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Codeswitching in the chat forum *Jodel*

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Abstract for Master's Thesis

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<p>In this thesis the relationship between the English and the Swedish language is studied in written online discourse. I am interested to find out how these languages interact with each other online. The purpose of my thesis is to study how and why people codeswitch in written discourse in a specific type of computer-mediated communication, namely the online chat forum <i>Jodel</i>.</p> <p>The material consists of a total of 1,000 anonymous posts collected in two batches between 21st of November 2017 and 30th of December 2017, and between 3rd of February 2018 and 14th of March 2018.</p> <p>The posters in the chat forum <i>Jodel</i> employ the following types of codeswitching: intersentential codeswitching, intrasentential codeswitching, intra-word switching, tag-switching, hashtags, abbreviations, expressions, combined types of codeswitching, and multiple occurrences of codeswitches. These codeswitches are used for the functions of addressee specification, quotation, personalisation, message qualification, reiteration, switching fixed phrases, interjections, linguistic need, topic, changing the role of speaker, such as showing expertise and raising status, joke-telling, and distinguishing between facts and opinion.</p> <p>The findings reveal that there are connections between the positions, types and functions of codeswitching in the chat forum <i>Jodel</i>. The results show that codeswitching occurs frequently in the middle of the post and that intrasentential codeswitching is the most common type of codeswitching, while message qualification and topic are the most dominant functions of codeswitching in <i>Jodel</i>. Intrasentential codeswitching, intra-word switching, abbreviations and expressions are common in the middle of the post, while intersentential codeswitching, tag-switching, hashtags and combined types of codeswitching appear at the end of the post. The majority of the functions of codeswitching are also very common in the middle of the post, except for the cases of codeswitching that have the functions of personalisation, switching fixed phrases, interjections and joke-telling, which occur at the end of the post. All types of codeswitching in <i>Jodel</i> frequently have the function of message qualification and all functions of codeswitching in <i>Jodel</i> are common in intrasentential codeswitching, except for the function of personalisation, which is found with abbreviations. The results suggest that the English language is not used in the chat forum <i>Jodel</i> for shock value, but the use of English in codeswitching is a natural way of writing and interacting in this context.</p>	
Keywords: codeswitching, computer-mediated communication, chat forum, <i>Jodel</i> , Swedish, English	
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Table of contents

List of abbreviations

Tables and Figures

1 Introduction.....	1
2 Theoretical framework.....	4
2.1 Definition of <i>codeswitching</i>	4
2.2 Types of codeswitching.....	6
2.3 Functions of codeswitching.....	7
2.4 Codeswitching in computer-mediated communication	12
3 Materials and methods	20
3.1 The chat forum <i>Jodel</i>	20
3.2 Materials.....	22
3.3 Methods.....	23
4 Results.....	28
4.1 Positions of codeswitching in <i>Jodel</i>	28
4.2 Types of codeswitching in <i>Jodel</i>	29
4.2.1 Intersentential codeswitching.....	29
4.2.2 Intrasentential codeswitching.....	30
4.2.3 Intra-word switching.....	31
4.2.4 Tag-switching.....	32
4.2.5 Hashtags.....	33
4.2.6 Abbreviations	34
4.2.7 Expressions.....	35
4.2.8 Combined types of codeswitching.....	36
4.2.9 Multiple occurrences of codeswitches.....	37
4.3 Functions of codeswitching in <i>Jodel</i>	41
5 Discussion.....	46
5.1 General observations.....	47
5.2 Positions of codeswitching in <i>Jodel</i>	48
5.3 Types of codeswitching in <i>Jodel</i>	50
5.4 Functions of codeswitching in <i>Jodel</i>	53

Erica Björkvik

6 Conclusion.....	59
Svensk sammanfattning – Swedish summary.....	63
List of references.....	69

List of abbreviations

CS	Codeswitching
CMC	Computer-mediated communication
CMD	Computer-mediated discourse
Intra CS	Intrasentential codeswitching
Intra-word CS	Intra-word switching
Inter CS	Intersentential codeswitching

Tables and Figures

List of Tables

Table 1: The functions of codeswitching.....	8
Table 2: Positions of codeswitching.....	29
Table 3: Intersentential codeswitching according to structure and position.....	29
Table 4: Intrasentential codeswitching according to structure and position.....	30
Table 5: Intra-word switching according to structure and position.....	32
Table 6: Tag-switching according to structure and position.....	33
Table 7: Hashtags according to structure and position.....	34
Table 8: Abbreviations according to structure and position.....	35
Table 9: Expressions according to structure and position.....	36
Table 10: Combined types of codeswitching according to structure and position.....	36
Table 11: Multiple occurrences of codeswitches according to position.....	38
Table 12: Patterns of multiple occurrences of codeswitches according to positions.....	38
Table 13: Multiple codeswitches according to the types of codeswitching.....	40
Table 14: Functions of codeswitching according to position.....	42
Table 15: Functions of codeswitching according to the types of codeswitching.....	45
Table 16: Types of codeswitching according to position.....	48
Table 17: Types of codeswitching according to structure.....	53

List of Figures

Figure 1: The layout of <i>Jodel</i>	21
Figure 2: The company logo.....	21

1 Introduction

Research regarding codeswitching did not start before the 1970s and at the early stages codeswitching did not have a uniform meaning and due to that the early studies were typically embedded in studies of language contact and bilingualism (Auer and Eastman 2010, Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998: 64, Mahootian 2006: 515). But the field of codeswitching is rapidly developing, and new aspects and perspectives are appearing, because multilingual practices are today, as we know, an everyday phenomenon (Auer and Eastman 2010).

It is not just the research field of codeswitching that is developing and changing, but also the attitudes towards codeswitching. Monolinguals have long had a negative attitude towards codeswitching and it has been frowned upon and seen as a grammarless mixture of two languages, a jargon or gibberish that is an insult to the monolingual's own rule-governed language (Grosjean 1982: 146). But codeswitching is far from being gibberish because it is often used as a communicative strategy to convey, not just linguistic, but also social information (Grosjean 1982: 157). Codeswitching is "a verbal skill requiring a large degree of linguistic competence in more than one language, rather than a defect arising from insufficient knowledge of one or the other" (Poplack 1980: 615). For multilinguals codeswitching is often a natural way of speaking (Auer and Eastman 2010). And today this natural way of communicating has even been given names, for example Swenglish, which is Swedish mixed with numerous English words, phrases and expressions (SAOL 14 2015).

