# What´s topic got to do with it?

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## A study of code-switching behavior in Norwegian upper secondary school students

**Fredrik Dale**

## Summary in Norwegian

Denne studien tar for seg hvordan valg av tema kan påvirke kodeveksling (code-switching) hos elever ved en utvalgt videregående skole. Hovedhypotesen i oppgaven sier at hvis man snakker på engelsk med en elev som har norsk som morsmål, om et tema som er typisk norsk, så vil det gi utslag i hvor mye elevene kodeveksler; hvis tema er typisk norsk vil eleven kodeveksle mer enn hvis tema er typisk engelsk. I tillegg vil det undersøkes om hendholdsvis norske og engelske tema har noen effekt på hvor mange samsvarsbøyningsfeil elevene produserer, og hvilken rolle motivasjon spiller når det kommer til elevenes kodeveksling. Måten dette blir testet på er at elevene blir vist bilder av enten typiske engelske eller norske ting (se vedlegg 2), og deretter spurt spørsmål som løst omhandler disse bildene.

Mye forskning har blitt gjort på kodeveksling generelt, og tidligere studier har vist at tema kan påvirke kodeveksling. I tillegg er det forskning innen tilnærming av andrespråk som tilsier at det er en sammenheng mellom hva vi tenker og hva vi sier, og det blir utforsket om dette kan forklare hvorfor man vil finne mer kodeveksling når elever skal snakke på engelsk om typiske norske tema. Det er dog ikke mye forskning som har blitt gjort på om det er noen korrelasjon mellom tema og samsvarsbøyningsfeil eller motivasjon og kodeveksling, og også måten data blir samlet inn på i denne studien, gjennom intervjuer med fri tale, er noe uvanlig i forskning på kodeveksling.

Det er altså tre hypoteser denne oppgaven arbeider ut fra, at norske temaer vil gi mer kodeveksling, at norske tema vil gi mer samsvarsbøyningsfeil, og at motivasjonen til elevene vil påvirke til hvilken grad de kodeveksler. Den første av disse kan sies å ha blitt styrket av resultatene, den andre fant ikke støtte i resultatene, og i forbindelse med den tredje ble det observert at lav motivasjon ga større utslag i hvilken grad kodeveksling forekom enn det høy motivasjon gjorde.

Variabelen "alder" ble ikke undersøkt, ettersom det var små forskjeller i alderen til informantene i studiene, men variabelen "kjønn" ble sett nærmere på, og resultatene viste at det var en forskjell i kodeveksling basert på kjønn, men på grunn av stor overvekt av mannlige informanter kan disse resultatene sier å være noe svake.

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Aim and scope

The world that we find ourselves in today is one where languages collide on a daily basis. As globalization makes the world smaller, the need to communicate with people in a different language than your mother tongue becomes greater. As a result of this, more and more people are acquiring new languages. Speakers who can communicate in two languages are called bilinguals and those that master even more languages are called multi-linguals. In the field of linguistics, these individuals have always been of great interest, and often the subject of scientific inquiry. One of the things that researchers investigate is how the languages of these multi-linguals interact, and that is also the focus of this study. While there a numerous different theories and methods that study and attempt to describe language contact situations, the focus here will be on what has come to be known as *code-switching,* which is the ability of bilinguals to alternate between different languages, or different codes, within a single speech act. The reason I have chosen this focus is that it has for the last couple of years been something that has interested me personally. I spent six months in China teaching English. In the first month of this stay I attended a course where different people from all over the world gathered to learn the inns and outs of teaching in Chinese schools. There were more than 20 different languages represented in this group, and it fascinated me greatly to see and experience how all these speakers communicated with each other. In particular, I noted how many would struggle to find the correct words in English in some situations, and try to fill this gap in the conversation by using the equivalent word in their native language, an observation that I had also made while teaching English in Norway. Upon returning to my studies in Norway, a course in second language acquisition solidified my resolve, and hence this thesis was written. The present study explores whether or not the choice of topic will affect speakers propensity to code-switch. More specifically, the study investigates if native speakers of Norwegian who are speaking English will code-switch to Norwegian more frequently when the topic is something that can be said to be typically Norwegian; topics that elicit thoughts and feelings about Norway. Students in upper school will comprise the informant pool, as there is an underlying hope that the results of this study can be of

use when deciding topics for oral evaluations and exams in the school system. Large amounts of research has been done on code-switching, especially in the past 50 years, and this thesis will hopefully add something useful to this.

## 1.2 Hypotheses and research questions

This study seeks to explore three different hypotheses. The choice of these hypotheses has been influenced partly by previous findings and studies, and partly by the above-mentioned personal curiosity. Also, three research questions related to these hypotheses will be mentioned below.

The following questions were asked before this thesis was written, and influenced the hypothesis as well as providing a focus for the study.

1) What effect does the topic of discourse have on code-switching in native speakers of Norwegian in upper secondary school?

2) Will the choice of topic have any effect on these speakers with regard to the grammatical feature of concord?

3) Will the motivation of these speakers have a meaningful impact on the amount of code-switching and concord errors that they produce?

*1) Informants will code-switch to a greater degree when the topics are typically Norwegian.*

The idea that topic can affect code-switching is not unique for this thesis. Much research has been done that holds that extra-linguistic factors such as topic plays an important role in describing why speakers code-switch. Most impactful for the hypothesis above is Peter Auer's research, which will be outlined in the theory chapter, in particular the research he did in the 1980s where he focused on explaining code-switching by looking at extra-linguistic factors. This research suggested that factors such as topic and setting could explain why bilinguals code-switch. (Auer, 1998) Many other linguists have had this focus, and their work will be discussed in the theory

chapter. Also, the idea that language shapes thought is relevant, as it can shed light on why making the informants think in Norwegian can affect their English. This first hypothesis is also the most important one, and will receive the most attention in the following chapters of this thesis.

*2) Informants will make more concord errors when the topics are typically Norwegian.*

"Agreement or concord happens when a word changes form depending on the other words to which it relates" (Pyles 2009: 4). The assumption is that Norwegian topics will somehow have a negative influence on the informants' ability to speak grammatically correct English. Maybe the interference that is seen between Norwegian and English will manifest itself in their grammar, as well as their propensity for CS. Concord was also chosen as it is a grammatical feature that is not found in Norwegian. As opposed to the first hypothesis, this one is not supported by previous studies, and will not receive as much attention as the first one, but could open the door for future studies looking at this relationship specifically.

*3) Informants that are more motivated to learn English will display less code-switching.*

This hypothesis draws on the research that has been done on the relationship between motivation and language acquisition, mainly by Gardner in his work on the socio-educational model of second language acquisition (2011). Simply put, motivation has been found to be an important factor for determining speakers' abilities in a second language. This hypothesis indirectly claims that code-switching can be a result of poor language skills, something that does not have solid backing from research on code-switching. This is not because such research has proven the opposite, but rather because it has not been the focus in code-switching studies.

## 1.3 The structure of the thesis

This thesis contains five chapters that all shed light on different aspects of the study. The first chapter introduces the aim for the study, and the reason why this particular study came to be. It also presents the hypotheses that will be tested, and the research questions that will be addressed. The second chapter focuses on the theoretical background for this study by explaining and discussing research done on code-switching, second language acquisition, thinking for speaking and code-switching in the classroom. An attempt has been made to only include what is most relevant to this thesis, and hence some aspects of the research done on the fields mentioned above have been omitted. The methodology used in the study conducted as part of this thesis is outlined in the third chapter. Here, the techniques used for deciding things like sample sizes and data collection are outlined, and methodological concerns are addressed as well. The fourth chapter will present the results of the study conducted for this thesis and discuss these results in light of the hypotheses outlined above, and of relevant research. Finally, in the fifth and last chapter, the thesis will be concluded by summarizing its findings, evaluating the need for future research, discussing potential weaknesses and taking a closer look at what implications the findings could have for teaching English.

## 2 Theoretical background

This chapter presents the theoretical background to the study. Since the type of study conducted for this thesis is somewhat unusual in research on code-switching, an attempt has been made to present theories that are relevant and describe similar aspects of code-switching that the present study investigates. As such, three things in particular will be described here: code-switching in general, second language acquisition in relation to code-switching, and the sociolinguistic aspect of code-switching. The reason for this focus is that these topics coincide with the purpose of this study as they shed light on why, how and when we code-switch while speaking in a second language. In addition to these three main areas, this chapter will explain and discuss the concept of "thinking for speaking", as laid forth by Dan Slobin in 1987, and code-switching in the classroom.

### 2.1 What is code-switching?

Code-switching, henceforth referred to as CS, has been defined in many different ways. Four of these definitions are mentioned below, and the differences and similarities of these will be mentioned. CS has been defined as:

[1] "[...]the ability of bilinguals to alternate between different languages in an unchanged setting, often within the same utterance (Bullock & Toribio 2009:2).
[2] "[...] the alternation of codes in a single speech exchange" (Gumperz 1982:59, Heller 1988:1)
[3]" [...] the use of more than one language by communicants in the execution of a speech act" (Piretro 1977)
[4] " [...] the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages or varieties of the same language in their conversation" (Abdul-Zahra 2010: 287).

All the definitions focus on the time frame, claiming that CS happens in *a single* speech

exchange, in *a* speech act, in *a* conversation or in *an* unchanged setting. This is important as it separates the concept of CS from a term connected to CS, namely *language shifting*. With language shifting, a bilingual speaker speaks in one language in certain settings and a different language in other settings. An example of this would be a person who consistently speaks German at home, but speaks English at school or work. This is different from CS in that it happens more predictably; it has a clear-cut pattern. CS, therefore, is not meant to describe every situation where a bilingual switches between languages, but rather those incidents that occur within the same social or linguistic setting.

Definitions [1] and [3] stress that CS happens through the use of more than one language, whereas definition [4] holds that CS can happen between varieties of the same language. In other words, definitions [1] and [3] view CS purely as bilingual linguistic behavior, whereas [4] includes a monolingual component. Monolinguals can also shift between different registers and dialects, and parallels can be drawn between monolingual and bilingual language use. However, this linguistic behavior in monolinguals, called *style shifting,* is not the focus of this thesis. The focus, rather, will be on bilingual's linguistic behavior. The reasoning behind this is that it is this type of CS that the present study investigates, and the vast majority of research on CS has been done on bilinguals.

Definition [1] stands out, as it makes the important claim that CS is an *ability* that bilinguals have. This implies that CS is not something that speakers do on accident, but rather a skill that bilinguals can use to achieve certain discursive aims.

While the four definitions mentioned above are not vastly different, they do differ in some aspects. The reason why there is not one single accepted definition of CS is that CS is difficult to characterize precisely. Why is CS hard to characterize? CS describes a wide array of language contact, and it could refer to single words, short phrases or even entire sentences. Furthermore, bilinguals of varying degrees of proficiency in varying linguistic settings produce it, making it unsystematic in nature. Also, CS has been studied in virtually every branch of linguistics, and the Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts database contains in the excess of 1800 articles on the subject. Finally, there are differences in why people code-switch: filling gaps in conversation, expressing ethnic identify, clarification, a need to fit in or to display specialized knowledge of something. These are not all the reasons why speakers code-switch, and a more in-depth look at why this happens will follow later in this chapter

Code-switching is not the only theoretical framework that has been used to describe how bilinguals alternate between different languages. For instance, Haugen (1953) calls it *integration*. While Haugen was one of the first to use the term code-switching, his definition differs in that it describes CS simply as a linguistic situation where bilinguals introduced a single unassimilated word from one language into another (Haugen 1953). Code-switching in the broader sense, the way it is used today, he called *integration*.

Other terms for CS have come from Agheyisi (1977) who terms it *language interlarding* and Bokamba (1988), who calls it *code mixing.* The most preferred term in current linguistic studies, however, is code-switching.

## 2.1.1 Similar contact phenomena

There are many different ways besides CS used to describe contact situations between languages. Some of these, and how they differ from CS, will be mentioned here. *Borrowing* is a term that is closely connected to CS. Borrowing occurs when a word from one language is integrated phonetically and morphologically into another, dominant, language. Most often, this process is a result of a lack of a word in the dominant language that expresses the particular meaning of the word that is borrowed. With CS however, there is a total shift to the other language, and the elements used are not integrated into the first language. However, some researchers (e.g. Treffers-Daller 1991; Myers-Scotton 1992) claim that borrowing and CS fall along a continuum. This is partly because some unassimilated loan words, called *nonce borrowings* (Poplack et al, 1988), can occur spontaneously in bilinguals´ speech, making it very similar to CS.

CS is also similar but distinguishable from *mixed languages*. In short, *mixed languages* refers to contact varieties that combine grammatical and/or lexical elements of two languages. Often one of the two groups in contact are bilingual. Mixed languages are structurally different from both of the languages that are part of it, and often they are not intelligible to monolingual speakers of either language. This is where the main difference between mixed languages and CS lies, as "CS does not constitute a composite or hybrid system" (Bullock & Toribio 2009:6). A possible link between the two has been suggested, implying that CS may be one of the main sources behind why mixed languages arise, but this is still an unsettled claim.

*Diglossia* is another term that should not be confused with CS. Diglossia happens when a

single language community variably uses two dialects or languages depending on the situation. Each variety has a different social function. For instance, speakers in such a community may speak their everyday language in informal or casual settings, but another variety in official settings, literature or education. These two varieties were referred to by Ferguson (1972: 232) as "high" or "low", and Ferguson proposed that there is a link between when these two variants are used and that type of situation as speaker finds him or herself in. The important difference between diglossia and CS is that in diglossic communities, the speakers´ choice of language "[..] is not free, but determined by community norms; that is, diglossia is socially imposed" (Bullock & Toribio 2009:6). Also, only one code is usually employed at a time. With CS on the other hand, the speaker freely chooses when to alternate between different languages and can do so even within the same utterance.

## 2.1.2 CS in an historical setting

Studies on language contact in general and CS in particular were not part of mainstream linguistics in the 1960s and early 1970s. There were other dominant approaches to linguistics at the time, and CS was "[...] of peripheral importance for linguistics as a whole" (Auer 1995: 1). This would later change, and research by for instance Blom and Gumperz (1972) on the sociolinguistics of CS, Poplack (1979) on the syntactic element of CS, and Heath (1984) on grammatical features of language contact helped mark a change in linguists views on CS "[...] into a subject matter which is recognized to be able to shed light on fundamental linguistic issues, from Universal Grammar to the formation of group identities and ethnic boundaries through verbal behavior" (Auer 1995: 1).

It was not uncommon amongst researchers of bilinguals to view CS as a result of a breakdown in communication, "[h]owever, a significant body of research demonstrated that CS […] reflects the skillful manipulation of two language systems for various communicative functions" (Bullock & Toribio 2009:4). In other words, CS is according to this view not a random mix-up between two languages, but a strategy that bilinguals develop to cope with a variety of language-contact situations, or what Milroy refers to as "complex bilingual skills" (Milroy & Muysken 1995: 0). Guadalupe Valdés describes it like this: "It is helpful to imagine that when bilinguals code-switch, they are in fact using a twelve-string guitar, rather than limiting

themselves to two six-string instruments" (Valdés 1988:126). These bilingual skills are something that has become more and more necessary the past fifty years. Modernization, colonization and globalization are the main reasons why this is the case. The world is now smaller due to massive technological progress, especially on the communication front, and most languages have spread far beyond their borders. Since the 1940s and 1950s, more and more nations went from predominantly speaking one language to becoming increasingly bilingual, "[...] not only in the language of their own social group and the national languages, but often additionally in one of these international languages" (Milroy & Muysken 2007: 1).

As travel became easier, migration from poor countries to rich countries increased too, which resulted in several bilingual communities appearing amongst these immigrants. In such communities, there is often pressure on the immigrants to assimilate linguistically, but in most cases they want to retain both their first language specifically, and their cultural heritage in general. All of these language contact situations have led to a profound increase in bilingualism, and a greater need for the ability to play on Valdés' twelve-string guitar.

## 2.1.3 Different types of CS

There are many different ways of organizing CS. Some support the idea that there are two main types called *intra-sentential* CS (Poplack, 1980) and *inter-sentential* CS. In inter-sentential CS the switch occurs after a sentence in the first language has been completed and the next sentence starts with a new language (Apple & Muysken 1987). On the other hand, intra-sentential CS occurs within a sentence, often without violating the grammar of either language. Two examples will be provided to illustrate the difference.

[1|] Intra-sentential: "Noen ganger må jeg bare get out there and have some fun". (*Some times must I just* get out there and have some fun). In this case, there is a switch from Norwegian to English that happens in the middle of the sentence and it can therefore be recognized as intra-sentential.

[2] Inter-sentential: "That´s too much. Sina pesa." (That's too much. *I have no money*). (Myers-Scotton 1993:41) The change from English to Swahili happens in the second sentence, after the first sentence is completed, making this a case of inter-sentential CS.

Auer suggests that there are different types of CS, or different ways in which the

social or cultural context relates to conversational structure. The first one is *discourse-related CS*, which is "the use of code-switching to organize the conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance" (Auer 1998:4). A common example of this is what Auer has called *second attempts*, where a bilingual speaker first asks a question in one language without receiving an answer from the recipient. The speaker interprets this as *repair-initiating*, or an indication that the wrong language was chosen, one that was not preferred by the recipient of the question, and therefore the question is asked again in another language. Another type of CS that Auer discusses is *preference-related switching*, which he describes as a pattern where two bilingual speakers exhibit sustained divergence, or put more simply, they do not agree on a common language-of-interaction. The difference between the two is that with discourse-related switching, a new language gives a new "frame" for the conversation, one that all participants partake in, but with preference-related switching this new "frame" is not agreed upon, and the speakers make divergent language choices.

Code-switching still struggles with problems of terminology, as many different terms and methods attempt to describe it. In fact, Eastman (1992) said that: "efforts to distinguish codeswitching, codemixing and borrowing are doomed. We must free ourselves of the need to categorize any instance of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch if we are to understand the cognitive, social and cultural process in language contact."

## 2.2 Why do we code-switch?

This is a question that has always interested those researching CS. In and around the 1980s, the answer to this question was most commonly reached by looking at extra-linguistic factors. These factors included " […] topic, setting, relationships between participants, community norms and values, and societal, political and ideological developments […]) (Auer 1998: 156). This thesis and its hypotheses draw on and are inspired by this research, specifically that the topic of a conversation can influence CS. Based on studies done in the 80s, in particular one done by Blom and Gumperz (1972) in rural Norway, two distinctive versions of CS appeared: *situational switching* and *metaphorical switching*. Situational switching refers to CS done to maintain

appropriateness in a specific situation. According to this view, CS could also redefine the situation, meaning that a switch from one language to another would mark a change in the situation. For instance, Blom and Gumperz found in their study that the residents in a little town in Norway, Hemnesberget, would initially speak in their local dialect when visiting the post office, when the conversation revolved around exchanging pleasantries and talking about family. Then, when they went on to the business part of the conversation, they would switch to the standard Norwegian dialect. With metaphorical switching on the other hand, the situation stays the same. This type of switching occurs when the speaker wants to talk about a topic that would normally fall into another conversational domain. The communicative intent of the speaker is the focus here. A simple example of metaphorical CS is if a person who normally speaks a highly prestigious variety to his colleagues at work, starts talking in a less prestigious variety when talking about his family to the very same colleagues, while still at work. Another example from Gumperz (1976) earlier work comes from Norwegian classrooms. Here, he found that teachers would hold lectures in standard Norwegian, but switch to their regional dialect when they wanted to encourage discussion in their classroom.

Explaining the reason behind CS through the understanding of situational and metaphorical switching is not the only way forward, and some consider it to be outdated. A theoretical model that is being employed to a greater extent in recent times is the *markedness theory* of CS. "This theory places its emphasis on the analyst´s interpretation of bilingual conversation participants´ intention and explicitly rejects the idea of local creation of meaning of linguistic choices" (Auer 1998: 160). Put simply, it investigates and attempts to explain the social aspect of CS, the motivation behind code-switching. On of the main proponents behind this theoretical framework, Myers-Scotton (1983), claims that different types of interactions have fixed rules pertaining to both social and linguistic behavior. Bilingual speakers have an innate understanding of which variant is "normal", or expected of them, in any situation. One of the similarities of the models laid forth by Bloom and Gumpez (1972), and Myers-Scotton (1983) is "the why": code-switching is a socially motivated action that can be understood as a reaction to a particular situation, a way of maintaining appropriateness, a way of reflecting one's social status or create an understanding in conversation.

Other research has shown the importance of topic on speakers´ language choices. Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1971), looked at a Puerto Rican community in New York City. They found five

topics, or five conversational domains, where the Puerto Rican speakers were more likely to code-switch to Spanish: religion, family, friendship, education and employment. Informants in this study were asked to imagine themselves in hypothetical situations, and relate to the researchers which language they would use for a given situation, which led to the five conversational domains mentioned above. A very interesting study in relation to this thesis is one done by Ervin (1964), where she looked at how Japanese/English bilinguals would struggle to speak in English about Japanese topics. This study will be looked at in section 2.7 below.

