS and diglossia lies in the fact that even though "speakers in diglossia situations must know more than one grammatical system to carry on their daily affairs, only one code is employed at any one time" (Gumperz, 1977: 2).

2.2.2.6 Code switching vs. other language contact phenomena

When we talk about code-switching, we also talk about language choice and language alternation. However, it is important to point out that code-switching is distinct from other language contact phenomena, as we have already discussed above in relation to code-mixing, borrowing (lexical borrowing and nonce borrowing), style-shifting and diglossia. Yet another distinction is made also in relation to code-alternation, transfer (syntactic inference/ transference), calque and others.

As for terminology used by individual researchers, Auer (1995: 116) uses 'code-alternation' as a cover term (i.e. hyperonym for CS and transfer), defined as "a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such". According to Clyne (1987: 740), CS contrasts with transference, where "a single item is transferred from language B to A (or vice versa), whether integrated into the grammatical and/or phonological system of the recipient language or not".

In summary, in order to identify CS in CMD and distinguish it from different language contact phenomena and other aspects of multilingual CMD, it is important to bear in mind that these environments, as Androutsopoulos (2013: 673) points out, are "shaped at different levels by contrastive language choices which are motivated and meaningful, but for these contrasts to qualify as CS, evidence is required that they are in some way dialogically interrelated by responding to previous, and contextualizing subsequent, contributions''.

As we have discussed, the classification and distinction between the above-mentioned language contact phenomena is the cause of fundamental disagreement among researchers working on CS. Some of the difficulties in the discussion on CS are, as Clyne (1987: 762) argues, "due to the unclear division between code switching and borrowing/interference/transference in the literature under consideration''. For that reason, Poplack (2001: 2063) suggests that the following issues should be resolved and clarified:

1) whether the distinction between CS and borrowing should be formally recognized in a theory of CS,
2) whether these and other manifestations of language contact can be unambiguously identified in bilingual discourse, and
3) criteria for determining whether a given item was switched or borrowed

Noticeable lack of consensus which seems to be characteristic for the discipline calls for resolving these and a number of other methodological issues which are crucial for the future directions of the research in this area. Poplack (2001: 2064) maintains that "foremost among them is failure to distinguish code-switching from other types of language mixture, which, despite similarities in surface manifestation, are fundamentally different mechanisms for combining languages''. In contrast, Eastman (1992: 1) states that "efforts to distinguish codeswitching, codemixing and borrowing are doomed", adding that if we want to understand the social and cultural processes involved in CS, it is important to "free ourselves of the need to categorize any instance of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch".

2.2.3 CS framework: Sociolinguistic theories of CS

In terms of theories of CS, Androutsopoulos (2013: 668) argues that "the question of what patterns of CS are attested in CMC environments cannot be answered independently of the frameworks within which CS is studied". Hence, with regard to the major contributions to the study of CS, forming the frameworks within which the phenomenon of CS is studied, the research literature contains elements of "the three most influential contributions to the theory in the sociolinguistic branch of CS studies" (Androutsopoulos 2013: 669; Hinrichs 2006: 28).

First of all, in Section 2.2.3.1, the concepts introduced by **John J. Gumperz** (1977, 1982) such as the distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching, the distinction between 'we-code' and 'they-code', his classification of discourse functions of conversational CS and the notion of CS as a contextualization cue will be reviewed. Secondly, in Section 2.2.3.2, one of the more complete theories of code-switching motivations, the Markedness Model (MM) developed and proposed by **Carol Myers-Scotton** (1993, 1998), in particular her concepts of code-switching as a marked (i.e. unexpected, unconventional) or unmarked (expected) choice) will be discussed. Thirdly, in Section 2.2.3.3, the conversation-analytic framework for the study of bilingual interactions proposed by **Peter Auer** (1995, 1998, 1999, 2000) which builds on and develops some of Gumperz' ideas, will be presented. Following sequential analysis, Auer argues that the social motivation behind CS depends on the way CS is structured and managed in the conversational interaction, addressing the question of how it occurs in the first place. Based on the sequential implications of CS, speaker's language choice for a conversational turn (or its part) impacts the following choices of language by the speaker as well as the hearer.

Apart from that, there are other related and used concepts by these scholars such as Myers-Scotton's notion of 'matrix language' and Auer's notion of 'base language', which CMC researchers apply, modify, appropriate and combine in various different ways. How these theories have been applied to CS in CMC is discussed in the overview of research in the respective section (Section 2.3).

2.2.3.1 Gumperz: Code-switching and contextualization

The history of CS research in sociolinguistics is often dated from Blom and Gumperz's (1972) publication titled *Social meaning in linguistic structures: Code-switching in Norway* (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993; Rampton, 1995). Even though by 1972 the term CS was well attested in the literature, Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994: 389) point out that Gumperz's earliest publications on CS (especially Blom & Gumperz, 1972) mark "the beginning of the academic recognition of codeswitching as a legitimate and worthy object of sociolinguistic study''.

In this section, we will present some of the most crucial concept introduced by John J. Gumperz (1977, 1982), including the distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching, the distinction between 'we-code' and 'they-code', his classification of discourse functions of conversational code-switching and the notion of CS as a contextualization cue. Generally, in his studies, Gumperz focuses predominantly on minority languages and language usage in bilingual communities.

Gumperz' distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching

The concept of 'situational' and 'metaphorical' CS, their distinction and conceptual separation have been widely discussed in the CS literature, often serving as a point of departure for many researchers working on the topic. This functional distinction between 'situational' and 'metaphorical' CS was first introduced by Blom and Gumperz (1972) in their study of switching between standard and local dialects in the Norwegian village of Hemnesberget, showing the systematic communication of specific social information through CS. In their original model, further developed by Gumperz later, the two types of situational and metaphorical CS are dichotomous, while the dividing criterion between the two is either the presence or absence of intentionality in speakers' selections of codes. According to this model, metaphorical CS is basically intentional, while situational CS is defined as reaction of a speaker to changes in conversational setting, topic, or addressee (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). In other words, situational CS is considered to be tied to changes in the conversational situation and usually even caused by them.

In situational CS, there is a "a simple, almost one to one relationship between language usage and social context, so that each variety can be seen as having a distinct place or function within the local speech repertoire" (Gumperz 1982: 61). In this type of CS, code choice is governed by rules and norms which are known to all members of a speech community, and are used "automatically" (Gumperz, 1982: 61). Moreover, Gumperz (1982: 98) points out that in situational switching, "where a code or speech style is regularly associated with a certain class of activities, it comes to signify or connote them, so that its very use can signal the enactment of these activities even in the absence of other clear contextual cues", adding that "component messages are then interpreted in terms of the norms and symbolic associations that apply to the signalled activity". Consequently, situational CS is more likely to be inter-sentential (between sentences) than intra-sentential (within sentences). In addition to that, Goldbarg (2009: 2) concludes that "in situational switching, group membership indicators like gender, age and status, and social setting determine the appropriateness of a code choice or CS itself".

On the other hand, in metaphorical CS, which Gumperz (1982: 61) later encompassed under the term 'conversational code-switching', "the items in question form part of the same minimal speech act, and message elements are tied by syntactic and semantic relations equivalent to those that join passages in a single language, the relationship of language usage to social context is much more complex". In this regard, Gumperz (1982: 61; 1977: 3) explains that during the interaction itself, speakers are often quite unaware which code is used at any one time, adding that:

> Their main concern is with the communicative effect of what they are saying. Selection among linguistic alternants is automatic, not readily subject to conscious recall. The social norms or rules which govern language usage here, at first glance at least, seem to function much like grammatical rules. They form part of the underlying knowledge which speakers use to convey meaning. Rather than claiming that speakers use language in response to a fixed, predetermined set of prescriptions, it seems more reasonable to assume that they build on their own and their audience's abstract understanding of situational norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood.

Gumperz' distincion between 'we code' and 'they code' (CS and identity)

Generally, in terms of the empirical study of conversational CS, in his analysis, Gumperz (1982: 66) draws on the concept of identity, arguing that "grammatical distinctions which mark the bilinguals' two codes directly reflect or signal the contrasting cultural styles and standards of evaluation which they encounter in daily interaction''. For that reason, Gumperz (1977: 6; 1982: 66) largely distinguishes between 'we code' and 'they code', explaining that:

> The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the 'we code' and become associated with in-group and informal activities, while the majority language serves as the 'they code', associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations.

In this regard, Woolard (2004: 77) points out that "not all researchers agree that codeswitching always signals such a macrosocially informed contrast in identities'', adding that "the minority-within-minority is only one version of the bilingual community'', which is why Gumperz's model taking the minority ethnic group in a complex society as the prototype of the bilingual community does not fit well with certain societies (e.g. Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, etc.). However, Gumperz (1982: 66) also emphasises that this is not a universal model and it depends on the situation, explaining that "this association between communicative style and group identity is a symbolic one; it does not directly predict actual usage''. That being said, it is important to conclude that there is no necessary direct one-to-one relationship between the occurrence of a particular set of linguistic forms and a certain extralinguistic context (Gumperz, 1977: 6; 1982: 66). Therefore, the interpretation of exchanges and conversations in general largely depends on the discourse context, speaker's background knowledge and other factors. Even though most researchers agree with Gumperz that CS is "skilled communicative behavior that can be socially meaningful and can help accomplish interactional functions or goals'', where they differ is on "the questions of how such meaning is produced and processed, whether explanation must be culture-specific or involve universal principles'' (Woolard, 2004: 78).

In summary, Gumperz (1982) studied CS from an interactional perspective and described the use of multiple languages in the same interaction as a 'communicative resource' rather than a 'communicative deficit'.

Gumperz' notion of CS as a contextualization cue

Moving on to the another important concept, in Chapter 6 of his book on *Discourse Strategies*, Gumperz (1982) discusses the notion of contextualization, contextualization cues and contextualization conventions. With reference to its features, Gumperz (1982: 131) introduced the notion of code-switching practices as 'contextualization cues'; these are defined as "constellations of surface features of message form" which act as "the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and *how* each sentence relates to what precedes or follows".

In Gumperz's work, situational switches are fundamentally different from those that function as contextualization cues, as Hinrichs (2006: 43) points out, "they are consequences of changes within the conversational setup, and happen without the will of the participants". On the other hand, in the case of situational switches, certain activities or situations can become associated with certain code and, thus, the switch to a particular code may consequently signal "the enactment of these activities even in the absence of other clear contextual cues" (Gumperz, 1982: 98), as we have previously discussed above. In other words, contextualization cues frame or highlight information needed for interpretation and additionally, they provide clues to the underlying intentions of a message. Often, these are cues to what is left unsaid in a conversation.

Gumperz's classification of discourse functions of conversational code-switching

Presentation of Gumperz's classification of discourse functions of conversational CS is the subject of separate section on the Functions of and reasons for CS (Section 2.2.5.2), therefore, we will not discuss it here any further.

In terms of the limitations and **critiques** of Gumperz's models/ theories/ concepts presented above, some researchers draw attention particularly to the problem of unclear distinction between 'we code' and 'they code' (e.g. Sebba & Wootton, 1998; Woolard, 2004; Gafaranga, 2005). In addition to that, Woolard (2004: 77) points out that "even where researchers do agree that distinct we/they, in-group vs. out-group values are indexed by linguistic codes, they have cautioned against a priori assumptions about which code is the ''we code'' that speakers identify with most intimately''.

In their study of CS among British-born Caribbeans living in London, Sebba and Wootton (1998: 264) draw attention to the difficulties that researchers may encounter with regard to establishing which codes act as 'we code' and which as 'they code' in a particular speech community. Based on their data showing that both London English and London Jamaican can possibly serve as 'we codes' at different points of interaction, Sebba and Wootton (1998: 275) argue that "it is not possible to make a priori assumptions about which code carries the putative 'we' functions and which the putative 'they' functions''. In this regard, they conclude that such insights can only be gained if researchers do not assume that there is a fixed relationship between a certain social identity (e.g. in this case - Caribbean) and a particular language (e.g. London Jamaican).

According to Gafaranga (2005: 284), Gumperz's distinction between 'we code' and 'they code' is based on the assumption that speakers associate different codes (languages) with different (often ethnic) identities, originating from the perspective that language directly reflects society. However, Garafanga (2005: 290) believes that this approach to CS leads to certain drawbacks, as a clear distinction between the two codes in a given community is an oversimplification.

Despite certain shortcoming and limitations of Gumperz's framework of CS, particularly his concepts, his focus on communicative effect of CS provided the basis for future studies and the development of two further influential frameworks of analysis, namely Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (2.2.3.2) and Auer's conversation-analytic framework for the study of bilingual interaction (2.2.3.3).

2.2.3.2 Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model

The Markedness Model (MM) of language choice, developed and proposed by Carol Myers-Scotton (1993, 1998), in particular her concepts of code-switching as a marked (i.e. unexpected, unconventional) or unmarked (expected) choice, is one of the more complete sociolinguistic theories of CS motivations, also described as "an attempt at providing an overall theoretical explanation of the sociolinguistic and pragmatic aspects of codeswitching" (Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1994: 387). Based on a wide range of CS data from African settings (mainly Kenyan and Zimbabwean urban settings), MM has been widely applied in other contexts as well, becoming one of the dominant models used for explaining code-choice and CS in conversation.

Using data from multilingual African contexts; mostly from conversations studied in Kenya, in her book titled *Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*, Myers-Scotton (1993) argues that speakers use language choices to index Rights and Obligations (RO) Sets (i.e. the abstract social codes in operation between participants in a given interaction) and that for any communicative situation, there exists an unmarked (expected RO Set) and a marked (differential) one. In this sense, the model holds that in choosing a code, the speaker evaluates the markedness of their potential choices, determined by the social forces at work in their community, and subsequently decides either to follow or reject the normative model.

Adapting the view of CS as an interactional strategy, introduced by Gumperz (2.2.3.1), and modeled after Grice's (1975) 'co-operative principle', Markedness Model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993) is based on the 'negotiation principle' and on the maxims following from this principle, namely: the 'unmarked-choice maxim', the 'marked-choice maxim' and the 'exploratory-choice maxim'. In this regard, Myers-Scotton argues that speakers (language users) employ code choices rationally, establishing their social position based on the 'negotiation principle', underlying all code choices as follows: "Choose the form of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between the speaker and addressee for the current exchange" (1993: 113). In addition to that, Myers-Scotton (1993: 113) identifies also "two auxiliary maxims to the unmarked-

choice maxim, the 'virtuosity maxim' and the 'deference maxim', both directing the speaker toward seemingly marked choices''. Firstly, in terms of the Unmarked-Choice Maxim, the speaker is directed as follows: "Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set'' (1993: 114). Secondly, with regard to the Marked Choice Maxim, the speakers are directed to: "Make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange'' (1993: 131). Finally, according to the Exploratory Choice Maxim: "When an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favour'' (1993: 142).

Offering an up-to-date outline of the basic features of MM, expanding the previous discussion of the model mentioned earlier, in *A Theoretical Introduction to the Markedness Model*, Myers-Scotton (1998: 22) points out that the MM presupposes that as part of the speakers' linguistic capacity (or their general cognitive capacity), all of them have what she calls 'a markedness metric', also referred to as a 'markedness evaluator'. In other words, MM is based on the assumption that all the speakers have a 'markedness evaluator' which enables them to distinguish between marked and unmarked codes or language choices. In order to be able to conceptualise markedness as a part of any innate competence, speakers need to possess the potential capacity to develop two abilities (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 22):

(1) the ability to recognize that linguistic choices fall along a multidimensional continuum from more unmarked to more marked and that their ordering will vary, depending on the specific discourse type
(2) the ability to comprehend that marked choices will receive different receptions from unmarked choices

In addition to that, Myers-Scotton (1998) emphasises that in order to develop either of these abilities, exposure to the use of unmarked and marked choices in actual community discourse is required, comparing it to the way that the exposure to a language in use is required by a speaker acquiring its grammatical structures. In

terms of RO sets, Myers-Scotton (1998: 23) defines RO as "a theoretical construct for referring to what participants can expect in any given interaction type in their community''. In reference to some types of behaviour, Myers-Scotton (1998: 24) maintains that RO is another term for norms, codes of behaviour that are established and maintained by the social group. Furthermore, given the nature of markedness evaluator with regard to the maxims under the MM, Myers-Scotton (1998: 25-26) claims that "speakers make code choices with the following five maxims in mind'': The Unmarked Choice Maxim, The Marked Choice Maxim, The Exploratory Choice Maxim (already proposed and discussed in Myers-Scotton, 1993), Deference Maxim: "Switch to a code switch expresses deference to others when special respect is called for by the circumstances'' and Virtuosity Maxim: "Switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation/ accommodate the participation of all speakers present''.

Redrafting and modifying Elster's two-filter RA model, Myers-Scotton's MM is particularly based on Rational Choice Models, influenced by the work of philosopher Jon Elster (1989), who claims that people's actions are filtered by two separate processes before they occur (Myers-Scotton, 1999: 1260). During the first filter containing so-called structural constraints (e.g. social context factors such as the person's social identity features - age, sex, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, etc.) as well as the characteristics of the discourse situation (e.g. topic, setting), the speaker's opportunity set is formed (Myers-Scotton, 1998). The social and discourse structural features (a further type of structural constraints) influence the speaker's 'opportunity set' which is defined as the speaker's linguistic repertoire composed of a variety of languages, dialects and styles that the speaker is able to use. All the constraints that the first filter imposes - such as "whether the speaker's social identity features or situational variables or surface linguistic structural features of the interaction type or the specific conversational turn'' - are external, as the speaker does not have any direct control over them (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 34). Once these structural constraints of the first filter have established a set of possible choices and the speaker's opportunity set has been formed, the speaker gains the control over the interaction and is finally able to make conscious language choices (which codes to use). Subsequently, the second filter constitutes the moment in time where the

speaker consciously selects among the different options provided by the opportunity set (a set of possible choices formed during the first filter) (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 34). Moreover, the markedness evaluator can be seen as an additional filter which occurs between the structural constraints of the first filter and the rationality of the second filter (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 34). However, she adds that these elements further bias "the selection of alternatives from the initial, structurally determined opportunity set, this time in terms of 'success' or 'failures' based on the actor's previous factual experience, facts previously categorized in an unconscious cost-benefit analysis''. The key factor of the second filter is rationality, which Myers-Scotton (2001: 5) applies to the analysis of CS in a conversation, claiming that "speakers are rational in the sense that their choices depend largely on assessments of possible options in terms of a cost-benefit analysis that takes account of their own subjective motivations and their objective opportunities''. Thus, Myers-Scotton (1999: 1261) argues that the complex interplay of people's prior attitudes, beliefs and values on the one hand and their temporary aims and desires in a given interaction on the other hand is thus highlighted by the prior statement.

In conclusion, Myers-Scotton (1998) has proposed that the Markedness Model is applicable to all code choices at all levels of language, beyond the limits of code-switching, as in fact, MM was not originally developed as a model of CS but rather a model of rational choice. In addition to that, MM aims to offer a general theoretical model that can explain the 'socio-psychological' motivations behind CS in every multilingual community that makes use of CS (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 3).

Despite that, the Markedness Model has met with substantial criticism in the CS literature, drawing attention to its shortcomings. Firstly, many sociolinguists in particular have objected to the Markedness Model's suggestion that language choice is entirely rational (e.g. Auer, 1998; Woolard, 2004, Li, 2005). Secondly, proponents of the conversation analysis approach sharply criticised the Markedness Model for its adoption of Fishman's (1965, 1972) approach. Another criticism is that "the model works well with data collected in multilingual postcolonial contexts precisely on account of the close ties between individual languages (local, national, colonial) and corresponding identities that they index'' (Herbert, 1998: 251).

A cogent **critique** of Myer-Scotton's MM of code-switching can be found in Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994) publication titled *The ''Markedness Model'' and the absence of society: remark on code-switching*, where they conclude that:

> Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model at best indicates the instrument by means of which people can perform codeswitching: a capacity for distinguishing between 'normal' and 'abnormal' types of utterances. But the Markedness Model does not, and cannot explain how this relates to non-mentalist grounds, by absence of a theory of society. Only if language is given its place in relation to real speakers, real situations, in real communities, can sociolinguists and pragmatists shed light on how language functions within society, and on the phenomena that make language usage a social action. (1994: 416)

Even though the MM offers a framework for understanding how CS as a conversational strategy is applied in order to fulfil a specific communicative function (i.e. the negotiation of identities), Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994: 411) oppose to its assumption of commonness and universality (based on the observation that CS appears in many communities in similar ways), pointing out that MM rather constitutes "a micro-oriented approach to code-switching''. In addition to that, much of the Meeuwis and Blommaert's (1994: 417) criticism of Myers-Scotton's approach was due to "the disappearance of ethnographic specificity caused by the universalist ambitions of her model'', adding that "codeswitching is, and should remain, a society-specific communicative phenomenon, the details of which are not dispensable but crucial to an analysis''. Moreover, drawing on a study of CS among Zairians in Belgium, Blommaert and Meeuwis (1998) have further criticised the model for assuming monolingualism to be the normative point of reference in communication, arguing that MM is limited when it comes to its failure to take into account variability within languages (codes), describing only shifts from one code to another.

In a similar vein, in his review of Myers-Scotton's model, Walker (1997: 843) states that he finds it difficult to see how one could apply Myers-Scotton's MM to replicate her work, pointing to a fundamental contradiction in the MM arguing that

"the identification of the marked/unmarked choice remains purely subjective (and controversial)" and "the interpretations of the examples provided in the book seem rather post hoc". Additionally, Walker (1997: 843) maintains that the task of providing objective evidence of community patterns of use as the units of analysis is not sufficiently solved in the model.

Furthermore, Auer (1998) has criticised the Markedness Model for not adequately describing speakers' perceptions of their own behaviour. In this regard, he argues that when switching codes, speakers do not make reference to any pre-existing normative model but rather actively create and produce social meaning according to the particularities of the interaction.

On the other hand, Woolard (2004) has challenged Myers-Scotton's assumption that CS is strategic, suggesting that switching is not always a deliberate, or even conscious choice. According to Woolard's own research, speakers are not always aware of their code-switching in communicative interaction. Furthermore, she points out that "the theoretical concept that the markedness model clearly and usefully mobilizes is not actually markedness but rather indexicality", adding that for Myers-Scotton, "linguistic varieties are always socially indexical" (2004: 81). Therefore, Woolard (2004: 81) concludes that "marking as an active process may intersect with an established socially indexical meaning of a code, exploiting, undercutting, or amplifying it", believing that this intersection poses "the most interesting remaining problems for codeswitching studies".

With regard to the assumption of the MM that all speakers have an innate 'markedness evaluator' which allows them to evaluate which codes are marked and unmarked during any interaction, Li (2005: 376-377) argues that the MM only works if the analyst assumes that each individual will act rationally under all circumstances, choosing linguistic varieties according to a sort of 'cost-benefit analysis', thus pointing to one of the shortcomings of Myers-Scotton's analysis. Furthermore, the question of whether human action can be the outcome of conscious, cognitively-based calculation is also the subject of much debate in sociology.

2.2.3.3 Auer's conversation-analytic framework for the study of bilingual interaction

Thirdly, another important contribution to the study of CS, forming the frameworks within which the phenomenon of CS is studied, is the conversation-analytic framework for the study of bilingual interactions proposed by **Peter Auer** (1995, 1998, 1999, 2000) which builds on and develops some of Gumperz's ideas.

The sequentiality of code alternation

In *The pragmatics of code-switching: A sequential approach*, Auer (1995) claims to deal with CS in "a specific sense" (1995: 115), looking at bilingualism from the perspective of the conversationalist. Therefore, Auer (1995) proposes a theory of conversational code-alternation, which, as he claims, should be applicable to a wide range of conversational phenomena (including what can be found in the literature under such headings as CS, language choice, transfer/insertion etc.), as well as to very different bilingual communities and settings. Drawing on the theory of contextualization, Auer proposes a framework for analysing code-alternation, while emphasising that its meaning depends in essential ways on its 'sequential environment' (Auer: 1995: 116). In this regard, he points out that this environment is given, firstly "by the conversational turn immediately preceding it, to which code-alternation may respond in various ways", adding that "while the preceding verbal activities provide the contextual frame for a current utterance, the following utterance by a next participant reflects his or her interpretation of that preceding utterance" (Auer, 1995: 116). Moreover:

> If we look upon code-alternation as a contextualisation cue, it is but one of an array of devices such as intonation, rhythm, gesture or posture which are used in the situated production and interpretation of language. Code-alternation works in many ways just like these other cues, a fact that calls for a uniform analysis. Treating code-alternation as a contextualisation cue also explains why the functions of this cue are often taken over by prosodic or gestural cues in monolingual conversation. (Auer, 1995: 123)

Hence, following sequential analysis, Auer (1995) argues that the social motivation behind CS depends on the way code-switching is structured and managed in the conversational interaction, addressing the question of how it occurs in the first place. Based on the sequential implications of CS, speaker's language choice for a conversational turn (or its part) impacts the following choices of language by the speaker as well as the hearer.

Furthermore, Auer (1995: 125) distinguishes between 'discourse-related code-switching' and 'preference-related' switching (also later referred to as 'participant-related code-alternation'). In terms of the first type, Auer (1995: 125) points out that the use of discourse-related CS "contributes to the organisation of discourse in that particular episode'', by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance. In this regard, Androutsopoulos (2013: 669) noticed that "its subtypes partially overlap with those by Gumperz, one important addition being the focus on CS as a device for the internal organization of conversational turns''. In contrary to the first type of switching, 'preference-related' CS "tells us first something about speakers' 'preferences' for one language or the other, i.e., instead of redefining the discourse, it permits assessments of/by participants'' (Auer, 1995: 125). With regard to this type of switching, Auer goes further by saying that by preference-related CS, "a speaker may simply want to avoid the language in which he or she feels insecure and speak the one in which he or she has greater competence'' or alternatively, its use may also be due to "a deliberate decision based on political considerations'' (Auer, 1995: 125). In summary, Auer (1995: 126) points out that the 'cross-cutting dichotomies' of 'discourse-related' vs. 'participant-related' code alternation on the one hand, and CS vs. transfer on the other, provide "a theory for the ways in which code-alternation may become meaningful as a contextualisation cue''.

In conclusion, Auer (1995: 132) suggests that code-switching does not simply reflect social situations, but that it is a means to create social situations; with regard to the social meaning of code-alternation, he adds that "in a given bilingual speech community, the conversational patterns of code-alternation and indeed the local meaning given to an instance of code-alternation in a particular context will vary as a function of the status of the codes in the repertoire of the community''.

Code-switching in bilingual conversation

Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity (1998a) brings together contributions from a variety of interaction-oriented investigations locating bilingual practices in a wide range of sociolinguistic settings in which the phenomenon of code-switching is observed, including the data representing very different language pairs (English/Spanish in Gibraltar, English/Chinese in the UK, London English/ London Jamaican English, British English/Hindi-Urdu, Italian/ French and German/Italian in Switzerland, Italian/Sicilian, Turkish/Danish, Swahili/ French and Lingala/French in Belgium, Hebrew/English in Israel, etc.). Drawing on linguistics, anthropological and socio-psychological research, the contributors move towards "a more realistic conception of bilingual conversation action" (Auer, 1998a). In *Introduction: Bilingual Conversation revisited* (1998b), Auer, the editor of the volume under review here, maintains that the present volume is "devoted to the study of code-switching as (part of a) verbal action", adding that "as such, CS has and creates communicative and social meaning, and is in need of an interpretation by co-participants as well as analysts" (Auer, 1998b: 1).

Overall, the volume represents in-depth discussion of a conversation analysis approach to CS, setting the conversational context (which it both shapes and responds to) as the primary unit of analysis, arguing that the analysis of CS needs to go no further than that local context for understanding meaning expressed through CS. Secondly, another point is brought in the volume according to which a local conversational analysis allows for an interpretation of CS phenomena from the perspective of the speakers as opposed to that of the analyst per se through an analysis of interlocutor response. Hence, in summary, what Auer (1998b: 2) considers to be a contribution of this volume to the research on bilingualism and CS is particularly "both the insistence on the conversational dimension of code-switching and the insistence on reconstructing participants' categories instead of imposing external linguistic or sociolinguistic ones on them".

In terms of the conversational structure of CS and its social and cultural embeddedness, Auer (1998b: 3) sums up that:

(a) CS is related to and indicative of group membership in particular types of bilingual speech communities, therefore the regularities of the CS between two or more languages within one conversation may vary to a considerable degree between speech communities

(b) intra-sentential CS (where it occurs) is constrained by syntactic and morphosyntactic considerations which may or may not be of a universal kind

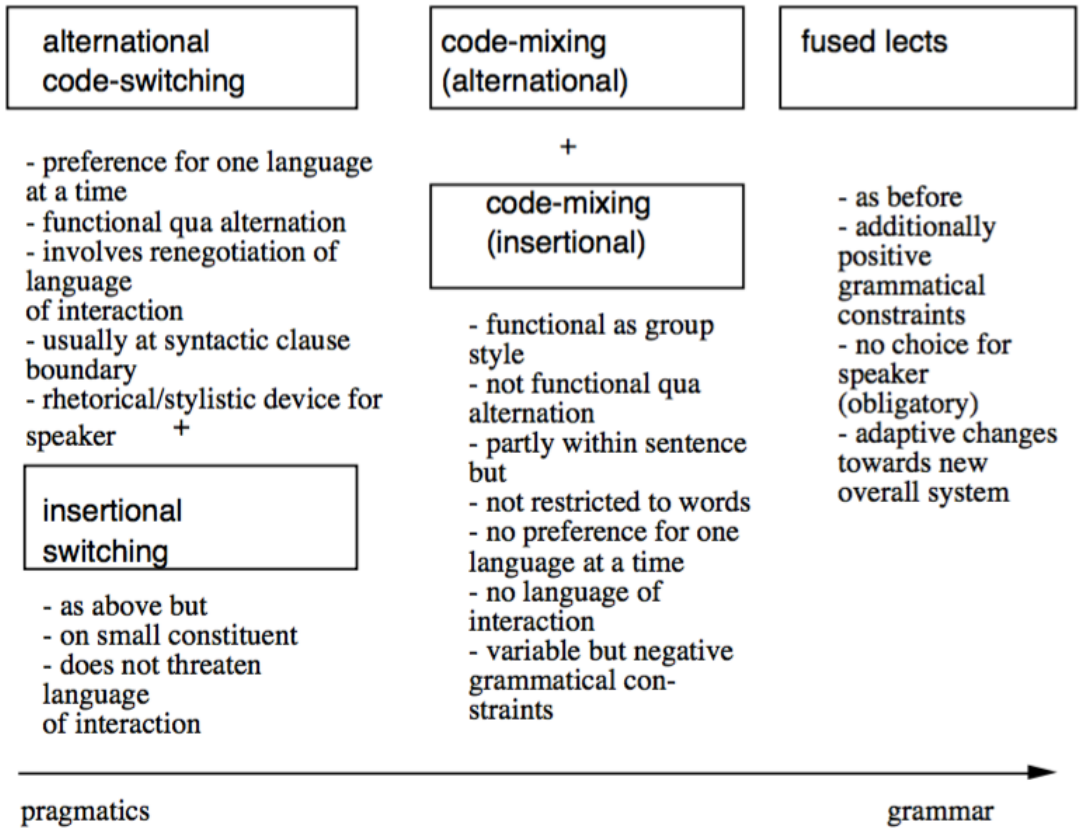
Moreover, drawing on *Bilingual Conversation* (Auer: 1984), as the background of the discussion in the present volume, the notion of a 'language negotiation sequence' is "supposed to capture all those stretches of talk in which participants do not agree on one common language-of-interaction" (Auer, 1998b: 8). In addition to that, he also points out that in contrast with 'discourse-related switching', where "the new language prototypically evokes a new 'frame' or 'footing' for the interaction which is then shared by all participants, preference-related switching results in more or less persistent phases of divergent language choices" (Auer, 1998b: 8). Even though discourse- and preference- (participant-) related switching are not strictly separated, there are certain differences between them, which have previously been discussed above.

Towards a dynamic typology of bilingual speech

In *From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech*, Auer (1999) presents a continuum of language alternation phenomenon which "spans out between three well-documented cases (conceived as prototypes)", labelled "code-switching (CS), language mixing (LM) and fused lects (FLs)" (Auer, 1999: 1). In this regard, Auer (1999: 22) argues that these "three forms of the juxtaposition of two varieties or languages in bilingual speech should be distinguished", with "CS and FLs representing the polar extremes of the continuum and LM a point inbetween" (Auer, 1999: 1). Following Myers-Scotton's (1988: 165) suggestion that "overall switching as an unmarked choice seems to be the first step to what has been called the development of a semi-autonomous 'Mix' " (referred to as the 'fused variety' in Myers-Scotton, 1988: 158), Auer's (1999: 1) particular focus is on the transitions, CS->LM and LM->FL.

Furthermore, Auer (1999) distinguishes between four types of language alternation, namely: insertional switching, insertional mixing, alternational switching and alternational mixing. The diagram (Figure 7) below summarises their main features (Auer, 1999: 21).

Figure 7: Auer's four types of language alternation and their main features



Source: Auer (1999: 21)

In terms of their definitions, Auer (1999: 5) describes the alternational type of CS as "one in which a return after the switch into the previous language is not predictable'', while in the case of insertional type this is not the case. Therefore, with regard to the insertional type of switching, Auer (1999: 5) further points out that:

> In this type of switching, a content word (noun, verb, rarely adjective/adverb) is inserted into a surrounding passage in the other language. As in alternational switching, participants show an orientation towards the 'other-languageness' of

> the insertion, either by deriving some particular interactional meaning from it, or by relating it to the speaker´s (momentary) incompetence in the established language-of-interaction. In both cases, prosodic cues (extra emphasis, preceding pause) and verbal markers (metalinguistic comments, hesitation) may serve to underline the juxtaposition and turn it into a locally noticeable phenomenon.

In addition to that, Auer (1999: 5) adds that "the insertion may be morphosyntactically fully integrated; or it may carry over grammatical elements into the receiving language" and "the communicative function of insertions (and their status as CS) does not depend on its grammatical format". Moreover, in conclusion, Auer (1999: 22) makes a clear distinction between the three prototypes - types of language alternation - maintaining that:

> CS presupposes liberty of the individual speaker, it is a contextualization device which can be used in creative ways by participants; FLs, on the other hand, presuppose positive structural regularities. Code-mixing is a frequent type of bilingual speech between these two extremes in which the juxtaposition of the two languages lacks pragmatic-stylistic function and in which grammatical structure not-yet sedimentated.

The 'base language' of a bilingual conversation

Moving on, in *Why should we and how can we determine the 'base language' of a bilingual conversation?*, Auer (2000) discusses "the limits of analysts abilities to attribute a given stretch of bilingual talk to language A or language B - i.e. to determine a 'base language' at all" (Auer, 2000: 129). In this sense, Language A is often called the 'base language' or the 'matrix language' (in the more grammatically-oriented approaches); also referred to by Auer (2000: 130) as the 'language of interaction'. Moreover, using an interpretive approach to CS, a great attention is paid to a distinction between linguists and participants' identifications of languages. In terms of determining the base language (and its distinction from the matrix language), various definitions have been proposed in the literature. According to

Auer (2000: 133), "the (seemingly) most simple way of defining the base language for a given interactional episode, or a relevant exchange within it, is the quantitative dominance of one language over the other, established by counting words or morphemes''. Such counting can also be done on the level of the clause or sentence likewise (Nortier, 1990). However, in order to use this approach of 'quantitative definition', establishing the unit of counting beforehand - prior to actual quantification - is required, which "in turn, means that in practice, the base language is not determined by the quantitative criterion alone but rather by an interpretation of language choices documented in the material at hand'' (Auer, 2000: 133). Secondly, another unsatisfactory way of determining the base language is to define it as "the language in which participants are more proficient (e.g., their 'first language')'', as that would possibly lead to "the somewhat absurd conclusion'' (Auer, 2000: 133). In summary, Auer (2000: 134) points out that "there is no satisfactory way of establishing the base language either quantitatively or conversation externally (such as speakers' proficiency or socially unmarked language choice)''.

When it comes to the importance of determining the base language, it is interesting to note that, in an article explicitly titled *Why should we and how can we determine the 'base language' of a bilingual conversation?*, Auer (2000) does not explicitly address the 'why' component. In this regard, Gafaranga (2018: 50) notices that "this lack of any particular attention to the 'why' component of the question is not surprising given his other statement that he intends to ignore the 'macroscopic level of the base language of a whole episode or a major part of it' (Auer, 2000: 137) and examine language alternation on a turn-by-turn basis''. However, Auer (2000: 130) argues in the introduction to the article in question that "many researchers [...] feel the need to state that a given bilingual stretch of conversation is 'basically' in language A although elements of language B are also present in some way or other within it''. In addition to that, he also points out that "determining the 'base language' of an interaction is a matter of permanent concern for bilingual participants themselves who usually deal with it as part of the background business of making the conversation work'' (Auer, 2000: 130). In conclusion, Gafaranga (2018: 50) maintains that "the overall order model foregrounds the importance of the base code both for analysts and for participants themselves''.

Critique

Even though Auer's Conversation Analysis (CA) approach has been widely applied in CS research, particularly due to its emphasis on the sequential, turn-by-turn analysis of bilingual interactions, there have been some critiques as well.

Firstly, addressing some of the criticisms that have been leveled against the CA approach to bilingual interaction, Li (2002: 159-160) points out that one of the problems is the technical concept of 'preference' in CA, which as he claims "has often been wrongly equated with the attitudinal notion of liking, acts of compliance, or the grammatical construction of affirmatives''. Moreover, the CA approach has been also criticised for its preoccupation, or in other words, "apparent overemphasis on transcription techniques and minute details of conversational turn-taking, often without any attempt to explain the speakers' motivations for their language choices'' (Li, 2002: 160; Myers-Scotton, 1999; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001). In addition to overly focusing on transcription conventions which can be regarded as unnecessary as all transcripts are subjective, CA approach has also been described as "atheoretical, empiricist, or circumstantial, and even as bordering on being trivial'' (Li, 2002: 160), criticising the analysts' inability "to explain their rationale systematically and explicitly'' and contextualize their work within "a broader sociolinguistic theoretical framework'' (Li, 2002: 160), while "obsessing with the details of its material'' (Li, 2002: 171). Moreover, in terms of the further criticism of the CA approach to bilingual interaction, Li (2002: 170-171) summarises that:

> Specifically, the CA approach to bilingual interaction has been criticized for neglecting aspects of the wider social context (e.g., who participants are in demographic, social-network, and even ethnographic terms), the socio-psychological associations and therefore the social messages that a particular linguistic choice carries, and the speaker's motivations.

However, even despite the criticism presented above, Li (2002: 177) concludes that "CA goes beyond methodology; it is a theory of a different kind, an ideology and a worldview that cannot be overlooked, trivialized, or dismissed''.

2.2.4 Types and forms of CS: Grammatical theories of CS

In terms of types and forms of CS, there are numerous taxonomies of CS in the literature, both formal and functional (e.g. Auer, 1984, 1999; Jacobson, 1998; Muysken, 2000, etc.). However, not all of them will be reviewed and discussed here due to the lack of space. In general, most CS studies have identified various types of CS. Based on the position in a sentence or a clause, CS can be structurally divided, leading to a syntactic distinction between the following two basic types of switching:

- **Inter-sentential switching** (sometimes also called 'extra-sentential switching')
  This type of switching occurs outside the sentence or the clause level (i.e. at sentence or clause boundaries).
- **Intra-sentential switching**
  This type of switching occurs within a sentence or a clause.

In addition to that, the following two more types of switches can be further distinguished as well:

- **Tag-switching**
  It is a switching of either a tag phrase or a word, or both, from one language to another, which is common in intra-sentential switches.
- **Intra-word switching**
  This type of switching occurs within a word itself, such as at a morpheme boundary.

In summary, CS may take place at any level of linguistic structure (outside of the sentence, within a single sentence, within a constituent and even within a word). In line with this classification, Gumperz (1977: 1-2) argues that "most frequently the alternation takes the form of two subsequent sentences, as when a speaker uses a second language either to reiterate his message or to reply to someone else's statement", adding that "often code-switching also takes place within a single sentence". Additionally, in CMC discourse we can find conversational CS and non-conversational CS (edited and published by a single author).

Furthermore, as can be seen from the previous section on the frameworks within which the phenomenon of CS has been investigated, scholars use different names for various types of code-switching. For example, Auer (1999) distinguishes between four types of language alternation (note: the term is used by Auer as an alternative for CS), namely: insertional switching, insertional mixing, alternational switching and alternational mixing (further discussed in Section 2.2.3.3).

As we have already pointed out before, the phenomenon of CS has been studied mainly from two perspectives, i.e. grammatical/syntactic on the one hand and pragmatic/discourse/sociolinguistic on the other. Hence, in terms of the syntactic distinction between inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching as the main types of CS, it is worth noting that while the former has been mainly studied within the sociolinguistic field, the latter is arguably of greater interest to researchers (particularly the ones applying the grammatical approach to the study CS), as "it is only there that the two grammars are in contact" (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 1995), often creating many hybrid grammatical structures that require deeper analysis. In terms of intra-sentential CS, it can be further divided (Auer, 1999, Winford, 2003) as:

- **Alternational switching** (a type of switching where a new grammar emerges as a combination of the grammars of the 2 languages involved)
- **Insertional switching** (a type of switching which involves the insertion of elements from one language into the morphosyntactic frame of the other)

Grammatical theories of CS

In terms of studying the syntactic and morphological patterns of language alternation (CS in particular), linguists have postulated specific grammatical rules and syntactic boundaries for where CS may possibly occur. With regard to the grammatical theories of CS (as well as the various grammatical constraints on CS) that have been proposed in the literature, three of them will be briefly reviewed in this section. These include: Poplack's (1980) Free Morpheme and Equivalence Constraints Model, Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Frame Model and Muysken's (2000) Typology of Code-Mixing.

2.2.4.1 Poplack's Free Morpheme and Equivalence Constraints Model

When studying the morphological and syntactic patterns of language alternation, one of the best known and recognised grammatical theories of CS is Shana Poplack's (1980) model of CS, proposed as the theory of underlying grammatical principles; constraints on CS. According to this model, CS is subject to two constraints in particular: the 'free-morpheme constraint' and the 'equivalence constraint', which, as she claims, are universally applicable.

In *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en Espanol: toward a typology of code-switching*, Poplack (1980) presents the study of CS among a sample of 20 bilingual Puerto-Ricans in New York City, third-generation speakers of both Spanish and English, analysing their speech. Based on this study:

The free-morpheme constraint stipulates that "codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme'' (Poplack, 1980: 585-586). Additionally, Poplack (1980: 586) claims that the free-morpheme constraint "holds true for all linguistic levels but the phonological''. Therefore, in other words, CS may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme. Such an example is the item below, where the Spanish bound morpheme -iendo ('-ing') is affixed to the English root 'eat' (Poplack, 1980: 586):

e.g.. *EAT - iendo ('eating')

Overall, this constraint can account for idiomatic expressions, such as the following (English-Spanish) example used by Poplack (1980: 586): "*cross my fingers [sic] and hope to die* and *si Dios quiere y /a virgen* (God and the virgin willing) which are considered to behave like bound morphemes in that they show a strong tendency to be uttered monolingually''. Similarly, this also includes CS involving set phrases (greetings, excuses) and discourse elements (for example, you know, I mean). In effect, free-morpheme constraint distinguishes CS from borrowing. Generally speaking, borrowing occurs on the level of the lexicon, while CS occurs at either the syntactic level or the utterance-construction level.

The equivalence constraint predicts that "code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other" (Poplack, 1980: 586). Therefore, according to this constraint, "a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by the other" (Poplack, 1980: 586). Therefore, in other words, a bilingual speaker implicitly obeys the syntactic rules imposed by the respective grammars of both languages (which means that, according to this model, shared rules apply to the use of particular lexical items or language constituents) and will only make a switch from one code to the other at points where that switch will not violate the rules of either grammar. Such an example of this type of switch can be found in the title of this Poplack's paper:

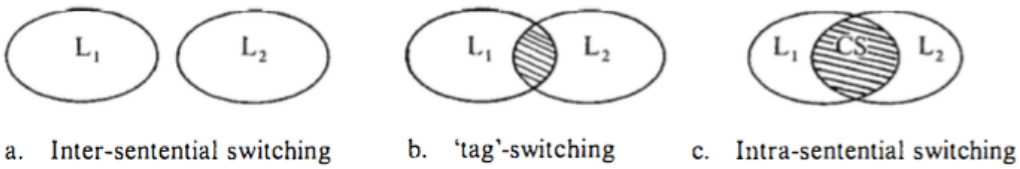
e.g. 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL [sic]
('and finish in Spanish').

Here, the switch is made at a point in the sentence where the Spanish subordinate clause 'Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL' does not violate the grammatical rules of English. The Spanish verb 'terminar' is correctly inflected ('termino' – 1st person singular, present indicative), as the English verb 'to finish' would be (i.e. "I finish"), if the clause was uttered in English only. The grammar of the subordinate clause does not violate any grammatical rules of Spanish, even if the entire sentence was uttered solely in Spanish.

Furthermore, Poplack (1980) identifies three different types of CS (Figure 8 below), "each characterized by switches of different levels of constituents, and each reflecting different degrees of bilingual ability" (Poplack, 1980: 613). Those are namely: **tag-switching** (emblematic CS), **inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching** (intimate CS). In this regard, Poplack (1980: 590) points out that:

> The speaker may engage in both intimate (intra-sentential) and emblematic switching, regardless of her competence in the two languages, thereby running the risk of rendering utterances which will be ungrammatical for L1, L2 or both (and hence providing a principled basis for the claim that code-switching represents a deviation from some norm).

<u>Figure 8</u>: Poplack's representation of bilingual CS grammars (Types of CS)



a. Inter-sentential switching b. 'tag'-switching c. Intra-sentential switching

In terms of intra-sentential switching, Poplack (1980: 589) refers to it as "a more complex or 'intimate' type, since a code-switched segment, and those around it, must conform to the underlying syntactic rules of two languages which bridge constituents and link them together grammatically". The analysis revealed that those speakers with the greatest degree of bilingual ability (so called 'true' bilinguals) most favour intra-sentential CS (Poplack, 1980: 613), which is 'striking' as "precisely those switch types which have traditionally been considered most deviant by investigators and educators, those which occur within a single sentence, are the ones which require the most skill" (Poplack, 1980: 615).

On the other hand, another, less 'intimate' type of switching is "characterized by relatively more tag switches and single noun switches", which are "often heavily loaded in ethnic content and would be placed low on a scale of translatability" (Poplack, 1980: 589). An example of this type of switch would be the following: e.g. *Vendia arroz (He sold rice)* *<u>'N SHIT</u>*. (Poplack, 1980: 589), even though many scholars do not consider this kind of switches to represent true instances of CS, but rather to constitute an emblematic part of the speaker's monolingual style (e.g. Gumperz et al., 1971). In terms of definition, Poplack (1980: 589) describes tags as "freely moveable constituents which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule".

In summary, incorporating both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors into a single analytical model to account for CS performance, Poplack (1980) identified the linguistic constraints on this phenomenon (the free-morpheme and equivalence constraints) based on which the analysis was carried out. Overall, Poplack (1980: 615 - 616) concludes that CS behaviour may be used to "measure bilingual ability" and in that sense, CS "rather than representing deviant behaviour, is actually a suggestive indicator of degree of bilingual competence".

2.2.4.2 Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model

Carol Myers-Scotton's (1992, 1993) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model deals with insertional CS, distinguishing between a recipient language (**Matrix Language** - ML) and a donor language (**Embedded Language** - EL). When an intra-sentential CS occurs, the distribution of these two languages is asymmetrical. A ML can be the first language of the speaker or the language in which the morphemes or words are more frequently used in a communication. In this sense, the dominant language is the ML and the other is the EL. According to this model, which stems from the idea that CS takes place within a frame set by the Matrix Language, after which it is also named, ML is defined as "the language which sets the morphosyntactic frame for codeswitching utterances" and "can be identified on the basis of relative frequency of morphemes" (Myers-Scotton, 1992: 19). Frequency is one of the main criteria when identifying the ML in CS utterances. Identifying the ML and the EL in CS utterances objectively is essential, and that is why the frequency metric was proposed. Based on this metric:

> The ML is the language of more morphemes in the type of discourse where the conversation in question occurs, if cultural borrowings for new objects or concepts are excluded from the morpheme count. (Myers-Scotton, 1992: 22)

The MLF Model proposes that there are 2 hierarchies which shape CS utterances, especially in situations when constituents consisting of morphemes from both languages (ML and EL constituents) are produced (Myers-Scotton, 1992: 22). The model also identifies 3 types of CS constituents, governed by related constraints, namely: a) ML + EL constituents, b) ML islands and c) EL islands (Myers-Scotton, 1992: 22-23). In addition to that, the MLF Model is framed by 3 central hypotheses (further discussed in Myers-Scotton, 1992: 24-28): The Matrix Language (ML) Hypothesis, The Blocking Hypothesis and The EL Trigger Hypothesis. In the sense of 'markedness' (also proposed by Myers-Scotton, 1988), the ML is typically the more unmarked choice for the interaction, however, "there are interactions where codeswitching itself is the unmarked choice" (Myers-Scotton, 1992: 22).

Using the content vs. system morpheme distinction, Myers-Scotton (1993:83) proposed two principles to identify the ML in bilingual CPs (units of analysis):

- **The Morpheme-Order Principle**: In ML+EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order will be that of ML.
- **The System Morpheme Principle**: In ML+EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent will come from the ML

In term of defining (and determining) the ML as opposed to the 'base language', Nortier (1990: 158) argues that terminological distinction is made between the 'base language' of an entire conversational episode (or an interactionally relevant section of it) from the 'matrix language' of a sentence (or a similar minimal syntactic unit). As Auer (2000: 130) points out, this makes sense as "for within a conversation in language A, there may occur one or more 'sentences' in language B, which, in turn, may contain smaller elements or language A", hence "the base language may accommodate changing matrix language". While the concept of the base language has already been discussed before (Section 2.2.3.3), the concept of a ML is linked to certain grammatical assumptions about the processing of sentences by bilingual speakers (referred to by Milroy & Muysken, 1995: 180 as 'insertional'). However, further discussion of the 'insertional' approaches and models for determining the ML of a sentence/clause is out of scope of this thesis. In short, according to some models, the first word of the sentence or clause determines the ML (e.g. Joshi, 1985), however, more widespread are approaches in which the ML by definition determines word order or the choice of grammatical elements in the sentence - the 'system morphemes' (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

In conclusion, Myers-Scotton's MLF Model is perhaps the most detailed model involving the contrast between lexical and functional properties. Here, "structural constraints on CS result from a complex interaction between a dominant matrix language and the prohibition against embedding 'system' morphemes from the 'embedded' language in matrix language structure" (Poplack, 2001: 2063).

2.2.4.3 Muysken's Typology of Code-Mixing

In *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of Code-Mixing*, Muysken (2000) provides a detailed theoretical model (focusing predominantly on grammar/ grammatical patterns), distinguishing between the following "three basic processes" which are "constrained by different structural conditions, and are operant to a different extent and in different ways in specific bilingual settings" (Muysken, 2000: 3):

1. **Insertion** of material (lexical items or entire constituents) from one language into a structure from the other language
2. **Alternation** between the structures of the two languages
3. **Congruent lexicalization** (CL) of material from different lexicons (lexical inventories) into a shared grammatical structure

Firstly, it is important to point out that Muysken (2000) uses the term 'code-mixing' (CM) to refer to "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence", restricting the term 'code-switching' (CS) to a subset of CM. In addition to that, he emphasises that the three processes described above correspond to "dominant models for code mixing that have been proposed" (Muysken, 2000: 3). In general, his theory revolves around the idea that there are the three different (above-mentioned) forms of CM.

In terms of Insertion (Chapter 3 in *Bilingual Speech*), using approaches that depart from the notion of 'insertion' (associated with Myers-Scotton, 1993), viewing the constraints in terms of the structural properties of some base or matrix structure, Muysken (2000) examines the grammatical dimension of insertional CM, uniting lexical borrowing, nonce borrowing and constituent insertion, claiming that they "all fall within the same general class and are subject to the same conditions" (Muysken, 2000: 60). In insertion, one language is the matrix language (ML) into which short constituents of a second language – the embedded language (EL) – are inserted. In terms of determining the ML, Muysken (2000: 68) concludes that problems are empirical rather than theoretical.

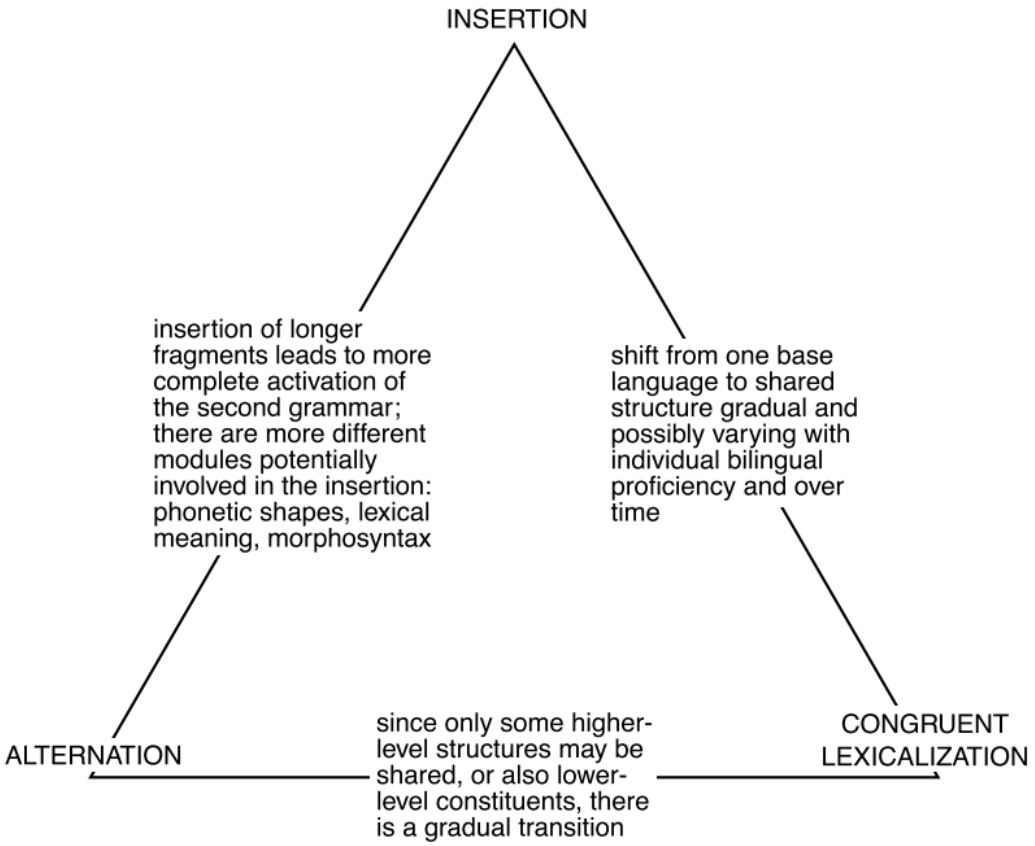
With regard to Alternation (Chapter 4 in *Bilingual Speech*), using approaches departing from 'alternation' (associated with Poplack, 1980), viewing the constraints on mixing in terms of the compatibility or equivalence of the languages involved at the switch point, Muysken (2000) discusses the properties of alternational CM, which (unlike insertion) involves the switch of longer, more complex elements, typically multi-word constituents in a non-nested sequence. Moreover, the distinction made between alternation and insertion here corresponds to Auer's (1995: 126) distinction between CS and transfer. Alternation, as defined by Muysken (2000: 96) is "very common strategy of mixing, in which the two languages present in the clause remain relatively separate". In alternation, there is no dominant language, as the grammatical frame of both languages is used to create a sentence. At the switch point, the speaker will leave one language system entirely to enter another instead of inserting constituents into the frame of one dominant ML.

Lastly, when it comes to Congruent Lexicalization (Chapter 5), Muysken (2000) examines the consequences of CM for grammatical convergence and linguistic variation, arguing that unlike insertion and alternation, which impose strict grammatical requirements on CM, "anything goes" in CL (Muysken, 2000: 128). Constituents may be single or multiple (or not even constituents at all) and may belong to any category (lexical or functional). As Poplack and Walker (2003: 680) point out, "CL is bidirectional, characterized by back-and-forth switching and the existence of 'diamorphs' (words that are homophonous in the two languages)".

In summary, according to Muysken (2000: 9) "the three types of code-mixing can be conveniently viewed in terms of a triangle", which shows that they are not meant to be isolated entities, as each of them will have some overlap with the next depending on the language-contact situation, as illustrated by the figure in the following page (Figure 9).

In their review of Muysken's *Bilingual speech* (2000), Poplack and Walker (2003: 678) describe the book as "the culmination of over twenty years of efforts to make sense of the diverse and often contradictory CM literature, viewed through the lens of tripartite division of CM that Muysken views as his 'main contribution' ".

<u>Figure 9:</u> Muysken's Schematic representation of the three main styles of code-mixing and transitions between them



Source: Muysken (2000: 9)

2.2.5 Functions of and reasons for CS

Based on (as well as in addition to) the previously-discussed theories of code-switching, but moving towards examining the particular functions of and reasons for CS identified in the literature, this section presents the most widely-referred to ones, including the discussion of their critiques at the end.

2.2.5.1 Myers-Scotton's 'social motivations'

According to Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (further discussed in Section 2.2.3.2), speakers exploit the socio-psychological values associated with linguistic varieties in the speech community. Based on her model (Myers-Scotton, 1993, 1998), there are in fact the following four possible functions or, to use Myers-Scotton's term, 'social motivations' for switching:

(1) CS as an unmarked choice due to changes in situational factors
(2) CS as an unmarked choice when a speaker wants to indicate the identities associated with both languages
(3) CS as a marked choice to renegotiate social distance between speakers
(4) CS as an exploratory choice when the speaker is unsure of the best language choice

Discourse function of CS (CS as a contextualization cue)

In terms of discourse functions of code-switching, the classifications by Gumperz (1977, 1982) and Auer (1995) are widely used in the literature (e.g. by Androutsopoulos, 2006b, 2007a; Sebba, 2003; Paolillo, 1996, etc.). Both refer to CS as a contextualization cue, i.e., "a resource used by participants to frame their interpretations of what is being said" (Androutsopoulos, 2013: 669). According to Auer (1999: 2), "in CS, the contrast between one code and the other (for instance, one language and another) is meaningful, and can be interpreted by participants, as indexing (contextualizing) either some aspects of the situation (discourse-related switching), or some feature of the code-switching speaker (participant-related switching)".

2.2.5.2 Gumperz's classification of discourse functions of CS

Based on the analysis of tape-recorded conversations from three different bilingual situations, with these language pairs in question: Spanish - English, Hindi - English, and Slovenian - German, Gumperz (1977) found that switching serves roughly similar functions in all these situations and therefore "a single preliminary typology can be set up which holds across languages" (Gumperz, 1977: 14; Gumperz, 1982: 75). Code-switches can be classified according to the kind of contextual information they add and the conversational loci in which they occur. In *The Sociolinguistic Significance of Conversational Code-Switching,* Gumperz (1977: 14-21), identifies the following six different conversational functions of CS:

1. **Quotations** (direct quotations or switching for reported speech)
2. **Addressee Specification**
   - the switch serves to direct the message to one of several possible addressees
3. **Interjections**
   - the code switch serves to mark an interjection or sentence filler
4. **Repetition** (clarification, emphasis, expressivity)
   - frequently a message is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form
   - in some cases such repetitions may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasise a message
5. **Message Qualification** (e.g., separating facts from comments)
   - a large group of switches consisting of such qualifying constructions as sentences and verb complements or as predicates following a copula
6. **Personalization versus Objectivization**

   Finally, with regard to the last categories, Gumperz (1977: 18) argues that "in a very large group of instances function is somewhat more difficult to specify in purely descriptive terms" as "the code contrast (here) seems to relate to such things as: the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, refers to specific instances or whether it has the authority of generally known fact".

The same six different types or CS functions were cited in Gumperz's (1982) *Discourse Strategies*, when referring to metaphorical codeswitches in particular (1982: 75). This list has been "adopted and adapted many times in studies of CS'' (Hinrichs, 2006: 62), especially in the ones focusing on the concept of the contextualization cue. Moreover, in conclusion, Gumperz (1982: 81-82) argues that the possibility to isolate conversational functions of CS (such as those listed above) serves as the first step of analysis in terms of providing a set of categories that can be employed, further pointing out that:

> The above list, although by no means exhaustive, illustrates some of the most common uses of code switching. The range of interpretations that results is much greater than one would expect from speakers' descriptions of language usage in terms of the simple 'we' and 'they' dichotomy. What is conveyed varies greatly with context and discourse content. Yet the same kinds of uses or functions tend to recur in what on both linguistic and social grounds are quite distinct situations.

In addition to that, Gumperz (1982: 82) neither claims that this list of functions can by itself explain "what the linguistic bases of listeners' perceptions are and how they affect the interpretation process''.

In terms of critiques, Myers-Scotton (1993: 63) criticizes Gumperz' interactional-interpretive perspective on CS for merely representing "a better-taxonomy approach'', whose "favorite method of presentation is to use an open-ended listing of 'functions' with examples, with a final disclaimer to the effect that "there are many other functions as well''. Furthermore, Myers-Scotton (1993) calls for more systematic theory formation for the study of CS which can establish "universally applicable explanatory and predictive principles underlying the sociopragmatic motivations for codeswitching'' (Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1994: 389).

2.2.5.3 Auer's typologies of code-switching

Drawing on the previous classification of discourse functions of CS proposed by Gumperz (1977, 1982), Auer (1995) refined the list of categories and argued for the inclusion of some additional/ different types (1995: 120). In contrast with Fishman's (1971) approach (i.e. the theory of the conversational meaning of code-alternation based on the associations between specific speech activities and specific languages), Auer (1995: 119) proposes an alternative approach to code-alternation (CS) consisting of "analysing the signalling value of the juxtaposition of languages and deriving the conversational meaning of code-alternation from it". For Auer (1995: 120), the crucial question is: "In which activities do bilinguals tend to switch from one language into the other''. In order to answer this question, Auer (1995: 120) presents the following 'typologies of code-switching' developed by researchers working on code-alternation:

1. **Reported speech**
2. **Change of participant constellation**
   - particularly addressee selection (including the use of CS in order to include/ exclude/ marginalise co-participants or bystanders)
3. **Parentheses or side-comments**
4. **Reiterations, i.e. quasi-translations into the other language**
   - i.e. for the purpose of putting emphasis on demands or requests
     for purposes of clarification
     for attracting attention
   - e.g. in the regulation of turn-taking - also referred to as 'translations', 'repetitions', or 'recycling'
5. **Change of activity type** (also called 'mode shift' or 'role shift')
6. **Topic shift**
7. **Puns, language play, shift of 'key'**
8. **Topicalization, topic/comment structure**

In addition to that, Auer (1995: 120) concludes that they "seem to converge across bilingual communities on certain conversational loci in which switching is

particularly frequent''. Overall, Auer's (1995) 'typology of CS' intends to focus exclusively on conversational loci of CS, instead of including both such loci (and functions of CS), as Gumperz's classification does. Moreover, Hinrichs (2006: 62) also noticed that Auer's "inclusion of 'topic shift' as a site for metaphorical CS is a consequence of his critical reworking of the concept of situational CS, as topic shifts are sites for situational switches in Blom & Gumperz (1972)''.

Moreover, in terms of distinction between discourse-related and participant-related CS, Auer (1999: 2) points out that discourse-related CS is "part of the realm of everyday rhetorics, not part of grammar'' and "it is one of the available strategies used by bilinguals to convey meaning'', adding that "as a contextualization strategy, it represents a metapragmatic comment on the on-going interaction which marks it as bilingual''. On the other hand, participant-related CS "covers instances of diverging language preferences and competences'' (Auer, 1999: 2).

2.2.5.4 Hoffman's classification of CS functions

In pursuit of the answer for the question: "Why do bilinguals code-switch?'', **Hoffman** (1991: 115) explains that the reasons for code-switching are "manifold'', as "many of them are of a contextual, situational and personal kind''. In summary, Hoffman (1991: 116) concludes that CS "constitutes a habitual and often necessary part of social interaction among bilinguals''. In terms of the classification, Hoffman (1991: 115-116) points out that CS serves these main functions:

1. **Talking about a particular topic**

This may cause a switch, "either because of lack of facility in the relevant register or because certain items trigger off various connotations which are linked to experiences in a particular language'' (1991: 116)

2. **Quoting somebody else**
3. **Being emphatic about something** (in form of an interjection or a repetition used for clarification)
4. **Expressing group identity** (bilingual communities, immigrant communities)
5. **Intention of clarifying the speech content for the interlocutor**

2.2.5.5 Critiques of the 'lists'

In terms of the critiques postulated in relation to the proposed lists/ classification/ taxonomies/ typologies of CS functions, many scholars have been critical of them (including their authors themselves), drawing attention to their lists' limitations and potential drawbacks.

In addition to the previous Myers-Scotton's (1993) critique of Gumperz' interactional-interpretive perspective on CS discussed above, she is overall critical of such lists in general, referring to them as 'open-ended taxonomies' and arguing that:

> Most other CS practitioners [besides Gumperz] have followed Gumperz's lead, providing an unordered list of the stylistic functions of CS [...] And, as in Gumperz's own writings, in the work of some of his followers it is often not very clear what they intend by the functions listed for CS, or how these functions are interrelated. (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 59)

In *The Pragmatics of Code-Switching - A Sequential Approach*, Auer (1995: 120-121) provides a relatively extensive discussion, presenting a number of reasons why such mere listings of conversational loci that are susceptible to CS (in Auer's term 'code alternation' to be exact) is problematic.

Firstly, his initial point of critique is that the proposed conversational categories for the analysis are often "ill-defined", in a sense that the authors provide us with lists of conversational loci for CS and examples but "no sequential analysis is carried out to demonstrate what exactly is meant, for example, by a 'change of activity type', or by 'reiteration' " (Auer, 1995: 120).