In this thesis I examine the relationship between the English and the Swedish language in written online discourse. I am interested to find out how these languages interact with each other in an online chat forum. Previous studies of codeswitching have focused their attention on different aspects of it: grammatical/syntactic or discourse/pragmatic (Romaine 1989: 111). In my study I combine both the pragmatic and the grammatical aspect of codeswitching. The pragmatic framework assumes that "the motivation for switching is basically stylistic and that codeswitching is to be treated as a discourse phenomenon which cannot be handled satisfactorily in terms of the internal structure of sentences" (Romaine 1989: 111). The grammatical perspective is, on the other hand,

primarily concerned with accounting for the linguistic constraints on codeswitching (Romaine 1989: 111). I combine both perspectives to get a broader view of written online codeswitching.

Codeswitching has attracted a great deal of attention over the years (Heller 1988: 1). The majority of previous studies carried out in the field of codeswitching have focused primarily on codeswitching in oral production, while research on written codeswitching remains in an embryonic state, and studies on written codeswitching are still scarce today (Montes-Alcalá 2001: 194). There are some studies on written codeswitching (Lotherington and Xu 2004, Fung and Carter 2007, Siebenhaar 2006, van Gass 2008, Durham 2003, Androutsopoulos 2006, Hård af Segerstad 2002, Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014, Lee 2007, Goldbarg 2009), but more research is still needed. Androutsopoulos (2013: 667) also points out that codeswitching online remains less well researched in comparison to other linguistic processes in computer-mediated communication. Research has only just started tackling the massive bi- and multilingualism that occurs as global multilingual populations increasingly gain access to digital communications media (Androutsopoulos 2013: 688). A lot remains to be done in documenting different sites and types of codeswitching online and systematic comparisons between modes, language and settings are still needed (Androutsopoulos 2013: 688). I will contribute to filling this gap of knowledge by conducting a study of written data to find out more about the relationship between the English and the Swedish language. The purpose of my thesis is to study how and why people codeswitch in written discourse in a specific type of computer-mediated communication, namely the online chat forum *Jodel* (see chapter 3.1 The chat forum *Jodel*). My study therefore combines two perspectives, the grammatical and the pragmatic perspective, of codeswitching. It is not just the demand for continued and in-depth research, in written codeswitching and in computer-mediated communication, which is the motivation for the choice of my thesis topic. Research in written codeswitching and in codeswitching online can contribute to new insights regarding the function and the use of languages, but also to understanding language mixing and language change in general. It can also offer insights to pragmatics, sociolinguistics and discourse studies.

Uthus and Aha (2013: 108) define *chat* as a form of synchronous textual communication between a community of users. In this context they talk about *multiparticipant chat*, and

that is a form of chat with multiple participants conversing synchronously through textual communication (Uthus and Aha 2013: 106). These users converse in *chat rooms* (also called *channels*), which are virtual locations for chatting on the Internet and private networks (Uthus and Aha 2013: 107). The forum that I chose to look at is in some ways similar to multiparticipant chat rooms, for example the channels with specific themes or topics (see chapter 3.1 The chat forum *Jodel*), but it is also very different. In multiparticipant chat rooms people tend to have profiles and use nicknames (Uthus and Aha 2013: 107), whereas the app *Jodel* is anonymous. Hård af Segerstad (2002) distinguishes between *chat room* and *forum*. A *chat room* is a website that provides a venue for communities of users to communicate in real time (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 72). *Forums*, in comparison, allow users to post messages, but lack the capacity for interactive messaging (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 72). I have chosen to call *Jodel* a *forum* because it allows people to post messages without interaction. But since there are also possibilities of communicating in real time, even though it is anonymous, I have also chosen to call it a *chat room*. I will therefore hereafter refer to *Jodel* as a *chat forum* because it includes both aspects.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993) the use of the terms *code* and *switching* is traditional. *Code* is used because it is a relatively neutral term for linguistic varieties at any level of structural differentiation (Myers-Scotton 1993). *Switching* is, on the other hand, a misnomer since only one aspect of codeswitching will be characterised as actually involving the switching of the codes involved (Myers-Scotton 1993). In my thesis I am, just like Myers-Scotton (1993), writing *codeswitching* as one word to indicate that codeswitching may involve several varieties and codes and not just one. Henceforth, I will be using the abbreviation CS when writing about codeswitching (see List of abbreviations).

The aim of my thesis is to study how and why people codeswitch in written discourse in the online chat forum *Jodel*. My study therefore combines two perspectives, the grammatical and the pragmatic perspective, of CS. The study is a data driven survey that is partially a quantitative and partially a qualitative examination. The purpose of my study can be summarised in two main research questions:

- How do people codeswitch in written discourse in the chat forum *Jodel*?
Are there any specific structural types of CS?
- Are there any specific functions that CS performs in the chat forum *Jodel*?

The present thesis is structured as follows. First, I present the theoretical framework and the background for this study by defining CS and describing the different types and functions of CS, as well as presenting characteristics of computer-mediated communication and previous studies in this area. Chapter 3 presents the chat forum *Jodel*, the materials and the methods for the data collection and the analysis. After that, I present the results of the analysis regarding the positions, types and functions of CS in *Jodel*. In chapter 5, I discuss the results of this survey in relation to previous research. In the final chapter, I present some concluding remarks, mention limitations with my study and suggest directions for further research. A Swedish summary and a list of references are provided at the end of this thesis.

2 Theoretical framework

This chapter is devoted to defining the word *codeswitching*, describing the different types and functions of CS, and also presenting characteristics of computer-mediated communication, as well as previous studies in this area.