Not all researchers attribute the same degree of intention to CS, or agree with the idea that CS is always purposeful behavior on the part of the speaker. In the words of one of these researchers, Christopher Stroud: "the problem of intention and meaning in code-switching is the problem of knowing to what extent the intentions and meanings that we assign to switches can in fact be said to be intended by a speaker or apprehended by his or her interlocutors" (1992:31) Stroud does no repudiate the role of motivation and meaning in speakers when they code-switch, but rather urges caution about analysts viewing meaning as something that is "brought along", rather than "brought about" by CS.

## 2.3 Second language acquisition and code-switching

There are many aspects within the field of second language acquisition that are interesting for anyone studying code-switching. In this part of the chapter, the most relevant aspects will be explained and discussed.

### 2.3.1 Conceptual change in second language acquisition

When competence in a second language is acquired, it affects and is affected by the concepts we have made in our first language. In this situation, concept: "[…] refers to mental representations of classes of things" (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 113). When conversing in any language, speakers engage in a highly dynamic process within themselves, where they access these concepts in order to communicate more swiftly and fluently. Concepts help us structure our linguistic world. Jarvis

and Pavlenko give examples from "eight foundational domains of reference that allow us to talk about ourselves and our surroundings: objects, emotions, personhood, gender, number, time, space and motion." (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 122). These describe the ways languages differ in relation to each of the concepts, and how the perceptions of speakers are affected by this categorization when they speak in other languages than their L1. The idea that these concepts can be modified by knowledge of a second language is interesting both in relation to CS, and this thesis in particular. There are many ways in which this modification can happen. The first one that will be discussed is the internalization of new concepts.

When speakers encounter a new language, especially in an educational environment, they also encounter "[…] new ways of categorizing people, objects, and events, requiring the internalization of new concepts", (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 156). These concepts are new to the speakers, and not part of their L1, or first language.  Studies have shown that when speakers communicate about these newly acquired concepts, they are more prone to exhibit, amongst other things, CS (Haugen, 1953; Romaine 1995; Weinreich, 1953).  Haugen (1953), in his study of Norwegian immigrants in the US, found that when these speakers talked, in Norwegian, about areas linked to the American way of life, they would code-switch much more frequently to English than they would if they talked about more personal topics like religion. In other words, when speakers talk about a topic in either their L1 or L2 they might resort to CS because the topic in question is one that triggers the concepts they made while learning the L2 or L1 respectively. The underlying assumption in this thesis is that native Norwegian speakers will CS to Norwegian when certain topics are discussed in English, and the idea of internalization of concepts in second language acquisition supports this due to the fact that some instances of CS could be a result of the concepts of one´s L1 interfering with one´s spoken English.

Another relevant process studied in the field of second language acquisition is *convergence*, "whereby a unitary conceptual category is created that incorporates both L1 and L2 features" (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 164). Bilinguals will sometimes change the way they speak because of the influence of other speakers. This influence can be from another language than a speaker´s L1, and if the influence this other language persists it can affect the vocabulary of the speaker. In other words, since speakers of Norwegian are influenced by speakers of English on a daily basis, for instance through their use of media or watching English entertainment, they may adopt English vocabulary and use it in their Norwegian speech. If one applies the theory of the

process to this thesis, it means that it is possible that the L1 and L2 of the informants of this study have at some point in their language learning diverged and created new conceptual categories influenced by speakers of English. Convergence theory, in other words, supports the idea that when the informants talk about certain topics that they have experienced in, or associated with, an L1 setting, they will display more instances of CS when talking about said topic in their L2.

## 2.3.2 Cross-linguistic influence

Cross-linguistic influence, henceforth referred to as CLI, is "the influence of a person's knowledge of one language on that person's knowledge or use of another language" (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 1). This phenomenon is one that has peaked the interest of people for centuries, and one of the earliest written references dates back all the way to Homer's *Odyssey* where the term "mixed languages" is used to describe the multilingualism in ancient Greece. Historically, the attitude to such language behavior was negative, and associated with lack of both intelligence and morals. These attitudes continued to prevail into modern times as growing immigration made people afraid of the ways foreigners could "poison" one's language. These views stood firm even under scientific scrutiny, and researchers in the early twentieth century called CLI "a danger to sound thinking" (Epstein, 1915) and a result of "learners' laziness and lack of interest in changing their phonological behavior" (Jespersen, 1922). It should be noted that these researchers did not speak of the term CLI specifically, as that term was proposed by Kellerman and Sharwood Smith (1986). Before this, it was common to refer to CLI as *transfer* or *interference.* The term CLI has gained popularity since it was introduced, but it has been challenged by claiming that the term suggests that there are two or more separate language competences in the mind, when in reality there may just be one integrated multi-competence.

Today, researchers have divided CLI into several different dimensions. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) talk about 10 such dimensions, one of which is CLI on the cognitive level. What is focused on here is how mental representations can be transferred from ones L1 to L2. Corder said that "if anything which can be appropriately called transfer occurs, it is from the mental structure which is the implicit knowledge of the mother tongue to the separate and independently developing knowledge of the target language" (Corder 1983: 92). In other words, an L1 speaker of Norwegian could transfer mental representations of that linguistic system to English, which

may explain some instances of CS from English to Norwegian, since the Norwegian linguistic system interferes with their ability to produce the correct English word. The idea of this relationship between two languages could also be explained by saying there are mental links between them, rather than saying that one transfers onto the other; this link is still unclear.

### 2.3.3 Motivation in second language acquisition

Firstly, it is important to note that motivation is difficult to define in simple terms as it is what Gardner refers to as a highly complex phenomenon with many facets. Rather than defining it, Gardner points at characteristics in a motivated individual. Some of these characteristics describe motivated individuals as goal directed, persistent and attentive, with clear motives and self-confidence (Gardner, 2006:2).

One of the variables in the study conducted for this thesis is how motivated the informants are when it comes to learning English. This type of motivation has been termed *language learning motivation*, and refers to "[...] the motivation to learn (and acquire) a second language" (Gardner 2006:2). Gardner goes on to describe this type of motivation as a general form of motivation that is relevant in a language-learning context. Furthermore, he claims that it is not a trait in speakers, but rather a general characteristic, which is relatively stable. Most importantly he asserts that this motivation has significant implications for speakers when it comes to acquiring a second language. Gardner considers the term in his socio-educational model of second language acquisition, and he mentions other linguists that use it in their models as well: "[...] the social context model (Clément, 1980), the Self-determination model (Noels, & Clément, 1996), the Willingness to Communicate model (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels,1998), and the extended motivational framework (Dörnyei, 1994) to name a few" (Gardner 2006:3). All of the above-mentioned models agree that language learning motivation plays an important part in the individuals ability to acquire a second language.

In addition to language learning motivation, Gardner shows another type of motivation that he has termed *classroom learning motivation.* As the name implies, it refers to motivation in a classroom, specifically a language classroom, setting. This type of motivation is influenced by many factors such as "[...] the teacher, the class atmosphere, the course content, materials and facilities, as well as personal characteristics of the student [...]" (Gardner, 2006). Classroom

learning motivation largely focuses on the perception of the learner to any given task. This has naturally been the focus of study in educational psychology and studies like Ames & Archer's has found that "[s]tudents who perceived an emphasis on mastery goals in the classroom reported using more effective strategies, preferred challenging tasks, had a more positive attitude toward the class, and had a stronger belief that success follows from one's effort" (Ames & Archer, 2012:1).

Motivation has not only been shown to affect the acquisition of language in general, but also the performance or outcome of the learning. Gardner created the Attitude Motivation Test Battery to measure how motivation could affect a learner's performance with languages, and found four main factors that influenced this relationship. One of these four is motivation, which in turn is composed of the elements effort, desire and affect. Effort relates to the amount of time spent studying a language, desire refers to the degree to which a learner wants to become proficient and affect illuminates the learner's feelings toward language study (Gardner, 1982). These factors have been shown by Gardner to correlate with a higher degree of L2 proficiency in learners.

## 2.4 Code-switching in the classroom

A lot of research has been conducted on CS in bilingual classrooms. This research has been going on for more than 20 years, and involves several different disciplines. It is interesting to note that "[m]ost research has been undertaken in settings where there is an ongoing debate about language education policy […]" (Milroy & Muysken 2007: 90). In other words, the majority of the research done in classrooms has focused on the applicability of their results, a desire for improvement. This study follows in the footsteps of this research by trying to find a way to improve language teaching through linguistic investigations. In the early 90s, researchers started taking a linguistic approach to their studies of classroom discourse. The data was then commonly collected in the form of audio-recordings and attention was given to the language values educators conveyed and what reason teachers and students had for switching between their L1 and L2. These studies yielded some interesting results, like Milk (1981) who found that the manner in which English was used in a in a classroom where students spoke both English and

Spanish to varying degrees of proficiency, covertly marked English as the language of power and authority. Milk therefore said that: "It is quite conceivable…that even in a classroom where Spanish and English are being used for an equal amount of time, Spanish might be unconsciously related to a lower status in the eyes of the students […]) (1981: 12) This implies that there were certain situations in which the students would CS because they felt it was appropriate. In other words, the teacher has some power to influence when students *feel* that they can rightfully code-switch in a classroom environment.

What is interesting about this implication is that it suggests that teachers can to a certain degree control this behavior. If an English teacher in a Norwegian school consistently code-switches to Norwegian more when talking about certain topics, then the students might pick up on this and do it themselves.  Consequently, if a teacher explains difficult material to his students in their L1, this will in turn make students more likely to understand and internalize this material in their L1, making it more difficult for them to discuss it in their L2. This line of reasoning is interesting as it highlights a challenge with teaching a second language that lies in wanting to ensure students understand the material, but also wanting them to learn it in the second language. Lin (1988, 1990) saw this predicament when she studied CS in Anglo-Chinese secondary schools in Hong Kong, where the teachers spoke "in highly orders patterns of alternation between English and Cantonese" (Lin 1990: 115).

It is important to note that while the research done on CS in classrooms is interesting to this paper, the manner in which the data was collected for this thesis differs in important ways from most of that research. The data was not collected from classroom interactions, but rather from structured interviews, meaning that it is unwise to draw too many lines between classroom studies of CS and this study of CS. This part has more to do with the applicability side of this thesis, the hope that there are concrete measures that can be made on the part of the teacher to make a better learning environment for his/her students.

## 2.5 The sociolinguistics of code-switching

Sociolinguistics is an extremely far-reaching field within linguistics. The topics covered by sociolinguistics span from studies of language traits within huge communities to close examinations of individual conversations. Few linguistic studies can claim no influence from

sociolinguistics, and this one is no exception. In fact, the relationship between CS and sociolinguistics is a particularly close one, as these two areas of study developed in tandem. Some even argue that "[…] CS should be considered first and foremost from a sociolinguistic perspective […]") (Gardner, 2004:102). CS was studied before the arrival of sociolinguistics, but to a smaller degree, mostly through stand-alone studies. When interest in sociolinguistic studies and methodology rose, so did interest in CS. In recent times, many different ways of studying CS have emerged, with many different methodologies. Despite of this "the primary source of data remains in the sociolinguistic area" (Bullock & Toribio 2009:98). It is in other words safe to say that the relationship between CS and sociolinguistics is a resilient one. It is difficult to explain the reason behind why speakers CS, or if CS occurs at all, without looking at sociolinguistic factors. Gardner organizes these factors into three main types:

> Factors independent of particular speakers and particular circumstances in which the varieties are used, which affect all the speakers of relevant varieties in a particular community, e.g. economic "market" forces such as those described by Bourdieu (1991), overt prestige and covert prestige (Labov 1972; Trudgill 1974), power relations and the associations of each variety with a particular context or way of life (Gal 1979)
>
> Factors directly related to the speakers, both as individuals and as members of a variety of subgroups: their competence in each variety, their social networks and relationships, their attitudes and ideologies, their self-perception and perceptions of others (Milroy and Gordon 2003)
>
> Factors within the conversations where CS takes place: CS is a major conversational resource for speakers, providing further tools to structure their discourse beyond those available to monolinguals (Auer 1998)
>
> (Gardner 2004: 305)

These factors influence and are influenced by each other, and hence there is no rigid border separating them. Thus, when attempting to explain if and in what manner CS occurs it is not uncommon to draw from all of these types of factors. For instance, if the CS done by the informants in this study was to be explained using the sociolinguistic factors above, all three groups would be used.  From the first one, the idea that CS can happen because of associations with a particular context. From the second one, the informants' competence in their second language and their attitudes towards the topics they were discussing in the interview. From the

third one, the way the informants used CS to structure their thoughts. All of these factors could play a role in explaining why the informants of this study potentially code-switched in their interviews, this will be dealt with more thoroughly in the analysis part.

Perhaps the most relevant aspect of sociolinguistics in relation to this study is the idea of metaphorical and situational CS. This has been mentioned earlier in this section of the thesis, but it will be more thoroughly discussed here. Situational CS claims that there is a direct relationship between the social situation and the choice of language or variant. Blom and Gumperz (1971) describe three ways in which our choice of language or variant can be affected: *setting*, *social situation* and *social event*. Setting relates to the actual environment in which the social life of speakers operates. Social situation refers to a specific group of speakers, in a specific setting during a specific span of time for a certain activity. Social event is a definition of the same social situation at a specific point of time (Abdul-Zahara 2010; 288). While these do shed some light on why CS occurs, there is a more compelling argument for explaining it through metaphorical CS. This is due to the fact that the main variable that was controlled by the interviewer in the present study was choice of topic, and Blom and Gumperz describe metaphorical CS as something that happens when "a variety normally used in only one kind of situation, is used in a different kind because the topic is the sort which would normally arise in the first kind of situation and it is triggered by changes in topic rather than the social situation." (1971) Encroaching slightly on the analysis part of the thesis that will come later; the setting, social situation and social event of the interview all encouraged the informants to speak English. They were told to speak English by an interviewer who only spoke English to them. In some ways, the social situation, or at least the expectations when it came to language choice, was thereby defined. When the informants still code-switched to Norwegian, it is fair to assume that this was a consequence of the choice of topic, rather than the situation itself. The situation undoubtedly played a part, but arguably to a lesser degree than choice of topic did. This will be discussed in detail in the analysis in chapter 4.

Gumperz (1976) suggests a third type of CS as well, which he termed *conversational CS*. This term applies to speakers who code-switch within a single sentence, similar to the idea of intra-sentential CS that was mentioned earlier in this section. One interesting aspect about this type of CS is Auer´s idea that "[…] the meaning for code-alteration depends on its sequential environment" (1984:116), meaning that we need to look at preceding and following statements before we interpret CS. Once again encroaching slightly on the analysis chapter: the topics that

the informants were given in this study followed an order where at least two topics that were "typically Norwegian" would be discussed consecutively. With conversational CS in mind, this order could affect the code-switching of informants, as they would be more likely to CS if they had done so previously. Another reason that could explain why speakers CS is laid forth by Crystal (1987):

> The speaker may not to be able to express him/herself in one language, so switches to the other to compensate for the deficiency, and this is exactly what happens when learners of the English language as a foreign language try to speak English. As a result, the speaker may be triggered into speaking the other language for a while […]

This has to do with communicative competence, a term coined by Dell Hymes in 1966, which refers to a speaker's knowledge of things like grammar, phonology, syntax and the ability to know when it is socially acceptable to use certain utterances appropriately. The informants in this study were all students learning English as a foreign language, and thus did not have complete mastery of the language. It is therefore reasonable to assume that some instances of CS could be attributed to a compensation for their deficiency in English. The particulars on the types of CS the informants in this study showed will follow in the analysis part of the thesis.

## 2.6 Thinking for speaking

## 2.6.1 Thoughts on language and thought

The term "thinking for speaking" stems from Dan Slobin (1987), but the idea that language is influenced by culture and thought is much older, dating back to work conducted in the 18th century. One of the most notable contributors to this idea was Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) who argued that "the differences between languages are not those of sounds and signs but those of differencing world views" (1836, translated in Humboldt, 1963: 246) When Slobin investigated the relationship between thought and language, he found these two concepts too static. Hence, he came up with the term "thinking for speaking" as a more dynamic way of

looking at the relationship. Slobin (1987) argued that no utterances could be said to be "[…] a direct reflection of objective or perceived reality or of an inevitable and universal mental representation of a situation". Even though language is governed by rules, be they grammatical/syntactic in nature, there are still many different ways to describe any given situation. That is not to say that these rules do not influence the way we speak, as Benjamin Lee Whorf pointed out as early as 1940, saying that the grammar of a language can affect how speakers of different languages see acts or situations that are externally similar. Whorf claimed, as Humboldt did a century before, that the language itself therefore gave speakers different views of the world (Whorf, 1940: 221). Rather than trying to show how grammar affected our world view, Slobin was more interested in showing that "[…] the sort of mental activity that goes on while formulating utterances is not trivial or obvious, and deserves the attention of linguists and cognitive scientists" (Slobin, 1987).

One of the researchers that showed this attention was Aneta Pavlenko in her work "Thinking and speaking in two languages" (2010). She looked at autobiographic writings by bi- and multilingual speakers, and their reflections on thinking and speaking in two languages. Something that these speakers had in common was that they would "think" in their first language when speaking in their second language, and only with time would they start "thinking" in their second language. Time alone was usually not enough however, as "it is only when speakers move to the country where the language is spoken that this language begins to exert influence on their thinking, and even then the influence is not immediately apparent" (Pavlenko, 2010:5) None of the informants in this study had lived in an English-speaking country, and following Pavlenko´s reasoning it is possible to assume that English did not exert a profound effect on their thinking. They had not "adopted a new way of seeing and perceiving", and while they were speaking in English during the interviews, it is fair to assume that they were mostly thinking in Norwegian. The belief laid forth in this paper´s hypothesis is that this process can be influenced in a conversation, by choosing topics that would encourage informants to think in either their L1 or their L2 to a greater degree. Epstein (1915) supported this, claiming that multilinguals associate languages with certain people or contexts and adjust their inner speech depending on *setting*, *interlocutors* and *topic*. He also argued that if foreign languages are learned in a communicative setting there is a greater chance for the languages to attach themselves directly to thought and function, whereas languages learned through the grammar-translation method will require

constant mental translation (Pavlenko, 2010). This has clear implications for education, suggesting that a communicative setting is superior if the goal is for learners to have a stronger connection between their thinking and speaking in a foreign language.

## 2.6.2 Cognitive psychology

The relationship between language and thought is not one that linguists have been alone in studying. In a field of psychology called cognitive psychology, the link between what speakers say and think has been of increasing interest to researchers. One of these researchers is Lera Boroditsky. She claims that language can shape the way speakers think about time and space, and also how speakers remember past events. For instance, she found that when speakers of English and speakers of Hebrew were asked to put images on cards showing temporal progression in order, they showed an interesting difference. "English speakers given this task will arrange the cards so that time proceeds from left to right. Hebrw speakers will tend to lay the cards from right to left" (Boroditsky, 2011:64). She goes on to explain how this difference coincides with the writing direction of the two languages; left to right in English, right to left in Hebrew. Also, English speakers consider the future to be ahead of them and the past behind them, and Lynden Miles (2010) found that such speakers would lean forward while talking about the future and back while talking about the past. In Ayamara on the other hand, a language spoken in the Andes, they talk about the past as something in front of them and the future as something behind them, and hence their body movements were opposite of the English speakers' when talking about the future and the past.

There is a difference between how English speakers talk about accidents compared to speakers of Japanese and Spanish, and such differences can affect how these speakers remember events. In a study done by Boroditsky and Fausey, published in 2010, they found that English speakers would explain accidents agentively, as "[...] English speakers tend to phrase things in terms of people doing things" (Boroditsky 2011:64). As a result of this, English speakers would, after watching videos of people performing accidents, remember who caused the accident. The Spanish and Japanese speakers on the other hand struggled to remember who performed the accidents, as they would distance the agent from the event in their languages because it was an accident. When the three different groups of speakers talked about intentional actions, no

difference could be seen; they all remembered who performed the action equally well.

An interesting question that arises from the study of the relationship between language and thought is: what shapes what? The answer for most cognitive psychologists is that both affect each other; the influence goes both ways. One the one hand, if you teach speakers new color words it will affect how they discriminate colors, if you teach speakers how to talk about time differently, it will affect how they think about time. One the other hand, when speakers encounter certain situations, talk about certain topics, speak with certain people or want to show their ethnic/social affiliations, their mind will influence their speech to accommodate that particular linguistic environment.

## 2.7 Previous studies

As a preface to this section, some general notes on the research of CS will be mentioned. When studying CS, it is important to distinguish it from similar contact phenomena outlined in section 2.1.1. One of the ways to do this is to find the focus of CS research, which can be described like this: "[t]he focus is typically on phrases or sentences, on the semantic or structural relationships, and on the linguistic constraints governing switching" (Gullberg, Indefrey & Muysken, 2009: 21). This focus differs from the focus of the present study, since the present study investigated CS in free speech. Gullberg, Indefrey and Muysken mention three studies of CS in free speech (2009: 27), and one of these is shown below. The study does not look at topic related to CS, but is added to show how a more typical study of CS in free speech is conducted. Then, a study that is more similar to the one conducted for this thesis will be mentioned and discussed.