Secondly, Auer (1995: 120) draws attention to occasional confusion between conversational structures, linguistic forms and functions of CS in the 'so-called typologies' of CS. As an example, Auer (1995:120) points out that 'emphasis' may be a function of CS, whereas 'reiteration' is a (group of) conversational structure(s) and it may (or may not) serve the function of "giving emphasis to a stretch of talk".

Thirdly, Auer (1995: 121) argues that such lists or typologies of functions of CS may be able to provide "an initial clue as to what is going on", but will hardly bring us closer to a theoretical explanation of *why* CS may actually have conversational meaning or function. Additionally, as the lists are open, Auer (1995: 121) maintains that it shows that CS is "used in a creative fashion, and that it can have conversational meaning even if used in a particular conversational environment only once".

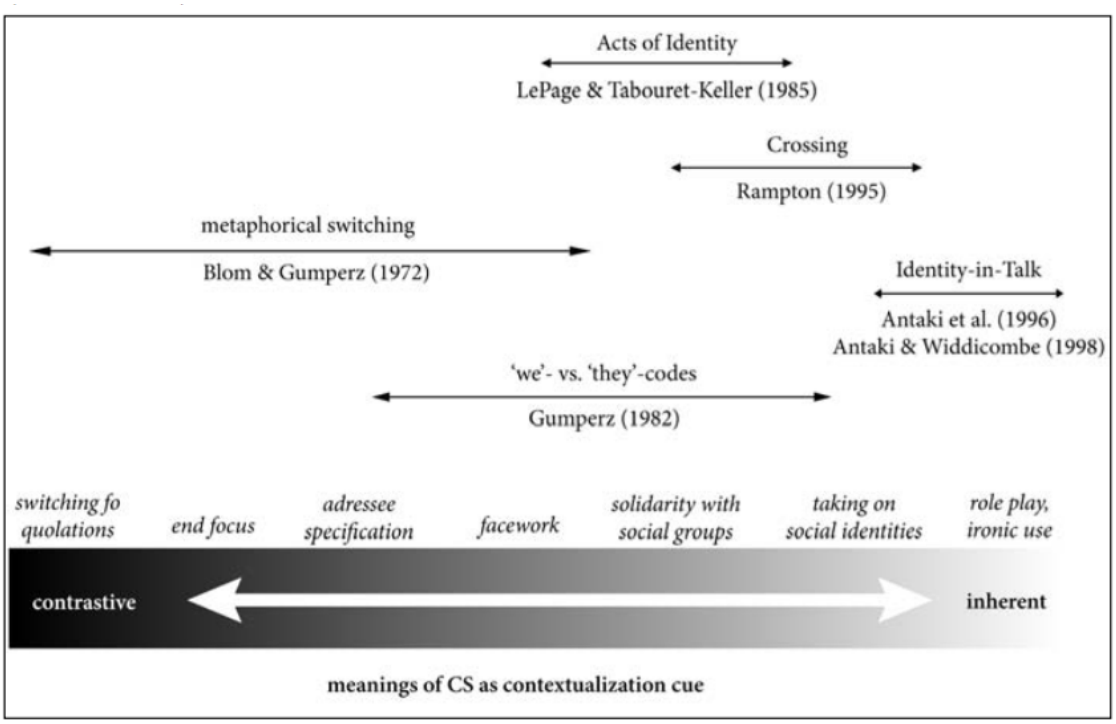
Finally, Auer's (1995: 121) most important point of critique is that such typologies disregard the sequential aspects of CS, as the listing of 'conversational loci' for CS implies that CS should have the same conversational status in both directions, i.e. from language A into B or vice versa. In this regard, Hinrichs (2006: 62) believes that it is partly due to this critique in particular that Auer based his proposal of a conversation-analytic approach to CS on, with sequentiality as its central concern. (Auer's conversation-analytic framework for the study of bilingual interaction is further discussed in the respective section - Section 2.2.3.3).

In a similar vein, Andoutsopoulos (2013: 683) argues that "too heavy a reliance on classifications also entails the risk of reducing analysis to a simple 'category check' that disconnects CS from the conversational activity in which it is embedded and may result into a decontextualized listing of CS instances", adding that the risk may be reduced by ethnographic information about the sample and CMC platform under investigation, as well as by detailed sequential analyses that take into account "the place within the interactional episode in which languages alternate" (Auer, 1998: 3).

According to Hinrichs (2006: 63), attempts to "capture all possible types of naturally-occurring codeswitches in one such typology is [...] doomed to failure". As further explaining why, Hinrichs (2006: 63) attributes it to the "qualitative nature of discourse-analytical CS research, differences between the individual perspectives of researchers", which will "necessarily continue to lead to differences in description and the placement of emphases on different types of switches".

In addition to that, based on a very large body of literature on CS, Hinrichs (2006: 135) created a graphic overview of "major contributions to CS research" which "have addressed different types of CS functions, covering different portions of the continuum from 'contrastive' to 'inherent' types", illustrating the fact that many theoretical approaches to the study of CS are "mutually additive rather than addressing the same phenomena" (Figure 10).

<u>Figure 10</u>: Hinrichs' illustration of major contributions to CS research addressing different CS functions, covering different portions of the continuum from 'contrastive' to 'inherent' types



Source: Hinrichs (2006: 135)

Although the above lists, as the scholars (including their authors) claim, are by no means exhaustive, they illustrate some of the common uses of CS. In this regard, Androutsopoulos (2013: 682) rightfully suggests that "working with classifications of discourse functions provides an initial overview of patterns of CS in a CMC environment and a useful point of entry for exploratory research", adding that "cumulatively, analyses along these lines offer valuable evidence for the regularity and conventionality of CS online as well as for its functional similarity to CS in other discourse environments, and thereby contribute to its normalization".

2.3 Code switching in computer-mediated communication (CMC)

Code-switching, as a subject of investigation, has only begun to attract serious scholarly attention in the last few decades (Poplack, 2001: 2062). As we have pointed out earlier, investigating CS used to be "a matter for a few specialists in the 1950s and 1960s, of peripheral importance for linguistics as a whole" (Auer, 1998b: 1), before gradually gaining its popularity and becoming a worthy subject of study for both general theoretical and applied linguistic research purposes. In addition to a number of pioneering publications of the 1970s (e.g. Blom & Gumperz, 1972), in the 1980s and particularly 1990s numerous studies have been conducted focusing on analysing CS patterns in spoken discourse, using the data from face-to-face communication, which has consequently led to a theoretical CS research framework, originally developed for the analysis of spoken discourse, being formulated. The major contributions in terms of sociolinguistic/ pragmatic as well as grammatical/ syntactic approaches to the study of CS were further reviewed in Section 2.2.

In contrast with beginnings of research studies predominantly dealing with 'spoken' CS, beginnings of studies addressing code-switching online (or CS in CMC) can be traced back to mid-1990s (Georgakopoulou, 1997; Paolillo, 1996), many years later. In this regard, Androutsopoulos (2013: 667) points out that even though CS in CMC "attracted the attention of linguists as early as the mid-1990s, it remains less well researched in comparison to other linguistic processes in CMC" and it is "equally under-researched in contact linguistics and multilingualism studies". Furthermore, particularly evident is the lack of publications providing a broader and more complex treatment of the subject, especially those including more than one contribution dealing exclusively (or at least partly) with CS in CMC. A review of literature suggests that the only two exceptions are, as identified by Androutsopoulos (2013: 689), *The Multilingual Internet - Language, Culture, and Communication Online*, the volume edited by Danet and Herring (2007a) and a 2006 special issue of the *Journal of Sociolinguistics 10(4)*. Even though individual studies of CS in CMC are also limited in number, they have examined a wide range of platforms, sociolinguistic settings and contexts with the aim to identify CS patterns using various approaches and methods in the process.

The Multilingual Internet-Language, Culture, and Communication Online, the volume edited by Danet and Herring (2007a) analyses text-based CMC in multiple languages other than native English, mostly case studies focusing on a particular language or multilingual situation, addressing a range of topics, including CS. The following 4 contributions representing 4 separate chapters (out of 18) cover the topic of *Language Choice and Code Switching*, together forming *Part IV* of the book:

- Warschauer, El Said and Zohry - Language Choice Online: Globalization and Identity in Egypt (further discussed in Section 2.3.5.3)
- Durham - Language Choice on a Swiss Mailing List (see Section 2.3.5.2)
- Androutsopoulos - Language Choice and Code Switching in German-Based Diasporic Web Forums
- Axelsson, Abelin and Schroeder - Anyone Speak Swedish? Tolerance for Language Shifting in Graphical Multiuser Virtual Environments

Moreover, in his chapter literally titled *Code-switching in computer-mediated communication*, Androutsopoulos (2013) summarises the available research literature with the aim to outline how CS has been studied in different sociolinguistic settings and media modes, using a range of different methods. Based on selected research publications on CS in CMC (published from 1996 to 2009), the further aim of the chapter is to "identify commonly asked and still untapped questions, and pinpoint limitations of present scholarship" (2013: 668). For each study summarised in the chapter, its main categories are described, including: mode (platform/CMC genre), participation framework (the participants), languages involved, social settings, and methods - or data analysis approach. In conclusion, with regard to outlook and directions for future research, Androutsopoulos (2013: 688) argues that "much remains to be done in documenting different sites and types of CS online, and systematic comparisons among modes, language, and settings are needed".

This section of our thesis thus provides a relevant literature review presenting different types of modes (CMC platforms), settings and sociolinguistic contexts in which CS in CMC has been studied, especially focusing on CS in email communication, due to the orientation of our own research project, examining CMC data from this platform in particular.

2.3.1 CS in CMC: Spoken CS in written form?

With Internet becoming an integral part of everyday life, transforming the way people communicate with each other, CMC started rapidly replacing conventional forms of communication, which consequently led to the fascination with the 'hybridity' of CMC language. As a result, a term 'Netspeak' (coined by Crystal, 2001) came to refer to language used in CMC, further defined as "a type of language displaying features that are unique to the Internet, and arising out of its character as a medium which is electronic, global, and interactive" (Crystal, 2001: 18; 2006: 18). The beginnings of CMC research are marked by several publications attempting to identify CMC in terms of the distinction between speech and writing, asking:

Is computer-mediated communication a form of writing or speech?

As Baron (2008: 48) points out, since the early 1990s, a number of linguists have explored this question. As a result, the 'hybrid' nature of CMC language, seen as displaying properties of both - written and spoken language, led authors to label the new linguistic phenomena of the electronic media as 'written speech' (e.g. Maynor, 1994) or a 'mixed modality' (Baron, 1998).

In contrast, many years later, in his book titled *Language and the Internet*, Crystal (2001, 2006) investigated many types of CMC (including the web, email, chat, and virtual worlds such as MUDs and MOOs), comparing them against his own analysis of spoken versus written language. Finally, after comparing 'Netspeak' with spoken and written language, Crystal (2011: 21) concluded that:

> On the whole, Internet language is better seen as writing which has been pulled some way in the direction of speech rather than as speech which has been written down. However, expressing the question in terms of the traditional dichotomy is misleading. Internet language is identical to neither speech nor writing, but selectively and adaptively displays properties of both. It is more than an aggregate of spoken and written features. It does things that neither of the other mediums does.

As a consequence, a new field of research, represented by these early studies emerged and it has been termed 'Internet Linguistics' – defined as a sub-domain of linguistics advocated by Crystal (2011: 2) who finds it "the most convenient name for the scientific study of all manifestations of language in electronic medium''. Considered to be the 'first wave' of linguistic CMC studies, an important point of linguistic description (often based on small samples) was commonly based on distinguishing between synchronous (e-chat, IM) and asynchronous (mailing lists, newsgroups, discussion boards) modes of digital communication (Androutsopoulos, 2006c: 420).

In this regard, Herring (1996) identified three relevant areas or key issues in CMC research, namely: the language of CMC, technological constraints and social constraints on computer-mediated discourse. Taking this into consideration, Internet Linguistics' approach with its exclusive focus on medium-specific features and the language of CMC has been later criticised, as it neglects the ''second and third key research issues, namely the interplay of technological, social, and contextual factors in the shaping of computer-mediated language practices, and the role of linguistic variability in the formation of social interaction and social identities on the Internet'' (Androutsopoulos, 2006c: 421).

In his *Introduction: Sociolinguistics and computer-mediated communication* of the theme issue of *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, Androutsopoulos (2006c) contextualises the contributions to this issue by providing an outline of linguistically focused CMC studies, and furthermore, gives a critique of the research on the 'language of CMC'. Based on a number of empirical studies of CMC in a variety of languages (including English, Spanish, German, Swiss German, migrant languages, website localization in several languages), Androutsopoulos (2006c: 420) calls for the move from the 'language of CMC' to socially situated computer-mediated discourse (Herring, 2004) which has important implications for the theory and methodology of CMC research from a sociolinguistic point of view, concluding that:

> ...the time is ripe for supplementing and eventually replacing the listings of 'prototypical' features that have been popular in mode-centered 'Internet

> linguistics' by a user and community-centered approach, which is promising for a more complex theorizing of the social and contextual diversity of language use on the Internet. (Androutsopoulos, 2006c: 430)

Hence, despite the diversity in research questions and methods used by CMC researchers, Androutsopoulos (2006c: 421) advocates for "a shift of focus from medium-related to user-related patterns of language use'', bringing "the 'variety of group practices' to the centre of attention''. Even though the impact of technology on language use is not denied, it rejects the technological determinism that is obvious in early studies (particularly in the 'first wave' of linguistic CMC studies discussed above). Moving towards context-sensitive and topic-related studies viewing electronic communication (or CMC) as socially situated discourse (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2006a; Barron, 2006; Herring, 1996, 2000; and many others), more recent studies represent the shift from 'language of CMC' to 'computer-mediated discourse' (Androutsopoulos, 2006c; Herring, 2004, 2007). Therefore, as Androutsopoulos (2006c: 421) points out, "characteristic features of 'the language of CMC' are now understood as resources that particular (groups of) users might draw on in the construction of discourse styles in particular contexts''.

Moreover, in terms of its impact on studies of CS in CMC, Androutsopoulos (2013) points out that a majority of previous studies have marginalised CS data originating from CMC perhaps due to the persistent question whether CS in CMC as a data source is a valid reflection of spoken or written language, or if it is a hybrid of the two styles (Hinrichs, 2006: 19; Dorleijn & Nortier, 2009: 128-129), partially mirroring the wider discussion on these aspects of language on the Internet. While CS in CMC "obviously qualifies as written in terms of the written representation of linguistic signs'', it has been observed to resemble face-to-face, spoken conversational CS in a number of online multilingual contexts, most obviously in terms of its dialogic context and its discourse functions (Androutsopoulos, 2013: 684). In this regard, Danet and Herring (2007b: 27) argue that "this CMC evidence presents an empirical counterpoint to theoretical claims that code switching is an exclusively conversational phenomenon'', as previously argued by Gumperz (1982).

Taking the specific pragmatic and social conditions of written language use in CMC into consideration, Androutsopoulos (2013: 684-685) explains that:

> Writing in networked digital media is different from other types of written discourse in a number of ways: It is dialogical, i.e., oriented to particular addressees, and often embedded in multiparty conversational sequences; it also is often vernacular, i.e., located outside of educational, professional, and other institutions; [...]. Taking these properties of digital writing into account when studying CS in CMC will contribute to a deconstruction of spoken/written dichotomies and to a move beyond the assumption that only spoken conversational CS constitutes "authentic" CS and therefore sets the benchmark against which CS in CMC ought to be assessed.

In terms of the relation of CS in CMC to spoken conversational CS and written CS, Androutsopoulos (2013: 668) further claims that "the correspondence of online written CS to its offline spoken counterpart is a common concern, but also a contested issue'', suggesting that "important insights will be gained by theorising the written digital mode not as a limitation but as a new set of conditions for the deployment of multilingual resources in discourse'' (2013: 687).

2.3.2 Studies of CS across a wide range of CMC modes

Previous studies of CS online have typically focused on a single mode of CMC, e.g. email (Georgakopoulou, 1997, 2004; Warschauer et al., 2007; Goldbarg, 2009; Tsiplakou 2009), forum (Sperlich, 2005; Androutsopoulos, 2006a, 2006b, 2007b), SMS (Deumert & Masinyana, 2008; Al-Khatib & Sabbah, 2008), Internet Relay Chat - IRC (Androutsopoulos & Hinnenkamp, 2001; Tsaliki, 2003; Androutsopoulos & Ziegler, 2004; Hinnenkamp, 2008), mailing lists (McClure, 2001), bulletin board (Sebba, 2003), Usenet newsgroups (Climent et al., 2003) and social media networks (Facebook - Dąbrowska, 2013; Halim & Maros, 2014). Some other research publications on CS in CMC, however, provide a comparison of two different CMC modes: IRC and Usenet (Paolillo, 1996, 2001, 2011), IRC and Web chats (Siebenhaar 2005, 2006, 2008), email and forums (Hinrichs 2006), email and

instant messaging - ICQ (Lee, 2007), forums and guestbooks (Androutsopoulos, 2004) or forums and blogs (Leppänen, 2007; Leppänen et al., 2009).

While it appears that most studies of CS in CMC focus on one single mode (CMC platform/ genre), or at most comparing the two, there is a small number of studies providing a comparison of multiple CMC modes. As an example, Montes-Alcalá (2016) analyses and compares data from 3 different CMC modes (namely: email, blogs, and social networks including Facebook and Twitter); on the other hand, Barasa's (2016) study focuses on 4 CMC modes: SMS text messages, email, Instant Message chats and online Social Network Sites forums.

With regard to researching interactional forms and participant structures in public and social media, the category of participation framework has been commonly used in pragmatics. As a technical term referring to "the totality of participant roles at the production and reception ends" (Chovanec and Dynel, 2015: 1), the concept of a participation framework "constitutes one of the very basic components of interaction, arguably the most important one, since the meaning of a message, be it spoken, written or multimodal, is inevitably co-determined by the two crucial elements within the basic scheme of interaction, i.e. who communicates to whom" (Chovanec and Dynel, 2015: 2). When it comes to the number of participants, a distinction has been generally made between 'one-to-one' vs. 'one-to-many' or 'private' vs. 'public' models of communication/ interaction. While 'one-to-one' participation framework or 'private' refers to dyadic exchanges (or those among a limited number of known participants), 'one to many' or 'public' is related to the communication in a public CMD environment (e.g. a forum, which by definition includes unknown participants). According to Herring's classification (2007), participation structure is a situation factor, however, it is partly a medium factor as well, since as Androutsopoulos (2013: 673) points out, "different CMC modes facilitate different participation frameworks". In a similar vein, Chovanec and Dynel (2015: 7) point out that most CMC (or what they refer to as TMC, i.e. technology-mediated communication) modes "transcend two participants' dyadic exchanges, which can, however, be found in private interactions via e-mail and some other means of instant communication, and which invite new participation frameworks".

At this point, it should be noted that the above list is by no means complete, its sole purpose is to provide a brief overview of wide range of CMC platforms in which CS has been studied in order to illustrate the state of the art. In this regard, Androutsopoulos (2013: 673) concludes that "code-switching may in principle occur in any CMD mode, be it unidirectional or interactive, synchronous or asynchronous, dyadic or public, private or professional''. Furthermore, selected studies of CS in the context of CMC, of both public and private participation, focusing on different social settings, participants and languages involved will be further reviewed in the following sections.

2.3.3 Studies of CS in CMC across a variety of sociolinguistic contexts

The contexts, or more specifically **participants and social settings** (also referred to as the 'population' in Danet & Herring's 2007b classification) which have been examined in previous studies of CS in CMC include:

- ethnic minority groups (Paolillo, 1996, 2001, 2011; Androutsopoulos & Hinnenkamp, 2001; Tsaliki, 2003; Hinnenkamp, 2008; McClure, 2001; Androutsopoulos, 2006a, 2006b, 2007b)
- students; university students (university students from Jamaican diaspora - Hinrichs, 2006; Cantonese university students - Lee, 2007; graduate students - Goldbarg, 2009; Jordanian university students - Al-Khatib & Sabbah, 2008)
- multilingual academics (fellow academics - Tsiplakou, 2009)
- young professionals (Warschauer et al., 2007)
- friends group (Georgakopoulou, 1997, 2004)

Other documented cases of CS in CMC involve online practices by young people (young adults - Deumert & Masinyana, 2008), youth culture groups (Siebenhaar, 2005, 2006, 2008; music youth culture - Androutsopoulos, 2004; youth cultures music, fan fiction, sports - Leppänen 2007; Leppänen et al. 2009), or other communities (e.g. pop culture, comedy fans - Sebba, 2003; Citychat - Androutsopoulos & Ziegler, 2004; small language communities - Sperlich, 2005).

In terms of **languages (or language pairs)** involved with regard to CS in CMC, the languages that are (most) relevant to each study have been investigated and CS patterns have been identified, reporting CS between:

- majority and minority (heritage, immigrant, community) language
- national language and English
- standard and dialect
- standard and stylised vernacular speech (e.g. 'Ali G language' in Sebba, 2003)
- varieties of one language, etc.

In addition to a variety of sociolinguistic constellations described above, the following language combinations (predominantly pairs - especially those involving English) have been investigated within studies of CS in CMC:

- Greek (L1) + English (Georgakopoulou, 1997, 2004)
- Greek (L1) + English + French + Greek Cypriot dialect (Tsiplakou, 2009)
- Spanish (L1) + English (Goldbarg, 2009; Montes-Alcalá, 2016)
- Finnish (L1) + English (Leppänen 2007; Leppänen et al. 2009)
- German (L1) + English (Androutsopoulos, 2004)
- German + Greek + Persian + Hindi (Androutsopoulos, 2006a, 2006b, 2007b)
- Jamaican Creole (L1) + English (Hinrichs, 2006)
- English (L1) + stylized Creole (Sebba, 2003)
- Arabic (L1) + English (Warschauer et al., 2007; Al-Khatib & Sabbah, 2008)
- Cantonese (L1) + English (Lee, 2007)
- English + Assyrian (McClure, 2001)
- Niuean (L1) + English (Sperlich, 2005)
- Hindi (L1) + English (Dąbrowska, 2013)
- Polish (L1) + English (Dąbrowska, 2013)
- Malay (L1) + English (Halim & Maros, 2014)

Moreover, instances of 'polylingual languaging' which involves the (playful) use of bits and pieces from different languages, language varieties, or styles have been documented in the research literature on the topic as well (Hinnenkamp 2008; Jørgensen 2008; Tsiplakou 2009).

2.3.4 Methods and approaches to the study of CS in CMC

In terms of methodologies applied in the studies of CS in CMC, Androutsopoulos (2013: 668) argues that "a generally accepted methodology that takes the specifics of CMC into account has not yet been developed", however instead of using one single framework of CS analysis, the researchers use a range of different approaches, methods of analysis and perspectives in the process.

In order to provide some examples of methodology appropriated, articulated and applied in different ways by CMC researchers, we will list some below for illustration. Using a heuristic approach, Hinrichs (2006) combines the ideas of Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's models with the inductive approach of Rampton and, to a certain extent, Auer's conversation analysis, while critically applying the relevant concepts of code-meanings and functions that have been proposed in the literature. An important observation by Hinrichs is that CS models (particularly referring to CS frameworks) based on spoken language do not always work for CS in CMC, as, for example, his data contradicted Gumperz's conversational analytic model which links a language directly to group identity. Pointing out that "CS theory remains underworked for written language" which obviously also includes language of CMC which is also written, he argues that conditions of written language differ from those of spoken language, which is why some tasks (i.e. establishing whether there is a connection between consciousness of use and the discourse functions that Creole performs in the new domain) cannot be approached in the frameworks of Gumperz or Myers-Scotton (Hinrichs, 2006: 29). On the other hand, in order to describe and explain different language choices and CS between Finnish and English in a range of digital genres in her data, Leppänen (2007) draws on the four types of language alternation in Auer's (1999) typology for investigating CS and language mixing phenomena (i.e., insertional switching, insertional mixing, alternational switching, and alternational mixing), classifying "the linguistically hybrid samples" from her data into the above categories (Leppänen, 2007: 152-153). In addition to that, with regard to discourse functions of CS, the classifications by Gumperz (1982) and Auer (1995, 1999) are widely used in the literature on CS in CMC (e.g. by Androutsopoulos, 2006a, 2007a; Sebba, 2003; Androutsopoulos and Hinnenkamp,

2001, etc.). Moreover, other repeatedly applied and analysed concepts from pragmatics include politeness, face, and interpersonal alignment (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 1997), as well as previously-discussed syntactic distinction between inter- and intra-sentential CS, among others.

Therefore, first of all, as we have illustrated above, **the frameworks originally developed for the analysis of spoken discourse** are often relied on and applied even despite the criticism regarding their questionable adequacy for this mode (Androutsopoulos 2013: 668; Hinrichs 2006: 28-30). Related to this, Leppänen and Peuronen (2011) argue that the transfer of frameworks developed for the study of spoken language and interaction to the study of written multilingual CMC is not adequately problematised. However, the limitations of using a conversation-analytic approach for analysing CMC data are well discussed in the CMC research literature (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2013; Hinrichs, 2006; Herring, 1999). Taking specifics of CMC data, online setting as such, as well as their restrictions and limitations into consideration, Androutsopoulos (2013: 670) argues that:

> CMC technologies rule out one key mechanism of conversational organisation, the turn-taking system; more generally, the lack of visual channels – and, in asynchronous CMC, the temporal gap between contributions – means that important dimensions of the interactional co-construction of meaning are altered or restricted.

These restrictions, however, do not apply to the sequential organisation of CMD, which can be studied with conversation-analytic categories (Androutsopoulos, 2013: 670). In addition to that, CMC research shows that in order to cope with these limitations, users had to come up with alternative and rather creative ways to compensate for the lack of ordinary contextualization cues due to the absence of the visual channel, including the usage of specific turn-taking signals and linguistic innovations such as emoticons, smileys, memes, GIFs and other symbols. Related to this, Androutsopoulos (2013: 670) points out that "CMC interlocutors use code-switching, style shifting, and other manipulations of written signs in order to accomplish pragmatic work that would be accomplished by phonological variation,

prosody, gaze, posture, and other cues in ordinary spoken conversation''. This provides a basis and a starting point for establishing a theoretical link between linguistic choices, communicative practices and media affordances.

Secondly, with regard to a broad **distinction between qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis**, the qualitative methods (including methods from conversation, discourse, narrative or style analysis) have been used for the study of both conversational and non-conversational CMD (Androutsopoulos & Hinnenkamp, 2001; Tsaliki, 2003; Hinnenkamp, 2008; Georgakopoulou, 1997, 2004; McClure, 2001; Sebba, 2003; Androutsopoulos, 2004; Leppänen, 2007; Leppänen et al., 2009). On the other hand, quantitative methods have relied on quantifications based on questionnaire data (Goldbarg, 2009; Tsiplakou, 2009) or coding of textual data (Paolillo 2001; Siebenhaar 2008), among others (Warschauer et al., 2007; Lee, 2007). Alternatively, mixed method approaches to CS in CMC have been frequently used as well (Paolilo, 1996, 2011; Androutsopoulos & Ziegler, 2004; Siebenhaar, 2006, 2008; Hinrichs, 2006; Tsiplakou, 2009; Sperlich, 2005; Androutsopoulos, 2006).

Thirdly, in terms of **perspective**, with the aim to understand the pragmatic functions of CS, as well as social purposes and interactional dynamics of CS online, the predominant perspective to the study of CS has been pragmatic and sociolinguistic rather than grammatical and linguistic (Dorleijn & Nortier, 2009: 133; Androutsopoulos 2013: 668). As Dorleijn and Nortier (2009: 127) further point out, "CS research is traditionally split up into two branches: either the pragmatic, interactional aspects are studied, or the structural, psycholinguistic aspects of CS are studied''. In a similar vein, Paolillo (2011: 2) points out that "the study of codeswitching has largely been conducted along two parallel tracks: one investigating its grammatical constraints, the other investigating its social functions''.

In summary, with regard to investigating CS in CMC, Hinrichs (2006: 29) argues that on the whole, the focus has been on "ethnographic, qualitative, applied studies without the constraint of having to build large, catch-all frameworks'', thus drawing on recent development in CS research and adjacent fields, favouring a heuristic approach to data.

2.3.5 CS and identity construction in CMC

The common denominator of the majority of studies mentioned in this section is addressing the role of identity with relation to CS. As Goldbarg (2009: 1) points out, "it is clear that electronic communication affords the user unprecedented control over self-presentation''. Hence, in order to establish how participants utilise CS patterns to (re)construct and negotiate individual and interactional aspects of their identities, a range of questions proposed by researches aims to examine CS as a resource for identity construction by analysing how writers describe/ present/ or characterise themselves through code choice.

While the identity function of CS is among the most widely explored topics in bilingual studies in general (e.g. Sebba & Wooton, 1998; Zentella, 1997), in studies of CS in CMC, identity construction through the use of CS has been examined in relation to the group-identification needs of an online community (Paolillo, 1996) or in terms of the importance of CS for alignment with an in-group of friends and colleagues (Georgakopoulou, 1997), among others. In these two particular studies, minority codes were used to affirm in-group intimacy and familiarity, in contrast with a more standard or formal lingua franca (English), associated with formal, professional contexts and the CMC in general (Goldbarg, 2009: 3).

In her paper, **Georgakopoulou (1997)** explores self-presentation and interactional alliances in email discourse of messages written in Greek. Drawing on the frameworks of interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz, 1982), and ethnography of communication, her data analysis examines recurrent linguistic strategies which index the speakers' identity and the alignments which they take up to themselves, their discourse and their audience. By looking at contextualization cues in the data, Georgakopoulou (1997: 141) points out that these are realised by "certain patterns of recurrent code-centered choices (code-switches and style-shifts) which prove to (re-)frame footings of symmetrical alignments and intimacy between e-mail participants''. Apart from that, Georgakopoulou (1997) argues that language alternation (code-switching into English) in her data functions as a face-enhancing or face-saving strategy.

With regard to a recent shift from normative and simplistic explanations attempting to form "one-to-one and absolute correspondences between linguistic forms and identities'' towards "dynamic conceptualization of identities'', Georgakopoulou (2004: 13) points out that "identities are neither fixed nor categorical properties that can be postulated a priori of specific instances of communication; instead, they emerge (i.e., come into being) in interactional sites'', i.e., in situ, adding that:

> Personal, social, and cultural identities can also be co-articulated, i.e., constructed simultaneously and in interaction with one another: for example, a language choice may signal a speaker's cultural identity at the same time as bringing to the fore the significance of their gender.

Moreover, in her article titled *To tell or not to tell?: Email stories between on-and off-line interactions,* based on a corpus analysis of private email message exchanges among Greeks living in England, **Georgakopoulou (2004)** identified five different types of "ongoing narratives'', namely: (bids for) stories to be told, breaking news, references, updates, and projections. Taking language choice as a prerequisite for a linguistically informed identity analysis into consideration and using a discourse approach to CMC, Georgakopoulou (2004: 15) argues that "the stories' point (both as newsworthiness of reported events and as norms of what is tellable) and the use of the both languages (Greek-English) for their evaluation made the participants' contact identities and shared cultural understandings operative and relevant''. Apart from that, three aspects of the stories that more of less explicitly cue (i.e., signal) certain identities as relevant for the participants' interactions were determined:

1.) The stories' topics, what the stories were about and what they based their newsworthiness on
2.) The stories' language choices: their code-switches from Greek to English
3.) Local norms of storytelling appropriacy: the norms of what was tellable hearable and appropriate in the context that the participants oriented to

In terms of group identification, the CMC environment in general (with its freedoms and limitations) has encouraged novel spellings and morphological constructions, which in some cases may have group identification function (Paolillo, 1996; Danet & Herring, 2007a; Goldbarg, 2009). Based on the findings of his study on the Usenet forum dedicated to Punjabi culture, Paolillo (1996) argues that in his data, Punjabi served the group identification needs of the Punjabi online community. Similarly, Goldbarg's (2009) study shows that Spanish, in particular, was important as a group identification tool in her data, as "it was the language of intimate, informal communication and a way to affirm group membership" (2009: 16).

Furthermore, in his book titled *Codeswitching on the Web*, **Hinrichs (2006)** dedicated a whole chapter to examining CS and identity (namely Chapter 5 - *Codeswitching and identity: How writers describe themselves through code choice*). In this chapter, Hinrichs (2006) identifies three types of identity-related CS between Standard English and Creole in private emails among Jamaican students, summarised by Androutsopoulos (2013: 684) as follows:

- use of Creole for self-identification and message framing (e.g., greetings, farewells, terms of addressing)
- use of CS to organize different narrative activities and to set apart 'we' and 'they' perspectives
- double-voicing, with Creole being employed in the creation of stereotypical local speech styles

In this regard, Hinrichs (2006: 134) further argues that "it is particularly this potential of Patois to make salient certain cultural values and personae that writers exploit", adding that particularly these uses or expressions of identity-related CS are "at home in the written medium" as they "involve the highest degree of planned, rhetorical use" of Creole.

In the study carried out among a group of 43 young Egyptian professionals in Cairo, **Warschauer et al. (2007)** examined language choice online, code switching as well as globalisation and identity in Egypt. In this regard, they pointed out that

"language is a potential medium of both global networks and local identities" (Warschauer et al., 2007: 314), while discussing a demand for an international lingua franca in the age of globalisation and a strong presence of English as a global language (Warschauer et al., 2007: 314; Crystal, 2003).

In her study titled *Doing (bi)lingualism: Language alternation as performative construction of online identities*, **Tsiplakou (2009)** examines how email writers draw on Standard Greek, English, and further linguistic resources (French and Cypriot Greek dialect) in order to act out 'localized performativities' (i.e., contextually constructed social identities). In this regard, Tsiplakou (2009: 361) talks about performative construction of an 'online' identity through CS and argues that:

> In the slowly-growing body of literature on linguistic practices in computer-mediated communication (CMC) or computer-mediated discourse (CMD) it is emerging that concomitant aspects of linguistic performance relate to the construction of particular sociolinguistic identities relevant to the medium, or, to adopt a less radical perspective, that sociolinguistic identities typical of face-to-face or written interaction are mediated by the social/communicative practices and norms relevant to, or accruing to, types of CMD. Language alternation features prominently among the mechanisms used in constructing such novel linguistic/social-performative identities.

Moreover, she also argues that practices of language alternation in her data are "a facet of the performative construction of an 'online' communicative identity". In this regard, Tsiplakou (2009: 361) points out that the complex type of language play is "an overarching feature of the group's (socio)linguistic performance in asynchronous electronic communication, which may single them out as a localized community of practice". Moreover, she argues that apart from language play, language alternation (CS, code-mixing and shifting among varieties) is "deployed as a means of mitigating potentially face-threatening acts; more broadly, language alternation is used emblematically (or meta-pragmatically, cf. Auer 1999) to signal (or construct) symmetrical participant alignments and ingroup solidarity, and, concomitantly, to index overarching in-group rapport" (Tsiplakou, 2009: 385).

2.3.6 Code-switching in email communication

While spoken CS as well as written CS have received significant scholarly attention (as outlined in the previous sections), few studies have examined written CS in CMC, particularly naturally-occurring CS in email communication. Even though these studies are limited in number, they have examined a variety of social settings and contexts, including friends group (Georgakopoulou, 1997, 2004), fellow academics (Tsiplakou 2009), young professionals (Warschauer et al., 2007; Barasa, 2016), and students (graduate students - Goldbarg, 2009; university students from Jamaican diaspora - Hinrichs, 2006; Cantonese university students - Lee, 2007; Kenyan University students - Barasa, 2016).

With regard to languages in question, previous research on CS in email communication has investigated CS between majority and minority (heritage, community, immigrant) languages, between national languages and English, standard and dialect as well as other sociolinguistic constellations. Among these are several studies of CS between different language combinations including: Greek (L1) + English (Georgakopoulou, 1997, 2004), Greek (L1) + English + French + Greek Cypriot + dialect (Tsiplakou, 2009), Arabic/ Egyptian Arabic (L1) + English (Warschauer et al., 2007), Spanish (L1) + English (Goldbarg, 2009; Montes-Alcalá, 2016), Cantonese (L1) + English (Lee, 2007), Jamaican Creole (L1) + English (Hinrichs, 2006) and Swahili + English + vernacular languages spoken in Kenya (Barasa, 2016).

With the aim to identify CS patterns in email communication, various approaches and methods of analysis were employed in the process. Qualitative methods used for the study of both conversational and non-conversational CMD, drawing on methods from conversation, discourse, narrative, or style analysis as well as elements of online ethnography (as in Georgakopoulou, 1997, 2004) focused on functions rather than structures of CS. On the other hand, in order to understand CS in email communication, quantitative methods involving quantifications based on questionnaire data (as in Goldbarg 2009; Lee, 2007; Warschauer et al., 2007) or a mixed method approach (Tsiplakou 2009; Hinrichs, 2006) were used as well.

In addition to that, previous research has also analysed public mailing list emails (Davis & Brewer, 1997; Durham, 2003, 2007; Yates, 1996) or the researchers' own emails, i.e. data from social networks they themselves belong to (e.g. Georgakopoulou 1997; Tsiplakou 2009).

Starting with defining email as a text type (Section 2.3.6.1), we will provide a brief overview of CMC studies analysing this particular platform, focusing on its typical features, while mainly examining the role of (in)formality and (in)directness in email communication, for these two aspects "lie at the heart of considerable scholarly debate'' (Lorenzo-Dus and Bou-Franch, 2013: 1). We will also look at the notion of 'language of email' mentioned in the literature when describing email, proving a brief discussion based on contributions by different scholars on whether such universally valid language of email even exists.

In the following two sections (Section 2.3.6.2 and Section 2.3.6.3), we will provide an overview of selected research publications on code-switching within:

- a single CMC mode - email (Georgakopoulou, 1997, 2004; Tsiplakou 2009; Goldbarg, 2009)
- a comparative study, analysing multiple CMC modes (in this case email in combination with other CMC platform/s):
    - email + online chat (Warschauer et al., 2007)
    - email + public forum (Hinrichs, 2006)
    - email + ICQ (Lee, 2007)
    - email + SMS text messages + instant messaging (IM chats) + social network sites (posts and comments from online newspaper sites, Facebook, YouTube and social networks discussion fora) (Barasa, 2016)
    - email + blogs + social networks: Facebook and Twitter (Montes-Alcalá, 2016)

At this point, it should be noted that the list of previous studies of CS in email communication presented above is by no means exhaustive, instead, its purpose is to offer a reader a chronological outline of the state of the art on the topic of CS online involving different language pairs and social contexts.

2.3.6.1 Email as a text type

To start with, we will attempt to briefly define email as a text type. In general, electronic discourse (or CMD) has been claimed to fall in the middle of the continuum between spoken and written communication. In this sense, even though email is not entirely real-time based (as it is acceptable to take delays of hours, days or even weeks before responding), replies are often written very quickly and spontaneously, with no particular planning, and often sent off without revision. Therefore, when looked at it from this perspective, Hinrichs (2006:18) points out that "fast exchanges of messages in one thread between two interlocutors can also yield interaction that approaches real-time characteristics". However, if desired, planned and reflected language use is, in principle, always possible in the case of email communication.

In terms of structural elements or a message format, an individual email message consists of a series of functional elements. First of all, the fixed structure of the message is dictated by the mailer software which has become increasingly standardised, creating a fixed sequence of discourse elements. Email messages, particularly 'compose' screens typically display a bipartite structure, consisting of two major sections: a pre-formatted upper area (the message header or heading) and a lower area for the main text (the message body), collectively known as content. While the message header is structured into fields consisting of: From, To, CC (Carbon Copy), BCC (Blind Carbon Copy), Subject, Date, and other information about the email message, the message body contains the message, as unstructured text, sometimes containing a signature block at the end. The internal organisation of each email message is then divided into three parts: openings, topical sequences or body and closings (Baron, 1998; Bou-Franch, 2006; Crystal, 2001; Herring, 1996). In relation to structural elements of emails, Bou-Franch (2011: 1773) points out that these may be optional or obligatory, adding that "the obligatory element contains the body of the message while the greetings and farewells constitute the optional segment". Focusing particularly on these optional elements of emails (the opening and closing sections or sequences) in her study, Bou-Franch (2011: 1773) argues that:

> These are mainly phatic, interpersonally loaded structural slots, mostly empty of content regarding the goal or reason for the interaction. While in opening sequences the social relationship between participants is negotiated and established, or recalled, in closing sequences participants work to accomplish a joint, negotiated, frictionless termination of the social event.

With regard to formality/ informality when describing email as a text type, Hinrichs (2006: 19) argues that "the fact remains that language use in e-mail is less regulated by formal and pragmatic norms than in other written text types, and that it is a choice for users to make whether they wish to adhere to the norms established by paper-based writing'', adding that "the more informal language use is likely to occur in CMC, not in paper-based texts''. In a similar vein, Baron (1998: 147) argues that in comparison with paper-based texts, "email tends to use more casual lexicon, to be less carefully edited, and to assume a greater degree of familiarity with the interlocutor'', which could be seen for example by the use of first names, choice of salutation, or ease with which the interlocutor introduces humour or sarcasm into an interaction.

Furthermore, based on the corpus of 100 private institutional email messages exchanged by university representatives, Pérez Sabater, Turney and Montero Fleta (2008) explore orality, literacy, formality, and informality in email communication. While examining the formal and informal features in emails and analysing the similarities and differences on the basis of the mode of communication (one-to-one or one-to-many), Pérez Sabater et al. (2008) found that one-to-one emails incorporated more informal, conversational features than emails sent to a group. This was particularly evident in "the tone set by greetings and sign-offs and in the inclusion of more topics related to phatic rather than merely ideational, communication'' (Pérez Sabater et al., 2008: 85), highlighting stylistic differences. On the other hand, in the case of one-to-many emails, Pérez Sabater et al. (2008: 85) found that the examined emails "exhibit a clear carryover from the traditional formal business letter in almost all aspects except the sign-off''.

In their cross-cultural investigation of email communication in Peninsular Spanish (PS) and British English (BE), Lorenzo-Dus and Bou-Franch (2013) examine the role of (in)formality and (in)directness in email messages sent by members of two groups of undergraduate students to their university lecturers. In terms of the findings, Lorenzo-Dus and Bou-Franch (2013: 19) conclude that their analysis revealed "certain patterns alongside cultural lines", mainly what they refer to as "unmarked directness" - a valid, "default" choice in certain sociocultural and situational contexts in Spanish as well as preference for formality in PS and for conventional indirectness and informality in BE.

Hence, as we have briefly discussed in Section 2.3.1, the early studies of CMC attempted to characterise the main features of this mode of communication with the aim to describe the 'language of CMC', initially comparing it to written and oral (face-to-face) language. Subsequently, divided into sub-varieties that are related to different communication modes, the 'language of email' has been generally considered to be made of "functionally distinct elements" which are "central for the identification of e-mail as a linguistic variety", such as headers, signatures, greetings and responsive quotations, as well as "more local points of stylistic significance", e.g. spelling variation (Crystal 2001: 94, 122). In addition to that, email has been generally described as oral and predominantly informal due to its conversational immediacy (e.g. Baron, 1998; Maynor, 1994; Pérez Sabater, 2011).

In this regard, Androutsopoulos (2006c: 420) claims that "it is empirically questionable whether in fact anything like a 'language of e-mail' exists, simply because the vast diversity of settings and purposes of e-mail use outweigh any common linguistic features". Even though Bou-Franch (2011: 1773) generally agrees that "there is no universally valid language of email", she believes that even despite that, "it is worth revising what we know about the structure and style of email interaction in order to discover recurring versus situation-specific patterns". Moving away from the language of Internet to socially situated CMD, in her study, Bou-Franch (2011: 1784) then further highlights "the social variability and diversity that surrounds email communications". Also, in her article on solidarity and deference in Spanish CMC, examining students' emails to lecturers, Bou-Franch (2006) concludes

that “there is no need to distinguish electronic language from spoken and written languages and single it out as a different category’’, adding that “as many other forms of speaking and writing (speaking to a judge in court or writing a short note to congratulate a close friend, etc), sending emails is a form of writing in which different features and styles may be found, depending on the context within a particular CofP’’. In a similar vein, Hinrichs (2006: 21) suggests that “as a medium, e-mail is *written*; as a register, it is extremely varied’’ and it is therefore “impossible to make worthwhile generalizations about the type of the language that is used in e-mail’’. Based on the existing empirical studies, scholars have come to a consensus that there is a vast linguistic variation in electronic communication, showing the need for analysing CMC in specific social and cultural settings. In this regard, Baron (1998: 162) notes that “email is a communicative modality in flux” and rather “a moving linguistic target than a stable system, thereby complicating the problem of constructing a unified grammar of email” (1998: 144).

In addition to that, with the development of email as a central tool for workplace communication, for several reasons including facilitating logistics, helping with synchronisation, reducing cost, increasing speed and creating a ‘written’ record, email has been widely used in business, becoming one of the key parts of an ‘e-revolution’ in workplace communication. Research on email in the context of workplace has shown that patterns of use vary across cultures and organisations, as workplaces tend to develop their own unique email styles, reflecting these organisational cultural differences. Moreover, Waldvogel (2007: 460) points out that “these messages construct, signal, and define interpersonal relationships and organizational cultures’’. All in all, from a linguistic perspective, all the aforementioned characteristics make email an interesting text type for analysis.

Before moving on to the quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of email messages in Chapter 5, it should be emphasised that the text type contained in the corpus for this study - email - belongs to the hardest types of CMC data to collect, particularly the one from private dyadic interactions (Hinrichs, 2006: 16). Data collection and challenges attached to the process of data collection are further discussed in the respective section (Section 3.4.1).

2.3.6.2 Overview of previous research on CS within a single CMC mode - email

Using a micro-analytic perspective and the concepts from pragmatics such as politeness, face, and interpersonal alignment, in her article titled *To tell or not to tell?: Email stories between on-and off-line interactions*, **Georgakopoulou (1997)** analyses Greek (L1) - English CS and code-mixing within the corpus of 500 private email message exchanges between intimates (a group of friends). The results of her qualitative data analysis show that participants construct their self-presentation and alignments with their addressees primarily by means of code-choices (code-switching into English and style-shifting from Standard Greek into dialects or sociolects), which serve as major contextualization cues. Georgakopoulou (1997: 158) suggests that the lack of ordinary contextualization cues due to the absence of the visual channel "results in an increased reliance on code-centered contextualization cuing, which would be otherwise delegated to different signals". Establishing a link between linguistic choices, communicative practices, and media affordances, she argues that code-choices in email discourse prove to be bound with several contextual parameters, including (1997: 157-158):

a) the participants' intimacy roles and relationships
b) the main function of the specific type of e-mail communication as a form of social interaction (supplementing face-to-face-interactions)
c) linguistic and sociocultural features of the specific discourse community
d) the conventionalized discourse style of e-mail: language play, intertextual references
e) the communicative context of e-mail: the addressees' physical absence and their inability to provide on-line feedback resulting in an increased reliance on code-centered contextualization cuing

Moreover, Georgakopoulou (1997: 159) concludes that CS can be viewed as a strategy for framing footings of symmetrical alignments, overall playfulness and intimacy among email participants, while pointing out that "the two most unmarked patterns of use of such code- and style-switches'' were:

1. their occurrence in e-mail messages of professional content as devices which introduce shifts in interactional frames; from the formal-professional to the informal-intimate-personal
2. their co-occurrence with various speech acts as qualifiers of their illocutionary force

In this regard, Tsiplakou (2009: 380) argues that:

> the informality of the mode of communication allows for such linguistic hybridism, or, conversely, that the particular brand of linguistic hybridism is a device for signaling emblematically the informality of the communicative situation and, by extension, a device for enhancing positive politeness in virtue of constructing/framing symmetrical alignments among participants

In her paper, **Tsiplakou (2009)** examines practices of language alternation between Greek (L1), English, French and Greek Cypriot dialect in email communication among a group of six native speakers of Greek (fellow academics), who are a part of a relatively close-knit social network. In this study, Tsiplakou uses mixed methods; on one hand, by conducting the quantitative, questionnaire-based study, she examines users' views and attitudes towards language alternation (code-switching and code-mixing) and on the other hand, within the corpus analysis, she examines actual linguistic practices of her research participants. The qualitative analysis reveals "extensive code-switching between Greek and English, both inter- and intra-sentential, with English covering around 20% of the total of words used'' (Tsiplakou, 2009: 361). The findings of the corpus-based study show that the expressions of affect and evaluative comments are mostly in English, which is also used as the language of negotiation when asking favours, expressing disagreement, apologising, etc. On the other hand, Greek is reserved for the transmission of factual and referential information. Moreover, Tsiplakou (2009: 361) argues that the data analysis further reveals that "extensive style- or register-shifting and mixing is a favored strategy among members of the group; such mixing includes shifting among dialects or sociolects of Greek, the use of other languages, and, notably, the use of constructed words and structures with humorous overtones''.

In addition to these two studies from the Greek context (Georgakopoulou, 1997; Tsiplakou, 2009), cases of online communication among 'elite bilinguals' (academics, professionals), whose private email communication shows complex patterns of code (and style) switching and mixing, **Goldbarg (2009)** examines Spanish-English CS in email communication among five bilingual Latino graduate students in the United States, native speakers of Spanish who were also fluent in English. Distributing a questionnaire (as a daily journal tracking participants' emails), using interviews and asking for excerpts from emails written by the research participants resulted in a set of questionnaire data on 133 emails and 101 actual email text samples. In order to explore the contextual parameters of written Spanish-English CS systematically, quantitative methods not often used in discourse analysis of email texts, such as multi-dimensional scaling and tree diagrams were employed. The findings of the study show that "English use was most associated with professional or formal contacts, and use of Spanish, the participants' native language, was linked to intimacy, informality, and group identification'', while "switches to Spanish functioned to personalize otherwise transactional or work-related English-dominant emails'' (Goldbarg, 2009: 1). Consistent with previous research, the results of her language choice analysis show that "in emails where work- or school-related themes intersected with a more personal relationship and informal tone, Spanish or a mix of both English and Spanish was preferred, but not English-only'', concluding that "it seems, then, that participants' relationship to email recipients was a key determinant of email language choice'' (Goldbarg, 2009: 16). Moreover, Goldbarg also emphasises the impact of lack of prosodic cues in email communication which may lead to misunderstanding, miscommunication and other negative consequences, claiming that "bilingualism affords the email writer greater flexibility and control over message'' in two ways, based on her study's data (2009: 16-17):

1) either English or Spanish can be used to express concepts not easily translated into one or the other language
2) Spanish in its role as an intimate / friendly code can help to soften or humorize a message and connect two email interlocutors

While not particularly addressing CS as the central topic, **Durham (2007)** examines how the language situation in Switzerland affects (or may be affected by) the language choice, focusing primarily on language choices on a Swiss mailing list for members of Pan-Swiss medical student organisation. In terms of email classification, Durham (2007) divided the messages into four categories: messages in English, in French, in German, while also adding a category of miscellaneous messages (for 'others'). In the case of messages which could not be readily classified as written in a single language, Durham (2007) further considered those separately as messages containing CS. Therefore, the following three groups of messages were finally created and subsequently analysed (Durham, 2007: 325):

- 'monolingual messages'
- 'mixed-dominant messages' (cases where most of the message was in one language with a sentence or two in another language)
- 'mixed-balanced messages' (emails in which two (or more) languages were roughly equally represented)

The analysis shows that even though mixed-dominant messages are very infrequent in the data (N=21), the CS in many of these messages "appears to have been motivated by an intention to address single comments to specific people", e.g. as in the case of English-dominant message from the corpus which contains one sentence in French (Durham, 2007: 327). Moreover, in terms of the mixed language emails showing that a certain degree of CS is present in the communication, Durham (2007: 328) points out that this underlines the members' "sensitivity to the linguistic needs of a multilingual audience", adding that "English appears to be the most readily understood and accepted language in mixed language groups, mainly because it is a nonnative language for all" (Durham, 2007: 338). In conclusion, Durham's (2007) findings show that English is used as a lingua franca - the preferred language of intra-Swiss communication within the group, even when no native English speakers are present. Durham's longitudinal study also supports the notion that the CMC mode (the mailing list) influences the choice of languages used (Durham, 2007: 338).

2.3.6.3 Overview of previous research on CS within multiple CMC modes: comparative studies of email and other CMC platform/s

In his book titled *Codeswitching on the Web*, considered to be "the most thorough treatment of email CS to date" (Goldbarg, 2009: 2), **Hinrichs (2006)** presents an extensive study of CS in the context of CMC. Based on a corpus of private email messages from Jamaican university students (constituting the primary corpus of ca. 40,000 words) and postings to public Internet discussion forums for Jamaicans (the secondary corpus of ca. 60,000 words), his study examines the discourse functions of Jamaican Creole in CMC and motivations for CS in written language. Using a mixed method approach, Hinrichs' (2006) study contains three analytical chapters (Chapters 3-5) dealing with:

- How the situation determines code choice (Chapter 3 in his book)
- Giving contextualization cues: How writers provide context information through code choice (Chapter 4 in his book)
- Code-switching and identity: How writers describe themselves through code choice (Chapter 5 in his book)

In his analysis of Jamaican Creole (JC - Patois) and Jamaican English (JE) in email communication, Hinrichs (2006) combines ideas from all three CS frameworks (developed by Myers-Scotton, Gumperz and Auer) with categories from Creole linguistics. In contrast with previous studies of CS in writing and the trend in spoken communication in Jamaica, his findings show that JC is the unmarked choice. In most cases from his corpus data, English is used as the base language, while JC appears to be reserved for a particular function. He also found out that JC is used in CS strategies which contrast it with English in some very standard contextualization cue functions. Moreover, as an in important observation, Hinrichs (2006: 59) points out that "there is a clear correlation between personal style and the relative position of the addressee to the writer, which confirms expectations", adding that "CS strategies are employed mainly with addressees of roughly the same status, or with whom a friendly relationship is established, while social superiors are addressed in English".

In the study carried out among a group of 43 young Egyptian professionals in Cairo titled *Language Choice Online: Globalization and Identity in Egypt,* **Warschauer et al. (2007, 2002)** examine language choice in CMC, code-switching, as well as globalisation and identity construction in Egypt, as the title suggests. In order to do so, quantitative methods were employed, including a written survey and follow-up interviews, which were developed for inquiring about people's language and literacy practices online, differentiating between formal email, informal email and online chat. The results of the survey indicated that "the dominance of English is particularly strong in formal email communication, with 82.5% of the participants using only English in that medium'' (Warschauer et al.,2007: 310). On the other hand, the analysis revealed that in informal email communication, "the situation is more balanced, with a slight majority of the participants code switching between English and Arabic languages (principally Egyptian Arabic)'', while in online chats, "the majority also code switch, with smaller and equal numbers using English or Arabic only'' (Warschauer et al.,2007: 310). Apart from that, in interviews, research participants reported that they switched to Egyptian Arabic when expressing highly personal content that could not be better expressed in English. Based on these survey results and data analysis, Warschauer et al. (2007: 310-311) exemplified how situational switching functions in CMC and pointed out that the reasons of the predominant use of English in online communication are as follows:

1. Dominance of English in the professional milieu
2. Lack of a common Arabic software standard
3. Computer and Internet use learned in English environments
4. Early adopters' fluency in English

Furthermore, in her study, **Lee (2007)** examined the linguistic features of CMC in Hong Kong (China), via qualitative and quantitative analyses of a larger corpus including both synchronous ICQ and asynchronous email data, which revealed Cantonese-English code mixing and morpheme-by-morpheme literal translations. Text analysis of private communication based on a total of 167 email messages and 155 ICQ exchanges, constituting a corpus of approximately 70000-words was collected mainly from 72 Cantonese undergraduate university students, native

speakers of Cantonese (a Yue dialect of Chinese, the dominant variety of Chinese spoken in Hong Kong) who have English as their second language. In terms of code mixing in the context of CMC in Hong Kong, within her study, Lee (2007) identified five forms of 'code' created and used in different combinations, namely: standard English, standard Chinese, Cantonese represented in characters, romanised Cantonese, and morpheme-by-morpheme literal translations.

Complemented by a questionnaire survey on language use in online communication and participants' attitudes toward CMC, the results of Lee's (2007) study show that most respondents prefer a mixture of language varieties or codes with 49 respondents (68%) indicating that code mixing of Chinese (their first language) and English (their second language) was a preferred means of communication via the Internet. On the other hand, 22 respondents (30%) reported that they would use English as the only language of online communication, while none reported using only Chinese online.

In conclusion, Lee (2007: 203) found code mixing to be much more common in the ICQ instant messaging data than in emails by the same users, with "all but one of the ICQ exchanges written in more than one code, whereas fewer than half of the email messages are written in mixed code''. She attributed this to both synchronicity and formality, as the analysed emails included institutional exchanges, while her ICQ data were predominantly social interactions. Moreover, apart from code mixing in the corpus, Lee (2007: 205) identified:

- other forms of creative representations of Cantonese (Cantonese romanizations, literal translations, homophony, Cantonese characters, and combinations of "o" or "0" and Chinese characters)
- Hong Kong-specific shortenings (such as ''88'' for ''bye-bye'' and ''99'' for ''good night'')
- Asian emoticons (vertical emoticons - found to be much more frequent in the ICQ data than in email)

In her article titled *iSwitch: Spanish-English Mixing in Computer-Mediated Communication*, **Montes-Alcalá (2016)** analyses and compares data from three different CMC modes, namely: email, blogs and social networks (Facebook and Twitter) with the aim to examine CS among Spanish-English bilinguals. More specifically, looking at the reasons behind bilingual individuals' CS online, Montes-Alcalá (2016: 23) emphasizes "the cultural nature of code-switching, a crucial component that has often been overlooked in the search for grammatical constraints''. Three CMC corpora where Spanish-English CS takes place in Montes-Alcalá's data consist of: (1) 100 email messages written by 10 people from Latin America and the US, (2) 15 bilingual blogs written by 15 people mostly of Mexican descent, (3) 280 Facebook and Twitter posts written by 15 people of Colombian and Venezuelan origin, the bilinguals chosen regardless of their level of bilingualism. In terms of the findings, the socio-pragmatic functions identified in Montes-Alacalá's (2016: 31-41) data from three CMC corpora include:

1) Quotes

The quantitative analysis showed that even though this was not a very recurrent function in Montes-Alacalá's data (9.1% of the total number of switches in the email corpus, 10% in the blogs and 6% in the social networks), several examples of both direct and indirect quotes were found in the corpora and the direction of switch went both ways (Spanish-English as well as English-Spanish).

2) Emphasis

This category includes situations when both languages are used in writing in order to highlight something by both capitalizing and CS to emphasise the idea or for other emphatic purposes (10.3% of the switches in the email corpus, 28.3% in the blog corpus and 9% in the social media corpus).

3) Elaboration

In this category, Montes-Alacalá included switches used to further explain, clarify or elaborate on what was previously said and her corpora "yielded abundant examples'', totalling 20.1% of all the switches in email, 11.1% in blogs and 3% in social networks.

4) Culturally-bound switches: isolated nouns and idiomatic expressions, discourse and identity markers and linguistic routines

This category of switches is linked to 'lexical need', commonly discussed function with regard to CS, typically encompassing switches that occur on the word level - mainly nouns. Hence, consistent with previous studies in oral CS, Montes-Alcalá (2016: 35) points out that this category was "the most prolific one in the CMC corpora" with 51.1% of the total number of switches in the email corpus, 43.2% in the blogs and 69.6% in the social networks. Drawing on the examples from her corpora (e.g. referring to specific holidays - such as Halloween, Thanksgiving, etc.), Montes-Alcalá (2016: 35) named them "culturally-bound switches" since "they are closely related to the bicultural environment where a given situation takes place". Following Zentella's (1997) concept of 'crutch-like' switches, Montes-Alcalá also included other types of CS within this category, including discourse and identity markers and linguistic routines, which appear to be highly "borrowable" (2016: 36).

5) Triggered switches

This category includes situations "when the switch of a word unconsciously prompts switching in what follows or precedes it" (Montes-Alcalá, 2016: 38). In Montes-Alcalá's (2016: 39) data, triggered switches represent 7.9% of the total amount of switches in the email corpus, 7.2% in the blogs and 12.1% in social media.

6) Switching for privacy

According to Montes-Alcalá (2016: 40), this category/ type of function "would accomplish the opposite objective of what has traditionally been called situational switching" thus "putting a new twist on the traditional switching for addressee specification (Gumperz, 1982)". In her corpus, Montes-Alcalá found only two examples (both in the email corpus) - forming 1.2% of the total - where "an attempt to 'exclude' other potential readers prompted a code-switch" (2016: 40-41).

In summary, Montes-Alcalá (2016: 45) points out that CS for cultural reasons was "the common denominator across the board" and therefore she concludes that "biculturalism, not just bilingualism, is at the core of language mixing online (just like in natural speech production)".

In her study, **Barasa (2016)** examined instances of CS in CMC data collected from Kenyan University students and young urban professionals in order to find out whether CS in CMC is equivalent to CS in spoken language in terms of spontaneity, motivation and discourse functions. Drawing on previous studies on CS (e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1992), Barasa (2016) quantitatively analysed messages from various CMC genres including email (35 email messages selected for the analysis), SMS text messages (300 SMS messages selected for analysis), instant messaging (32 IM chats selected for the analysis) and social network sites (212 messages in the form of posts and comments from online newspaper sites, Facebook, YouTube and social networks discussion fora), focusing on Swahili, English and vernacular languages spoken in Kenya. In terms of manifestation and distribution of messages with CS across CMC genres, the results of the study indicate that out of the 579 messages that were selected for the quantitative analysis, 59% were found to contain instances of CS (Barasa, 2016: 56). In summary:

> ...these findings show that less than half Instant Message chats contain code-switching, which is 14 out of 32 messages. On the other hand, over half of SMS text messages and posts on Social Network Sites contain code-switching. The results indicate that at 89%, e-mails have the highest presence of code-switching. (Barasa, 2016: 56)

Furthermore, with regard to languages used for CS in CMC messages (English, Swahili and a vernacular language), Barasa (2016) further distinguishes between 'bilingual CS' (referring to the cases where two languages are used in the same message), 'trilingual CS' (the cases where three languages are used in the same message) and 'polylingual CS' (the cases where more than three languages are used in the same message). The findings of the analysis show that bilingual CS is "the most prevalent type in CMC with a score of 55%" (Barasa, 2016: 59), followed by trilingual CS (37%) and polylingual CS (8%). The results further show that the participants switch mainly between English and Swahili because "these two languages are standardised and are shared by a majority of the Kenyan population" (Barasa, 2016: 68).

In conclusion, based on the total of 579 CMC messages, the findings of Barasa's study (2016: 49) suggest that although CS in CMC is to some extent similar to spoken CS "in terms of language manifestation and deliberateness, its discourse functions reveal features that are specific to CMC contexts''. According to Barasa (2016: 62 - 67), these unique functions of CS in CMC include:

a) rapidity - which is the main feature of synchronous CMC
b) least effort - when choosing the most convenient input that requires least effort to avoid strain (e.g. CS due to the length of the word or phrase - choosing a shorter one, easier to type)
c) space limitation - the restriction in terms of the length of CMC messages resulting in carefully edited messages (CS used for economy in order to save space)

   Even though this is not the case of Instant Message chats and emails which do not have space limitations, Barasa (2016: 67) argues that "in such cases, it can be claimed that resorting to code-switching in order to save space is undoubtedly deliberate''.
d) creativity and fun - in order to compensate for the spoken conversation cues (like gestures, posture, prosody, intonation, etc.) which are absent in CMC, users in CMC achieve this creatively through CS

Moreover, Barasa (2016: 61) points out that these CS instances appear to be "uniquely CMC based'' as they are associated with media affordance because their presence is determined by the genre, concluding that CS in CMC "exhibits functions that are inherent in spontaneous spoken language'' thus "should be viewed and treated as a unique and distinct entity from spoken code-switching in order to capture its inherent attributes'' (2016: 49). In terms of the controversy as to whether CMC is spoken language in text form and the claims that CMC should be viewed as a 'hybrid language' or 'a language that did not exist before', Barasa (2016: 68) argues that the findings of her study suggest that "perhaps CMC should be considered as a genre of its own because even though it shares some features with spoken conversation and written text, it has some additional features that are uniquely CMC''.

2.4 The attitude study

2.4.1 Introduction to the study of attitudes

This part of the literature review, serving as a theoretical background for our attitude study, provides an overview of existing research on attitudes, particularly a relevant research on language attitudes towards code-switching within various different settings, contexts and sociolinguistic situations. With the aim to offer a review of a broader context underlying the significance of researching language attitudes in particular, this chapter is structured as follows.

Firstly, as the concept of attitudes is by no means straightforward, Section 2.4.2 begins with an overview of theories of attitudes in the field of social psychology and continues with some of the proposed definitions in order to provide a foundation for understanding this field of research. We then introduce a tripartite structure of attitudes (also known as the ABC model of attitudes), with its three components which will be briefly reviewed in this section. Secondly, moving towards defining the complex nature of language attitudes in particular, Section 2.4.3 then focuses more specifically on examining its importance in the field of sociolinguistics. The composition of language attitudes is reviewed in detail, focusing primarily on its affective, behavioural and cognitive components, as well as the expectancy-value model and the difference between instrumental and integrative attitude. Thirdly, Section 2.4.4 highlights the reasons for the importance of researching attitudes. Subsequently, the focus of the next section (Section 2.4.5) is to examine a problematic relationship between attitudes and behaviour. Finally, in the last section of this chapter (Section 2.4.6), the overview of relevant attitude research conducted in different contexts is provided, including:

- Large-scale studies of attitudes towards CS among mono-/bi- and multi-linguals
- Studies of attitudes towards CS between English and minority languages
- Studies of attitudes towards CS in educational context
- Studies of attitudes towards CS in CMC

The methods used to elicit and assess language attitudes are further discussed in detail in the Methodology Chapter (Chapter 3).