2.1 Definition of *codeswitching*

In the study of language there has been little agreement on appropriate definitions of various effects of language contact, such as, borrowing, interference and shift (Romaine 1989: 114). It is quite difficult to make a distinction between CS and other language contact phenomena, and therefore there are many different kinds of definitions of *codeswitching*. According to Morrison (2018) *codeswitching* is defined as “the process of shifting from one linguistic code (a language or dialect) to another, depending on the social context or conversational setting” (Morrison 2018). Gumperz (1982: 59) defines *codeswitching*, on the other hand, more thoroughly as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz 1982: 59). Gumperz’s (1982: 59) definition seems to be the

most widely accepted today, since it covers the alternating use of languages, dialects and styles (Auer and Eastman 2010). But even though CS may take place at any level of linguistic differentiation (Myers-Scotton 1993: 3), this thesis is only concerned with CS between languages. I will therefore in this thesis use Grosjean's (1982: 145), Poplack's (1980: 583) and Heller's (1988: 1) definition of *codeswitching*, as the alternate use of two or more languages in the course of a single communicative episode, since I am examining the relationship between the English and the Swedish language in written online discourse.

In studying language contact phenomena, it is crucial to understand which language a multilingual is using at a given moment and therefore there is interest in distinguishing switching from borrowing and interference (Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998: 67). According to Thomason (2001: 134), if a foreign element appears just once in a multilingual speaker's discourse then it is presumably a codeswitch and not a borrowing, but if it appears frequently it should be classified as a borrowing. However, this criterion is difficult or impossible to apply in practice (Thomason 2001: 134). Romaine (1989: 137) points out that it is not possible to distinguish CS from borrowing at the level of the constituent or clause in all cases; "it is only within a longer stretch of discourse that a pattern will emerge, and even then, such distinctions may not be defensible" (Romaine 1989: 137). In this study I am only interested in CS and not in borrowing, but it should be pointed out that a borrowing might start out as a codeswitch.

There is also an ongoing debate concerning the terms *codeswitching* and *codemixing*. The distinction between *codeswitching* (cases of language alternation within independent syntactic units) and *codemixing* (sentence-internal switching) often leads to misunderstandings (Auer and Eastman 2010). Some researchers use the term *codemixing* when referring to intrasentential CS and the term *codeswitching* when referring to intersentential CS (see chapter 2.2 Types of codeswitching) (Mahootian 2006: 512, Halmari 1997: 16). Today the term *codemixing* is used interchangeably with *codeswitching* with both terms referring to both types of language mixing (Mahootian 2006: 512). Frequent CS may be the first step towards a mixed speaking style (Auer and Eastman 2010). In this study I use the term *codeswitching* when referring to both intrasentential CS and intersentential CS (see chapter 2.2 Types of codeswitching).

2.2 Types of codeswitching

There are four major types of CS and these are intersentential CS (inter CS), intrasentential CS (intra CS), tag-switching and intra-word switching (intra-word CS) (McArthur and McArthur 1992: 228). Henceforth, I will be using the abbreviations in the parentheses when referring to the different types of CS (see List of abbreviations).

Inter CS involves a switch at a sentence boundary or at a clause boundary, where each clause of the sentence is in one language or another (Romaine 1989: 112). This is illustrated by the example, when a Spanish/English bilingual says: *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en español (y termino en español 'and finish it in Spanish')* (McArthur and McArthur 1992: 229). Intra CS is, in contrast, when the switching from one code to another occurs within the clause or sentence boundary (Romaine 1989: 113). This is illustrated by the example, when a Yoruba/English bilingual says: *Won o arrest a single person (won o 'they did not')* (McArthur and McArthur 1992: 228–229). Intra CS is only used by the most fluent multilinguals, because it is syntactically risky (Romaine 1989: 113). Poplack (1980: 589) also considers intra CS as a more complex or intimate type of CS, since a codeswitched segment, and those around it, must conform to the underlying syntactic rules of two or more languages.

A third type of CS is tag-switching, which “involves the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language” (Romaine 1989: 112). Tag-switching is illustrated by the example, when a Panjabi/English bilingual says: *It's a nice day, hana? (hai nā 'isn't it')* (McArthur and McArthur 1992: 228). Tags are freely moveable constituents which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule (Poplack 1980: 589). This form of CS is seen as a “less intimate type” (Poplack 1980: 589) of CS that is usually “heavily loaded in ethnic content and would be placed low on a scale of translatability” (Poplack 1980: 589). Some researchers therefore do not consider tag-switching as “true instances of code-switching” (Poplack 1980: 589).

The fourth type of CS is intra-word CS. These are words containing morphemes from different languages within the same word (Myers-Scotton 1993: 14). Intra-word CS

Erica Björkvik

occurs within a word boundary, such as in *shoppã* (English *shop* with the Panjabi plural ending) or *kuenjoy* (English *enjoy* with the Swahili prefix *ku* ‘to’) (McArthur and McArthur 1992: 228).

All four types of CS (inter CS, intra CS, tag-switching and intra-word CS) may be found within one and the same discourse (see Romaine 1989: 113).

2.3 Functions of codeswitching

People codeswitch for different kinds of reasons. For some people CS is a conscious decision, but for others it might be the opposite. Those who codeswitch might not be aware of their behaviour, until it is brought to their attention, and some people might even deny doing anything of the kind (Heller 1988: 1).

In this study I use three classifications of the functions of CS to analyse my data in order to get a broader perspective of the functions of CS occurring in the chat forum *Jodel*. I have chosen to use Grosjean’s (1982: 149–157) and Gumperz’s (1982: 75–84) classifications of the functions of CS, and also Androutsopoulos’s (2013: 681) classification of the functions of CS in computer-mediated communication. Grosjean (1982) and Gumperz (1982) have a background in sociolinguistics, while Androutsopoulos (2013) has a background in discourse linguistics.

It should be pointed out that Grosjean (1982) compiled a list of reasons for CS based on Gumperz’s work and for that reason there are some overlaps regarding the functions of CS. Gumperz (1982) and Grosjean (1982) explain and give examples of what they mean with the different functions of CS, whereas Androutsopoulos (2013) just lists the functions of CS without explaining or giving any examples of what he means with the functions. I therefore had to draw my own conclusions about what he means with some of the functions, and I may have interpreted them in a different way than was originally intended. Consequently, I excluded some of his functions in this study when their meaning was too unclear.

Table 1 presents the taxonomy used in this study based on Grosjean's (1982: 149–157), Gumperz's (1982: 75–84) and Androutsopoulos's (2013: 681) classifications of the functions of CS.