### 2.7.1 Going in and out of languages: an example of bilingual flexibility

This study was conducted by Francois Grosjean and Joanna L. Miller in 1994 and was published in Psychological Science for the American Psychological society. The aim for their study was to answer the following question "[c]ould it be that in speaking, the phonetic momentum of the base language carries over into the guest language and hence affects at least the beginning of code switches?" (Grosjean & Miller, 1994:201). They performed two experiments on five French-English bilinguals with no reported speech or hearing disorders; one of these experiments will be

mentioned here. The key variables when choosing the subjects were that they used both English and French on a daily basis and they exhibited a regular habit of code-switching with other bilinguals. In the first experiment they organized the informants to read a story that the researchers had prepared beforehand, and then retell it to the interviewer. This story had two important elements to it. Firstly, it involved three characters whose names could be said in both French and English. Secondly, 15 words that began with unvoiced stops and whose French translation began with the same consonant were included. These stories were read three times by the informants. First, they read an English version, then a French version, and finally a French version where the names of the characters were typed in capital letters, and the informants were asked to read these names in English. The results of this experiment suggested " [...] that in bilingual speech production, no phonetic momentum of the base language carries over into the guest language" (Grosjean & Miller, 1994:203). In other words, neither the three names nor the 15 words with unvoiced stops affected the informants' speech in such a way that the phonetic momentum prefaced code-switching. The second experiment, although different in its approach, yielded similar results, leading to the final conclusion that "[t]he results obtained in the two experiments provide strong evidence that the phonetics of the base language has no impact on the production of code switches" (Grosjean & Miller, 1994:205).

## 2.7.2 An Analysis of the Interaction of Language, Topic and Listener

This study was conducted by Susan Ervin-Tripp in 1964, and looks at how topic and listener can affect the speech of Japanese/English bilinguals. The informants of the study were Japanese women who had married American men. Ervin performed two experiments, the second of which is most similar to the present study. Here, the women were interviewed and asked to describe 14 different topics. Some of these topics were designed to be associated with English, like American cooking, shopping for food and clothing in America, and what their husbands did for a living. The other topics were designed to be associated with English, and included Japanese festivals, Japanese cooking and housekeeping, and Japanese New Year´s Day. In addition to these distinctive topics, the interviewer was different as well, as half the women were interviewed by a Caucasian American, and the other half by a Japanese interviewer. It was found that the Japanese women had difficulties speaking English about the Japanese topics, and these difficulties were

greater when they were speaking to a Japanese interviewer. "They borrowed more Japanese words, had more disturbed syntax, were less fluent, and had more frequent hesitation pauses" (Ervin 1964: 97).

This study is interesting for this thesis for two reasons. It concluded that Japanese speakers borrowed more Japanese words when they were speaking in English about typically Japanese topics. These results coincide with the first hypothesis in this thesis, which assumes that typically Norwegian topics will elicit more code-switching from Norwegian informants that are speaking English. Secondly, the study found that topic affected the Japanese women the most when they were speaking to someone that they knew could speak Japanese. This points to a potential confounding variable in the present thesis; that the fact that the informants knew that the interviewer could understand Norwegian might have played a very important role in explaining why they code-switched.

## 2.8 Summary

This section has looked at various theories related to code-switching. An attempt has been made to elucidate code-switching and show some of the theories explaining why speakers code-switch. Many different areas of linguistics have been touched upon, and a broad approach has been favored over a more focused one in an effort to show the variety of fields involved in code-switching. The choices of what to include and what do leave out in this chapter have been difficult, but the overall goal has been to show the aspects of code-switching theory most relevant for this thesis and its hypotheses.

# 3 METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the method used to gather and analyze the data for this study is presented and discussed. The following questions will be answered: How were the informants chosen? What methodological concerns needed to be addressed? What type of data was gathered? Why was the sociolinguistic method chosen? In addition, a pilot study that was conducted will be referred to briefly.

## 3.1 Methods

There are many different methods of studying code-switching, henceforth referred to as CS. CS can be defined as "the alternating use of two languages in the same stretch of discourse by a bilingual speaker" (Bullock & Toribio 2009:0). Each of the methods used to investigate CS come with their own set of strengths and weaknesses, and they investigate different features of CS. The methods are categorized based on what aspects of the language they wish to focus on, and following this line of reasoning, The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic CS talks about three different levels: the phonetic-phonological level, the lexical level and the sentence level (Bullock & Toribio 2009:26). The first level uses techniques that measure informants' responses to externally generated switches. An example of this would be *gating* tasks, where one measures a listeners ability to identify words in speech based on how much and which information they receive. The second level focuses mainly on language switching techniques, and practice strategies like *cued shadowing*, *naming tasks* and *word association tasks*. The third level is the category that this study falls under. This is the only category where the techniques emphasize internally generated switches, and there is a wide variety of tasks and techniques in this category.

This particular study is interested in looking at CS in free speech, where the informants choose for themselves when and how they code-switch, be it consciously or subconsciously. The speech of the informants will in fact be entirely free; the only thing that is controlled by the interviewer is the topic. The advantage of doing it this way is that the switches will be internally generated, which in turn means that they constitute natural CS, which is CS produced in free speech.

**3.2 The pilot**

A pilot study was conducted on the 25th and 26th of July 2013. It should be stressed that the methodology, interview and interpretation of data was all performed in a very informal and unstructured manner. The interviewer engaged the informants in casual conversation, carefully noting each time code-switching occurred. These interviews were not tape-recorded, and there was definite room for error in the gathering of data. The informant pool consisted of 4 students in the second grade of upper secondary school, chosen mainly for reasons of convenience, as they were friends of the family. The interview did not have the picture element that this study had. Instead, it consisted of approximately 10 minutes of conversation about Norwegian and English topics respectively. Every instance where an informant code-switched was noted. The results of this pilot fit very well with the predictions; three of the four informants had more instances of code-switching when the topics were Norwegian themed, i.e. Norwegian history and politics. In the case of the fourth informant, no instances of code-switching were found. The three other informants produced a total of 32 instances of code-switching. Out of these, 25 occurred with the Norwegian themed topics and 7 with the English themed topics. These results were considered an incentive to do this study, and on their own prove very little.

**3.3 The informants**

The informants for this study were taken from an upper secondary school in Bergen. The reason for choosing this group had to do with availability and applicability. Availability because choosing this particular school made it easy to obtain informants, and if some of them were to drop out at the last minute, it would not be difficult to get replacements. Applicability because, on a larger scale, the results of this study can hopefully be used to influence the choice of topics for oral evaluations in schools. This will be discussed in detail later in this chapter, and as such it fits very well with this aim of this study that the informants in the study are high-school students. There were 14 informants in total. While this is not a very large sample size, it should be enough considering the scope of this study. On the topic of sample size, it is interesting to see that notable linguists (Labov 1966: 180-1, and Sankoff: see below) have argued that large sample

sizes are not as necessary for linguistic surveys. Sankoff is one of these linguists, and he has the following to say on the matter:

> If people within a speech community indeed understand each other with a high degree of efficiency, this tends to place a limit on the extent of possible variation, and imposes a regularity (necessary for effective communication) not found to the same extent in other kinds of social behaviour. The literature, as well as our own experience, would suggest that even for quite complex communities samples of more than about 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data-handling problems with diminishing analytical returns. It is crucial however, that the sample be well chosen, and representative of all social subsections about which one wishes to generalize (Sankoff 1980:51-52).

As this study targeted the speech community "young adults in upper secondary school", the sample size of 14 should be adequate. Of these 14 informants, there were 6 from the second grade of upper secondary school, and 8 from the first grade. An attempt was made for each gender to be equally represented, but in the end only 2 of the 14 informants were female. These two divisions could open up for many different groups based on age and gender but the gender and age differentiations were made mostly to achieve some variation in the subject sample. The age variable will not be commented on at all since the discrepancy in age was very small in this study, but the results for male and female informants will be compared.

Another requirement for the informants is that they had to be native speakers of Norwegian. If this had not been a prerequisite, then too many confounding variables would be imposed on the results, partly due to the bidirectional influence that can be seen between ones L1 and L2, but more importantly it would interfere with a very important goal of the study; to see if choice of topic affects *native Norwegian* students´ English.

The last thing that the informants were asked before the study began was whether or not they have chosen, or are going to choose, English as an optional subject in the third and final grade of upper secondary school. In addition to asking whether or not the informants would choose English as an optional subject, they will be asked to rate how important they think it is to learn English and finally evaluate their own motivation for learning English. These questions roughly coincide with Gardner's Attitude Motivation Test Battery, which is meant to measure speakers motivation in order to make predictions about their performance in a language other than their L1. The reason for asking these questions obviously has to do with motivation. It is not unreasonable to assume that students who will choose or have chosen English as an optional

subject are more motivated to learn the language, and the impact that the motivation of the informants, as measured by the three questions above, will be discussed in the analysis chapter. Within the field of second language acquisition, motivation has been found to be one of the deciding factors when it comes to acquiring competence in a second language (Gardner 2001). Therefore, it will be interesting to see if there are any notable differences in the two groups of students.

## 3.4 The sociolinguistic interview

There is a general lack of controlled or experimental methods of studying CS beyond the single word level. As such, the manner in which the data was collected in this study took the form of a sociolinguistic interview, which is a useful tool to collect different types of speech in the format of an interview, using sociolinguistic methods of informant sampling, data collection and speech elicitation. Although the study itself is not a sociolinguistic one per se, the sociolinguistic interview makes for a great method of retrieving the information needed. As mentioned earlier, it is important that the instances of CS that were observed were cases of true or natural CS. This goal of "naturalness" is one that is more easily realized when conducting a socio-linguistic interview, because of the fact that in sociolinguistic interviews, "[t]he basic objective has often been to observe the subject´s relaxed, "natural" usage" (Gordon & Milroy 2003:58).  This free type of speech is in sociolinguistics referred to as the *vernacular*, and this is exactly the type of speech that was wanted from the informants. Labov describes the vernacular as "[...] the variety adopted by speakers when they are monitoring their speech style least closely" (Labov 1972: 208). Using the term "the vernacular" is a little problematic, as it can be argued that this type of speech can only happen in one´s L1, and that L2 speech can never be vernacular speech. Therefore, the speech of the informants in this study can not strictly speaking be considered vernacular, but it shares some of the traits of this type of speech in that it is free and uncontrolled.

      The interview is not inherently the best way to achieve the goal of free and natural speech, but there are some steps that can be taken by the interviewer to lead informants toward more casual speech. For instance, getting informants emotionally involved has proven to make them more concerned with what they are saying than how they are saying it (Gordon & Milroy

2003:65). In this study, some of the topics are designed to engage informants emotionally. An example of this would be questions about terrorism events. The hope was that such questions could help to eliminate some of the self-consciousness the informants had about their speech in a second language. Another measure that was considered was to change the very structure of the interview so that informants could feel more at ease with the whole situation. The way that this could be done would be to have group interviews, or more specifically, two informants and one interviewer. This could lessen the awkwardness of the informants as it might feel uncomfortable to sit alone in a room with a stranger and talk about seemingly random topics in one´s second language (Wolfram and Shilling-Estes 1996). It can also reduce the amount of lulls in conversation and open up for a whole new dynamic where the informants can speak to each other about the topics, and not just answer questions posed by the interviewer. Finally, it can give the informants a feeling of outnumbering the interviewer, which in turn can disarm some of the tension of the interview situation. Using group interviews was opted against however, partly because it would be hard for the interviewer who is inexperienced in conducting linguistic interviews, and partly because the interviewer in this particular case was no stranger to the informants.

The interviews conducted in this study contained two parts. In the first part, the informants were asked to describe some pictures that were shown to them, and relate what they thought when they saw the pictures. These pictures portrayed either something typically Norwegian, for instance Norwegian nature, pictures taken from the 17th of May celebration or famous Norwegian people, or something typically British or American, for instance the American flag, a child eating at McDonalds or pictures of New York city. Each informant described six pictures from the two categories, these two being ”Norwegian themed pictures” and ”English themed pictures” topic pairs.

In the next part of the interview the informants spoke freely with the interviewer about topics that were of the interviewers choosing. These topics would correlate to the images they were just shown. An example of this is that after an informant spoke about a picture of Barrack Obama, he or she would be asked the question "What can you tell me about American politics?". These topics, along with the pictures, were meant to put the informants in either a Norwegian or English state of mind, and make them think in the language that the interviewer wants, and also transport their minds to a situation and time where they spoke or heard English or Norwegian

respectively. The process of influencing your informants in this way is called *framing*. Framing theory and the concept of *framing* bias proposes that the choices people make is influenced by the way, or *frame,* in which it is presented.

Due to the open-endedness of the interview format, it is difficult to control how long the interviews are. On the topic of interview length, there are some disagreements amongst linguists. Some, like Labov, suggests that "from one to two hours of speech from each speaker"(Labov 1984:32) is an appropriate time. Others, like Milroy and Gordon, claim that 20-30 minutes is could be enough time to gather useful data (Milroy&Gordon 2003:58). In this study, each interview was scheduled to last for approximately 15 minutes, putting it on the low end of the scale in terms of length. In reality, the interviews lasted 14 minutes on average, the longest one lasting 18 minutes and the shortest one lasting 9 minutes. An equal amount of time was allotted to speaking about the pictures and the topics related to the pictures. One concern with this relatively short timespan for the interviews is laid forth by Douglas & Crowie (1978). They claim that it takes informants about an hour of conversation with a stranger before they exhibit their everyday interactional style, and that speech before this hour has passed may show very different patterns. This was less of a problem in this study however, as the interviewer was not a stranger to the informants. Douglas & Crowie's claim has been challenged, and a more recent study asserts that speakers switch styles throughout an interview, rather than taking time to settle into their "real" style after a certain amount of time has passed (Schillings-Estes 1998). Finally, it is important to note that it is unlikely that the informants will even have an everyday interactional style when speaking English, since English is their second language and they are not used to speaking English for longer stretches.

## 3.5 Data collection

All the interviews were tape-recorded, and the recordings were later transcribed. In these transcriptions, three different elements were inspected. Firstly, all the instances of concord errors in the informants' speech were noted.  The Oxford dictionary defines concord as "[a]greement between words in gender, number, case, person, or any other grammatical category which affects the forms of the words." In line with the rest of the study, the question will be whether or not the choice of topic affects how many concord mistakes the informants make. Then, a distinction was

made between what will henceforth be referred to as significant and insignificant code-switching. Significant code-switching indicates all words and phrases that have a clear English equivalent. For instance, when informants used words like "statsminister" instead of "prime minister", this was noted as significant CS. On the other hand, insignificant code-switching encompasses words like "bunad", "kvikk lunsj" and "lusekofte", that are very typical for Norwegian, and has no clear English equivalent. The reason this distinction was made was to ensure that the final results were reliable, as many words and phrases used while talking about Norwegian themed topics would be of the insignificant kind, and this would in turn make it seem like the hypothesis was supported to a much larger degree due to the fact that almost all of the instances of insignificant CS occurred while talking about Norwegian themed topics. The drawback of this distinction is that it gives the one interpreting the results the final power to decide what is significant and what is insignificant, but a decision was made to count the words and phrases that were hard to classify in one of the groups as insignificant.

In other words, all instances of concord errors and CS were counted and will be presented in the analysis chapter, but with regards to the latter, the distinction was made between significant and insignificant CS.


## 3.6 Methodological concerns

"The overarching methodological problem regarding experimental techniques is how to study CS without compromising the phenomenon, i.e. how to induce, manipulate, and replicate natural CS." (Bullock & Toribio 2009:21). This problem more or less equates to what is referred to as the *observer's paradox*. This term was in sociolinguistics coined by Labov who said the following on the matter "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation" (Labov 1972:209)

This particular study attempts to circumvent this problem, partly by borrowing from the field of sociolinguistics in the ways outlined earlier in this chapter, and partly because there is very little manipulation from the interviewer other than the choice of topic. The grips that have been taken here will in no way eliminate the problem of the observer's paradox however, but hopefully lessen its effects on the speech of the informants.

Another concern is the effect that I, the interviewer, will have on the interviews. The fact that many or all of the informants know who I am can affect the results of the study. The main reason for this is the fact that they know that I myself am a native Norwegian, and hence they may find it easier to code-switch because they know that I will understand them if they do. Had I been a stranger to them, or someone they knew to be a native speaker of English, they might have struggled harder to find the English word, instead of switching to Norwegian when they got stuck. This is not that much of a problem however, as this particular test condition will be identical for all informants and for the different topics. The advantage of me being the interviewer is that the informants may be more at ease with the interview situation since they know me.

The inexperience of the interviewer in the practice of conducting linguistic interviews is another concern. The ability to keep a conversation going, guide the informants if they get off-topic and make sure that the conditions are equal for all informants are not skills that the interviewer has had training in specifically, and this may affect the interviews.

A final concern in terms of methodology has to do with specialized vocabulary, as mentioned in the section above. The Norwegian themed topics may inadvertently elicit specialized Norwegian words and phrases from the informants. Some of these topics may lead the informants to try and use words that are very hard or impossible to translate directly to Norwegian. An example of this would be if they are shown a picture of Norway´s national day, and the conversation is drawn towards the topic of "bunader". This word has no English equivalent, the closest being "costume" or "national dress", none of which really covers the term. In the data analysis, this would be noted as an instance of insignificant code-switching, as in reality it is merely a case of specialized vocabulary; there is no good English equivalent of the word. Such special words and similar hard-to-translate phrases were avoided to the best of the interviewers abilities, but as the analysis will show, many of these were recorded in the interviews.

In addition to these concern, the study has some limitations. Firstly, the informant sample is fairly small, which makes it hard to make generalizations based on the results. Secondly, the different genders were unevenly represented, which means that any differences observed between male and female informants could be a result of the size of the group more than the difference in gender itself. Furthermore, all of the informants had the same L1, Norwegian, which again limits

the amount of generalizations that can be made from the results. Finally, all of the informants came from the same school, and this may affect the results as well. In other words, it is not wise to draw wide-spanning conclusions from the results of this study, but they may work as incentives to conduct further similar studies where the abovementioned limitations are removed.

# 4 Results and discussion

In this part, the results gathered for the study conducted as part of this thesis will be presented. When all the different results have been shown, a discussion of said results will follow. The focus will be on instances of code-switching in general, and more specifically on the distribution of code-switching based on topic, motivation and theme. Also, concord errors will be mentioned and discussed. Since the subject sample is relatively small, the results will most often be shown for each of the 14 informants, and some of these will be looked at more thoroughly.

## 4.1 All instances of code-switching

In figure 1, all instances of code-switching are shown. The 14 different informants have each been given a number from 1 to 14, and this number will not change, meaning that informant number 5 in figure 1 will have that same number throughout this chapter. As has been mentioned earlier, it was difficult to obtain an equal amount of male and female informants, and only 2 of the 14 informants were female. The female informants have been given the numbers 8 and 9. The very first thing that is interesting to note is that there are significant differences in how much the informants code-switched. Informant 9 code-switched a total of 28 times, whereas informant 2 and 14 only did it 2 times. On average, each informant code-switched 9,57 times. There is a crucial element missing from these numbers however, and that is time. Although each interview was scheduled to last for around 15 minutes, the reality is that they lasted anywhere between 9 and 20 minutes. This is likely to affect the results in figure 1, as it is reasonable to assume that the longer the conversation takes place, the more instances of code-switching will be found. Therefore, a new graph, figure 1.1, was made that shows code-switching per minute. Although adding the element of time is important, there are not that many differences between figure 1 and figure 1.1.