2.4.2 Attitudes in social psychology - theoretical foundations

Attitudes have been the focus of a great deal of research in different fields, however more than in any other academic discipline, they have been central to social psychology in particular, which is supported by Gordon Allport's (1935: 798) famous claim that "the concept of attitude is probably the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology''. Despite the centrality and popularity of the concept of attitude over years, there has not been a general consensus among scholars when it comes to its definition. It is believed that the difficulty stems from the complex and latent nature of attitudes (Garrett et al., 2003: 2), therefore a great diversity of proposed definitions can be found in the literature. These range from brief and somewhat general to more elaborate ones, making the terminology within the discipline "appear both frightening and immense'' for novices researching the topic (Baker, 1992: 9). For example, Oppenheim (1982: 39) defines attitude as follows:

> An attitude is a construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through such more obvious processes as stereotypes and beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion; and in various aspects of behaviour.

When defining attitudes, social psychologists focus primarily on the tendency to either like or dislike an attitude object or behaviour. According to Fishbein and Ajzen (1975: 6), "most investigators would probably agree that attitude can be described as a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favorable or unfavorable manner with respect to a given object''. In the same vein, Eagley and Chaiken (1993: 1) define an attitude as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor''. Likert (1932: 8) simply describes attitude as "a certain range within which responses move''. Similarly, Fishbein and Ajzen (1975: 216) use the term attitude to refer to "a person's location on a bipolar evaluative or affective dimension with respect to some object, action, or event'' which represents "a person's general feeling of

favorableness or unfavorableness toward some stimulus object''. As Oppenheim (1992: 175) points out, we often tend to perceive attitudes as "straight lines, running from positive, through neutral, to negative feelings about the object or issue in question''. To sum it up, in social psychology, attitudes have been defined mostly in terms of dispositions toward overt action or in terms of verbal substitutes for overt action - in form of mere verbal declarations of opinions and attitudes (Likert, 1932: 9).

Attitudes are undoubtedly a complex phenomena, not only in the sense that they can have many manifestations, but also when it comes to their tripartite structure. While the nature of attitudes as well as its exact definitions are not clear-cut, reasonable consensus has been reached when it comes to the composition of attitudes. Attitudes can be described in terms of three components (Katz, 1960; Edwards, 1982; Eagley & Chaiken, 1993), namely affective, behavioural, and cognitive, also known as the ABC model of attitudes according to which:

- Affective component - involves a person's feelings or emotions about the attitude object and its positive/ negative evaluation
- Behavioural component - the way the attitude we have influences how we act or behave; it is a tendency or disposition to act in certain ways towards something
- Cognitive component - involves a person's thoughts, beliefs and knowledge about an attitude object and it is usually objective, without any emotional element

Moreover, a distinction has been made between two aspects of attitude: content - what attitude is about and its intensity - the strength with which it is held. Due to their hypothetical nature, attitudes are not directly observable but can be inferred from observable responses (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993: 2). However, it is important to point out that one of the main attributes of attitudes is that they are subjective, and as Olson and Maio (2003) point out, "they reflect how a person sees an object and not necessarily how the object actually exists''. Attitudes are also emotional, therefore they may as well be affected by social desirability. That being said, the complex nature of attitudes requires the use of various measurement techniques which would allow the researcher to quantify such abstract psychological constructs as attitudes.

2.4.3 Language attitudes

While attitude research (and attitude measurement) has long belonged predominantly to the investigation of social psychologists, who study how they change, their causes, as well as their impact on cognition and behaviour (among others), attitudes are also frequently studied by other researchers from various different fields, within diverse areas of investigation.

In terms of the study of language attitudes in particular, they have been analysed from a variety of disciplinary perspectives such as already-mentioned social psychology (e.g., Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Oppenheim, 1982; Ryan & Giles, 1982; Eagley & Chaiken, 1993), sociology (e.g., Fishman et al., 1971), anthropology, communication studies (e.g., Hopper, 1977), linguistics and sociolinguistics in particular (e.g., Labov, 1984; Garrett, 2010; Dewaele & Wei, 2014). That being said, there is definitely a certain amount of multidisciplinarity in the study of language attitudes. The concept of attitudes has become a major point of interest in sociolinguistics (Garrett et al., 2003: 2) and even though it seems to be treated primarily as a socio-ideological issue and, therefore, dealt with from the sociolinguistic point of view, attitude affects behaviour, which is a psychological process (Dewaele & Wei, 2014: 236). The study of language attitudes, as Garrett et al. (2003: 13) point out, "seeks to do more than to discover simply what people's attitudes are, and what effects they might be having in terms of behavioral outcomes; a further concern is to understand what it is that determines and defines these attitudes''. Apart from that, language attitudes research sometimes also "seeks to understand how evaluative judgements are affected by properties of the context in which language use occurs'' (Hymes, 1972; Garrett et al., 2003: 14). Moreover, Hout and Knops (1988: 1) claim that "language attitudes are relevant to the definition of speech communities, to the explanation of linguistic change, language maintenance and language shift, and to applied concerns in the fields of intergroup communication, language planning and education''.

Referring back to the tripartite structure of attitudes discussed in the previous section (2.4.2), in the case of language attitudes, Garrett et al. (2003: 3) claim that:

> Cognitive processes are likely to be shaped by the individual and collective functions arising from stereotyping in intergroup relations. Linguistic forms, varieties and styles can set off beliefs about a speaker, their group membership, and can lead to assumptions about attributes of those members.

In terms of the cognitive component, Fishbein (1967: 259) further explains that it refers to "beliefs about the nature of the object and its relations to other objects''. This kind of connection can, for example, be reflected in a person's belief that learning the Welsh language will help him to get a better job in Wales (Garrett et al., 2003: 3).

The affective component of attitudes, on the other hand, can sometimes seem to determine an attitude and even though the extent to which it impacts the overall attitude varies, most researchers agree that attitudes always have a strong affective component (Perloff, 1993: 28; Garrett et al., 2003: 4). To illustrate this, Garrett et al. (2003: 4) introduce the following example: "a person may hear a language or linguistic variety which they are unable to identify, but may nevertheless consider it 'pleasant', or 'ugly', and this may affect their response''. Thus, attitudes are affective in that they involve feelings about an attitude object.

Behaviour, as the third component of attitudes, is where much controversy lies in the study of (language) attitudes, mainly when it comes to the relationship between attitude and behaviour which appears to be problematic. Therefore, the reliability of studying attitudes in predicting people's actual behaviour has been discussed by various researchers. While some researchers deny that there is a direct relationship between the two (e.g. Wicker, 1969; Hanson, 1980), others consider attitude as a construct which is directly related to overt behaviour. In this regard, Garrett et al. (2003: 3) claim that attitudes are "systematically linked to behaviour, because they predispose us to act in a certain way (for example, to learn Welsh)''. The behavioural component of attitudes has been described as both leading to overt actions and reflecting people's behavioural intentions (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993: 12). In this sense, a behavioural response does not necessarily result in actual behaviour, only in a person's intention or desire to act (as opposed to concrete real actions).

The attitude model outlined above raises the question whether attitudes must always contain all the three components: cognitive, affective and behavioural. In this relation, Fishbein (1967: 257) explains that "a multi-component conception of attitude turns out to be a multi-dimensional conception, and the attitude of any one person toward an object or concept may fall at three very different positions on three different dimensions". Thus, the components do not necessarily have to be in agreement with each other. Consequently, as Redigner (2010: 48) argues, "a person may believe (i.e. cognitive component) that speaking a particular language will help him/her to get a better job while simultaneously having a negative emotional response (i.e. affective component) to this language".

The expectancy-value model constitutes a framework for the prediction of attitudes from beliefs. According to this model, people hold positive attitudes towards objects or concepts which they associate with positive attributes, and negative attitudes towards objects or concepts which they associate with negative attributes (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993: 108). The model combines both components - the expectancy component (consisting of the probability that the attitude object is characterised by the attribute) and the value component (consisting of the evaluation of each attribute) in order to predict an attitude from the evaluative meaning of beliefs that affect subsequent behaviour. In this regard, Eagley and Chaiken (1993: 106) come to the conclusion that the model "proposes that evaluation of an attitude object is a summation of the evaluations associated with the particular attributes that are ascribed to the attitude object". In other words, attitudes are developed and modified based on assessments about beliefs and values.

Moreover, according to Baker (1992: 31) "two components of language attitudes have been located by research: an instrumental orientation and an integrative orientation". In terms of the distinction made between two types of attitude components, an instrumental attitude to a language reflects pragmatic, utilitarian motives and is mostly self-oriented and individualistic, while an integrative attitude to a language, on the other hand, is typically social and interpersonal in nature (Baker, 1992: 32).

Instrumental motivation is characterised by “a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language’’ (Baker, 1992: 32; Gardner & Lambert, 1972: 14). Thus, speakers may hold positive attitudes towards learning a second language, or preserving a minority language for reasons having to do with status, achievement, personal success, self enhancement, self actualisation or basic security and survival (Baker, 1992: 32).

Integrative attitude to a particular language has been defined as “a desire to be like representative members of the other language community’’ (Baker, 1992: 32; Gardner & Lambert, 1972: 14). Therefore, this kind of attitude is rather linked to reasons such as the need for affiliation, attachment to, or identification with a speech community or a language group of ‘other’ language speakers and their cultural activities, as well as wanting friendship within that group (Baker, 1992: 32).

In addition to that, language attitudes also function as both input to and output from social action (Garrett et al., 2003: 6).

A student’s positive attitude towards learning a language may serve as an important input factor in language achievement, which means that this attitude can subsequently positively influence the acquisition of the same language. Thus, in this sense, “attitude is a predisposing factor, affecting the outcomes of education’’ (Baker, 1992: 12).

In contrast, a student’s attitude toward a particular language may change after successful completion of a language course. In this sense, that is when attitude functions as output (Baker, 1992: 12).

In summary, this dual function of attitudes (as input - a predisposer and output - an outcome) is of particular interest in educational research, as well as in areas such as language planning and language policy (Baker 1992: 12) and it is often referred to when explaining the role of attitude in both the reception and production of language.

2.4.4 The importance of attitudes: Why study language attitudes?

In terms of the importance of researching language attitudes, Baker (1992: 9) points out that attitude is an important concept, arguing that "in the life of a language, attitudes to that language appear to be important in language restoration, preservation, decay or death". Hence, three of the most significant reasons for the importance of attitudes highlighted by Baker (1992: 10) include:

- its close connection to individual construct systems
- its value as an indicator of viewpoints in the community
- its centrality in psychological theory and research

The first reason encompasses the claim that attitude is a term which is commonly used by general public as opposed to being a scientific jargon with narrow utility invented and used exclusively by specialised (social) psychologists and other scientists alike. As Baker (1992: 9) argues, this "common terminology allows bridges to be made between research and practice, theory and policy".

In addition to that, as the second reason, a survey of attitudes provides indicators of current thoughts, beliefs, preferences and desires of languages users. Moreover, attitudes like Censuses provide a measure of the health of the language, especially when it comes to minority languages. Subsequently, surveys of attitudes to second languages within each country, for example French in Canada, Spanish in the USA, English in Japan may also reveal a lot of information, including the possibilities and problems, which need to be taken into account (Baker, 1992: 9). In this regard, Lewis (1981: 262) points out that:

> In the long run, no policy will succeed which does not do one of three things: conform to the expressed attitudes of those involved; persuade those who express negative attitudes about the rightness of the policy; or seek to remove the causes of the disagreement. In any case knowledge about attitudes is fundamental to the formulation of a policy as well as to success in its implementation.

Thus, the survey data and information collected from language users serve as evidence which may aid understanding of social processes. Moreover, relating attitudes to their causes and effects may provide insights into human functioning (Baker, 1992: 10).

The third reason why attitude is an important concept (in theory and research alike, as well as in policy and practice), especially within the field of social psychology and education, has already been briefly explained in the Section 2.4.2.

In an attempt to further clarify the importance of researching 'attitude', it should be pointed out that already-mentioned concept of 'language ideology' is crucial for understanding the politics of language in multilingual situations which is closely related to language attitudes (Garrett et al., 2003: 11). In attitudinal studies, ideological analysis tends to be at their core, hence language attitude research is often linked to language policy and language planning.

In favour of interdisciplinary approach to the study of attitudes, Edwards (1999: 108) argues that:

> the combination of social, psychological and linguistic insights has some particular attractions for the study of language attitudes. In general, the argument is for a more linguistically aware social psychology or a more psychologically aware sociolinguistics.

From sociolinguistic point of view, one of the important aims of language attitudes research is to construct "a record of overt attitudes towards language, linguistic features and linguistic stereotypes" (Labov, 1984: 33). In this regard, Garrett (2010: 15) points out that this kind of research "provides a backdrop for explaining linguistic variation and change". Moreover, language attitude studies also attempt to reveal, for example, whether some language attitudes lead to certain groups (such as speakers of certain minority languages or dialects), to be more or less successful in the labour market, in the educational system, in health care or in the courts (Garrett et al., 2003: 12; Garrett, 2010: 15).

2.4.5 Attitudes vs. behaviour

The relationship between attitudes and behaviour is problematic (Garrett, 2010), as previously outlined in Section 2.4.3, while referring to the behavioural component of attitudes. Extensive discussions among attitude researchers concerning the question of role and utility of attitudes in predicting and explaining behaviour still remains open to a certain degree as the opinions widely differ. In this regard, Garrett (2010: 15) argues that "language attitudes issues extend to all manner of sociolinguistic and social psychological phenomena, such as how we position ourselves socially, and how we relate to other individuals and groups'' and "they may affect behaviors and experiences''. In contrast, Baker (1992: 15) points out that people's actions often tend to be inconsistent across different contexts and that "as props on the stage change, as different actors and actresses change, different scripts are enacted [...], behaviour may change accordingly, and attitudes may become imperfect explainers and predictors of behaviour.''. This is illustrated by Garrett et al. (2003: 9) by the following example:

> a candidate at an interview for a job may strategically adjust their speech style in a way that diverges from (or conceals) the dialect to which they otherwise have a strong loyalty, if they feel this enhances their chances of getting the job, thus helping them to fulfill their career ambitions, and/or to please significant others, such as a partner or parent.

Moreover, the attitude-behaviour correspondence is a psychological process which is influenced by socio-ideological factors as well as individual factor, such as personality, emotional state and experience (Dewaele & Wei, 2014: 236). Significant discrepancies between bilingual speakers' self-reported descriptions of their language usage and actual linguistic practices recorded through participant observation have repeatedly been reported in the empirical studies within the sociolinguistic literature (Gumperz, 1977: 3). Various other explanations for the mismatch between attitudes and behaviour will be further discussed later, as they reflect the method or context of attitude measurement (Garrett et al. 2003: 8) .

2.4.6 Relevant studies of attitudes towards CS

Language attitudes are present in our everyday lives; other people often judge our group membership, social status, competence, intelligence, friendliness, trustworthiness, and so on, by the way we communicate (Garrett, 2010). The majority of the existing studies on language attitudes are done on particular languages or language varieties, as well as certain aspects of language use (e.g. pronunciation, accent, word choice, speed of speech, grammar, spelling, etc.) and they come from a variety of different contexts and sociolinguistic situations.

Studies of language attitudes have been undertaken at a variety of levels, and in a variety of contexts (Garrett, 2010). In fact, language attitude is an "umbrella term", which covers a wide range of different empirical studies, dealing with a number of specific attitudes pointing to various foci. In this regard, Baker (1992: 29) introduces the following list identifying the areas that research has focused on over the years:

1. attitude towards language variation, dialect and speech style
2. attitude towards learning a new language
3. attitude towards a specific minority language
4. attitude towards language groups, communities and minorities
5. attitude towards language lessons
6. attitude towards the uses of a specific language
7. attitude of parents towards language learning
8. attitude towards language preference

However, systematic studies of attitudes towards CS are, as Gardner-Chloros (2009: 81) points out, "still relatively few and far between, and most of our information on this is gleaned from a variety of studies where responses are elicited about attitudes along with other aspects". In similar vein, this point is supported by Dewaele & Wei (2014: 250) who claim that "attitudes towards the very linguistic phenomenon that is being studied are rarely taken into account". One of the most

apparent gaps in the current literature, both on language attitudes in general and on attitudes towards CS in particular, as identified by Dewaele & Wei (2014: 236), is :

> ...the investigation of individual differences in language attitudes, which includes questions such as how different individuals view the same linguistic phenomenon; how the same individual views different linguistic phenomena; and what psychological, historico-cultural and sociopolitical conditions would affect inter- and intra-speaker variation and change in language attitudes.

In this regard, Dewaele and Wei (2014: 236) point out that these questions are "crucial because language attitudes differ and change, just as language behaviors differ and change, and the variations and changes reflect changes in society at large as well as in the individual's environment".

Code-switching is a linguistic phenomenon which commonly occurs in bilingual or multilingual speech communities in which two or more languages are in contact. There is a number of studies dealing with attitudes towards code-switching "in sociolinguistic situations where there is a troubled history of language contact and a sharp differentiation of the symbolic values of the languages involved" (Dewaele & Wei, 2014: 235). This category of studies includes for example relevant studies of language attitudes towards English and other local languages in Hong Kong, India, sub-Saharan Africa and Wales (Garrett, 2010).

Before moving on to presenting different attitudes towards CS, including its labels and connotations associated with it, we should mention some of the issues that are central to this field of research, as exemplified by Garrett (2010: 16):

> language ideologies, notions of correctness and purity, some language myths that underpin attitudinal stances, language features and communication behaviors aimed at changing or forming specific attitudes in other people, social and cultural stereotypes leading whole clusters of attributes to be associated with language, from personality traits, moral standing, even dress styles.

Code-switching has been "socially stigmatized by monolinguals and bilinguals alike" (Montes-Alcalá, 2000: 218) and has been given neutral-sounding labels such as 'Tex-Mex' (to refer to CS among Mexican Americans in Texas and through the American South West), 'Franglais', 'Spanglish', 'Japlish' and so on, which, however, often have rather derogatory connotations (Gumperz, 1977: 4). Moreover, numerous studies of CS point to negative attitudes, using pejorative terms when referring to CS as 'verbal salad' (in Nigeria), 'still colonized' (Morocco), and 'very irritating' (Hong Kong), among others (Dewaele & Wei, 2014: 236 - 237). Furthermore, among some monolinguals, CS is often frowned upon and dismissed as 'gibberish' (Edwards, 1994: 78). These attitudes stem from a belief in 'purity' as a linguistic ideal and as Dewaele and Wei (2014: 237) point out, "these terms reflect ideologies of monolingualism and linguistic purism, or one language only (OLON) and one language at a time (OLAT), which lie behind attitudes against CS (Wei & Wu, 2009)", the idea that "languages are best kept separate and well formed according to tightly defined monolingual rules". Apart from that, CS is often attributed to illiteracy, lack of formal education, lack of proficiency in one or both languages (Montes-Alcalá, 2000: 218) or it is believed to be an indication of laziness (Garrett, 2010: 12). In contrast, CS can also be regarded as "an achievement strategy by language learners, an identity marker in certain communities, or a snobbish ornament amongst the elite" (Dewaele & Wei, 2014: 236). However, the perception and evaluation of different CS manifestations and practices by the same individual tend to be treated differently depending on different communicative environments. This can be illustrated by the following example (Dewaele & Wei, 2014: 236):

> One person may believe that it is entirely normal to code-switch within her own family but not at all appropriate in the workplace, whereas another may feel that CS is controllable and only occurs when inhibition is temporarily lifted as in anxiety or excitement.

Hence, as Garrett (2010: 16) points out, language attitudes, may, for example "vary according to ethnic, regional and social and professional groups" and therefore studies of language attitudes can shed some light on differences within and across communities.

Large-scale studies of attitudes towards CS among mono-/bi- and multi-linguals

In their large-scale study, Dewaele & Wei (2014) investigated attitudes towards code-switching (CS) among adult mono- and multilingual language users focusing mainly on inter-individual variation linked to sociobiographical variables, personality traits and multilingualism. Using an online questionnaire for data collection among 2070 multilinguals, their findings show that "the attitudes towards CS are linked to personality, language learning history and current linguistic practices, as well as some sociobiographical variables'' (Dewaele & Wei, 2014: 235).

The Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (BEQ) is another large-scale research study based on an online questionnaire to investigate individual differences in the perceptions and use of multiple languages (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001/03). With the 34 closed and open-ended questions on language choice, code-switching behaviour in speech and on attitudes towards the different languages, the open access survey ran for 2 years and attracted 1800 responses, with 1579 valid ones (Wilson & Dewaele, 2010: 109-110). In her chapter, Pavlenko (2006: 28) aims to "legitimize and normalize bi- and multilinguals' experiences without trivializing them or equating them to a change in registers'', accepting multilingualism as the norm, rather than an exception. In the conclusion, based on the corpus analysis, Pavlenko (2006: 29) claims that:

> Some bi- and multilinguals may perceive the world differently, and change perspectives, ways of thinking, and verbal and non-verbal behaviors when switching languages. Some may derive enjoyment from hybridity and relativity of their existence and others may feel that they inhabit distinct and at times incommensurable lifeworlds and experience pain and anguish over this condition. Yet this is not an aberration on their part but a part of what makes us human.

Some exploratory, mainly small-scale research has been carried out on attitudes towards CS, typically on relatively small samples and a number of independent variables linked to linguistic practices and ethnic identity.

Studies of attitudes towards CS between English and minority languages

Studies of attitudes towards CS between English and minority or immigrant languages reviewed below include a number of studies from a variety of different contexts, language contact situations and of various language combinations.

In a study of attitudes towards CS among the Greek Cypriot community in London, using a questionnaire with statements related to attitudes towards the use of English in various domains (e.g. home, work, socially), Gardner-Chloros et al. (2005) revealed reasonably positive attitudes towards CS in this community, with some variations depending on education, occupational group and age. The analysis based on 159 questionnaires revealed that respondents from lower occupational groups had the most favorable attitudes towards CS, while the higher level of education respondents had, the less favorable their attitude towards CS was. In terms of respondents' age as another variable, the younger respondents disapproved less of CS, considering it to be more advantageous than the older ones. Differentiating between The Nicosia study and The London study, several significant similarities as well as differences were identified between attitudes among Cypriots in London and those in Cyprus itself, even despite the same language combination. All in all, in the context of The London study, "English is the 'default' language of competence for everyday interaction in British society for the younger generation" (Gardner-Chloros et al., 2005: 76) and as Dewaele & Wei (2014: 237) add, "cultural hybridity became more commonplace and, in some cases, even fashionable".

In her empirical study, Pena (2004) explored language attitudes of 98 members of a Spanish-Galician community in London, the first and second generation of immigrants in a bilingual setting, focusing on code alternation. Using direct (interview, questionnaire) and indirect methodologies (matched guise technique), in the summary of the findings, Pena (2004: 155-156) concludes that the first generation participants think that code alternation "demonstrates a lack of proficiency in the languages juxtaposed and think of it as highly negative". On the other hand, the findings show that the second generation participants do not think positively about code alternation either, however Pena (2004: 156) argues that:

> ...yet they feel very comfortable speaking in a mixed language mode. Their feeling of lack of competence in either language is also noted by them when using code mixing, as it is in general a negative concept, and they believe it to be an unstructured 'mixing' which they are aware they produce, yet do not know how or why.

Even despite that being said, in opposition to their views, Pena (2004: 156-157) concludes that due to recurrent patterns they show in their speech production, "code alternation is with them a highly structured phenomenon which they could only produce due to their being very proficient in all languages". Moreover, during interviews, most of the participants also reported a shift in attitudes towards CS over the years, claiming that while they were teenagers in London, they "absolutely hated using Spanish and almost always tried to use English, they felt ashamed of not being 'normal' people in London", also avoiding CS in order to fit in (Pena, 2004: 154). However, they became prouder of their linguistic heritage and bilingualism as they became adults, not hiding it or feeling ashamed of their Spanish language or CS anymore.

In a similar vein, Montes-Alcalá (2000) carried out a research focusing on linguistic behaviour, particularly codeswitching in a communication among 10 selected individuals - native speakers of Spanish or Spanish-English bilingual speakers in California. More specifically, she considered how attitudes towards CS affect the type of CS produced in both oral and written narratives. The findings of her study indicate a shift in attitudes towards CS among the new generation of college-educated Spanish-English bilingual individuals. As Montes-Alcalá (2000: 226) argues in the conclusion, "in direct opposition to the traditional views, the subjects do not ascribe a negative value to codeswitching, do not think it will lead to language loss, and do not consider it to be a sign of a lack of language proficiency". Furthermore, the analysis revealed that attitudes towards CS are not a determining factor influencing types of CS produced, whilst more complex and elaborate intra-sentential type of CS was produced more often than the inter-sentential one in both oral and written communication, even by those speakers who expressed negative attitudes towards CS (Montes-Alcalá, 2000: 226).

In her book titled *Growing up bilingual*, Zentella (1997) examined the U.S. Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican community in New York, using a fusion of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Her subjects attributed CS to characteristics such as language deficiency, rather than language skill or discourse needs (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 81).

In their study of evaluative reactions, Chana and Romaine (1984) reported negative attitudes towards CS among Punjabi-English bilinguals in Birmingham. Using the experimental procedure adapted from the matched guise technique, the analysis revealed that the same speaker was evaluated differently depending on the way he spoke and "the different types of code-switched discourse were found to be related to external dimensions such as perceived fluency in English and Panjabi, intelligibility and expressivity" (Chana & Romaine, 1984: 447).

Gibbons (1983) investigated attitudes towards languages and code-mixing among Cantonese-English bilingual students at the University of Hong Kong, conducting a matched-guise experiment in order to examine the seeming conflict between attitudes and behaviour. Although the results indicated hostility towards a mixture of Cantonese and English (MIX) in the student speech community, he also identified an element of covert prestige associated with it (Gibbons, 1983: 145).

In one of his articles on sociolinguistic significance of conversational CS, Gumperz (1977: 4) reports a range of differing attitudes to CS using an example from the community of Spanish-English bilinguals living in a Puerto Rican neighbourhood in Jersey City. In interview sessions, speakers expressed widely different attitudes, which Gumperz (1977: 4; 1982: 62-63) sums up as follows:

> Some characterize it as an extreme form of language mixing or linguistic borrowing attributable to lack of education, bad manners or improper control of the two grammars. Other see it as a legitimate style of informal talk. For the most part members have no readily available words or descriptive terms to characterize the process of switching as such.

Other studies of attitudes towards CS between Arabic and French

Experimental studies of attitudes towards CS using matched-guise technique in particular largely report negative findings and confirm negative attitudes towards CS from questionnaires and interviews (Dewaele & Wei, 2014: 237).

In their study of attitudinal and behavioural dimensions of code-switching in Tunisia, containing three partial studies, Lawson-Sako and Sachdev (2000) gathered data on attitudes about CS from 169 Tunisian university students using a matched-guise technique. Complemented by the second study, 28 students also completed language diaries reporting details about their language use (including different language varieties). In the third study, field experimental approach was employed with the aim to observe the extent of actual CS behaviour in casual interactions with over 700 individuals in the streets. The results of the analysis, pointing to the discrepancy between reported attitudes and actual behaviour, revealed that "negative evaluations of codeswitching obtained in the first study were not reflected in the behavioural data obtained in the subsequent studies that examined self-reported and actual behaviour'' (Lawson-Sako & Sachdev, 2000: 1343). In summary, the main significant finding of their research, as identified by the authors is that "CS should be treated as distinct linguistic variety in the Tunisian context'' as it is "the unmarked ingroup code that most aptly represents the bilingualism of the country'', bridging the linguistic Arabic-French duality of post-colonial Tunisia (Lawson-Sako & Sachdev, 2000: 1357-1358).

In a similar vein, Bentahila (1983) carried out a matched guise experiment examining language attitudes among 109 Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco. The results revealed strongly negative attitudes towards switching between French and Arabic, as large majority reacted negatively to the CS guise, with their attitudes ranging from pity to disgust. Moreover, similarly, three-quarters of questionnaire respondents expressed strong disapproval, viewing CS as a sign of ignorance, psychological problems, lack of confidence, or a residue of colonialism; whilst fewer than a tenth of respondents expressed no objections to it and only 4.63% admitted code-switching themselves (Bentahila, 1983).

Studies of attitudes towards CS in educational context

Significantly larger number of studies of attitudes towards CS can be found in educational contexts and in child language acquisition studies (Dewaele & Wei, 2014: 237). In the literature on bilingualism, conversational CS tends to be treated as "a marginal or transitory phenomenon, a type of linguistic interference which accompanies the learning of a new grammatical system" (Gumperz, 1977: 4). Therefore, code-switching can be observed mostly in second or foreign language classrooms, where the attitudes towards this particular linguistic phenomenon differ greatly. According to Dewaele and Wei (2014: 237), "CS in language teaching has seldom been seen as a facilitating strategy", instead, "it is regarded as a sign of lack of proficiency in the target language". However, as Dewaele and Wei (2014: 237) add, recent research "has provided evidence that CS can not only be used as an effective pedagogical strategy for teaching and learning (Canagarajah, 2011) but also should be seen as a sign of linguistic creativity and criticality (Li, 2011)". Having said that, it has been proven that being able to switch between languages in a conversation is linked to high linguistic knowledge (Gardner-Chloros, 2009).

Through a large-scale questionnaire study of language attitudes and an ethnographic study of classroom behaviour in a multilingual educational context in the case of Luxembourg, in his PhD thesis, Redinger (2010) examines a link between language attitudes and language behaviour. The results of the analysis revealed that language attitudes play a significant role in speakers' language choice as reported in the questionnaire as well as seen from the ethnographic study of classroom behaviour (Redinger, 2010: 352). Moreover, the pragmatic analysis of classroom CS practices (the use of three languages: Luxembourgish, French, German) proven that "students' and teachers' use of multiple languages is highly functional and often facilitates access to curriculum content as well as the management of classroom discourse and student-teacher relationships", which also leads to higher levels of student involvement in classroom activities (Redinger, 2010: 346).

In his experimental study, Berthele (2012) investigated the influence of code-mixing and speaker background information, specifically the influence of different

ethnically marked names (Serbian) on Swiss teachers' perception and assessment of pupils' oral proficiency in French as a foreign language. A total of 157 future teachers rated the speech samples presented to them with respect to different dimensions such as fluency, correctness, as well as the pupil's academic potential in general (Berthele, 2012: 453). The analysis revealed differing attitudes, however the most surprising finding of this study as identified by the author is that "there is a tendency for better assessment scores in the Balkan name condition if there are no insertional switches into German" and "as soon as there are such inserts, the Balkan name texts are assessed in a consistently more negative manner" (Berthele, 2012: 463).

Studies of attitudes towards CS in CMC

Although a growing body of literature on linguistic practices in computer-mediated communication (CMC) contains studies related to code-switching, studies investigating attitudes towards this phenomenon in these platforms are particularly lacking.

In her article, Tsiplakou (2009) examines practices of language alternation in email communication among native speakers of Greek by conducting quantitative, questionnaire-based study examining user attitudes towards code-switching on email and a corpus-based study examining actual linguistic practices. The results of the quantitative study indicate that "users abstract away from 'phobic' attitudes towards the use of English and that they treat language alternation as a manifestation of balanced or functional bilingualism, which is furthermore situation-specific and 'genre'-appropriate" (Tsiplakou, 2009: 361).

At present, there do not appear to be any other examples of studies which concentrate specifically on attitudes towards code-switching in CMC that we would be able to identify in the available literature.

2.5 Summary - Positioning of my own research project

Given the interdisciplinary nature of our study, a decision was made to approach the topic from the perspective of a range of different disciplines and frameworks identified in the literature reviewed in the previous sections. We thus consider it more appropriate to locate our own work within the extensive research tradition, combining the elements from the established theories of CS, while critically applying them to our context. Intended as a contribution to the above line of inquiry, in the empirical part of this thesis, we provide a sociolinguistic and pragmatic investigation of language attitudes and CS behaviour in the multilingual environment of a hospitality company in Slovakia. Hence, in the light of the above, this study sets out to address the objectives and questions discussed in Section 1.2.

Firstly, with regard to the questionnaire survey analysis, serving as the basis of the quantitative study of attitudes, language attitude is used as an "umbrella term" covering a wide range of different empirical studies, dealing with a number of specific attitudes pointing to various foci. Baker (1992: 29) introduces the following list identifying the areas that research has focused on over the years:

1. attitude towards language variation, dialect and speech style
2. attitude towards learning a new language
3. attitude towards a specific minority language
4. attitude towards language groups, communities and minorities
5. attitude towards language lessons
6. attitude towards the uses of a specific language
7. attitude of parents towards language learning
8. attitude towards language preference

For the purposes of this study, we will follow a brief and rather general definition of *attitude* as introduced by Henerson et al. (1987: 13), in terms of which "the word attitude will be used quite broadly to describe all the objects we want to measure that have to do with affect, feelings, values and beliefs". Hence, the main focus of our attitude study is to measure attitudes towards the use of a specific language - in our

case English (as a foreign language as well as a lingua franca) in the business communication among colleagues in a multilingual environment of a hospitality company in Slovakia. Apart from that, attitudes towards language preference or more specifically, language choice and switching between languages will be further investigated. That being said, we would locate our research within the sixth and eight of the above categories.

Secondly, in terms of email corpus analysis, the current study falls within the framework of Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis. In this tradition, we find relevant studies of email communication from both linguistic, organisational and medium-bound perspectives. Therefore, based on earlier studies on CS in CMC, but shifting towards a more specific environment, the workplace, this research project aims to examine language practices (more specifically Slovak-English CS) in the context of CMC, focusing on email communication among colleagues. Drawing on the categories identified by Gumperz (1977), Auer (1995) and Hoffman (1991) presented above, and bearing in mind the critiques as well, we are aware of the fact that there might be a lack of explanations and categories of functions if the analysis was based on one functional model only. Thus, the shortcomings of the sociolinguistic theories of CS will be taken into consideration during the analyses of CS practices presented in this thesis. As there might be instances from the corpus which don't fall into any of the above-mentioned categories, none of the models (typologies) will strictly be followed in attempting to analyse the CS behaviour/ practices in this study. As a starting point, in order to structure our analysis as well as subsequent presentation and interpretation of findings (i.e. the communicative and stylistic functions for which CS is employed in our data), we will not use any ready-made checklist, but instead, we will draw on the proposed classifications of CS functions, as they provide a useful initial overview of patterns of CS, attested in a CMC environment as well. Hence, we will analyse all switches individually and use all available ethnographic and contextual information in their interpretation. With the aim to analyse functions of CS in email messages which form a part of the participants' workplace communication, the methodology and approaches employed in this study are further described in the respective chapter (Chapter 3).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a description of various methods used in this study. Due to its interdisciplinary nature as well as its dual focus on language attitudes and CS practices, the methodology consists of a combination of methods. Hence, through a combined use of questionnaire survey and corpus analysis of naturally-occurring email interactions, this study employs a mixed method approach.

The main focus of our quantitative, questionnaire-based study is to examine the participants' metalinguistic awareness of the extent of switching to English during their communication (particularly focusing on their CMC interactions) and to determine their reasons for doing so, while uncovering the attitudes they hold towards this phenomenon. Attitudes expressed by the participants are essential to researchers' interpretive process as they will throw new light on the phenomena observed. Furthermore, the research attempts to explore the role of various factors in the production of language, the reasons behind linguistic choices as well as various functions of CS. However, as Codó (2008: 161) suggests, "it must be pointed out that, although useful in its own terms, declarative data can never be employed as a substitute for data on speakers' actual linguistic behavior''. It is because as Codó (2008: 161) adds, "self-or other-reports of bilingual language practice may not match observed conduct, since many phenomena related to performance, like code-switching, operate on a subconscious level''. In a similar vein, Gumperz (1982: 61) claims that "participants immersed in the interaction itself are often quite unaware which code is used at any one time'', as "their main concern is with the communicative effect of what they are saying''. That being said, it's believed that their language choice and particular code selection is in large part automatic, subconscious and speakers' main aim is to convey meaning in order to effectively achieve their communicative ends. The reliability of studying attitudes in predicting people's actual behaviour has been discussed by various researchers (see Section 2.4.5). In some studies, it's been revealed that when participants are asked to evaluate utterances or report on their own usage, their reports often differ systematically from actual usage (Gumperz, 1982).

Therefore, as the depth of knowledge obtained through questionnaire survey is limited, the aim of the fine-grained qualitative (and partly quantitative) analysis of the corpus is to investigate more closely the amount and types of CS involved. This will be done by analysing actual linguistic practices (workplace email communication) and subsequently comparing and relating these findings to the findings of the quantitative study. By doing that, an attempt will be made to establish a link between attitudes, language behaviour and CS practices. Relatively few studies of language use in CMC employ qualitative methodologies even despite the fact that this combination of methods proves to be particularly effective and insightful. We believe that studies on CS in CMC can benefit from using a mixed-methods approach - a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques. As Jaspaert and Kroon (1988: 157) point out, "examining the relation between attitude measures on the one hand, and language choice and social factors on the other, can then enable us to shed some light on the question whether attitudes constitute a meaningful addition to a theory explaining language choice". According to Dewaele and Wei (2014: 236), understanding the factors which affect differences in language attitudes will "help us to understand the processes of social change and how individuals in their specific socio-psychological locale respond to social changes". Overall, in summary, the integrated use of multiple data collection methods is in line with the general concept of 'triangulation' which has created a ground for the constellation of data from different sources. Moreover, a mixed method approach was applied, combining both quantitative study of questionnaire survey and qualitative analysis of the corpus of email messages, examining the participants' actual linguistic production.

In terms of chapter organisation, Chapter 3 is structured as follows. After this brief introduction, the participants of the study are introduced, including their socio-biographic and linguistic profiles (Section 3.2). In the following section, the methodology used for the quantitative, questionnaire-based study is described (Section 3.3). Subsequently, the methodology employed for the corpus analysis of email messages is introduced, including the description of the process of data collection, as well as the structure and compilation of the corpus (Section 3.4). Finally, the chapter is concluded by addressing the issue of confidentiality, anonymity and other ethical considerations (Section 3.5).

3.2 Participants

This section aims to introduce the socio-biographic (Section 3.2.1) and linguistic (Section 3.2.2) profiles of the participants - both of qualitative study of the corpus of emails representing the participants' workplace communication, as well as of quantitative, questionnaire-based study examining the participants' metalinguistic awareness of the extent of switching to English during their communication, while uncovering the attitudes they hold towards the phenomenon of CS.

As a point of departure, we shall start by defining our research participants as a group of people who share the same profession and the same workplace, therefore in this sense, we refer to a Community of Practice (CoP). The concept was first proposed by Jean Lave, a cognitive anthropologist and Etienne Wenger, an educational theorist, in their book titled *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation* (Lave & Wenger, 1991), first as a theory of learning and later as a part of the field of knowledge management. Later, Wenger significantly expanded the concept of community of practice in his book *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity* (Wenger, 1998). While our CoP exists in a physical setting (a workplace), CoPs can also form a 'virtual community of practice' (VCoP) (Dubé, Bourhis & Jacob, 2005), as in the case of online setting such as within discussion boards, newsgroups, etc., or a 'mobile community of practice' (MCoP) (Kietzmann et al., 2013), when participants communicate via mobile phones and work on the go.

Based on Lave and Wenger's (1991) research, when newcomers join an established group or community, they spend some time initially observing, watching and learning before actually doing any work, starting with initially performing simple tasks in basic roles as they learn how the group works and how they can fully participate, eventually working on more complicated tasks. This scenario is particularly the case in the workplace environment, as the one of our participants. In addition to that, in his later work, Wenger (1998: 72-73) describes the structure of CoP as consisting of 3 interrelated terms; also defined as "dimensions of the relation by which practice is the source of coherence of a community'', namely: mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and shared repertoire.

Firstly, with regard to the mutual engagement of participants as the source of coherence of a community, Wenger (1998) refers to the participation, relationships, engaged diversity, social complexity, simply doing things together, during which the members establish norms and build collaborative relationships.

Secondly, through their mutual interactions, they create a shared understanding of what binds them together, which is defined as the joint enterprise. In this regard, Wenger (1998: 82) argues that it is a process, not a static agreement, adding that:

> It produces relations of accountability that are not just fixed constraints or norms. These relations are manifested not as conformity but as the ability to negotiate actions as accountable to an enterprise. The whole process is as generative as it is constraining. It pushes the practice forward as much as it keeps it in check. [...] It spurs action as much as it gives it focus. It involves our impulses and emotions as much as it controls them. It invites new ideas as much as it sorts them out. An enterprise is a resource of coordination, of sense-making, of mutual engagement; it is like rhythm to music.

Finally, in terms of the development and production of certain shared repertoire as one of the characteristics of practice as a source of community coherence and negotiation of meaning, Wenger (1998: 83) points out that:

> The repertoire of a community of practice includes routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions, or concepts that the community has produced or adopted in the course of its existence, and which have become part of its practice. The repertoire combines both reificative and participative aspects. It includes the discourse by which members create meaningful statements about the world, as well as the styles by which they express their forms of membership and their identities as members. Hence, in this context, a CoP is a group of individuals participating in common activity, while experiencing and continuously creating their shared identity through engaging in and contributing to the practices of their communities (Wenger et al., 2002).

Overall, in summary, the participants of our study form a relatively close-knit group or CoP, where the individuals are hotel employees grouped based on their expertise and job roles within the hotel operations departments such as Front Office (FO), Food & Beverage (F&B), Housekeeping (HSK), Human Resources (HR), Sales, Finances, Engineering (ENG), holding a variety of different positions (including FO Agent, Concierge, Bellman, FO Supervisor, FO Manager, HSK Supervisor, Sales Coordinator, F&B Waiter, etc.). Therefore, in our context, CoP could be defined as an organised group of 'young professionals' (as they are engaged in introductory (entry-) or mid-level and management positions within the company), who interact with each other for their pursuit of a common practice, while sharing the same interests (hospitality, hotel, services), improving skills, motivating each other in developing their capabilities and learning from each other's experiences. At the time of the data collection, the participants had known one another (and had been colleagues and some of them even friends) for periods ranging from few months to three years. Therefore, it should be pointed out that the participants are linked in several ways - by job and leisure activities, therefore the network ties are rather multiplex. Obviously, these participants know each other in real life and they have what Hinrichs (2006: 23) defines as "deep and multifaceted personal relationships" and they "make for a richness of interactional context that is not present in more public and anonymous CMC interactions". Moreover, as the researcher, being the member of this particular work team (CoP), as the participants' (former) colleague, active participation in conversations (analysed workplace email communication) could not be avoided. However, as Tsiplakou (2009: 373) points out:

> The fact that the researcher is situated within the group provides a number of advantages for ethnographic research of the type undertaken here, namely first-hand knowledge of the social and linguistic profiles of the participants and, more importantly, the potential for comparison between the group's linguistic practices on email and in informal face-to-face interaction; the availability of such comparative data is crucial to any approach that attempts to tease apart facets of linguistic practice that are relevant or exclusive to CMD versus linguistic performance that is a function of contextual parameters such as participant roles and relations.

3.2.1 Socio-biographic profiles of the participants

This and the following section present the socio-biographic and linguistic profiles of the participants of the study as per questionnaire survey data (SECTION 1: Background) from early 2018 as well as from brief informal interviews. The research has been carried out on a relatively small sample - a group consisting of 40 participants: 13 males and 27 females, with their ages ranging from 21 to 44, with the average of 28 years (at the time of the data collection), which makes this sample representative of the young adult group of speakers. Table 5 and Figure 11 below provide an overview of the distribution of the participants by gender, while the distribution of participants by five-year age groups is then presented in Table 6 and Figure 12.

Table 5 and Figure 11: Distribution of participants by gender

Gender	Number of participants
Female	27
Male	13
	40

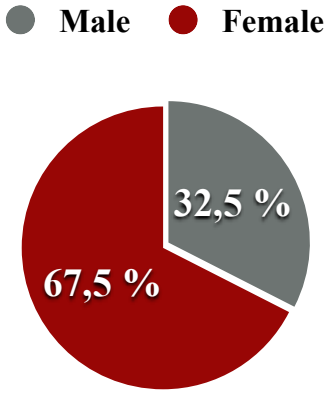
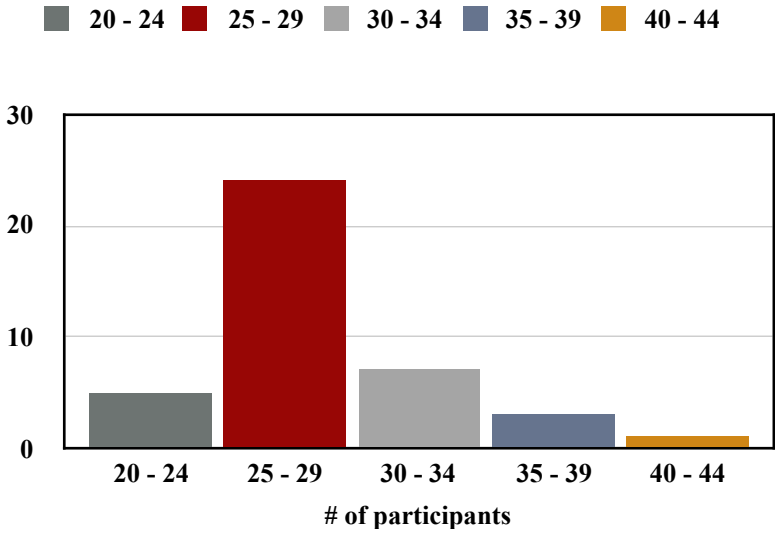


Table 6 and Figure 12: Distribution of participants by five-year age groups

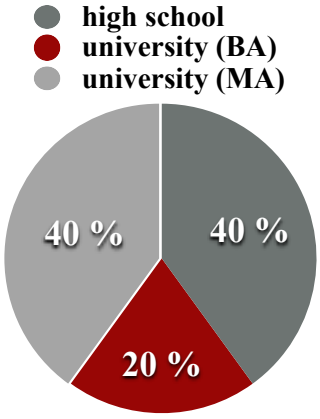
Age group	Number of participants
20 - 24	5
25 - 29	24
30 - 34	7
35 - 39	3
40 - 44	1
	40



Their educational background differs (Table 7 & Figure 13); while 24 of them are university graduates with degrees from different fields of study, others (N = 16) are high school graduates. 16 participants have completed graduate studies (Master's degree - MA or ENG) and 8 hold undergraduate degree (Bachelor's degree - BA), predominantly from Slovak or Czech universities. Areas of study ranged broadly and included economics, humanities (psychology, linguistics), engineering and others.

Table 7 and Figure 13: Distribution of participants by education

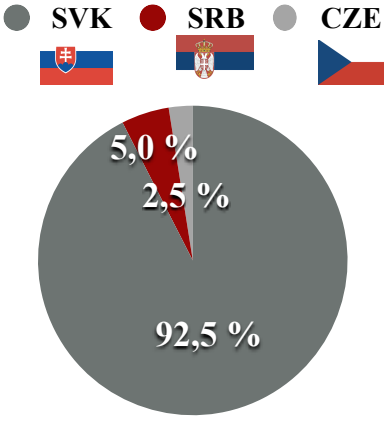
Education	Number of participants
high school	**16**
university (BA)	**8**
university (MA)	**16**
TOTAL	40



Participants included in the sample of our research are all Slovak (SVK) nationals, with the exception of three participants, two women, who are Serbian (SRB) nationals and one man, whose nationality is Czech (CZE). Distribution of participants by nationality is shown in the Table 8 and Figure 14 below.

Table 8 and Figure 14: Distribution of participants by nationality

Nationality	Number of participants
Slovak	**37**
Serbian	**2**
Czech	**1**
TOTAL	40



Complete socio-biographic profiles of the individual participants of both studies (marked as 'QUESTIONNAIRE' and 'EMAIL') are summarised below (Table 9):

Table 9: Socio-biographic profiles of the participants of the study

(as per informal interviews and questionnaire survey data from 2018)

Participant	Gender	Age	Nationality	Education	QUESTIONNAIRE	EMAIL
1. AL	F	27	SVK	university (MA)	X	X
2. DC	F	25	SVK	university (MA)	X	X
3. NK1	F	31	SVK	high school	X	X
4. KH1	F	24	SVK	high school	X	X
5. AB	F	33	SVK	university (MA)	X	X
6. MM1	F	26	SVK	university (MA)	X	X
7. NK2	F	24	SVK	high school	X	
8. MB1	F	30	SVK	high school	X	X
9. DM1	F	26	SVK	university (MA)	X	
10. PS	M	26	SVK	university (MA)	X	X
11. SB	M	26	SVK	university (MA)	X	X
12. MM2	F	26	SVK	university (MA)	X	X
13. KH2	F	28	SRB	university (MA)	X	X
14. FP	M	25	SVK	university (BA)	X	
15. MB2	F	29	SVK	university (MA)	X	X
16. LR	F	25	SVK	high school	X	

Participant	Gender	Age	Nationality	Education	QUESTIONNAIRE	EMAIL
17. VI	F	27	SRB	university (BA)	X	
18. TCH	M	25	SVK	high school	X	
19. MF	M	36	SVK	high school	X	X
20. DM2	F	35	SVK	university (BA)	X	X
21. BT	F	26	SVK	university (MA)	X	
22. BB	M	26	SVK	high school	X	
23. MP1	F	27	SVK	university (MA)	X	
24. MP2	F	26	SVK	university (BA)	X	
25. SCH	F	23	SVK	university (BA)	X	
26. ZB	F	26	SVK	high school	X	X
27. ZH	F	30	SVK	university (MA)	X	X
28. MCH						
29. AV	M	32	SVK	high school	X	
30. EM						X
31. AM1	M	25	SVK	high school	X	
32. KF	F	32	SVK	university (MA)	X	X
33. AM2	F	32	SVK	high school	X	
34. MV	F	25	SVK	university (BA)	X	
35. DK	F	37	SVK	university (MA)	X	

Participant	Gender	Age	Nationality	Education	QUESTIONNAIRE	EMAIL
36. AK	M	25	SVK	high school	X	
37. RK	M	25	SVK	high school	X	
38. PM	F	26	SVK	university (BA)	X	
39. PB	M	21	SVK	high school	X	
40. PJ	M	24	SVK	high school	X	X
41. MV2	M	44	CZE	university (BA)	X	X
42. IS	F	29	SVK	university (MA)	X	X
TOTAL		**27,875**			**40**	**21**

The questionnaire examining the views and attitudes towards switching to English was distributed to all the potential participants selected for this research project, however 40 participants (out of 42) actually filled out the Questionnaire Survey presented in Chapter 4, providing the background data for building the socio-biographic and linguistic profiles presented in these sections. Moreover, the corpus of email messages produced by 21 participants, out of the same group of 42 participants listed in the Table 9 above, was analysed. Therefore, it should be noted that the participants of the qualitative study of the corpus of email messages also participated in the quantitative, questionnaire-based study presented in the respective chapter. When it comes to the representativeness of the sample, Wilson and Dewaele (2010: 108) have argued that "in multilingualism research participants do not have to represent the 'general population' as they need to meet specific linguistic criteria, and must be able and willing to engage with relatively abstract questions on language preferences and use" (Dewaele & Wei, 2014: 243). This was particularly taken into consideration when designing the questionnaire survey on attitudes towards code-switching, however, more importantly, they are the participants whose actual linguistic production in terms of email data (as well as Facebook and WhatsApp data for future analysis) was available for the analysis.

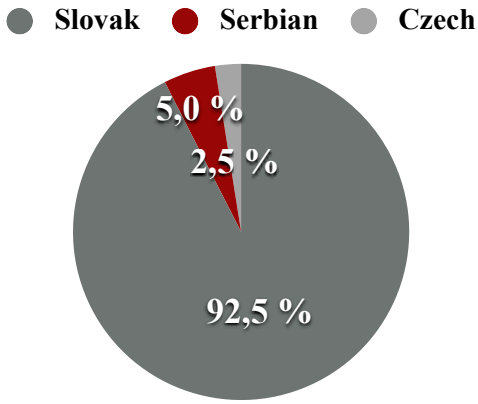
3.2.2 Linguistic profiles of the participants

This section presents the linguistic profiles of the participants including information about the participants' language history and present language use, such as participants' mother tongues/ native languages, languages other than mother tongue learnt before the age of five, self-perceived English language proficiency, number of years learning English and languages known, i.e. the number of foreign languages spoken by participants.

Participants included in the sample of our research are all Slovak native speakers, with the exception of three participants, two women, whose mother tongue is Serbian and one man, whose native language is Czech. Distribution of participants according to their mother tongue is shown in the Table 10 and Figure 15 below.

Table 10 and Figure 15: Distribution of participants by their mother tongue

Mother tongue/ Native language	Number of participants (N)
Slovak	**37**
Serbian	**2**
Czech	**1**
TOTAL	40

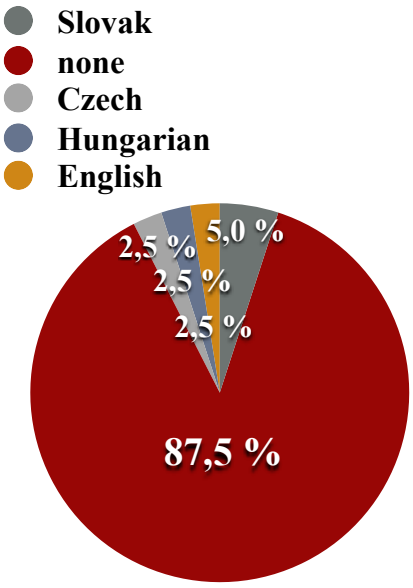


With regard to the languages other than mother tongue learnt before the age of five, the majority of participants (N = 35) reported not learning any foreign languages during this stage of early childhood. Hence, it is important to mention at this point that the majority of Slovak and Czech native speaker participants were not raised bilingual, with the exception of two participants who reported learning languages of the neighbouring countries, which are considered to be minority languages in Slovakia, namely Czech (N = 1) and Hungarian (N = 1). In addition to that, one participant reported learning English (N = 1) before the age of five and on the other hand, two Serbian nationals reported learning Slovak (N = 2).

The results are put together in Table 11 and Figure 16 below.

Table 11 and Figure 16: Distribution of participants by the languages other than mother tongue learnt before the age of five

Languages other than mother tongue learnt before the age of 5	Number of participants (N)
none	35
Slovak	2
Czech	1
Hungarian	1
English	1
TOTAL	40



As we have previously discussed in the theoretical part of this thesis, describing the historical and sociolinguistic overview of language situation in the Slovak Republic (Section 2.1), we have pointed out that although the Slovak and Czech languages evolved separately and independently under different conditions for a long period of time, they have remained close to each other (Section 2.1.3). The two also remain mutually intelligible in sense that Slovak language speakers can understand Czech and vice versa, mainly due to their existence as part of the former Czechoslovakia. In fact, not only are the Czech and Slovak languages closely related, they also bear great resemblance to one another. Belonging to the West Slavic language group, which uses the Latin (Roman) rather than the Cyrillic alphabet, most varieties of Czech and Slovak are mutually intelligible, forming a dialect continuum rather than two clearly distinct languages. However, standardised forms of these two languages are easily distinguishable and recognisable, due to disparate vocabulary, orthography, pronunciation, phonology, morphology, etc. In terms of vocabulary, most words are largely similar, which makes both languages mutually intelligible to a significant extent; e.g. reason (sk: dôvod – cs: důvod), to promise (sk: sľubovať – cs: slibovat), who (sk: kto – cs: kdo), to ask (sk: spýtať sa – cs: zeptat se).

The knowledge of foreign languages

In terms of the participants' self-perceived knowledge of foreign languages, we have decided to exclude the Czech language for previously-explained reasons. The majority of Slovak native as well as non-native speakers (including our participants) count in Czech within the foreign languages they know, as they are able to understand it, however they were not formally educated in it and they have not received any Czech language classes. However, they reported being regularly exposed to the Czech language thanks to Czech films and media since early childhood which is why for most of the Slovaks it is actually like a second native language in terms of understanding it without ever needing to study it.

The most frequent foreign language the knowledge of which was claimed by our participants was English, reported by all of them (N = 40). While three participants mentioned English as the only foreign language they speak (TOTAL: N = 3), others reported the knowledge of a number of different languages in addition to English (Table 12). Firstly, those speaking two foreign languages (TOTAL: N = 25) reported the following language pairs: English - German (N = 16), English - French (N = 4), English - Italian (N = 3) and English - Spanish (N = 2). Secondly, those speaking three foreign languages (TOTAL: N = 10) reported the following language combinations: English - German - Hungarian (N = 2), English - German - Russian (N = 2), English - German - Spanish (N = 2), English - German - French (N = 1), English - German - Greek (N = 1), English - German - Polish (N = 1) and English - German - Slovak (N = 1). Thirdly, those speaking four foreign languages (TOTAL: N = 2) reported the following language combinations: English - Slovak - Spanish - Russian (N = 1) and English - French - Portuguese - Spanish (N = 1).

At this point, we solely rely on the participants' information on their own self-perceived knowledge of languages that they decided or chose to state in the questionnaire. In this regard, discrepancies between the number of languages spoken by the participant and the number of languages learnt by the same participant during different levels of education (primary, secondary school,..) have been noticed. This may be explained in several ways, however, it is out of scope of the present study.

Similarly, in terms of the level of proficiency, the question of distinguishing limited knowledge from an advanced knowledge in listed foreign languages reported by the participants is out of scope of this study as well. Therefore, it should again be noted that the results of the questionnaire survey analysis presented in this thesis are based on self-reports, in this case the participants' self-perceived knowledge of foreign languages, which offered them an opportunity to include every language they have ever learnt (or started to learn), despite the fact that the knowledge in some can be very limited.

Table 12: Distribution of participants according to their self-perceived knowledge of foreign languages

Number of foreign languages spoken by participants	Knowledge of foreign languages (language combinations)	Number of participants (N)	Number of participants TOTAL
1	**English**	3	**3**
2	**English - German**	16	**25**
	English - French	4	
	English - Italian	3	
	English - Spanish	2	
3	**English - German - Hungarian**	2	**10**
	English - German - Russian	2	
	English - German - Spanish	2	
	English - German - French	1	
	English - German - Greek	1	
	English - German - Polish	1	
	English - German - Slovak	1	
4	**English - Slovak - Spanish - Russian**	1	**2**
	English - French - Spanish - Portuguese	1	
TOTAL		40	40

Self-perceived English language proficiency

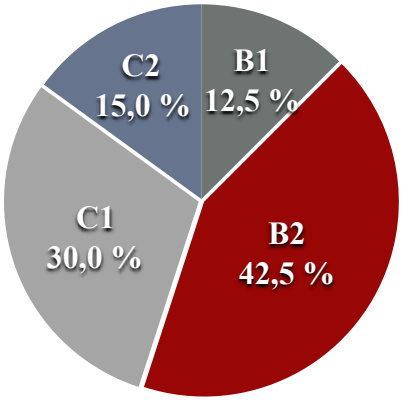
The results of the above analysis show that all of our research participants are non-native speakers of English, who acquired it as a foreign language during formal education at different levels (primary school, secondary school, etc.). Moreover, in addition to the status of English language in Slovakia described in the theoretical part of this thesis (Section 2.1.4), it is important to note that at the end of secondary education, students in Slovakia are required to take school-leaving examination (called 'Maturita') comprising of two parts: external part (a written test that is taken in the same time all over the territory of the SR) and internal part (split up into written and oral sections). This exam consists of compulsory and optional subjects. Apart from Slovak language and literature (or alternatively Hungarian or Ukrainian - depending on the student's L1), the compulsory subjects also include foreign language (English, German, French, Spanish, Russian or Italian). After choosing one of these foreign languages, students also get to select a level of Maturita for the foreign language as follows: level B1, level B2, level C1, corresponding to CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) language proficiency levels. The CEFR organises language proficiency in six levels from A1 to C2, which can be subsequently regrouped into three broad levels: Basic User (A1, A2), Independent User (B1, B2) and Proficient User (C1, C2). The levels are defined through 'can-do' descriptors, which our participants are familiar with. Students who pass the exam are awarded a Maturita certificate which includes information about their language proficiency.

Hence, our participants' self-perceived English language proficiency (as reported in the questionnaire) shows the level of English ranging from B1 - C2 (based on CEFR). While none of the participants reported having a level of English as low as A1 or A2, the difference in the number of independent users of English (B1, B2) and proficient users of English (C1, C2) as a foreign language was quite balanced (22 vs. 18 participants). In order to analyse these frequencies even further, the majority of participants (42.5%) reported having an upper-intermediate level of English (B2), while five participants (12.5%) claimed having an intermediate level of English (B1). On the other hand, a little under a third of participants (30%) reported

having an advanced level of English (C1) and additional six participants (15%) claim to have very advanced - proficient level of English (C2). The results are presented in Table 13 and Figure 17 below.

Table 13 and Figure 17: Distribution of participants according to their self-perceived English language proficiency level

English language proficiency level (as per CEFR)	Number of participants (N)
A1	0
A2	0
B1	5
B2	17
C1	12
C2	6
TOTAL	40



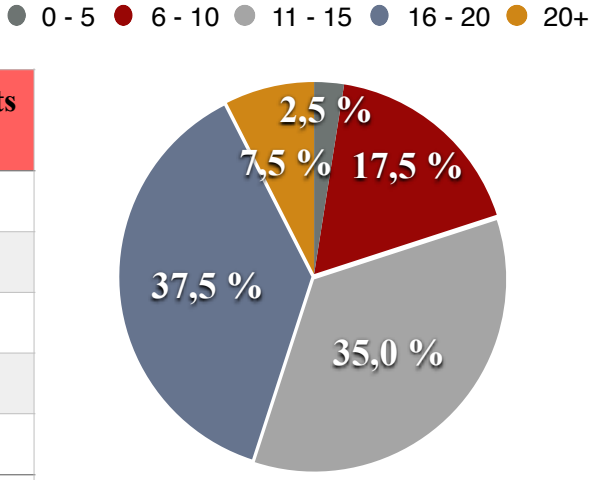
However, as we have pointed out in Section 2.4.5, significant discrepancies between bilingual speakers' self-reported descriptions of their language usage and actual linguistic practices recorded through participant observation have repeatedly been reported in the empirical studies within the sociolinguistic literature (Gumperz, 1977: 3). In this regard, Codó (2008: 161) argues that "self- or other-reports of bilingual language practice may not match observed conduct" and therefore this sort of declarative data cannot be employed as "a substitute for data on speakers' actual linguistic behavior". Similarly, the relationship between self-perception of language competence and actual language ability is also a problematic one, as we have previously discussed above in reference to the self-perceived knowledge of foreign languages reported by the participants in the questionnaire.

With regard to the number of years learning English, the questionnaire data analysis revealed that the majority of participants (80%) have been learning English for over 10 years, while the remaining eight participants (20%) reported learning

English for less than 10 years, with one of them stating it has been even less than 5 years. Creating year ranges enabled us to group the participants according to the reported length/ number of years learning English as follows: 0 - 5 years (N = 1; 2.5%), 6 - 10 years (N = 7; 17.5%), 11 - 15 years (N = 14; 35%), 16-20 years (N = 15; 37.5%) and finally, more than 20 years (N = 3; 7.5%). These results are put together in Table 14 and Figure 18 below.

Table 14 and Figure 18: Distribution of participants by the number of years learning English

Number of years learning English	Number of participants (N)
0 - 5	1
6 - 10	7
11 - 15	14
16 - 20	15
20+	3
TOTAL	40



Nonetheless, at the time of the data collection, all the participants were living in Slovakia, working in a multilingual, ethnically diverse workplace environment of a multinational hospitality company in Bratislava, the capital of the country. In terms of English, they were using it as a 'lingua franca', the global medium of communication, on a daily basis. In our context, we refer to English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) at its simplest, as a communication in English between speakers who have different first languages (Seidlhofer, 2005; Jenkins & Leung, 2017). In our context, that would apply to a communication between the hotel employees (our research participants) and the hotel guests as well as the foreign management of the company. In summary, our participants regularly use English in the course of their daily routines and communicate in this language in many of their work and friendship relations. During non-formal interviews, the minority of participants reported using English predominantly or exclusively at work.

3.3 The attitude study - data collection

In the previous chapter (in Section 2.4), we discussed the complex nature of (language) attitudes, which brings to the fore certain methodological issues considered in this section (Section 3.3).

Firstly, we begin by providing a theoretical background concerning the attitude measurement methodology, starting with a short overview of the main approaches to the study of language attitudes (Section 3.3.2). Focusing on the direct measurement in particular, we then consider various data-collection procedures and tools typically employed in this approach and we outline some of their strengths and limitations (Section 3.3.3). Subsequently, we briefly introduce the use of Likert scales in attitude research (Section 3.3.4).

3.3.1 Questionnaire survey as the main method of data collection

For the purpose of our attitude study, we have decided to use questionnaire as the most suitable and efficient data-collection technique in order to systematically acquire in-depth information about our participants and more importantly, in order to assess their attitudes towards code-switching. As Codó (2008: 158) put it, "questionnaires are useful for collecting biographical information on speakers, and quantifiable data on language abilities, practices, and attitudes''. Besides, using an online ethnography approach, the main focus of the attitude study is to examine linguistic awareness of the extent of the use of English in CMD as well as reasons behind linguistic choices and eventual language alternations. Hence, attitudes towards the use of English and mixing Slovak and English in our participants' communication (in the workplace as well as outside of the workplace) are examined.

Even though a questionnaire is not some sort of official form, Oppenheim (1992: 100) argues that "nor is it a set of questions which have been casually jotted down without much thought''. Moreover, it is important to point out that there has not been any standardised questionnaire or Likert scale developed for measuring

attitudes which can be used across all groups and contexts. As Likert (1932: 52) defends, "an attitude scale which has been constructed for one (cultural) group will hardly be applicable in its existing form to other (cultural) groups''. That being said, we can conclude that in this sense, every survey is to a large extent unique.

Therefore, the questionnaire survey used in this study is specifically designed for our research purposes. It includes items to assess attitudes towards CS, intending to obtain enough information which would enable us to outline general direction (positive or negative) in terms of the perception of the phenomena in question. In addition to that, it examines its frequency, intensity with which the attitude is held and perhaps the presence or absence of individual opinions on the topic. Taking into consideration that questionnaire is an important research instrument, and a tool for data collection, methodology concerning its design; including the layout and content, format of questions and answers, as well as designing attitude statements, and administration of our questionnaire are described in detail in the following sections (Sections 3.3.5 and Section 3.3.6).