Table 1: The functions of codeswitching

The functions of codeswitching

-
- | | |
|--|---|
| • Addressee specification | • Topic |
| • Quotation | • Habit |
| • Personalisation versus objectivisation | • Triggering |
| • Message qualification | • Excluding |
| • Reiteration | • Changing the role of speaker |
| • Conveying agreement & conflict | • Performing culturally specific genres |
| • Switching fixed phrases | • Contextualising a shift of topic or perspective, distinguishing between facts & opinion, information & affect |
| • Interjections | |
| • Linguistic need | |
| • “The most available word” | |

Addressee specification and quotation are mentioned in all the three classifications of the functions of CS. Addressee specification means that the switch serves to direct the message to one of several possible addressees (Gumperz 1982: 77). This is illustrated by example (1).¹

- (1) Och vem ska bekosta en pissoar åt dig då? Du kan nog helt gå på vanlig vessa som alla andra gör, *you aint that special*
And who will buy you a urinal then? You can use an ordinary toilet like everyone else does, *you aint that special*

Quotation refers to either direct quotations or reported speech (Gumperz 1982: 75–77). Androutsopoulos (2013: 681) does not specifically use the word *quotation*, but he talks about reported speech, and since Gumperz (1982) includes that into the same function, I decided to merge these functions into one. Example (2) illustrates the function of quotation.

¹ For the format of presenting examples see chapter 3.2 Materials.

- (2) Här kan man ju fundera att va OJ syftar på då hen säger "*finish last*"
Here one can think about what OJ refers to when he/she says "*finish last*"

Gumperz (1982: 75–84) and Grosjean (1982: 149–157) both mention personalisation versus objectivisation and message qualification as functions of CS. Gumperz (1982: 80–84) emphasises that personalisation versus objectivisation is a difficult function to specify since the code contrast here relates to several things, for example specifying speaker involvement, and marking and emphasising group identity, solidarity and closeness. CS is a way for speakers to construct their social identities, and it can index social class consciousness, political-ideological or ethnic affiliations and preferences (Auer and Eastman 2010). CS can therefore be a symptom of something larger, such as language ideologies, social stratification and political developments (Auer and Eastman 2010). Example (3) illustrates the function of personalisation.

- (3) Ikväll ska ja lukta UNDER korken! #*damnitfeelsgoodtobegangsta*
Tonight I will smell UNDER the cork! #*damnitfeelsgoodtobegangsta*

Message qualification, on the other hand, refers to qualifying constructions such as sentence and verb complements or predicates following a copula (Gumperz 1982: 79). CS can help to qualify what has been said or to amplify or emphasise a point, for example when a switch at the end of an argument helps to terminate the interaction (“topper” in an argument) (Grosjean 1982: 152–154). This function is also used, for example, when a topic is introduced in one language and commented on or further qualified in another language (Romaine 1989: 149). Example (4) illustrates this function.

- (4) Fint att du dessutom riktigt behövde lyfta fram att du FAKTISKT har en
universiterexamen. *Nobody asked.*
Nice that you additionally had to highlight that you ACTUALLY have a university
degree. *Nobody asked.*

Reiteration is mentioned by both Gumperz (1982: 78–79) and Androutsopoulos (2013: 681). Gumperz (1982: 78) explains about this function that: “Frequently a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form” (Gumperz 1982: 78). In some cases, repetitions may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasise a message (Gumperz 1982: 78, Androutsopoulos 2013: 681). This function is illustrated by example (5).

- (5) menar mera för att mysa med någon, *cuddle* liksom (smiley)
mean more to cuddle with someone, *cuddle* sort of (smiley)

Grosjean (1982) and Androutsopoulos (2013) both list conveying agreement and conflict and switching fixed phrases as functions of CS. It is a bit unclear what Grosjean (1982) and Androutsopoulos (2013) really mean with the function of conveying agreement and conflict. Grosjean (1982: 152) says about this function that CS conveys, for example, confidentiality, anger and annoyance. This is in some ways a bit similar to Gumperz's (1982: 77–78) function of interjections, or sentence filler, which is then similar to Poplack's (1980) notion of tag-switching (Romaine 1989: 149). Grosjean (1982: 151) and Androutsopoulos (2013: 681) are, on the other hand, clearer with what they mean about the function of switching fixed phrases, which is switching for discourse purposes, such as greetings, farewells and good wishes. Example (6) illustrates the function of conveying agreement, while example (7) illustrates the function of conveying conflict.

- (6) *What @2 said!!!* Närma oss genom att prata med oss och visa intresse för det vi säger, sällan kan det gå fel (smiley)
What @2 said!!! Approach us by talking to us and show interest in what we are saying, rarely it can go wrong (smiley)

- (7) Kan ni snälla jodla om annat än glöggrundan! Det som om ni sku ha *lost it* i år! Den är fortfarande lika *overrated* som den varit tidigare år. Vi vet all att den är på torsdag, vi ska alla dit o ha kul. Men snälla *we know!* #*overratedasfuck*
Could you please jodel about something else than glöggrundan! It is like you have *lost it* this year! It is still as *overrated* as it was previous years. We all know that it is on Thursday, we are all going there and having fun. But please *we know!* #*overratedasfuck*

Example (8) illustrates the function of interjections, while example (9) illustrates the function of switching fixed phrases.

- (8) *Whoop*, vet hur de känns
Whoop, know how it feels
- (9) *hey* den e min, kom ti olavin
hey it is mine, come to olavin

Grosjean (1982) lists linguistic need and “the most available word” as functions of CS. He points out that some people codeswitch to fill a linguistic need, because they lack the facility in one language, for example when talking about a particular topic, they cannot find an appropriate word or expression (Grosjean 1982: 149–150, 152). Others

codeswitch when the language being used does not have the items or appropriate translations for the vocabulary needed; some notions are just better expressed in one language than another (Grosjean 1982: 150). Spolsky (1998) observes that people also shift between languages depending on convenience (choosing the available word or phrase on the basis of easy availability). According to Grosjean (1982: 151) the phenomenon of “the most available word” is frequent in bilingual speech and occurs when multilinguals are tired, lazy or angry. Example (10) illustrates the function of linguistic need and the codeswitch is here used because there is no Swedish equivalent or appropriate translation.