One informant stands out in the graphs below, and that is informant 9, who code-switched most frequently. In fact, when looking at code-switching per minute, informant 9 code-switched two and a half times more than anyone else in the study. Informant 9, who was one of the two females in this study, will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.
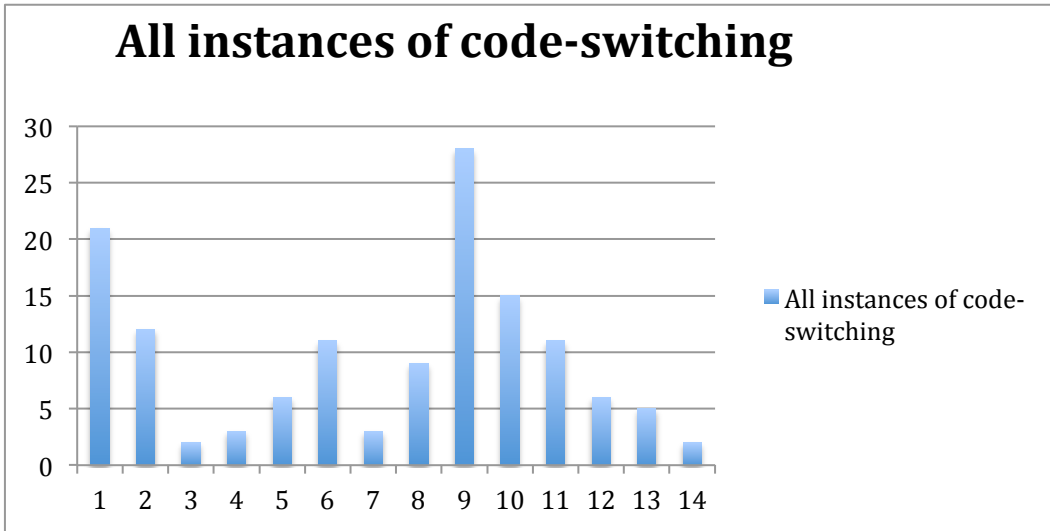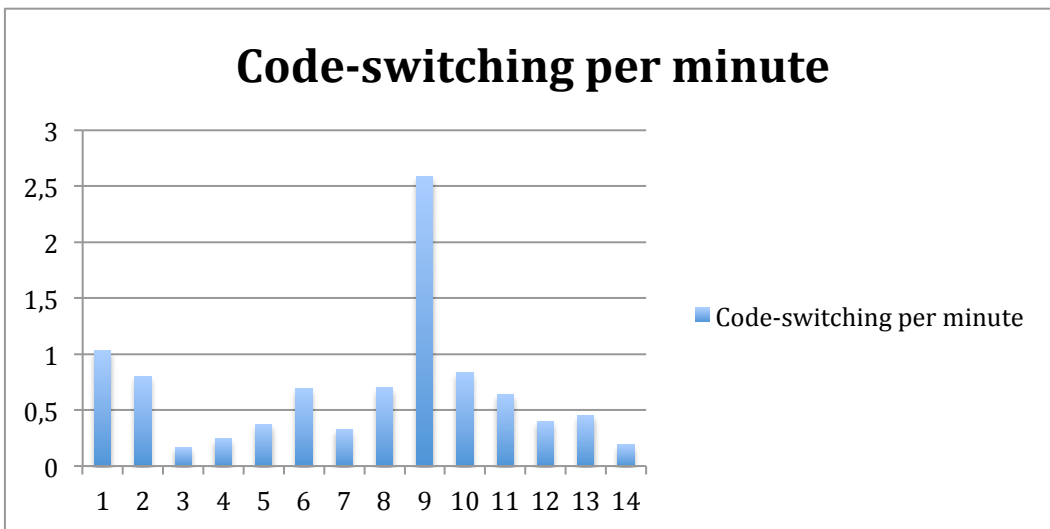
**Figure 1** All instances of code-switching



**Figure 1.1** Code-switching per minute

## 4.2 Significant vs insignificant code-switching

While the numbers presented above are interesting in their own right, they do not account for an important distinction that must be made before the results can be discussed further. This distinction is the one between significant and insignificant code-switching. These terms are not pre-existing ones in the study of code-switching, but are used here to mark an important difference. The distinction was discussed in 3.5 in the methodology chapter of this paper, but will briefly be repeated here. Some of the Norwegian words that the informants code-switched to in their interviews have no clear English equivalent, and some were names of Norwegian brands or places. These words are marked as insignificant code-switching. Some examples of such words from the interview will follow, to give a better idea of what type of words were counted as insignificant:

*Komle/rømmegraut* - Norwegian food

*Kvikk Lunsj* – Brand of chocolate similar to Kit Kat

*Stortinget* – The supreme legislature of Norway

*Arbeiderpariet/Høyre* – Political parties in Norway

*Lusekofte/bunad* – Norwegian national dress

*Eidsvoll/Hardanger* – Place names in Norway

The reason why these words are not counted as significant is that they would influence the results greatly. All of the instances of insignificant code-switching came from the topics that were typically Norwegian, and this would make hypothesis 1, that informants will code-switch more when the topics are typically Norwegian, of this thesis seem correct to a much greater degree than it should. The distribution of significant and insignificant code-switching can be seen in figure 2 below. The blue part of the graph represents significant code-switching, and this is what the rest of this chapter will focus on, meaning that the red part, the insignificant code-swiching, will be omitted from any further discussions. Therefore, figure 3 will be the point of departure for future discussions.
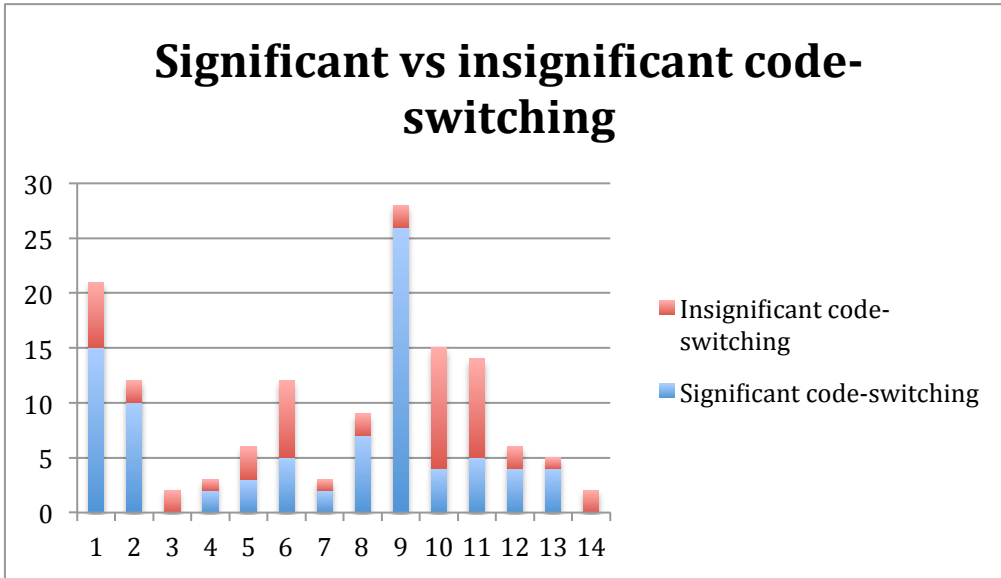
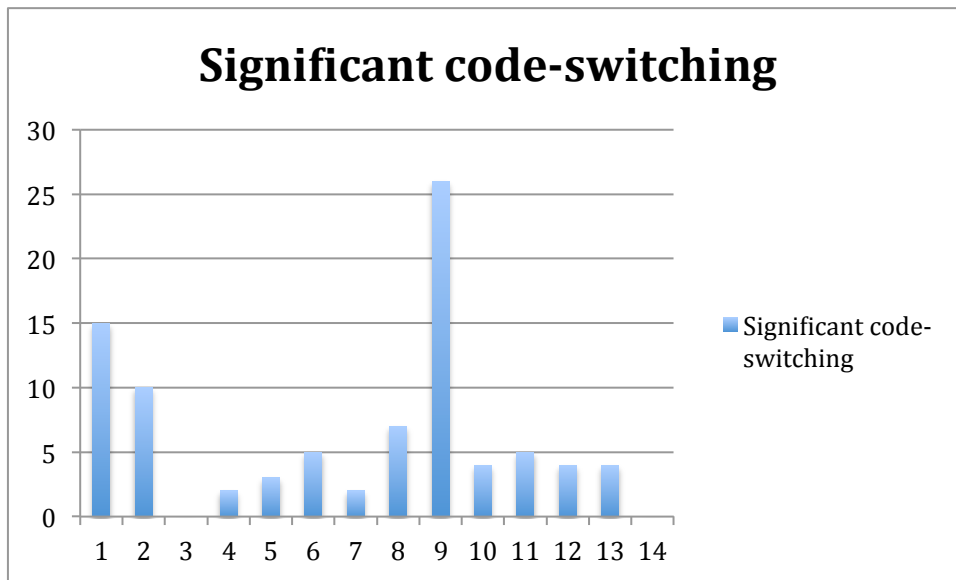**Figure 2** Insignificant and significant code-switching



**Figure 3** Significant code-switching

## 4.3 Code-switching by topic

From this point on, what was termed as significant code-switching in the section above will simply be called code-switching. It is important to bear this in mind, as all results posted from here on do not account for all of the code-switching done in the interviews, but only the ones deemed significant. The overarching belief in this thesis is that the topic of a conversation can influence speakers' propensity for code-switching. As outlined in the theory chapter, several linguists support this notion, and it is the main hypothesis in this thesis. Therefore, this section will be given particular attention, and some of the informants will be commented on individually.

Figure 4 shows the number of times the informants code-switched based on topic. Even after all the words deemed insignifcant code-switching were removed, there is a clear pattern to be seen from this graph. Out of the 14 informants that participated in the study, 12 code-switched at some point during their interviews. All of these code-switched more frequently when the topic was typically Norwegian. Informants 4,5,7,11 and 14 *only* code-switched while talking about Norwegian topics. The two informants that code-switched the most in general did so more than three times as frequently for Norwegian topics. In fact, only informant 2 and 6 code-switched less than twice as frequently when talking about typically Norwegian topics. These results, barring potential confounding variables, clearly show that there was a correlation between choice of topic and the amount of code-switching produced. These results will be discussed further later in this chapter.
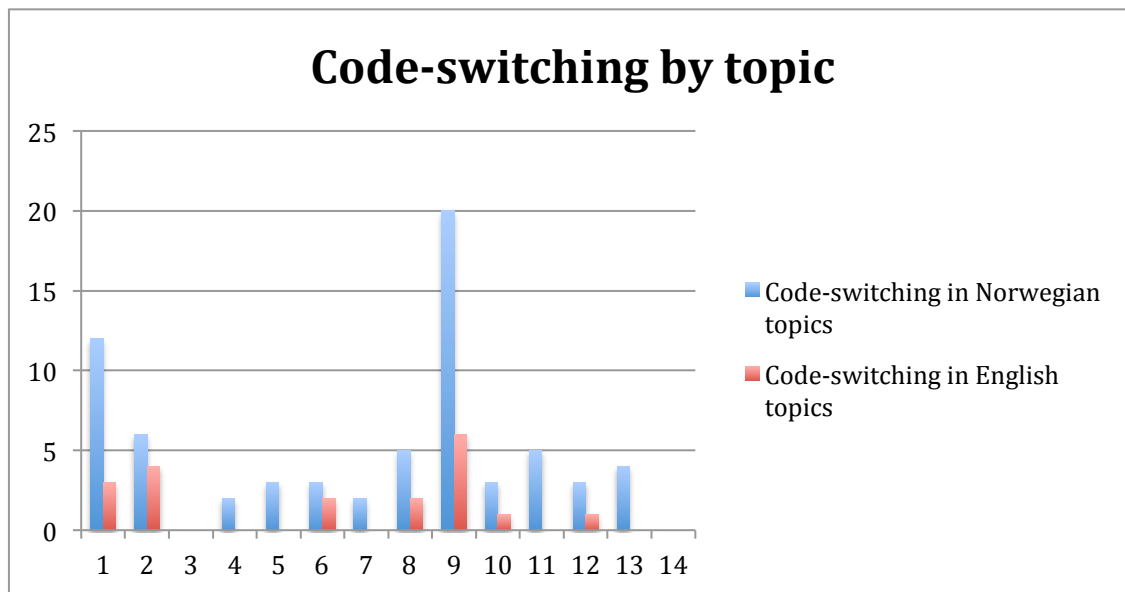
**Figure 4** Code-switching by topic.

## 4.4 Motivation

The informants were asked three questions that were meant to measure their motivation in different ways. The first question was whether or not they would choose English as an optional subject in their next year of upper secondary school. The second question was how important they think it is to learn English, and the third and last question was how motivated they were to learn English. The belief is that those informants that are more motivated to learn English will code-switch less frequently. As mentioned in the theory chapter of this thesis, a speaker's motivation can affect not only his or her attitude to English, but their ability to attain mastery over it. Three figures, figure 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 show their answers to the three questions mentioned above.

| Informants | Answer |
|------------|--------|
| Informant 1 | No |
| Informant 2 | No |
| Informant 3 | Yes |
| Informant 4 | Yes |
| Informant 5 | Yes |
| Informant 6 | Yes |
| Informant 7 | No |
| Informant 8 | Yes |
| Informant 9 | No |
| Informant 10 | Yes |
| Informant 11 | Yes |
| Informant 12 | Yes |
| Informant 13 | No |
| Informant 14 | No |

**Figure 5.1** Will you chose English as an optional subject?
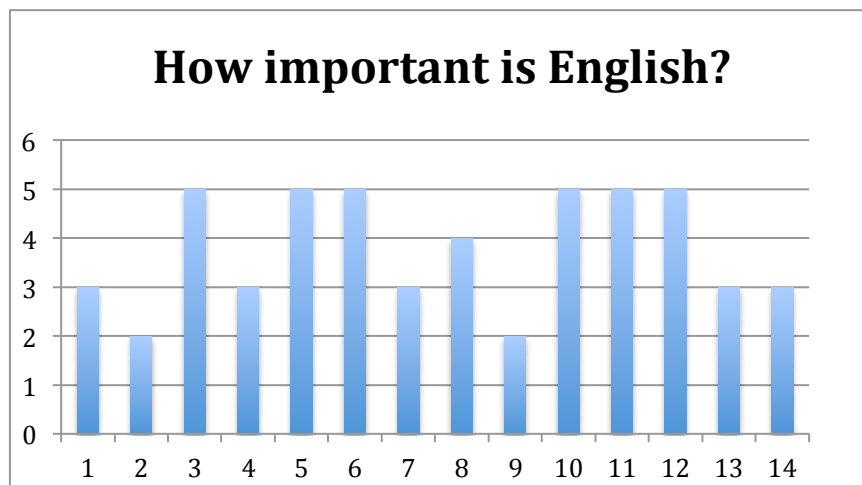


**How important is English?**

**Figure 5.2** Self-assessment of importance of English. 5 is very important, 1 is not important.

**Figure 5.3** Self-assessment of how motivated they are to learn English. 5 is very motivated, 1 is not motivated.

Starting with figure 5.1, it can be gathered that 8 out of the 14 informants wanted to choose English as an optional subject in their next year of school. The results in figure 5.2 show that no informant rated the importance of English as lower than 2 on a scale from 1-5, and only two informants rated it as low as 2. Out of the 14 informants, six rated English as very important, rating it 5 out of 5 on the scale. On average, the informants rated the importance of English as high as 3.8. Interestingly, out of the 8 informants that wanted to chose English as an optional subject, 6 rated the importance of English as very important, suggesting a link between the two. Finally, on the question of how motivated the informants were to learn English, 3 out of the 14 informants rated it 5 out of 5, and the same number of informants rated it 2 out of 5. Once again, 2 was the lowest score anyone gave. Most of the informants answered either 3 or 4. Out of the 6 informants that rated English as very important *and* wanted to choose English as an optional subject, informants 10, 11 and 12 rated their motivation for learning English to 5 out of 5, meaning that this group of 3 informants rated themselves to be as motivated as was possible on all questions. Before these results can be compared to the code-switching done by the informants, they need to be combined into one big number; the motivation factor. To get to this number, the results of figure 5.3 and 5.2 will be added. In addition, if the informants answered yes on choosing English as an optional subject, 2 points are added to their total. If they answered no on choosing English as an optional subject, 0 points were added to their total. All this boils down to

42

the motivation factor, which is a number ranging from 1 to 12 that includes the results of figure 5.1, 5.2 and 5,3.
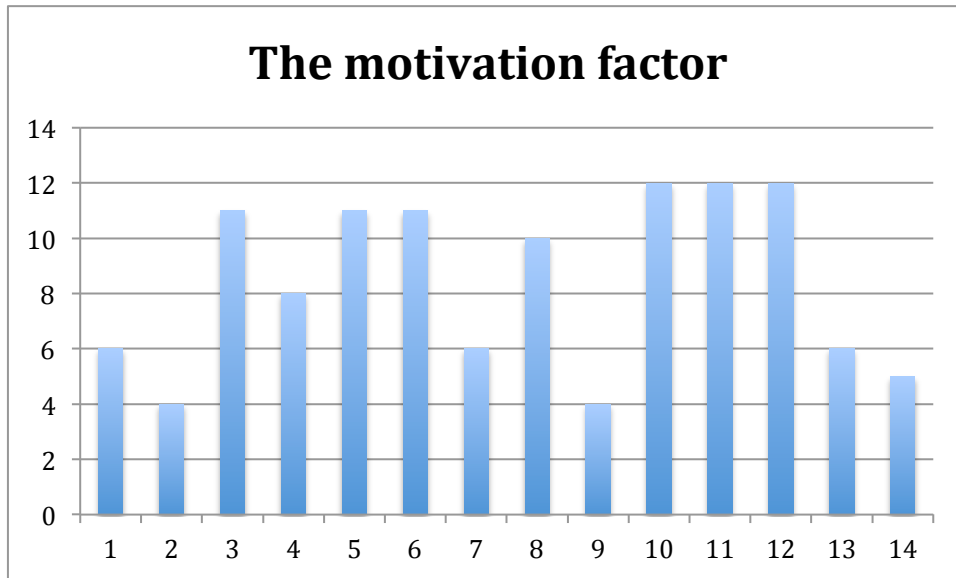
## The motivation factor



**Figure 5.4** The motivation factor

Now that the motivation has been quantified, it will be held up against the amounts of code-switching produced by informants. Figure 5.5 show this motivation factor next to the instances of code-switching that the informants produced. If the third hypothesis, that more motivated informants will produce less code-switches, of this thesis tests has any validity, then there should be a negative correlation between motivation and the amount of code-switches produced by the informants. Informants 1, 2 and 9 display patterns which suggest that lower motivation leads to more code switching. Informants 3, 4, 5, 12 and 14 display patterns which suggests that higher motivation leads to less code-switching. However, informants 6, 8, 10, 11 and 13 do not support the negative correlation between motivation and code-switching.
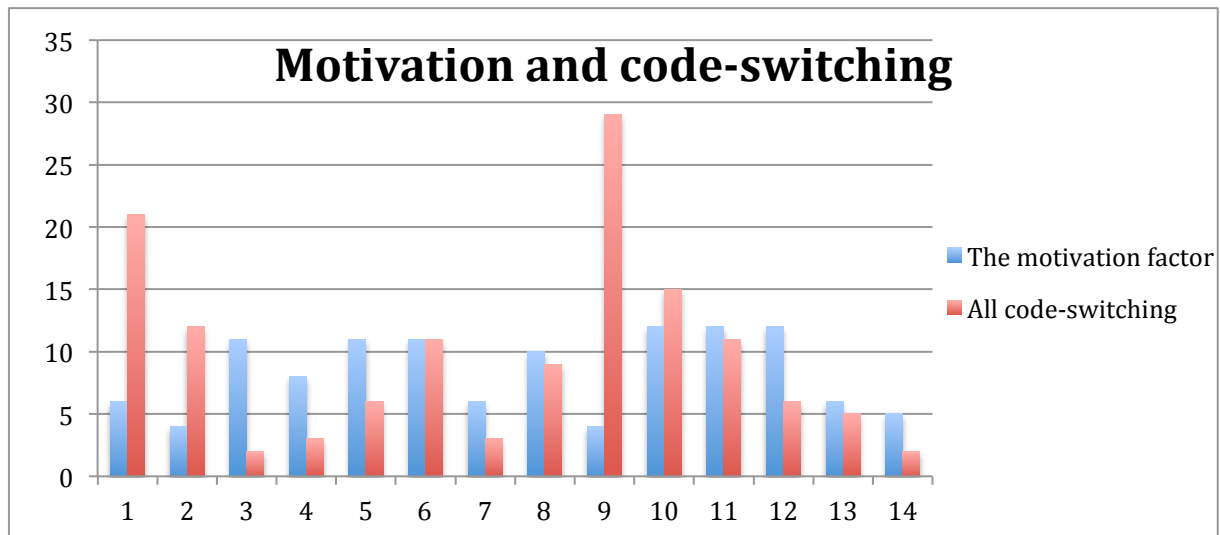
**Figure 5.5** Motivation and code-switching (note that what is referred to as "all code-switching" refers to both significant and insignificant code-switching in this graph)

A different way to approach this is by not looking at each individual informant, but split them into groups instead, based on their motivation factor. Informants 10, 11 and 12 has the highest possible motivation factor, with informants 3, 5 and 6 following close behind. These six informants will compose the group "highly motivated informants". Any of the informants that rated from 6 to 10 will compose the group "intermediately motivated informants", and the informants that rated less than 6 fall in the group "less motivated informants". These groups were used to make figure 5.6. Here, the three groups mentioned above, sorted by their motivation, were compared to each other. All instances of code-switching was added for each group, then divided by the number of informants in each group so that the group sizes did not interfere with the comparison. Group 1 contains the less motivated informants, group 2 contains the intermediately motivated informants, and group 3 contains the highly motivated informants. This reveals something that was harder to see in figure 5.5. There is a notable difference in how much code-switching was done by the least motivated group compared to the other two group, but almost no difference between the intermediately motivated and highly motivated group. These results will be discussed later.
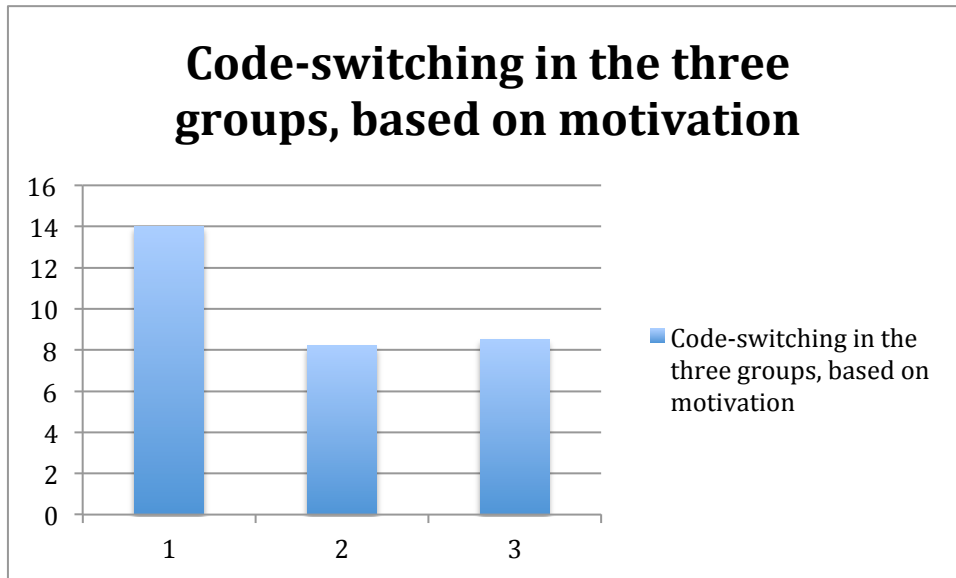
**Figure 5.6** Code-switching by groups; 1 (less motivated), 2 (intermediately motivated) and 3 (highly motivated).