In an attempt to further clarify the importance of researching 'attitude', we will also briefly consider 'language ideology' as "an important concept for understanding the politics of language in multilingual situations'' which is closely related to language attitudes (Garrett et al., 2003: 11). In attitudinal studies, ideological analysis tends to be at their core. By using a combination of various methods in the study of language attitudes, our ambition is to shed some light on ideological forces affecting the workplace communication.

In conclusion, in order to once again highlight the significance of researching attitudes, Baker (1992: 10) summarises that:

> The status, value and importance of a language is most often and mostly easily (though imperfectly) measured by attitudes to that language. Such attitudes may be measured at an individual level, or the common attitudes of a group or community may be elicited. At either level, the information may be important in attempting to represent democratically the 'views of the people'.

3.3.2 The measurement of language attitudes

A variety of different methods and techniques have been developed and employed in language attitude research since the earliest studies conducted in the 1960s (McKenzie, 2010: 41; Garrett et al., 2003: 1). According to the research literature, the following three major assessment techniques are considered to be relevant to the study of language attitudes: the societal treatment approach/ content analysis, the direct measurement and the indirect measurement (Giles et al., 1988; Hout & Knops, 1988: 6). This section provides a brief review of each of these approaches to the measurement of language attitudes and briefly outlines their use, strengths and weaknesses.

The content analysis measurement, also referred to as the societal treatment approach, is generally employed mainly in qualitative studies and it is typically conducted through participant observations, ethnographic studies or other observational studies (McKenzie, 2010: 41; Garrett et al., 2003: 15). The approach is designed to be unobtrusive, thus language attitudes "are not inferred from explicit requests to respondents for their views or reactions, but from the various ways in which the target languages are treated'' (Hout & Knops, 1988: 7). In other words, the researchers themselves infer the attitudes of the respondents from their observed behaviour or from document analysis (McKenzie, 2010: 41). Furthermore, Hout and Knops (1988: 7) argue that this method may be particularly appropriate in contexts and situations where restrictions of time and/or space do not allow direct access to the respondents, or where unnaturalness of the situation in which attitude data have to be elicited possesses a danger to the validity of the research results.

The direct approach to investigating language attitudes (further discussed in detail in the separate section - Section 3.3.3) is characterised by presenting direct questions concerning language evaluation, language preference, the desirability and motives for second language learning, the desirability of bilingualism and bilingual education and opinions concerning language planning to respondents either in the forms of questionnaires or interviews (Hout & Knops, 1988: 7).

The indirect approach to language attitudes research (sometimes also referred to as the 'speaker-evaluation paradigm', or the 'matched-guise technique' introduced by Lambert et al., 1960) involves using more subtle techniques of measurement than directly asking participants questions on their perception of the attitudinal object, with the aim to make the purpose of the study less obvious to them (McKenzie, 2010: 45). Hence, indirect measurement refers to techniques which are applied without the participants being aware of the actual purpose of the measurement with the aim to elicit private or covert language attitudes instead of public ones (Hout & Knops, 1988: 8). According to McKenzie (2010: 45), indirect methods of attitude measurement are "generally considered to be able to penetrate deeper than direct methods, often below the level of conscious awareness and/or behind the individual's social façade''. On the other hand, apart from a number of advantages, there has also been a criticism with regard to this method, particularly the way in which the matched-guise technique presents speech varieties for evaluation (see Garrett et al., 2003: 57-61 for an overview of these critiques).

It has been emphasised that inherent problems associated with both direct and indirect approaches to investigating language attitudes as well as over reliance on any single method may lead to inaccurate results and even misleading conclusions (McKenzie, 2010: 52). In this regard, Ladegaard (2000: 230) maintains that because the measurement of attitudes towards languages or language varieties is so complex, researchers need to encompass several techniques of measurement, including both direct as well as indirect methods, particularly in the case of investigating attitude-behaviour relationships. Therefore, a mixed methodological approach provides more validity to the findings, as well as a wider range of insights and contextual specification of the language attitudes investigated (Garrett et al., 2003: 220).

To sum it up, it should be pointed out that each of these methodological approaches inevitably has its own strengths and weaknesses. However, for the purposes of our research, we will not provide a more detailed overview of all of them any further after this brief introduction. In the following section (Section 3.3.3), the direct approach to the investigation of language attitudes will be examined more closely, as this is the measurement technique employed in our attitude study.

3.3.3 The direct approach to language attitude measurement

The direct approach to investigating language attitudes is characterised by elicitation and a high degree of obtrusiveness; respondents themselves are asked direct questions about language evaluation, preference, knowledge of the attitudinal object, etc., usually through questionnaire and/ or interview as the main data-collection procedures typically employed in this approach (Garrett et al., 2003: 16). Hence, various kinds of measurement techniques have been developed and used across a whole range of contexts in order to measure attitudes directly. When it comes to data-collection procedures, Henerson et al. (1987: 22–24) divide these techniques into research instruments where the response is by 'word-of-mouth' (e.g. interviews, surveys and polls) and research instruments that call for 'written responses' (questionnaires and attitude scales).

As previously mentioned above, interviews and self-completion questionnaires represent examples of elicitation techniques and data collection tools typically contained in the direct approach, commonly employed because of various advantages associated with them. Interviews are frequently designed and used for gathering speech samples from respondents, as well as obtaining contextualising biographical information which may otherwise be very difficult to collect (e.g. certain biographical details). In addition to samples of spoken data for linguistic and conversational analysis, types of data that may be elicited from interviews include also issues that can only be accessed indirectly if interactional data is considered (e.g. language-related information such as language attitudes and ideologies). With regard to language alternation, Codó (2008: 160) argues that it can "also be facilitated by choosing topics that connect with the use of a specific language spoken by the interviewee". Even though interview may be extremely time-consuming and costly to administer (Bryman, 2004: 247), it is also "an authentic communicative situation in which naturally occurring talk is exchanged" (Codó, 2008: 158). Hence, interviews may be analysed as forms of social interaction and as sources of real language data. However, in studies employing interviews, the number of participants is often limited (Garrett et al., 2003: 34) and consequently, the data obtained can be difficult to quantify or analyse systematically (Codó, 2008: 158).

Questionnaires that are completed by respondents themselves (self-completion questionnaires) constitute another main instrument for gathering data which is, similarly to the structured interview discussed in the previous paragraph, employed for "collecting biographical information on speakers, and quantifiable data on language abilities, practices, and attitudes" (Codó, 2008: 158). Even though in many ways the self-completion questionnaires and the structured interviews are very similar methods, there is obviously a number of differences as well (e.g. absence/ presence of interviewer). Advantages of the self-completion questionnaire over the structured interview include lower costs, as questionnaires tend to be cheaper and also quicker to administer, absence of interviewer effects, no interviewer variability, and convenience for respondents (Bryman, 2004: 233-234). On the other hand, disadvantages of the self-completion questionnaire in comparison with the structured interview are, as identified by Bryman (2004: 234-235), for example, the fact that the researcher has less control over potential misinterpretations of questions, as there is no opportunity for respondents to ask questions, and for researchers to probe, prompt or help them, in case they are having difficulty answering a question. Other disadvantages of questionnaires include inability to collect additional data, inappropriateness for some kinds of respondents (especially those whose literacy is limited), greater risk of missing data (e.g. questions that appear boring or irrelevant to the respondent are likely to be skipped, resulting in unanswered questions) and lower response rates, as the amount of time respondents are usually willing to spend working on a questionnaire is rather short, which again limits the depth of the investigation. These factors may in effect result in rather superficial data which is unsuitable for probing deeply into an issue.

With regard to online social survey in particular, it is crucial to distinguish between surveys administered by email (email surveys) and surveys administered via the Web (Web surveys). In the case of the former, the questionnaire survey is sent via email to a respondent (it is either embedded in the body of the email or as an attachment to an email), whilst in the case of Web survey, the respondent is directed to a website in order to answer a questionnaire (Bryman, 2004: 670). Moreover, as Yun and Trumbo (2000) observe, "the electronic-only survey is advisable when resources are limited and the target population suits an electronic survey".

Moving on to attitude-rating scales, the classical methods of measuring attitudes generally referred to in the literature are three types of standard attitude-rating scales, namely: Likert, Thurstone, and semantic differential. Attitude-rating scales are probably the most widely used types of closed-ended items in language attitude research (Garrett et al., 2003: 38). According to McKenzie (2010: 42), an attitude scale is "a specific type of questionnaire, designed to ensure that the sum of several responses yields a single score, which represents one overall attitude". Attitude scales basically consist of several items, mainly attitude statements with which the respondent is asked to agree or disagree. All measurement techniques depend on responses to these single statements. In this regard, Fishbein and Ajzen (1975: 105) claim that standard attitude-scaling is "designed to select a set of beliefs or intentional statements which can be used to measure a person's attitude". Single-response measures have been employed in the attitude research to infer beliefs, attitudes and intentions. They are verbal in nature; the subject is asked to make a judgement about himself or about some other person, object, or event. As Fishbein and Ajzen (1975: 54) explain, "any response of this kind involves three different aspects: the concept, the judgment, and the format; that is, using a certain response format, the subject makes some judgment about a given concept". Moreover, Fishbein and Ajzen (1975: 105) point out that the standard attitude-scaling methods "use such responses to infer the person's location on a bipolar affective dimension vis-a-vis the object in question", and they "attempt to arrive at a single attitude score which represents the person's evaluation of the attitude object". In other words, for measurement purposes, a person's attitude is placed on the straight line or linear continuum by means of ranking or in terms of a numerical score. Some of the advantages of attitude scales are that they ensure consistency because erratic items (those which produce responses which are inconsistent with the informant's answers to the other items) can be discarded (McKenzie, 2010: 42). Various other methods of measuring attitudes have been developed as well, however, all of them have certain limitations. Each of these scales (Likert, Thurstone, semantic differential) has its advantages and there does not seem to be a method that combines the advantages of them all. As Oppenheim (1992: 188) points out, "for the present, it is impossible to say which method is the best", adding that "the best method for any enquiry is the one which is most appropriate to the particular problem".

In general, the measurement of language attitudes by direct methods is also subject to a number of potential drawbacks which researchers should be aware of and which need to be taken into consideration when designing a questionnaire (or an interview) as well as when analysing the results and drawing conclusions. Moreover, one of the important methodological issues when using direct approaches to measurement of language attitudes is the question whether subjects' verbal statements of their attitudes and their behavioural reactions in concrete situation can indeed both be interpreted as manifestations of the same underlying dispositions (Garrett et al., 2003: 24-25; Hout & Knops, 1988: 7). As Likert (1932: 32) put it, we must bear in mind that:

> ...at present we are dealing only with verbal behavior and claim nothing more than the importance of the verbal reactions [and] ultimately it is to be hoped that the relationship between the verbal behavior expressed on attitude scale and other more overt forms of behavior may be examined and determined.

When designing a questionnaire (or preparing an interview), a number of factors which language attitude researchers must consider in this phase include for example: types of questions used, wording, avoiding strongly slanted questions (which may pressurise respondents to answer in a particular way), long, leading questions, technical terms, hypothetical questions, multiple questions including both double negative questions to which a negative answer would be ambiguous and questions where a positive answer could refer to more than one component of the question (Garrett et al., 2003: 28; McKenzie, 2010: 43).

During the data collection process, a number of other factors need to be taken into account when using the direct approach to language attitude measurement (e.g. tendencies of the respondents which are crucial when it comes to assessing the validity and reliability of the data collected). Respondents' responses to questionnaire items may be affected by several different factors, including (and not limited to) for example fear, misunderstanding, the desire to place oneself in a more favourable light, social taboos, dislike for the researcher and many other motives which "may all play a part in distorting the results and may lead to outright refusal" (Oppenheim,

1992: 210). Thus, one of the factors is social-desirability bias, which could be described as a tendency for people to give responses to questions that they believe are the most desirable and socially appropriate. With regard to particular data-collection research instruments, Oppenheim (1992: 139) argues that social desirability bias is often of greater significance in interviews than in questionnaires. However, that is not always the case, as face-to-face methods are more likely to provoke participants to put themselves in a better light compared to anonymous self-completion questionnaires. Furthermore, acquiescence bias may occur as well. Acquiescence bias in responses to questionnaire or interview items refers to "the presumed tendency for respondents to agree with items, regardless of content, in to statements presented to them" (McKenzie, 2010: 43), thus showing unwillingness to make strong negative responses.

Attitude scales obviously rely on cooperation and honesty of respondents. In order to ensure the validity of attitude scale, the aim is "to elicit the honest cooperation of the subject, so that he will be likely to state his own attitude and not the attitude that he thinks is expected of him" (Likert, 1932: 33). However, as an attitude is more complex and multi-faceted than an issue of fact, it needs to be approached from a number of different angles. In fact, we are essentially dealing with aspects of the state of mind of the respondent, whereas "the questions and responses are generally much more sensitive to bias by wording, by response sets, by leading, by prestige and by contextual effects" (Oppenheim (1992: 143). In addition to that, Likert (1932: 5) argues that "part, at least, of the difficulty has lain in the statistical difficulties which are encountered when everyday aspects of social behavior, ordinarily handled as qualitative affairs, are treated from the mathematical point of view". In this regard, Oppenheim (1992: 187) points out that "attitude scales are relatively overt measuring instruments designed to be used in surveys, and we must not expect too much of them", as "their chief function is to divide people roughly into a number of broad groups with respect to a particular attitude, and to allow us to study the ways in which such attitude relates to other variables in our survey". Furthermore, Oppenheim (1992: 187) also concludes by adding that attitude scales are basically "techniques for placing people on a continuum in relation to each other, in relative and not in absolute terms".

3.3.4 The use of Likert scales in attitude research

The most widely used rating scale developed to measure attitudes directly is the Likert Scale, named after its inventor, psychologist Rensis Likert. The Likert procedure may have its disadvantages, but even despite that, it has become the most popular scaling technique in contemporary research (Oppenheim, 1992: 195).

Five-point Likert scales have become the most widely used types of scales as they offer two levels of intensity on both ends of the scale and they "tend to perform very well when it comes to a reliable, rough ordering of people with regard to a particular attitude" (Oppenheim, 1992: 200). The first step in constructing a Likert scale is collecting a pool of items - statements of either beliefs or intentions and for each of them, the researcher decides whether it indicates a favourable or an unfavourable attitude towards the object in question (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975: 71). Typically, subjects are asked to position themselves on an attitude continuum by responding to each item/statement in terms of a five-point scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'agree', 'neither agree nor disagree'/ 'undecided', 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' (Oppenheim, 1992: 195). For purposes of scoring, numerical values are assigned to each of the possible responses and overall scores are calculated (Likert, 1932: 26). According to Likert (1932: 46), "if five alternatives have been used, it is necessary to assign values of from one to five with the three assigned to the undecided position on each statement". The one end of the scale is always assigned the value of 1 whereas the other end is assigned the value of 5. This method of scoring allows the researcher to quantify respondents' answers by finding the average or sum of the numerical values of the positions that they checked (Likert, 1932: 26).

In fact, there has been a discussion about the number of points to be included on a scale. As Garrett et al. (2003: 41) point out, "having an odd number of points on the scale means there is a mid-point, which arguably allows respondents to indicate their 'neutrality' towards the attitude object". However, regarding the neutral point on the scale, Oppenheim (1992: 200) argues that "this is not necessarily the midpoint between the two extreme scale scores". Therefore, as a result, scores in the middle of

the scale might be ambiguous; reflecting, for example, an uncertain response to an issue in which respondents feel little involvement (Garrett et al., 2003: 41). Respondents' neutral or balanced attitude towards a particular statement may also be due to lack of knowledge or lack of attitude, leading to many 'uncertain' responses (Oppenheim, 1992: 200). Consequently, all these different reasons may lead to the difficulties in interpretation of the neutral point. Even despite this, in the majority of language attitudes research, "five- and seven-point scales are used, with researchers preferring to live with the ambiguity of the mid-point" (Garrett et al., 2003: 41) instead of forcing respondents to fully commit themselves towards agreement or disagreement with the attitude statement when no mid-point is included in the scale. However, the Likert scale has to be balanced and it is therefore not recommended to have many neutral items or many extreme items at either end of the continuum (Oppenheim, 1992: 195).

According to Fishbein and Ajzen (1975: 72), a preliminary estimate of each respondent's attitude is obtained as follows:

> First, responses to each item are scored from 1 to 5. Strong agreements with favorable items are given a score or 5, and strong disagreements with these items are given a score of 1. Scoring is reversed for unfavorable items, such that disagreement with an unfavorable item results in a high score. The person's preliminary attitude score is obtained by summing across all his item scores. (For a set of 100 items, these attitude scores could range from 100 to 500). The higher the score, the more favorable the attitude.

Likert scales not only provide more precise information about the respondent's degree of agreement or disagreement with the statements, thus effectively separating people within the same group, but as Oppenheim (1992: 200) points out, "it becomes possible to include items whose manifest content is not obviously related to the attitude in question, enabling subtler and deeper ramifications of an attitude to be explored". That provides the opportunity for us to make use of the links that an attitude may have with other areas and may even reveal some views and interconnections of its various components.

3.3.5 Designing the questionnaire

The process of designing the questionnaire used in this study started with initial brainstorming sessions, literature review, familiarising with questionnaire design methodology, adaptation and modification of previously-used questionnaire items (questions and attitude statements) employed in this kind of studies, pilot-work and preliminary non-formal interviews with the respondents. As we have already pointed out in the previous section, there has not been any standardised questionnaire or Likert scale developed for measuring attitudes which can be used across all groups and contexts. Hence, the questionnaire survey used for data-collection in our attitude study is largely unique and specifically designed for our research purposes. It includes items to assess attitudes towards CS, intending to obtain enough information which would enable us to outline general direction (positive or negative) in terms of the perception of the phenomena in question, its frequency, intensity with which the attitude is held and perhaps the presence or absence of individual opinions on the topic. In light of the above, this section offers a detailed description of methodology concerning our questionnaire survey's design, including its general features - such as the layout and content (3.3.5.1), format of questions and answers (3.3.5.2), as well as designing attitude statements (3.3.5.3).

In terms of deciding on mode of administration, two versions of questionnaire survey as data collection tools were assembled: web-based (online questionnaire) and a traditional 'pen and paper' questionnaire, giving the participants the possibility of choice. Apart from that, both Slovak and English language versions of questionnaire were available, therefore the respondents could choose whichever variety they felt most comfortable with. Using a web survey, namely Survey Monkey (www.surveymonkey.com) enabled us to design our questionnaire online and subsequently create a Web address to which respondents could be directed in order to complete it. The questions were created using the software's basic features, which are free of charge. Even though the format was obviously different, the content of both questionnaire surveys was identical in both of its versions. This step was undertaken in order to facilitate successful completion of the questionnaire and to ensure the highest response rate possible.

3.3.5.1 The questionnaire layout and content

The questionnaire employed in this attitude study is 4 pages long and contains 3 main sections, 17 questions, 2 of which were broken down into 31 sub-questions or rather statements which were formulated in a declarative way, where respondents were supposed to:

- determine the frequency of switching to English in relation to different reasons and functions of CS (9 statements - Section 2) and
- indicate their degree of agreement/disagreement with the statements about attitudes towards language switching (22 statements - Section 3), with potential answers presented on the Likert scale

The other 9 were open-ended questions (plus 4 sub-questions), while the remaining 6 were close-ended questions (2 multiple-choice questions, 3 yes/no questions and 1 rating scale question).

Apart from the three main sections described above, the online web-based questionnaire started with a short introductory page where the purpose of the inquiry was explained including the instructions and 'thank you' note. The introductory page stated:

First of all, thank you very much for following the link to this survey.
The following questionnaire is part of the study on multilingualism and code-switching. It is aimed at gathering data to identify the use of code-switching at the workplace. During your communication, you may use Slovak in combination with English and switch back and forth between these languages (or mix these 2 languages). This is known as code-switching.

Please fill this questionnaire completely by answering the following questions honestly. Any information you will provide will be used for academic purposes only.
Thank you for your cooperation and for your time!

The first section of the questionnaire (SECTION 1: Background) represents a socio-biographical background about the participants and it is divided into 2 sub-sections. It contains 10 questions related to:

- Personal information about the participant (4 specific open-ended classification questions - a special type of factual questions) - participant's name/ gender, age, nationality (their nationality as well as their parents' nationality), education level (the highest degree or level of school completed),
- Languages and language use (6 questions) - the following 5 specific open-ended classification/ factual questions were asked in order to learn more about participants' language history and present language use, languages known, chronological order of language acquisition as well as formal education obtained in these languages:

What is your mother tongue/ native language?
How long have you been learning English?
What other languages do you speak? (Please list in the order you learned them)
Out of these languages, which did you learn before the age of 5?
Which foreign languages did you learn at school? (Primary School, Secondary School, University, Language School)

And last but not least, self-rated proficiency in the language in question - English was elicited in the form of close - multiple choice question:

What is your English language proficiency level? (as per CEFR)

- with options ranging from A1 (beginner) to C2 (proficient/ highly competent speaker of English)

The participants were aware that their responses were not anonymous and by filling the questionnaire, they granted us permission to process the data, expressing their agreement with the statement that any information they provide will be treated in confidence and will be used for academic purposes only (Ethical considerations are further discussed in the respective section).

The second section of the questionnaire (SECTION 2: Reasons for CS and its functions) consists of 5 questions with the aim to examine meta-linguistic awareness involved and the frequency of switching to English in a conversation depending on different CS functions as well as reasons behind such linguistic choices. Simply put, the crucial question here was: "Do they even know that they do it?", while identifying the main functions of CS, as perceived by participants. Starting with the questions aimed at examining participant's awareness of code-switching phenomenon as such, 3 Yes/No questions were presented, differentiating between CS in general, in face-to-face communication and in online communication. In addition to that, if participants answered previous questions positively, stating that they do code-switch and they are aware of it, another question (1 Likert rating scale question) was asked, examining the frequency, differentiating between face-to-face and online communication. Last but not least, in order to determine the frequency of switching to English in relation to different reasons and functions of CS, the final question of this section: *When do you switch between languages in a conversation...?* was broken down into the following 9 statements with potential answers presented on the Likert scale (5-point rating scale: always - very often - sometimes - rarely - never):

I switch to English when greeting others *(saying Hi. Hello. Good morning. etc.).*
I switch to English when expressing a farewell *(saying Goodbye. Bye. See you. etc.)*
I switch to English to add emphasis.
I switch to English when using terminology related to technology.
I switch to English when using hospitality/ hotel-related terminology.
I switch to English to avoid a misunderstanding.
I switch to English to express feelings.
I switch to English to fill in the gaps when I have a vocabulary limitation. *(e.g. I cannot find a word with the same meaning in Slovak)*
I switch to English when I feel some things are better expressed in English or sound better in English than Slovak.
Others (please specify)

The last section of the questionnaire (SECTION 3: Attitudes towards CS in CMC) includes the following 2 questions, with the aim to elicit and explore participants' attitudes towards CS:

- 1 close-ended question (multiple choice): *What is your attitude towards switching between languages in a conversation?* (Positive-Neutral-Negative)
- 1 close-ended question: *To what extent do you agree with the following statements about language switching?* - which was broken down into 22 attitude statements (discussed in detail in the respective section)

These items in the questionnaire required respondents to state their degree of identification with the listed statements by indicating their level of agreement/ disagreement (answers presented on 5-point Likert scale: Strongly disagree - Disagree - Neither agree nor disagree - Agree - Strongly agree).

When designing our questionnaire, we considered the overall layout, bearing in mind the order in which the sections should appear on the final questionnaire, following the internal logic of the inquiry. In order to apply logic to the survey, it was broke up into multiple pages, so the respondents could feel they are making progress as they reach each new page, helping us organise it into logical sections. Hence, we started with the socio-biographical section, followed by a set of 'awareness' questions, as well as some 'factual' questions, dealing with the respondents' own behaviour, while finally moving to actual attitude statements (discussed in detail in Section 3.3.5.3). Attention was also paid to the overall appearance of the questionnaire by customising its design, to make it more visually enhanced.

In terms of the length the the questionnaire, bearing in mind suggestion that it must not be too long (four pages maximum) and should not take more than 30 minutes to complete (Codó, 2008: 172; Dörnyei, 2003: 18) in order to not become counterproductive, we designed our questionnaire accordingly. Considering the fact that the respondents are doing us a favour by taking time to answer our questions, we also calculated the approximate completion limit, which was estimated to be approximately 10 minutes.

3.3.5.2 Format of questions and answers

Even though there are no definite universal rules or principles for question wording (i.e. format of questions and answers), many authors have attempted to do this and as Oppenheim (1992: 128) points out, "[they] have, at best, succeeded only in stating the obvious or in listing pitfalls to be avoided".

However, in order to ensure the validity and reliability of our questionnaire, we considered the overall length, format, item wording and intelligibility of statements, questions and answers, which would efficiently enable us to collect data on language use, awareness and attitudes. This was done by making sure that statements and questions included are adequate; sufficiently simple and straightforward to be understood by everybody. Special attention was paid to question and statement wording, with the aim to avoid double meanings, vagueness and ambiguity. The most common problems concerning item phrasing mentioned in the literature (Garrett et al., 2003: 28; Oppenheim, 1992: 126) are the following: multiple questions (where a positive answer can refer to more than one component of the question), hypothetical questions (where respondents are asked to make predictions about their own future behaviour or reactions), double-barrelled questions, double negatives, ambiguous questions and 'leading' questions. An attempt was made to avoid such confusing types of questions. Moreover, in an attempt to make the questionnaire and the answering procedure more engaging, several factors have been carefully considered, especially with regard to the response formats (format of answers). When phrasing and organising questions and statements, different response formats were used, including multiple-choice format which was particularly used in order to facilitate quantification. Graphic scale was employed throughout the whole questionnaire in order to maintain consistency. The respondents were supposed to respond by placing a check mark on the scale. Moreover, the survey was pilot tested among a small group of people who were not participants in the final survey.

In terms of the use of different types of questions in our study, pilot research with open-ended questions was conducted prior to designing the questionnaire, so the information collected could be used to create close-ended questions, offering the

respondents a choice of alternative replies. When deciding which form of questions will be used in the final questionnaire, we considered the claim that "free-response questions are often easy to ask, difficult to answer, and still more difficult to analyse" (Oppenheim, 1992: 113). For this reason, we kept the amount of open questions to a minimum since they are time-consuming and they require a lot of thoughts and writing on the part of the respondent. This may be discouraging and tiring for the respondents and as a consequence, it may affect the response rates as well. On the other hand, in favour of closed questions, Oppenheim (1992: 114) argues that they are "easier and quicker to answer; they require no writing, and quantification is straightforward". In other words, the closed questions allow the gathering of numerical data through the use of Likert scales and therefore permit further statistical analysis (Wilson & Dewaele, 2010: 110). Obviously, even despite the reasons in favour of using this type of questions, there are also certain disadvantages of closed questions identified in the literature on this topic, which need to be taken into consideration. These include, for example: the lack of spontaneity and expressiveness, potential bias in answer categories, by 'forcing' respondents to choose between given alternatives and by making them focus on alternatives that might not otherwise have come to their mind, which may, in result irritate respondents. In order to eliminate some of the previously-mentioned disadvantages of closed questions, particularly in the Section 2, the 'Other (please specify)' category was included, giving the respondents space to express their own ideas or add some comments, in case the selection of possible response options fails to do justice to their own ideas.

Then, when it comes to the order of questions within sections, we predominantly followed the 'funnel approach', which Oppenheim (1992: 110) describes as the approach where the section "starts off with a very broad question and then progressively narrows down the scope of the questions until in the end it comes to some very specific points". Overall, our final choice of approach and sequence of questions and sections was determined by our own research purposes and by the results of the pilot work. Once the final draft of the questionnaire has been assembled, each item was analysed separately and appropriacy of measurement scales used for assessing attitudes was reviewed.

In order to minimise any damaging limitations and disadvantages of self-completion questionnaire, such as potential misinterpretations of questions, we have given participants the opportunity to ask questions (by contacting us), in case they were having any difficulty filling the questionnaire, bearing in mind that we are dealing predominantly with abstract phenomena (e.g. language, attitudes, etc.). Furthermore, in order to maximise the response rate, several measures have been taken as well. In terms of the format of questions and answers, this includes for example making survey questions required in the case of the Web questionnaire. In other words, in the Web survey, answering questions was set up to be 'required', meaning that respondents must answer all the questions before submitting the page. By default, required questions were marked by an asterisk (*). If respondents didn't answer a required question, they were not be able to advance to the next page until they answered the question within the requirements. In that way, we were able to, at least partly, eliminate one of major disadvantages of self-completion questionnaires when compared to interviews, and that is a risk of missing data. As discussed in the previous section, respondents are likely to skip questions that appear boring or irrelevant to them, which then results in unanswered questions, affecting the response rate as well. Thus, the error message was set in case they left a required question blank, except of items with 'filter questions' which were used to exclude some respondents from a particular question if that question was irrelevant to them - in that case they could skip the question and proceed to the next one.

In terms of reliability and validity of questions when it comes to measuring attitudes, having sets of questions or attitude scales is recommended. Since attitudes are complex (as we have already discussed in Section 2.4), Oppenheim (1992: 147) maintains that:

> ... the chances are that too much will depend on the actual question form and wording, on context, emphasis and mood of the moment, so that the results will be a compound of the (relatively stable) attitude and of those other (momentary) determinants - hence the poor reliability of the single-attitude questions. By using SETS of questions, provided they all relate to the same attitude, we maximize the more stable components while reducing the instability due to particular items, emphasis, mood changes and so on.

3.3.5.3 Designing attitude statements

When it comes to the main questionnaire items, attitude statements play a central role as the means by which the attitudes are traditionally measured. Oppenheim (1992: 174) defines an attitude statement as "a single sentence that expresses a point of view, a belief, a preference, a judgement, an emotional feeling, a position for or against something". Literature review on the subject as well as preliminary pilot interviews have been done in order to get expressions of such attitudes from the respondents in a form that might make them suitable for the use as attitude statements for the purposes of our questionnaire survey.

The first step was therefore writing attitude statements, their selection based on certain criteria, adjustment for the purposes of our study and finally, the creation of the ultimate collection of the statements from which the scale was built. Likert (1932: 44) points out that "each statement should be of such a nature that persons with different points of view, so far as the particular attitude is concerned, will respond to it differentially". However, there seem to be no definite rules for writing attitude statements, and as Oppenheim (1992: 179) claims, "perhaps the best guide to the writing of attitude statements is to say that they should be meaningful and interesting, even exciting, to the respondents". All in all, a careful preparation of questions and attitude statements is a prerequisite for obtaining useful results.

The effort was made to keep the item pool (the ultimate collection of attitude statements) reasonably balanced - including roughly equal numbers of items covering the attitude from one end of the scale to another, but at the same time avoiding too many extremes, having roughly equal proportions of positive and negative items, as recommended. Each of these statements associates the attitude object (code-switching) with some other concept or attribute. Finally, before using the attitude statements, the items were put more or less in random order in the final questionnaire survey which was sent or in other way presented to the participants. In order to ensure the validity of the scale and in attempt to measure attitudes towards code-switching, we made sure that included items are consistent and homogeneous, as they will all be measuring the same thing.

Hence, as a result of an item analysis, which was carried out in order to decide which statements are the best for our scale, the following statements were composed and assembled into the item pool included into the final version of our questionnaire survey.

The last section of the questionnaire (SECTION 3: Attitudes towards CS in CMC) contains 22 attitude statements related to participants' attitudes towards CS. In order to analyse individual statements and to examine the attitudes systematically, 6 different categories of statements were created and items were grouped accordingly.

CATEGORY 1:
Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS (the 'mixed' variety) used in CMC vs. face-to-face communication

S1: Mixing Slovak and English is common in our online communication.
S5: Mixing Slovak and English is common in our face-to-face communication.
S9: Mixing Slovak and English (the 'mixed' variety) is the language of online communication.
S10: The 'mixed' variety used in online communication resembles the variety used in face-to-face communication.
S11: The 'mixed' variety will eventually prevail in face-to-face communication.

In order to investigate the attitudes towards Slovak-English code-switching, theoretical framework (based on the previous research on the topic) was employed in developing the attitude statements for this study. However, the items investigating the participants' attitudes were adapted and/or modified to meet current study requirements and the context.

For instance, following Tsiplakou's (2009) attitude study, the attitudes examined within this category intend to explore the perception of the 'mixed' variety (in our case - mixing Slovak and English - or Slovak-English CS), while differentiating between online (CMC) and face-to-face communication, as well as comparing the two (S9, S10, S11).

CATEGORY 2:

Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS with regard to different CMC platforms

S2: Mixing Slovak and English is common in our email communication.

S3: Mixing Slovak and English is common in our Facebook communication.

S4: Mixing Slovak and English is common in our WhatsApp communication.

Attitude statements designed for further distinction between different CMC modes.

CATEGORY 3:

Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS and its perception as a phenomenon

S12: Code-switching is a sign of incomplete linguistic competence. (Mixing Slovak and English shows a sense of inability to proficiently produce sentences in one language.)

S13: It annoys me when people switch between languages, mixing Slovak and English in communication.

S16: Mixing Slovak and English in online communication is a sign of arrogance.

S17: I find it confusing when people mix Slovak and English when they speak/ write.

In light of numerous studies of CS which point to negative attitudes towards this phenomenon, reflecting a strong belief in 'purity' as linguistic ideal, CS often has rather derogatory connotations, with people even using pejorative terms when referring to it (see Section 2.4.6). Selecting attitude statements which reflect some of these negative attitudes, such as attributing CS to lack of formal education, lack of proficiency in one or both languages, or to arrogance; the attitudes of our research participants were examined. Hence, in this regard, the data about the participants' attitudes towards Slovak-English CS and its perception as a phenomenon was elicited through expressing the degree of agreement/ disagreement with the following attitude statements about language switching: S12, S13, S16 (adapted and modified from Dewaele & Wei: 2014 study).

CATEGORY 4:

Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS in the workplace

S18: Mixing Slovak and English is typical for our everyday workplace communication.

S19: Mixing Slovak and English in the workplace sounds natural to me.

S20: Mixing Slovak and English outside of the workplace sounds natural to me.

Following the previous categories of statements examining attitudes towards Slovak-English CS (in face-to-face communication, but mainly in online/CMC communication and its individual modes), but shifting towards a more specific environment, the workplace, this category aims to elicit the perception of CS in order to establish whether attitudes towards Slovak-English CS among our participants differ in relation to their workplace, as compared to their communication outside of the workplace. Hence, the above attitude statements were formulated.

CATEGORY 5:

Attitudes towards Slovak - English CS in relation to identity

S14: Mixing Slovak and English displays a distinct multicultural identity.

S15: Mixing Slovak and English is instrumental in building a second, virtual identity.

The attitudes examined within this category stem from a hypothesis that CS reflects identity. In terms of the proposition that mixing Slovak and English displays a distinct multicultural identity (S14), we adapted the statement from Dewaele and Wei's (2014) study of attitudes towards CS among mono- and multilingual language users. Subsequently, with regard to the following statement (S15) included in this category, we again adapted and modified (in terms of the language combination) the proposition used by Tsiplakou (2009) in her study on language alternation as performative construction of online identities. With regard to the reasons for CS, the participants in her study reported the 'mixed' code being instrumental in building a second, virtual identity, as one of the reasons why they code-switch.

CATEGORY 6:

Attitudes towards English use and the spread of English in relation to the maintenance of the native language

S6: English is the language of online communication.

S8: English sounds 'cooler' in online communication.

S7: Slovak sounds more formal in online communication.

S21: The spread of English is a manifestation of linguistic and cultural imperialism.

S22: The spread of English poses a threat to the Slovak language.

This category of statements was added in order to explore issues related to the global spread and penetration of the English language and its potential impact on the maintenance of the native language (in our case - the Slovak language). However, this category also covers questions dealing with the use of English and its perception, particularly when compared to the participants' native language (S6, S7, S8 - adapted and modified from Tsiplakou's study). In term of the proposition that the spread of English is a manifestation of linguistic and cultural imperialism and poses a threat to the native language (S21, S22), we again adapted and slightly modified statements proposed in Tsiplakou's (2009) study of attitudes, as a point of reference.

Obviously, the main aim of this section of the questionnaire is to measure attitudes. In this regard, Oppenheim (1992: 101) points out that:

> The detailed specification of measurement aims must be precisely and logically related to the aims of the overall research plan and objectives. For each issue or topic to be investigated, and for each hypothesis to be explored, a precise operational statement is required about the variables to be measured.

In summary, we argue that each questionnaire is unique even if it's mostly composed of questions that have been asked before, but which are now being applied in a new context and additionally presenting its own special problems. The complete questionnaire has been incorporated to this dissertation thesis as an Appendix.

3.3.6 Administering the questionnaire

The next step after finishing the questionnaire survey design was to determine the method of contacting our research participants and deciding on mode(s) of delivering the questionnaire to them; factors which may have different effects on the quality of data collected. This raises the question of whether the mode of administration matters (Bryman, 2004: 672). According to McCabe's study (2004), there is little evidence that the mode of administration makes a significant difference to the findings. In terms of the procedures used to administer the questionnaire, this section discusses the various types of questionnaire administration and the strategies employed to promote active involvement on the part of the participants as well as factors affecting response rates. Even though this aspect of survey research is often neglected in the L2 literature and viewed as a "mere technical issue'', Dornyei (2003: 70) argues that this is wrong, because "there is ample evidence in the measurement literature that questionnaire administration procedures play a significant role in affecting the quality of the elicited responses''.

Hence, in terms of the modes of questionnaire administration, the data for our study was collected through the self-completion questionnaire survey in two of its versions: the Web-based online questionnaire (administered by sending the Web link for the survey via Facebook Messenger) and the 'pen and paper' questionnaire - a traditional form of a written 'non-postal' questionnaire administered 'by hand', in person (Dornyei, 2003). Apart from that, both Slovak and English language versions of the questionnaire were available, so that respondents could choose whichever variety they felt most comfortable with, giving the participants the possibility of choice. Even though the format was obviously different, the content of both questionnaire surveys was identical in both of its versions. This step was undertaken in order to facilitate successful completion of the questionnaire and to ensure the highest response rate possible. In addition to that, yet another factor we have considered with regard to the questionnaire administration was the proposition that online surveys tend to be returned considerably more quickly than traditional 'pen and paper' questionnaires, which has proven to be true in our case as well. In other words, using a Web link and sending it via social media was the fastest and most versatile way to distribute the survey and collect responses.

With regard to the Web-based questionnaire survey (created using Survey Monkey: www.surveymonkey.com), the software enabled us to create a Web address (URL/ link) to which the participants were directed in order to complete the questionnaire. The link for the Web-based questionnaire (which wasn't an open-access survey) was then individually distributed via direct Facebook message to our selected research sample only (selected group of 42 participants further described in detail in the respective section). In terms of the particular survey settings, having the ability to customise the survey-taking experience, no response time limit was set, so the participants could complete the questionnaire at their own pace, without any pressure and the response editing was allowed while taking the survey, until finally submitting it. However, a participant could took the survey once only, which means that multiple responses were not allowed (i.e. one response per participant). The questionnaire remained online between December 2017 and February 2018. Web-based survey responses were recorded directly in our Survey Monkey account.

When it comes to the 'pen and paper' survey, one-to-one administration was employed, which refers to delivering the questionnaire by hand (in person) to the individual participants who requested this version, preferring it over the Web-based type. Accompanying text providing the precise instructions for filling in the questionnaire along with the objectives of the research was included for a future reference. Picking up of the completed forms was arranged in person as well.

Furthermore, the following strategies to promote active involvement on the part of the participants were employed in our study, including considering the factors which affect response rates. In order to avoid difficulties with purely self-administered questionnaires, filled in by the participants themselves and overall completed individually, when handing out the questionnaire (in any of its versions), we clearly explained the following: what the purpose of the survey is and how long it will take them to complete it, making sure they understood what is expected from them. Moreover, we gave them a chance to ask any questions in case they had any, bearing in mind that these are important factors in terms of encouraging participation, increasing motivation, meaningfulness and last but not least, affecting response rates. In addition to that, knowing the research participants in person

offered the opportunity to engage even those otherwise reluctant to cooperate, hence avoiding or at least minimising some of the disadvantages of self-administered questionnaire used as the main method of data collection.

With regard to some slow response rates, reminders were sent out to those participants who had not returned the questionnaire within our given time limit (2 months for completing the survey: from December 2017 to January 2018, extended until February 2018). In the case of Web-based questionnaire, response alerts in form of email notifications that let us know when we got new survey responses were set in order to keep a track of responses. Having the response alerts turned on, we received a daily summary email, representing an overview email highlighting the active survey, including the number of new responses collected since the last notification, as well as the information on how long the survey has been open.

In addition to that, a number of other strategies to increase the quality and quantity of participant responses were used in our attitude study, fully realising that the participants do us a favour by filling the questionnaire; spending their time and effort completing it. As Dornyei (2003: 83) put it, "adults are usually perfectly aware of the fact that they have nothing to gain from participating in the survey and may also see the questionnaire as an intrusion both literally and metaphorically''. That being said, an effort was made to successfully execute the administration process, while motivating the participants, building on their willingness to cooperate and contribute to this research project. To sum it up, all the considerations discussed above (such as the layout of the questionnaire, including a variety of different question styles, graphic features, etc.) and also, communicating the purpose of the survey and potential significance of the results, all together contributed to the high response rate of our questionnaire (95.2%).

Overall, we successfully collected 40 valid responses (fully completed questionnaires; i.e. the grand total of responses submitted to our survey): 38 from the Web-based questionnaire and 2 from the traditional 'pen and paper' questionnaire. The final phase of our attitude study, the processing of the questionnaire data and analysing the responses is covered in detail in the respective chapter (Chapter 4).

3.4 The email corpus

3.4.1 Data collection

Data collection took place since June 2016 and lasted for two months, finally resulting in the corpus of email messages which contains the interactions dating from September 2014 until August 2016. Only naturally occurring data was relevant to the research questions of this study, so the goal was to obtain copies of private messages, representing the workplace email communication, written by the same participants, members of the group (CoP) which have already been previously introduced. None of the 21 participants had known in advance that their email messages were to be included in the corpus used for the purposes of this study and subsequently analysed. The same applies to me as the researcher in the sense that I had not yet developed the idea for the PhD research project when exchanging the messages in question.

Private emails, including the data analysed in this study, are written among people who know each other in real life (as opposed to a virtual community that exists only in cyberspace), and these CMC interactions are embedded in a larger complex of more or less regular contact that includes face-to-face interactions. Therefore, as Georgakopoulou (1997: 145) summarises, a significant factor in the data at hand is that "the participants know one another personally, their email interactions thus mediating past and future face-to-face interactions". At the time of data collection, all participants were using Outlook (www.outlook.com), a web-based suite of webmail, contacts, tasks, and calendaring services from Microsoft, for all the workplace email communication. As email is generally considered to be the primary mode of communication at the workplace, all of them were using an Outlook account provided by their employer.

At this point, it is important to emphasise that collecting a corpus of private email messages is a task with several problems attached. Therefore, in this regard, Hinrichs (2006: 23) points out that "many linguists working on CMC have stressed the desirability of private e-mail corpora, but lamented the difficulty of collecting private e-mail''. As a result, alternative and more readily available sources of data

and CMC platforms were chosen and subsequently analysed. Hence, the majority of published empirical studies of CMC have been of one-to-many public forums such as newsgroups (e.g. Herring, 1996; Yates, 1996) and chat, where the researcher can download quasi-public transcripts off the Internet. Alternatively, one's own inbox was used as the source of data (e.g. Montes-Alcalá, 2005; Pérez-Sabater et al. 2008; Bou-Franch, 2011), including the researcher's own email messages in the corpus as well. This was our case as well. Similarly, in her study of email communication among Greeks living in England, Georgakopoulou (1997) used email message exchanges between intimates, members of her own social network of friends, as did Tsiplakou (2009) examining email communication among a group of 6 native speakers of Greek (fellow academics), who are a part of a relatively close-knit social network - paréa, that the researcher is a part of. Additionally, particularly challenging is, obviously, obtaining copies of private email interactions which contain corporate communication, due to its confidential content. In this regard, Yates (1996: 30) argues that email communication between colleagues has remained uncharted territory on the grounds that it is a less accessible and inconvenient data source, in particular in view of the privacy issues involved. This study has succeeded in accessing such data by securing permission for the messages to be downloaded and analysed from their senders.

The 1548 email messages examined in the analytical chapter of this thesis were randomly extracted from a much larger set of messages, addressed both to the researcher as well as to other members of the group. Moreover, the overall size of the corpus is further divided into the amount of individual email messages sent via this particular CMC platform, listed with respect to the participants of the study as the senders/ addressers. However, the availability, time constraints and the content of individual messages were some of the deciding factors for limiting the number of emails included in this study. Moreover, due to ethical and privacy reasons, the decision was made to exclude confidential private communication with hotel guests and the management and highly confidential email communication of all kinds. For all excerpts from the email corpus that are quoted in this study, we used the anonymization practice, so the names were simply replaced by letter codes. Ethical considerations are discussed in further detail in Section 3.5.

3.4.2 The data: compilation and structure of the corpus

This section presents and discusses the compilation and structure of the assembled corpus of 1548 email messages, representing the workplace email communication, produced by all together 21 participants; 6 men and 15 women. The participants' ages ranged from 24 to 44 at the time of the data collection, with the average age of 30. Again, all are native speakers of Slovak, with the exception of two participants, one man, whose nationality as well as mother tongue is Czech and one woman, whose native language is Serbian. The participants form a relatively close-knit CoP in the senses previously discussed above in the introduction to Section 3.2.

According to the research literature, electronic communication can basically be divided up along two dimensions: synchronicity and audience scope (Baron, 2008: 14). When it comes to the second dimension, audience scope, the question is whether the communication is intended for a single person (one-to-one) or for a larger audience (one-to-many), as in the case of messages addressed to multiple recipients. In this respect, even though the traditional scheme is no longer valid as some of the features of individual platforms have changed with time, we will take into consideration whether the email message contained in our corpus was addressed to one recipient only or more. The text type contained in the email corpus created for this study consists of 294 one-to-one private email messages addressed to the researcher or sent by the researcher and intended for one recipient only (without any CC or BCC) and 1254 one-to-many email messages addressed to more recipients. The latter also includes receiving a copy of an email, in form of CC, BCC or mailing lists, but not being one of the primary recipients.

In summary, most email messages contained within the corpus represent group-directed messages (one-to-many); there are fewer of those that exemplify the dyadic scheme of participant roles, namely addresser-addressee (one-to-one) in the data (1254 vs. 294). All the results related to the structure of the email corpus along with socio-biographic profiles of the participants who produced the email messages analysed in the respective chapter are put together in Table 15 below.

Table 15: The email corpus - data (breakdown per participant)

Number of participant	Participant (coded)	ONE TO ONE	ONE TO MANY	Gender	Age	Nationality	Education
1.	**1. AL**	113	255	F	27	SVK	MA
2.	**2. DC**	-	58	F	25	SVK	MA
3.	**3. NK1**	21	279	F	31	SVK	SS
4.	**4. KH1**	143	188	F	24	SVK	SS
5.	**5. AB**	-	3	F	33	SVK	MA
6.	**6. MM1**	2	27	F	26	SVK	MA
7.	**8. MB1**	-	57	F	30	SVK	SS
8.	**10. PS**	3	138	M	26	SVK	MA
9.	**11. SB**	-	16	M	26	SVK	MA
10.	**12. MM2**	2	2	F	26	SVK	MA
11.	**13. KH2**	4	99	F	28	SRB	MA
12.	**15. MB2**	-	16	F	29	SVK	MA
13.	**19. MF**	-	1	M	36	SVK	SS
14.	**20. DM2**	-	2	F	35	SVK	BA
15.	**26. ZB**	-	62	F	26	SVK	SS
16.	**27. ZH**	1	5	F	30	SVK	MA
17.	**30. EM**	-	11	M	34	SVK	SS
18.	**32. KF**	5	8	F	32	SVK	MA
19.	**40. PJ**	-	15	M	24	SVK	SS
20.	**41. MV2**	-	5	M	44	CZE	BA
21.	**42. IS**	-	7	F	29	SVK	MA
TOTAL		**294**	**1254**		**30**		

Email messages forming this corpus consist of internal communication among Hotel Operations Departments, mainly among Front Office Department associates: Front Desk, Guest Services, Concierge, Bellmen and partly a communication with F&B, HSK, Sales (Reservations, Events), HR, Finance, IT and other departments.

Content-wise, the email messages include various requests, daily operational info, information handover, clarifications, reports, requests for small favours and responses to such requests, invitations, and such sort of the expected contents of workplace interactions among colleagues.

In terms of the length of email messages, brief messages constitute the majority in the data. They are highly contextualized and immediate, acting predominantly as a rapid follow-up to previous email interactions or as turns in an adjacency pair as an example of conversational turn-taking in which the turns are functionally related to each other (in a sense that the second turn is ultimately dependent on the prior one).

The total size of the corpus is probably small compared to the large standardised corpora that are available for analysis, such as the Slovak National Corpus (Corpus of Written Language - prim, as well as Slovak-English Parallel Corpus), and even though its size does not allow us to claim to statistic representativeness, the research questions of this study are qualitative. That being said, the study focuses on language choice and code-switching in CMC between colleagues in a multilingual workplace environment of a multinational hospitality company in Slovakia, focusing mainly on the participants' interactions in Slovak (their mother tongue) and English. As has been pointed out by a number of scholars, it is not necessary to insist on having large samples of text for analysis, but on the contrary, what is particularly needed are, as Gumperz (1977: 11) argues:

> ...detailed investigations of speakers' use of code-switching strategies, in actual conversational exchanges, to show that they exhibit some form of linguistic patterning, that they contribute to the meaning of constituent messages and that participants in the interaction agree on their interpretation.

Overall, the aim for our corpus is to provide an exemplary corpus of Slovak and English written practices in CMC in a given context.

3.4.3 Methodology and approaches to email corpus analysis

In terms of methodologies applied in the studies of CS in CMC (further discussed in Section 2.3.4), researchers use a number of different approaches, however as Androutsopoulos (2013: 668) points out, "a generally accepted methodology that takes the specifics of CMC into account has not yet been developed". Hence, with regard to the approaches used for our email corpus analysis, following sociolinguistic and pragmatic approaches to CMC and discourse analysis, as opposed to purely descriptive linguistic approach focusing on grammar and structural aspects, we have chosen to follow the former direction in the choice of the most appropriate research methodology for the study of CS in CMC in our given context. Using a sociolinguistic and pragmatic approach to the analysis of our data from computer-mediated discourse, we will attempt to examine and describe online language use and language choice from this perspective.

In general, the goal of the present study is to provide a detailed account of the range of discourse meanings and functions that different switches to English perform in the investigated data. Moreover, in the analysis, we will critically apply the frameworks of CS theory with regard to the concepts of code-switching and its functions that have been proposed in the existing relevant research literature.

However, since no ready-made theoretical approach for the analysis of CS in CMC is available, as we have discussed earlier, we have chosen an altogether heuristic approach in which we combine ideas from different sociolinguistic models for the study of CS, particularly with regards to socio-pragmatic functions of CS, along with drawing on Poplack's forms of CS, to a certain extent. That is because, as Hinrichs (2006: 28) points out, "a simple application of existing frameworks of CS theory to the data is problematic". This includes, for example, inability to apply frameworks of Gumperz or Myers-Scotton in order to establish whether there is a connection between consciousness of use and the discourse functions that the code performs in the new domain, as well as inability to apply existing CS theory predominantly devoted to examining speech to the studies devoted to CS in written

data (including written language of CMC). In this regard, Hinrichs (2006: 29) argues that:

> The conditions of written language production are vastly different from those of speech. It is well possible that CS behavior in writing is therefore different and requires a theoretical approach that existing frameworks do not afford. Specifically, consciousness of use may again be the problem: due to the more planned and rhetoric nature of all written language compared to speech, CS there is likely to be employed more consciously and require more analytical flexibility than in speech.

The monological nature of our CMC data or, in other words, not analysing email messages as strings of conversational exchanges, disallows the adoption of Auer's approach to CS. It is because being defined as the conversation analysis approach, it is based on the idea that the function and meaning of a switch in one conversational turn only becomes evident in the discursive consequences as displayed by another interlocutor's subsequent turn (Auer, 1998).

Moreover, by applying the methods of virtual ethnography for data collection and of discourse analysis for the qualitative analysis of the data, this applied linguistic research project aims to describe CS in the context of computer-mediated communication, particularly that of workplace email communication. In addition to that, in favour of ethnography, in a postscipt to Scotton-Myer's volume on CS, Heller (1988: 266-267) called for an approach to CS which incorporates what Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994) called the first-order and the second-order dimensions of CS:

> What is needed is an ethnography of communication which has a two-pronged approach; the description of the place of codeswitching in the repertoire of individuals, and the situation both of these individuals and of their use of codeswitching in community social networks...Codeswitching therefore must be understood as part of historical processes, whether it contributes to stability or change. In this regard much work remains to be done.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Finally, in order to conclude this chapter, we will address certain basic research ethical principles such as the issue of confidentiality, anonymity and other ethical considerations. In other words, the nature of data raises some ethical issues regarding data collection, data processing and publishing that need to be addressed.

On 30 January 2018, a new act on the protection of personal data in the Slovak Republic was published in the Collection of Laws under the number 18/2018 Coll. (hereinafter referred to as the "New Personal Data Protection Act" or "DPA"). As a result of the European reform of the law on the protection of personal data, implemented in particular by the General Data Protection Regulation (hereinafter referred to as "GDPR"), the New Personal Data Protection Act replaces the current Slovak Act No. 122/2013 Coll. on the protection of personal data. In terms of the possibility to process personal data for selected purposes without the consent of the data subject, new DPA stipulates in Section 78 that personal information may be processed without a data subject's consent for journalistic, academic, artistic and literary purposes. However, such processing must not breach a data subject's right to personality protection and privacy. In addition to that, processing of information for archiving, scientific, historical and statistical purposes is allowed, if it is adequate, respects the essence of personal data protection and as long as appropriate measures for the protection of the rights and interests of data subjects are taken (Article 9 and 89 of New DPA). Since these are privileged purposes, which are covered by a derogation from the purpose limitation principle, it is also possible to limit the rights of the data subjects when processing of personal data for these purposes, namely the right of access, the right of rectification, the right of limitation and the right to object.

However, respecting the private nature of this kind of data, the permission for data use and processing was sought from the research participants. As a result, the informed consent was obtained from the individuals concerned in order to create and analyse copies of private email messages needed for this study, granting us a permission to use these data for scientific and research purposes in an anonymised form. Moreover, every message was first checked for confidential content. All

participants' names have been anonymized for the purpose of this study and they were replaced by letter codes. The anonymization practice unexceptionally applied to all messages or excerpts from the corpus material quoted in this study. Obviously, from the ethical point of view, the participants have a need for and a right to privacy and that needs to be respected. In view of this, an effort was made to protect the privacy of the company and all the participants and not to disclose any personal or confidential information.

Moreover, with regard to the quantitative, questionnaire-based study of views and attitudes towards code-switching, the participants were aware that their responses were not anonymous and by filling the questionnaire, they granted us permission to process the data, expressing their agreement with the statement that any information they provide will be treated in confidence and will be used for academic purposes only.

All in all, following basic ethical principles of data collection as summarised by Dornyei (2003: 91-93), drawing on Oppenheim's (1992) and Sudman and Bradburn's (1983) discussion of ethical issues in research, focusing particularly on surveys, these four principles have been applied and assured in our research:

1) In terms of data collection and in general, "no harm should come to the respondents as a result of their participation in the research''.
2) The respondent's right to privacy was respected, no pressure was brought to them, they had the right to refuse to answer questions without offering any explanations for doing so. No information or other data was used without their permission.
3) Prior to granting us the consent to use the data, respondents were provided with initial information about the research including the extent to which the data are held confidential as well as how and for what purposes the data will be used.
4) We made sure that we maintained the level of confidentiality that was promised to the respondents, which led to the decision not to publish the whole corpus of email messages as an appendix attached to this thesis.

CHAPTER 4:
THE QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The main focus of our quantitative, questionnaire-based study is to examine the participants' metalinguistic awareness of the extent of switching to English during their communication (particularly focusing on their CMC interactions) and to determine their reasons for doing so, while uncovering the attitudes they hold towards this phenomenon.

Language attitudes are present in our everyday lives; other people often judge our group membership, social status, competence, intelligence, friendliness, trustworthiness, and so on, by the way we communicate (Section 2.4.6). As we have already discussed in the theoretical part of this thesis, one of the most apparent gaps in the current literature, both on language attitudes in general and on attitudes towards CS in particular (especially in CMC) is that a number of systematic studies of attitudes towards CS is still relatively low, especially in terms of questions such as how different individuals view the same linguistic phenomenon and what conditions (e.g. psychological, historico-cultural, socio-political) do affect variation and change in individuals' language attitudes (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Dewaele & Wei, 2014).

Through the analysis of questionnaire survey specifically designed for the purposes of our research (Section 3.3.5), this chapter will attempt to shed some light on language use and language attitudes that our research participants, colleagues in a multilingual workplace environment of a multinational hospitality company in Slovakia, hold towards code-switching and the use of English in their workplace communication and in general. Therefore, in order to gain insights into patterns of language use and language attitudes among a diverse group of our research participants (Section 3.2), this chapter presents a series of analyses centring around the following proposed research questions:

- What is the participants' metalinguistic awareness of the extent of switching to English and what are the reasons behind such linguistic choices?
- What are the research participants' self-reported frequencies of switching to English in relation to different reasons and functions of CS?
- What are the participants' attitudes towards language switching in general and with regard to various different domains of language use (CMC, workplace,..)?

In terms of the chapter organisation, Chapter 4 of this thesis is structured as follows. First of all, the consecutive steps in processing the questionnaire data are described (Section 4.2), starting with applying the methods of scoring and coding the responses (Section 4.2.1), followed by storing the data in a computer file and entering them into a spreadsheet (Section 4.2.2), and finally, outlining different approaches to processing the data, while differentiating between closed questions (Section 4.2.3) and open-ended items (Section 4.2.4). In order to analyse and report the elicited questionnaire survey responses that we have obtained, the next section of this thesis deals with the statistical data analysis (Section 4.3). Firstly, it addresses a distinction made between different types of data (Section 4.3.2) and it subsequently continues by determining dependent and independent variables in our data set (Section 4.3.3) and providing the results of internal consistency reliability analysis of multi-item measurement scales (Section 4.3.4), as well as generating initial scale statistics (Section 4.3.5). Finally, the chapter is concluded by statistical and quantitative data analyses of the questionnaire responses (Section 4.4), describing and summarising the participants' self-reported frequencies of switching to English in relation to different reasons and functions of CS (Section 4.5) as well as their attitudes towards language switching in general and with regard to various different domains of language use, including CMC and workplace communication (Section 4.6). It may be worth noting at this point that this chapter will not elaborate on more advanced statistical and qualitative techniques of data analysis. In summary, the chapter provides a detailed description of our research participants' self-reported language use and language attitudes towards CS based on the findings that originate from self-completed questionnaires. Moreover, in terms of contributing to the interpretive process dealing with CS as a core theme of the thesis, attitudes expressed by the participants will throw new light on the phenomenon under investigation.

4.2 Processing questionnaire data

After having designed the questionnaire and administering it (as described in detail in the Methodology chapter), the penultimate phase of our quantitative study is processing of the questionnaire data. The starting point of this phase is accessing, then sorting and finally analysing data from the completed questionnaires. Before the actual statistical analyses of our questionnaire survey are undertaken, regardless whether or not this is to take place on SPSS or in the computer spreadsheet program, Oppenheim (1992: 279) argues that "a series of checking operations should be performed on the complete data set", with the aim to eliminate potential errors from the preceding stages. In addition to that, determined by the nature of the data collection technique, the process of collecting the responses and then processing questionnaire data was obviously different in the case of Web-based questionnaire, when compared to the traditional 'pen and paper' questionnaire.

In terms of the Web-based questionnaire (created using Survey Monkey: www.surveymonkey.com), responses were recorded directly in our account within the software. That enabled us to see a summary view of the collected data and browse individual responses. However, as we created our online survey using the software's basic features only (which were free of charge), more advanced features, such as downloading and retrieving the entire dataset once the data-collection phase was complete, were not available to us. Therefore, we had to download individual surveys manually. With regard to the traditional 'pen and paper' questionnaire, only 2 completed questionnaires have been collected and scanned copies were subsequently created and saved as backup computer files for digital document archival purposes. Input responses collected offline were then manually entered into the spreadsheet.

Hence, in summary, this section describes the consecutive steps in processing the questionnaire data, starting with applying the methods of scoring and coding the responses (Section 4.2.1). Subsequently, moving on to storing the data in a computer file and entering them into a spreadsheet (Section 4.2.2), the section is concluded by making a distinction between processing of closed questions (Section 4.2.3) and open-ended items (Section 4.2.4).

4.2.1 Coding questionnaire data

First of all, each completed questionnaire (in both of its versions) was stored as a computer file and it was given a unique identification code (also referred to as a 'case number'). The identification code in form of initials identifying the individual participant from our research sample is consistent throughout the whole thesis.

In terms of coding of the items, the first step of data processing of close-ended questionnaire items (such as multiple-choice questions) involved converting the respondents' answers to numbers by means of coding procedures. This step was taken following Dornyei's (2003: 97) claim stating that:

> Most data analysis software handles data in a numerical rather than in an alphabetic form, and even with programs that allow the storage of information recorded as letters, the procedures that are available for handling such data are limited compared to the vast arsenal of statistical techniques to be used with numerical responses.

In order to keep it organised, Dornyei (2003: 98) also suggests that "a major element of the coding phase" is to compile the following:

1) a coding frame - which specifies the meaning of the scores for each item
2) a codebook - which contains an organised summary of all the coding frames

The coding frame, defined as "a classification scheme that offers a numerical score for every possible answer to an item" (Dornyei, 2003: 99), applied to our questionnaire survey data in the case of the following questions:

Those Qs which yield either/or answers and are therefore in the form of dichotomies:

- Yes/ No questions: Yes = 1
  No = 2
- Gender: Male (M) = 1
  Female (F) = 2

Although open-ended questionnaire items required some sort of content analysis, the coding frame for close-ended questionnaire items was very straightforward. For the purposes of our questionnaire study, we gave a numerical score to each tick and calculated a total score in the manner described further.

In the case of items where participants were asked to choose a response on a 5-point Likert scale, the following system of scoring applied:

In the second section of the questionnaire (SECTION 2: Reasons for CS and its functions), in order to determine the frequency of switching to English in relation to different reasons and functions of CS, the final questions '*When do you switch between languages in a conversation...?*' was broken down into 9 statements with potential answers presented on the 5-point Likert scale, which was coded as follows:

5 = always
4 = very often
3 = sometimes
2 = rarely
1 = never

In the last section of the questionnaire (SECTION 3: Attitudes towards CS in CMC), data about the participants' attitudes towards CS was elicited through the following closed question: *'To what extent do you agree with the following statements about language switching?'*. The participants were asked to state their degree of identification (indicating their level of agreement/ disagreement) with 22 attitude statements. Potential answers were again presented on the 5-point Likert scale and each pre-determined response option was assigned a number as follows:

5 = strongly agree
4 = agree
3 = neither agree nor disagree
2 = disagree
1 = strongly disagree

In order to score the record of each participant, we have decided that a high score on the scale will mean a favourable attitude, so favourable statements must be scored 5 for 'strongly agree', down to 1 for 'strongly disagree' - and unfavourable statements must be scored 1 for 'strongly agree' up to 5 for 'strongly disagree'. Therefore, a high scale score is going to mean a positive attitude towards code-switching and agreement with those statements that imply this will be scored 5 or 4, and agreement with statements that imply the opposite, or rather negative feelings towards language switching, will be scored 1 or 2. Having scored each item from 5-1, we next added up the item scores to obtain a total score. Where necessary, as in the case of the following negatively worded items (those indicating negative attitude towards CS): in SECTION 3: S12, S13, S16, S17, S21, S22, the scores were reversed so that the numerical scoring scale runs in the opposite direction (so that a higher score indicates a more positive attitude towards CS). Thus, in these cases, strongly disagree would attract a score of 5, disagree would be 4, neutral still equals 3, agree becomes 2 and strongly agree = 1. Since there are 9 items on the Likert scale in the Section 2, we have a maximum possible score of 45 (5x9 = 45), and a necessary minimum score of 9 (1x9 = 9) and 22 items in the Section 3, hence a maximum possible score is 110 (5x22 = 110) and a necessary minimum score is 22 (1x22 = 22).

In contrast with data processing and coding of close-ended questionnaire items, in case of free-responses or open-ended items, the questionnaire data were not converted into numerical form, as the statistical analysis did not necessarily require it, partly due to the size of our sample. However, some letter coding (or the combination of letter and number coding) was used, such as for example in the case of the following classification questions from the first section of the questionnaire related to socio-biographic information about the participants. The coding of these particular questionnaire responses was therefore as follows:

- Education data (the highest degree/ level of school completed):

  Bachelor's degree = BA
  Master's degree = MA
  secondary school (including high school) = SS

- Nationality (following *ISO 3166-1 alpha-3* – three-letter country codes):

  Slovak = SVK
  Czech = CZE
  Serbian = SRB

With regard to the second part of the first section of the questionnaire (SECTION 1: Background) dedicated to analysing and describing our research sample in terms of their linguistic profiles (including participants' language history and present language use, languages known, chronological order of language acquisition as well as formal education obtained in these languages and self-perceived English language proficiency), the following system of coding applied:

In terms of distribution of participants according to the number of years learning English, responses to the question: *'How long have you been learning English?'* have been grouped and coded as follows:

0 - 5 years = Y1
6 - 10 years = Y2
11 - 15 years = Y3
16 - 20 years = Y4
20+ years = Y5

When it comes to the distribution of participants according to their knowledge of foreign languages (based on their self-reports from the questionnaire), the number of languages was elicited based on the question: *'What other languages do you speak?'*, and subsequently calculated and coded as follows:

1 foreign language = F1
2 foreign languages = F2
3 foreign languages = F3
4 foreign languages = F4

In terms of individual languages, the international standard *ISO 639-1:2002 - Codes for the representation of names of languages - Part 1* was used as the reference for coding our data related to reporting languages. Hence, when referring to the languages spoken or learnt by our research participants, the abbreviations used in this regard correspond to *ISO 639-1 alpha-2* - two-letter codes as follows:

Czech = cs
English = en
French = fr
German = de
Greek = el
Hungarian = hu
Italian = it
Portuguese = pt
Russian = ru
Slovak = sk
Spanish = es

Furthermore, a special category for cases when no answer has been given (the question was either left blank or skipped because the participant overlooked or intentionally avoided it) was created. In research methodology books, such missing data are often coded '9' or '99' (Dornyei, 2003: 99). In order to avoid leaving the cells with missing data empty in the spreadsheet, we used dash symbol (-) to indicate 'no answer', as well as 'N/A' ('not applicable') in cases when the particular field was not applicable for the participant.