- (10) Inte haft den på 10 år nu, *I miss puppy love*
Have not had it in 10 years now, *I miss puppy love*

Grosjean (1982: 151–152) also presents some other functions of CS, such as topic, habit, triggering (continuing with the last language used), excluding, and changing the role of speaker. The first three functions that are mentioned above are quite clear in their meaning. With the function of excluding Grosjean (1982: 154–155) emphasises that CS cannot just be used to include others, but also to exclude them. Switching to another language to exclude someone can also backfire and lead to embarrassment, for example if someone is offending someone and it turns out that all the parties know the language used to offend the person in question (Grosjean 1982: 155). Grosjean (1982: 156) also points out that people may codeswitch to change the role of speaker, for example to raise one’s status and give one added authority or to show expertise. Example (11) illustrates the functions of topic, excluding (and also including), showing expertise and raising status.

- (11) Sorligt får *notification* att man fått 20 *votes* på sin jodel å man ligger på 5 *upvotes*.
Troligen fö den va svenska (smiley) elr dåli jodel (smiley)
Sadly get a *notification* that one has received 20 *votes* on one’s jodel and one is on 5
upvotes. Probably because it was in Swedish (smiley) or a bad jodel (smiley)

Androutsopoulos (2013) lists the two remaining functions that are found in table 1. The first one is performing culturally specific genres, such as joke-telling, and the second one is switching to contextualise a shift of topic or perspective, to distinguish between facts and opinion, information and affect, and so on (Androutsopoulos 2013: 681). As to the second function in this survey, I only look at switching to distinguish between facts and

opinion, since Androutsopoulos (2013) is quite unclear with what he means with the rest. Example (12) illustrates the function of joke-telling and example (13) illustrates the function of distinguishing between facts and opinion.

(12) *Marathon Monday, Tequila Tuesday, Lill-Lördag/Wine Wednesday å Thirsty Thursday, kärt barn har många namn (smiley)*
Marathon Monday, Tequila Tuesday, Little-Saturday/Wine Wednesday and Thirsty Thursday, dear child has many names (smiley)

(13) *Nice guys finish last...Alltid ogillat den klyschan men börjar kännas mer och mer som den stämmer*
Nice guys finish last...Always disliked that cliché but start to feel like it is more and more true

It should here be noted that the functions listed in table 1 are just some of the functions of CS, and we also find other classifications of the functions of CS (for example, Auer (1995), Halim and Maros (2014), Zentella (1997), and Appel and Muysken (2006: 29–31 [1987]) that refer to Mühlhäusler (1981)), but these are the ones I focus on in this thesis. It also should be pointed out that a codeswitch may serve more than one of the listed purposes in table 1 (Lee 2017: 50).

2.4 Codeswitching in computer-mediated communication

CS in spoken communication has been well researched, but CS in written communication is still in an early stage (see Montes-Alcalá 2001: 194). This might be because CS has traditionally been seen as more typical of spoken communication and the assumption that only spoken conversational CS constitutes “authentic” CS (Androutsopoulos 2013: 685, Koskilahti 2012: 8).

CS online has attracted the attention of linguists as early as the mid-1990s, but it still remains less well researched in comparison to spoken communication and other linguistic processes in computer-mediated communication (henceforth CMC, see List of abbreviations) (Androutsopoulos 2013: 667). According to December (1996), to whom Hård af Segerstad (2002: 50) refers, CMC is the asynchronous and synchronous (see the following paragraphs) creation and transmission of messages using digital techniques. Herring (2007) clarifies this by defining *CMC* as “predominately text-based human-human interaction mediated by networked computers or mobile telephony” (Herring

2007). Herring (2001: 612, 2007) uses more specifically the term *computer-mediated discourse* (henceforth CMD, see List of abbreviations), which is a specialisation within the broader study of CMC, distinguished by its focus on online language and language use. However, in this thesis I have chosen to use the term *CMC*, even though my focus is on online language and language use. Multimedia CMC involves communication and information with audio and video in chat rooms, web pages, emails and mobile phones; however, most CMC used today is still text-based (Herring 2007, Hård af Segerstad 2002: 51, Herring 2001: 612).

Research fascination with human-to-human interaction via computer networks cannot but be related to the fact that this type of interaction has taken the world of communication by storm (Georgakopoulou 2001). As a result, CMC has revolutionised social interaction in our technological society (Georgakopoulou 2001). As Androutsopoulos (2013: 668) points out, CMC challenges “the assumption that spoken face-to-face interaction is *the* essential site of code-switching” (Androutsopoulos 2013: 668).

One of the issues that have been at the heart of linguistic studies of CMC concerns its relations with spoken and written language, because the differences between them are not always clear-cut (Georgakopoulou 2001, Hård af Segerstad 2002: 3). While CS in CMC obviously qualifies as written in terms of the written representation of linguistic signs, it also bears resemblance to spoken conversational CS (Androutsopoulos 2013: 684). CS in written discourse is in many respects similar to spoken interaction, for example the same methods and perspectives have been used in studying both (Androutsopoulos 2013: 675–677).

CS is typically thought of as a process of (informal or institutional) spoken interaction (Androutsopoulos 2013: 670). According to Georgakopoulou (2001) CMC is recognised as combining qualities typically associated with face-to-face interaction (i.e. immediacy and informality of style, transience of message, reduced planning and editing, rapid feedback) with properties of written language (i.e. lack of visual and paralinguistic cues, physical absence of the addressee, written mode of delivery). CMC is positioned in the intersection of written and spoken communication since it is both written-like and spoken-like and it may therefore be seen as written speech (Georgakopoulou 2001). Studies on the spoken and written features of CMC have shed light on the discourse composition of

its various types, such as electronic-chat, email, conferencing and e-journals (Georgakopoulou 2001). In studies on the spoken and written features of CMC a dynamic interplay between spoken and written genres has been documented as part of their emergent and fast evolving discourse norms, which lies well with the contemporary trends towards a mingling of oral/spoken and literate/written practices that has been documented in a variety of public discourses (Georgakopoulou 2001). Georgakopoulou (2001) writes that:

[the] dynamic interaction between stylistic features of speaking and writing in the case of CMC provides further evidence for the widely endorsed view that spoken and written discourses should not be treated as a dichotomy with absolute differences, but as a continuum which cuts across various uses of language thus presenting various overlapping and intersecting cases. In this respect, a clear tripartite distinction between spoken, written, and electronic discourse seems to be out of the question. (Georgakopoulou 2001)

Crystal (2004: 47 [2001]) writes that CMC is better seen as written language which has been pulled some way in the direction of speech than as spoken language which has been written down. He views CMC as a hybrid between speech and writing. Online language is better seen as a new medium, separate from written or spoken language, which is in the process of evolving its own systematic rules to suit new circumstances (Crystal 2004: 47–48 [2001], Hård af Segerstad 2002: 54). The new medium is different from writing in its immediacy and changeability, and different from speech in its inability to provide pitch, rhythm, loudness, and other voice cues (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 54).