## 4.5 Concord errors

The second hypothesis laid forth in this thesis is that informants in the present study will make more concord errors when the topic is typically Norwegian. Unlike the first hypothesis, this one is not grounded in previous research, as studies have not looked at this relationship specifically. Table 6.1 shows all cases where informants made concord errors. Informant 1, 4 and 9 did not have any concord errors, and the rest had between 1 and 6, with the average being 2,07. These numbers could, just like the ones in figure 1, be affected by the length of the interviews, and therefore 6.2 takes that into account, by measuring concord errors per minute. The two graphs show that there are few notable differences between them, but informants 13 and 14 both show higher numbers, relatively speaking, when time was added to the equation. Finally, figure 6.3 shows the correlation between topic and concord errors. This will be elaborated upon later, but in short, the results show that there are slightly more concord errors for the English topics than there is for Norwegian topics.
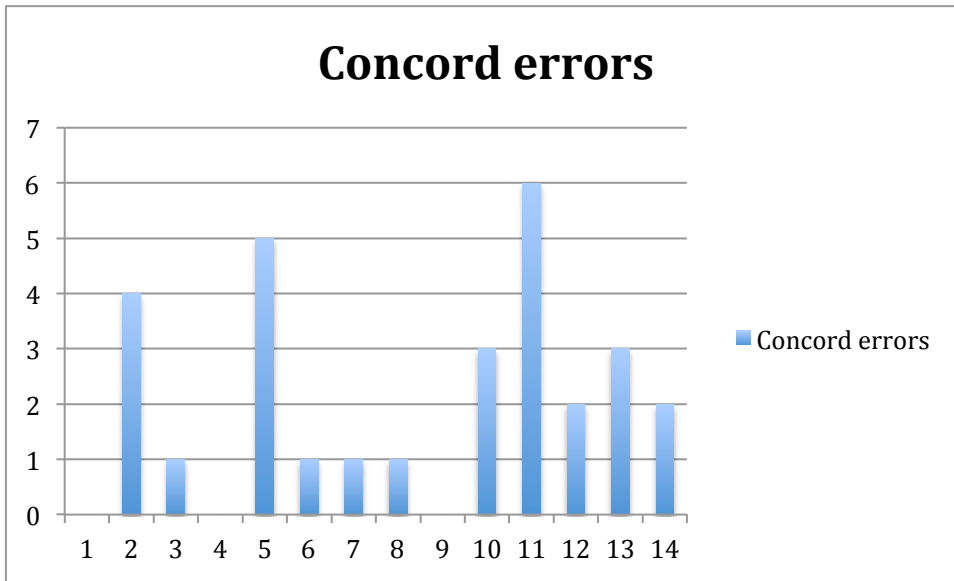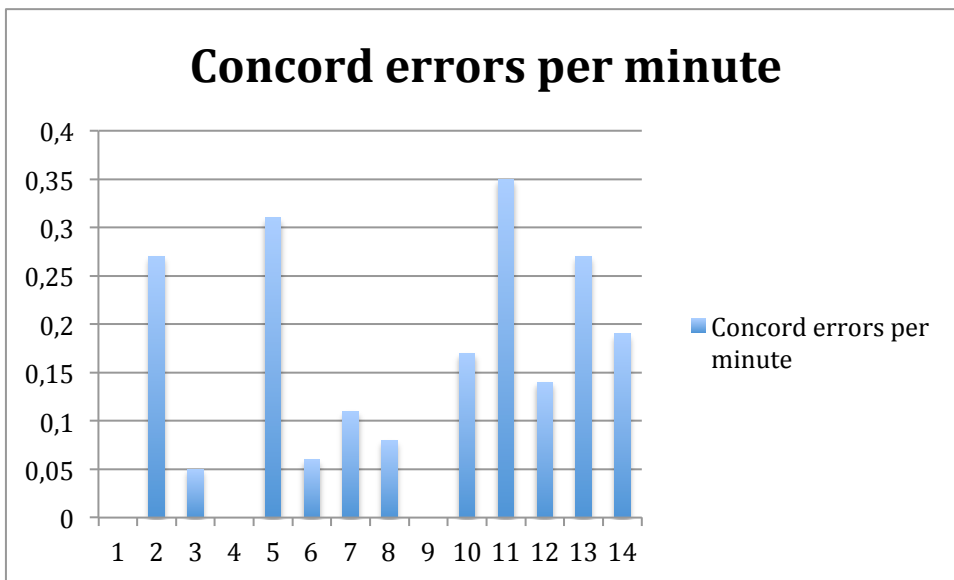
**Figure 6.1** Concord errors



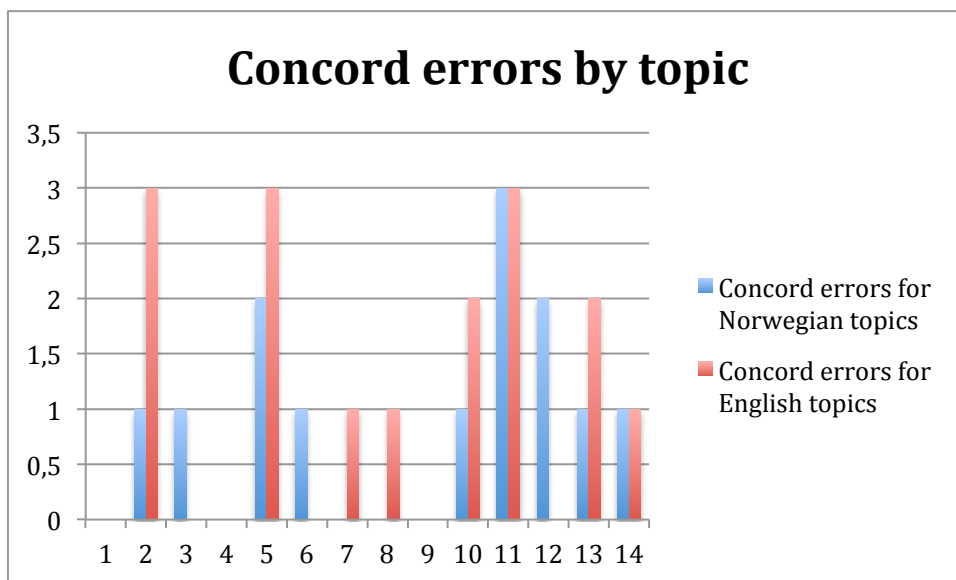**Figure 6.2** Concord errors per minute

**Figure 6.3** Concord errors by topics

## 4.6 Themes

In this section of the chapter, each pairing of pictures will be analysed. As mentioned in chapter 3, the informants were shown ten different images that they would then talk about. Each of these pictures composed a pair, where the theme was similar, but one image in each pair was typically Norwegian and the other one was typically English. Below is a brief explanation of the themes:

Theme 1: National day, patriotism. In this pairing, the informants were shown a picture of the statue of liberty, with fireworks and American flags in the background and the text "Happy 4<sup>th</sup> of July" written in bold letters. This represented the typically English image in the pair. They were also shown an image of the 17<sup>th</sup> of May celebration in Norway, where a large parade walked down one of the most famous streets in Oslo with national dresses and an abundance of Norwegian flags.

Theme 2: Stereotypes, culture. The American themed image depicts an overweight boy eating at McDonalds, whereas the Norwegian counterpart shows an advertisement for the Norwegian chocolate Kvikk Lunsj, with snowy mountains and a person going cross-country skiing.

Theme 3: Politics. These two images both depict the current, when the interviews were conducted, political leader in Norway and the US respectively, which worked as a backdrop for questions about politics in the two countries.

Theme 4: Terror. In these two pictures, the informants were shown images of two horrible events that transpired in the US and in Norway. The Norwegian themed image shows an image of Anders Behring Breivik, the terrorist responsible for the attacks at Uttøya in 2011. The American themed image illustrates the 9/11 attacks on the Twin Towers in New York that occurred in 2001.

Theme 5: Nature. In the final pair of images, informants were shown a picture of one of Norway´s many famous fjords and an image of the skyline of New York City. After discussing these pictures in general, they were asked what the best and worst things about Norway and the US are.

Five graphs can be seen below which show the distribution of code-switching done by the informants across these five different themes.
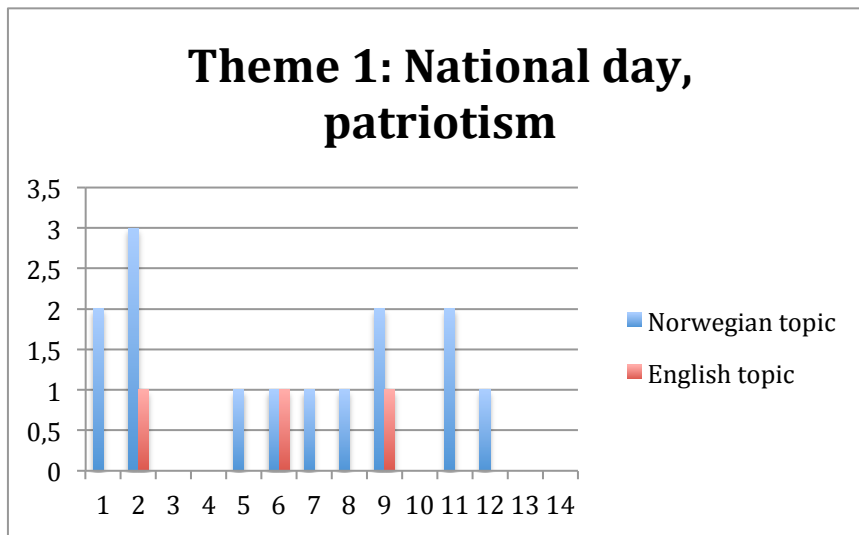


**Figure 7.1** Code-switching for theme 1 by topic

**Figure 7.2** Code-switching for theme 2 by topic



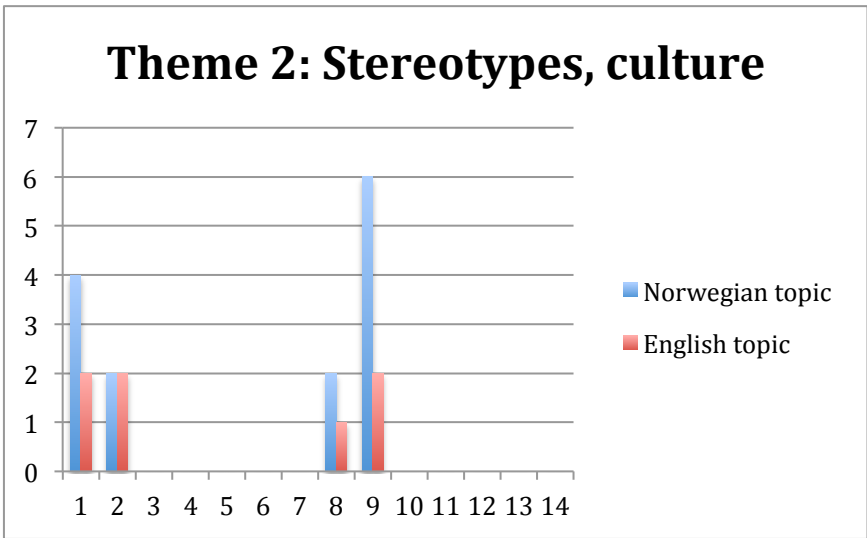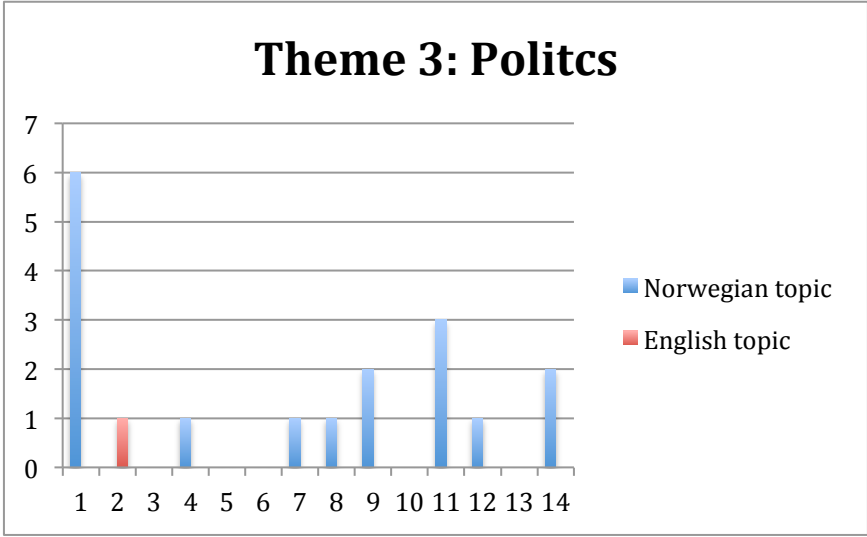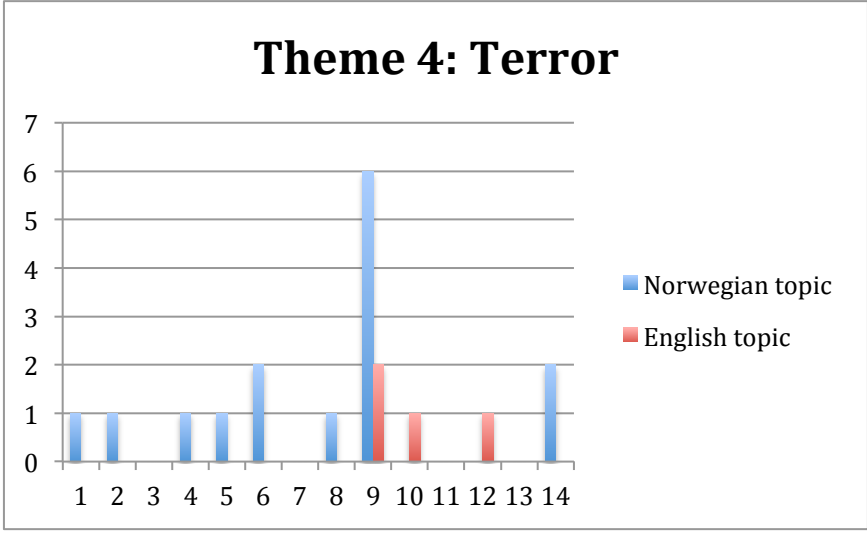**Figure 7.3** Code-switching for theme 3 by topic



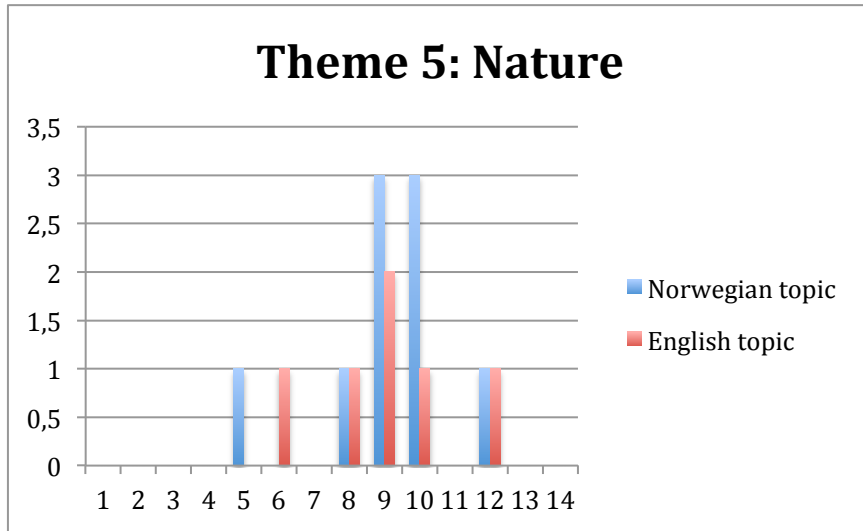**Figure 7.4** Code-switching for theme 4 by topic

**Figure 7.5** Code-switching for theme 5 by topic

In order to more easily spot the differences between these five themes, the total amount of code-switching for each of them is shown together in one graph, figure 7.6 below.
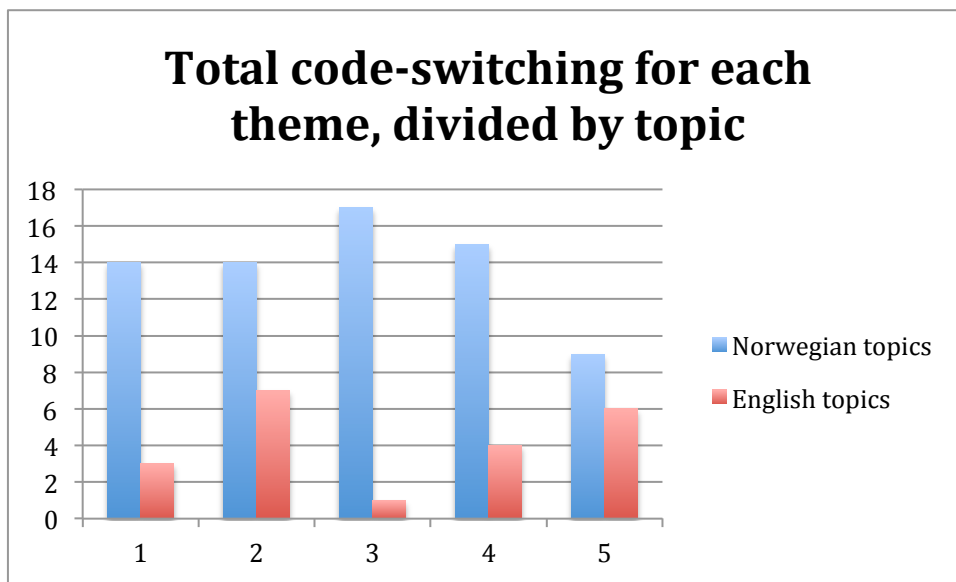


Figure 7.6 Total code-switching for themes 1-5, divided by topic

Figure 7.6 shows that themes 1, 3 and 4 displayed the biggest differences across Norwegian and English topics, with theme 3, politics, coming out on top. Theme 5, nature, showed the least difference with nine instances of code-switching for the Norwegian themed image and six instances of code-switching for the English themed image. These results will be addressed later in this chapter.