All in all, the codebook is "intended to provide a comprehensive and comprehensible description of the dataset" (Dornyei, 2003: 101), including the coding frame for each variable, as well as the range of valid codes (minimum and maximum values) and the code used for missing data. These have already been specified above, therefore we will not compile any extra file representing an external codebook. Hence, this section serves as the codebook for our quantitative study, as well as the reference for the questionnaire survey analysis.

4.2.2 Entering the data into a computer file

Once the coding frames and the codebook have been completed, the next step in the process was entering the data into a computer file. As our questionnaire consisted (almost) entirely of close-ended items (such as multiple-choice questions), pre-coded items and rating scale questions (Likert scales), which have been assigned numerical values, entering the data into the computer file was relatively fast and almost ready for processing. Using the basic computer spreadsheet program - Apple Numbers spreadsheet application (an alternative to Microsoft Excel) - allowed for setting up rows and columns in an electronic form, calculating scores (e.g. frequency, percentage, average, total and other values) using formulas and functions. Even though this computer program can execute certain statistical procedures, and the data entered through it can usually be read, or converted for use, by other, more sophisticated statistical packages, at this point, we are not dealing with an advanced statistics and more complex analytic research examining the interrelationships between certain variables.

When entering the data into a computer file, we used the traditional method which involved creating a rectangular text file, in which each horizontal line contains the data from a particular questionnaire (and therefore responses from a particular participant) and each vertical column (or a set of columns) represents a particular item we wanted the participants to evaluate, indicate their level of agreement/ disagreement (in the case of rating scale - attitude statement), or simply provide an answer to (in the case of close-ended questions in general). Hence, for example Line 1 contains the data from Questionnaire 1 (from Participant 1) and Column 1 in each line represents actual responses given by the participant (containing the score related to item/ variable we wanted him/her to evaluate).

4.2.3 Processing closed questions

The complete processing sequence of close-ended questions involves a number of consecutive steps. It starts with the initial data check, data cleaning and data manipulation, which involves making necessary changes in the dataset prior the analyses, making sure it is appropriate for statistical procedures and does not contain any bias which could possibly affect the results (Dornyei, 2003: 103).

In terms of data cleaning, we made sure that potential errors, mistakes and inaccuracies occurring during the data entry phase (such as typing wrong numbers in the case of Likert scale items) were eliminated or corrected by double-checking the data entered and following the techniques recommended in the questionnaire research literature. These techniques include: 'range-checks' for each variable, including correcting impossible data (such as out-of-range-values), correcting incorrectly entered values that conform to the permissible range, and a selection of 'internal-consistency checks' such as correcting contradicting data (particularly in the case of 'routed' items or 'filter' questions), as well as examining implausible data - the values which are inconsistent with the rest of the dataset (see Oppenheim, 1992: 279-281; Dornyei, 2003: 104-105).

With regard to data manipulation as the next step of data processing of closed questions, several issues have been checked before the actual analyses could be undertaken. This includes recording values and handling missing data. With the aim to reduce or completely avoid potential bias, in the 'designing the questionnaire' phase (Section 3.3.5), we included both positively and negatively worded items in order to avoid a response set where the participants mark only one side of a rating scale. As we have already mentioned earlier, for such negatively worded items, the scoring was reversed before including them in multi-item scales. Missing data was not a major issue in our case, partly due to setting the response format in the Web-based questionnaire to 'required', meaning that the participants were required to answer all the questions before submitting the page. By default, required questions were marked by an asterisk (*), as we have already pointed out in the Methodology chapter of this thesis, particularly in the section discussing the questionnaire design.

4.2.4 Processing open-ended questions

As we have previously discussed in the Methodology chapter (Section 3.3.5.2), open-ended questions do not have pre-coded response options, which is why their processing is less straightforward compared to that of closed items. In our questionnaire survey, in terms of open-ended questions, we used mostly 'specific open questions' (also referred to as classification/ factual questions), the function of which was to ask about concrete piece of information, such as facts about the participant (e.g. socio-biographic information such as age, nationality, education, language background, etc.). As these questions could easily be answered in one line or even by one word, the responses were easy to summarise and analyse. Having created an adequate coding frame (cf. Section 4.2.1), the responses to these items were coded accordingly and then treated as nominal or categorical data.

Even though there were no missing data in the case of close-ended items, there were some in the case of open-ended questions, particularly within the socio-biographic section of the questionnaire (Section 1), where the participants were asked about foreign languages learnt at school, differentiating between primary school, secondary school, university and language school, in a form of separate sub-questions. Leaving one or more of these particular sub-questions unanswered can be interpreted in a variety of different ways including the obvious:

(a) the participant could not recall which languages he/she learnt at different levels of education
(b) the question does not apply to the participant as he/she did not attend the university or any language course at the language school
(c) the participant has intentionally skipped the question (for some reason)

Note: In the case of the last option, due to the settings of the Web-based questionnaire, the participant would have to type something as a response to a question in order to be able to continue completing the questionnaire.

The lack of these missing values (responses) was not significant for our study, however for the purpose of certain statistical procedures, having otherwise fully-completed questionnaires from all the participants would offer more accurate results.

4.3 Statistical data analysis

4.3.1 Descriptive statistics

Quantitative questionnaire data were analysed by means of submitting them to statistical procedures, which is considered to be the standard method. These include a variety of different techniques ranging from calculating item score means to running more complex statistical analyses. Depending on the nature of the data, different statistical tools have been used for different purposes. While standard statistical operations (such as calculating frequencies and percentages) have been performed in the basic computer spreadsheet program, certain statistical analyses of quantitative questionnaire data were carried out on statistical software IBM SPSS Statistics (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), which is one of the market leaders in this category. Moreover, it is also possibly the most widely used computer software for this kind of analysis for social scientists (Bryman, 2004: 354).

For the purpose of our questionnaire survey analysis and data presentation, we employed descriptive statistical procedures which are used to describe the basic features of the collected data. Moreover, in order to provide summary statistics that quantitatively summarise the sample and the measures, univariate analysis, i.e. the analysis of one variable at a time, was performed. By using descriptive statistics in particular, we bear in mind that "these statistics do not allow drawing any general conclusions that would go beyond the sample" (Dornyei, 2003: 114). As previously stated, the purpose of our questionnaire study is to investigate the sample in terms of their attitudes towards CS, as well as their reasons for switching, while examining the function of CS. Hence, the aim was to collect further background information about the particular people under investigation - our research participants. It is also important to emphasise that our aim is not to draw inferences and venture any generalisations concerning the wider population - i.e. about all the similar people in the world (for which we would have to apply inferential statistical procedures). Moreover, due to the size of our sample, we are not able to generalise the findings to a population that our sample is not representative of.

When planning the statistical analysis of our questionnaire survey, a distinction was made between different types of data and variables (Section 4.3.2), since they require different statistical treatments. Hence, in other words, the techniques used to analyse quantitative data have been matched to the types of variables that we have created. Subsequently, in the following section (Section 4.3.3), the variables of our questionnaire survey have been defined and dependent and independent variables have been determined as well.

After running the internal consistency check and calculating the reliability of multi-item measurement scales (Section 4.3.4), the next step of the quantification stage of our questionnaire survey analysis included a number of statistical procedures to analyse collected data. The initial results of scale statistics for both Likert scales (9-item scale from Section 2 and 22-item scale from Section 3) presented in the following section (Section 4.3.5) include calculating the mean (i.e., the average) scores of the questionnaire responses within the scale, variance, and standard deviation. Moreover, univariate analysis, i.e. the analysis of one variable at a time, is covered in the separate analytical sections of this chapter (Section 4.5 and 4.6).

With regard to the methods to visualise various characteristics of the data, we have attempted to develop effective and digestible (i.e. reader-friendly) ways of presenting the results of our analyses. Hence, the text in the following analytical sections presenting the results is also accompanied by respective figures and tables. Diagrams (bar charts, pie charts) were used as methods of displaying quantitative data, particularly in the case of nominal or ordinal variables. In contrast, tables were used to summarise data about the participants and their responses (e.g. frequency tables) and to present the results of IBM SPSS statistical analyses (e.g. reliability statistics, scale statistics, etc.). Frequency tables provide “the number of people and the percentage belonging to each of the categories for the variable in question” (Bryman: 2004: 337) and they were used in relation to all the different types of variables outlined below (Section 4.3.2). In summary, tables were used particularly in order to provide a more accurate and richer description than figures, even despite their lack of visual impact (Dornyei, 2003: 128).

4.3.2 Types of questionnaire data and variables

With regard to the types of variables in our questionnaire survey, we elicited 4 main types of data:

- Nominal (also known as categorical) data
- Dichotomous data
- Ordinal data
- Interval/ ratio data

Based on the questionnaire survey sequence of sections, the first type of the obtained data - elicited through open-ended questions - is nominal or categorical data which come from scales that have no numerical value and comprise categories that cannot be rank ordered (e.g. gender, nationality, language). However, some of them have been converted to quantifiable categories and coded accordingly by assigning numerical values to them (e.g. gender variable coded as follows: male = 1, female = 2). In general, applicable statistical techniques for this type of data include percentages, Chi-squared tests and other non-parametric devices (Oppenheim, 1992: 285).

According to Bryman (2004), gender variable further falls within a category of dichotomous variables, which contain data that have only two categories. Bryman (2004: 335) further claims that "their position in relation to the other types is slightly ambiguous, as they have only one interval". Even though they possess attributes of other three types of data/ variables, Bryman (2004: 335) goes on by saying that for most purposes, they should be treated as if they were ordinary nominal variables.

Another type of data elicited through the questionnaire is ordinal data, which as Dornyei (2003: 109) points out, are "similar to nominal data except that greater numbers refer to the order of the values on a continuum". In other words, it means that in contrast with nominal data, where the assigned values are completely arbitrary and do not indicate any difference in size, ordinal data involves ranked numbers and ordering matters (e.g. as in the case of education data coded as BA degree = 1, MA

degree = 2, secondary school = 3, and languages learnt during different levels of school). Hence, the categories of variables can be rank ordered (as in the case of interval/ ratio variables), however the distances between the categories are not equal across the range (Bryman, 2004: 335). That is also the case in multiple-choice items of our questionnaire, which produce ordinal data as the responses that can be placed on a 'frequency' continuum (Dornyei, 2003). This view is supported by Bryman (2004: 335) who maintains that these "multiple-indicator (or multiple-item) measures of concepts, like Likert scales produce strictly speaking ordinal variables''. However, at the same time he points out that "many writers argue that they can be treated as though they produce interval/ratio variables, because of the relatively large number of categories they generate" (Bryman, 2004: 335).

Finally, the last type of the data elicited through our questionnaire is the interval/ ratio type of data. Interval data are variables in which "the various values are at an equal distance - or intervals - from each other on a continuum'' (Dornyei, 2003: 109). Therefore, equal numerical differences in the coding imply equal differences in the degree of the variable being measured. In other words, the distances between the categories of variables are identical across the range of categories (e.g. age variable as an example of interval scale). However, Bryman (2004: 335) suggests that if we subsequently group an interval/ ratio variable which refers to participants' ages into categories (in our case by creating the following age groups: 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39 and 40-44), we are transforming it into an ordinal variable. In terms of techniques of data analysis, this type of data can by analysed by a wide range of means of parametric procedures. Statistical techniques applicable to this type of data include means, standard deviations, t-tests and F-tests, regression methods, analysis of variance, correlation coefficients, etc. (Oppenheim, 1992: 285). On the other hand, non-parametric procedures can be applied to both ordinal and even nominal data.

Making a distinction between these four types of data is crucial because the selection of the statistical techniques to be used with particular type of data influences the precision of the measurement. This has been taken into consideration when determining the type of data - variables measured by the questionnaire.

4.3.3 Determining dependent and independent variables

In addition to the aim of our quantitative study to examine the participants' metalinguistic awareness of the extent of switching to English and the reasons behind such language choices, more specific goals of our study include identifying the main functions of code-switching as perceived by our participants as well as describing and comparing their attitudes towards code-switching. The questionnaire was consciously designed in a way that it contains multiple items focusing on each content area, which have been summed up in multi-item scales for the purpose of analysis. In order to determine which items belong together and whether the items in the scale assess the same target, an internal consistency check was conducted (the results of the reliability tests are presented in the following section - Section 4.3.4).

The variables derived from the raw questionnaire data include dependent variable (the degree of CS) and independent variables (such as gender, age, education, nationality, English language proficiency, languages in which the participant was educated, etc.) as well as potential external and internal factors which may influence or even predict CS. However, factor analysis and Multiple Linear Regression was not used in order to identify the variables predicting the value of the dependent variable. In terms of reducing the number of variables in the questionnaire, Dornyei (2003: 107-108) points out that the crucial step in analysing questionnaire data is "always to reduce to manageable proportions the number of variables measured by the questionnaire so that the mass of details does not prevent us from seeing the forest through the trees".

Hence, for the purposes of our questionnaire survey analysis, and in line with our research questions, the following variables have been identified: 'reasons for switching to English', 'functions of code-switching' and 'attitudes towards code-switching'. In order to examine effects of these variables, frequencies (N) and percentages (%) were implemented. The quantitative analyses of the individual participants' questionnaire responses in form of grouped attitude statements is the focus of the final analytical sections of this chapter (Section 4.5 and Section 4.6).

4.3.4 Internal consistency reliability

After processing closed questions and cleaning the data in the phase of range-checks, it is considered to be essential to run the internal consistency check as the prerequisite for any scientific survey measurement and therefore calculate the reliability of any multi-item measurement scale to make sure it is adequate and well-designed. Overall, the aim of designing a reliable measurement instrument is for the scores on similar items to be related (and therefore internally consistent), but at the same time for each to contribute and yield some unique insights as well.

Reliability and validity are two key concepts in statistics and measurement theory referring to "the psychometric properties of the measurement techniques and the data obtained by them" (Dornyei, 2003: 110). While each of them is important, they are also related to each other, in a sense that "adequate reliability is a precondition to validity" (Oppenheim, 1992: 159). In terms of the definitions, reliability is a psychometric instrument which refers to "the extent to which scores on the instrument are free from errors of measurement", and validity is defined as "the extent to which a psychometric instrument measures what it has been designed to measure" (Dornyei, 2003: 110). In other words, reliability means consistency (with regard to both the characteristics of the measuring instrument and conditions under which it is administered). Focusing on content validity which "seeks to establish that the items or questions are well-balanced sample of the content domain to be measured" (Oppenheim, 1992: 162), we concentrated on making our measures reliable in the first place. These concepts (reliability and validity) have been widely discussed in the literature and a variety of reliability and validity coefficients have been introduced in order to compute such indices.

Reliability analysis of both Likert scales was performed in one aspect in particular: internal consistency. As Dornyei (2003: 110) explains, this attribute refers to "the homogeneity of the items making up the various multi-item scales within the questionnaire". In other words, in terms of internal consistency reliability, multi-item scales are only effective if the items work together in a homogeneous manner, that is, if they measure the same target area/ general construct, which in psychometric terms

means that each item on a scale should correlate with the other items and with the total scale score (Anderson, 1985; Dornyei, 2003). This measure based on the correlations between different items on the scale has been referred to as Likert's criterion of internal consistency (Likert, 1932). Hence, in order to determine the reliability and examine the internal consistency of both attitude scales used in our questionnaire, Likert's criterion of internal consistency was applied.

Internal consistency reliability was measured and ensured by the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient. To conduct item analysis and obtain this coefficient, the 'Reliability Analysis' was performed in SPSS, which not only provided the Cronbach's Alpha for given scales but also computed what the coefficient would be if a particular item was deleted from the scale (hence showing which item reduces the internal consistency of the scale). Cronbach's Alpha is a figure ranging between zero and +1, and if it proves to be very low, either the particular scale is too short or the items have very little in common. According to a commonly accepted rule, a reliability of 0.70 or higher is required, with 0.60 as the lowest acceptable value. This claim is supported by Nunnally (1978), who is often associated with the assertion that instruments used in basic research should have reliability of .70 or better, whilst in applied settings, a reliability of .80 may not be high enough. In this regard, Nunnally (1978: 245-246) argues that:

> ...what a satisfactory level of reliability is depends on how a measure is being used. In the early stages of research...one saves time and energy by working with instruments that have only modest reliability, for which purpose reliabilities of .70 or higher will suffice....In contrast to the standards in basic research, in many applied settings a reliability of .80 is not nearly high enough...In those applied settings where important decisions are made with respect to specific test scores, a reliability of .90 is the minimum that should be tolerated, and a reliability of .95 should be considered the desirable standard.

Furthermore, with regard to expressing reliability in the form of a correlation coefficient, Oppenheim (1992: 159) points out that "in the social and behavioural sciences, it is rare to find reliabilities much above .90".

The Cronbach's Alpha analysis of the total scale of 9 items from the second section of the questionnaire (Section 2) revealed a relatively high level of internal consistency (alpha = 0.869) for 'made-to-measure' research instrument developed for our specific purposes (basic research), as opposed to standardised questionnaire (used in applied settings) which needs to undergo further validation procedures. According to Dornyei (2003: 112), "internal consistency estimates for well-developed attitude scales containing as few as 10 items ought to approach 0.80". Table 16 below presents the results of the 'Reliability Statistics' analysis of 9-item scale focusing on determining the frequency of switching to English in relation to different reasons and functions of CS.

Table 16: Reliability Statistics for 9-item scale

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.869	.868	9

The Cronbach's Alpha coefficient of the total scale of 22 items from the last section of the questionnaire (Section 3) is 0.831, which is rather good. Looking at the 'Item-Total Statistics' for individual items, we can conclude that there is internal consistency between all the items used in this scale. Table 17 below presents the results of the 'Reliability Statistics' analysis of 22-item scale focusing on attitudes towards CS.

Table 17: Reliability Statistics for 22-item scale

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.831	.823	22

4.3.5 Scale statistics

Moving on to the next step of the quantification stage of our questionnaire survey analysis, a number of statistical procedures to analyse collected data was performed, starting with the scale statistics, which includes: calculating the mean (i.e., the average) scores of the questionnaire responses within the scale, variance, and standard deviation.

In terms of descriptive statistical procedures, the following tables have been generated in SPSS showing the 'Scale Statistics' for both Likert scales, summarising sets of numerical data (Table 18 and Table 19). First of all, in order to describe the participant's responses, the mean (average) was provided. Mean scores on the scales were as follows: 30.18 for 9-item scale (SECTION 2) and 77.23 for 22-items scale (SECTION 3). With regard to the variance, it was 41.58 for 9-item scale and 82.95 for 22-item scale. Moreover, the standard deviation of the results (an index of the average disparity among the scores) on the scale was included: 6.45 for 9-item scale and 9.11 for 22-item scale.

Table 18: Scale statistics for 9-item scale

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
30.1750	41.584	6.44856	9

Table 19: Scale statistics for 22-item scale

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
77.2250	82.948	9.10758	22

4.4 Analysing the responses

First of all, in terms of analysing the questionnaire survey responses as the ultimate step of our quantitative study, it should be clarified that the findings from the first section of the questionnaire (SECTION 1: Background) have already been summarised and presented in the respective section (Participants - Section 3.2), dedicated to introducing our research sample. In summary, due to the nature of SECTION 1 of the questionnaire, the elicited data have primarily been used to describe our research sample by providing the following information about the participants:

- socio-biographical profiles (personal information about the participants such as gender/ name, age, nationality and education) - Section 3.2.1
- linguistic profiles (including participants' language history and present language use, languages known, chronological order of language acquisition as well as formal education obtained in these languages and self-perceived English language proficiency) - Section 3.2.2

Therefore, this section will exclusively focus on analysing, presenting and the discussion of the findings of the remaining two sections of the questionnaire. Based on the analyses of multi-item measurement scales (Likert scale questions) which represent the core of our questionnaire study investigation, the ultimate aim of this section is to:

- determine the frequency of switching to English in relation to different reasons for and functions of CS (Section 4.5)
- uncover the attitudes towards language switching through the analyses of grouped attitude statements (Section 4.6)

To examine effects of variables such as 'reasons for switching to English', 'functions of code-switching' and 'attitudes towards code-switching', frequencies (N) and percentages (%) were implemented. In order to do that, univariate analysis, i.e. the analysis of one variable at a time, was performed.

4.5 Language use: Frequency of switching to English in relation to different reasons and functions of CS

The analysis of the reasons for, and the functions of CS (SECTION 2 of the questionnaire) focused on the data elicited from 40 participants who filled out the questionnaire. The prefabricated statements presented to the participants within this section of the questionnaire were based on the common functions of CS identified in the literature on this topic (Section 2.2 and Section 2.3) as well as on the answers provided by the respondents in the preliminary pilot study (non-formal interviews).

First of all, in terms of the reasons for switching to English, the majority of participants (60%) reported that they do so always or very often in situations when they feel that some things are better expressed in English (Q9) or simply sound better in English than in Slovak (or Czech/ Serbian - depending on the participant's native language). In contrast, a smaller proportion of participants (35%) reported that they sometimes do it for this reason, while only 5% of participants claimed they rarely or never switch to English because of a feeling that some things are better expressed in English as compared to their native language.

The second most common reason for switching to English reported by half of participants (50%), namely those who say they do it always or very often, is to switch to English in order to avoid a misunderstanding in a communication (Q6). In contrast, just under two fifths of participants (37.50%) reported that they sometimes do it, while a significantly smaller proportion of participants (12.50%) further reported that they do not switch to English or only rarely do because of this reason.

Thirdly, almost half of participants (47.50%) also reported that they always or very often switch to English to fill in the gaps when they feel they have a vocabulary limitation (Q8), i.e. when they can not quickly find a word with the same meaning in Slovak. On the other hand, a slightly smaller proportion of participants (42.50%) reported that they sometimes do it, whilst only one in ten participants (10%) claim they only rarely or never switch to English for reasons having to do with vocabulary limitation. Table 20 below summarises these results:

Table 20: Frequencies and user percentages of switching to English in relation to different reasons for CS

#	Reasons for switching to English	Likert scale (merged)	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
Q6	Avoiding a misunderstanding	always - very often	20	50,00 %
		sometimes	15	37,50 %
		rarely - never	5	12,50 %
Q8	Filling in the gaps in case of vocabulary limitations	always - very often	19	47,50 %
		sometimes	17	42,50 %
		rarely - never	4	10,00 %
Q9	'...because some things are better expressed in English"	always - very often	24	60,00 %
		sometimes	14	35,00 %
		rarely - never	2	5,00 %

With regard to the functions of code-switching, all together, the majority of participants (60%) reported that they always or very often (always = 15%, very often = 45%) deploy English hospitality/ hotel-related terminology associated with their workplace (Q5). In contrast, only one participant (representing 2.5% of the sample) claimed he never does, whilst six other participants (15%) reported they do so rarely. In addition to that, slightly less than a quarter of participants (22.50%) reported they sometimes switch to English when using this kind of terminology.

Secondly, over half of participants (57.50%) also reported that they always or very often (always = 10%, very often = 47.50%) deploy English terminology related to technology (Q4). On the other hand, while none of the participants reported never switching to English for this purpose, a higher proportion of participants claimed they do so rarely (15%) or sometimes (27.50%).

In contrast, fewer than 50% of the participants reported that they always or very often switch to English for the purposes of greetings (45%), adding emphasis (45%), farewells (35%) and expressions of affect/ feelings (25%).

Participants are most evenly divided on the issue of whether they switch to English when greeting others (e.g. saying Hi. Hello. Good morning.), as just under half of the participants reported they always or very often switch to English for this purpose, while the same proportion of participants reported they rarely or never do it (45% vs. 45%). Similarly, in the case of switching to English for the purpose of farewell, the view is held by similar proportion of participants, however the balance is towards the participants reporting they rarely or never switch to English for this purpose (42.50% vs. 35%). Table 21 below summarises the results:

Table 21: Frequencies and user percentages of switching to English in relation to different functions of CS

#	Function of CS	Likert scale (merged)	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
Q1	Greetings	always - very often	18	45,00 %
		sometimes	4	10,00 %
		rarely - never	18	45,00 %
Q2	Farewells	always - very often	14	35,00 %
		sometimes	9	22,50 %
		rarely - never	17	42,50 %
Q3	Adding emphasis	always - very often	18	45,00 %
		sometimes	12	30,00 %
		rarely - never	10	25,00 %
Q4	Terminology related to technology	always - very often	23	57,50 %
		sometimes	11	27,50 %
		rarely - never	6	15,00 %
Q5	Terminology related to hospitality/ hotel i.e. workplace	always - very often	24	60,00 %
		sometimes	9	22,50 %
		rarely - never	7	17,50 %
Q7	Expressions of affect/ feelings	always - very often	10	25,00 %
		sometimes	16	40,00 %
		rarely - never	14	35,00 %

As far as attitudes towards CS are concerned, the following section (Section 4.6) presents the findings from the final section of the questionnaire - SECTION 3.

4.6 Language attitudes: Analysis of grouped attitude statements

In this section, we will address the question of language attitudes through eliciting and subsequently examining the participants' attitudes towards language switching in general and with regard to various different domains of language use including CMC and workplace communication, as well as in relation to a range of issues or topics including the identity, maintenance of the native language, etc. by employing quantitative methods and performing statistical analyses of grouped attitude statements.

Hence, in order to investigate the research questions detailed in the beginning of the chapter (Section 4.1), this section looks at the last section of the questionnaire (SECTION 3: Attitudes towards CS in CMC) which contained 22 attitude statements representing the main questionnaire items playing a central role as the means by which attitudes are traditionally measured. The collection of prefabricated attitude statements concerning the language use and attitudes towards language switching in particular was presented to the participants in the respective section where they were required to indicate their degree of agreement/disagreement with the statements, while the potential answers were presented on the Likert scale.

As previously outlined within the theoretical background for our attitude study, the concept of attitudes is by no means straightforward as well as their nature; attitudes are undoubtedly a complex phenomena, not only in the sense that they can have many manifestations, but also when it comes to their tripartite structure composed of affective, behavioural and cognitive components (for further description see Section 2.4). Therefore, a thorough examination of a wide range of different empirical attitude studies from various areas of research was conducted prior to this analytical phase, particularly focusing on relevant research on language attitudes towards code-switching within several diverse settings, contexts and sociolinguistic situations (Section 2.4.6). Furthermore, the respective section serving as a theoretical background for our attitude study also highlighted the importance of researching attitudes (Section 2.4.4), as well as the need for conducting further in-depth research on attitudes towards CS in CMC in particular.

For the purpose of systematic analysis of language attitudes in our study, the following 6 categories (or groups) of attitude statements were formed out of the 22 attitude statements included in the questionnaire:

- CATEGORY 1: Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS (the 'mixed' variety) used in CMC vs. face-to-face communication (Section 4.6.1)
- CATEGORY 2: Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS with regard to different CMC platforms (Section 4.6.2)
- CATEGORY 3: Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS and its perception as a phenomenon (Section 4.6.3)
- CATEGORY 4: Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS in the workplace (Section 4.6.4)
- CATEGORY 5: Attitudes towards Slovak - English CS in relation to identity (Section 4.6.5)
- CATEGORY 6: Attitudes towards English use and the spread of English in relation to the maintenance of the native language (Section 4.6.6)

At this point, it is important to emphasise that grouping of the attitude statements is exploratory in nature and numerous other possibilities of groupings are available and possible as well. The exact groupings of the statements in this study has already been determined within the 'Designing the questionnaire' phase (for further details see Methodology chapter - Section 3.3.5.3) and it is based on the various identified areas and topics that the attitude statements primarily deal with. The decision to focus on categories (or groups) of attitude statements is also in line with the definition of attitudes as an underlying concept which is deduced from multiple statements that an individual makes with respect to a given attitude object.

For each group (category) of statements, the section summarises the findings in terms of overall agreement and disagreement, before going on to look at the proportions of participants who 'totally' agree or 'totally' disagree. Attitude intensity, or, in other words, the level of vehemence with which it is held by the individual (Oppenheim, 1992) is particularly important because as Perloff (2003: 56) maintains, strong attitudes are more likely to: (a) persist over time, (b) affect judgements, (c) guide behavior, and (d) be resistant to change.

4.6.1 Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS (the 'mixed' variety) used in CMC vs. face-to-face communication

The investigation of attitudes towards mixing Slovak and English (the 'mixed' variety) in CMC and its similarities with face-to-face communication constitutes the focus of the first category; the group composed of the following attitude statements:

S1: Mixing Slovak and English is common in our online communication.

S5: Mixing Slovak and English is common in our face-to-face communication.

In general, regardless of any particular CMC platform, the majority - 29 out of 40 participants of our survey (72.50%) - consider mixing Slovak and English in their online communication to be a common phenomenon (S1). Just over half of participants (55%) agree with this statement and 17.50% 'strongly agree'. On the other hand, only a small proportion of participants (7.50%), which is less than one in ten, say that they disagree that mixing Slovak and English is common in their online communication. Besides, 20% of participants were unable to offer a definite answer for this question (reported as 'neither agree nor disagree'), which may be explained by saying that phenomena related to performance such as CS operate on a subconscious level, thus people may simply be unaware of doing it.

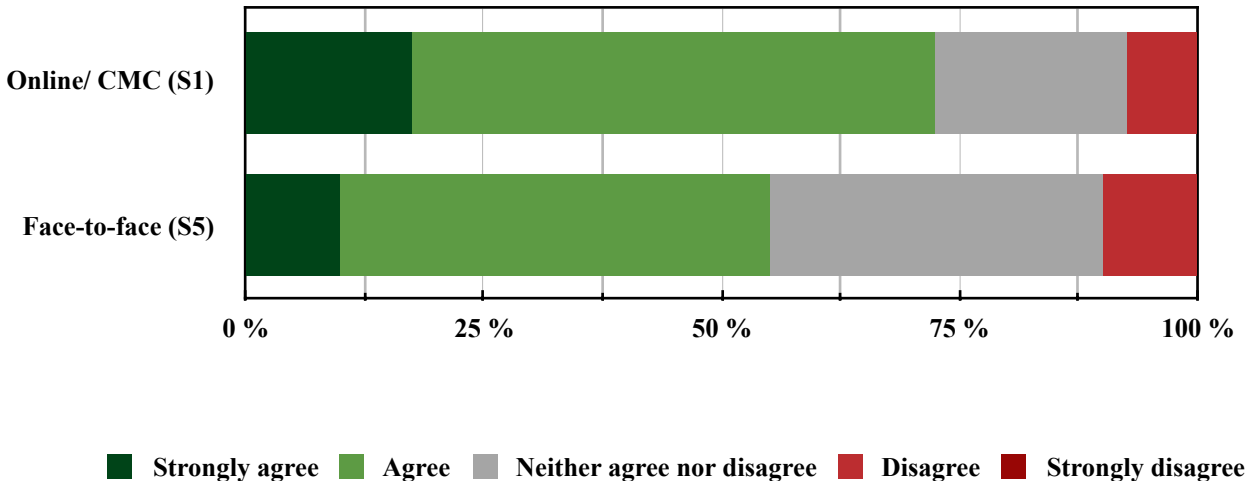
For the purpose of comparison, participants were also asked whether mixing Slovak and English is common in their face-to-face communication (S5). In that regard, the proportion of participants saying that mixing Slovak and English is common in their face-to-face communication is significantly lower than the proportion of participants saying that it is common in their online communication (-17.5 percentage points difference). Whilst just under half (45%) of participants agree and 10% 'strongly' agree with this viewpoint (S5), only one in ten participants (10%) disagree. Similarly as in the case of online communication (S1), a relatively large proportion of participants (35%) felt they were unable to answer the question and therefore take a stance on whether mixing Slovak and English is common in their face-to-face communication or not. This may, again, be attributed to the extent of awareness of switching between languages in a communication. As we have

discussed in the theoretical part of this thesis with regard to the phenomenon of code-switching, it's believed that the language choice and particular code selection is in large part automatic, subconscious as speakers' main aim is to convey meaning in order to effectively achieve their communicative ends (Section 2.2). Table 22 and Figure 19 below summarise the results of the analyses for statements S1 and S5:

Table 22: Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS in online (CMC) vs. face-to-face communication

#	Attitude statement	Likert scale	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
S1	Mixing Slovak and English is common in our online communication	strongly agree = 5	7	17,50 %
		agree = 4	22	55,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	8	20,00 %
		disagree = 2	3	7,50 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %
S5	Mixing Slovak and English is common in our face-to-face communication	strongly agree = 5	4	10,00 %
		agree = 4	18	45,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	14	35,00 %
		disagree = 2	4	10,00 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %

Figure 19: Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS in online (CMC) vs. face-to-face communication



Moreover, following Tsiplakou's (2009) attitude study, the attitudes examined within this category also intend to explore the participants' perception of the 'mixed' variety (in our case mixing Slovak and English - or Slovak-English CS), while differentiating between online (CMC) and face-to-face communication, as well as comparing the two. Therefore, responses to the following three statements were analysed in order to get further insights:

S9: Mixing Slovak and English (the 'mixed' variety) is the language of online communication.

S10: The 'mixed' variety used in online communication resembles the variety used in face-to-face communication.

S11: The 'mixed' variety will eventually prevail in face-to-face communication.

For the majority of participants (52.50%), mixing Slovak and English (or the 'mixed' variety) is the language of online communication (S9). While more than two in five participants (42.50%) agree with this viewpoint, additional 10% of participants 'strongly agree'. A significantly smaller proportion of participants (12.50%) disagree and as few as 5% 'strongly disagree'. Furthermore, a little under a third of participants (30%) felt they were unable to answer the question whether mixing Slovak and English is the language of online communication or not.

In this regard, in Tsiplakou's (2009) quantitative, questionnaire-based study examining Greek user attitudes towards CS on email, carried out on a randomly sampled population of 77 email users, Greek native speakers aged 15-50, it emerges that "79.3% of the users who code-switch frequently and 64.3% of the users who code-switch rarely reported that they think that the 'mixed' variety is the language of CMC" (2009: 371). Thus, even though a smaller proportion of participants agree with this proposition in our case (52.50% vs. 79.3% and 64.3% respectively), the results for this particular question are in line with the findings of Tsiplakou's study (2009) in terms of the balance of opinion which is in favour of agreeing that the 'mixed' variety is a specific code reserved for online (CMC) communication.

The participants were also asked whether the 'mixed' variety (or in this case mixing Slovak and English) used in online communication resembles the variety used in face-to-face communication (S10). In this regard, just under half (45%) of participants agree with this viewpoint and the same proportion of participants (45%) were unable to offer definite answer for this question. Only one in ten participants (10%) disapprove of this idea.

In terms of similarities with face-to-face communication, Tsiplakou (2009: 371) reported that both groups in her study agreed that "the mixed variety used in emails resembles the variety used in casual interaction among peers (70-72%)". With a particular focus on email as a CMC platform, as opposed to our formulation of the attitude statement, where we asked about online communication in general, the results cannot be fully compared.

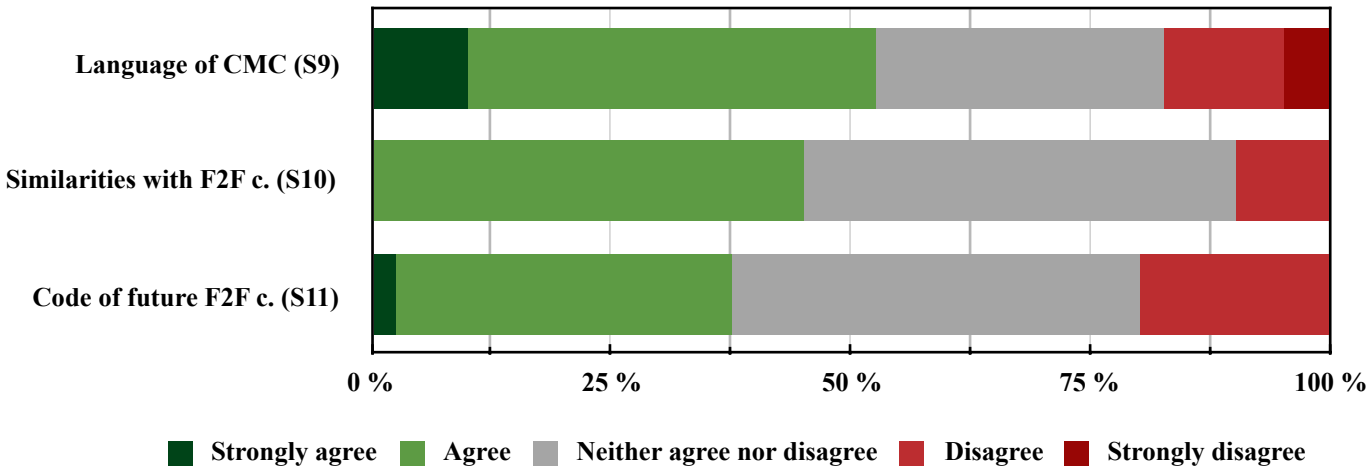
Moreover, with regard to the question whether the 'mixed' variety will eventually prevail in face-to-face-communication (S11), the majority - more than two in five participants (42.50%) felt they were unable to answer the question (reported as 'neither agree nor disagree'), which is a relatively large proportion of participants. In contrast, a slightly smaller proportion (35%) agree with this view and 2.50% 'strongly agree'. On the other hand, a fifth of participants (20%) disagree that the 'mixed' variety will eventually prevail in face-to-face communication.

Again, these results are also in line with the findings of Tsiplakou's study (2009), where in relation to this particular question, she reported that "about half (48%) of the participants who code-switch frequently also agreed with the proposition that this 'mixed' variety will eventually prevail in face-to-face communication as well, as opposed to 28.6% of the participants who code-switch rarely" (2009: 371). Therefore, in terms of the proposition that this 'mixed' variety will become a code of future face-to-face communication, the results of our questionnaire survey for this particular statement are broadly similar to those reported by Tsiplakou (37.50% vs. 48% and 28.6% respectively). The results of the analyses for statements S9, S10 and S11 are put together in Table 23 and Figure 20 below:

Table 23: Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS: the 'mixed' variety used in online communication (CMC) vs. face-to-face communication (F2F)

#	Attitude statement	Likert scale	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
S9	Mixing Slovak and English (the 'mixed' variety) is the language of online communication	strongly agree = 5	4	10,00 %
		agree = 4	17	42,50 %
		neither agree nor disagree	12	30,00 %
		disagree = 2	5	12,50 %
		strongly disagree = 1	2	5,00 %
S10	The 'mixed' variety used in online communication resembles the variety used in face-to-face communication	strongly agree = 5	0	0,00 %
		agree = 4	18	45,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	18	45,00 %
		disagree = 2	4	10,00 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %
S11	The 'mixed' variety will eventually prevail in face-to-face communication	strongly agree = 5	1	2,50 %
		agree = 4	14	35,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	17	42,50 %
		disagree = 2	8	20,00 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %

Figure 20: Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS: the 'mixed' variety used in online communication (CMC) vs. face-to-face communication (F2F)



4.6.2 Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS with regard to different CMC platforms

S2: Mixing Slovak and English is common in our email communication.

S3: Mixing Slovak and English is common in our Facebook communication.

S4: Mixing Slovak and English is common in our WhatsApp communication.

With regard to different CMC platforms used by our research participants; namely email, Facebook and WhatsApp, the highest proportion of participants (77.50%) consider mixing Slovak and English to be the most common in their Facebook communication, followed by WhatsApp (67.50%) and email communication (42.50%). Firstly, slightly more than half of participants (52.50%) say that they agree that mixing Slovak and English is common in their Facebook communication, with additional quarter of participants (25%) saying that they 'strongly' agree with this proposition. Secondly, WhatsApp is the next CMC platform where the participants consider mixing Slovak and English to be common, with just under half of them (45%) agreeing and 22.50% 'strongly' agreeing with the proposed statement. Thirdly, three in ten participants (30%) say that mixing Slovak and English is common in their email communication (reported as 'agree'), and around one in eight participants (12.50%) 'strongly' agree with it.

In contrast, only a minority of participants (2.50%) don't consider mixing Slovak and English to be common in their Facebook communication, while a similar proportion of participants (7.50%) held the same view when it comes to their WhatsApp communication (reported as 'disagree' as an answer for the statement in question). On the other hand, a significantly higher proportion of participants (20%) disapprove of the idea that mixing Slovak and English is common in their email communication, with the opinions of these participants divided between those who 'strongly' disagree (2.50%) and those who tend to disagree (17.50%).

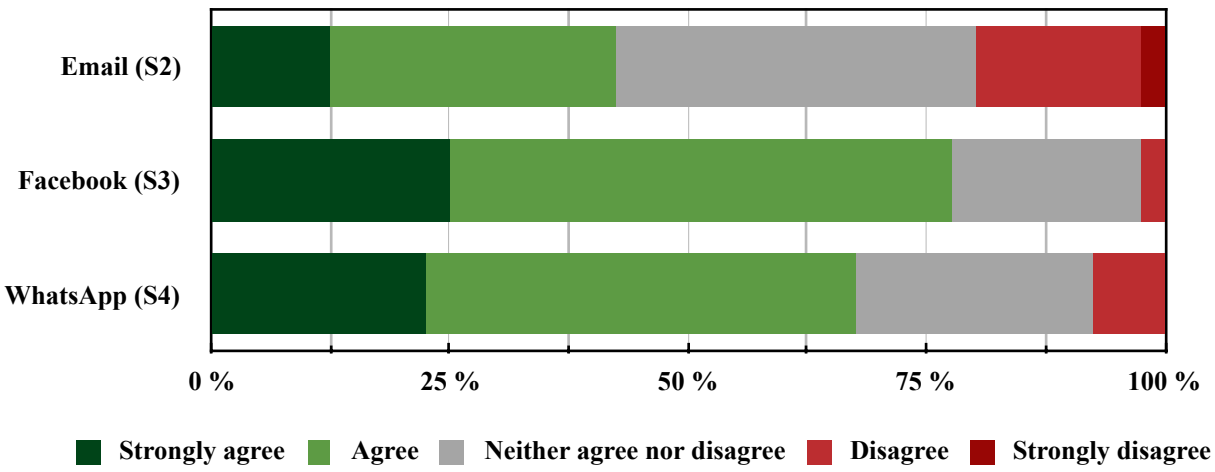
Besides, a relatively large proportion of participants (email: 37.50%, WhatsApp: 25%, Facebook: 20%) were unable to offer definite views (reported as 'neither agree nor disagree') on the extent to which they perceive mixing Slovak and English to be common in terms of individual CMC platforms.

The results of the analyses for statements S2, S3 and S4 are put together in Table 24 and Figure 21 below:

Table 24: Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS with regard to different CMC platforms

#	Attitude statement	Likert scale	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
S2	Mixing Slovak and English is common in our email communication.	strongly agree = 5	5	12,50 %
		agree = 4	12	30,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	15	37,50 %
		disagree = 2	7	17,50 %
		strongly disagree = 1	1	2,50 %
S3	Mixing Slovak and English is common in our Facebook communication.	strongly agree = 5	10	25,00 %
		agree = 4	21	52,50 %
		neither agree nor disagree	8	20,00 %
		disagree = 2	1	2,50 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %
S4	Mixing Slovak and English is common in our WhatsApp communication.	strongly agree = 5	9	22,50 %
		agree = 4	18	45,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	10	25,00 %
		disagree = 2	3	7,50 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %

Figure 21: Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS with regard to different CMC platforms



4.6.3 Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS and its perception as a phenomenon

In light of numerous studies of CS which point to negative attitudes towards this phenomenon, reflecting a strong belief in 'purity' as linguistic ideal, CS often has rather derogatory connotations, with people even using pejorative terms when referring to it (see Section 2.4.6). In this regard, the investigation of the affective component of attitudes towards Slovak-English code-switching was the focus of this group of statements which reflect some of the negative attitudes related to attributing CS to lack of formal education, incomplete linguistic competence, lack of proficiency in one or more languages and to arrogance. Hence, with the aim to explore the participants' perception of CS as a phenomenon, the responses to the following four statements were elicited in order to reveal attitudinal patterns among our research participants sampled for this study:

S12: Code-switching is a sign of incomplete linguistic competence. (Mixing Slovak and English shows a sense of inability to proficiently produce sentences in one language.)

S13: It annoys me when people switch between languages, mixing Slovak and English in communication.

S16: Mixing Slovak and English in online communication is a sign of arrogance.

S17: I find it confusing when people mix Slovak and English when they speak/ write.

In term of the first attitude statement included within this category, a little over two fifths of participants (45%) don't think that mixing Slovak and English shows a sense of inability to proficiently produce sentences in one language (S12), with 35% disagreeing and 10% 'strongly disagreeing' with this view. On the other hand, a little under a third of participants (32.50%) agree that code-switching is a sign of incomplete linguistic competence, whilst a relatively large proportion of participants (22.50%) felt they were unable to answer the question.

With regard to the second attitude statement in this category, half of participants (50%) say that it does not annoy them when people switch between languages, mixing Slovak and English in communication (S13), with the opinions of these participants quite evenly divided between those who 'strongly' disagree (22.50%) and those who tend to disagree (27.50%). While a little under a third of participants (32.50%) were unable to offer a view on this issue, a smaller proportion of participants (15%) say that it annoys them when people switch between languages, mixing Slovak and English in communication and 2.50% of participants 'strongly' agree with this viewpoint.

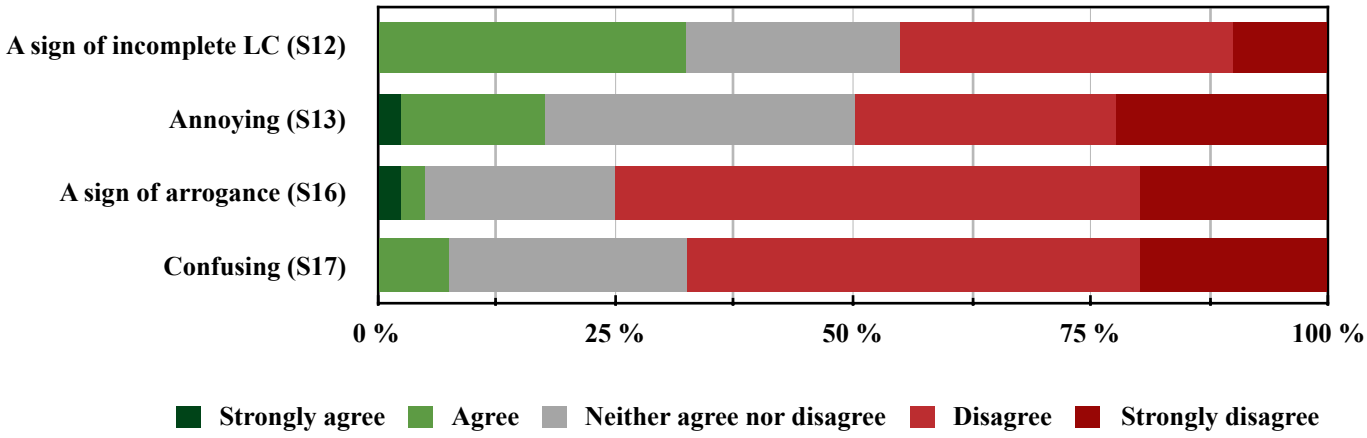
The majority of participants (75%) disapprove of the idea that mixing Slovak and English in online communication is a sign of arrogance (S16), with the opinions of these participants divided between those who 'strongly' disagree (20%) and those who tend to disagree (55%). Again, a smaller proportion of participants (20%) were unable to offer a view on this issue. On the other hand, in contrast, much smaller proportions of participants consider mixing Slovak and English in online communication to be a sign of arrogance, with 2.50% agreeing and the same proportion (2.50%) 'strongly' agreeing with this view.

The participants were also asked whether they find it confusing when people mix Slovak and English when they speak or write (S17). In this regard, the majority of participants (67.50%) say that they do not find it confusing, with the opinions of these participants divided between those who 'strongly' disagree (20%) and those who tend to disagree (47.50%) with the statement in question. In contrast, a quarter of participants (25%) felt they were unable to offer a view on this issue and answer the question (reported as 'neither agree nor disagree'). Moreover, only a small proportion of participants (7.50%) agree with the statement, finding it confusing when people mix Slovak and English when they speak or write. All in all, Table 25 and Figure 22 below summarise the results of the analyses for statements S12, S13, S16 and S17 before reversing the scores:

Table 25: Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS and its perception as a phenomenon

#	Attitude statement	Likert scale	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
S12	Code-switching is a sign of incomplete linguistic competence.	strongly agree = 5	0	0,00 %
		agree = 4	13	32,50 %
		neither agree nor disagree	9	22,50 %
		disagree = 2	14	35,00 %
		strongly disagree = 1	4	10,00 %
S13	It annoys me when people switch between languages, mixing Slovak and English in communication	strongly agree = 5	1	2,50 %
		agree = 4	6	15,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	13	32,50 %
		disagree = 2	11	27,50 %
		strongly disagree = 1	9	22,50 %
S16	Mixing Slovak and English in online communication is a sign of arrogance.	strongly agree = 5	1	2,50 %
		agree = 4	1	2,50 %
		neither agree nor disagree	8	20,00 %
		disagree = 2	22	55,00 %
		strongly disagree = 1	8	20,00 %
S17	I find it confusing when people mix Slovak and English when they speak/ write.	strongly agree = 5	0	0,00 %
		agree = 4	3	7,50 %
		neither agree nor disagree	10	25,00 %
		disagree = 2	19	47,50 %
		strongly disagree = 1	8	20,00 %

Figure 22: Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS and its perception as a phenomenon



4.6.4 Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS in the workplace

Following the previous categories of attitude statements examining attitudes towards Slovak-English CS in general and with regard to various different domains of language use including face-to-face communication and CMC (4.6.1), as well as its individual platforms (4.6.2), this category of statements is shifting towards a more specific environment, the workplace.

In order to examine the perception of CS among our research participants, colleagues in a multilingual workplace environment of a multinational hospitality company in Slovakia, we will attempt to establish whether the attitudes they hold towards CS differ in relation to their workplace communication, as opposed to the communication outside of the workplace. Hence, this group is composed of the following attitude statements, focusing solely on the participants' switching between Slovak and English:

S18: Mixing Slovak and English is typical for our everyday workplace communication.
S19: Mixing Slovak and English in the workplace sounds natural to me.
S20: Mixing Slovak and English outside of workplace sounds natural to me.

Starting with the first attitude statement in this category, the results of the analysis show that the majority of the participants (67.50%) consider mixing Slovak and English to be typical for their everyday workplace communication (S18) and what's more, they also reported that it sounds natural to them (S19). In other words, the same proportions of participants (67.50%) reported that they agree (45%) or even strongly agree (22.50%) with both of these statements. However, what slightly differs are other proportions, namely frequencies of 'neither agree nor disagree' responses, as well as the proportions of 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' as answers given by the participants to these two particular attitude statements.

In terms of perception of mixing Slovak and English in their everyday workplace communication (S18), a fifth of participants (20%) were unable to offer definite view on this issue (reported as 'neither agree nor disagree'). In contrast, only one in ten participants (10%) disagree and as few as one single participant (representing 2.50% of the sample) 'strongly' disagrees with view that mixing Slovak and English is typical for their everyday workplace communication. This may, again (as in Section 4.6.1), be attributed to the extent of awareness of switching between languages in communication. As we have previously discussed in the theoretical part of this thesis with regard to the phenomenon of code-switching, it's believed that the language choice and particular code selection is in large part automatic, subconscious and speakers' main aim is to convey meaning in order to effectively achieve their communicative ends (Section 2.2). In addition to that, at this point, we are dealing with declarative data which as Codó (2008: 161) points out, "can never be employed as a substitute for data on speakers' actual linguistic behavior", as "self- or other-reports of bilingual language practice may not match observed conduct".

On the other hand, with regard to the question whether such mixing (Slovak-English CS) at the workplace sounds natural to them (S19), 15% of participants felt they were unable to answer the question (reported as 'neither agree nor disagree'), whilst around a sixth of participants (17.50%) disagree with this view.

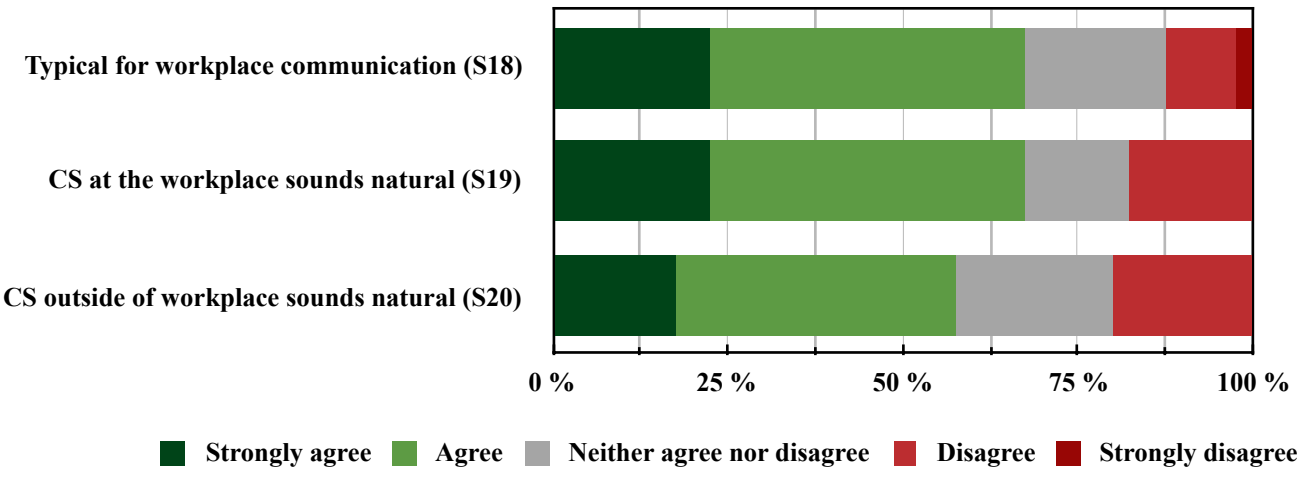
Lastly, the view that mixing Slovak and English outside of the workplace sounds natural (S20) is held by slightly smaller proportion of participants (57.50%), as compared to the one reported in relation to the communication in the workplace (57.50% vs. 67.50%). In this regard, in order to break it down, two fifths of participants (40%) agree and around a sixth of participants (17.50%) reported that they strongly agree with the view that mixing Slovak and English outside of workplace sounds natural to them. On the other hand, a fifth of participants (20%) disagree, whilst a slightly larger proportion of participants (22.50%) neither agree, nor disagree with this statement, therefore not providing a definite answer.

In conclusion, Table 26 and Figure 23 below summarise the results of the analyses for statements S18, S19, and S20:

Table 26: **Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS in the workplace**

#	Attitude statement	Likert scale	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
S18	Mixing Slovak and English is typical for our everyday workplace communication	strongly agree = 5	9	22,50 %
		agree = 4	18	45,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	8	20,00 %
		disagree = 2	4	10,00 %
		strongly disagree = 1	1	2,50 %
S19	Mixing Slovak and English in the workplace sounds natural to me.	strongly agree = 5	9	22,50 %
		agree = 4	18	45,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	6	15,00 %
		disagree = 2	7	17,50 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %
S20	Mixing Slovak and English outside of the workplace sounds natural to me.	strongly agree = 5	7	17,50 %
		agree = 4	16	40,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	9	22,50 %
		disagree = 2	8	20,00 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %

Figure 23: **Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS in the workplace**



4.6.5 Attitudes towards Slovak-English CS in relation to identity

In general, the selection of the attitude statements examined within this penultimate category stems from a hypothesis that code-switching reflects identity. In other words, simply put, languages we speak and the environment we are at affects what we say and how we say it, while navigating and displaying our layered identities in conversation through CS. The investigation of attitudes towards Slovak-English CS and of a possible connection between the use of the 'mixed variety' and a distinct multicultural identity as well as a potential relation to building of a second, virtual identity constitutes the focus of the fifth category of statements. Therefore, the group is composed of the following two attitude statements:

S14: Mixing Slovak and English displays a distinct multicultural identity.

S15: Mixing Slovak and English is instrumental in building a second, virtual identity.

As we have already explained in the Methodology chapter (Section 3.3.5.3), in terms of the proposition that mixing Slovak and English displays a distinct multicultural identity (S14), we adapted the statement from Dewaele and Wei's (2014) study of attitudes towards CS among mono- and multilingual language users. Subsequently, with regard to the following statement (S15) included in this category, we again adapted and modified (in terms of the language combination) the proposition used by Tsiplakou (2009) in her study on language alternation as performative construction of online identities. With regard to the reasons for CS, the participants in her study reported the 'mixed' code being instrumental in building a second, virtual identity, as one of the reasons why they code-switch.

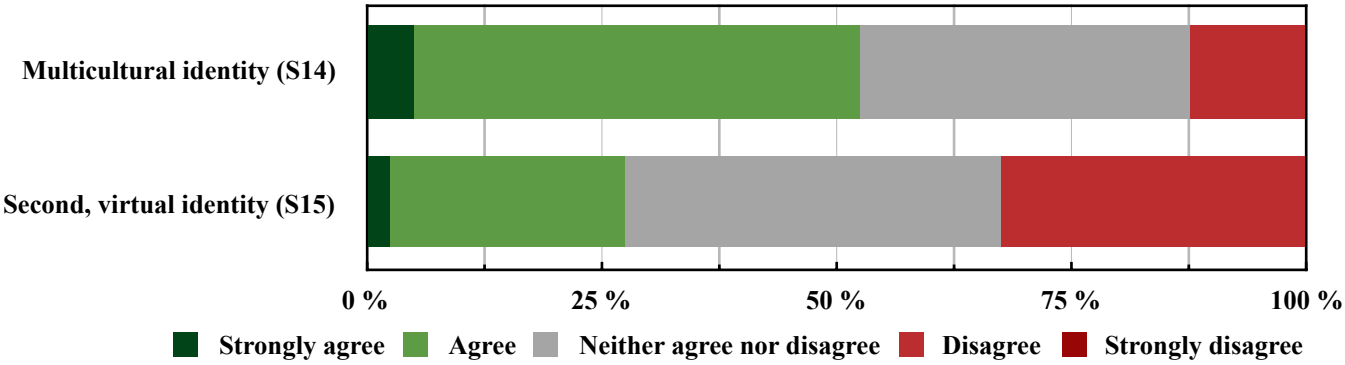
The results of our analysis show that slightly more than a half of participants (52.50%) think that mixing Slovak and English displays a distinct multicultural identity (S14), with 47.50% saying they agree and 5.00% participants saying that they strongly agree, whilst only a relatively small proportion of participants (12.50%) disagree with this viewpoint. Besides, 35% of participants were unable to offer a definite view on this issue.

Another question related to identity that the participants were asked was whether they think that mixing Slovak and English is instrumental in building a second, virtual identity (S15). In this regard, a little under a third of participants (32.50%) disapprove of this idea. In contrast, a quarter of participants (25%) reported that they agree with this view, while a much smaller proportion (2.50%) reported that they 'strongly agree'. It is worth noting that a relatively large proportion of participants (40%) felt they were unable to answer the question, thus selecting 'neither agree nor disagree' response option. Overall, Table 27 and Figure 24 below summarise the results of the analyses for statements S14 and S15:

Table 27: Attitudes towards Slovak - English CS in relation to identity

#	Attitude statement	Likert scale	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
S14	Mixing Slovak and English displays a distinct multicultural identity.	strongly agree = 5	2	5,00 %
		agree = 4	19	47,50 %
		neither agree nor disagree	14	35,00 %
		disagree = 2	5	12,50 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %
S15	Mixing Slovak and English is instrumental in building a second, virtual identity.	strongly agree = 5	1	2,50 %
		agree = 4	10	25,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	16	40,00 %
		disagree = 2	13	32,50 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %

Figure 24: Attitudes towards Slovak - English CS in relation to identity



4.6.6 Attitudes towards English use and the spread of English in relation to the maintenance of the native language

This final category of statements was added in order to explore issues related to the global spread and penetration of the English language and its potential impact on the maintenance of the native language (in our case - the Slovak language). However, this category also covers questions dealing with the use of English and its perception, particularly when compared to the participants' native language (S6, S7, S8 - adapted and modified from Tsiplakou's study).

Hence, first of all, responses to the following three attitude statements were grouped and analysed in order to assess affective attitudes towards the use of English in CMC in contrast with the perception of Slovak as the native language:

S6: English is the language of online communication.
S8: English sounds 'cooler' in online communication.
S7: Slovak sounds more formal in online communication.

In terms of attitudes towards English in CMC, our results show that the majority of participants (75%) consider English to be the language of online communication (S6). To break it down, half of the participants (50%) say that they agree that English is the language of online communication, and what's more, a quarter (25%) of participants say that they 'strongly agree' with such a view. Only 15% of participants 'neither agree nor disagree'. In contrast, a much smaller proportion of participants (10%) disagrees and none of participants expressed strong disagreement with this viewpoint.

Moreover, nearly half of participants (42.50%) also think that English sounds 'cooler' in online communication, with just under two fifths of participants (37.50%) agreeing with such a view and additional 5% of participants saying that they 'strongly agree'. Whilst a relatively high proportion of participants (40%) are undecided, around one in six participants (15%) disagree and as few as 2.50% totally disagree that English sounds 'cooler' in online communication, compared to Slovak.

In contrast, the majority of participants (52.50%) think that in comparison to English, Slovak sounds more formal in online communication (S7). A little over two fifths of participants (45%) agree with this view, whilst a smaller proportion of participants (7.50%) reported that they 'strongly agree'. In contrast, only one in ten participants (10%) disagree. Besides, a relatively large proportion of participants (37.50%) felt they were unable to answer the question, thus choosing 'neither agree nor disagree' option. Tables 28 and Figures 25 below summarise these results:

Table 28: **Attitudes towards English use and the status of English in CMC**

#	Attitude statement	Likert scale	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
S6	English is the language of online communication	strongly agree = 5	10	25,00 %
		agree = 4	20	50,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	6	15,00 %
		disagree = 2	4	10,00 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %
S8	English sounds 'cooler' in online communication	strongly agree = 5	2	5,00 %
		agree = 4	15	37,50 %
		neither agree nor disagree	16	40,00 %
		disagree = 2	6	15,00 %
		strongly disagree = 1	1	2,50 %
S7	Slovak sounds more formal in online communication	strongly agree = 5	3	7,50 %
		agree = 4	18	45,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	15	37,50 %
		disagree = 2	4	10,00 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %

In addition to that, in terms of the proposition that the spread of English is a manifestation of linguistic and cultural imperialism and poses a threat to the native language (S21, S22), we again adapted and slightly modified statements proposed in Tsiplakou's (2009) study of attitudes, as a point of reference. Therefore, responses to the following two statements were analysed in order to get further insights:

S21: The spread of English is a manifestation of linguistic and cultural imperialism.

S22: The spread of English poses a threat to the Slovak language.

In terms of the spread of English as a manifestation of linguistic and cultural imperialism (S21), most of the participants (42.50%) 'neither agree nor disagree' with this statement and a slightly smaller proportion (40%) agrees. On the other hand, fewer - around a sixth of participants (17.50%) - disagree that the spread of English is a manifestation of linguistic and cultural imperialism. Finally, when it comes to taking a stance in this regard, it is worth noting that none of the participants felt strongly about this statement; either saying they 'strongly agree' or 'strongly disagree'.

The view that the spread of English is a manifestation of linguistic and cultural imperialism is held by broadly the same proportion of participants in our study as in Tsiplakou's (2009) quantitative study of views and attitudes on language alternation (40% vs. 39.7% and 35.7% respectively). However, in Tsiplakou's (2009) study, these proportions of participants refer to the proposition that the spread of English is a manifestation of linguistic and cultural imperialism and at the same time the proposition stating that the the spread of English poses a threat to the Greek language, both included within one attitude statement. In contrast, when designing the attitude statements for our quantitative study of view and attitudes towards CS, we have decided to divide this proposition into two separate statements (S21 and S22), thus the results related to this particular statement are not entirely comparable to the results of Tsiplakou's study (also due to a difference in language combination).