CMC research has established that users develop creative procedures to cope with limitations that one would not find in spoken communication and interaction (Androutsopoulos 2013: 670). For example, one of the problems with writing is that it not only takes a good deal longer to type what you would like to express than it takes to utter it in speech, but one also misses out on the possibility to convey simultaneous clues of being ironical, nervous, angry, and so on (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 131, Herring 2001: 614). In CMC that can be achieved typographically with capital letters or with symbols, icons, emoticons and emojis that encode various types of emotions, such as amusement, irony and unhappiness, or with smileys and emojis representing facial expressions and gestures (Georgakopoulou 2001, Crystal 2004: 34–39 [2001], Herring 2001: 623). The use of playfulness, humour and wit in CMC is a fairly consistent feature and that can also

be achieved with smileys (Georgakopoulou 2001, Herring 2002: 121). Hård af Segerstad (2002: 131) writes that the limitations of written interaction can be characterised by the lack of immediate feedback from the other participants, lack of simultaneous non-verbal cues, and the effort it takes to write one's contribution instead of uttering it. And these problems may then lead to misunderstandings in text-based environments (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 131). Crystal (2004: 34 [2001]) also here points out the issues, not just with feedback, but also with turn-taking. Chat is, as we see, a difficult medium to analyse due to its unique characteristics (Uthus and Aha 2013: 118).

We also find variation within CMC. Herring (2007) distinguishes here between synchronous and asynchronous communication in CMC. Both of these types of communication occur in the chat forum *Jodel*, because people may be present at the same time and place engaged in live chat, anonymous of course, but it may also be that people communicate asynchronously at different times during the day (see chapter 3.1 The chat forum *Jodel*). Studies of the synchronous modes of CMC have shown that they tend to be closer to spoken discourse practices, particularly face-to-face, compared to asynchronous modes of CMC (Georgakopoulou 2001, Herring 2007). However, Androutsopoulos (2013: 676) points out that it may be difficult to isolate medium factors from social and situational ones empirically. He refers to some previous studies where the creativity and playfulness of CS online actually appear in asynchronous private communication rather than in synchronous public modes. According to Hård af Segerstad (2002: 56, 60) synchronous CMC differs systematically from asynchronous CMC in message length, complexity, formality and interactivity. Web chat and Internet Relay Chat are some examples of synchronous communication, while email and SMS are examples of asynchronous communication (Herring: 2007, Hård af Segerstad 2002: 4, Herring 2001: 614–615).

Androutsopoulos (2013: 671) distinguishes between two main types of CS in CMC, and that is conversational and non-conversational CS. Conversational CS is defined as “dyadic or multiparty, synchronous or asynchronous” (Androutsopoulos 2013: 671), and non-conversational CS is “edited and published by a single author” (Androutsopoulos 2013: 671). Paolillo's (2011) results show that these types of CS in CMC are relatively equal except that synchronous modes of CMC contain more conversational CS than asynchronous ones. He emphasises as well that synchronous modes tend to favour CS,

while asynchronous modes disfavour CS. Both conversational and non-conversational CS appear in the chat forum *Jodel* (see chapter 3.1 The chat forum *Jodel*).

CS in CMC has been researched in, for example, blogs (Lindholm 2013, Leppänen 2007), web chats (Hård af Segerstad 2002, Svenningsson 2001, Lotherington and Xu 2004), emails and mailing lists (Hård af Segerstad 2002, Leppänen and Nikula 2007, Durham 2003, Warschauer et al. 2002, Lee 2007, Goldberg 2009), SMS (Hård af Segerstad 2002, Deumert and Masinyana 2008), discussion forums (Androutsopoulos 2006, Koskilahti 2012, Leppänen 2007), Internet Relay Chat (Paolillo 2011, Fung and Carter 2007, Siebenhaar 2006, van Gass 2008), Usenet (Paolillo 2011), game events (Leppänen and Nikula 2007, Leppänen 2007), instant messaging (Hård af Segerstad 2002, Lee 2007), Facebook (Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014, Halim and Maros 2014), Twitter (Jurgens et al. 2014), and in talk shows (Leppänen and Nikula 2007). To date, the majority of research undertaken on CMC has focused on English and very little attention has been paid to CMC in languages other than English (van Gass 2008: 429, Herring 2007). Several studies of CS in CMC have been conducted in English and Finnish (Koskilahti 2012, Halmari 1997, Leppänen and Nikula 2007, Leppänen 2007), English and Afrikaans (van Gass 2008), English and Chinese (Lotherington and Xu 2004, Lee 2007), English and Cantonese (Fung and Carter 2007, Lee 2007), English and Hindi and Punjabi (Paolillo 2011), English and Arabic (Warschauer et al. 2002), English and Spanish (Goldberg 2009), English and isiXhosa (Deumert and Masinyana 2008), English and Assyrian (McClure 2001), English and French (Jurgens et al. 2014), English and Malay (Halim and Maros 2014), and so on. However, there are some previous studies of CS in CMC with the languages Swedish and English (Hård af Segerstad 2002, Svenningsson 2001, Lindholm 2013), but more research is still needed.