## 4.7 Gender differences

As mentioned previously, when gathering informants for the present study, an attempt was made to acquire an equal amount of male and female informants so that the results of the two groups could be compared. Unfortunately, only two of the 14 informants were female, and this should be kept in mind when the comparison is made here. The graph below takes the mean number of code-switching per minute for the males and females in this study. At first glance, these results imply a notable difference between the genders, as the female group code-switched more than three times as frequently per minute as the male group. Again, these results will be addressed later in this chapter.
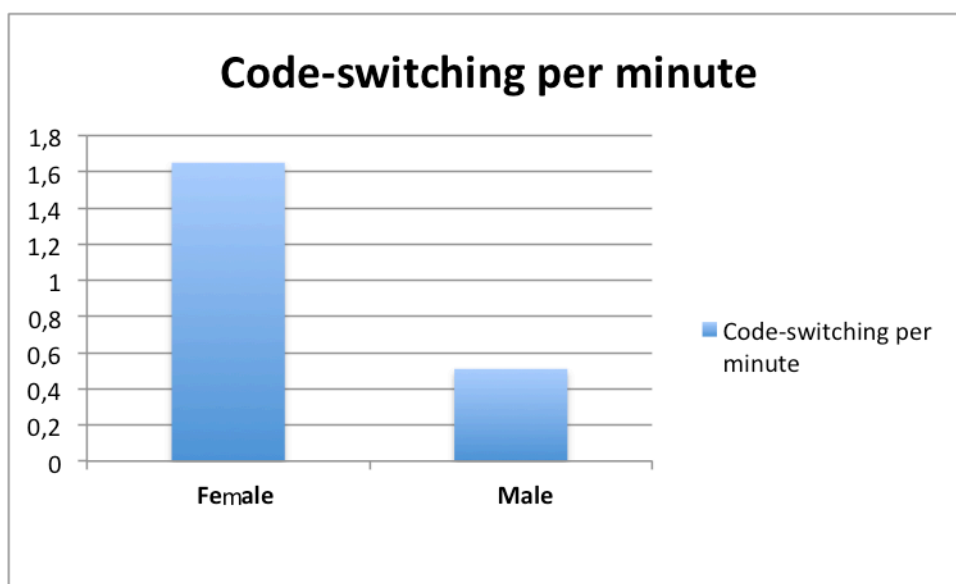


Figure 8.1 Code-switching per minute, on average, for male and female informants

## 4.8 Informant 9

Before the discussion of the results of all the data gathered above, informant 9 will receive some special attention. The reason for this is that informant 9 code-switched more than any other informants in the present study, and in a way embodied the expectations of two of the hypotheses.
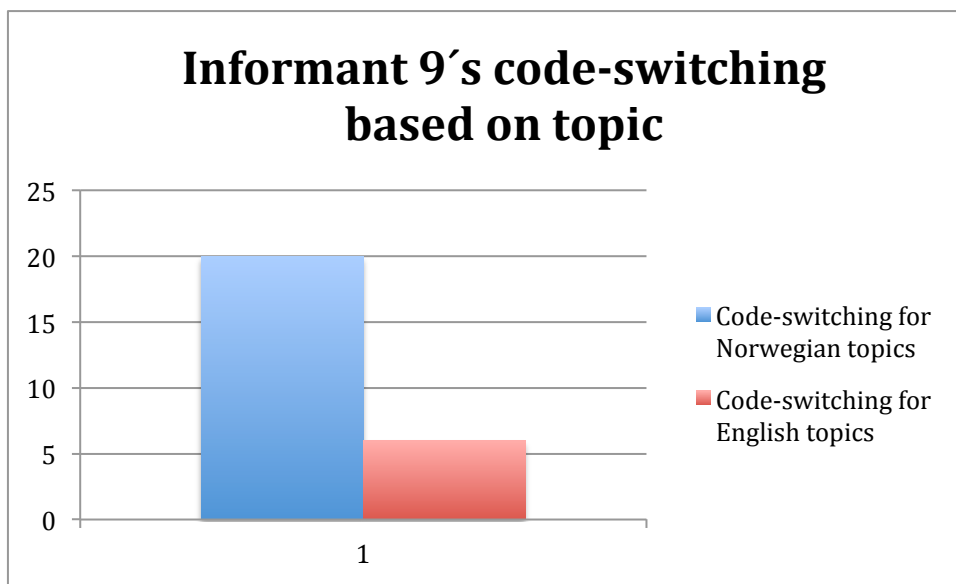


Figure 9.1 Informant 9´s code-switching for Norwegian and English topics

Figure 9.1 shows that informant 9 code-switched 20 times when the topic was typically Norwegian, and only 6 times when the topic was typically English. Figures 7.1-7.5 shows that she code-switched a lot more frequently when the topic was Norwegian regardless of theme as well. These results strongly support hypothesis 1 of this thesis.
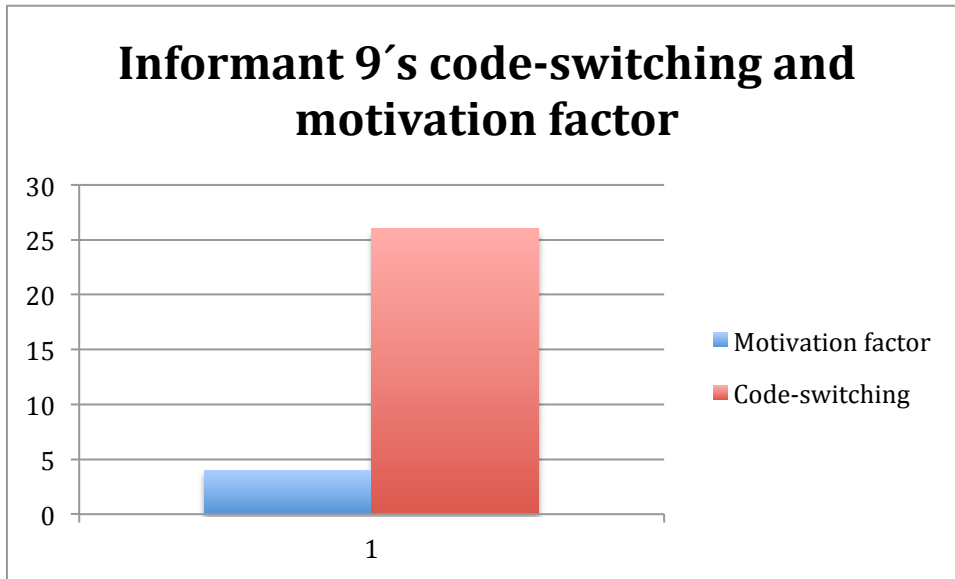
Figure 9.2 Informant 9´s code-switching and motivation factor

The motivation factor is the number described in 4.4 where the answers to all three questions about informants´ motivation were added. The highest achievable score for motivation was 12, and the informant 9´s score of 4 was the lowest in the study. As mentioned above, the number of code-switching that informant 9 displayed was the highest in the study. This supports hypothesis 3 very strongly, as it shows a solid negative correlation between motivation and amounts of code-switching. Interestingly, informant 9 did not make any concord errors in her interview.

**4.9 Discussion**

Thus far, this chapter has focused on presenting the results gathered from the 14 interviews and self-assessment questionnaires conducted for this thesis. This part focuses on these results, and discusses them within the framework of this study, and with regards to relevant research.

### 4.9.1 Code-switching by topic

The first and most important hypothesis made before the interviews were conducted and the results gathered was this: Informants will code-switch to a greater degree when the topics are typically Norwegian. The results of the interviews, shown in figure 4 above, strongly support this hypothesis. To see this even more clearly, figure 10.1 was made, where all the instances of code-switching for every informant were counted for both Norwegian and English topics.



**Figure 10.1** All code-switches for every informant, by topic

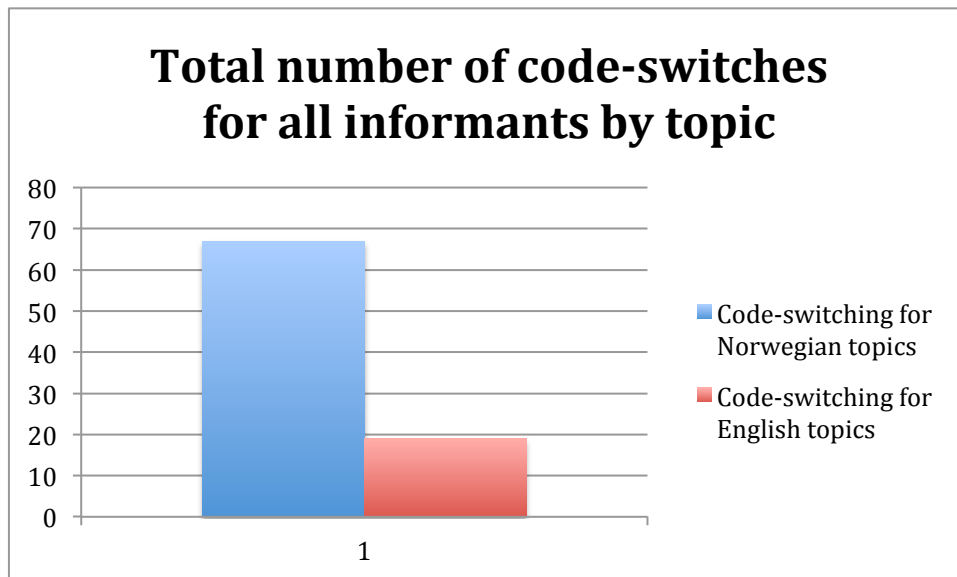This graph shows that there were considerably more instances of code-switching when the topics were typically Norwegian. Even though the number of informants in this study was relatively low, these numbers are fairly conclusive in showing that the difference in code-switching can be explained by topic.

## 4.9.2 Why did they code-switch?

The finding outlined above was not surprising, as research prior to this study has shown that the topic of a conversation can affect code-switching. Topic is an extra-linguistic factor, and Auer (1998: 156) showed that such factors could often explain why speakers code-switch. More important however, is the concept of *metaphorical code-switching.* Blom and Gumperz coined this term in the early seventies, and it refers to a bilingual behaviour where speakers switch codes depending on the topic of the conversation, More specifically, metaphorical code-switching explains this behaviour by saying that certain topics fall into certain conversational domains, and speakers are used to using specific codes for specific domains. In other words, the results outlined in figure 10.1 and in section 4.3 could be explained by this theory; the informants were used to speaking about the typically Norwegian topics in Norwegian, and therefore had difficulties discussing these topics in English. Because of this, they often had to code-switch to Norwegian in order to accommodate their pre-existing understanding of their conversational domains. When the topics were typically English however, they did not code-switch as much because they are more used to discussing and hearing about the English topics in English.

*Situational code-switching* should also be mentioned here. In short, situational code-switching can be used to redefine a situation. It is plausible to think that some of the code-switching done by the informants in the present study happened initially because they wanted to change the unspoken rule in the interview that they could only speak English. They were uncomfortable with this situation, and therefore changed it into one they were more comfortable with, where they knew that the interviewer would understand them.

Another explanation for the results could have to do with *communicative competence*. Crystal (1987) claimed that switches from one language to another could be a result of poor language skills, and the switch happens to compensate for this. This is unlikely to account for the difference in code-switching based on topic in the present study however, as that would imply that speaking about Norwegian topics required more communicative competence. However, if the distinction between significant and insignificant code-switching had not been made then communicative competence, or lack thereof, could have had a larger influence on the results, as much of the code-switching deemed insignificant in 4.2 are words that are not impossible to translate, only difficult.

The *markedness theory of code-switching*, as laid forth by Myers-Scotton, could also help explain why the informants code-switched more frequently. In this theory, code-switching is a socially motivated action that can be used to, among other things, maintain appropriateness and create an understanding. Following this line of reasoning, it can be argued that informants in the present study code-switched to avoid any awkward, or inappropriate, silences.

Adding all of this together, it can be said that the informants code-switched to avoid awkwardness, to change the situation, to accommodate their conversational domains and because of their lack of competence in speaking English.

## 4.9.3 Was it code-switching?

An important question that should be addressed here is whether or not all the instances of code-switching were actually code-switching, and did not represent similar contact phenomena. Since the informants in this study were free to decide for themselves if and when they code-switched, one can say with a fair amount of certainty that none of the code-switching in the present study was a result of diglossia, where the switches are imposed on the speaker by community or social norms. The results were not a case of mixed languages, since the two languages in question were Norwegian and English and not some sort of mix between the two. Neither were the results instances of borrowing, where a word from one language is integrated into another because of a lack of a word in one language that represents the meaning the speaker wishes to convey. Again, the distinction between significant and insignificant code-switching was important, as much of the code-switching that was considered insignificant is better described as borrowing than code-switching.

The results could not be explained as language shifting, as the setting of the interviews never changed. All interviews took place in the same room, with the same interviewer and the same images were shown.

Taking all of this into consideration, it is fair to say that what has been counted as code-switching in the present study actually represents code-switches, and not something else. Looking at the definitions of code-switching laid forth in 2.1 makes this even more clear, as the informants alternated between two languages, did so in an unchanged setting and in a single conversation or speech exchange, all of which are factors used in different linguists definitions of code-switching.

## 4.10 Motivation

Motivation and code-switching have been studied together in previous linguistic research, but the interest of such studies has been to look at the motivation behind code-switching and why people code-switch, and therefore such studies have most commonly fallen into the sociolinguistic branch. The relationship between how motivated informants are to learn English and how much they code-switch has not been looked at specifically before, and hence there is little relevant research to be gathered. However, the field of second language acquisition has seen much research on the role of motivation on a learner´s ability to master a second language. As mentioned in part 2.3.3 in the theory chapter, much research has shown that motivation for learning a language affects an individual´s ability to learn that language. This is important for this study as it points to a link between motivation and language, and that motivation is able to affect language directly.

The third hypothesis in this thesis pertains to motivation by claiming that: "Informants that are more motivated to learn English will display less code-switching, and informants that are less motivated to learn English will display more code-switching". The results outlined in 4.4 above are not entirely conclusive. For the above-mentioned hypothesis to be true, there should be a clear negative correlation between motivation and code-switching. There is a clear negative correlation for half of the informants; informants 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9 and 12. Some of these show high motivation and low code-switching, others show low motivation and high code-switching. The results of the seven informants mentioned above are fairly unambiguous, and these findings support the third hypothesis of this thesis, and suggest a relationship between self-assessed motivation for learning English and frequency of code-switching. But what about the other half of the informants? A graph was made to show these informants separately, figure 11 below.
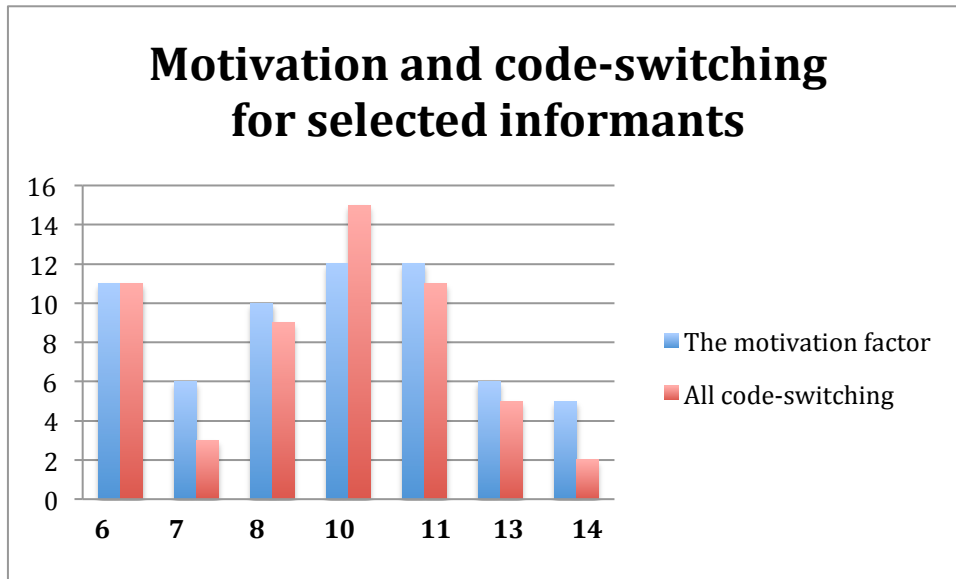
**Figure 11** Motivation and code-switching for informants 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13 and 14

Informants 10 and 11 received the top motivation factor possible, having rated themselves as highly motivated on both questions about motivation, and answered yes for whether or not they would chose English as an optional subject. It was then expected that these two informants would show very little code-switching, but the reality was that both of them code-switched more than the average informant of this study. The situation is similar for informants 6 and 8. They both rated high up on the motivation factor, but still showed a slightly above average amount of code-switching compared to the other informants. Informants 7 and 14 are also similar to each other. Both rated in the mid-range for motivation and code-switched less than the other informants in the study. All of these results mean that hypothesis 3 could not be confirmed, as the evidence of the negative correlation between motivation and amounts of code-switching could not be shown conclusively.

As a final note, it is interesting to take a closer look at figure 5.6, where all the informants were split into three groups depending on their motivation, and then the amount of code-switching done by each group was divided by its members to see if there were notable differences between the three groups.
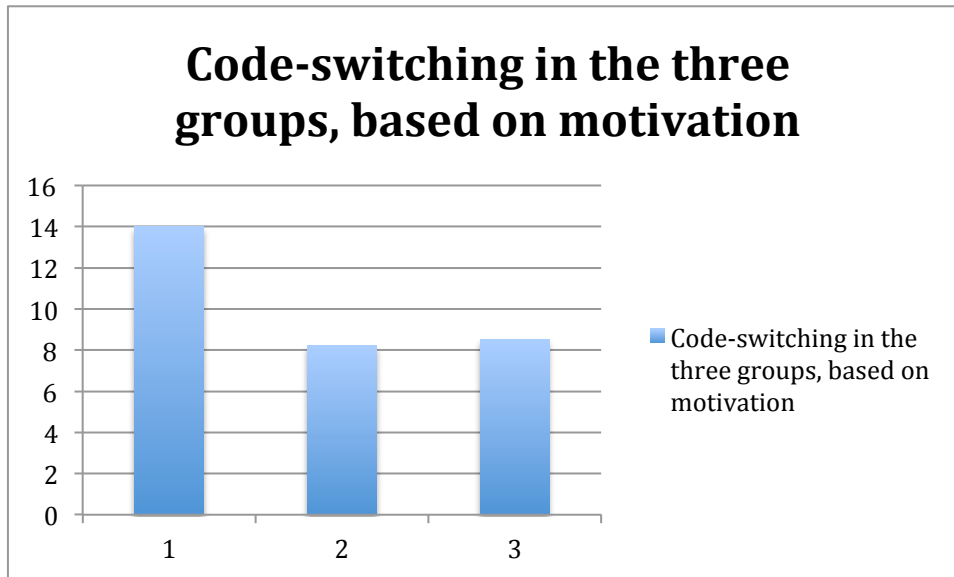
**Figure 5.6** Code-switching by groups; 1 (less motivated), 2 (intermediately motivated) and 3 (highly motivated).

The graph more or less speaks for itself; there is a considerable difference in code-switching done by the group of least motivated informants and the other two groups. This suggests that there may be some validity to hypothesis 3 after all, at least when the motivation is low. There is little evidence in this study that highly motivated speakers code-switch notably less than intermediately motivated speakers, but figure 5.6 suggests that speakers that are not motivated to learn English do code-switch more. In other words, there may be a relationship between low motivation and code-switching, but less of a clear relationship between high motivation and code-switching.

## 4.11 Concord errors

The second hypothesis of this thesis is that: "Informants will make more concord errors when the topics are typically Norwegian". Once again, there is little research that investigates this specifically. In fact, no research was found that looked at the effect choice of topic had on concord errors. The idea behind the hypothesis was that topic would affect several different aspects of the informants' language, including their grammar. The results, outlined in 4.5, do not support such a claim. Firstly, it should be mentioned that there were a lot fewer cases of concord mistakes than there was code-switching. On average, the informants had a tad more than two concord mistakes each, and three of the informants made no concord errors. When it comes to concord errors divided by Norwegian and English topics, there did not appear to be any evidence to support hypothesis 2. To see this more clearly, figure 12 was made, which show all the informants´ concord mistakes combined, both for typically Norwegian and typically English topics.
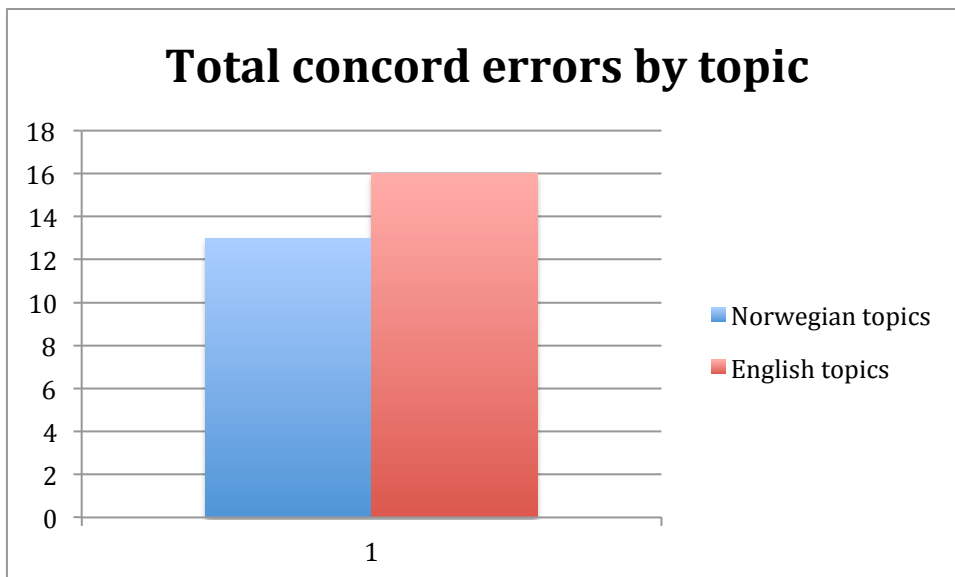


**Figure 12** All concord errors divided by topic

To sum up, the notion that choice of topic should affect the amount of concord errors produced was rejected in the present study.

## 4.12 Themes

The results of the present study showed that the informants code-switched significantly more when the topics were typically Norwegian, but it is also interesting to see if there were any specific Norwegian topics that elicited more code-switching than the rest. The five themes that were discussed in the interviews are outlined in 4.6 above. First off, one can tell from figures 7.1-7.5 that all the different themes had more instances of code-switching for Norwegian topics. However, there were some notable differences between the five themes. Theme 5, which showed images of either Norwegian nature or an American metropolis, showed the least difference in code-switching based on topic. A possible explanation for this could be that the two images shown for theme 5 were simply too different. The Norwegian image portrayed nature, and had a rural feel to it, whereas the English image showed a city, which gave it more of an urban feel.

On the opposite side of the scale is theme 3. For theme 3, which was either American or Norwegian politics, the difference in code-switching was bigger than for any other topic. This could be because Norwegian politics is something that the informants have only experienced while speaking Norwegian or listening to others speak Norwegian. American politics on the other hand is something that they mostly experience in English, either through their English lessons at school as part of the school curriculum, or while listening to international news.

Theme 1, national days and patriotism, also saw big differences between code-switching for Norwegian and English topics. Following the line of reasoning above, this is then explained by the linguistic environment in which the informants experience the Norwegian and American national days respectively. When they talked about the Norwegian national day and the Norwegian people, they might have been thinking in Norwegian, which interfered with their ability to speak English without code-switching.