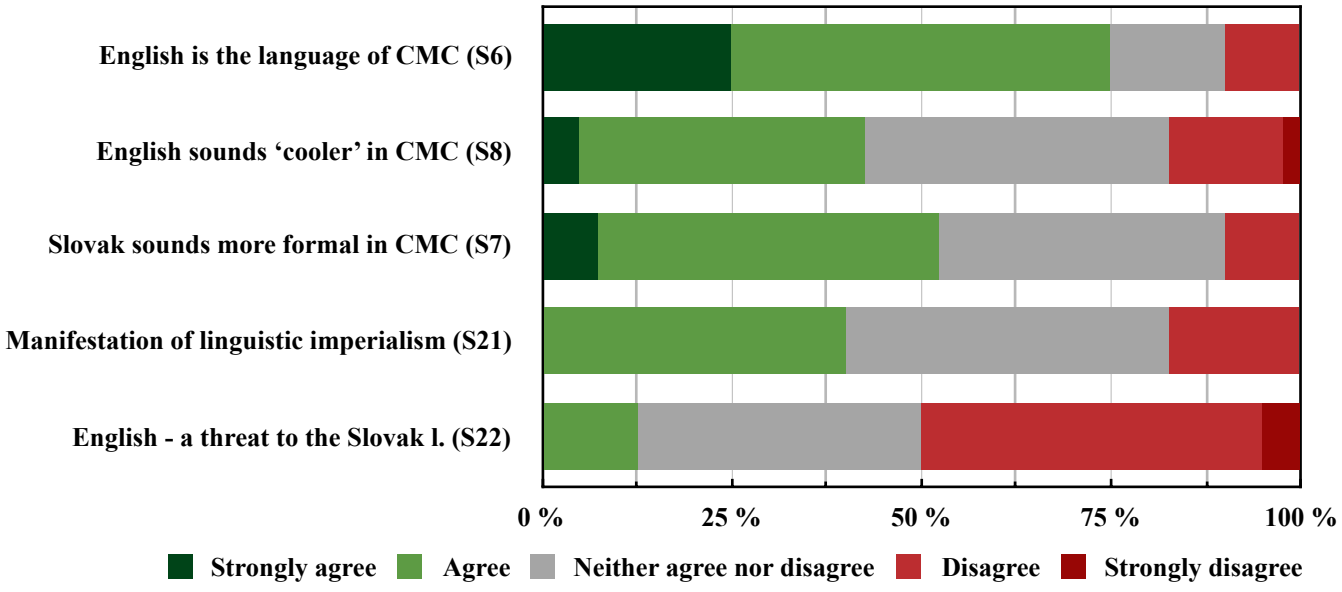
All together, a little over two fifths of participants (45%) disagree with a view that the spread of English poses a threat to the Slovak language, and just 5% 'strongly disagree'. While half of the participants expressed their disagreement with the statement in question, just under two fifths of participants (37.50%) neither agree nor disagree with it, taking a rather neutral stance. In contrast, only a relatively small proportion of participants (12.50%) agrees with the view that the spread of English possesses a threat to the Slovak language and nobody 'strongly agrees'.

The results of the analyses for statements S21 and S22 are summarised and put together in Table 29 and Figure 25 below:

Table 29: **Attitudes towards the spread of English in relation to the maintenance of the native language**

#	Attitude statement	Likert scale	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
S21	The spread of English is a manifestation of linguistic and cultural imperialism.	strongly agree = 5	0	0,00 %
		agree = 4	16	40,00 %
		neither agree nor disagree	17	42,50 %
		disagree = 2	7	17,50 %
		strongly disagree = 1	0	0,00 %
S22	The spread of English poses a threat to the Slovak language.	strongly agree = 5	0	0,00 %
		agree = 4	5	12,50 %
		neither agree nor disagree	15	37,50 %
		disagree = 2	18	45,00 %
		strongly disagree = 1	2	5,00 %

Figure 25: **Attitudes towards English use and the spread of English in relation to the maintenance of the native language**



CHAPTER 5:
THE EMAIL CORPUS ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The main focus of our fine-grained email corpus analysis (predominantly qualitative) is to examine the participants' extent of switching to English during their communication (focusing on their CMC interactions) and to investigate more closely the amount, types, forms and functions of CS involved. This will be done by analysing actual linguistic practices of colleagues in a multilingual workplace environment of a multinational hospitality company in Slovakia, representing their workplace email communication.

Therefore, in order to gain insights into patterns of language use and code switching practices among this diverse group of our research participants (Section 3.2), this chapter presents a series of analyses centring around the following proposed research questions:

- How do our participants deploy their multilingual resources in workplace email communication?
- What are the forms and functions of code-switching in their digitally mediated interactions?
- What is the function and relevance of code-switching in the participants' workplace environment?

Code-switching is subject to the wide range of interrelations between medium and situation factors. Based on earlier studies on code-switching phenomenon, particularly those focusing on the motivations and discourse functions of CS (e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1992; Muysken, 2000), but shifting towards a more specific environment, CMC and the workplace, the research questions of this study (that are qualitative in nature) address the following issues:

Firstly, following Georgakopoulou (1997), we will attempt to examine how our participants make use of their linguistic resources in order to maximise the effectiveness and functionality of their communication online and look at how different codes take on pragmatic functions.

Q: What forms does code-switching in online communication take?

Q: What is the function of code-switching in the analysed data?

Q: How do users achieve their communicative goals?

Secondly, following Herring (2007), we will consider the interrelation of medium and social/situation factors with the aim to understand the pragmatic functions and social purposes of CS online. Moreover, in line with Androutsopoulos' (2013: 688) suggestion that "rather than examining CS online in terms of its authenticity or equivalence to offline speech, a more productive question to pursue is how CS is used as a (pragmatic) resource, under the specific conditions of communication offered by digital media'', thus we will examine whether and "how specific conditions of written online discourse can give rise to distinct CS''.

More specifically, the study aims to outline the reasons behind the participants' CS practices in CMC, hypothesising that they will accomplish many (or at least some of) the socio-pragmatic functions that have been traditionally associated with face-to-face/ oral CS, along with other new ones that are medium-specific, due to the nature of this kind of data. Even though adequacy and transferability of the frameworks originally developed for the analysis of spoken discourse to written discourse (including CMC data) has been questioned (Hinrichs, 2006: 29; Androutsopoulos, 2013: 668), this study looks at whether the theories of CS (describing motivations and discourse functions of CS) based on spoken data apply to CS data from CMC contexts as well (Barasa, 2016).

Q: How is CS manifested and distributed in our CMC (email) data?

Q: In this context, how are the interactions (email messages) shaped by the mediated environment?

Q: Do discourse functions of CS originally developed for the analysis of spoken discourse apply to CS in CMC?

In terms of the distinction between different language contact phenomena which is not clear-cut (as previously discussed in Section 2.2.2), we made a decision to observe all forms of other-language use in our data for the insights they may provide about the motivations for CS. However examining grammatical constraints on CS and performing extensive grammatical analysis of intra-sentential switches is out of scope of our study, as the orientation of our research project is rather sociolinguistic and pragmatic. Regardless, the issue must be addressed, so for the purposes of this study, we followed Goldbarg's (2009) approach according to which distinguishing between code-switches and borrowings in the data is beside the point. As a general rule, we also took frequency of use as the main criterion for classifying an utterance as borrowing. Therefore, instead of analysing CS instances in terms of grammatical rules, the focus will rather be on the sociolinguistic and discourse elements related to CS. In addition to that, some recurrent patterns of intra-sentential switching (including intra-word switching) will be presented and illustrated by relevant examples from the corpus.

In summary, Chapter 5 will take a close look at CS used as a contextualisation cue in CMC discourse, while examining socio-pragmatic functions of inter-sentential switching as well as forms and functions of intra-sentential switching. The main analytical goal is therefore to find out more about the meanings that writers convey through CS, and thus describe the functions that English serves in this discourse (Hinrichs, 2006: 43) - in our data. In terms of language choice and more specifically, in order to understand the situations/ reasons when our participants choose English over their native language in the context of workplace email communication, we will examine whether a clear and equally efficient Slovak equivalent exists for a code-switched word or phrase, which will consequently enable us to distinguish between CS functions that are more technical as opposed to emphatic or stylistic ones (Goldbarg, 2009).

In terms of the chapter organisation, Chapter 5 of this thesis is structured as follows. First of all, the consecutive steps in processing and coding of email corpus data are described (Section 5.2). Secondly, the following section (Section 5.3) provides an overview of the distribution of language/s in the corpus according to the language/s that the messages under investigation are written in, distinguishing between email messages written entirely in English, entirely in Slovak, as well as a combination of these; further differentiating between bilingual ones and those involving code-switching (category of 'Email messages written in Slovak with switches to English') occurring in this corpus. Thirdly, Section 5.4 deals with degree and types of code-switching in 'Email messages written in Slovak with switches to English', presenting the results of the initial quantitative analysis of the total of 455 email messages which involve some kind of CS, containing English words or phrases, while making the structural distinction between inter- and intra-sentential switching. Subsequently, Section 5.5 introduces and takes a closer look at socio-pragmatic and stylistic functions achieved by inter-sentential switching in our data and finally, the chapter is concluded by examining forms and functions of intra-sentential switching (Section 5.6).

5.2 Processing and coding email corpus data

In terms of processing of the corpus of 1548 email messages collected for the purposes of this study, we used the basic computer spreadsheet program available, namely Apple Numbers spreadsheet application (an alternative to Microsoft Excel), same as in the case of processing of the questionnaire data. This program allowed for setting up rows and columns in an electronic form which subsequently enabled us to easily navigate through the data. First of all, in order to organise the data, 21 separate worksheet tabs within the document were created, one for each participant of the study. When entering the data into a computer file, we used the traditional method which involved creating a rectangular text file, in which each horizontal line contains the data - information about the particular email (particular email message from a particular participant) and each vertical column (or a set of columns - in our case, five sets of columns) represent:

- Language the email message is written in

This set of columns is further divided into the following 4 separate columns based on the language of the email message:

  - Slovak (L1)
  - English
  - CS (representing email message written in Slovak with switch/es to English)
  - Other

- Type of CS

If the analysed email involved some sort of language alternation (CS), the data were coded with regard to the type of switching between Slovak and English on the basis of structural/ syntactic criteria, differentiating between:

  - Inter-sentential switching (which occurs outside the sentence/ the clause level)
  - Intra-sentential switching (which occurs within a sentence or a clause)
  - Both inter- and intra-sentential switching
  - Intra-word switching (which occurs within a word itself - such as at a morpheme boundary)

- CS form

In the case of intra-sentential type of code-switches, following Romaine's (2001: 124) approach to the code-switching continuum, the instances of CS from the email corpus were grouped accordingly into the following categories. Based on the forms of intra-sentential CS involved, further distinction was made between:

  - single words
  - phrases
  - longer chunks

- Number of recipients/ addressees that a particular email is addressed to
  - one-to-one
  - one-to-many

Hence, in order to categorise each email from the corpus based on the above four categories - sets of columns - the 'X' was placed to the respective column based on the email's language, type of CS involved, CS form and number of recipients/ addresses that a particular email is addressed to. By doing that, certain quantitative analysis of the corpus could be performed in the worksheet by calculating the number of email messages according to these categories. In addition to that, the program enabled us to navigate through the data by clicking the 'Filter' command, filtering the data in a table to show only the data we were interested in seeing, while hiding the rest. That enabled us to filter data by creating rules that determine which rows in a table are visible.

Additionally, the last set of columns titled 'Notes' (as it is not coded) is further divided into the following 2 separate columns dedicated to identifying email according to its subject or topic of the email as well as the text of the email (email body), enabling us to easily navigate through the data, instead of going back and forth (from this file to another file with actual corpus of all email messages).

- Notes
  - Subject/ Topic of the email
  - The text of the email - email body (+ other notes)

Therefore, for practical reasons, all the information regarding email messages included in the corpus used in our study are contained within one file, the table described above, which made the navigation through the data and its subsequent quantitative analysis easier; for example Line 1 contains the data from Email 1 (from Participant 1) and the columns in each line represent actual information about the content and form of the particular email.

Furthermore, no orthographic normalisations were applied either to the corpus of email messages, nor will they be applied to excerpts appearing in the text of this study. In quotes from the corpus, we will, however, add notes where orthographic errors obscure meaning. As the word count was not performed due to different reasons, no corrections were applied to orthography, nor to punctuation.

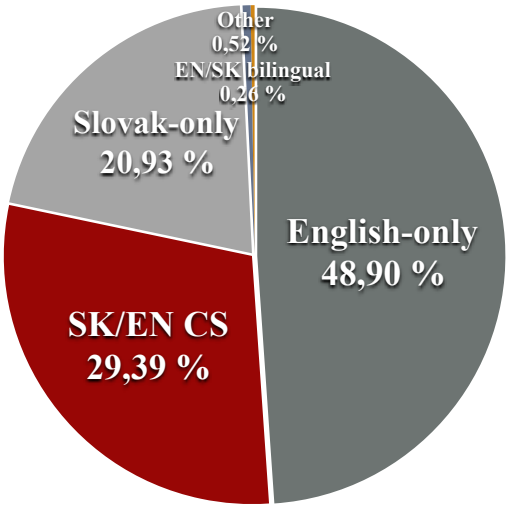
5.3 Distribution of languages in the email corpus

Based on the quantitative analysis of all 1548 email messages included in the corpus, Table 30 and Figure 26 below provide raw figures showing the initial overview of the distribution of language/s in the corpus according to the language/s that the messages under investigation are written in. Hence, the frequencies (numbers and percentages) below show the amount of email messages written entirely in English (category of 'English-only email messages'), in Slovak (category of 'Slovak-only email messages'), as well as a combination of these; distinguishing between bilingual ones (category of 'English-Slovak bilingual email messages') and those involving code-switching (category of 'Email messages written in Slovak with switches to English') occurring in this corpus. In this regard, it is important to point out that in the majority of cases from the category of email messages where CS takes place, Slovak is the main frame of communication (base language) or the dominant/ matrix language (Muysken, 2000), as expected, while English is the code that is switched to. In addition to that, a special category of 'Other' email messages has been created in order to categorise all miscellaneous messages not falling into any of the previous categories, as they are either written in another language, or they contain emoticon or number only, without any accompanying text.

Table 30: Distribution of languages in the email corpus

	English-only email messages	Email messages written in Slovak with switches to English	Slovak-only email messages	Other (miscellaneous)	English/ Slovak bilingual email messages	TOTAL
Number of email messages (N)	**757**	**455**	**324**	**8**	**4**	**1548**
Frequency of email messages (%)	48,90 %	29,39 %	20,93 %	0,52 %	0,26 %	100,00 %

Figure 26: Distribution of languages in the email corpus



The majority of email messages assembled into the corpus - 757 emails were written entirely in English, constituting nearly half of the corpus, reaching 48.90% of all the emails. In contrast, the amount of email messages written entirely in Slovak was considerably lower - reaching 20.93% with 324 emails. Quite surprisingly, 455 emails (29.39%) occurring in the corpus were written in Slovak with switches to English. Switches in language between the subject header of the email and the language of the main text were not included in the overall count. However, further investigation needs to be done in order to distinguish between different language contact phenomena found in these emails, especially between CS and borrowing, i.e. words from English which are by now assimilated into Slovak. Single-word switches, phrases and other English-language items contained in this initial count within the group of 'Email messages written in Slovak with switches to English' at this 'quantitative stage' will be treated with caution later, in the deeper, more fine-grained analysis in Section 5.6 of this chapter. Therefore, for this reason, the frequencies (N and %) of Slovak-only email messages and 'Email messages written in Slovak with switches to English' might not be 100% accurate and therefore a valid representative quantitative comparison of the figures can not be undertaken just yet. Moreover, the overall size of the corpus is further divided into the amount of individual email messages sent via this particular CMC platform, listed with respect to the participants of the study as the senders/ addressers (see Table 31 below).

Table 31: **Distribution of languages in the email corpus (Breakdown per participant)**

P	English-only email messages		Email messages written in Slovak with switches to English		Slovak-only email messages		Other		English/ Slovak bilingual email messages		TOTAL
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
AL	331	43,73 %	17	3,74 %	19	5,86 %	1	12,50 %	0	0,00 %	368
DC	20	2,64 %	32	7,03 %	6	1,85 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	58
NK1	98	12,95 %	129	28,35 %	72	22,22 %	1	12,50 %	0	0,00 %	300
KH1	49	6,47 %	117	25,71 %	160	49,38 %	5	62,50 %	0	0,00 %	331
AB	1	0,13 %	1	0,22 %	1	0,31 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	3
MM1	7	0,92 %	6	1,32 %	16	4,94 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	29
MB1	51	6,74 %	2	0,44 %	4	1,23 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	57
PS	43	5,68 %	65	14,29 %	33	10,19 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	141
SB	15	1,98 %	1	0,22 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	16
MM2	0	0,00 %	4	0,88 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	4
KH2	49	6,47 %	43	9,45 %	7	2,16 %	0	0,00 %	4	100,00 %	103
MB2	10	1,32 %	6	1,32 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	16
MF	0	0,00 %	1	0,22 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	1
DM2	0	0,00 %	2	0,44 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	2
ZB	61	8,06 %	1	0,22 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	62
ZH	0	0,00 %	5	1,10 %	1	0,31 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	6
EM	9	1,19 %	1	0,22 %	1	0,31 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	11
KF	2	0,26 %	8	1,76 %	3	0,93 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	13
PJ	11	1,45 %	4	0,88 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	15
MV2	0	0,00 %	3	0,66 %	1	0,31 %	1	12,50 %	0	0,00 %	5
IS	0	0,00 %	7	1,54 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	7
TOTAL	**757**	100,00 %	**455**	100,00 %	**324**	100,00 %	**8**	100,00 %	**4**	100,00 %	**1548**

5.4 Degree and types of code-switching in 'Email messages written in Slovak with switches to English'

In the following sections, we will focus solely on analysing the portion of email messages falling into the category of 'Email messages written in Slovak with switches to English', representing 29.39% of the overall size of the corpus. The main criterion for inclusion of data into this category was involvement of CS - therefore switches to English must have been used at some point in the messages in order to be included.

As a starting point of the analysis, code-switched passages and other instances of CS from Slovak to English from 455 email exchanges were further examined with the aim to determine the degree and types of CS. As we have discussed in Section 2.2.4, in terms of types and forms of CS, there are numerous taxonomies of CS in the literature on the topic, both formal and functional (e.g. Poplack, 1980; Auer, 1984, 1999; Jacobson, 1998; Muysken, 2000; etc.). Based on the position in a sentence or a clause, CS can be structurally divided. If the email from the corpus involved some sort of CS, the data were color-coded with regard to the type of switching between Slovak and English on the basis of structural criteria. Hence, as a starting point of our analysis, a syntactic distinction between the following types of CS has been made:

- **Inter-sentential switching** (also called 'extra-sentential switching')
  This type of switching occurs outside the sentence or the clause level (i.e. at sentence or clause boundaries)
- **Intra-sentential switching**
  This type of switching occurs within a sentence or a clause

Within the latter category, the type of **intra-word switching** which occurs within a word itself - such as at a morpheme boundary, has been further distinguished.

Before proceeding to the results of more fine-grained analysis of individual instances of CS (with their forms and functions), we believe that perhaps the best way to illustrate degree and types of CS found in our corpus of email messages is through a brief discussion of an interesting example from the corpus (below).

- Subject: Teambulding *(KH2 #84/E/1xM)*

ORIGINAL EMAIL

Dear all,
Team building sa blizi.
Rada by som s Vami **shar**ovala jedno video ako moze taki **team** vyzerat! **link** Mala som cas sa zamyslat nad nami ako nad timom. Sme **team**? Co nas robi **team**om? Vieme co je timova praca? Ake su nase spolocne ciele? Pozname standarty XXX a koname ako jeden?
Moze vyzerat ze koncept **Escape Room** neposobi dobre na team, ale prosim Vas precitajte si zmysel hry **link in Slovak** .
Escape room nas nauci pouzivat vlasne schopnosti za dobro **team**u. Kazdy jeden z nas je vynimocny – a ma co dat **FO**. Tak sa posnazme spolocne co najviac dostat z tej hry, aj ked nebudeme vseci spolu.
Vcera sme s XXX mali vylet po **Night** Bratislave a spolocne sme prisli na jeden velmi dobry murarsky koncept- **XXX NIGHT OUT.**
Raz za mesiac **XXX Leader** moze vybrat : bar/diskoteku/cukraren/plavaren :D kde budeme „oslavovat“ ,a proste iba byt spolu mimo XXX.

-PRECO? Cas spolu nam pomoze spoznat sa lepsie,budeme mat moznost ukazat svoje dobre ale aj zle stranky a prave to nam pomoze mat naozaj kvalitny **service** na **FO**.
-KEDY ? Vzdy prvy vikend v mesiaci
-UCAST? Riadme sa citatom : **"In union there is strength."**

-Rada by som pocula vas nazor na danu temu. :)

BY THE WAY DEAR ALL,
THIS IS BEO SHIT NA FINALNU CAST **TEAMBUILDING**U kde mozeme zdielat nase dojmy a tiez zatancovat LATINO :)
WHERE: ZELENY STROM (**link**)
DATE: 6.11.2015
TIME: 21:00
WHO: ALL USERS
WHAY: LIFE IS BETTER WHEN SHARED!

P.S Bude rezervovani stol na meno XXX!

"The way a team plays as a whole determines its success. You may have the greatest bunch of individual stars in the world, but if they don't play together, the club won't be worth a dime.“

- Subject: Teambulding *(KH2 #84/E/1xM)*

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Dear all,

Team building is approaching.

I would like to **share** with you the video where you can see how the **team** can look like! **link**

I had a time to think about us as a team. Are we a **team**? What makes us a **team**? Do we know what a team work is? What are our common goals? Do we know standards of XXX (*note: company name*) and do we act as one?

It may seem that the concept of **Escape Room** does not have a good influence on a team, but please read a meaning of the game **link in Slovak** .

Escape room will teach us to use our own skills for the good of the **team**. Each one of us is special – and has something to offer to **FO**. So let's try together to make the best out of the game, even though we will not all be together.

Yesterday we had a 'trip' around **Night** Bratislava with XXX (*note: name*) and together we came to an idea of one very good concept - **XXX NIGHT OUT.**

Once a month **XXX Leader** can choose: bar/disco/patisserie/swimming pool :D where we will „celebrate" , or simple spend time together outside of XXX (note: *workplace/ company name*).

-WHY? Time spent together will make us get to know each other better,we will have a chance to show our good and bad sides, and that is what will help us to have a really high quality **service** at **FO**.

-WHEN ? Always on the first weekend of the month

-ATTENDANCE? Let's follow the quote : **"In union there is strength."**

-I would like to know your opinion on this topic. :)

BY THE WAY DEAR ALL,

THIS IS BEO SHEET FOR THE FINAL PART OF **TEAMBUILDING** where we can share our impressions and also dance LATINO :)

WHERE: ZELENY STROM (**link**)

DATE: 6.11.2015

TIME: 21:00

WHO: ALL USERS

WHY: LIFE IS BETTER WHEN SHARED!

P.S There will be a table reserved under the name of XXX!

"The way a team plays as a whole determines its success. You may have the greatest bunch of individual stars in the world, but if they don't play together, the club won't be worth a dime."

Firstly, the original email message was presented, followed by an English translation afterwards (note: names and company name were removed as well as the web links attached, replaced by 'XXX' and **link** signs).

Overall, the example above, representing one of email messages written by one of the participants and sent to the mailing list of the respective department, illustrates the linguistic practices we will be investigating, as the message contains different types of CS which serve different socio-pragmatic functions. The dominant or matrix language in this example is Slovak, while English is the code that is switched to. The example reveals not only the illustration of the extent (degree) of CS in the corpus, but also the types of switching involved, including:

Inter-sentential switching:

- English in the email opening:

Dear all,

- English in the email closing:

"The way a team plays as a whole determines its success. You may have the greatest bunch of individual stars in the world, but if they don't play together, the club won't be worth a dime.“

Following Tsiplakou (2009: 376), in the method of coding adopted, switches between a matrix and a subordinate clause were coded as inter-sentential, as in the case of:
e.g.
-UCAST? Riadme sa citatom : **"In union there is strength."**

Intra-sentential switching:

- single-noun switches to English (e.g. **leader**, **service**, **team**, **teambuilding**)

Moreover, these examples also indicate that CS is not only pervasive across a variety of syntactic structures (as it does not solely reflect the structural distinction between inter- and intra-sentential CS), but also that CS serves a wide range of discourse functions, the precise nature of which will be further discussed in detail in the separate section (Section 5.5).

5.4.1 Inter- and intra-sentential switching on email

In terms of the quantitative analysis, in the total of 455 email messages of the corpus written in Slovak with switches to English (those which involve some kind of CS, containing English words or phrases), the majority (88.57%) - 403 email messages contain intra-sentential switching only, while 32 email messages contain both inter- and intra-sentential switching and 20 email messages contain inter-sentential switching only (Table 32 and Figure 27). Moreover, the breakdown per participant is presented in Table 33 below.

Table 32: Breakdown of email messages from the corpus containing inter- and intra-sentential switching

	Email messages containing INTRA - SENTENTIAL SWITCHING	Email messages containing both INTER- and INTRA-SENTENTIAL SWITCHING	Email messages containing INTER-SENTENTIAL SWITCHING	TOTAL Email messages written in SLOVAK with switches to ENGLISH
N	**403**	**32**	**20**	**455**
%	88,57	7,03	4,40	100

Figure 27: Breakdown of email messages from the corpus containing inter- and intra-sentential switching

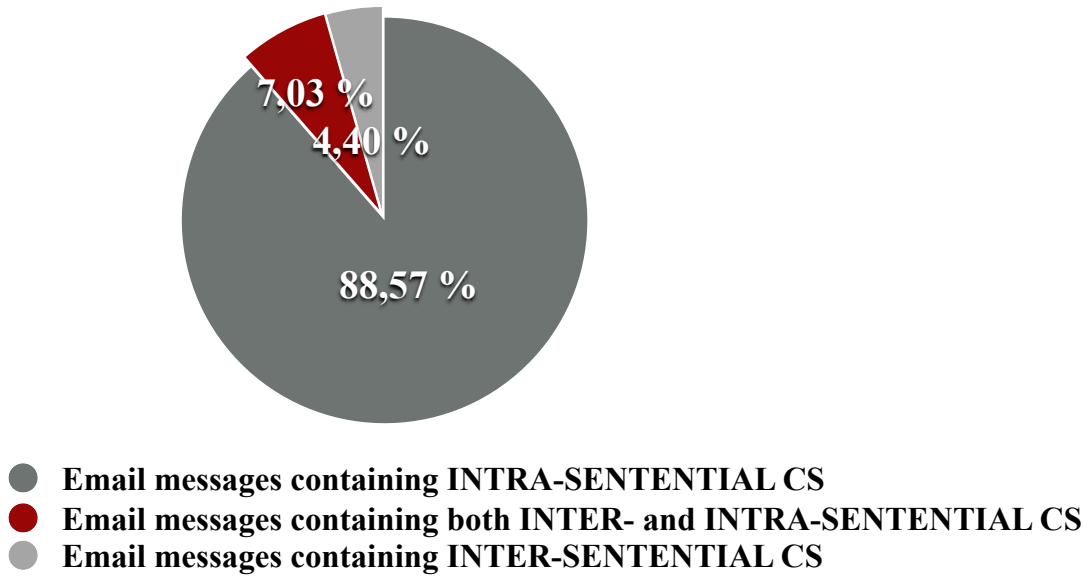


Table 33: **Breakdown of email messages from the corpus containing inter- and intra-sentential switching (listed per participant)**

P	Email messages containing INTRA - SENTENTIAL SWITCHING		Email messages containing both INTER- and INTRA- SENTENTIAL SWITCHING		Email messages containing INTER- SENTENTIAL SWITCHING		TOTAL Email messages written in SLOVAK with switches to ENGLISH	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
AL	15	3,72 %	0	0,00 %	2	10,00 %	17	3,74 %
DC	30	7,44 %	1	3,13 %	1	5,00 %	32	7,03 %
NK1	116	28,78 %	7	21,88 %	6	30,00 %	129	28,35 %
KH1	108	26,80 %	5	15,63 %	4	20,00 %	117	25,71 %
AB	1	0,25 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	1	0,22 %
MM1	5	1,24 %	0	0,00 %	1	5,00 %	6	1,32 %
MB1	2	0,50 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	2	0,44 %
PS	57	14,14 %	6	18,75 %	2	10,00 %	65	14,29 %
SB	1	0,25 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	1	0,22 %
MM2	4	0,99 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	4	0,88 %
KH2	30	7,44 %	10	31,25 %	3	15,00 %	43	9,45 %
MB2	6	1,49 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	6	1,32 %
MF	1	0,25 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	1	0,22 %
DM2	1	0,25 %	0	0,00 %	1	5,00 %	2	0,44 %
ZB	1	0,25 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	1	0,22 %
ZH	5	1,24 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	5	1,10 %
EM	1	0,25 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	1	0,22 %
KF	7	1,74 %	1	3,13 %	0	0,00 %	8	1,76 %
PJ	4	0,99 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	4	0,88 %
MV2	1	0,25 %	2	6,25 %	0	0,00 %	3	0,66 %
IS	7	1,74 %	0	0,00 %	0	0,00 %	7	1,54 %
TOTAL	**403**	100,00 %	**32**	100,00 %	**20**	100,00 %	**455**	100,00 %

5.5 Socio-pragmatic functions of inter-sentential switching

Drawing on widely accepted and used classifications/ taxonomies presenting a number of different socio-pragmatic and stylistic functions achieved by CS in spoken discourse that are quite consistent across the literature (e.g. Gumperz, 1977, 1982; Auer, 1995, Hoffman, 1991 - further discussed in Section 2.2.5) and a number of discourse functions that CS serves in CMC (e.g. Paolillo, 1996; Georgakopoulou, 1997; Androutsopoulos, 2006b; Tsiplakou, 2009; etc. - further discussed in Section 2.3), the following functions of inter-sentential CS have been identified in our data from the email corpus and grouped within these categories:

1. Quoting

Moreover, depending on how the act of reproducing and representing another person's (or one's own) prior communicative output is achieved, we distinguish between:

A. Quoting somebody else (Other-quotations)

- Direct quotations by famous people
- Proverbs
- Slogans
- Quoting used for reported speech
- Contextual quotations

B. Self-quotations

- Contextual quotations

2. Adding emphasis

3. Softening a request or strengthening a command

4. Language economy

- 'FYI' switches
- 'DONE' switches

5. Talking about a particular topic

- context-specific vocabulary

- Finance/ Accounting-related switches
- Hotel/Hospitality/Tourism industry-related switches

Special category:

6. Switching for formulaic discourse purposes

(including greetings, farewells, and good wishes)

Even though it was found that switching serves roughly similar functions in different contexts, Androutsopoulos (2013: 681) points out that:

> While the comparability of CS in CMC with general discourse functions of conversational CS is thus in principle firmly established across languages, modes, and social settings, individual manifestations of CS in CMD data may be difficult to categorize, and switching and mixing may co-occur in the discourse of one user or community.

Furthermore, at this point, it is also important to note that CS functions and meanings are never monolithic; as practically all CS instances overlap between several of the functions discussed within the theoretical part of the thesis (Section 2.2 and Section 2.3). In other words, one switch may serve several different functions or alternatively, there may be switches with no apparent specific pragmatic function. For this reason, assigning specific discourse functions to each and every switch from the data may be problematic. In that regard, Zentella (1997: 99) argues that "pin-pointing the purpose of each code switch is a task as fraught with difficulty as imputing the reasons for a monolingual's choice of one synonym over another, and no complete accounting may ever be possible". Hence, Androutsopoulos (2013: 682) suggests that "working with classifications of discourse functions provides an initial overview of patterns of CS in a CMC environment and a useful point of entry for exploratory research'', which is how the classification of socio-pragmatic functions of inter-sentential CS is employed here, in this section. Moreover, taking all the above points into consideration, we claim to provide a context-bound interpretation only, instead of claiming a universal applicability to different contexts.

In the following sections, we will take a closer look at each one of the socio-pragmatic functions of CS considered for the analysis and illustrate them with relevant examples taken from the corpus.

5.5.1 Quoting

Quoting is a common practice in every kind of communication and as a phenomenon, it has been extensively studied in text-based sciences, including linguistics, literary and philosophical studies (as well as interdisciplinary research), among others. The aim of this section is to explore the connection between foreign language quotations and a study of CS in CMC. In terms of the widely accepted classifications of conversational CS, drawing on Gumperz's (1977: 14) "single preliminary typology which holds across languages'', using the original language to quote someone else's words, either as a direct quotation or as a paraphrase is one of the main functions identified in spoken CS (Gumperz, 1982), as well as in the context of CMC in a range of different platforms, social settings and linguistic contexts (e.g., Hinrichs, 2006; Tsiplakou, 2009). Even though "at first glance, foreign language quotations have a lot more to do with a theory of quotation than a study of code-switching'' (De Brabanter, 2004: 2), we argue that further exploration is needed particularly when it comes to employing CS for purposes of quotation in CMC.

Before starting the analysis, we will shortly introduce the concept and practice of quoting as defined by Bublitz (2015) and Finnegan (2011). Then, we will outline different types of switching for quotation which have been identified in our corpus, including quoting somebody else (other-quotations) and self-quotations. In the respective sections, we will provide a brief overview and detailed analysis of forms and functions of quoting, focusing in particular on those that deal with the phenomenon in the context of CMC. By combining the traditional functions served by quoting in written and spoken communication with the 'new' ones found in CMC, we will attempt to demonstrate their connection to what Gumperz (1982: 75) calls 'switching for quotations'. More specifically, following the model introduced by Landert (2015: 31-52), we will examine how "certain characteristics of the context, content and language of quotes serve as triggers for specific functional interpretations'' (Landert, 2015: 31) in order to facilitate the analysis of functions of the quotes found in our corpus. Moreover, using pragmatic and media-driven approach, we will attempt to explore the extent to which deploying quotations in written electronic communication depends on the new technological settings online.

The concept and practice of quoting

When investigating the phenomenon of quoting from multiple angles, we will use two main sources of information concerning the forms, functions and usage of quoting as a meta-communicative act. Firstly, it is *The Pragmatics of Quoting Now and Then*, the collection edited by Arendholz, Bublitz and Kirner-Ludwig (2015), which offers a view on quoting in various forms of old (printed) and new (computer-mediated) communication, embracing a broad, interdisciplinary perspective. This volume brings together contributions by several authors within interpersonal pragmatics, sociolinguistics, historical, cognitive and text linguistics as well as cultural studies in order to provide a more complex understanding of the nature of quoting. Secondly, we followed Ruth Finnegan's (2011) *Why do we quote? The Culture and History of Quotation.* Drawing from anthropology, history, folklore, cultural studies, ethnography, sociolinguistics, and literary studies, this book offers an account of contemporary quoting practices with an examination of the comparative and historical background that lies behind it.

In his Introduction, Bublitz (2015: 1) compares the phenomenon of quoting to "speaking or writing through someone else's tongue or pen''. Moreover, in contrast to Finnegan (2011), who views quoting as a very broad phenomenon, Bublitz (2015: 1) distinguishes between quotations and other forms of recycled speech (such as ad hoc self- and other-repetitions) or pre-patterned sequences (such as proverbs, slogans and routine formulae). This approach is motivated by belief that setting quotations apart from (seemingly) related acts like this will help put some order in the diversity of the forms repetition of words can take. In search of the definition of quoting, Finnegan (2011: 258) argues that:

> It seems more realistic to accept that what we have is not some single phenomenon but a broad family of practices through which people do indeed engage in re-sounding the words and voices of others - and themselves find this of interest and importance and deploy it in a range of different ways.

Drawing on a common understanding of quoting which "reflects our usage- and media-based pragmatic perspective", Bublitz (2015: 2) provides a simple definition of quotation as "an act of taking up text and, in doing so, performing a shift of context, focus and perspective". Quoting is indeed a complex act constituting of several sub-acts, thus Bublitz (2015: 4) further explains the role of quoter and defines quoting as follows:

A quoter

1. *takes up another person's (or their own) source text (T1) and shifts it from its original, prior context (C1) to the present context (C2) as a target text (T2), and in doing so*
2. *draws the recipient's attention to T2, thus disrupting ongoing discourse,*
3. *and puts T2 in a new (evaluating) perspective either explicitly (verbally) or implicitly (prosodically or kinesically).**

Switching for quotations in our corpus

Our data shows that a range of quotations traditionally found in written texts and spoken communication can also be observed in our context. First of all, depending on how the act of reproducing and representing another person's (or one's own) 'voice' is achieved, we will outline two categories of quoting which have been identified in our corpus. Moreover, based on the forms repetition of words can take, we will distinguish between:

A. Quoting somebody else (Other-quotations)

- Direct quotations by famous people
- Proverbs & Slogans
- Quoting used for reported speech
- Contextual quotations

B. Self-quotations

- Contextual quotations

The structure of this section

5.5.1.1 QUOTING SOMEBODY ELSE (OTHER-QUOTATIONS)

Forms of quoting somebody else (Other-quotations)

5.5.1.1.1 Direct quotations by famous people
5.5.1.1.2 Proverbs
5.5.1.1.3 Slogans
5.5.1.1.4 Quoting used for reported speech
5.5.1.1.5 Contextual quotations
5.5.1.1.6 Summary of the forms of quoting somebody else

Functions of quoting somebody else (Other-quotations)

5.5.1.1.7 Functions of quoting somebody else in relation to the context and content
5.5.1.1.8 Effects of language choice and nature of CMC: Functions of quoting somebody else in relation to the language

5.5.1.2 SELF-QUOTATIONS

5.5.1.2.1 Contextual quotations

5.5.1.1 **Quoting somebody else** (Other-quotations)

Quoting is all around us and in fact, we all quote others in our everyday life. Researchers interested in quoting have been wondering about meaning and reason lying behind "this strange human propensity to repeat chunks of text from elsewhere and to echo others' voices'' (Finnegan, 2011:xi), trying to uncover how do people actually use quotations in practice and why do they do it. Moreover, Sifianou (2018: 3) argues that "the spread of more interactive digitally-mediated communication has greatly facilitated various forms of quoting, referring and citing others' views'', adding that "Internet users exploit this facility to accomplish various goals''.

This section thus provides the analysis of forms and functions that English quotes inserted into messages written in Slovak serve, by looking at quotation as a pragmatic choice, conversational strategy and a tool for identity construction. Given the comparative and bilingual aspect of the study, the aim is to assess different types of foreign language quotes within the email corpus.

As an initial step of our analysis, three email messages containing inter-sentential CS for purposes of quoting (switching code while quoting somebody else in form of direct quotations by famous people, proverb and slogan) are presented bellow (Examples 1 - 3). Interestingly, all the three examples (email messages) found in the email corpus come from (and were written by) one participant in particular and addressed to the whole Front Office department. While being a Serbian-native speaker, she is fluent in Slovak and English language as well and communicates in both languages on a daily basis. Content-wise, the messages contain information regarding upcoming team building, as seen from the email subject lines.

The original version of the email message is presented first, followed by English translation below. However, due to previous inclusion of the first email message (Example 1) in Section 5.4 above, only an excerpt will be presented below, focusing on quotation as the subject of this section. In the case of other two email messages (Example 2 and Example 3), they are introduced in their full versions. The base language of all the three messages is Slovak, English switches are colour-coded.

Example 1

- Subject: Teambulding

(KH2 #84/E/1xM)

EXCERPT FROM THE ORIGINAL EMAIL

Dear all,

Team building sa blizi.

...

-KEDY ? Vzdy prvy vikend v mesiaci

-UCAST? Riadme sa citatom : **"In union there is strength."**

-Rada by som pocula vas nazor na danu temu. :)

...

WHAY**: LIFE IS BETTER WHEN SHARED!**

P.S Bude rezervovani stol na meno XXX!

"The way a team plays as a whole determines its success. You may have the greatest bunch of individual stars in the world, but if they don't play together, the club won't be worth a dime.“

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Dear all,

Teambulding is approaching.

...

-WHEN? Always in the first week of the month

-ATTENDANCE? Let’s follow the quote: **"In union there is strength."**

- I would like to know your opinion on this topic.

...

WHY: **LIFE IS BETTER WHEN SHARED!**

P.S There will be a table reserved under the name of XXX!

"The way a team plays as a whole determines its success. You may have the greatest bunch of individual stars in the world, but if they don't play together, the club won't be worth a dime.“

Example 2

- Subject: Teambulding

(KH2 #86/E/1xM)

ORIGINAL EMAIL

Ahojte **team**,
Posielam finalnu zostavu na **team building** podla ktorej bude napisani rozpis na dalsi tizden. Kazdy den(resp.skupina) bude mat **leadr**a ktory bude zotopovedni za chod **teambilding**u,pred **teambilding**ove **activity** aj **po teambilding**ove **activity** ak budete mat chut.

...

!!!!AKO SA TAM DOSTAT : **link in Slovak**
CRIME CASE | miesto činu - **escape room**
O nás. Sme novootvorená **escape room** - napínavá interaktívna hra pre tímy a skupinky hráčov v Bratislave. U nás sa zabavia a vyskúšajú si svoje vedomosti ...
Read more...

"Hráčov prosíme o dochvíľnosť, neskorší príchod môže ovplyvniť Váš čas hry."

P.S
You don't have to be great to start, but you have to start to be great. Zig Ziglar
Majte sa vitazne!

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Hi **team**,
I'm sending the final list of teams for the **team building** according to which the schedule (of work shifts) for next week will be written. Every day (resp.group) will have a **leader** who will be responsible for the course of **team building** and pre-team building **activity** as well as **post-teambilding activity,** if you will be interested.

...

!!!!HOW TO GET THERE : **link in Slovak**
CRIME CASE | miesto činu - **escape room**
About us. We are newly-opened **escape room** - exciting interactive game for teams and groups of players in Bratislava. Come have fun and test your knowledge ...
Read more...

"We would like to ask the players to be punctual, as later arrival may affect the time of the game/ your playing time."

P.S
You don't have to be great to start, but you have to start to be great. Zig Ziglar
See you/ Feel victoriously!

Example 3

- Subject: Teambulding

(KH2 #87/E/1xM)

ORIGINAL EMAIL

Dear all,
posielam **update sheet** na **teambuilding.**..Ako vidite stale su dva volne miesta na piatok a stredu. XXX (**name*), **pls** opitaj sa chalanov (**XXX - 3 names*) ci maju v plane sa pridat. V pripade **overbooking**u dokupime dalsiu stupenku.
pre istotu ešte raz sumár:

streda 4.11. 19:00
stvrtok 5.11. 18:30
piatok 6.11. 20:00

Ako ich najdeme: **link in Slovak**

"Infuse your life with action. Don't wait for it to happen. Make it happen. Make your own future. Make your own hope. Make your own love. And whatever your beliefs, honor your creator, not by passively waiting for grace to come down from upon high, but by doing what you can to make grace happen... yourself, right now, right down here on Earth."

Krasny den!

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Dear all,
I'm sending **update sheet** for **teambuilding.**..As you can see, there are still two spots available on Friday and Wednesday. XXX (**name*), **pls** ask boys (**XXX - 3 names*) if they are planning to join. In case of **overbooking** we will purchase another ticket.
Just to make sure, here is the summary one more time:

Wednesday 4.11. 19:00
Thursday 5.11. 18:30
Friday 6.11. 20:00

How to find them: **link in Slovak**

"Infuse your life with action. Don't wait for it to happen. Make it happen. Make your own future. Make your own hope. Make your own love. And whatever your beliefs, honor your creator, not by passively waiting for grace to come down from upon high, but by doing what you can to make grace happen... yourself, right now, right down here on Earth."

Have a lovely day!

Forms of quoting somebody else (Other-quotations)

In this section, we will analyse and discuss individual CS passages in English (colour-coded in **bold green** in the copies of email messages above) classified as instances of employing inter-sentential CS for purposes of quotation within our email corpus. Thus, based on the forms repetition of words can take, we will analyse quotations as intertextual references by looking at their origin, meaning, authorship, position in the email and the ways used for signalling quotations within the text.

Quoting strategies of quoters vary depending on mode and medium, so when it comes to the forms of quoting, Bublitz (2015: 11) explains that "quoting rests on a variety of different formal devices'' such as:

- in spoken discourse - verbs of saying and prosodic signalling
- in written discourse - graphic as well as lexical and syntactic indicators
- in CMC - quoting resorts to arrangement and layout

In addition to that, Bublitz (2015:11) points out that in the context of CMC, "there are new ways of quoting that have been instigated by computer- and internet-based technology which range from copy-paste quoting (e.g. in weblogs) via semi-automatized quoting (e.g. in emails and online discussion fora) to fully automatized quoting (e.g., in social networking sites)''. Moreover, even though quoting other people is not a new phenomenon, Bublitz (2015: 1-2) adds that what is different is the fact that "highly frequent and excessively exact quoting (accomplished by ingenious software) has become a characteristic (and arguably even constitutive) feature of the more interactive forms of computer-mediated communication'', especially in the case of integral 'quote' function in blogs, tweets or message boards.

The following forms of switching for quotation, more specifically quoting somebody else (other-quotations) have been found in our email corpus:

- Direct quotations by famous people (in Examples 1 - 3 presented above)
- Proverbs and slogans (in Example 1 presented above)
- Quoting used for reported speech (in Example 4)
- Contextual quotation (in Example 5)

5.5.1.1.1 Direct quotations by famous people

In the context of written electronic communication, Finnegan (2011: 58) defines these kinds of quotes as 'throwaway' quotes, which are only "lightly emphasized and often with the source not explicitly cited". The only instance of employing CS for purposes of quotation in our data where the original author of the quote - Zig Ziglar - an American author, salesman and motivational speaker, was explicitly cited, was in **Example (2)**. Formally, this quotation was introduced by *P.S* at the end of the email message, followed by the quotation itself, without quotation marks, as seen below.

(2) P.S

You don't have to be great to start, but you have to start to be great. Zig Ziglar

On the other hand, quoted passages were indicated by quotation marks, unlike in Example (2) in the case of two other code-switches - **Examples (1c) and (3)**, which are also direct quotations by famous people, however, the original source was not explicitly cited. Firstly, the code-switched passage (1c) below is a quote by Babe Ruth - an American professional baseball player. Secondly, the following quoted passage from Example (3) is a direct quotation attributed to Bradley Whitford - an American actor and political activist. With regard to the placement and the position of quotations by famous people within email messages from our corpus, in all three cases they are placed at the end, either right before automatically added email signature (Example 1) or just before the farewell (Examples 2 and 3).

(1) c) "The way a team plays as a whole determines its success. You may have the greatest bunch of individual stars in the world, but if they don't play together, the club won't be worth a dime."

(3) "Infuse your life with action. Don't wait for it to happen. Make it happen. Make your own future. Make your own hope. Make your own love. And whatever your beliefs, honor your creator, not by passively waiting for grace to come down from upon high, but by doing what you can to make grace happen... yourself, right now, right down here on Earth."

5.5.1.1.2 Proverbs

(1) a) “In union there is strength.”

The inter-sentential switch in the middle of the email message (Example 1 presented above) is considered to be a popular proverb about the value of unity which has been used in various different modifications, languages, translations and contexts throughout history. Currently, "Unity makes strength" is used by Bulgaria (in Bulgarian: "Съединението прави силата") and Haiti (in French: "L’union fait la force") on their national coat of arms and it is the national motto of Belgium (in French: "L’union fait la force", in Dutch: "Eendracht maakt macht", in German: "Einigkeit macht stark"), Bolivia (in Spanish: "La Unión es la Fuerza") and some other countries, including Andorra and Angola (in Latin: "Virtus Unita Fortior’’), where the motto denotes the same meaning, however translated to English as "United virtue is stronger". "Union is strength" is defined by McGraw-Hill’s Dictionary of American Idioms and Phrasal Verbs as a proverb, underlying its meaning as: “if people join together, they are more powerful than if they work by themselves’’. Moreover, the similar quote was also attributed to Aesop - a Greek fabulist and storyteller as the moral of one of his fables called *The Old Man and His Sons*.

Being a proverb and using a formulaic language, it expresses a general truth based on common sense or experience, it is a piece of advice which can be applicable to everyday life. Collins Dictionary simply defines a proverb as “a short sentence that people often quote, which gives advice or tells you something about life’’. Lord John Russell described it as "the wisdom of many and the wit of one”. Moreover, distinguishing it from other kinds of quoting, Bublitz (2015: 1) includes proverbs into the category of what he defined as ‘pre-patterned sequences’ (together with slogans and routine formulae). Thus, as we have attempted to demonstrate, this particular quote is widely used and may refer to a variety of different contexts. According to Hodsdon-Champeon (2010), proverbs are classified as a type of intertextual references falling into the category of ‘cultural texts’, along with common phrases.

5.5.1.1.3 Slogans

(1) b) LIFE IS BETTER WHEN SHARED!

Slogans found in our data are another example of inter-sentential switching for quotation, and same as the proverb discussed in the previous section, they are instances of 'pre-patterned sequences' (Bublitz, 2015: 1). The Cambridge Dictionary defines slogan as "a short, easily remembered phrase used by an organization so that people will recognize it or its products''. In this context, the **Example (1b)** "Life is better when shared" appears to be a reference to what can clearly be identified as the official slogan (motto) of the global hotel chain (participants' workplace) and at the same time one of the corporate core values and marketing slogans of the respective brand. Both the email sender and the recipients are co-workers who had the same brand identity training, therefore they are obviously familiar with it.

Furthermore, it is important to point out that slogan is a crucial component of brand's identification and together with a logo, it is used for marketing purposes (advertising). Therefore, it is often a catchy and repetitive expression which is easily memorable, encompassing a company's mission and philosophy. In the context of this email message (Example 1), we can consider the use of this slogan to be a contextualisation cue.

Formally, in the absence of quotation marks, other indications to signal quoted material are used in order to make others' words recognised and formally separated out from the surrounded words, from the rest of the text. In (1b), apart from switching code, it was the use of capitalisation for signalling a quotation - a slogan "*LIFE IS BETTER WHEN SHARED!"* which was introduced by "*WHAY:"* (typo: WHY) at the beginning of the sentence. The sender of this email message presumably wanted to add an extra emphasis to this phrase in particular not only because of the use of capitalisation as typographic device for emphasis but also because of the use of an exclamation mark at the end.

5.5.1.1.4 Quoting used for reported speech

Example 4

- Subject: Mr. XXX

(NK1 #242/E/1xM)

ORIGINAL EMAIL

Ahojte,

FYI

Pan XX dnes opat na nas skusal pouzit jeho taktiku s ‚best avaliable rate'. Nakolko uz sme informovani o podmienkach tak sme sa mu to snazili vysvetlit s tym ako to vlaste funguje a ze nas kontaktovalo XXX a chcelo nam dat pokutu kvoli nedodrzaniu podmienok. Aj napriek tomu sa snazili najst ten link s lepsou cenou no nakoniec ked sme sa prepracovali az na platbu na danej stranke sa ukazalo ze konecna cena je opat len rovnaka ako nasa. Pan XXX sa velmi zlostil a povedal citujem **„I am very upset, don't even talk to me!"** :) Ak by sa opakovala rovnaka situacia v buducnosti treba mu opat vysvetlit podmienky ‚best avaliable rate guarantee' a ak posle link so strankou kde ten rate nasiel, sa iba preklikat az na finalnu sumu:)

Pekny vecer

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Hi,

FYI

Mr. XX (**guest's name**) again tried to use his tactics called the ‚best avaliable rate' today. As we have already been informed about the conditions, we tried to explain to him how it actually works and how we were contacted by XXX, who wanted us to pay a penalty for failing to comply. Nevertheless, we tried to find the link with a better price, but finally, when we proceeded to the payment on the given webpage, it turned out that the final price is still the same as ours. Mr. XXX (**guest's name**) was really pissed off and said, I quote: **"I am very upset, don't even talk to me!"** :) If the same situation repeated again in the future, it is important to explain to him the terms and conditions of the "best avaliable rate guarantee" and if he sends a link with the webpage where he found that rate, just click through to the final amount :)

Have a nice evening

In **Example (4)**, the code-switched passage **"I am very upset, don't even talk to me!"** can clearly be identifiable as reported speech. The base language of this email message is Slovak, English switch is colour-coded (**in bold green**). Quoting as such is a common part of everyday life as we repeat what others have said to us. In this case, the author of this email is reporting on a conversation with an English-speaking guest who was obviously not happy about his request not being resolved to his satisfaction. Starting with the familiar sequence "...and he said, I quote", the quoted sentence (the switched passage - an embedded clause), was then properly introduced by quotation marks as a direct quotation.

5.5.1.1.5 Contextual quotations

Example 5

- Subject: Merging XXX numbers

(KH1 #60/E/1xM)

ORIGINAL EMAIL

Ahojte,
Len pre info toto mi napisali naposledy z XXX.

Dear XXX,
Combination of accounts, with matching information, may be requested by clicking the 'Merge My Accounts' link, located in the 'My Account' panel, on XXX.com.
Regards,

Cize XXX cisla si musia uz mergovat alebo teda poziadat o to, sami hostia. Uz nam to nespravi ani XXX.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Hi,
Just for information, this is what they last wrote to me from XXX.

forwarded text - contextual quotation

So guests need to send a request for their XXX numbers to be merged on their own. Even XXX will not do that for us anymore.

Finally, in **Example (5)** the code-switched passage (**in bold green**) is a contextual quotation - forwarded text inserted into the body of the email message. The sender is forwarding her colleagues the answer she received from the help desk/ customer service administering the loyalty program, after inquiring their help with merging account numbers of one of the hotel guests. Thus, in order to make others' words recognised and formally separated out from the surrounded words, from the rest of the text written by her (as the sender) and to make it easier for the recipients to read, the email was divided up by empty lines before and after the quotation.

5.5.1.1.6 Summary of the forms of quoting somebody else

To sum it up, in terms of employing CS for purposes of quotation in CMC, our participants' actual quoting practices slightly varied, as described above and illustrated with relevant examples taken from the corpus. Depending on the forms repetition of words can take, we have identified 5 different forms of quoting somebody else (other-quotations) in our data, namely direct quotations by famous people, proverbs, slogans, quoting used for reported speech and contextual quotations.

In order to make others' words recognised and formally separated out from the surrounded words, from the rest of the text, different ways of signalling quotations have been used. Our data shows that apart from switching a code, it has been done either by quotation marks (Examples 1a, 1c, 3 and 4), which are accepted signs used for signalling quotation, or by other indications such as capitalisation in Example (1b) or spacing in Example (5). In the case of quotations by famous people (Examples 1-3), some formal inconsistencies were noticeable, e.g. whether the author of the quote was explicitly mentioned or not when citing somebody else's words and whether or not quotation marks were used at all varied too. However, in the case of intertextuality, citing or referencing punctuation (i.e. quotation marks) is not required. Moreover, we argue that technical properties of the email system and other factors (such as the availability of copy-and-paste function in CMC) jointly affect the quoting strategies of CMC participants. This will be further discussed in detail in the following section on functions of other-quotations in our data.

Functions of quoting somebody else (Other-quotations)

Functions of quoting have been extensively studied within the theory of quoting and they have been investigated in relation to specific contexts, including computer-mediated communication (Bublitz/Hoffmann, 2011; Landert, 2015: 32). In the past couple of decades, a number of different approaches to the study of functions of quoting has been developed. According to the recent research, it has been shown that "the communicative context in which quoting takes place can have an influence on its functions" (Landert, 2015: 32).

According to Bublitz (2015: 12), quoting has traditionally served a variety of different functions, listing the following:

- attesting the quoter's knowledge (how well read he or she is)
- establishing and increasing reliability, trustworthiness and credibility
- establishing and increasing the quoter's authority (by, e.g., referring to other authorities)
- enhancing the stylistic value of a text
- etc.

In a similar vein, Finnegan (2011: 74) extensively summarised some of the functions of quoting as follows:

> Quoting, quotations, quote marks - these were being deployed to convey and enact a wider perspective on some immediate moment, whether of higher authority, support for a position, inspiration, consolation, irony, sarcasm, amusement, emphasis, parody, affection for another, detachment, admonition, ridicule, the world in a grain of sand. They were used to draw together an in-group and by the same token to exclude others. They could be a mechanism for summarizing in small but redolent compass, for clarifying, illustrating, justifying, adding weight and interest, drawing analogies, misleading, mocking, punning, bringing colour and joy to conversation, conveying empathy and understanding - and so on, no doubt, through the infinitude of human action and interaction.

The traditional functions served by quoting in spoken and written communication (discussed above) have been extended considerably with the advent of CMC. As Bublitz (2015: 12) argues, "communication in the age of the internet has fostered new and strengthened some old (rarely exercised) functions", listing the following:

- creating narrative immediacy
- simulating dialogicity (especially in narratives)
- eliciting adjacency - as described by Herring (1999: 15) who points out that:

> Quoting creates the illusion of adjacency in that it incorporates and juxtaposes (portions of) two turns – an initiation and a response – within a single message. When portions of previous text are repeatedly quoted and responded to, the resulting message can have the appearance of an extended conversational exchange.

- indicating affiliation or, indeed, 'devaluation' of the quoted text
- generating serial knowledge and general knowledge, by sharing content

Given the variety of different functions of quoting, Landert (2015: 35) argues that "several functions of quotes are often present simultaneously, which is one of the reasons why it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint the exact function of a specific quote". That being said, it is generally difficult to identify them as they largely depend on the interpretation of textual effects, which is to some extent subjective. This may poses a problem for empirical studies, when analysing and subsequently comparing these function. Therefore, following the model introduced by Landert (2015: 31 - 52) which proposes factors that can be identified for all functions, we will examine how "certain characteristics of the context, content and language of quotes serve as triggers for specific functional interpretations" (Landert, 2015: 31). Even thought the model was designed and applied to identifying functions of quotes in print newspapers, we will use it in our context as a starting point in order to facilitate the analysis of functions of the quotes found in our corpus, as mentioned in the introduction.

5.5.1.1.7 Functions of quoting somebody else in relation to the context and content

In this section, we will analyse functions of quoting somebody else (other-quotations) in relation to the content of individual quotes and the context in which they are used. Generally, in this sense, we refer to the context of CMC in which quotes are used, more specifically, to the context of workplace email communication. Furthermore, in our analysis, we will look at the impact of technological progress on the procedure and practice of quoting itself as well as its consequences for text production and communication. In relation to this, Sifianou (2018:1) argues that:

> The advent of new technologies with their search engines has greatly facilitated the tracing and reproduction of other people's voices, thus rendering intertextuality and identity construction ever more significant.

Hence, it is crucial to point out that intertextuality has been considered to be an important feature of computer-mediated discourse. As a practice, it refers to shaping the meaning of a text by another text, and therefore influencing receivers' interpretation of it based on their prior knowledge and understanding of these references. When describing various ways in which texts refer to other texts, quoting is one of intertextual figures which adds layers of depth to a text and furthermore, it has been "analytically linked to identity construction" (Taiwo, 2010: 193).

One of functions of quotations as such, in many different contexts, as Finnegan (2011: 63) argues, is "bringing out the connections and the analogies, building on the capacity of quotation to capture something succinctly and wittily while at the same time introducing an element of distance and perspective".

Regardless of the original authors and languages of the quotes used in Example (1), their primary - and presumably intended - function in these email messages in particular was to motivate, encourage teamwork and last but not least, an active participation on the upcoming team building. Interestingly, three different kinds of switching for quotation were employed in this email message. After providing initial information about the team building in the form of 'giving answers' for the questions

such as ‘PRECO?’ (en: Why?) and ‘WHEN?’ - referring to the the reason why to participate and the time when the team building will take place, the author of this email message then responded to the following question: ‘UCAST?’ (en: Participation?) by a proverb (1a), while switching a code to English. Encouraging her colleagues (email message receivers) to follow the quote **“In union there is strength.”**, the sender intends to emphasise the importance of unity. In the context of a workplace environment, it can be perceived as a way to encourage teamwork, collaboration, and team spirit. The penultimate quote example of inter-sentential CS for quoting from this email message - a slogan (1b) **LIFE IS BETTER WHEN SHARED!** is a reference to the official motto of the global hotel chain (participants’ workplace) as described in the previous section. In this context, the use of the slogan in English as the answer for the question as to ‘WHY’ to attend the team building, it was used in a personalised, playful way, carrying humorous undertones (sarcasm, provocation). The concluding switch into English in this email message - a quotation by Babe Ruth - an American professional baseball player (Example 1c) also serves as a closing of the email message and it is also used to further develop and strengthen the point already made by (1a), reminding the receivers how important team work is for the success of the team. Moreover, Finnegan describes the function of using proverbs and various other quotes inserted into work emails as “a tag or sort of signature onto the end’’ and a tool for making a message “more personable’’ (Finnegan, 2011: 58).

Closing the series of ‘teambulding’ email messages, other two examples of switching for quotation (Examples 2 and 3), where the quotes by famous people were used, serve roughly similar functions, as they emphasise the importance of active approach, encouraging motivation and participation on the upcoming team building, as in the previous case.

In relation to the dynamic nature of identity construction in communication, several of the quoting functions listed by Bublitz (2015: 12), discussed above, can be found in our data. We can assume that by inserting ‘others’ voices’ the sender of these email messages not only intended to enhance the stylistic value of a text, but also wanted to establish her authority and claim knowledgeability (how well read she

is), "with authority possibly dominating when the source is not cited and knowledgeability when it is" (Sifianou, 2018: 9). By putting herself into the position of someone whose role is to motivate and enlighten others, one may argue that the quotations were strategically used (or rather over-used) in order to make a point. In the case of the email sender examined here, she attempts to enhance her positive self-image by demonstrating access to and participation in multiple personas and social roles (Myers-Scotton, 1988) "ranging from the formal-professional to the intimate-jocular" by code- and style-switching (Georgakopoulou, 1997: 151). Even though in some cases "quotations bring people together" (Finnegan, 2011: 35), by doing so (or rather over-doing so), it may appear that the quoter intends to increase her authority, while trying to impress others, and in result it may have the opposite effect.

Thus, regardless of the intentions of senders for deploying certain quotations, and what they want to achieve, attitudes towards quoting and perceptions of the recipients may be quite opposite. Some people are against quoting altogether, arguing that it is a "a slightly lazy way of making a point, using words which someone else has already expressed appropriately" (Finnegan, 2011: 67). Apart from that, the content, extent and nature of what is quoted, its appropriateness, relevance, how, when and by whom it was done as well as the relationship between quoter and addresses are the key issues in overall perception and interpretation of quoting. In the worst case scenario, the quoter may be perceived as 'pretentious', 'pompous', simply 'showing off', 'boosting their ego', doing it to prove they are something they aren't and "trying to appear erudite by using obscure texts" (Finnegan, 2011: 67-68).

On the other hand, different cases are examples of switching for reported speech and contextual quotation. In the context of workplace communication, reproducing exactly what others had said is what Finnegan (2011:32) considers to be "a professional duty" in order to keep "clear and accurate records of feedback from clients". Apart from that, switching to convey reported speech (as opposed to the writer's own speech) in **Example 4** also serves contextualising function. Therefore, it is used to create a distance between the writer of the email message and the content of the quote by highlighting the different identity of the original speaker.

Finally, contextual quotation in **Example (5)** is a forwarded text directly inserted into the email message. It is a technique or a conversational strategy by which the sender provides a discourse context for the message. In order to establish a cohesion and coherence in email discourse, Georgakopoulou (1997:146) argues that "these imported portions of others' messages enhance the sense of interactivity and immediacy and are arguably a simulation of the conversational sequential mechanism of turn-taking".

5.5.1.1.8 Effects of language choice and nature of CMC: Functions of quoting somebody else in relation to the language

In the previous section, we have attempted to answer the question: *"Why do the email senders quote?"*, in relation to the content and context of workplace email communication, however we have not yet taken into consideration the language of quotations, more specifically, the reasons of switching for quotation. Moreover, by looking at functions of deploying quotations in written electronic communication, we analysed their role in relation to identity construction and degree of formality. However, one may still wonder why the authors of email messages presented above decided to use quotations in English, if both the senders and the addresses are Slovak speakers (note: the sender of three out of five of the above email messages is Serbian with native-like Slovak language proficiency). Therefore, another question still remains unanswered and that is: *"Why do the email senders quote in English in particular - and does it make any difference?"*. In a similar vein, following Hinrichs (2006: 85), we will thus attempt to answer the crucial question: "*What does a writer say about his or her identity, or that of others involved, by choosing a particular code in saying a particular thing?*".

In order to determine how our participants draw upon their linguistic resources and how different codes take on pragmatic functions and identity values in these online written conversations, we will further analyse the function of employing code-switching for purposes of quotation in relation to the character and the structure of computer-mediated text as well as the effect of given context constraints on linguistic construction in CMC. There is more than one reason for using quotes written in

English inserted into otherwise all-Slovak email (occasionally with few intra-sentential switches to English). When it comes to the language choice, Dabrowska (2013: 75) argues that:

> Quoting the original words as they were uttered or written by someone else in a text one has heard or read somewhere, and which have somehow become iconic, is a good reason for keeping the original wording even if the environment is a different language, rather than attempting an ad hoc, often clumsy translation.

Four out of six quote instances from the corpus - namely Examples (1b), (1c), (2) and (3) presented above illustrate this strategy. These messages - which we have labeled as 'quotations by famous people' and a 'slogan' are literally communicated in the same language (code) in which they were originally said or written - English. Even though it is rather difficult to claim with any certainty whether the sender of these email messages drew either on her background knowledge or immediately available Internet sources in the case of Examples (1c), (2) and (3), we can only assume that these particular quotations are most probably copy-and-paste quotations. In order to verify our assumption that the sender of these email messages most probably drew from Internet sources, we performed a Google search to find:

- the origin and authors of the quotes (discussed in detail in previous sections)
- existence of equivalent translations to Slovak readily available online

In the case of **Examples (1c), and (3)**, Google search returned about 2,450,000 results for the former of these quotes in English as found in our data and about 376,000 results for the latter. We haven't found their Slovak translations online. However looking at these particular instances, the influence of searchability as the medium's affordance and availability of copy-and-paste option which are frequently exploited by web users, it becomes quite evident where the quotes come from. Sifianou (2018: 10) points out that senders particularly "appear to use this facility to appropriate and recontextualize bits of language which frequently involve established wisdom".

When performing a Google Search for **Example (2)** "You don't have to be great to start, but you have to start to be great.'', quotation used in the email message in English, we got about about 6,730,000,000 results. On the other hand, when searching for its Slovak translation: 'Nemusíte byť skvelí, aby ste začali, ale musíte začať, aby ste boli skvelí.', we only found about 113,000 results. In this connection, we discovered a Slovak website entitled *'Citáty slávnych osobností: Najväčšia zbierka citátov a myšlienok'* (English translation: *'Quotations by famous people: The biggest collection of quotes and thoughts'*), which in its 'About' section introduces itself as follows:

> ''Navštívte najväčšiu zbierku citátov, ktorá obsahuje úžasné citáty od vašich obľúbených autorov. Zdieľajte citáty s priateľmi a podeľte sa o múdrosť slávnych.'' (English translation: "Visit the biggest collection of quotes which contains amazing quotations from your favourite authors. Share quotes with your friends and share the wisdom of the famous.'').