Previous studies regarding CS in CMC show that CS occurs more frequently in an informal context than in formal contexts (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 227, 242, 248, 260, 262, Herring 2002: 121, Koskilahti 2012: 60). Hård af Segerstad (2002: 227, 242, 248, 260, 262) observes in her study of Swedish chat communication that a number of unconventional, or non-standard written language, linguistic constructions appear frequently in her material; for example email messages from citizens to government in Gothenburg were shorter, more informal and spoken-like than traditional letters, and conformed less to the norms of the standard written language, and also web chat, instant

messaging and SMS language display many characteristics of spontaneous spoken informal language and interaction (see also Herring 2002: 121). According to Koskilahti (2012: 1, 60), who in her MA thesis studied CS in discussion forums, CS is more common in informal discussion forums than in formal ones. Much of the language of CMC is non-standard, playful, highly deviant from the normative rules of language, tolerant of typographic and spelling errors, and full of new words (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 55, Crystal 2004 [2001], Herring 2001: 617, Leppänen 2007: 167). As in all languages, so also in CMC, situation, channels, activity, community, purpose and participants affect if one uses a more informal style with dialectal features or a more formal style (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 21). Herring (2007) also emphasises that participants' attitudes, beliefs, ideologies and motivations may also affect how they communicate. According to Lee (2007: 203) CS is much more common in public CMC than in private CMC.

Previous studies of the different types of CS have found that tag-switches take the format of interjections, fillers, tags, idiomatic expressions, exclamations or onomatopoeic tags, all of which can be produced in the second language with minimal knowledge of the grammar of that language (Poplack 1980: 605, Lindholm 2013: 20). The results of the different types of CS, such as Yletyinen's (2004: 47–48, 103) MA thesis about CS in EFL (English as a foreign language) classroom discourse and Lindholm's (2013: 20) BA thesis about CS in blogs, reveal that tag-switching is not as common as the other types of CS. Previous studies, regarding CS in blogs (Lindholm 2013: 21), in game events (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 367) and in Internet Relay Chat (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 367, Paolillo 2011: 18), also show that intra CS is in some contexts the most frequent type of CS in CMC. In Siebenhaar's (2006: 499) survey, regarding CS in Swiss-German Internet Relay Chat rooms, and in McClure's (2001: 164) study, about oral and written Assyrian-English CS, inter CS is, on the other hand, the most frequent type of CS. Intra-word CS may, according to previous studies of CS in blogs (Lindholm 2013: 22–23), in language learning (Yletyinen 2004: 50–53, 102), and in discussion forums (Koskilahti 2012: 38–41), also be considered as a type of CS in CMC. Lindholm (2013: 22) points out that it is usually verbs that show word-internal CS in blogs. Interestingly, the results of Yletyinen's (2004: 50–53, 101–102) MA thesis reveal that intra-word CS appears in formal contexts, such as in grammar teaching, and it is not just used by the pupil, but also by the teacher.

Previous studies also show that abbreviations occur in CMC in particular in web chat (Herring 2002: 121, Hård af Segerstad 2002: 246), in SMS (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 254), in emails (Lee 2007: 201–202), and in instant messaging (Lee 2007: 201–202). Hård af Segerstad (2002: 148–152) noticed three types of abbreviations in her data and that is acronyms, abbreviations made up from the first letters in a phrase (for example *brb* ‘be right back’), numbers representing the sound value of a syllable in a combination with letters (for example *w8* ‘wait’), and letters representing the sound value of a syllable in a combination with other letters forming an abbreviation representation of a word (for example *cu* ‘see you’). Abbreviations are, according to Hård af Segerstad (2002: 262), signs of informality, which again suggest that CS in CMC exists in informal contexts. Previous studies also reveal that multilinguals codeswitch hashtags in CMC, for example, on Twitter and Instagram (Lee 2017: 51–52, Jurgens et al. 2014: 51–60).

Previous studies of the functions of CS have found that CS is used in CMC, and more specifically in Internet Relay Chat, to specify the addressee (Siebenhaar 2006: 500, van Gass 2008: 439), in greetings and salutations (Siebenhaar 2006: 500, 502, Paolillo 2011: 14–18), to show group belonging and identity (Fung and Carter 2007: 349), to attract attention (Paolillo 2011: 14–18), to quote someone (van Gass 2008: 439), to signal a shift of topic (van Gass 2008: 435, 439), and to express thoughts and feelings (Fung and Carter 2007: 352, 356). Interestingly, in van Gass’s (2008: 438) survey of Internet Relay Chat, CS is, on the other hand, not used in greetings and farewells. CS is used, in Androutsopoulos’s (2006: 531, 533–534) study of CS in discussion forums, to specify the addressee, to contextualise a shift of topic, perspective or key, for rhetorical contrast, such as emphatic reiteration and reported speech, and for greetings, closings, words of thanks and good wishes. The results of Koskilahti’s (2012: 53–57) MA thesis show that CS in discussion forums functions as interjections, such as curse words and greetings, as quotations, both direct quotations and reported speech, and as message qualification. Another function of CS in discussion forums is personalisation, where CS functions as an identity marker and marker of closeness (Koskilahti 2012: 53). According to Koskilahti (2012: 53) it is a stylistic function, where CS is used to achieve a certain style and mark group belonging. In her data the cases of CS that have the function of personalisation occur more frequently in the informal discussion forum, while message qualification dominates in the formal discussion forums (Koskilahti 2012: 62). Interestingly, the functions of repetition and addressee specification do not appear in her data (Koskilahti

2012: 56, see Androutsopoulos 2006: 534). According to Siebenhaar (2006: 499) inter CS may have the function of addressee specification in Internet Relay Chat. Another function of CS, in chat, is to express solidarity (Lotherington and Xu 2004: 323, Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014). CS is also used, in Sophocleous's and Themistocleous's (2014) study of CS on Facebook, to introduce an element of surprise, to express affection and informality, to add a humorous tone and in evaluative comments. Abbreviations are not just used to save time, effort and space, but they also function as a marker of the sender's ability to master "cyber communication", where they mark the sender's identity and seem to represent the sender's belonging in the community (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 149, 233). The same applies to hashtags, where posters may be motivated to include a hashtag in another language to appear as a member of a multilingual virtual community (Jurgens et al. 2014: 52). Yletyinen's (2004: 72, 98) survey reveals that CS is not employed extensively in her data to fill out gaps in the vocabulary.

Previous studies regarding CS additionally show that the most common codeswitched elements are single words and short phrases (Thomason 2001: 136). Moreover, nouns and discourse markers are the most frequent codeswitched elements (Thomason 2001: 133, Poplack 1980: 603, McClure 2001: 165, 177, 187). Nouns account for the largest proportions of switchers, because they are relatively free of syntactic restrictions (Romaine 1989: 113–115). However, in Poplack's (1980: 602–603) study full sentences are the most frequently switched constituent.