For theme 4, terror, there was roughly three times as much code-switching when the topic was Norwegian terror. The reasoning behind this might be different from the one mentioned

above. The Norwegian themed imaged showed Anders Behring Breivik, the terrorist responsible for the attack on Uttøya in 2011, while the English theme image showed pictures of the World Trade Center burning after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Both of these images were meant to engage the informants emotionally, and it is reasonable to assume that the informants were much more emotionally invested in the terror attacks that happened in Norway. This is mostly because it happened so much closer to the informants and received news coverage 24/7 for a week, but also because it happened much more recently than the attacks on the World Trade Center. The reason why the difference in time is important is that there is a theory, called *motivated forgetting*, in the field of psychology that humans tend to forget bad memories much faster than good ones (Weiner 1968:2). This is a defence mechanism, since memories are so closely tied to emotions, and our brain wants us to feel emotionally safe and stable. Why is it important to stress that the informants were more emotionally invested in the Norwegian part of the discussion of theme 4, and how does this account for the difference in code-switching? The answer can be found in the field of sociolinguistics: "[w]hen people are emotionally involved (excited, angry, fearful, etc.) in a discussion, they are more concerned with what they say than with how they say it. Following this logic, interviewers can obtain less self-conscious speech by asking questions that bring about such emotional reactions" (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 65). In other words, when talking about the attack on Uttøya and the man responsible, the informants might not have paid as much attention to the fact that they were speaking English as they did to what they had to say on the matter.

For theme 2, stereotypes and culture, there was twice as much code-switching for Norwegian topics, which means that this was the theme that showed the second to least amount of difference in code-switching based on topic. It was also the theme were most instances of code-switching were found both in total, and for English topics. This could be explained by the fact that the topic of Norwegian stereotypes is something that informants do not necessarily speak that much about in Norwegian. Rather, it is something that they would talk about with people that are not Norwegian, and hence they would discuss Norwegian stereotypes in English.

The explanations for why differences in code-switching could be seen for topics 1, 2, 3 and 5 share a common denominator, namely that the language that we are used to thinking about a topic in can interfere with our ability to discuss that topic in a different language. This has to do with the term thinking for speaking, which was presented in 2.6 of the theory chapter. One of the ideas laid forth by this theory is that speakers "think" in their first language while speaking in

their second language. The themes above are inspired by this idea, as the Norwegian topics for each theme are topics that the informants have mostly experienced and discussed in a Norwegian setting, using the Norwegian language, while thinking in Norwegian. When they are then asked to discuss these themes in English, they code-switch more frequently because the themes are so integrated into their Norwegian. As Epstein (1915) put it, speakers associate different languages with different people or contexts, and adjust their inner speech accordingly.

A final observation on the themes is that there was relatively small differences in the total amount of code-switching that occurred for the five different themes, as shown in figure 13 below.
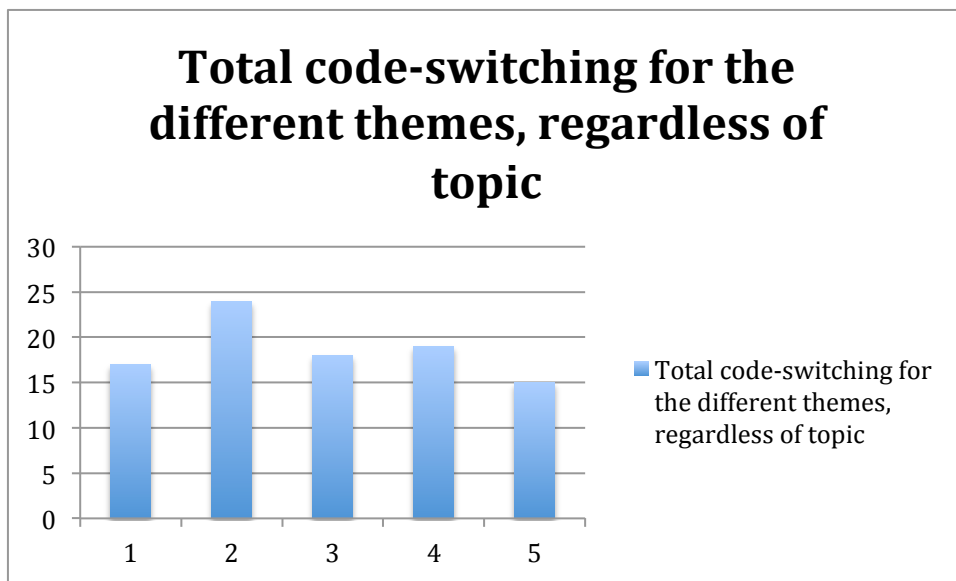


**Figure 13** Total number of code-swichtes for the five different theme, regardless of topic

## 4.13 Gender

Figure 8.1 shows that there were considerable differences between the amount of code-switching produced by males and females in this study. On average, the female informants code-switched 1,7 times per minute whereas the male informants code-switched only 0,5 times per minute.

Judging by these results, it is technically correct to conclude that this study found a considerable difference between the two genders, but the fact that there were so few female informants compared to male informants has to be taken into consideration. This is especially important since one of the female informants, informant 9, was the one who code-switched the most out of any of the informants in the study. The other female informant, informant 8, only code-switched slightly above average.

In sociolinguistics, it is widely held that women are more like to choose "correct", or more standard variants, than men. This pattern was coined the "Sex/Prestige Pattern" by Hudson (1996) and has been proven to be correct in numerous studies. However, this research focuses on monolingual speech, and code-switching as defined in this thesis lies in the domain of bilingual speech. However, it is natural to assume that the pattern outlined above would also hold true for code-switching, since code-switching is generally considered non-standard speech. Therefore, the "Sex/Prestige Pattern" could be transferred to studies of code-switching, which would suggest that women code-switch less frequently than men. However,  a study done on code-switching and gender revealed that "there is no consistent pattern of sex differentiation emerging from bilingual data" (Cheshire & Chloros 1998).

If nothing else, the results of this study concerning differences between code-switching in female and male informants provides an incentive to study this relationship specifically in a similar type of study, but with a much more gender balanced informant sample.


**4.14 Summary**


In this chapter, the results of study conducted for this thesis were first presented, then discussed later in the chapter. The three hypotheses of the thesis were discussed in the light of the results of the study. The first hypothesis was concluded to be supported by the results of the study, as seen in the figure below.
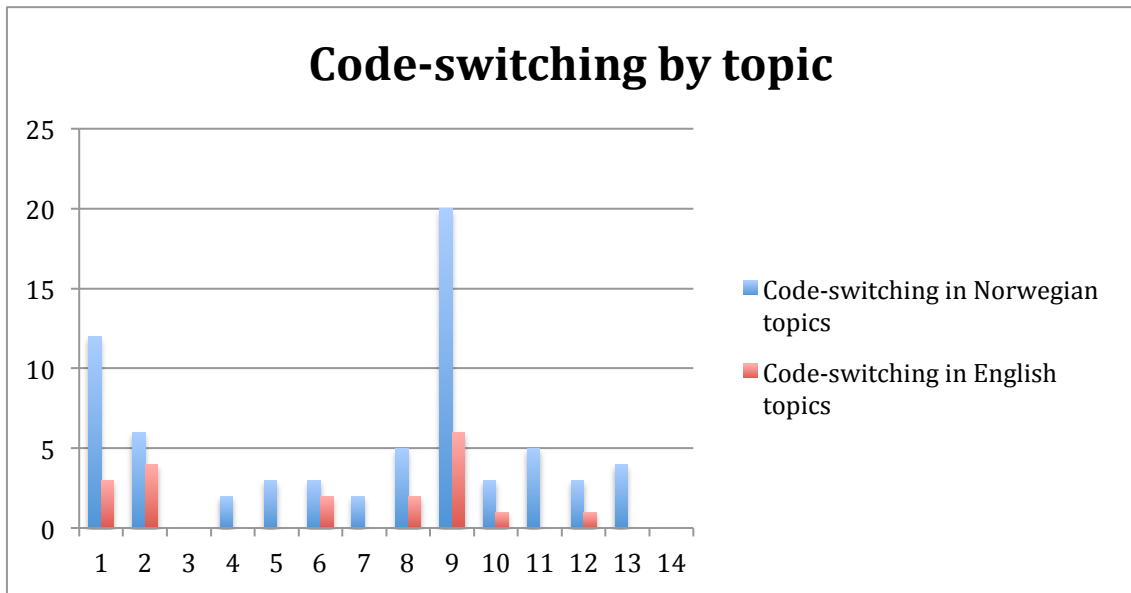
**Figure 4** Code-switching by topic.

The results quite clearly showed that there were differences in the amount of code-switching that the informants produced based on whether they were speaking about a Norwegian or an English topic.

The second hypothesis of the thesis was not supported by this study´s findings, as the graph below shows.
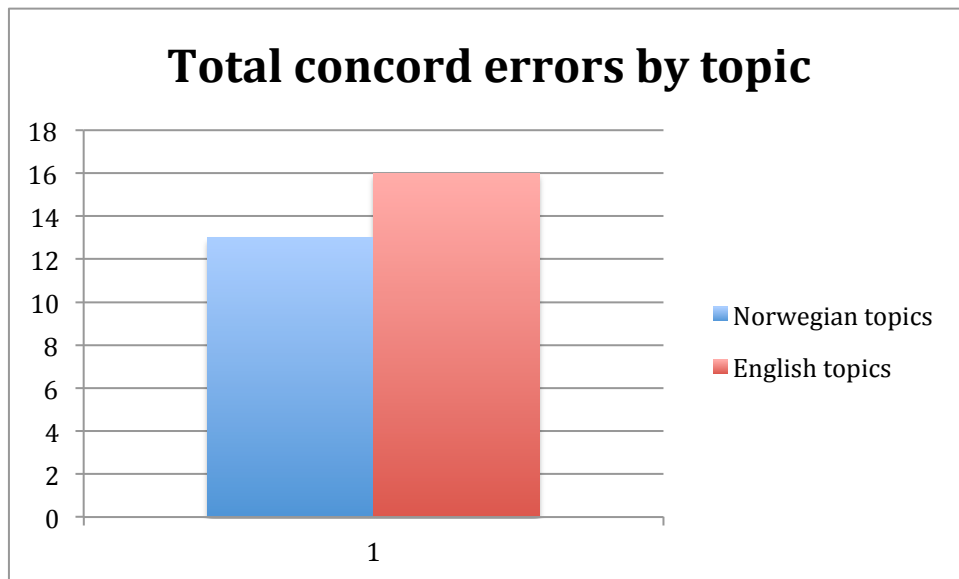


**Figure 12** All concord errors divided by topic

The belief that there would be more concord errors for Norwegian topics turned out to be incorrect, as the results showed slightly more concord errors for the English topics.

The third and final hypothesis was neither strongly supported nor rejected by the findings of the present study. The graph below shows how inconclusive the results were.
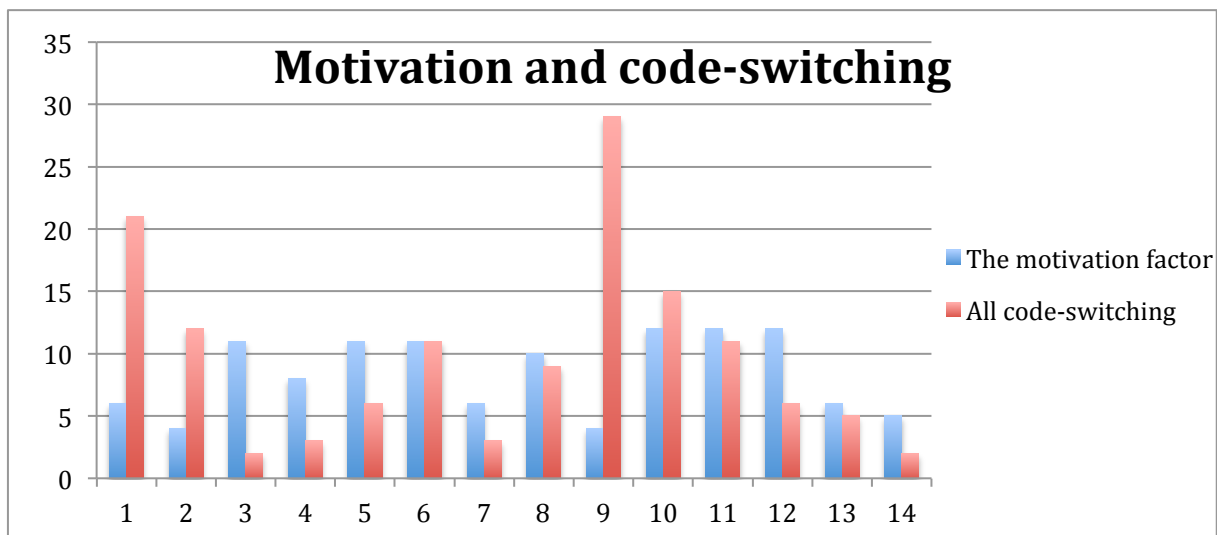


**Figure 5.5** Motivation and code-switching

This has been discussed in section 4.10, and it was concluded that the hypothesis was a tendency only among the less motivated.

In addition to reviewing and discussing the data concerning the three hypotheses, the sociolinguistic variable of gender was discussed in relation to the results. While these results showed significant differences in code-switching based on gender, it was concluded that the imbalance in gender representation in the informants made the results

too weak to make solid claims. Also, the five different themes that were used during the interviews were mentioned, and how these affected the amount of code-switches the informants produced.

# 5 Conclusion

This chapter will provide a short summary of the study and the patterns that could be seen in the results. The degree to which the thesis as a whole managed to answer the research questions will be the discussed, and general observations will be mentioned. Also, the implications that the results gathered from the present study have on teaching English will be addressed and finally, the thesis as a whole will be critiqued and the need for future research will be discussed.

## 5.1 Summary and main patterns

This thesis looked at code-switching patterns in 14 native Norwegian high school students. The data collection method used was the sociolinguistic interview, where the topic of the interviews alternated between typically Norwegian topics and typically English topics. This change in topic was an important variable in the study, and the code-switching of the informants was measured and compared for each of the two topics. In addition to differences in code-switching based on topic, the study investigated whether or not a change in topic had any effect on the amount of concord errors that the informants produced. The last important variable was motivation, and how this affected the code-switching behavior of the informants.

### 5.1.1 Results

The first research question of this thesis was what effect topic would have on the code-switching of Native speakers of Norwegian. It was hypothesized that there would be differences in the amount of code-switching that the informants produced for typically Norwegian and typically English topics, and that there would be more code-switching for the former. The results of the study conducted for this thesis supported this. The informants displayed considerably more code-switching when the topics were typically Norwegian. In fact, every single informant code-switched more for Norwegian topics than for English topics. These results were not affected by informants using words that have no English equivalent, or names of Norwegian brands or

places, as these were termed insignificant and omitted from the comparison of the two topics.

The second research question was whether or not the choice of topic would effect the informants' use of concord. This led to the second hypothesis, which stated that informants would make more concord errors in their speech when the topics were typically Norwegian. The results of this study did not support the second hypothesis. In fact, the results showed that informants made marginally more concord errors when the topics were typically English, as out of the total of 29 total concord errors, 16 were made for typically English topics.

The third and final research question asked what role motivation would have on the informants' code-switching. In the third hypothesis, a claim was made that informants that are more motivated to learn English will display less code-switching. The informants answered three questions designed to measure their motivation for learning English. The answers of these three questions combined gave the motivation factor. When this factor was compared to the amounts of code-switching done by the informants, there was no clear evidence to support the third hypothesis. It turned out that the most motivated informants did not code-switch notably less than the intermediately motivated informant. However, the results did show that the least motivated informants did in fact code-switch more than the others. This result, even though it does not support the third hypothesis, is still interesting, and hints at a relationship between low levels of motivation and code-switching that would be interesting to study specifically.

As mentioned in chapter 3, the age variable was not investigated in the study, as the difference in age between the informants was very small. The gender variable on the other hand was given some attention. The problem that arose when comparing the male and female informants was that only two of the 14 informants were female, and this had to be kept in mind when the comparison was made. That being said, there were notable differences between the two genders. The female informants code-switched more frequently than the male informants; when the code-switching per minute of the interview was compared for the genders, it showed that the female informants code-switched more than three times as frequently as the male informants. These results have very low generalizability due to the uneven distribution of informants in the two groups. Another issue that arises with this result is that previous research has found that there is no consistent pattern of differences in code-switching between the genders. (Cheshire & Chloros, 1998).

Finally, the study looked at how code-switching among all the informants was distributed

among five different themes that were discussed in the interviews. These themes were: national day/patriotism, stereotypes/culture, politics, terror and nature. For each of these five themes the informants were showed a pair of images depicting either something typically Norwegian or typically English. There was found more instances of code-switching for the Norwegian images in all of the five themes, which was expected due to the overall amount of code-switching for Norwegian topics in general. What was more interesting was looking at the code-switching by topic for each of the five themes. The third theme, politics, stood out here, showing only one instance of code-switching for the English topic and 17 instances of code-switching for the Norwegian topic.

## 5.2 Implications for teaching English

The informants of the study conducted for this thesis were all students in upper secondary school. As mentioned in chapter 2, the reason why these informants were chosen was so that the results could help me as a teacher create oral evaluations where the topic did not negatively influence my students' English. In that sense, the study was successful in showing that the choice of topic can influence students' code-switching when the topic is something that they are used to experiencing and discussing in Norwegian. If students code-switch during an oral evaluation, this can have a negative effect on their grade. Therefore, such topics should be avoided in oral evaluations, as it increases the difficulty of the evaluation for the students. For instance, it is not uncommon for students at upper secondary school to be asked to compare American and Norwegian politics orally, a task that according to the results of this study would be more challenging for them to do without code-switching. The results pertaining to motivation are hard to use for practical purposes as a teacher. A personal observation of mine is that less motivated students performs worse in any subject I teach, and while the results of this study showing that less motivated students code-switch more are interesting, they do not represent new knowledge in the sense that I feel the need to change something about my teaching because of them.

Another, more far-reaching, implication of the findings that the students in this study code-switched more when talking about Norwegian topics has to do with the teaching of English at early ages. In my experience, most of the things that are taught at the very first year of English

education in Norway have to do with things that are close to you, like your family. In fact, one of the competence aims for the English subject in grades 1 and 2 is to understand and use English words, expressions and sentence patterns related to one's close environment and personal interests. Perhaps this focus makes it more difficult for young learners to separate Norwegian and English in their brains, as they focus on learning things in English that they have already experienced and discussed many times in Norwegian. Following this reasoning, the focus of early English education should be more on English topics. In my point of view, this would make for a steeper learning curve initially, but it would mean that the interference that students' L1, Norwegian, has on their L2, English, would be diminished.

## 5.3 Critique and future research

One of the concerns when looking at the results of the study conducted for this thesis is the informant sample. Firstly, the number of informants that participated in the study was relatively low. If more informants had been included, the strength of the elicited patterns and findings would be greater. An important problem with an informant sample of only 14 is that the results could be merely coincidental, and not explainable by the influences of the different themes and topics that were discussed. The sample size is not the only issue. The sample can not be said to be very representative as all informants were chosen from the same school, were of approximately the same age and overwhelmingly male. This makes it hard to argue for the generalizability of the results.

Furthermore, there is a lack of comparable studies to this one. This has to do partly with the data elicitation technique, which was the sociolinguistic interview. This is an uncommon way of eliciting code-switches, as most methods that do so are more controlled.  Also, the relationship between how much speakers code-switch and their motivation for learning languages has not been under the lens of scientific inquiry. Therefore, much of the theory describes similar and related research, but not research that looks at the same aspects of code-switching by using the same elicitation techniques.

A final weakness is me, in different ways. Firstly, the fact that the informants knew who I was may have influenced the results, as they could have felt more comfortable with code-

switching when they knew the interviewer. Also, the informants knew that I could understand Norwegian, meaning that whenever they could not find the correct English word, it was safe for them to code-switch to maintain understanding and keep the conversation going. This was shown by Ervin (1964) in the study mentioned in section 2.7 if this thesis, which found that it was the topic and the interviewer in tandem that gave the most cases of word borrowing. Finally, my experience with making and conducting sociolinguistic interviews is not great, and more experienced researchers might have done many things differently.

On the topic of future research, it would be very interesting to see how motivation would affect speakers´ code-switching in a much larger and more representative sample. Maybe this research would show the same results that this study did, that lesser degrees of motivation correlate with the amount of code-switching produced. This could in turn lead to even more research on the relationship between motivation and code-switching in general. It would also be interesting to look at the variables of gender and age in relation to code-switching. This would require a different type of study from the one conducted here, but focusing more on code-switching in free speech may challenge Cheshire and Chloros´ research that claims that there are no discernable differences in code-switching between genders (1998).