On the other hand, translating the quote - **Example (1b)** into Slovak would not have the same pragmatic effect, as it is clearly a reference to the official motto or slogan of the hotel brand known to the participants and used in its English version only. Moreover, among colleagues, a common reference can quickly be recognised when quoted or alluded to in the course of a conversation (an email in this case). Thus, this instance may be seen as a combination of both quoting and a demand for context-specific vocabulary (Dabrowska, 2013: 75).

However when it comes to the proverb inserted into the email message (**Example 1a**), equivalent translation to Slovak for the quoted material is readily available, as explained below:

Example (1a):

- quote in English used in the email message: "In union there is strength",
- Slovak translation: "V jednote je sila" - available and widely used

In the next example (**Example 4**), switching code for reported speech in order to communicate the information in the same language they received it in represents a typical use of CS for rhetorical contrast. In other words, in this case the language of the quote corresponds to the language that was used in reported event. Moreover, as Bublitz (2015: 1) argues, "integrating what other people said or meant (and even how they said it) into one's own discourse seems to be a universal feature of all natural languages''.

Finally, contextual quotation in **Example (5)** is in fact a forwarded text in English inserted into the email message otherwise written in Slovak. This has been made possible by the email system which allows cutting and pasting of text or text-copied excerpts from the previous messages which are responded to. In order to indicate what is quoted and what is written by the sender of the email, the code was switched. Thus, the forwarded text inserted into the body of the email message is in English (the language it was originally written in) and the rest of the message representing comments about the content of the forwarded text is in Slovak. Even though Outlook as an email service offers an automatic 'forward' function for quoting received emails, the sender of this particular email message decided to rather copy-and-paste it into the 'New Message', with her comments added to it. In addition to that, she even included her interpretation of the quoted text, switching back to Slovak. In this regard, Landert (2015: 37) argues that "the fact that different functions of quotes are triggered by different factors not only helps identify functions; it can also explain why some functional shifts are more closely related to technological innovations than other''.

5.5.1.2 **Contextual quotations** (Self-quotations)

In terms of switching for quotations, we have previously argued that our data show that a range of quotations traditionally found in written texts and spoken communication can also be observed in our context (in our corpus). Moreover, based on the forms repetition of words can take and depending on how the act of reproducing and representing another person's (or one's own) prior communicative output is achieved, we have further distinguished between quoting somebody else; other-quotations (previously discussed in Section 5.5.1.1) and contextual quotations; self-quotations. However, we have also argued that the online setting (CMC context) plays an important role for the function of quotes and that is particularly the case of self-quotations in the form of forwarded text directly inserted into the email message presented in this section.

Colour-coded passages (in bold green) in Example 6, Example 7 and Example 8 cited below illustrate cases of self-quotations in form of forwarded text in English directly inserted into the email message otherwise written in Slovak. In **Example 6** and **Example 7**, they may also be further defined as contextual quotations (similarly as in Example 5), representing a technique or a conversational strategy by which the sender provides a discourse context for the message. While in Example 6 the forwarded text in English (the language it was originally written in) represents the quoted passage from KH1's email addressed to the guest, presumably thanking her for sending CC details and promising her to correct the reservations, the portion of the email language in Slovak (as the base language) then represents comments or rather instructions for KH1's colleagues (as email addressees) on how to proceed with processing the guest's reservations in question. This has been made possible by email system which allows cutting and pasting of text or text-copied excerpts from the previous messages which are responded to. In order to indicate what is quoted and what is additionally written by the sender of the email message, the code was switched. In Example 7, the sender of this email message (PS) decided to copy-and-paste English text of the report sent daily to several departments in order to have up-to-date information, into the 'New Message', after forgetting to include FO department in the previous email copy, adding his accompanying comments to it.

Example 6

- Subject: mr. XXX and mr. XXX confirmation

Ahojte,

Pri tychto rezervaciach prosim chargnite CC ktoru pani poslala. Rezervacie su spravene na POA zatial.

Thank you very much. I will correct the reservations.
Have a great day,

translation: Hi,

In these reservations, please charge CC which Mrs. XXX sent.

Reservations are made POA at the moment.

forwarded text

(KH1 #42/E/1xM)

Example 7

- Subject: XXX + MAR 27.1.2016

Zabudol som FO v CC tak posielam aj pre FO

Dear all,

Attached, you can find the XXX report from 27/1/2016 and the Master Arrival Report for today.

To access all the XXX/MA reports, go to U: - General – Daily operational info – XXX/Master Arrival Report.

Have a nice day ! :)

Regards,

translation: I forgot to send CC (note: email copy) to FO, so I'm sending it again also to FO

forwarded text - report

(PS #120/E/1xM)

On the other hand, in **Example 8** below, the portion of email message in English is the exact 'self-quotation' to be written on the card addressed to the hotel guest, while the Slovak portion of the text afterwards functions as a comment accompanying the quote, furthermore serving as the instruction.

Example 8

- Subject: fg

We wish you a pleasant stay and please enjoy this small treatment for you
Best wishes from XXX
A nejak pekne pod seba :)
dakujeeem

translation: ***exact quotation to be written on the card****
And somehow nicely one under another :)
Thank you

(KH1 #121/E/1x1)

Special category of self-quotations: Orders and confirmations

Moreover, a special category of forwarded text (contextual quotations) in English directly inserted into the email message otherwise written in Slovak is the category of 'orders and confirmations' related to booking of services for the hotel guests including arranging airport transfers, limousine service, spa packages, etc. In this regard, it is important to note that these details are logged in separate files (often in English) by the participants (hotel employees) in order to keep track and history of this sort of data for future reference (if needed). In practice, from these files, data are then further copy-pasted into email messages forwarded to respective departments (e.g. in-house hotel spa in the case of booking spa packages) or third-parties (e.g. in the case of airport transfers). Relevant examples (**Examples 9 - 12**) illustrating this category of self-quotations are presented below:

Example 9

- Subject: SPA PACKAGE

Ahojte,
Tak potvrdzujem masaze na nedelu 15.5.2016 Mr.XXX a to nasledovne:

Sunday, 15 May - Massage Adult 1: 13:00-14:00 (50 min - included in Spa package) - Mr XXX - Pedicure: 13:30-14:30 - Ms XXX (extra cost) - Massage child (13 y.o.) 14:00-14:30 (extra cost) - Massage Adult 2: 14:30-15:30 (included in package) - Ms XXX .

Dakujem

translation: Hi,

So I'm confirming massages for Sunday 15.5.2016 Mr.XXX as follows:

forwarded text/ spa package - guests' massage details

Thank you

(NK1 #179/E/1xM)

Example 10

- Subject: Transfer

Dobry vecer,
Mohla by som poprosit o potvrdenie objednavky na zajtra 9:45?
Dakujem
Pekny vecer
27.06.2016, 9:45, Mrs. XXX, XXX Hotel-Schwechat, XXX, guest will pay directly to the driver

translation: Good evening,

Could you please confirm the order for tomorrow at 9:45?

Thank you

Have a nice evening

forwarded text/ airport transfer order details

(NK1 #151/E/1xM)

Example 11:

- Subject: limo

Dobry,
Prosim o potvrdenie objednavky :

-name:XXX
-From-To:XXX-Swechat
-Date:6.12.XX
-Time:19:15
-price:XXXEUR
-Host bude platit v aute.

Dakujem!

translation: Hello,

Please confirm the order :

forwarded text/ airport transfer order details*

-The guest will pay in the car.

Thank you!

(KH2 #70/E/1xM)

Example 12:

- Subject: limo

Oprava!!!

XXX – **Castle** XXXeur

1hour waiting -XXXeur

translation: Correction!!!

XXX - **Castle** XXXeur

1hour waiting - XXXeur

(KH2 #63/E/1xM)

5.5.2 Adding emphasis

Our data suggest that style is also a relevant parameter which needs to be taken into consideration when analysing code-switching practices of our participants. Adding emphasis through code switching has been found to serve a stylistic function.

In addition to that, prosody as a typical feature of speech has been substituted in CMC by orthographic conventions such as an exaggerated use of spelling (i.e. repeated letters) and punctuation marks, a range of emphatic conventions as typographic devices for emphasis; the use of capitals (all capitals for 'shouting'), letter spacing (for 'loud and clear'), and other special symbols for emphasis (e.g. the use of *asterisks*, *italic*, **bold** and underlined text), which mark prosody in this context (Crystal, 2006).

In the following examples, the main messages are in Slovak as the base language and code-switches to English framing the text are accompanied by exclamation marks (as in Example 13) and emoticons (e.g. smiley in Example 16 discussed in Section 5.5.3) to add further emphasis. As Georgakopoulou (2004: 13) argues, "these features of digital writing are arguably mobilized as further signposting devices that attract the addressee's attention to the highlighted part".

Example 13

- Subject: PM Ms. XXX

Reminder!!

Ahojte, dnes v poobednych hodinach sa zastavi pani to vyplatit.

Pekny den

translation: **Reminder!!**

Hi, today in the afternoon Mrs. XXX will come to settle the bill.

Have a nice day

(NK1 #206/E/1xM)

Content-wise, in **Example 13**, the participant informs her colleagues from the Front Office about the guest who is coming to settle the bill that day in the afternoon, as can be seen from the email message itself. She introduces and therefore frames the whole message by switching the code to English (**Reminder!!**), bringing the importance of the information communicated below in Slovak to the fore.

Similarly, in the next example (**Example 14**), apart from switching the code from Slovak to English for emphasis in body of the email, a range of emphatic conventions as typographic devices were deployed including the use of capitals (TOTAL, REMINDER), as well as formatting using bold font-style and underlined text for further highlighting of the word '**REMINDER**' in the message. The email with an overview as a sort of summary of guest enrollments (in the hotel loyalty programme) per individual employee and **TOTAL** (total number of guest enrollments per month of January) was sent by the Front Office manager, addressed to the whole Front Office department team, highlighting the importance of the matter in question as well as attracting the addressees' attention to the highlighted part (enrollment statistics).

Example 14

- Subject: XXX enrollments Januar XXXX

Ahojte,
Posielam summar **enrollment**ov za mesiac Januar XXXX

TOTAL: XXX *(note: the number of enrollments)*
REMINDER:

printscreen of a table with enrollment overview attached

translation: Hi,

I'm sending the summary of enrollments for the month of January.

TOTAL: XXX

REMINDER:

(KF #3/E/1xM)

In the following message (**Example 15**), the participant KH1 emphasises her gratitude and a strong feeling of appreciation for a birthday gift from her colleagues with a switch to English (a picture of minions with a text in English saying '**thank you!**' embedded in the end of the message). In addition to the subject line saying 'Thank you' in English, combined with the rest of the text in Slovak, which already contains words of thankfulness (sk: poďakovať = to thank, ďakujem = thanks), it can be read as a mean of adding further emphasis through repeating the same words ('message') in a form of a picture with a text in other code (English).

Example 15

- Subject: Thank you

Ahojte vsetci,
Chcela som sa Vam vsetkym takto hromadne podakovat za perfektnu oslavu, ktoru sme si myslim si, vsetci poriadne uzili, a hlavne celemu teamu za uzasny darcek ktory ste mi nachystali, vobec som take nieco necakala, a velmi ma to potesilo :)
Dakujem este raz, ste skveli !!!
P.S.: Donesiem aspon magnetku do BO :)

translation: Hi everyone,
I would like to thank you all for the perfect celebration, which I think we all enjoyed and especially thank you to the whole team for a wonderful gift which you prepared for me, I did not expect anything like that, it made me very happy :)
Thank you again, you are amazing !!!
P.S.: I will at least bring a magnet (*note: souvernir*) to BO :)
picture

(KH1 #111/E/1xM)

In conclusion, it can be argued that these examples illustrate the use of code-switching as a stylistic device within our data.

5.5.3 Softening a request or strengthening a command

Another function of inter-sentential CS identified in our data is switching the code for purposes of softening a request (Example 16 and Example 17) or strengthening a command (Example 18).

In **Example 16** below, English seems to be used as the language of negotiation when asking for a favour. The sender of the message was having a problem with charging accommodation and city tax from the guest's company credit card, which had been declined. In an attempt to find a solution, she sent the following email message to her colleagues from the department, asking for a help. In this regard, the switch to English (**Thanks for help**) accompanied by emoticon (smiley: **:)**) can be seen as a face-enhancing/ or face-saving strategy; a positive politeness strategy (Tsiplakou, 2009).

Example 16

- Subject: PM - Mr. XXX

Ahojte,
Company CC pana XXX /#XXX/ bola declined, vytvorila som PM XXXX a presunula tam accommodation + city tax charge. Co s tym dalej? Kontaktovat XXX? Neviem, ako sa to robi :D **Thanks for help :)**

translation: Hi,
Mr. XXX's **guest's name** /#XXX **room number**/ company CC was declined, I've created PM XXX and transferred accommodation + city tax charge there. What else should I do with it? To contact XXX **the name of the company*? I don't know how to do it :D **Thanks for help** :)

(DC #50/E/1xM)

Intertwined with a function of switching for adding emphasis (discussed in the previous section - Section 5.5.2), the following examples illustrate the use of CS for softening a request (Example 17) or strengthening a request/ command (Example 18).

First of all, while the participant NK1 addresses the message presented below (**Example 17**) to Housekeeping and Engineering departments (and sending the email copy to Front Office department), asking them rather subtly and indirectly to clean a (dirty) room and to fix a leaky shower, switch to English is used to mark emphasis and to soften a request (or arguably a command). Three dots surrounding the switch from both sides possibly function as an ellipsis indicating an (un)intentional omission of words, sentences or whole section of text further explaining the request, which is obvious from the context of the message. Similarly as in the previous example, English sentence (**Please follow up**) inserted into the email body can be seen as a face-enhancing/ or face-saving strategy; a positive politeness strategy (Tsiplakou, 2009).

Example 17

- Subject: #XXX

Ahojte,
Stahovala som pana zo #XXX na #XXX lebo na #XXX tecie sprcha...**Plese follow up**...#XXX je v dirthy statuse.
Pekny vecer

translation: Hi,
I moved Mr.XXX (**guest name**) from #XXX (**room number 1**) to #XXX (**room number 2**) because of a leaky shower in #XXX (**room number 1**)...**Please follow up**...#XXX (**room number 1**) is in dirty status.
Have a nice evening

(NK1 #21/E/1xM)

In the next example (**Example 18**), the sender of the email message (KH2) is encouraging her colleagues to improve their upselling technique with regard to taking room service (in-room dining) orders over the phone. After communicating the recommendations from Food & Beverage department, and attaching new updated wine list, explaining the changes which have been made, she switches to English for a popular business/ sales-related catchphrase: '**JUST TELLING IS NOT SELLING!'**. Hence, in this case, code switching works to mark emphasis and to provide motivation for effective sales strategy in form of a language play.

Example 18

- Subject: Room service

Ahojte,
Posilam aktuelny zoznam vin ktory mame v ponuke na ROOM SERVISE.
V zozneme v zatvorke su vina ktore nemame uz ale mame ich supstituciu (vino podobnej chuti). F&B nam radil ak nevieme dobre prezentovat vina aby sme zainprovizovali...:)
JUST TELLING IS NOT SELLING!
Nazdravicko,

translation: Hi,
I'm sending the actual updated wine list which is in the Room Service menu. In the list, the wines which are not available anymore are in brackets, however we have their substitution (wine of similar taste)
F&B recommended that if we cannot present wines well, we should improvise...:)
JUST TELLING IS NOT SELLING!
Cheers,

(KH2 #99/E/1xM)

As has been illustrated by the above examples, language alternation (CS and style-shifting as well as language play) is deployed as a mean of mitigating potentially face-threatening acts (Tsiplakou, 2009, Georgakopoulou, 1997).

5.5.4 Language economy

Drawing on a theory which explains that a speaker always wants to communicate as economically and as efficiently as possible, the fourth function of inter-sentential CS identified in our data is what Dabrowska (2011, 2013) named 'language economy' when describing her data with regard to another CMC medium, namely text messages (2011), but also in the case of two examples of Polish-English CS in Facebook users' posts (2013).

In our email corpus, this function of CS can be identified in two particular cases, namely: 'FYI' switches (9 examples) and 'done' switches (4 examples). While both switched elements have Slovak equivalents; en: FYI (for your information) vs. sk: *pre tvoju informáciu/ pre vašu informáciu*, en: done vs. sk: *hotovo*, perhaps the Slovak expressions are too long, too heavy chunks, particularly the former one, as there is no equivalent abbreviation available for 'FYI' in Slovak.

Firstly, in terms of 'FYI' switches, the function of language economy can be illustrated by the following 4 examples (**Examples 19-22 + Example 4**):

Example 19

- Subject: new Development Center

FYI
Ahojte,
Prosim robte si online treningy hlavne vy novacikovia ked mate cas(v praci) nech sme vsetci uplne top vytrenovani...
Dakujem
Pekny den vsetkym :)

translation: **FYI**
Hi,
Please do the online trainings, especially you, our newcomers, if you have time (at work), so we are all well ('top') trained....
Thank you
Have a nice day everyone :)

(NK1 #203/E/1xM)

Example 20

- Subject: Mrs. XXX

FYI
Odpisal pani niekto? Dakujem.

translation: **FYI**
Has someone replied to to Mrs. XXX? Thank you.

(DM2 #2/E/1xM)

Example 21

- Subject: XXX volna od 27.2.XXXX

FYI :)
Pan XXX si skratil rezervaciu, c. izby XXX. Odchadza v sobotu 27.2.XXXX

translation: **FYI :)**
Mr. XXX shortened his reservation, room number XXX. He is leaving on Saturday, 27.2.XXXX.

(MM1 #25/E/1xM)

Example 22

- Subject: CCC file

Ahojte,
FYI
CCC file pana XXX, je done iba este niejde zatvorit.

translation: Hi,
FYI
Mr. XXX's CCC file is done, however it cannot be closed yet.

(KH1 #71/E/1xM)

FYI (also spelled as 'fyi') is defined by Cambridge Dictionary as "written abbreviation for *for your information*: used, for example in emails, when you send someone an announcement or tell someone something that you think they should know''. It is commonly used in business communication and in the email messages from our corpus, 'FYI' is positioned either in the beginning of the message as the

email opening (e.g. Examples 19-21), or after the opening - in the message body (e.g. Example 4 and Example 22). In addition to that, we can again see that there is a certain overlapping of functions of CS, i.e. as in the case of Example 20 above where the 'FYI' switch is used instead of greeting in order to draw attention to the question that follows by both capitalising and switching code for emphasis (Montes-Alcalá, 2016). Furthermore, consistent with Barasa's (2016) unique function of CS in CMC named 'least effort' when choosing the most convenient input that requires least effort to avoid strain (e.g. CS due to the length of the word or phrase - choosing a shorter one, easier to type), the above (FYI) and below (done) switches also serve as examples of this function.

Secondly, with regard to 'done' switches, the function of language economy can be illustrated by the following 2 examples (**Example 23 and 24**) taken from the corpus:

Example 23

- Subject: Reservations XXX & XXX

Done :) Priradene #XXX a #XXX

translation: **Done** :) Room #XXX & #XXX have been assigned.

(DC #26/E/1xM)

Example 24

- Subject: No show 21/07/XXXX

Ahoj, **Done** , PM XXXX Mr. XXX. S pozdravom

translation: Hi,
Done, PM XXXX Mr. XXX.
Regards,

(PS #26/E/1xM)

5.5.5 Talking about a particular topic (Context-specific vocabulary)

The fifth function of inter-sentential CS identified in our data is switching the code for purposes of talking about a particular topic, using context-specific vocabulary. Generally speaking, people tend to switch codes during discourse about a particular topic, since it requires specific language. The analysis of the data from our corpus revealed that our research participants often switch from Slovak to English when talking about finance/ accounting-related topics either out of convenience (e.g. as in **Examples 25 and 26**) or in order to meet a real lexical need or to compensate for lack of an equal translation (e.g. as in the case of 'PM' in Example 24 above and **Example 27** below).

Firstly, the phrase 'CC is declined' (credit card is declined) in English seems to be commonly used in email messages among the research participants, even despite its equal Slovak translation is readily available as well: *'kreditná karta je zamietnutá'* or *'kreditná karta je odmietnutá'*. Again, there is a certain overlapping of functions of CS; particularly that of language economy in this case. The Slovak expression/ translation is too long, partly because there is no equivalent abbreviation available for 'CC' in Slovak. Hence, when it comes to language choice, research participants tend to switch codes from Slovak to English when talking about CC (credit card) and PM (Pay Master) in particular. The following three examples (Examples 25-27) below illustrate this strategy:

Example 25

- Subject: No show

Ahojte, **CC declined!**

translation: Hi,
CC (is) declined!

(NK1 #245/E/1xM)

Example 26

- Subject: PM XXXX a XXXX

Ahojte,

p. XXX a p. XXX ktory nemaju vyplatene ucty, ktore mali byt stiahnute poskytnutou CC su na PM XXXX a XXXX

CC is DECLINED/

Dakujem

translation: Hi,

Mr. XXX and Mr.XXX who have not settled their bills, which should have been charged from the provided CC are on PM XXXX and XXXX

CC is DECLINED

Thank you

(PS #4/E/1xM)

Example 27

- Subject: No show 21.03.XXXX

Ahoj XXX,

Karta Mr. XXX je declined a dokonca aj pri sume menej ako XXX EUR.

PM XXXX **Mr.** XXX

S pozdravom

translation: Hi XXX,

CC of Mr. XXX is declined and actually even in the case of amount smaller than XXX EUR.

PM XXXX **Mr.** XXX

Regards,

(PS #104/E/1xM)

5.5.6 Switching for formulaic discourse purposes

In terms of discourse functions of CS in CMC, drawing on widely accepted classifications of conversational CS, Androutsopoulos (2013: 681) listed 'switching for formulaic discourse purposes' which includes greetings, farewells, and good wishes as one of the functions of CS, mainly associated with a sustained use of minority or migrant languages or with creating the pragmatic effect through the situated contrast between the codes involved (Hinrichs, 2006).

Hence, the final function of inter-sentential CS identified in our data is switching the code for formulaic discourse purposes, namely greetings, farewells and good wishes, which frame the text. According to the base language and position of these utterances (formulae) in email message, we further distinguish between:

- Email messages where the base language is Slovak

Email messages in Slovak with openings in English (5x)
Email messages in Slovak with closings in English (1x)
Email messages in Slovak with openings and closings in English (2x)

- Email messages where the base language is English

Email messages in English with openings in Slovak (1x)
Email message in English with closings in Slovak (1x)

- Email messages with mixed openings and closings (3x)

The quantitative analysis revealed that 'switching for formulaic discourse purposes' was quite a recurrent function in our data, as several examples of both email messages where the base language is Slovak and email messages where the base language is English were found in the corpus and the direction of switch went both ways (Slovak-English as well as English-Slovak).

Firstly, brief switches to English in Slovak-dominant text, such as in openings (greetings - **Examples 28 - 30**) and closings (farewells or good wishes - **Example 31**), as well as in the case of email messages in Slovak with both openings and closings in English (**Example 32**) were not rare in our data.

Email messages in Slovak with openings in English

Example 28

- Subject: Obed

Helloooo :) Kedy dame obed? :)

translation: **Helloooo** :) When are we going for lunch? :)

(AL #25/E/1x1)

Example 29

- Subject: enroll

Dear all,

Enroll cez operu funguje zas.

Otestovala som 2x krat, cez moj profil aj cez XXX a ide to.

Tak ze LET'S ENROLL ALL WORLD!

Do konca roka potrebujeme este XXX enrolmentov,a verim ze to zmakneme!

Majte sa vitazne!

translation: **Dear all,**

Enroll through opera is working again.

I've tested it 2x, through my profile and through XXX's and it works.

So LET'S ENROLL ALL WORLD!

Until the end of the year we need XXX more enrollments, so I believe we can do it!

See you!/ Feel victorious!

(KH2 #96/E/1xM)

Example 30

- Subject: invoice

Dear all,

Dnes sme malli upny vypadok opere tak sme neboli v moznosti podavat INVOICE ,

Prosim vas ked vsetko pojde poslite invoice tymto hostom

#XXX XXX@XXX.com

#XXX XXX@gmail.com

Dakujem :)

translation: **Dear all**,

Today we had a total Opera outage so we could not issue invoice. When everything will work well again, please send invoices to these guests...

Thank you :)

(KH2 #93/E/1xM)

Email messages in Slovak with closings in English

Example 31

- Subject: vouchers

Ahoj XXX,

pozerala som som cely FO ,vsade kde by sa voucher e mohli ocitnut a nic. Tak kludne ich daj za neplatne.

Od dnes evidujeme iba 3 : #XXX ,#XXX a #XXX .

FO,v pripade ze sa niekto pomylil pri vypisovani voucher a prosim dajte vedet aby sme boli vykazateli.

Dakujem!

Nice day all,

translation: Hi XXX,

I have looked all around FO, everywhere where the vouchers could possibly be/end up and I haven't found anything. So feel free to consider them invalid.

As of today, we only register 3 of them: #XXX, #XXX and #XXX.

FO, in case that someone makes a mistake when filling out the voucher, please let me know so we can recognize it.

Thank you!

Nice day all,

(KH2 #74/E/1xM)

Email messages in Slovak with openings and closings in English

Example 32

- Subject: teambuilding

Dear All,

Oznamujem vam ze sa CURLING TEAM BUILDING RUSI!!!

Ale preto mame ESCAPE ROOM vauchere uz kupene.

Ak chcete vedet viac tu je link : http://www.escaperoom.sk/hra-escape-room/

Termin upresni nas Big Boss XXX.

Have nice day and working weekend :D

translation: **Dear all**,

I am announcing that CURLING TEAM BUILDING HAS BEEN CANCELED!!!

But that is why we have already purchased vouchers for ESCAPE ROOM.

If you want to know more, here is the link: http://www.escaperoom.sk/hra-escape-room/

Our Big Boss will specify the term.

Have nice day and working weekend :D

(KH2 #92/E/1xM)

In contrast, brief switches to Slovak in English-dominant text, such as in openings (greetings - **Example 33**) and closings (farewells or good wishes - **Example 34**), were very rare in our data (only 2 examples). According to Goldbarg (2009:17), these kind of switches are "efficient ways to express an *intention* to be viewed favorably by an email recipient", illustrating it with examples of Spanish greetings and closings in English work-related emails from her data, which, as she says, "may stand out for the reader from the rest of the text, thus highlighting the switch itself, the writer's decision to switch, and the pragmatics of that choice".

Example 33

- Subject: Cancellations 06.07.XXXX

Ahojte,
Mr. XXX - cancellation charged on the room yesterday.
Mr. XXX - charged on PMXXXX.
Regards

translation: **Hi**,
Mr. XXX - cancellation charged on the room yesterday.
Mr. XXX - charged on PMXXXX.
Regards

(PS #42/E/1xM)

Example 34

- Subject: no show/ cancellations for 19/10/XXXX

Dear all,
no show Mr. XXX charged to PM XXXX.
Pekny den:)

translation: Dear all,
no show Mr. XXX charged to PM XXXX.
Have a nice day:)

(NK1 #73/E/1xM)

Email messages with mixed openings and closings

The last category within this function of CS identified in our data includes email messages with mixed openings and closings. In **Example 2** (previously discussed in Section 5.5.1.1), the base language of the message is Slovak, with few inter- and intra-sentential switches to English, including the mixed Slovak-English opening. On the other hand, while **Example 35** also begins with a mixed Slovak-English opening, the base language of this email message is English and 'ahoj' is the only single-word switch to Slovak. In **Example 36**, the base language is Slovak and even though the message begins with a mixed Slovak-English opening, it then continues in Slovak with single-word switches to English ('enroll' and 'the best') in email body and ends with closing wishing everyone a nice day in English. Hence, we can conclude that "the pragmatic effect is created through the situated contrast between the codes involved" (Androutsopoulos, 2013: 681; Hinrichs, 2006).

Example 2 (previously presented in Section 5.5.1.1)

- Subject: teambulding

Ahojte team,
Posielam finalnu zostavu na **team building** podla ktorej bude napisani rozpis na dalsi tizden. Kazdy den(resp.skupina) bude mat **leadr**a ktory bude zotopovedni za chod **teambilding**u,pred **teambilding**ove **activity** aj **po teambilding**ove **activity** ak budete mat chut.
...
!!!!AKO SA TAM DOSTAT : **link in Slovak**
CRIME CASE | miesto činu - **escape room**
O nás. Sme novootvorená **escape room** - napínavá interaktívna hra pre tímy a skupinky hráčov v Bratislave. U nás sa zabavia a vyskúšajú si svoje vedomosti ...
Read more...

"Hráčov prosíme o dochvíľnosť, neskorší príchod môže ovplyvniť Váš čas hry."
P.S
You don't have to be great to start, but you have to start to be great. Zig Ziglar
Majte sa vitazne!

(KH2 #86/E/1xM)

Example 35

- Subject: Ms. XXX

Ahoj to all,

Ms.XXX setteled bill.

Have nice day!

translation: **Hi** to all,

Ms. XXX settled bill.

Have a nice day!

(KH2 #65/E/1xM)

Example 36

- Subject: XXX ENROLL

Ahojte my people,

Preposelam motivacne info na XXX ENROLL.

10 000 bud 50 000 su celkom fajnove cisla! :)

Chceme byt the BEST, tak podme enroll "vsetko co chodi" co by povedala XXX :)

Nice day!!!

translation: Hi **my people**,

I'm forwarding you motivational info about XXX ENROLL.

10 000 or 50 000 are quite fine numbers! :)

We want to be the BEST, so let's enroll "anything that walks" as XXX says :)

Nice day!

(KH2 #50/E/1xM)

5.6 Forms and functions of intra-sentential switching

Moving on, this section presents the results of the quantitative analysis of the largest portion of switches contained within the corpus of email messages, namely intra-sentential switches. Furthermore, while taking a closer look at the type of switching which occurs within a sentence or a clause, the type of intra-word switching which occurs within a word itself - such as at a morpheme boundary, was further distinguished as well. As we have pointed out earlier, in the total of 455 email messages of the corpus written in Slovak with switches to English (those which involve some kind of CS, containing English words or phrases), we found that the majority (88.57%) - 403 email messages contain intra-sentential switching.

Before proceeding to the results of more fine-grained analysis of individual instances of intra-sentential CS (with their forms and functions) considered for the analysis, we should point out that as a starting point, we grouped all the switches based on their topic (or CS function of 'talking about a particular topic' - Hoffman, 1991 or 'topic shift' in Auer's 1995 typology of CS), since, as we have argued earlier in the case of inter-sentential CS, people tend to switch codes during discourse about a particular topic, when specific language is required. The analysis of the data from our corpus revealed that our research participants often switch from Slovak to English when talking about particular topics either out of convenience or in order to meet a real lexical need or to compensate for lack of an equal translation. In a similar vein, Hoffman (1991: 116) argues that talking about a particular topic may cause a switch "either because of lack of facility in the relevant register or because certain items trigger off various connotations which are linked to experiences in a particular language". In this sense, the following categories of topic-related switches using context-specific vocabulary have been identified in our data:

- Accounting and finance-related intra-sentential switches (Section 5.6.1)
- Hotel/Hospitality sector-related intra-sentential switches (Section 5.6.2)
- Workplace and administration-related intra-sentential switches (Section 5.6.3)
- Technology-related intra-sentential switches (Section 5.6.4)
- Miscellaneous - other instances of intra-sentential CS (Section 5.6.5)

Data analysis was targeted to analyse functions of intra-sentential switching on email and to uncover the underlying factors contextualising these code-switches. The above topics emerged in the course of analysing email messages (excerpts) taken from the corpus and no a priori categories were used.

Furthermore, following Romaine's (2001: 124) approach to CS as "a continuum ranging from whole sentences, clauses and other chunks of discourse to single words, which could be inserted into a grammatical structure", the instances of intra-sentential CS from the corpus were then categorised according to the arrangement of the switches into the following categories, distinguishing between:

- single-word switches
- short phrases (more or less fixed phrases)
- longer chunks

Single-noun switches will be treated with caution, in order to exclude loan words/borrowings from English which are by now assimilated into Slovak (e.g. *cash, team, leader* but also *email, link,* etc.), but this is not an easy task to do as the distinction between different language contact phenomena is not clear-cut, as discussed earlier (Section 2.2.2). However, examining grammatical constraints on CS is out of the scope of our study, which is why extensive grammatical analysis of intra-sentential switches will not be performed, as the orientation of our research project is rather sociolinguistic/ pragmatic, as we already have pointed out earlier. Therefore, instead of analysing CS instances in terms of grammatical rules, the focus will rather be on the sociolinguistic and discourse elements related to CS. In addition to that, some recurrent patterns of intra-sentential switching will be presented and illustrated by relevant examples from the corpus. Dominant (base/matrix) language of all the email messages presented in this section is Slovak and intra-sentential switches inserted into these messages are all in English.

Note: In terms of the tables presented in this section, due to the time and space constraints, we will only list instances of the switches to English which occurred in our data more than once, other switches will be presented within the text below.

5.6.1 Accounting and finance-related intra-sentential switches

The first category of instances of intra-sentential switching related to the topic of accounting and finances found in our corpus includes:

Single - word switches:

Switch to English found in the corpus	**Occurence** (number of instances of the switch)
PM (Pay Master)	58
CC (Credit Card/ cc)	30
rate	24
backup (back up(s), back-up)	19
declined	15
charge(s)	7
CL (City Ledger)	6
upsell	6
deposit	6
invoice	6
cash	6
POA (Pay On Account)	4
GTD (guarantee)	4
quantity	4
complimentary (COMP/ comp)	3
total (TOTAL)	2

In terms of word classes (or parts of speech), we can further distinguish between:

nouns:	*backup, cash, charge(s), deposit, invoice, quantity, rate, total, upsell*
adjectives:	*complimentary, declined*
abbreviations:	*CC/ cc (Credit Card), CL (City Ledger), COMP/ comp (complimentary), GTD/ gtd (guarantee), POA (Pay On Account), PM (Pay Master)*

In addition to these, other instances of intra-sentential switching related to the topic of 'accounting and finances' found in our corpus, occurring once only, include the following single-word switches to English:

nouns:	*balance, discount, extras, penalty, routing*
adjectives:	*included, cancelled, overcharged, prepaid*
abbreviations:	*RTC (Room Type Charge)*

In terms of related **intra-word switches**, some words (predominantly nouns and abbreviations) belonging to this category/ topic have also been used in the following forms (with suffixes following Slovak declension paradigms):

- back up: G (sg) **back up**-u (2x) or **back up**u (2x), in L (sg) **back up**e (1x)
  G (pl) **back up**-ov (1x) or **back up**ov (1x) or **backup**ov (1x)
- cash: I (sg) **cash**om (2x)
  also spelled phonetically as **keš** (borrowing)
- deposit: N (pl) **deposit**y (1x)
- rate: G (sg) **rate**-u (1x)
  N (pl) **rat**y (1x)
- upsell: L (pl) **upsell**och (1x)
- **PM**-ko (1x) or **PM**ko (3x) - 2 different ways of spelling 'PM' in singular and **PM**-ka (1x) or **PM**ka (1x) - 2 different ways of spelling 'PMs' in plural
- CL: N (pl) **City ledger**y (1x)

In addition to the above list, other single-word intra-word switches include: **extras**y (3x), **routing**u (2x), **billing**u (1x), **bill**u (1x) and **budget**u (1x).

Interestingly, in the cases of verbs as instances of CS in the corpus, they always seem to be used conjugated according to the Slovak grammar rules, with Slovak affixes added to English verb roots. This strategy can be illustrated by the following examples:

- to change routing: odroutovat (1x)

- to charge:
  - chargovat (1x) translation: to charge
  - chargovana (1x) translation: charged (f/ sg)
  - chargovany (1x) translation: charged (m/ sg)
  - chargovane (1x) translation: charged (n/ sg)

Other forms: schargovat (1x), chargla (1x), chargnite (1x), nachargovali (1x), nechargoval (1x), nechardzli (1x)

- to post:
  - postla (1x) translation: she posted
  - napostovala (1x) translation: she posted
  - napostovany (1x) translation: posted
  - vypostovala (1x) translation: she unposted
  - vypostovali (1x) translation: they unposted
  - vypostovavat (1x) translation: to unpost

- to reinstate:
  - reinstatela (2x) translation: she reinstated
  - reinstatla (3x) translation: she reinstated
  - reinstatol (2x) translation: he reinstated

- to swipe: preswipnuta (1x) translation: swiped

- to transfer:
  - transferla (3x) translation: she transfered
  - netransferujte (1x) translation: do not transfer

Short phrases:

Switch to English found in the corpus	**Occurence** (number of instances of the switch)
city tax	8
fixed charges	5
cancellation fee	5
no show fee	4
internet banking (IB)	3
merchant receipt	2
charge to room	2
balance carried forward	2
advance bill	2

In addition to the instances of short phrases listed above, other instances of intra-sentential switching related to the topic of accounting and finances found in our corpus, occurring once only, include the following switches to English (predominantly English fixed phrases denoting billing instructions and codes from Opera PMS - Property Management System used by participants at their workplace):

company CC, company rate, CC declined, rate check, best available rate, best available rate guarantee, all POA, pro forma invoice, paid by invoice, paid room upgrade, card holder receipt, additional charge, city tax charge, minibar charges, complimentary upgrade, credit limit, bank account, authorization letter, currency rate (spelled as curr.rate), iPhone charger deposit, interim bill, debit card, free of charge, gift voucher, complimentary back ups, upsell back ups, reservation back ups

In terms of related **intra-word switches**, we found the following ones:

- double charge: **double charg**uje (1x) translation: (it is) double charged
- rate check: z **rate check**-u (1x) translation: from rate check

Relevant examples of email messages taken from the corpus containing accounting & finance-related intra-sentential CS (single-word and/ or short phrases) include:

- Subject: PM XXXX

Ahojte,
Presunula som **charges** zo #XXX na **PM** XXXX lebo **cc** od XXX je **declined**.
Caka sa na novu **cc**.
Pekny den

translation: Hi, I have transferred **charges** from #XXX to **PM** XXXX because **cc** from XXX is **declined**. We are waiting for a new **cc**. Have a nice day.

(NK1 #58/E/1xM)

- Subject: Reinstated reservation

Ahojte,
Reinstatela som rezervaciu na meno XXX, povodne prichod XX.XX.XXXX, pani mi vsak dala **back up**, ze rezervaciu menila s datumom prichodu XX.XX.XXXX a preto by nemala byt **charg**ovana. Prosim dajte vediet co a ako, spominany **back up** bude u nas pri registrackach.
Dakujem! :)

translation: Hi, I **reinstate**d XXX's reservation, original arrival on XX.XX.XXXX, however the madam gave me **back up** for the reservation with a changed date of arrival XX.XX.XXXX so she should not be **charg**ed. Please let me know how to proceed, because the mentioned **back up** will be be attached to our registration cards. Thank you! :)

(DC #30/E/1xM)

- Subject: XXX, last minute cancellation

Ahojte,
Cancellation fee EUR XXX nauctovane na **PM** XXXX.
Pekny den

translation: Hi, **Cancellation fee** EUR XXX charged to **PM** XXXX. Have a nice day

(NK1 #67/E/1xM)

Longer chunks

A relevant example of accounting-related intra-sentential switch to English (**in bold purple**) inserted into the email message otherwise written in Slovak, with a number of other intra-sentential switches to English (colour-coded in **red**):

- Subject: parking

Ahojte,
Chela by som vas poprosit aby ste **parking** uctovali cez **fix charges** a nie manaulne aj ked je host v hoteli iba jednu noc.
Ako viete kazde rano **knights of** XXX (Nocna smena) tlacia **journal by cashier and transaction code** aby sme mali prehlad toho co sa deje v garazi(cize aj na uctoch),a aby **belmen**i mali tiez poriadok vo svojej praci.
Lebo ocas sa stava ze je parkovanie nauctovane manualne,a izba sa neobjavi v **report**e-tak chalani(**bellmeni**) stoho maju chaos a stava sa ze sa **duble charg**uje a potom zbytocne musime vy**post**ovavat.
Este raz pripajam **SOPs Valet parking**u pre lepsiu spolupracu.
Majte sa vitazne :)

translation: Hi,

I would like to ask you to charge **parking** through **fixed charges** and not manually, even if the guest is at the hotel for one night only.
As you know, every morning **knights of** XXX (**note: company name**) (Night shift) print **journal by cashier and transaction code** so we can have an overview about what's going on the the garage (as well as on the bills), and also for **bellmen** to have a system in their work.
Because sometimes it happens that parking is charged manually, and a room doesn't show on the **report** so it causes chaos to boys (**bellmen**) and then it happens that it's **double charged** and then we have to **unpost**. I'm attaching **SOPs Valet parking** for better cooperation.
See you :)

(KH2 #64/E/1xM)

5.6.2 Hotel/Hospitality sector-related intra-sentential switches

Talking about: Hotel departments and positions

Switch to English found in the corpus	**Occurence** (number of instances in the corpus)	**Abbreviation: Switch to English found in the corpus**	**Occurence** (number of instances in the corpus)
General Manager		GM	2
Head of Department		HOD	1
Manager on Duty		MOD	2
Front Office	1	FO/ Fo/ fo	15
Front Office Agent/ Receptionist	2	FOA	
Back Office	1	BO	7
Guest Service(s)	1	GS	
Housekeeping	1	HSK	12
Concierge	5	-	
Bellmen	1	-	
Engineering		ENG	1
Human Resources		HR	1
Accounting	2	-	
Sales	1	-	
Reservations	1	RES	
Food & Beverages		F&B	1
Room Service	4	RS	
SPA	2		
IT Specialist	1	IT	1
Security	3	-	
Purchasing	1	-	
Customer Contact Centre		CCC	1

In addition to that, other instances of intra-sentential switching related to the topic of hotel departments and positions found in our corpus once only include the following switches to English: *Concierge desk (1x), FO staff (1x), HSK staff (1x), HSK supervisor (1x), Main Cashier (1x), manager (1x),* and *Manager of the Year (1x).*

In terms of related **intra-word switches**, some words have also been used in the following forms (with suffixes following Slovak declension paradigms):

- Banqueting: (na) **Banquet**e (1x) translation: at Banqueting
- Bellmen: **bellman**i (1x), **bellmen**i (1x), **belmen**i (1x)
  bellmenom (2x), **bellman**ov (1x)
- departments: **department**y (1x) translation: departments (pl)
  departmentov (1x)
  departmentalnych (1x) translation: departmental
- Lobby Bar: (v) **Lobby Bar**e (1x) translation: at Lobby Bar
- Manager: **manager**em (1x) (in Czech)
- Engineer: **engeneer**a (1x) G sg,
- Guest Service (na) **guest**e (3x) translation: at Guest (Services)
- Room Service **room servis**u (1x) G sg.

In terms of terminology related to hotel job positions and departments, many internationalisms and foreign words have been integrated into the receiving language system (in this case Slovak), on the route to becoming established borrowings. In some cases, they are then used to the exclusion of the equivalent forms in the surrounding language. That is particularly the case of organisational structures of international hotel chains, where the job positions and departments are very often referred to in English, even though their Slovak equivalents are mostly available.

The results of our quantitative analysis revealed that, in particular, abbreviations of English language terminology related to the hotel job positions and departments are frequently used in our data (e.g. FO, HSK, BO, GM). For example, the official job position title 'Front Office Agent' / 'Receptionist' or 'Front Office' (as a department) used in our context can be considered synonymous to Slovak equivalents '*Recepčný*' (m)/ *'Recepčná'* (f) or '*Recepcia*' (as a department), however

the most frequent use is its English abbreviation 'FO' (17 instances of this switch to English have been found in our corpus), which does not have any Slovak equivalent.

Additionally, many new named positions - e.g. 'Concierge' - have been recently created as well, which do not have any Slovak equivalents listed in the common catalogue of professions and job positions in Slovakia.

On the other hand, some terms seem to be used for more pragmatic reasons - for example the word 'Security' (referring both to the department and the position) can be considered a term used as an alternative to the longer and less efficient Slovak equivalent '*bezpečnostná služba*'.

Talking about: Hotel facilities and services

Single - word switches:

Switch to English found in the corpus	**Occurence** (number of instances)
limo *(limousine)*	5
parking	4
accommodation	3
club (CL)	3
upgrade	2
room(s)	2

In addition to the above nouns and their abbreviations, other instances of intra-sentential switching related to the topic of 'hotel facilities and services' found in our corpus, occurring once only, include the following single-word switches to English:

nouns: *booking, breakfast, cloakroom, garage, laundry, member, membership, overbooking, reservation, service, turndown*

adjectives: *classic, double, platinum*

Short phrases:

Switch to English found in the corpus	**Occurence** (number of instances)
check-out *(C/O, c/o, check out, ch/o)*	22
check-in *(C/I, c/i, check in, ch/i)*	18
bedroom maintenance BMP (11x) bmp (6x)	17
wake up call	6
luggage room	6
late check out (2x) late C/O (1x)	3
lost & found	3
platinum guest	2
breakfast included	2
classic room	2
king size bed	2
early check in (1x) early checkin (1x)	2

In addition to the instances of short phrases listed above, other instances of intra-sentential switching related to the topic of 'hotel facilities and services' found in our corpus, occurring once only, include the following switches to English:

bed & breakfast, birthday cake, bottle service, classic single, classic double, deep cleaning, deep cleaning bed, dry cleaning store, express breakfast, free night, key packets, laundry service, per person, platinum members, non members, request wake up call, show rooms, site inspection

While some of these words can be considered borrowings (e.g. check-in, check-out, parking, upgrade), some others can clearly be identified as code-switches.

Talking about: **Reservation options** (as per OPERA PMS)

Furthermore, the following instances of intra-sentential switching referring to reservation options (from Opera PMS) have been found in the corpus:

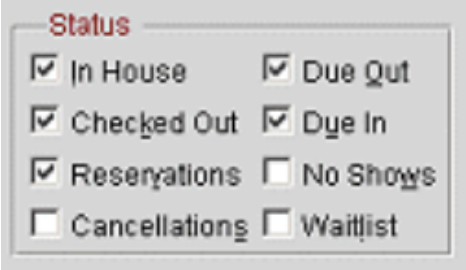
Single - word switches:

Switch to English found in the corpus	**Occurence** (number of instances in the corpus)
stay(s)	6
changes	4
alert(s)	3
confirmation	3
enroll	3
cancellation	3
specials	2

Short phrases:

Switch to English found in the corpus	**Occurence** (number of instances in the corpus)
no show *alternative spelling: noshow*	28
room move	8
due out	3
profile notes	2
early departure	2

Below, the screenshot from OperaPMS illustrates some of these reservation options:



Source: https://docs.oracle.com/cd/E53547_01/opera_5_04_03_core_help/messages_options.htm

In addition to the above single-words switches (mostly nouns, with the exception of the verb to 'enroll') and short phrases found in our corpus as instances of intra-sentential switching referring to the reservations options in Opera PMS, the following switches to English occurred in our corpus as well (although once only):

Other single-word switches:

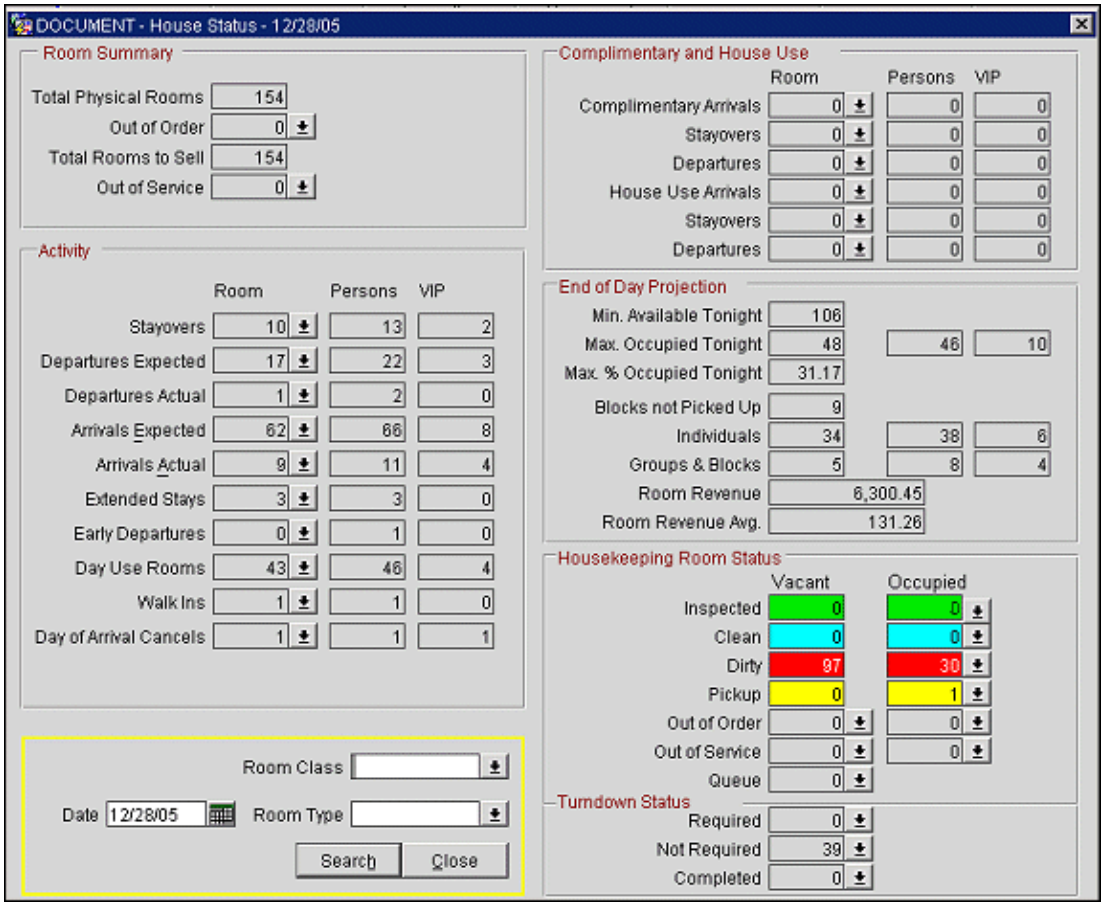
nouns: *arrivals, comments, departures, packages, supplement, waitlist*

adjectives: *miscellaneous, advanced, additional*

Other short phrases:

confirmation number, day use, in house, long stay, second person, stay over (alternatively also spelled as stayover), stay preferences, walk in (alternatively also spelled as walkin or walk-in)

In order to further illustrate some of these reservation options as coming from Opera PMS, we provide the print screen of 'House status' screen (below):

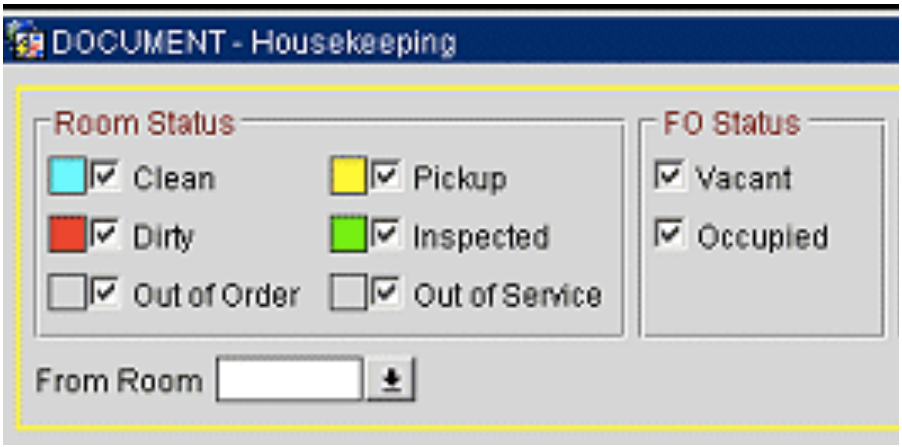


Source: http://opera.mantiscollection.com/operahelp/index.htm?toc.htm?house_status_(shift+f3).htm

Talking about: **Hotel room status** (as per OPERA PMS)

Switch to English found in the corpus	**Occurence** (number of instances in the corpus)
Housekeeping - Room status	
clean	2
dirty	7
out of order (OOO)	-
pickup / pick up (PU)	17
inspected (IP)	12
out of service (OOS)	10
Front Office - Room status	
vacant	-
occupied	-
do not move (DNM)	1

When talking about Housekeeping room statuses, these are always used in English in a communication among associates when referring to this issue in particular, no matter what language the email message is written in. Even though there are Slovak equivalents to some of the above terms, the online property management system - OPERA offers these options in English only (see the picture below). Therefore, in order to avoid any confusion and misunderstandings, they are not translated to Slovak during communication (as illustrated by examples from the corpus below).



Source: http://opera.mantiscollection.com/OperaHelp/index.htm?toc.htm?hskpg_mgmnt_hsk_hsk.htm

Some of the relevant examples are presented below:

- Subject: 20.04.2015

Ahojte,
Dnes na bmp boli vybrane izby #XXX – povodne **out of service**, a #XXX povodne **inspected**.
Dakujem

translation: Hi,
Today for bmp (*note: bedroom maintenance*) the following rooms have been chosen #XXX - originally **out of service**, and #XXX originally **inspected**.
Thank you

(KH1 #249/E/1xM)

- Subject: Room move

Ahojte, pan sa stazoval na hluk tak sme ho prestahovali zo #XXX do #XXX takze #XXX som ponechala v **clean** statuse tak ako bola. Dakujem
Pekny den:)

translation: Hi, Mr. XXX complained about the noise so we moved him from room #XXX to #XXX so #XXX remained in **clean** status as it was before.
Thank you
Have a nice day:)

(NK1 #278/E/1xM)

- Subject: #XXX (note: room number) Mr. XXX

Ahojte,
...
HSK- sorry baby za zmatky. XXX je stale **dirty** v **OOS** a XXX je v **PU** statuse kvoli jeho room move**.**
Pekny vecer

translation: Hi,
...
HSK - girls, sorry for confusion. #XXX is still **dirty** in **OOS** and #XXX is in **PU status** because of his room move.
Have a nice evening

(KH1 #133/E/1xM)

Talking about: Terminology from another hotel web-based platform

In addition to Opera PMS (Property Management System) as the main hotel web-based platform commonly used in hospitality industry to manage reservations, as well as all other areas of hotel management, another tool has been used to track requests, complaints and work orders (particularly useful for communicating guest requests and defects to Housekeeping and Engineering departments in a timely manner). When it comes to the following terminology identified as instances of intra-sentential CS in our corpus, it is obvious from the analysed email messages containing these particular words and phrases that they are specifically used in reference to the options offered in this tool.

Switch to English found in the corpus	**Occurence** (number of instances in the corpus)
defect(s)	5
event(s)	5
ambassador request(s)	2
conclude checked	2
response time	2
work order(s)	2
ambassador guest	1
CCC requests	1
health check	1
no recognition	1

Single-word switches:

nouns: *defect(s), event(s)*

Short phrases:

ambassador guest, ambassador request(s), CCC requests, conclude checked, follow up, health check, no recognition, response time, work order(s)

In terms of related **intra-word switches**, some hotel/ hospitality sector-related words have also been used in the following forms (with affixes following Slovak declension paradigms):

Single-word switches:

nouns:

- alert(s): with suffix - **alert**u (2x)
- booking: with suffix - **booking**u (1x)
- catering with suffix - **catering**u (1x)
- cloakroom: with suffix - **cloakroom**e (1x)
- comment(s): with suffix - **comment**och (1x)
- defect: with suffixes - **defect**y (1x), **defect**u (1x), **defect**ov (2x)
- desk: with suffixes - **desk**u (2x)
- enrollment: with suffixes - **enrollment**ov (3x), **enrolment**ov (1x), **enrollment**och (1x)
- event: with suffixes - **event**ov (3x), **event**y (2x), **event**u (2x), **evnt**u (1x)
- overbooking: with suffix - **overbooking**u (1x)
- sharer: with suffix - **sharer**ov (1x)
- supplement: with suffix - **supplement**u (1x)
- update: with suffixes - **update**-ovanie (1x), **update**ov (1x)
- walkin: with suffix - **Walkin**-a (1x)

adjectives:

- bar (room type): with suffix - **bar**ove (1x)
- club (room type): with suffix - **club**ovu izbu (1x)
- gold (member): with suffix - **gold**ovy (1x), **gold**ovych (1x)

verbs:

- to acknowledge: with suffix - **acknowledg**la (1x)
- to book: with suffixes - **book**nut (2x), **book**nuta (2x)
- to check: with suffixes - **check**nut (1x), **check**nem (1x), **check**ni (1x)
- to merge: with suffix - **merg**ovat (1x)
- move (rooms): with suffix - **mov**nuti (1x)
- to update: with suffixes - **updat**ovali (1x), **update**nuty (1x), **updat**nite (1x)
  with prefix and suffix - ne**updat**uje (1x)
- to share: with suffixes - **shar**oval (1x), **shar**ovala (1x)

Short phrases:

- check in:

- with suffixes: **check in**e (5x), **checkin**ovala (1x), **checkin**ujte (1x)
- with prefixes and suffixes: za**checkin**ovat (1x), za**checkin**ovany (1x), za**checkin**ovana (1x) za**checkin**ovane (1x), za**checkin**ovala (1x), za**checkin**ovali (1x), pred**checkin**oval (1x), pred**checkin**ovana (2x), pred **checkin**ovani (1x)

- check out:

- with suffixes: **checkout**u (4x), **check out**e (3x), **checkout**e (2x), **check-out**e (1x), **checkout**oval (1x)
- with prefixes and suffixes: od**checkout**ovat (4x), od**checkout**uje (1x), od**check**uje (1x), od**checkout**ovali (1x)
- other form with prefix: od**C/O** (1x)

- early check in: with suffix - **early check in**y (1x) translation: early check ins (pl)
- late check out: with suffix - **late check out**y (1x) translation: late check outs (pl)

- hot alert: with suffixes - **hot alert**y (1x), **hotalert**om (1x)
- luggage room: with suffix - **luggage room**u (6x)
- pick up: with suffix - **pick up**e (1x)
- wake up call: with suffix - **wake up call**u (1x)

5.6.3 Workplace and administration-related intra-sentential switches

Talking about: **Team, administration, work shifts and schedule**

Single-word switches:

Switch to English found in the corpus	Occurence (number of instances in the corpus
off	10
teambulding (team bulding)	8
leader	4
request	3
day	2
early (E)	2
form(s)	2
ID (id) identification card	2
report	2
sick	2
team	2

nouns: *day, form(s), leader, report, request, team, teambuilding*

adjectives: *early, sick*

adverb: *off*

abbreviation: *ID (also spelled as 'id')*

In addition to these, other instances of intra-sentential switching related to the topic of 'workplace and administration' found in our corpus, occurring once only, include the following single-word switches to English:

nouns: *duty, feedback, folder, handover, meeting, passport, schedule, talk, training*

adjectives: *late (L)*

Short phrases:

Switch to English found in the corpus	**Occurence** (number of instances in the corpus
CCC file(s)	3
check list	2

In addition to the instances of short phrases listed above, other instances of intra-sentential switching related to the topic of 'workplace and administration' found in our corpus, occurring once only, include the following switches to English:

CSF file, Customer Contact Centre files, day off, early shift, full team, handover protocol, invoice template, late shift, request book, rooming list, Master Arrival Report, sick day, update sheet, upsell forms, wake up call list

In terms of related **intra-word switches**, some workplace and administration-related words have also been used in the following forms:

Single-word switches:

nouns:

- brainstorming: with suffix - **brainstorming**u (1x)
- complaint: with suffix - **complaint**om (1x)
- feedback: with suffix - **feedback**ov (1x)
- folder: with suffixes - **foldr**i (2x), **foldr**a (1x), **foldr**u (1x)
- handover: with suffixes - **handover**u (1x), **handouver**u (1x)
- leader: with suffix - **leadr**a (1x)
- meeting: with suffix - **meeting**u (1x)
- report: with suffix - **report**e (1x)
- request: with suffixes - **request**y (3x), **request**ov (2x), **request**u (1x), **request**li (1x), **request**lo (1x)
- sheet: with suffixes - (v) **sheet**e (1x), **sheet**u (1x)
- team: with suffixes - **team**u (2x), **team**om (1x)
- teambuilding: with suffixes - **teambilding**u (2x),**teambuiling**om (1x)
- training: with suffixes - **training**u (1x), **training**ovku (1x)

adjectives:

- middle (shift): with suffix - **mid**ku (1x)

Short phrases:

- black list: with suffix - **black list**e (1x)
- check list: with suffix - **check list**y (4x)
- request book: with suffix - **request book**u (1x)
- teambuilding activity: with suffix - **teambilding**ove activity (1x)
  with prefix and suffix - po**teambilding**ove activity (1x)
- wake up call list: with suffix - **wake up call list**u (1x)

5.6.4 Technology-related intra-sentential switches

Single-word switches:

Switch to English found in the corpus	Occurence (number of instances in the corpus
email (e-mail)	22
mail	11
link	8
inbox	4
printscreen	4
scan	3
offline	2
login (log in)	2
online	2

nouns: *email (e-mail), mail, link, inbox, printscreen, scan, login*
adjectives/ adverbs: *online, offline*

In addition to these, other instances of intra-sentential switching related to technology found in our corpus, occurring once only, include the following single-word switches to English:

nouns: *admin, cable, computer, charger, extranet, internet, intranet, host*
adjective: *attached*
abbreviation: *CC (email copy)*

Short phrases:

confirmation email, general inbox, hard disk, internet vouchers (2x), internet options,reservation inbox, ski data (2x)

In terms of related **intra-word switches**, some technology-related words have also been used in the following forms:

Single-word switches:

nouns:

- email: with suffixes - **e-mail**e (1x), **e-mail**y (1x)
  emailu (1x) **email**y (1x), **email**i (1x)
  emailem - (1x - in Czech), **email**ovu (2x)
- mail: with suffixes - **mail**e (1x), **mail**u (1x), **mail**y (1x), **mail**och (1x), **mail**om (1x)
- printscreen: with suffix - **printscreen**e (1x)

adjective:

- scanned: with prefix and suffix - o**scan**ovany (1x)

In terms of examining whether a clear and equally efficient Slovak equivalent exists for a code-switched word or phrase in order to enable us to distinguish between CS functions that are more technical as opposed to emphatic or stylistic, we followed Goldbarg's approach (2009). Hence, for example the word 'email' can be considered a technical term used as an alternative to the longer and less efficient Slovak equivalent '*elektronická pošta*'. Similarly, the word 'printscreen' (which denotes 'screenshot' while referring to the button on computer keyboard) can also be considered a technical term used as an alternative to the longer Slovak equivalent '*snímka obrazovky*'. Generally speaking, 'email' and similar technical terms are understood and used globally in their English forms, while many became established borrowings fully integrated into the receiving language systems (e.g. link, online, offline). For example, in the case of the word 'email', it is also spelled as 'mail' or phonetically as 'mejl' in Slovak, inflected according to the Slovak grammar rules (as illustrated above). Therefore, as Goldbarg (2009: 5) argues, "as such, they do not necessarily reflect a user's stylistic preferences, nor do they connote an intention to emphasize or embellish a statement''.

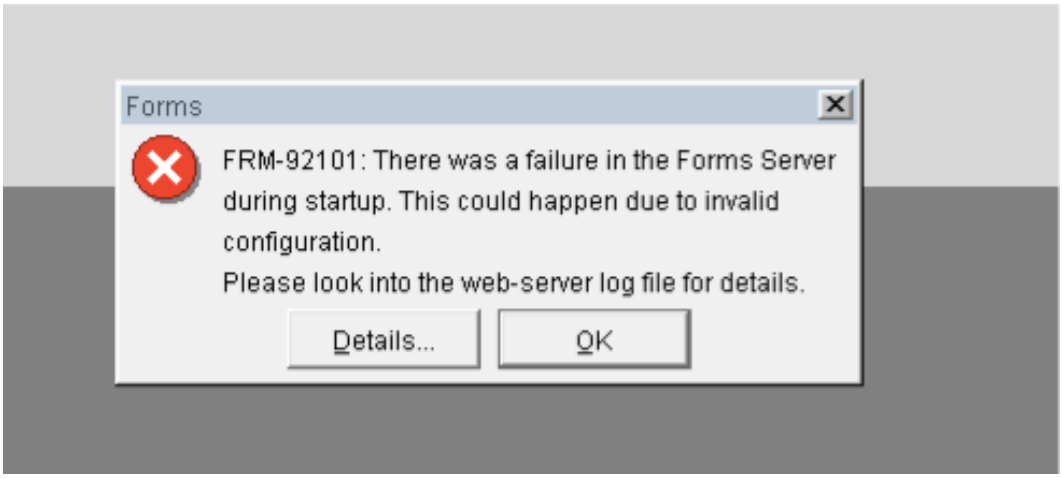
Longer chunks:

In terms of longer chunks as instances of intra-sentential switching to English related to technology, the following three examples (**in purple**) taken from the corpus illustrate this strategy. Firstly, in the email message below, in addition to attaching the screenshot of pop-up window with error message from Opera PMS (hotel web-based platform), the writer of this email reproduces the content of the message by further describing what the problem is, while switching the code from Slovak to English in order to communicate his message and emphasise its urgency.

- Subject: **Opera problems - URGENT**

Ahoj,

Pravidelne nam od rana mrzne opera. Pri **log in** nabehne **credit cards interface** a **symphony interface is not running**. Niekedy nabehne a potom zase mrzne. Prosim o **urgent** pomoc sme velmi **busy**.



Dakujem

translation: Hi,

Opera (*note: the Property Management System*) is constantly freezing since the morning. When trying to log in, **credit card interface** and **symphony interface is not running** pops up. Sometimes it starts working and then freezes again. Please, we need an urgent help because we are very busy.

Thank you.

(PS #55/E/1xM)

The following example of intra-sentential switching to English (below) illustrates a practice of inserting a long 'path' to the particular file - in this case 'Upselling Form' (in English) - to email message otherwise written in Slovak. Serving as a direction specifying its unique location in a system (in a computer), its function is to help addressees to be able to locate it easily, following the steps.

- Subject: Upsell

Drahi kolegovia,

Pri **upsell**och prosim vyplnte a davajte vzdy hostovi podpisat tento formular, mame ho aj v slovenskej forme a najdete ho na kazdom **desk**u a ked nie tak na **U/ Front Office/ Front Ofice/ Templates/ Standard Temlates/ Upselling Form**.

translation: Dear colleagues,

When it comes to upsells, please fill out and always give the guest this form to be signed, we also have it in Slovak version and you will find it on every desk and if not, then you can find it at **U/ Front Office/ Front Office/ Templates/ Standard Templates/ Upselling Form**.

(NK1 #286/E/1xM)

Similarly, the example below illustrates using the same strategy to help addresses to change settings in Outlook (also used in English):

- Subject: Podpis

Ahojte,

Prosim Vas, ti ktori nemate este zmeneny podpis zo stareho hnedeho, prehodte si to na modry. Klasicky cez **outlook – file – options – mail - signatures** ...

Dakujem :)

translation: Hi,

Please, those of your who have not changed their old brown email signature, change it to new blue one.

As always, through cez **outlook – file – options – mail - signatures** ...

Thank you :) *(KH1 #20/E/1xM)*

5.6.5 Miscellaneous - other instances of intra-sentential CS

The last category presented in this section consists of miscellaneous other instances of intra-sentential switching found in email messages from the corpus not falling into any of the previous categories due to their topic or pragmatic function.

Single-word switches:

Switch to English found in the corpus	**Occurence** (number of instances in the corpus
please (pls)	9
done	8
busy	7
company	7
ASAP	5
etc	2
issue	2
permission	2
ready	2
sorry	2

nouns: *permission, company, issue*

adjectives: *busy, done, ready*

exclamations: *please, sorry*

abbreviations: *ASAP, etc, pls*

In addition to these, other instances of intra-sentential switching found in our corpus, occurring once only, include the following single-word switches to English:

nouns: *examples*

adjectives: *urgent*

abbreviations: *&, FYI*

+ short phrase: *all done*

As an example, in the email message below taken from the corpus, KH1 (Slovak native speaker) is apologising to her colleagues from Housekeeping (HSK) department (also native speakers of Slovak), for having to let the guest check-in and use the room already even though HSK did not yet confirm to KH1 that it's entirely clean. As we can see below, the apology is in English, while the 'referential' part of the message is in Slovak (with minor intra-sentential switches to English).

- Subject: #XXX (note: room number) Mr. XXX

> Ahojte,
> Pan XXX mal slubenu tuto izbu, isli sme sa na nu pozriet aby si overil ze to je ta, a tym ze videl ze je uz upratana nechcel ist z nej prec. [...]
> HSK- **sorry** baby za zmatky. #XXX je stale dirty v OOS a XXX je v PU statuse kvoli jeho room move**.**
> Pekny vecer

translation: Hi, Mr. XXX was promised to get this room, we went to see it with him to make sure it is the one he requested and as he saw that it's clean already, he did not want to leave. [...]
HSK - girls, **sorry** for confusion. #XXX is still dirty in OOS and #XXX is in PU status because of his room move. Have a nice evening

(KH1 #133/E/1xM)

Longer chunks:

In the case of the first two examples of email messages (below), Slovak is the main frame of communication (base language) or the dominant/ matrix language (Muysken, 2000), as expected, while English is the code that is switched to. The function of CS to English in the first example seems to be twofold, i.e. both quotation (reference to Guns N' Roses song 'Welcome to the jungle'), but clearly used in a completely different and figurative meaning as pun or language play.

- Subject: No subject

> **Welcome to the jungle** ty kokso im sibe tu tym ludom :D :D vsetci vsetko naraz ...

translation: **Welcome to the jungle**, wow those people are going crazy here :D :D everyone wants everything at once ...

(KH1 #313/E/1x1)

Similarly, the second example illustrates switching for emphatic purposes (adding emphasis), as the writer of this email message draws attention to the phrase in English not only by switching the code, but also by the use of capitalisation as a typographic device for emphasis as well as by using an exclamation mark at the end.

- Subject: Enroll

Dear all,

Enroll cez operu funguje zas.

[...]

Tak ze **LET'S ENROLL ALL WORLD**!

[...]

Majte sa vitazne!

translation: Dear all,

Enroll though OPERA is working again. [...]

So **LET'S ENROLL ALL WORLD**! [...]

See you!

(KH2 #96/E/1xM)

On the other hand, in the case of the final example of email message presented here (below), English is the main frame of communication (base language) or the dominant/ matrix language (Muysken, 2000) and Slovak is the code that is switched to. In this context, 'okrem toho' is a preposition or a linking adverb and it means 'besides', 'apart from that' or 'in addition to that'.

- Subject: NO SHOW

CC of Mrs. XXX declined – PM XXXX

Okrem toho all done.

translation: CC of Mrs. XXX declined – PM XXXX

Apart from that all done.

(DC #16/E/1xM)

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Discussion of the findings (*Interpretation of the results*)

Based on the corpus of 1548 email messages representing an internal workplace email communication among colleagues in a multinational and multilingual environment of an international hospitality company in Slovakia and the questionnaire survey on their language use and attitudes towards Slovak-English CS, this study set out to explore a rather neglected area within CMC research, especially with regard to the dual focus of the study (language attitudes and language behavior), its context (workplace, CMC, email) and language pair in question (Slovak-English).

The quantitative, questionnaire-based study examined the participants' metalinguistic awareness of the extent of CS during their communication, including their CMC interactions and face-to-face communication. Therefore, in the empirical part of this thesis (Chapter 4), we presented the analysis of the participants' self-reported frequencies of switching to English in relation to different reasons for and function of CS, while uncovering the attitudes they hold towards this phenomenon.

Firstly, the investigation of the reasons for switching to English based on the analysis of responses to the questionnaire survey, specifically designed for the purposes of our research, has shown that the majority of participants (60%) reported that they do so always or very often in situations when they feel that some things are better expressed in English or simply sound better in English than in Slovak (or Czech/ Serbian - depending on the participant's mother tongue). In contrast, only 5% of participants claimed that they rarely or never switch to English for this reason, while 35% reported that they sometimes feel that some things are better expressed in English as compared to their mother tongue. The second most common reason for switching to English reported by half of participants (50%), namely those who said that they do it always or very often, was switching code in order to avoid a misunderstanding in a communication. Thirdly, almost half of participants (47.50%) also reported that they always or very often switch to English to fill in the gaps when

they feel they have a vocabulary limitation, i.e. when they are unable to quickly find or recall a word with the same meaning in Slovak.

Secondly, with regard to the functions of CS, all together, the majority of participants (60%) reported that they always or very often deploy English hospitality/ hotel-related terminology associated with their workplace, which is in line with the findings from our email corpus analysis of actual CS practices, where this context-specific vocabulary was found to be associated with the major function of CS found in our corpus, namely 'talking about a particular topic'. Furthermore, over half of participants (57.50%) also reported that they always or very often deploy English terminology related to technology. In contrast, fewer than 50% of participants reported that they always or very often switch to English for the purposes of adding emphasis (45%), greetings (45%), farewells (35%) and expressions of affect/ feelings (25%). Even though few instances of such switches were found in our email corpus, these functions were not very persistent, particularly in comparison with the large number of instances of switching for context-specific vocabulary, falling into the most recurring CS socio-pragmatic function identified in our data, categorised as 'talking about a particular topic'.

Thirdly, in terms of the participants' attitudes towards language switching in general and with regard to various different domains of language use including CMC and workplace communication, as well as in relation to a range of different issues and topics (e.g. identity, maintenance of the native language, etc.), the analysis of grouped attitude statements revealed that:

(1) In general, our research participants acknowledged that it was common for them to code-switch, as the majority - 29 out of 40 participants (72.50%) reported that they consider mixing Slovak and English in their online communication to be a common phenomenon, regardless of any particular CMC platform, whilst a slightly lower proportion - just over half of participants (55%) reported the same with regard to their face-to-face communication. Interestingly, in both cases, none of the participants strongly denied doing it. Furthermore, the results also show that for the majority of

participants (52.50%), mixing Slovak and English (or the 'mixed' variety) is the language of online communication. This finding is in line with the finding of Tsiplakou's study (2009) in terms of the balance of opinion which is in favour of agreeing that the 'mixed' variety is a specific code reserved for CMC. Additionally, it is also worth noting that the participants are aware of similarities between CS in CMC and CS in informal face-to-face conversation, as just under half (45%) of participants agree that this variety resembles the variety used in face-to-face communication, whilst when asked whether the 'mixed' variety will eventually prevail in face-to-face communication, more than two in five participants (42.50%) were rather undecided (reported as 'neither agree not disagree'). Therefore, in other words, our participants are not sure whether such 'mixed' variety as the one used in CMC will become the established norm in informal face-to-face communication in the future.

(2) With regard to different CMC platforms used by our research participants, namely email, Facebook and WhatsApp, the largest proportion of participants (77.50%) reported that they consider mixing Slovak and English to be common in their Facebook communication, followed by WhatsApp (67.50%) and email communication (42.50%).

(3) In light of numerous studies of CS which point to negative attitudes towards this phenomenon (Chana & Romaine, 1984; Zentella, 1997) and in contrast with the traditional views which reflect a strong belief in 'purity' as linguistic ideal, our research participants seem to hold overall a positive attitude towards CS. While CS still carries a stigma in certain communities and sociolinguistic contexts where CS is attributed to lack of formal education, incomplete linguistic competence, lack of proficiency in one or more languages and so on, our findings show the following: even though a little over two fifths of participants (45%) don't think that mixing Slovak and English shows a sense of inability to proficiently produce sentences in one language, a little under a third of participants (32.50%) still agree that CS is a sign of incomplete linguistic competence and a relatively large proportion (22.50%) felt they were unable to take a stance in this matter. However, on the other hand, half of participants

(50%) reported that it does not annoy them when people switch between languages, mixing Slovak and English in a communication and the majority of participants (75%) also disapprove of the idea that mixing Slovak and English in online communication is a sign of arrogance. Moreover, the participants were also asked whether they find it confusing when people switch between Slovak and English when they speak or write. In this regard, the majority (67.50%) of participants reported that they do not find it confusing at all.

(4) The result of the analysis show that the majority of participants (67.50%) consider mixing Slovak and English to be typical for their everyday workplace communication and what's more, the same proportion of participants (67.50%) also reported that it sounds natural to them. Lastly, the view that mixing Slovak and English outside of the workplace sounds natural is held by slightly smaller proportion of participants (57.50%), as compared to the one reported in relation to the communication in the workplace (57.50% vs. 67.50%).

(5) Drawing on a hypothesis that CS reflects identity - or that languages we speak and the environment we are at affect what we say and how we say it, while navigating and displaying our layered identities through CS - the following questions examined the participants' attitudes towards a possible connection between the use of 'mixed variety' and a distinct multicultural identity (Dewaele & Wei, 2014), as well as a potential relation to building of a second, virtual identity (Tsiplakou, 2009). Hence, the results of our analysis show that slightly more than half of participants (52.50%) think that mixing Slovak and English displays a distinct multicultural identity, while a much smaller proportion (27.50%) reported that they think that it is instrumental in building a second, virtual identity. However, it is worth noting that in both cases a relatively large number of participants (35% in former and 40% in latter) felt that they were unable to answer these questions (reported as 'neither agree nor disagree').

(6) Finally, with regard to exploring our participants' attitudes towards issues related to the global spread and penetration of the English language and its

potential impact on the maintenance of the national language (in our case the Slovak language), it emerges from the quantitative study that in line with Tsiplakou's (2009) findings, our participants also abstract away from 'phobic' attitudes towards the use of English. First of all, in terms of the perception and attitudes towards English in CMC, our results show that the majority of participants (75%) consider English to be the language of CMC and moreover, nearly half of participants (42.50%) also think that English sounds 'cooler' in online communication than Slovak. In contrast, the majority of participants (52.50%) think that in comparison to English, Slovak sounds more formal in CMC. Furthermore, while most of participants (42.50%) 'neither agree nor disagree' whether the spread of English is a manifestation of linguistic and cultural imperialism, a slightly smaller proportion (40%) agrees with this statement. Interestingly, when it comes to taking a stance in this regard, it is worth noting that none of the participants felt strongly about this statement in particular, as nobody reported that they 'strongly agree' or 'strongly disagree'. On the other hand, a little over two fifths of participants (45%) disagree with view that the spread of English poses a threat to the Slovak language and just 5% 'strongly disagree'. In contrast, only a relatively small proportion of participants (12.50%) agrees with the view and nobody 'strongly agrees' that the spread of English poses a threat to the Slovak language.

In summary, our findings support the theory that, despite the initial controversies regarding the appropriateness of switching between languages in CMC, CS now seems to be getting more acceptable in many CMC contexts, where it is considered to be a valid communication strategy, slowly becoming a norm. The fact that our analysis has shown that larger frequencies of participants remain rather neutral on the subject as compared to those who consider switching to English to be a threat and a cause of language loss, indicates a shift of attitude by offering the initial evidence on how our research participants perceive the phenomena in question. Overall, the findings of the quantitative, questionnaire-based study reported in this thesis suggest that attitudes towards CS in Slovakia, among our well-defined group of participants, appear to be rather positive, concurring with the results of similar related studies in other contexts (e.g. Montes-Alcalá, 2000; Tsiplakou, 2009).

In terms of the email corpus analysis, the data examined in this thesis can be seen as a detailed exploration of a localized instance of CMD, namely the workplace communication consisting of email exchanges among a group of colleagues, a well-defined set of participants forming a close-knit CoP. The illustration of how our participants deploy their multilingual resources in workplace email communication was supported by the evidence taken from the corpus, by examples of email messages presented within the empirical/ analytical part of this thesis (Chapter 5). Hence, based on the corpus analysis of these naturally-occurring email interactions and context-bound interpretation of the findings, we have reached the following conclusions:

In Slovak-dominant email messages (the category of 'Email messages written in Slovak with switches to English'), the great majority of code-switches to English can be understood as an exploitation of the expressive potential that is available to the participants for the purpose of providing contextualisation cues. In that sense, the use of English appears to be supplemental as switches to English function as contextualisation cues (Gumperz, 2001; Hinrichs, 2006; Goldbarg, 2009). Consistent with the results of Goldbarg's (2009) study on Spanish-English CS in email communication which shows that English was more often used to supplement Spanish than the other way around (therefore having a supplemental function in Spanish-dominant emails, serving as a contextualisation cue), our study points in the same direction in the case of Slovak-English CS in our data in the given context.

Employing a mixed method approach in the process, we investigated more closely the amount, types, forms and functions of CS involved in order to take a closer look on how CS is manifested and distributed in our CMC (email) data and how the interactions (email messages) are shaped by the mediated environment. Hence, addressing the following central research questions: *'What are the forms and functions of code-switching in our participants' digitally mediated interactions?'* and *'What is their function and relevance in the participants' workplace environment?'*, we considered the interrelation of medium and social/situation factors with the aim to understand the pragmatic functions and social purposes of CS online (Herring, 2007). As a result, our findings show that:

Firstly, with regard to the reasons behind the participants' CS practices in CMC, we hypothesised that they will accomplish many (or at least some of) the socio-pragmatic and stylistic functions that have been traditionally associated with face-to-face/ oral CS that are quite consistent across the literature (e.g. Gumperz, 1977, 1982; Auer, 1995; Hoffman, 1991), along with other 'new' ones that are medium-specific, due to the nature of this kind of data. This hypothesis has been confirmed, as our findings show that some discourse functions of CS originally developed for the analysis of spoken discourse apply to CS in CMC, which is in line with the findings of other studies from this context (e.g. Paolillo, 1996; Georgakopoulou, 1997; Androutsopoulos, 2006b; Tsiplakou, 2009; etc.). In terms of the functions of inter-sentential CS that have been identified in our data, these include: quoting, adding emphasis, softening a request or strengthening a command, language economy, talking about a particular topic, and switching for formulaic discourse purposes. Moreover, it was also demonstrated that in some cases of inter-sentential CS in particular, code-switching, style-shifting and language play were deployed as means of mitigating potentially face-threatening acts (Tsiplakou, 2009; Georgakopoulou, 1997).

Secondly, as only intra-sentential CS is relevant to the question of syntactic constraints, when analysing the forms of intra-sentential CS in the present data, we found the instances ranging from single words and short, more or less fixed phrases to longer chunks of work-related English-dominant vocabulary. The results of the analysis suggest that the vast majority of this type of CS involved single words or short, context-specific fixed expressions and topic-related phrases. In most cases the switches are self-explanatory and can be assumed to be understood by the other participants at least from the context. Taking into consideration word class (part of speech) of individual single-word switches, it was shown that these included mostly nouns and adjectives. In addition to these, few examples of adverbs have been found as well as a relatively large number of English abbreviations. Furthermore, related intra-word switches (sub-cathegory of intra-sentential switches), i.e. English words (or English word roots) with suffixes following Slovak declension paradigms have been found in our data too. Another interesting finding of the study was that in the cases of verbs as instances of intra-sentential CS in the corpus, these always seemed

to be used conjugated according to the Slovak grammar rules, with Slovak affixes added to English verb roots. Many of the English items found in our email corpus count as borrowings in terms of certain criteria. In this regard, Auer (1999: 18) argues that borrowing of content words (nouns, adjectives and verbs) represents "the best- known of the continua from a bilingual into a monolingual mode". However, making a further distinction between CS and borrowing (as well as other language contact phenomena) was out of scope of this study.

Furthermore, consistent with the results of Tsiplakou's (2009) study of language alternation in email communication, the findings from our email corpus study also seem to "point in the direction of balanced bilingualism as well as in the direction of the inherent hybridism of this type of CMD" (Tsiplakou, 2009: 378). More specifically, our data indicate that in the given context, instances of code-switching (both inter- and intra-sentential) serve specific or localized discourse functions, but "the linguistic expression of these functions is mediated by the overarching hybrid nature of this type of CMD" (Tsiplakou, 2009: 378). Additionally, the informality of the mode of communication (email) seems to contribute to such linguistic hybridism as well. Moreover, in a number of cases of intra-sentential switching in particular, language play is performed through the construction of mixed, hybrid code, which reflects the inherent hybridity of the discourse mode (Tsiplakou, 2009) and of CMC communication as such.

In summary, while the qualitative results of the email corpus analysis presented in the respective chapter (Chapter 5) and further summarised above cannot be used to generalise about Slovak-English CS in CMC, we have demonstrated that several findings are consistent with previous research on CS done with regard to different language pairs, especially in terms of identified socio-pragmatic and stylistic functions conveyed by CS in CMC which closely mirror those traditionally observed in oral communication. Moreover, addressing one of the persistent critiques of CS which associates this phenomenon with the lack of proficiency in one of both languages, it seems safe to assume that this is not the case of our participants. In fact, due to being fluent in English (with self-reported English language proficiency levels ranging from B1 - C2, based on CEFR), and having an excellent command of both

languages, they are able to produce a 'mixed variety' that will not violate any grammatical rules. For all the above reasons, we agree with Montes-Alcalá's (2016) straightforward answer for the question of why these bilingual individuals switch between languages in CMC, saying that it is "Because they can'', thus affording themselves a freedom of expression online, indicating that CS in CMC is a deliberate choice. Overall, our findings suggest that while our participants "draw upon their linguistic resources in order to maximize the effectiveness and functionality of their communication'' (Georgakopoulou, 1997: 160), they also seem to collectively construct and practice these 'hybrid' linguistic norms (Tsiplakou, 2009). This creates a hybrid style which, despite drawing on some of the norms of written and spoken discourse, is full of CS, language play and intertextual references. It was also demonstrated that the online setting plays an important role for language use and language choice, as we have argued and supported by the evidence from our corpus. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the 'new' setting invites and facilitates change not only in terms of language use in general but also with regard to the form and structure of a text (as well as the functions of textual elements), while enabling certain 'new' functions of CS which are medium-specific to emerge. A number of CS instances from our corpus illustrates that there are functions that can be shown to be more closely related to technological factors than others (e.g. the impact of different web-based platforms commonly used in hospitality industry, available in English only). However, that is generally the consequence of a situation that happens at foreign companies that had not upgraded or developed a computer software or, in this case, rather web-based platform in a national language. In this regard, Warschauer et al. (2007: 311) explain that this may be, partly, due to the desire to use a single standard throughout the foreign companies, whose headquarters are based abroad, which seems to be the case of the company under our investigation as well.

Although the claim that attitudes affect behaviour in a sense that they function as their predictors received a lot of criticism (McGuire, 1969; Wicker, 1969; Hanson, 1980), investigation with a dual focus on the highly complex relationship between language attitudes and language behaviour offers new and valuable insights into the socio-psychological aspects of language use, providing a better understanding of the interplay between language production and the role of attitudes.

6.2 Contributions of the research

The present study makes several noteworthy contributions. Firstly, due to the interdisciplinary nature of this research project as well as its dual focus on language attitudes on one hand and actual CS practices on the other, this thesis addresses a number of research questions and provides a series of analyses. Moreover, we believe that the importance and value of these findings is better understood when examined in a broader context, thus a brief historical and sociolinguistic overview of the language situation in Slovakia was provided in Section 2.1.

Secondly, this study fills a considerable gap in scholarly knowledge about the online/ written CS practices of Slovak native speakers in the context of workplace email communication. As we have pointed out in the Introduction, to our knowledge, no prior studies have systematically examined Slovak-English CS in written, spoken or computer-mediated communication. Although a number of previous studies conducted in Slovakia investigated anglicisms and their impact on the language culture in the country in particular, the topic of CS as such seems to be either entirely absent or marginal. Similarly, there are no studies on Slovak-English CS in the context of workplace communication either. For all the above reasons, we believe that the present study not only contributes to an under-researched area of linguistic practices of Slovak native speakers but it also represents the first comprehensive analysis of this kind on Slovak-English CS in CMC using authentic naturally-occurring computer-mediated corporate interactions.

Thirdly, part of the significance of the present study lies in high quality and value of naturally-occurring CMC data for linguistic analysis as well as the fact that it drew on an ethnographic approach when obtaining a description of participants. As a result, complete information about the research participants was obtained from the questionnaire, including demographic characteristics of the sample (socio-biographic profiles) and language-oriented characteristics (linguistic profiles). In addition, it enabled throwing further light into the complex relationship between language attitudes and language use (or language behavior - actual CS practices), providing us with an insight into what participants actually think about their language production.

6.3 Limitations and directions for future research

Finally, a number of **limitations** of this thesis related to both the questionnaire survey analysis as well as the email corpus analysis need to be acknowledged and taken into consideration. Although some of them have already been addressed within the previous chapters, the most important ones will be summarised here again, bearing in mind that the findings need to be interpreted cautiously.

Firstly, with regard to the questionnaire survey analysis (the attitude study) presented in Chapter 4, it should be noted that although questionnaire surveys serve as versatile and effective tools or techniques for data collection, "the kinds of insights they can generate are limited by several factors, most notably by the restricted time and effort respondents are usually willing to invest in completing the instrument" (Dornyei, 2003: 129). Moreover, data collected from questionnaires are based on self-reports, which means that some participants might not respond honestly or they may provide answers which they believe are desired. This is a well-known problem among researchers using questionnaires as data collection tools. The only defence against this argument is that our participants had nothing to gain from providing inaccurate information, as the questions about their perception of different phenomena or language preferences do not have any obvious socially desirable answers. Self-reported data, data in which speakers assessed and commented on their own language use served as a type of linguistic data which provided us with interesting insights, particularly when subsequently compared to naturally occurring language. However, as Codó (2008: 161) suggests, "it must be pointed out that, although useful in its own terms, declarative data can never be employed as a substitute for data on speakers' actual linguistic behavior". It is because as Codó (2008: 161) adds, "self-or other-reports of bilingual language practice may not match observed conduct, since many phenomena related to performance, like code-switching, operate on a subconscious level". In a similar vein, Gumperz (1982: 61) claims that "participants immersed in the interaction itself are often quite unaware which code is used at any one time" and "their main concern is with the communicative effect of what they are saying". That being said, it's believed that their language choice and particular code selection is in large part automatic,

subconscious and speakers' main aim is to convey meaning in order to effectively achieve their communicative ends. This may, in fact, partly explain the major limitation of our questionnaire study which is a relatively large proportion of participants unable to offer definite answers for certain questions and therefore take a stance (reported as 'neither agree nor disagree'). This may, however also be partly attributed to the fact that a questionnaire deals with abstract concepts and "choosing a score on a Likert scale to reflect attitudes requires a certain degree of abstraction¨ (Dewaele & Wei, 2014: 248) as well. However, for our purposes, the knowledge gained through the questionnaire was rather employed to obtain a picture of language attitudes towards CS, a linguistic phenomenon under investigation, as well as other relevant contextualising information.

In terms of data analysis, the size, nature and overall representativeness of our sample also imposed certain limitations on the kinds of techniques and methods that could have been used. As previously stated, the purpose of our questionnaire study was to investigate the sample in terms of their attitudes towards CS, as well as their reasons for switching, while examining the function of CS. Hence, the aim was to collect further background information about the particular people under investigation - our research participants. It is also important to emphasise that our aim was not to draw inferences and venture any generalisations concerning the wider population - i.e. about all the similar people in the world (for which we would have to apply inferential statistical procedures). Hence, due to the size of our sample, we are not able to generalise the findings to a population that our sample is not representative of. However, this fact does not invalidate the analyses and their findings, as these participants were able to offer reflections on their own CS practices and other issues which contributed to our understanding of the complex phenomena at play.

Secondly, in terms of the email corpus analysis (the email corpus study), the total size of the corpus is probably small compared to the large standardised corpora that are available for the analysis, such as the Slovak National Corpus (Corpus of Written Language - prim, as well as Slovak-English Parallel Corpus), and even though its size does not allow us to claim to statistic representativeness, the research

questions of this study are qualitative. As has been pointed out by a number of scholars, it is not necessary to insist on having large samples of text for analysis, but on the contrary, what is particularly needed are, as Gumperz (1977: 11) argues, "detailed investigations of speakers' use of code-switching strategies, in actual conversational exchanges, to show that they exhibit some form of linguistic patterning''. Overall, the aim for our corpus was to provide an exemplary corpus of Slovak and English writing practices in CMC in the given context.

Additionally, by employing the 'mixed methodology' in our research design; i.e. by combining both qualitative and quantitative methods, we believe that we were able to neutralise some of the shortcomings and potential biases. Furthermore, an attempt was made to minimise any circumstances (foreseen or unforeseen) that may have affected the results in a systematic manner (Dornyei, 2003: 124), so we believe that, overall, contributions of this research project outweigh its limitations.

In terms of the **directions for future research**, we agree with Androutsopoulos's (2013: 688) statement that "much remains to be done in documenting different sites and types of CS online, and systematic comparisons among modes, languages, and settings are needed''. Even though the original aim of this thesis was to provide a comparative analysis of the data from the same participants coming from three different CMC platforms, namely email, Facebook and WhatsApp, due to time and space constraints, this was unfortunately not possible. However, bearing in mind that one of the limitations of the current research is that single modes of CMC are analytically examined in isolation, our future research project intends to provide new insights on the language choices and CS patterns on Facebook and WhatsApp, so that the comparative analysis can be carried out with the findings of the present study examining email exchanges. Furthermore, the motivation for this this kind of research arose from the fact that studies of private data, cross-media and cross-mode comparisons of CS usage based on the same writers as well as case studies of multilingual computer-mediated discourse in work teams are particularly lacking (Androutsopoulos, 2013: 688). Hence, for further investigation requiring a larger database, the secondary corpus was compiled and it consists of interactions from Facebook Messenger and WhatsApp (presented below).

The secondary CMC corpus: Facebook Messenger and WhatsApp interactions

Facebook

- 5955 Facebook messages: 844 one-to-one private messages addressed to the researcher and 5111 one-to-many messages addressed to the members of 18 different Facebook groups (with different numbers and combinations of 'members') . These group conversations were created in order to be able to chat with multiple friends at the same time and for the purposes of the future study, we have divided them into:

- 7 Facebook group chats with more than 50+ messages
- 11 Facebook group chats with less than 50 messages

The total number of participants who contributed to the corpus by Facebook messages they have written, either in form of a private direct message (one-to-one) or in a form of a group message (one-to-many) is 39.

WhatsApp

- 2968 WhatsApp messages: 2680 one-to-one private messages addressed to the researcher and 288 one-to-many messages addressed to the members of 2 different WhatsApp groups: one with 15 members and another one with 3 members.

The total number of participants who contributed to the corpus by WhatsApp messages they have written is 19. Most of messages occurred in dyadic interactions.

The tone of Facebook and WhatsApp messages is rather informal and friendly and content-wise, they include arrangements to meet, birthday celebrations, teambuildings, requests for small favours and responses to such requests, jokes, personal stories, simply typical content of everyday interactions among friends.

In conclusion, as more and more communication takes place online, particularly through email in the context of workplace communication, we argue that more research is needed in order to document the trends, shifts and innovations in online practices of non-native English speakers using English as a business lingua franca. Moreover, combining attitudinal data with language production data can help to identify the motivations underlying code-switching in such multilingual settings as the one presented in this thesis. Taking into consideration all the above-mentioned limitations, the results of the present study cannot be assumed to be generalisable to other populations beyond the group of our research participants, therefore the interpretations presented in this thesis are rather context-bound and difficult to generalise without further research. The study should therefore be regarded as exploratory localised case study (in terms of identifying possible issues and trends for further research) and the conclusions as suggestive. Further in-depth research based on different workplaces and different participants needs to be carried out in order to determine whether, and to what extent these findings hold for other contexts. Moreover, in a similar vein, as Warschauer et al. (2007: 310) pointed out, the results of our data analysis also show that prominence of English in CMC "stems from a variety of social, economic, and technological factors that are closely related to the more general role of English" in our society. Modern language technology and linguistic research can thus make a significant contribution to pulling down linguistic borders. In this regard, Šimková et al. (2012: 39) point out that:

> ...to achieve this goal and preserve Europe's cultural and linguistic diversity, it is necessary to first carry out a systematic analysis of the linguistic particularities of all European languages, and the current state of language technology support for them. Language technology solutions will eventually serve as a unique bridge between Europe's languages."

Fit between theories and data could be improved by a broader empirical base. Therefore, much remains to be done before a more complex understanding of CS phenomenon is achieved. Moreover, this thesis has argued that CS is not a transitory phenomenon, as there is clearly "little indication that code-switching will soon disappear" (Gumperz, 1977: 5), which is why it is most likely here to stay.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES

Adams, J., & Swain, S. (2002). Introduction. In J. N. Adams, M. Janse, & S. Swain (Eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word*. Oxford University Press.

Allport, G. W. (1935). Attitudes. In C. Murchison (Ed.) *Handbook of social psychology* (pp. 798-884). Worcester, MA: Clark University Press.

Al-Khatib, M. A., & Sabbah, E.H. (2008). Language choice in mobile text messages among Jordanian University students. *SKY Journal of Linguistics, 12*, 37-65.

Anderson, L. W. (1985). Attitudes and their measurement. In T. Husén & T. N. Postlethwaite (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of education* (Vol. 1, pp. 352-58). Oxford: Pergamon.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2004). Non-native English and sub-cultural identities in media discourse. In: Helge Sandøy (Ed.), *Den fleirspråklege utfordringa / The Multilingual Challenge* (pp. 83-98). Oslo: Novus.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2006a). Multilingualism, diaspora, and the Internet: Codes and identities on German−based diaspora websites. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 10(4): 524-551.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2006b). Mehrsprachigkeit im deutschen Internet: Sprachwahl und Sprachwechsel in Ethno-Portalen. [Multilingualism on the German Internet: Language choice and code-switching on ethnic portals.] In: Peter Schlobinski (Ed.), *Von *hdl* bis *cul8r*. Sprache und Kommunikation in den Neuen Medien* [From *hdl* to *cul8r*. Language and communication in New Media], 172– 196. (Thema Deutsch, Band 7.) Mannheim: Dudenverlag.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2006c). Introduction: Sociolinguistics and computer−mediated communication. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 10(4), 419-438.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2007a). Language choice and code-switching in German-based diasporic web forums. In: Brenda Danet and Susan C. Herring (Eds.), *The multilingual Internet: Language, culture, and communication online*, 340-361.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2007b). Bilingualism in the mass media and on the Internet. In: Monica Heller (Ed.), *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, 207-230. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2013). Code-switching in computer-mediated communication. In S. C. Herring, D. Stein & T. Virtanen (Eds.), *Pragmatics of computer-mediated communication* (pp. 667-694). Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Androutsopoulos, J., & Hinnenkamp, V. (2001). Code-Switching in der bilingualen Chat-Kommunikation: ein explorativer Blick auf #hellas und #turks. [Code-switching in bilingual chat communication: an exploratory analysis of #hellas and #turks.] In: Michael Beißwenger (Ed.), *Chat-Kommunikation,* 367-402. Stuttgart: Ibidem.

Androutsopoulos, J., & Ziegler, E. (2004). Exploring language variation on the Internet: Regional speech in a chat community. In *Language Variation in Europe: Papers from the Second International Conference on Language Variation in Europe, ICLaVE* (Vol. 2, pp. 99-111). Uppsala: Uppsala University Press.

Arendholz, J., Bublitz, W., & Kirner-Ludwig, M. (Eds.) (2015). *The Pragmatics of Quoting Now and Then*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Auer, P. (1984). *Bilingual Conversation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Auer, P. (1995). The pragmatics of code-switching: A sequential approach. In Lesley Milroy & Pieter Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching* (pp. 115-135). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Auer, P. (1998a). *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*. London/New York: Routledge.

Auer, P. (1998b). Introduction: Bilingual Conversation revisited. In: P. Auer (Ed.), *Codeswitching in conversation. Language, interaction and identity.* (pp. 1–24). London/New York: Routledge.

Auer, P. (1999). From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 3(4), 309-332.

Auer, P. (2000). Why should we and how can we determine the 'base language' of a bilingual conversation?. *Estudios de Sociolingüistica*, 1(1), 129-144.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon/Philadelphia/Adelaide: Multilingual Matters LTD.

Barasa, S. (2016). Spoken code-switching in written form? Manifestation of code-switching in computer mediated communication. *Journal of Language Contact*, 9(1), 49-70.

Baron, N. (1998). Letters by phone or speech by other means: The linguistics of email. *Language & Communication*, 18(2), 133-170.

Baron, N. (2008). *Always On: Language in an Online and Mobile World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barron, A. (2006). Understanding spam: a macro-textual analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 38, 880-904.

Bentahila, A. (1983). *Language Attitudes Among Arabic-French Bilinguals in Morocco*. Clevedon, Avon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Bentahila, A., & Davies, E. D. (1983). The syntax of Arabic-French code-switching. *Lingua, 59,* 301-330.

Berthele, R. (2012). The influence of code-mixing and speaker information on perception and assessment of foreign language proficiency: An experimental study. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 16(4), 453-466.

Blom, J. P., & Gumperz J. (1972). Social meaning in linguistic structures: Code-switching in Norway. In J. Gumperz, & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Blommaert, J., & Meeuwis, M. (1998). Code-switching Among Zairians in Belgium. In: P. Auer (Ed.), *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*. London/New York: Routledge.

Bou-Franch, P. (2006). Solidarity and deference in Spanish computer-mediated communication: a discourse-pragmatic analysis of students' emails to lecturers. In: P. Bou-Franch (Ed.), *Ways into Discourse* (pp. 61–79) Comares, Granada.

Bou-Franch, P. (2011). Openings and closings in Spanish email conversations. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 1772-1785.

Boztepe, E. (2003). Issues in Code-Switching: Competing Theories and Models. *Working Papers in TESOL & Applied Linguistics*, 3(2): 1-27.

Bryman, A. (2004). *Social Research Methods (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bublitz, W. (2015). Introducing Quoting as a Ubiquitous Meta-communicative Act. *The Pragmatics of Quoting Now and Then* (pp. 1-26). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.

Bublitz, W., & Hoffmann, Ch. (2011). 'Three Men Using our Toilet all Day Without Flushing – This May Be One of the Worst Sentences I've Ever Read': Quoting in CMC, In Joachim Frenk and Lena Steveker (Eds.), Anglistentag Saarbrücken 2010. Proceedings.Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 433-447.

Canagarajah, A. S. (2011). Translanguaging in the Classroom: Emerging Issues for Research and Pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review,* 2, 1-28.

Chana, U., & Romaine, S. (1984). Evaluative reactions to Panjabi/English code−switching. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 5:6, 447-473.

Chovanec, J., & Dynel, M. (2015). Researching interactional forms and participant structures in public and social media. In Dynel, M. & Chovanec, J. (Eds.), *Participation in Public and Social Media Interactions* (pp. 1-23). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, Pragmatics and Beyond New Series 256.

Cicero, M. T. (1999). *Letters to Atticus*. Edited and translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press.

Climent, S., Moré, J., Oliver, A., Salvatierra, M., Sànchez, I., Taulé, M., & Vallmanya, L. (2003). Bilingual newsgroups in Catalonia: A challenge for machine translation. *Journal of Computer−Mediated Communication*, 9(1).

Clyne, M. (1987). Constrains on code switching: How universal are they?. *Linguistics,* 25(4): 739- 764.

Codó, E. (2008). Interviews and Questionnaires. In Li Wei & M. G. Moyer (Eds.), *The Blackwell Guide to Research Methods in Bilingualism and Multilingualism* (pp. 158-176). Blackwell Publishing.

Crystal, D. (2001). *Language and the Internet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language (2nd ed.)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2006). *Language and the Internet. Second Edition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2011). *Internet Linguistics: A Student Guide*. Routledge.

Dąbrowska, M. (2013). Functions of code-switching in Polish and Hindi Facebook Users' posts. *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis 130*: 63–84.

Danet, B., & Herring, S. C. (Eds.). (2007a). *The Multilingual Internet: Language, Culture, and Communication Online*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Danet, B., & Herring, S. C. (2007b). Introduction: Welcome to the Multilingual Internet. In B. Danet, & S. C. Herring (Eds.), *The Multilingual Internet: Language, Culture, and Communication Online* (pp. 3-38). New York: Oxford University Press.

Davis, B. H., & Brewer, J. P. (1997). *Electronic discourse: Linguistic individuals in virtual space*. State University of New York Press.

De Brabanter, P. (2004). Foreign-Language Quotations and Code-Switching: the Grammar Behind. ESSE Conference (European Society for the Study of English), Sep 2004, Saragosse. <ijn_00000556>.

Deumert, A., & Masinyana, S. O. (2008). Mobile language choices—The use of English and isiXhosa in text messages (SMS): Evidence from a bilingual South African sample. *English World-Wide*, 29(2), 117-147.

Dewaele, J. M., & Pavlenko, A. (2001/2003). *Web Questionnaire on Bilingualism and Emotions*. Unpublished manuscript. University of London.

Dewaele, J. M., & Wei, L. (2014). Attitudes towards code-switching among adult mono-and multilingual language users. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 35(3), 235-251.

Di Sciullo, A. M., Muysken, P., & Singh, R. (1986). Government and code-mixing. *Journal of Linguistics,* 22, 1-24.

Dorleijn, M., & Nortier, J. (2009). Code-switching and the internet. In B. Bullock & A. Toribio (Eds.), The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching (Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics, pp. 127-141). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dörnyei, Z. (2003). *Questionnaires in second language research: Construction, administration, and processing*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Dubé, L., Bourhis, A., & Jacob, R. (2005). The impact of structuring characteristics on the launching of virtual communities of practice. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*. 18 (2): 145-166.

Durham, M. (2003). Language Choice on a Swiss Mailing List. *Journal of Computer−Mediated Communication*, 9: 0-0.

Durham, M. (2007). Language Choice on a Swiss Mailing List. In B. Danet, & S. C. Herring (Eds.), *The Multilingual Internet: Language, Culture and Communication Online* (pp. 319-339). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Eagley, A. H., & Chaiken, S. (1993). *The Psychology of Attitudes*. London: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Eastman, C. M. (1992). Codeswitching as an urban language contact phenomenon. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 13, 1-17.

Edwards, J. (1982). Language Attitudes and Their Implication among English Speakers. In E. Bouchard Ryan, & H. Giles (Eds.), *Attitudes towards Language Variation*. London: Edward Arnold.

Edwards, J. (1994). *Multilingualism*. London: Routledge.

Edwards, J. (1999). Refining our understanding of language attitudes. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology,* 18 (1), 101–109.

Elster, J. (1989). *The cement of society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ferguson, Ch. (1964). Diglossia. In Dell Hymes (Ed.), *Language in culture and society*. New York: Harper and Row.

Finnegan, R. (2011). *Why Do We Quote? The Culture and History of Quotation*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers.

Fishbein, M. (1967). Attitude and the prediction of behaviour. In Fishbein, M. (Ed.), *Readings in attitude theory and measurement*. New York: Wiley.

Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1975). *Belief, Attitude, Intention, and Behavior: An Introduction to Theory and Research*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Fishman, J. A. (1965). Who speaks what language to whom and when?. *La Linguistique*, 2, 67-88.

Fishman, J. A., Cooper, R. L., & Ma, R. (Eds.). (1971). *Bilingualism in the barrio*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Fishman, J. A. (1972). Domains and the relationships between micro- and macro-sociolinguistics. In J. J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication* (pp. 435-453). New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Gadusová Z., & Hartanská J. (2002). Teaching English in Slovakia: Past, Present and Future. *CAUCE, Revista de Filología y su Didáctica*, 25, 225-253.

Gafaranga, J. (2005). Demythologising language alternation studies: conversational structure vs. social structure in bilingual interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 37, 281-300.

Gafaranga, J. (2018). Chapter 3. Overall order versus local order in bilingual conversation. In Anna Filipi & Numa Markee (Eds.), *Conversation Analysis and Language Alternation: Capturing Transitions in the Classroom* (pp. 35-58). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Gal, S. (1979). *Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic Press.

Gardner-Chloros, P. (2009). *Code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gardner-Chloros, P., McEntee-Atalianis, L., & Finnis, K. (2005). Language attitudes and use in a transplanted setting: Greek Cypriots in London. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 2(1), 52-80.

Gardner, R. C., & Lambert, W. E. (1972). *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning*. Rowley, MA Newbury House Publishers.

Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Garrett, P., Coupland, N., & Williams A. (2003). *Investigating Language Attitudes: Social Meanings of Dialect, Ethnicity and Performance*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Georgakopoulou, A. (1997). Self-presentation and interactional alliances in e-mail discourse: The style- and code-switches of Greek messages. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 7* (2), 141-164.

Georgakopoulou, A. (2004). To tell or not to tell?: Email stories between on-and off-line interactions. *Language@ internet*, 1, 1-38.

Gibbons, J. (1983). Attitudes towards languages and code-mixing in Hong Kong. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 4(2/3): 129-147.

Giles, H., Ryan, E.B., & Hewstone, M. (1988). The measurement of language attitudes. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, & K. J. Mattheier (Eds.) *Sociolinguistics: An international handbook of the science of language and society*, vol. 2, 1068–1080. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Goldbarg, R. N. (2009). Spanish-English Codeswitching in Email Communication. *Language@ internet*, 6(3), 1-21.

Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. L. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and* semantics, vol. 3: Speech acts (pp. 41-58). New York City: Academic Press.

Gumperz, J. J. (1977). The sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switching. *RELC journal*, 8(2), 1-34.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. J. (2001). Interactional sociolinguistics: A personal perspective. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. Hamilton (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 215-228). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Gumperz, J.J., & Hernandez-Chavez, E. (1971). Bilingualism, Bidialectualism and Classroom Interaction. In C. Cazden, V. John, & D. Hymes (Eds.), *The Functions of Language in the Classroom.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Halim, N. S., & Maros, M. (2014). The functions of code-switching in Facebook interactions. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 118, 126-133.

Hanson, D. J. (1980). Relationship between methods and findings in attitude-behavior research. *Psychology: A Journal of Human Behavior*, 17(3), 11-13.

Haugen, E. (1953). *The Norwegian language in America: A study of bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Heller, M., & Pfaff, C. W. (1996). Code-switching. In Hans Goebl, Peter H. Nelde, Zdenek Stary, & Wolfgang Wölck (Eds.), *Kontaktlinguistik/ Contact linguistics,* Vol. 1, 594–609. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Henerson, M.E., Morris L.L., & Fitz-Gibbon C.T. (1987). *How to measure attitudes, 2nd ed.* Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Herbert, R. (1998). Book reviews. Reviewed Work: Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties by Carol Myers-Scotton. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 8(2), 251-253.

Herring, S. C. (1996). Two variants of an electronic message schema. In S. C. Herring (Ed.), *Computer-Mediated Communication: Linguistic, Social and Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (pp. 81–106). John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Herring, S, C. (Ed.). (1999). Interactional coherence in CMC. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication,* 4(4).

Herring, S. C. (2000). Gender differences in CMC: findings and implications. *The CPSR Newsletter*, 18 (1).

Herring, S. C. (2004). Computer-mediated discourse analysis: An approach to researching online communities. In Sasha A. Barab, Rob Kling, & James H. Gray (Eds.), *Designing for Virtual Communities in the Service of Learning* (pp. 338–376). Cambridge/ New York: Cambridge University Press.

Herring, S. C. (2007). A faceted classification scheme for computer-mediated discourse. *Language@Internet,* 4(1), 1-37.

Hinnenkamp, V. (2008). Deutsch, Doyc or Doitsch? Chatters as languagers – The case of a German–Turkish chat room. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(3), 253-275.

Hinrichs, L. (2006). *Codeswitching on the Web: English and Jamaican Creole in e-mail communication.* Pragmatics & Beyond New Series, Vol. 147. John Benjamins Publishing.

Hodsdon-Champeon, C. (2010). Conversations within conversations: Intertextuality in racially antagonistic online discourse. *Language@Internet*, 7(10).

Hoffmann, C. (1991). *An introduction to bilingualism.* London: Longman.

Hopper, R. (1977). Language attitudes in the job interview. *Communication Monographs,* 44, 346-51.

Hout, R. V., & Knops, U. (Eds.). (1988). *Language Attitudes in the Dutch Language Area*. Dordrecht - Holland/ Providence, R.I. - U.S.A.: Foris Publications.

Hymes, D. H. (1972). On Communicative Competence. In J. B. Pride, & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings* - Part 2 (pp. 269-293). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Jacobson, R. (Ed.). (1998). *Codeswitching Worldwide*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Jaspaert, K., & Kroon, S. (1988). The relationship between language attitudes and language choice. In Van Hout, R., & Knops, U. (Eds.). *Language attitudes in the Dutch language area (Vol. 5)*. 157-171. Walter de Gruyter.

Jenkins J., & Leung C. (2017). Assessing English as a Lingua Franca. In Shohamy E., Or I., & May S. (Eds.), *Language Testing and Assessment. Encyclopedia of Language and Education* (3rd ed.). Springer, Cham.

Joshi, A. (1985). Processing of sentences with intrasentential code switching. In D. R. Dowty, L. Kattunen, & A. Zwicky (Eds.), *Natural language parsing: Psychological, computational and theoretical perspectives* (pp. 190-205). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jørgensen, N. J. (2008). Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(3): 161–176.

Kačala, J., & Krajčovič, R. (2006). *Prehľad dejín spisovnej slovenčiny* [An Overview of the History of the Literary Slovak Language]. Martin: Matica slovenská.

Katreniaková, Z. (2002). *Anglicizmy v slovenčine z hľadiska didaktickej komunikácie* [Anglicisms in Slovak from the Viewpoint of Didactic Communication]. Primárne vzdelávanie. Metodické centrum Banská Bystrica.

Katz, D. (1960). The functional approach to the study of attitudes. *Public opinion quarterly*, 24(2), 163-204.

Kietzmann, J., Plangger, K., Eaton, B., Heilgenberg, K., Pitt, L., & Berthon, P. (2013). Mobility at work: A typology of mobile communities of practice and contextual ambidexterity. *Journal of Strategic Information Systems*. 3 (4): 282-297.

Kopecká, M., Laliková, T., Ondrejková, R., Skladaná, J., & Valentová, I. (2011). *Staršia slovenská lexika v medzijazykových vzťahoch* [The Older Slovak Lexicon in Interlingual Relations]. Bratislava: Jazykovedný ústav Ľudovíta Štúra SAV.

Labov, W. (1984). Field methods of the project on linguistic change and variation. In J. Baugh & J. Sherzer (Eds.), *Language in Use: Readings in Sociolinguistics* (pp. 28–53). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Ladegaard, H. J. (2000). Language attitudes and sociolinguistic behaviour: Exploring attitude−behaviour relations in language. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4: 214-233.

Lambert, W. E., Hodgson, R. C., Gardner, R. C., & Fillenbaum, S. (1960). Evaluational reactions to spoken languages. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 60(1), 44-51.

Landert, D. (2015). 1. Reportable Facts and a Personal Touch: The Functions of Direct Quotes in Online News. *The Pragmatics of Quoting Now and Then* (pp. 29-52). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lawson, S., & Sachdev I. (2000). Codeswitching in Tunisia: Attitudinal and Behavioural Dimensions. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 32 (9): 1343–1361.

Lee, C. K. (2007). Linguistic features of email and ICQ instant messaging in Hong Kong. In Brenda Danet, & Susan C. Herring (Eds.), *The Multilingual Internet*. 184–208.

Leppänen, S. (2007). Youth language in media contexts: Insights into the functions of English in Finland. *World Englishes*, 26(2), 149-169.

Leppänen, S., Pitkänen−Huhta, A., Piirainen−Marsh, A., Nikula, T., & Peuronen, S. (2009). Young people's translocal new media uses: A multiperspective analysis of language choice and heteroglossia. *Journal of Computer−Mediated Communication*, 14(4), 1080-1107.

Lewis, E. G. (1981). *Bilingualism and bilingual education*. Oxford, England: Pergamon.

Li, W. (2002). 'What Do You Want Me to Say?' On the Conversation Analysis Approach to Bilingual Interaction. *Language in Society*, 31(2), 159-180.

Li, W. (2005). "How can you tell?": towards a common sense explanation of conversational code-switching. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37(3), 375-389.

Li, W. (2011). Multilinguality, Multimodality and Multicompetence: Code- and Mode-switching by Minority Ethnic Children in Complementary Schools. *Modern Language Journal,* 95: 370–384.

Likert, R. (1932). A technique for the measurement of attitudes. *Archives of psychology. No. 140*. New York.

Lorenzo-Dus, N., & Bou-Franch, P. (2013). A cross-cultural investigation of email communication in Peninsular Spanish and British English: The role of (in)formality and (in)directness. *Pragmatics and Society*. 4(1).

Maynor, N. (1994). The Language of Electronic Mail: Written Speech? In G. D. Little, & M. Montgomery (Eds.), *Centennial Usage Studies* (pp. 48–54). Tuscaloosa, AL: Alabama University Press.

McCabe, S. E. (2004). Comparison of Mail and Web Surveys in Collecting Illicit Drug Use Data: A Randomized Experiment. *Journal of Drug Education*, 34: 62-73.

McClure, E. (2001). Oral and written Assyrian-English codeswitching. In Rodolfo Jacobson (Ed.), *Codeswitching Worldwide II*, 157–191. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

McGuire, W. J. (1969). The nature of attitudes and attitude change. In Elliot Aronson, & Gardner Lindzey (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (pp. 136-314). Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.

McKenzie, R. (2010). The Social Psychology of English as a Global Language: Attitudes, Awareness and Identity in the Japanese Context. *Educational Linguistics* (10). London: Springer.

Meeuwis, M., & Blommaert, J. (1994). Review article: The "Markedness Model" and the absence of society: Remarks on codeswitching. *Multilingua: Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, 13(4), 387–423.

Milroy, L., & Gordon, M. (2003). *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Milroy, L., & Muysken, P. (Eds.). (1995). *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mislovičová, S. (1994). O preberaní cudzích slov. [About foreign words borrowing]. *Nedeľná Pravda*, 3(35), 6.

Montes-Alcalá, C. (2000). Attitudes towards oral and written codeswitching in Spanish–English bilingual youths. In Ana Roca (Ed.) *Research on Spanish in the U.S.* (pp. 218–227). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

Montes-Alcalá, C. (2005). ¡Mándame un e-mail! Cambio de códigos español-inglés online. In L. Ortiz & M. Lacorte (Eds.), *Contacto y contextos lingüísticos: El español en los Estados Unidos y en contacto con otros lenguas* (pp. 173-185). Madrid/ Frankfurt: Iberoamerican / Vervuert.

Montes-Alcalá, C. (2016). iSwitch: Spanish-English Mixing in Computer-Mediated Communication, *Journal of Language Contact*, 9(1), 23-48.

Muysken, P. (2000). *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of Code-Mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1988). Codeswitching as indexical of social negotiations. In M. Heller (Ed.) *Codeswitching. Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (pp. 151-186). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Myers−Scotton, C. (1992). Comparing codeswitching and borrowing. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, 13(1-2), 19-39.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social Motivation for Code-Switching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1998). A theoretical introduction to the markedness model. In Carol Myers-Scotton (Ed.), *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties*, 18–38. New York: Oxford University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1999). Explaining the role of norms and rationality in codeswitching. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 32: 1259-1271.

Myers-Scotton, C., & Jake, J.L. (1995). Matching lemmas in a bilingual language competence and production model: evidence from Intrasentential Codeswitching . *Linguistics*, 33: 981-1024.

Myers-Scotton, C., & Bolonyai, A. (2001). Calculating speakers: Codeswitching in a rational choice model. *Language in Society*, 30: 1-28.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2006). *Multiple voices: an introduction to bilingualism*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Nekvapil, J., & Nekula, M. (2005). K jazykové situaci v nadnárodních podnicích působících v České republice [On the language planning situation in multinational companies in the Czech Republic]. *Slovo a slovesnost,* 66, 83-95.

Nortier, J. (1990). *Dutch–Moroccan Arabic Code-Switching among Moroccans in the Netherlands*. Dordrecht, Holland/Providence, RI: Foris Publications.

Nunnally, J. C. (1978). *Psychometric theory (2nd ed.)*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Olson, J. M., & Maio, G. R. (2003). Attitudes in Social Behavior. In T. Millon, M. J. Lerner, & I. B. Weiner (Eds.), *Handbook of Psychology.* Volume 5. Personality and Social Psychology. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Three: 13: 299-325.

Oppenheim, B. (1982). An exercise in attitude measurement. In G. M. Breakwell, H. Foot, & R. Gilmour (Eds.), *Social Psychology: A Practical Manual*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Oppenheim, A .N. (1992). *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*. London: Pinter Publishers Ltd.

Paolillo, J. C. (1996). Language Choice on soc. culture. punjab. *Electronic Journal of Communication/La Revue Electronique de Communication*, 6(3).

Paolillo, J. C. (2001). Language variation on Internet Relay Chat: A social network approach. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, 5(2), 180-213.

Paolillo, J. C. (2011). Conversational codeswitching on Usenet and Internet Relay Chat. *Language@Internet*, *8*(3).

Pavlenko, A. (2006). Bilingual selves. In A. Pavlenko (Ed.), *Bilingual minds: Emotional experience, expression and representation* (pp. 1-33). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Pena, C. D. (2004). What do bilinguals think about their "code-switching"?. *RAEL: Revista electrónica de lingüística aplicada*, (3), 146-157.

Pérez Sabater, C. (2011). Cartas por internet: las implicaciones lingüísticas y estilísticas de los mensajes de correo electrónico y los comentarios del sitio de redes sociales Facebook. *Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada*, 24, 111-130.

Pérez Sabater, C., Turney, E., & Montero Fleta, B. (2008). Orality and literacy, formality and informality in email communication. *Ibérica*, 15, 71-88.

Perloff, R. M. (1993). *The Dynamics of Persuasion*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Perloff, R. M. (2003). *The Dynamics of Persuasion: Communication and Attitudes in the 21st century (Second Edition)*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Pfaff, C. W. (1979). Constraints on language mixing. *Language*, 55, 291-318.

Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en Espanol: toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics,* 18: 581-618.

Poplack, S. (1981). Syntactic structure and social function of codeswitching. In R. P. Durán (Ed.), *Latino language and communicative behavior* (pp. 169-184). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Poplack, S. (2001). Code-switching (Linguistic). In Smelser, Niel & Baltes, Paul (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 2062-2065). Elsevier Science Ltd.

Poplack, S., Wheeler, S., & Westwood, A. (1987). Distinguishing language contact phenomena: Evidence from Finnish-English bilingualism. In P. Lilius & M. Saari (Eds.), *The Nordic languages and modern linguistics 6* (pp. 22-56). Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press.

Poplack, S., & Walker, J. (2003). Review of Pieter Muysken, 2000, Bilingual Speech: a typology of code-mixing. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. *Journal of Linguistics*, 39, 3. 678-683.

Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language & Ethnicity among Adolescents*. London: Longman.

Redinger, D. (2010). *Language attitudes and code-switching behaviour in a multilingual educational context: the case of Luxembourg* (Doctoral dissertation, University of York).

Romaine, S. (1986). The notion of government as a constraint on language mixing: some evidence from the code-mixed compound verb in Panjabi. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Linguistics and Language in Context: The Interdependence of Theory, Data and Application.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Romaine, S. (1992). *Bilingualism*. Blackwell Publishers: Cambridge.

Romaine, S. (1995). *Bilingualism.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Romaine, S. (2001). *Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 2nd Edition. Oxford University Press.

Ryan, E. B., & Giles, H. (Eds.). (1982). *Attitudes towards language variation: Social and applied contexts*. London: Edward Arnold Publishers.

Sankoff, D., & Poplack, S. (1981). A formal grammar for code-switching. *Papers in Linguistics, 14,* 3-45.

Sankoff, D., Poplack, S., & Vanniarajan, S. (1990). The case of the nonce loan in Tamil. *Language Variation and Change*, 2, 71-101.

Sebba, M. (2003). 'Will the real impersonator please stand up?' Language and identity in the Ali G websites. *Arbeiten aus Anglistik and Amerikanistik*, 28(2): 279–304.

Sebba, M., & Wootton T. (1998). We, they and identity: Sequential versus identity-related explanation in code-switching. In P. Auer (Ed.), *Code-switching in Conversation: Language, interaction and identity* (pp. 262-286). London: Routledge.

Seidlhofer, B. (2005). English as a lingua franca. *ELT journal*, 59(4), 339-341.

Siebenhaar, B. (2005). Varietätenwahl und Code Switching in Deutschschweizer Chatkanälen. Quantitative und Qualitative Analysen. Online [Variety choice and code-switching in Swiss German chat channels.] *Networx*, 43.

Siebenhaar, B. (2006). Code choice and code−switching in Swiss−German Internet Relay Chat rooms. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 10(4), 481-506.

Siebenhaar, B. (2008). Quantitative approaches to linguistic variation in IRC: Implications for qualitative research. *Language@ Internet*, 5(4).

Sifianou, M. (2018). Quoting and identity construction on Twitter: A socio-cognitive perspective. Plenary lecture given at EPICS VIII, 2-4 May 2018. University of Seville, Spain.

Smith, Z. (2000). *White Teeth*. Penguin Books.

Sperlich, W. B. (2005). Will cyberforums save endangered languages? A Niuean case study. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2005(172), 51-77.

Sridhar, S. N., & Sridhar, K. (1980). The syntax and psycholinguistics of bilingual code-mixing. *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, 34, 407-416.

Sudman, S., & Bradburn, N. M. (1983). *Asking questions*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Šimková, M., Garabík R., Gajdošová K., Laclavík M., Ondrejovič S., Juhár J., Genči J., Furdík K., Ivoríková H. Ivanecký J. (2012). The Slovak Language in the Digital Age. / Slovenský jazyk v digitálnom veku. META-NET. White Paper Series. Berlin Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag. 85 p.

Taiwo, R. (Ed.). (2010). *Handbook of Research on Discourse Behavior and Digital Communication: Language Structures and Social Interaction*. IGI Global.

Timm, L. A. (1978). Code-Switching in War and Peace. In Michel Paradis (Ed.), *Aspects of Bilingualism* (pp. 302-315). Columbia, SC: Hornbeam Press.

Tsaliki, L. (2003). Globalization and hybridity: The construction of Greekness on the Internet. In: Karim H. Karim (Ed.), *The Media of diaspora. Mapping the Globe* (pp. 162–176). London: Routledge.

Tsiplakou, S. (2009). Doing (bi)lingualism: Language alternation as performative construction of online identities. *Pragmatics*. *Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association* (IPrA), 19(3), 361-391.

Valdès-Fallis, G. (1977). Code-switching among bilingual Mexican–American women: towards an understanding of sex-related language alternation. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 7, 65-72.

Waldvogel, J. (2007). Greetings and Closings in Workplace Email. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, Volume 12, Issue 2, p. 456-477.

Walker, J. (1997). "Review of C. Myers-Scotton (1995), Social Motivations for Code-Switching." *Language*, 73 (4): 841-844.

Warschauer, M., El Said, G. R., & Zohry, A. G. (2007). Language Choice Online: Globalization and Identity in Egypt. In: B. Danet, & S. C. Herring (Eds.), *The multilingual Internet: Language, culture, and communication online* (pp. 303-318). Oxford University Press on Demand.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wenger, E., McDermott, R., & Snyder, W. M. (2002). *Cultivating Communities of Practice*. First edition. Harvard Business Press.

Wentz. J., & McClure, E. (1977). Monolingual 'codes': some remarks on the similarities between bilingual and monolingual code-switching. In Papers from the 13th Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistics Society, April 1977, 706-713. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.

Wicker, A. (1969). Attitudes versus actions: The relationship of verbal and overt responses to attitude objects, *Journal of Social Issues,* 25, 41-78.

Wilson, R., & Dewaele, J. M. (2010). The use of web questionnaires in second language acquisition and bilingualism research. *Second Language Research*, 26(1), 103-123.

Winford, D. (2003). Code Switching: Linguistic Aspects. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics* (pp. 126-167). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Woolard, K. (2004). Codeswitching. In: A. Duranti (Ed.). *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Yates, S. J. (1996). Oral and written aspects of computer conferencing: a corpus based study. In S.C. Herring (Ed.), *Computer-Mediated Communication: Linguistic, Social and Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (pp. 9–46). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Yun, G. W., & Trumbo, C. W. (2000). Comparative Response to a Survey Executed by Post, E-mail and Web Form. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 6.

Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

APPENDIX: Questionnaire survey

Guideline:

The following questionnaire is part of the study on multilingualism and code-switching. It is aimed at gathering data to identify the use of code-switching at the workplace. During your communication, you may use Slovak in combination with English and switch back and forth between these languages (or mix these 2 languages). This is known as code-switching.

Please fill this questionnaire completely by answering the following questions honestly. Any information you will provide will be used for academic purposes only.
Thank you for your cooperation and for your time!

SECTION I: BACKGROUND

PERSONAL INFORMATION ABOUT YOURSELF

1. **Gender**:
- Female
- Male

2. **Age**:
How old are you?

3. **Nationality**
What is your nationality?

What is your parents' nationality?

4. **Education:**

What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

LANGUAGES/ LANGUAGE USE

What is your mother tongue/ native language?

How long have you been learning English?

What other languages do you speak? (Please list in the order you learned them)

Out of these languages, which did you learn before the age of 5?

Which foreign languages did you learn at school?

- Primary School
- Secondary School
- University
- Language School course

What is your English language proficiency level?

Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)					
BASIC		INDEPENDENT		PROFICIENT	
A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2

SECTION II:
REASONS FOR CODE-SWITCHING AND ITS FUNCTIONS

In general, are you aware that you code-switch (switch between multiple languages)?
Yes - No

Do you code-switch in face-to-face (F2F) communication?
Yes - No

Do you code-switch in online communication?
Yes - No

If YES:
How often do you realize that you switch from one language to another during a conversation?
F2F: Always - very often - sometimes - rarely - never
Online: Always - very often - sometimes - rarely - never

When do you switch between the languages in a conversation...?
(Check all that apply)

REASONS FOR AND FUNCTIONS OF SWITCHING TO ENGLISH	FREQUENCY				
	Always	Very often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
I switch to English when greeting others *(saying Hi. Hello. Good morning. etc.).*					
I switch to English when expressing a farewell *(saying Goodbye. Bye. See you. etc.)*					
I switch to English to add emphasis.					
I switch to English when using terminology related to technology.					
I switch to English when using hospitality/ hotel-related terminology.					
I switch to English to avoid a misunderstanding.					
I switch to English to express feelings.					
I switch to English to fill in the gaps when I have a vocabulary limitation. *(e.g. I cannot find a word with the same meaning in Slovak)*					
I switch to English when I feel some things are better expressed in English or sound better in English than Slovak.					
Others (please specify):					

SECTION III:
ATTITUDES TOWARDS CODE-SWITCHING IN CMC

What is your attitude towards switching between languages in a conversation?
Positive - Neutral - Negative

To what extent do you agree with the following statements about language switching?
Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements:

ATTITUDE STATEMENTS	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Mixing Slovak and English is common in our online communication					
Mixing Slovak and English is common in our email communication.					
Mixing Slovak and English is common in our Facebook communication.					
Mixing Slovak and English is common in our WhatsApp communication.					
Mixing Slovak and English is common in our face-to-face communication.					
English is the language of online communication.					
Slovak sounds more formal in online communication.					
English sounds 'cooler' in online communication.					
Mixing Slovak and English (the 'mixed' variety) is the language of online communication.					
The 'mixed' variety used in online communication resembles the variety used in face-to-face communication.					
The 'mixed' variety will eventually prevail in face-to-face communication.					
Code-Switching is a sign of incomplete linguistic competence. Mixing Slovak and English shows a sense of inability to proficiently produce sentences in one language.					
It annoys me when people switch between languages, mixing Slovak and English in communication.					
Mixing Slovak and English displays a distinct multicultural identity.					
Mixing Slovak and English is instrumental in building a second, virtual identity.					
Mixing Slovak and English in online communication is a sign of arrogance.					
I find it confusing when people mix Slovak and English when they speak/ write.					
Mixing Slovak and English is typical for our everyday workplace communication.					
Mixing Slovak and English at the workplace sounds natural to me.					
Mixing Slovak and English outside of workplace sounds natural to me.					
The spread of English is a manifestation of linguistic and cultural imperialism.					
The spread of English possesses a threat to the Slovak language.					