As a final note, this study found strong evidence to support the idea that the choice of topic can affect the amounts of code-switching that speakers produce. This is something that should be studied for a wide variety of topics, using different elicitation methods, in order to see if there are similarities between the topics that speakers code-switch the most while talking about. If these similarities display a cohesive pattern, it may give linguists an even deeper understanding of how code-switching works.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1 – Transcriptions of three interviews

## Informant 2

Explanation:

_____ marks a pause

Green text marks signifcant code-switching

Red text marks insignificant code-switching

Blue text marks concord errors

Purple text gives the English translations, in {} brackets

The interviewer's speech is in italics

*Okay, so first of all I'm going to show you a picture and I want you to tell me eh, what you see on the picture and also what you think when you see the picture. So this is the first one.*

Okay, I think, ehh, like happy new years, and I see the American flag and the frihetsgudinnen {the statue of liberty}. Eh, and it stands happy 4th July, they celebrate something. Yeah.

*Mhm, and do you know why they celebrate the 4th of July*

It's they national day ___ So ___ Yes

*Alright, yeah. And, have you ever been to America?*

No

*So, if you were going to American, what would you do and where would you go?*

I would like to go to New York, to see all the fancy thing, and shop and something.

*Mhm, all right. Ehm, The next picture ___ is this. So, tell me what you see and what you think?*

I see a fat boy who eats McDonalds, I think this are kinda picture to describe what the American people do, and what ____ because it's many American people that so fat and this describers that's a lot.

*Yeah. And, what do you think, ehm, is typical for American people, how do you think American people are?*

Ehm, they ___ I don't know actually, but maybe they all like to eat much junk food. And they, and that's because and tha, nei {no}, that's why they are so fat many of them, it's expensive, no, no expensive, cheap ehh, to buy some junk food like McDonalds

*Mhm. Okay, next picture. So, the same question as always, what do you see and what do you think when you see the picture?*

Here I see Barrack Obama, ehm, that's the president of the United States. I see him happy, maybe that's because he is happy to be the president and that's a good thing

*Yeah. Do you know anything about politics in the US?*

Uhm, yes I know that two partier {parties}, and eh you vote for one of them and the lead of that become the president, ehm, more I actually don't know

*Okay, that's good. Ehm, now this picture. So, same question as always, what do you see and what do you think?*

Here I see all Norwegian people goes ___ Ka e det de kaller det da? {what do you call it again?} Ehh, they celebrate the national day, 17 May and they go up to Karl Johan _____ I think this is just the Norwegian people do actually, to celebrate the day so much they do, and go all the people __ and sing the national song and thing like that.

*And what do you think makes a Norwegian person Norwegian? What is typical for a Norwegian person?*

(laughs) Typical for Norwegian person ___ Ehm, ___ I dont know actually

*No?*

No.

*How are we like, what things do we like, what things do we not like?*

We are, we are not like the English people, so polite to each other, like, and eh _____

*Okay, ehm. We have another picture._____ So, what do you see here?*

Here I see one, that's the people who go skiing and it's a kvikk lunsj with the chocolate you think with you when you are going to ski ____ in Norway. I think is in eh, påsketider {easter}, because

that's why, that's when Norwegian people go out and go to and skiing go to they, yes.. Up to the mountain

*Mhm, and let's go back to this picture again (17th May). Can you tell me what you did this 17th of May?*

(laughs) Ehm, first of all I go to centrum and look at other people going and ehm saw how many people it was and ehm, afterwards I go out to a restaurant and eat with my friends and, and go to eh, tivoli {amusement park}.

*Mhm*

Rest of the day I just chill, chill out.

*Yeah, okay. Uhm, just a couple more. _____ Let's see here. Now, who is this guy?*

This is the, this was the ehm ____ statsminister {prime minister}of Norway before Erna Solberg, ehm ___ this time he's happy, maybe he's not now because now he's not statsminister {prime minister} anymore.

*What do you know about Norwegian politics, do you know anything?*

Ehm, that's much more different than the American, here's the much more partiers and we vote for this and they go to the Stortinget and decide what they are going to do with Norway and stuff like  that. ____ You have ____ aah, I dont remember... No (laughs)

*Okay, ehm. I have this picture. ____ So what do you see here and what do you think when you see this picture?*

Here I see the, ehm _____ ehh.. Behring Breivik, ehm, I think he is a asshole, because what he did to all the people. Eh, was on Utøya, when I see the picture, I, ehh, I feel a little mad cause he is a bad person. Ehm. He held his hand like that I dont know what it means but no good I think.

*And, what type of punishment do you think he deserves for what he did?*

Hmm, lifetime in prison. Many people thinks he deserves to, ehh, uhm, death, ehm _____ yes, ja. But I don't think so I think he gets the lifetime in prison because what he did and have a bad time.

*Yeah. This is the last picture. So, what do you see and what do you think?*

Eh. Here I see the twins tower, ehm, when they flight fly right into it. ___ I think this is a terro, terror attack.. Ehm, ehm, ___ this also a very bad thing for the whole United States of course, it took many years to clean up and this, eh____when the building fell down, and maybe it was the US  by theyself who did this, many thinks so, I do not.

*I actually have two more pictures.*

That's ok.

*So, first of all, what do you think and what do you see?*

I think this is great nature, and eeh, to see this picture I think it is in Norway.

*Mhm*

With all the mountains and, eh ___ ka faen heter det da? {what the hell is it called again?} And the river, it's a beautiful picture and that's wha, what Norway are like.

*Mhm, and what do you think are the best and worst things about Norway?*

_____ The best things was, is ehh, it's a great country to live in, you have eeh you have all the help you need, if you are outta money you can get some money and you can get a house to live in, get food. ehh, the worst thing must be... ehm, the bad things? (laughs)

*Okay*

Yeah (laughs)

*So, final picture now. So, what do you see, and what do you think when you see this picture?*

Here I see, ____ the frihetsgudinnen {statue of liberty} again, and a picture of New York and, eh, here it look like a great city and a beautiful place to live in, ehm, and it's nice weather and you can go to the boat and chill out

*Mhm, and what do you think are the best and the worst things about America?*

The worst thing must become all the people who don't have some, to live, a house to live in. There is many people who live outside and __ the best thing must, is.. ehm_____ (laughs) I don't know actually, but I think it's a great country to live in because they not a poor country, ehh, you can get a job, you can live and you can have a great life if you do the right things, and you can also get help in that country ____ Yes

*Yeah, thank you very much for the help!*

**Informant 9**


Explanation:

_____ marks a pause

Green text marks signifcant code-switching

Red text marks insignificant code-switching

Blue text marks concord errors

Purple text gives the English translations, in {} brackets

The interviewer's speech is in italics


*Okay, so I will show you some pictures*

Mhm

*And ask you some questions. So the first picture is this one. So, I just want you to tell me first what do you see in the picture*

Ehm, a flag and fireworks, and ehmm.. eg husker ikke ka det heter på engelsk. {I can´t remember that it´s called in English} Ehm, and eh, the date of the independence day of

*Mhm*

America, eh USA

*And, what do you think when you see this picture, anything special?*

_____ No.

*No..? _____ Alright. And, this picture. So, first of all just ell me what you see*

It´s a kid eating McDonalds _____ and ehm, yeah.

*Mhm, what do you think when you see this picture?*

They've eaten a lot of bad food, and ehh _____ yeah, I don't know


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*Mhm, so let´s talk about Americans a little bit. What do you think is typical for an American person?*

Ehm _____ this kinda shows how ehm, I don't know, alot of people in America eat, and ehm, how they don't passer vekten, vet ikkje ka det e {watch their weight, I don´t know how to say that}.

*Mhm, and what about values and personalities? What do you think Americans are like?*

Eg vetsje {I don´t know}.

*Okay, ehm, this guy. So, what do you see here?*

The president of the United States. He´s the first black president

*Yeah. Do you think about anything special when you see this?*

No _____

*No? What can you tell me about politics in America?*

Nothing…

*Nothing? _____ Okay.. How many parties do they have for instance? How the election is?*

No.

*So, let's go back to this. So, tell me what you see here*

A lot of people, ehhh, carrying flags, the Norwegian flags, ehmm probably celebrating the 17th of May. Ehh _____ yeah.

*Mhm. So, can you tell me what you did on the 17th of May this year?*

Mmm, ka gjor eg? {what did I do?} Ehh, I went to the city with some friends and family, and I ate at a restaurant, and then at the evening, I ehm, went to the tivoli {amusement park}

*Mhm*

With my friends, and ehh, that's it

*Yeah. ____ So, here's another picture. What do you see here?*

A chocolate, and ehh a person who is skiing on the mountains, and a sun, and snow

*Yeah. Do you think about anything when you see this?*

Easter

*Easter, yeah. And what do you think is typical for a Norwegian person, what is a Norwegian person like?*

Ka mener du? Bare sånn generelt? {What do you mean? In general?}

*Mhm*

Ehm, _____ aner ikkje. {I have no idea}

*Is there anything Norwegian people have in common? A way of being, something they like. The way they act.*

Compared to like English people we are rude I think

*Mhm*

And ehm, _____ kommer ikkje å noe. {I can´t think of anything}

*Ehm, so can you tell me about this picutre?*

Ehhhm, it was the prime minister, ehm, before, in Norway. And he's smiling. There's a flag behind him

*Mhm*

And _____

*- interupts - Ehm, what _____ Yeah?*

Nei, ka? {No, what?}

*What can you tell me about Norwegian politics?*

(laughs) Not much.

*Just tell me what you now.*

Ehm, he was the leader of AP I think

*Mhm*

And now the prime minister we have today is the leader of Høyre. Ehh, ja, det e egentlig alt {Ehh, yeah, that is pretty much it}

*Mhm, and, I have this person. Can you tell me who this is?*

Ehhm, en terrorist? Nei, d e han ikkje {A terrorist? No, he is not}

*Hmm?*

Ehh,, ja {yes}, his name is Anders Behring Breivik. He killed a lot of people because he was against the, I don't know, the immigration of utlendinger hvis det e rikitg å si. {foreigners, if that is the right thing to say} Eh, so he wanted to stop the, the laget, det partiet som var på Uttøya. {team, the political party that were at Uttøya}

*Mhm*

So he killed a lot of teenagers, and ehh _____ tried to explode the building where Jens var inni. {was inside]

*What kind of punishment do you think he deserves?*

Mmmm, I don't know actually, because if he got killed he wouldn't have suffered ehh, and if he's in jail he, eh I think he, I don't know I don't think he suffers because he, yeah, he's in Norwegian prison and yeah _____

*Yeah*

But if he got released I think people on the street would kill him, so I don't know actually

*Mhm, I have this one. What do you see here, what´s going on?*

Ehm, it's 9/11 I guess, there's two building that ex, ex, nei. Vetsj kordan vi sier det, men ja. [no. I don´t know how to say it} Two flights came and crashed so they exploded, and _____ yeah.

*Two more pictures. So, what do you see here?*

Mmmm, it's a picture of mountains, and _____ oceans with boats and some houses, or cabins i don't know

*Do you think of anything special when you see this?*

The first I thought was of Norway, nothing more

*And what do you think is the best and worst thing about Norway, and living in Norway?*

The best thing is that we have ehm, vet ikkje ka sikkerthetsnett e på engelsk, {don´t know what safety net is in Engish} but it's safe and it's ehm, ka heter det {what´s it called}, it's fair, if you do somthing you get a, ka heter det? {what´s it called?} You can in court and you get the punishment you deserve

*Mhm*

So, it's like, it's different from other countries when you go to jail, and ja {yeah}.. And the bad thing is _____ That it's expensive here. Mhm

*Mhm. So, the last picture. What do you see here?*

Ehm, the state of liberty, e d det det heter? {is that what it´s called}

*Yeah*

And ehm, tall buildings, boats, an ocean, bridges _____

*Yeah, and the same question as before. What do you think is the best and worst thing about living in America, or American in general?*

Ehm _____ I don't know actually. Ehm_____

*Just when you think about American, what's the best thing and worst thing?*

The best thing I think is that it's a lot of opportunities ehh and it's a lot to do ehh a lot of famous places to visit, ehm _____ ja {yeah}

*Yeah, okay! So thank you very much!*

# Informant 10

Explanation:

\_\_\_\_\_ marks a pause

<span style="color:green">Green text</span> marks signifcant code-switching

<span style="color:red">Red text</span> marks insignificant code-switching

<span style="color:blue">Blue text</span> marks concord errors

<span style="color:purple">Purple text</span> gives the English translations, in {} brackets

The interviewer's speech is in italics

*Okay, so I'm going to show you some pictures now*

Okay

*And I want you to first of all, just tell me what you see and what you think when you see this picture.*

Ehm, well I, at first I think about America and independence, and, the American, kind of, it's a very nationalistic photo, I guess you could say. Ehm, yeah. Ehh, it has, there's a lot of pride in it, I think, 4th of July, ehm, and ehh, it´s a typical American kind of photo.

*Have you ever been to America?*

Yes

*Can you tell me a little bit about the trip?*

It was the best holiday I've had in my life, we were there for roughly, ahh, roughly 4 weeks I think. Ehh, we visited, we were travelling a lot around, because we had some family, and we were in Washington, New York, Chicago, we were in Denver, and we were in a small town called Eagle in Colarado, and in, we were in Wisconsin, in Lacrosse

*Mhm*

Where we visited family, and ehm, so we travelled a lot around. Unlike the typical American holiday, we experienced both the city life and kind of ehh, country life I guess you could say.

*Mhm, yeah. And here's the next picutre. Once again tell me what you see, and what you think when you see this picutre*

(laughs) I see two obese, I think I would say morbidly obese kids, sitting at McDonalds, ehm, yeah. They're, I think, I think ehh of the fast food industry, because it ehm, it ehm, kind of ehh, exploits poor people to buy their food because it's cheap, but it's so unhealthy, and that causes major health problems

*What do you think is typical for an American person?*

The American person, I think the typical American person, if were talking about the obesity part, is the ehh they are ehm, they have large, well they're over the average on the obesity scale, and eh, there's a lot of morbidly obese people in America, and as I mentioned its mostly because of the very fast growing fast food trends.

*Mhm. Yeah. And, here we have another picture. Tell me what you see and what you think.*

I see the most power person in the world, Barrack Obama, the president of the United States, ehhm, I think it's really cool, it must be kind of the dream job, ehhm, I, I think it's ehm, yeah, it's the president of the United States so, what more can you say?

*Do you know anything about American politics?*

Yeas, I know something, and I have an idea with the house of majority, and the senate and the, yeah. Because I learned a lot from watching house of cards, the Netflix series

*Mhm*

And ehm, I also have a basic idea of the American political system.

*Alright, aaand _____ What about this?*

Ah, we´re back in Norway

*Yes*

Ehm, this is very also, the is very what can you say, nationalistic, with the castle, or the, ehm, king's residence in the background, and there's lots of flags and national identy and national clothing, out in the streets, and ehm, it's ehh, I guess you could say it's kinda like in the same category as the first picture, only this is kinda not edited, and ehh, but it has kind of the same nationalistic message.

*Mhm, can you tell me what you did this 17th of May?*

Ehm yeah, ehm, it may be more of an interesting what my mom and dad did, they were at Eidsvoll

*Mhm*

Where the constitution was signed, and they participated in the ehm, celebration down there. I, personally I was home, with my girlfriend, and we celebrated there. But I, I really love the 17th of May, I think its a superduper day and, yeah, it really, yeah, it's makes me proud, really.

*Yeah. And, here's another picture. What do you see and what do you think?*

This is also kind of typical Norwegian with the, with the typical kvikk lunsj, which is, you could almost say it's the national chocolate of Norway, besides the milk chocolate, because it's, every time you are on a ski-trip especially, it's kind of a norm that you have to bring kvikk lunsj. And _____ I would just assume this is from the 90's the picture, maybe something like that. And it's kinda nostalgic the whole picture.

*Yeah*

I would say

*Yeah, and what do you think makes Norwegian person Norwegian, what is typical for a Norwegian person?*

To follow, to kind of ehh, typical Norwegian goes skiing, eats kvikk lunsj while he goes skiing he's an active person, it's a social person, it's a person that cares about his community and the people around him, ehm _____ yeah, thats kind of the typical _____ And besides being that, although we are social, we're kind of egoistic, we're not that kinda of, we're not, we're not social in the same way as for example Americans, who can just randomly talk to each other just to kind of communicate, because, but we're, I, but I will still say we are very social.

*Mhm. Aand, this guy. So.. – interrupts*

– interupts - The former prime minister of Norway, now Nato's secretary general, uhm. Yeah, it's ehh, ehh _____ it resembles a lot like the picutre of Obama it's eh a person with a lot of, ehm, some power, a lot of power in the Norwegian context, ehm, it's the highest, ehm, highest, ehm it's the highest, it's the highest rank you can kind of have in eh, in Norway.

*Mhm*

He's from Arbeiderpartiet, which is the biggest party in, political party in Norway.

*Yeah*

*Can you tell me a littee bit about Norwegian politics?*

Traditionally, Norwegian politics is kinda socialistic, the ideology of the Arbeiderpartiet is socioldemocratic, and ehm, throughtout the, or in the years after the war ehm, there is ehm the Arbeiderpartiet has been the biggest party in Norway, almost had eh, ehhh, had ehm, ehh polls up

to 50% and more, but now we had ehh, in the had, ehh last few years there has been a downfall for the Arbeiderpariet and ehm, they now down in 30%

*Mhm*

Resolution

*Yeah. I have a couple more.*

Yeah

*Now tell me about this*

The famous terrorist ehh Anders Behring Breivik who executed the terrorist attacks on Uttøya in eh 2000 and 11, eh, he he attacked the youth party of the Arbeiderpartiet, the currently, as I mentioned, the currently biggest party in Norway, because he claimed that eh, they were the, they were going, as because of they sympathised with the Arbeiderpartiets ideology they were going to destroy Norway as we know it, ehm, Breivik was a, I guess you could say he was a Nazi, maybe ehm, he had very very extremist eh, extremist eh opinions, and he was a psychopath I think you could say

*Yeah. So what type of punishment do you think he deserves for what he did?*

Ehm, I think he deserves, like the guy in the US who got 500 years in prison. I think he, he, he doesn't deserve anything. Death penalty

*Mhm.*

Slow _____

*Here we go, what do you see here, what do y*

- interrupts -  Terrorist attacks of 9/11

*Mhm*

Ehm this is kind of a picture of the start of the war in Iraq, or Iran? No Afghanistan, sorry. Eh, and ehh, I guess you could say it reflects a lot of the difference between Norway and in the America cause you know the America, Americans got attacked, this, they viewed it as a declaration of war and they attacked and invaded another country because of two buildings and over 200 deaths, and in Norway we have, we just the terrorist has been, just been in public court as in, has his, his, he's been heard in media, and we put him in a cell with officers playing with him, different activities, and eh entertaining him and we are allowing him to read, to write and read and study, so uhh, yeah, it kind of reflects the difference between the societies

*Mhm*

And I'm not saying that America's way to react was right, that was very extreme, eh invading a whole country, eh, but there's a golden middle part here I think eh, because I think , I think personally Norway has been way too mild

*Mhm*

With the terrorist

*Two pictures here, what do you see and what do you think?*

It reminds me a little about the brudeferden i Hardanger {the bridal procession in Hardanger, which is a famous Norwegian painting} it's a very very, ehm, very idyllic picture of, it's always pictures like these who are used in commercials ehh, for Norway, as a travel commercials, and it's kind of the ideal picture of Norway I guess you could say. It's very beautiful ehh it's probably taken in Hardanger or somewhere around the fjords. Very idyllic

*Yeah. What do you think is the best and worst things about Norway?*

The best and worths, worse. Ehm I think that eh, the best thing about Norway is our, ehh, ehm, (whispers) velferdessamfunn {Welfare state}

*Hmm?*

Velferdssamfunn? {welfare state}

*Ok*

Ehm, because it ehm, it has created a political platform or cornerstone to build the kingdom upon it's very unique and can not be seen almost anywhere else in the world eh, that is the best , that also, but that also cause the Norwegian politics to have very , in contradiction to American politcs to have very little differences in, between the political parties, because the older political parties in Norway they want to change the country in their own way but they all want to do it, inside of the political frame that's already been stated, or ehm, constituted, ehm ja. {ehm yeah}

*Mhm. Last picture ____*

This is one America, this is I know , eh, kind of an idyllic picture, but in a whole other way, because it's a big city and ehm, ehh big city and boats and water and blue skies and the liberty statue of course, ehm, it sits kind of the many, many ehm, as the, the liberty statue resembles kind of hope and, ehm, how should I put it, ehm, yeah it's very beautiful

*Mhm*

And I think it show many people view, it's many peoples idea of America, if someone sees this, immediately they will know it's American, and mostly because of the liberty statue, cause the skyline could have been almost anywhere, but it's also kind of unique the skyline.

*So what do you think is the best and worst thing about America?*

Ehm, eh, personally I like the kind of American society is built on ehm, every man is to be self-made, and I think that's a very good idea, but on the other hand the Norwegian system working a lot better, but it's, ehm eh, the worst part of America I think is, ehm, it eh, maybe it's ehhhm, I don't really really know, but it's, eh, I think gun control, that's that should be restricted a lot

*Mhm*

But that mainly because I'm born in Norway and ehm, don't have an American point of view on that question, but ehm, and aslo, I think it's, eh, I think it's still a place for hopes and dreams America

*Yeah*

They have still some political uro {unrest}, but it's not much ehm _____

*Yeah, okay thank you very much*

**Appendix 2 - Images**

Theme 1 – National day/patriotism

Theme 2 – Stereotypes and culture

Theme 3 - politics

Theme 4 - Terror

Theme 5 - Nature