The predominant perspective in CMC research is still pragmatic and sociolinguistic rather than grammatical and linguistic (Androutsopoulos 2013: 668). In terms of methods, research is moving away from static classifications and towards ethnographically and pragmatically informed analyses of the local interactional purposes that CS serves in its generic and sequential context (Androutsopoulos 2013: 688).

CMC is a rapidly growing area, but further research is still needed – any cross-disciplinarity with other domains and topics of the related areas of sociolinguistics, discourse studies, and pragmatics are still at initial stages (Georgakopoulou 2001). Most lacking are studies of private, dyadic data and cross-media and cross-mode comparisons of CS usage based on the same writer(s), as well as multimodal data from social

networking and media-sharing websites and case studies of multilingual CMD in transnational work teams (Androutsopoulos 2013: 688).

3 Materials and methods

This chapter presents the chat forum *Jodel*, the materials and the methods for the data collection and the analysis.

3.1 The chat forum *Jodel*

The chat forum *Jodel* is a mobile app founded by Alessio Avellan Borgmeyer (Gatu 2015). It was launched in October 2014 in Germany by the company *The Jodel Venture GmbH* (Gatu 2015). *Jodel* is an online anonymous community that shows you what is happening in your area in real-time (*The Jodel Venture GmbH* 2018). The app is free to download for everyone and the posts are public. No sign-up or profile is necessary. You only see the posts that are in a radius of ten kilometres from you. As previously mentioned, the app is anonymous, but it is possible to see which posts are posted by the original jodler (*OJ* term used in *Jodel*), which is the person who started the conversation about a specific topic or theme (see examples (2) and (16)).

In the *Jodel* forum people can post anything they want, and others can then read and upvote and/or downvote other people's *Jodels* (as the posts are called). You can therefore to some extent control what people are talking about in your community (*The Jodel Venture GmbH* 2018). You can join different kinds of channels, where you can participate in a community of users who share the same interest or talk about specific topics (*The Jodel Venture GmbH* 2018). In the app you can also collect karma points if you upvote other people's posts and contribute to the positive atmosphere. The karma points will show your positive impact on the *Jodel* community (*The Jodel Venture GmbH* 2018). You can also downvote posts that you feel are, for example, offensive, and if the post gets more than five downvotes it will disappear from the forum. The app works like an anonymous community, where you can post anything without anybody knowing who you are. The posts in *Jodel* are not stored there forever, and they disappear with the same speed as new posts are published. When I collected my material, the posts disappeared

Erica Björkvik

after around two weeks. See figure 1 for a picture of the layout of the chat forum and figure 2 for a picture of the logo for the app and company *The Jodel Venture GmbH* (2018).

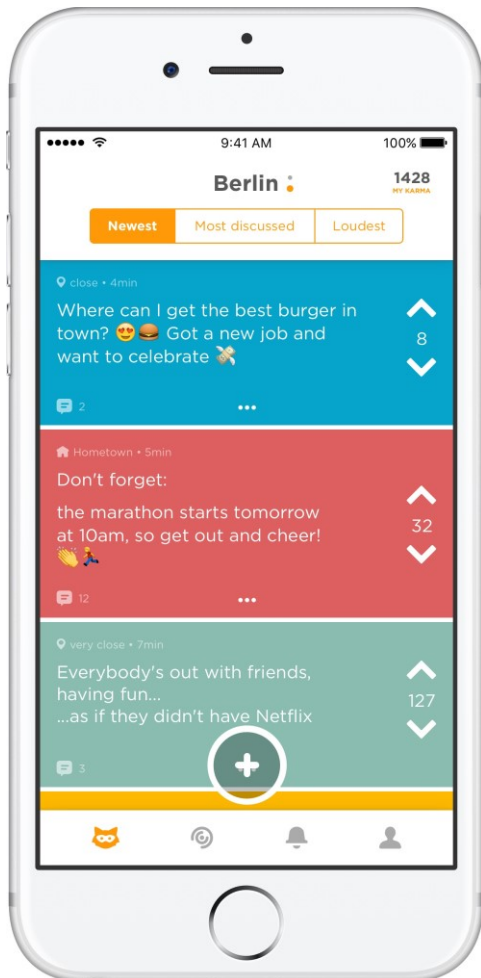


Figure 1: The layout of *Jodel*

Source: *The Jodel Venture GmbH*. 2018. Available: <https://www.jodel-app.com/> [8 October, 2018]



Figure 2: The company logo

Source: CC Wikimedia Commons. 2019. Available: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Logo_Jodel_app.png [26 February, 2019]

3.2 Materials

The material for this study was collected from the chat forum *Jodel* and the Swedish channel *SvenskaJodlare* in Turku, Finland. I chose to collect the posts from the Swedish channel *SvenskaJodlare*, because the posts in the main channel were, and still are, mainly written in Finnish, and I wanted to investigate the relationship between the Swedish and the English language. The community *SvenskaJodlare* had during my collection periods around 2,000 members. I collected my material in two batches between 21st of November 2017 and 30th of December 2017, and between 3rd of February 2018 and 14th of March 2018. During this time-period there were several posts written in Swedish and in English, but I only collected the *Jodel* posts that contain both Swedish and English. Some current discussion topics during this time-period were the #metoo-campaign, the student event *Glöggrundan* and *Fastlaskiainen*, Christmas, student association anniversary parties and Valentine's Day.

As the app *Jodel* is anonymous, I cannot know who has written the posts, but since I collected the material from the Swedish channel *SvenskaJodlare*, I assume that the posts are written by Swedish-speaking Finns. And because the app is mostly used by students at the universities and only within a ten kilometres radius, I assume that the posts are mainly written by university students living in Turku, Finland.²

The research material for this study consists of total 1,000 posts. I collected more posts than that but due to different reasons not all of them could be included in this survey. I collected the posts written by the original jodler and the comments written to the original jodler (see chapter 3.1 The chat forum *Jodel*). I wrote down if smileys, emojis or emoticons occurred in the posts, since they may be relevant for the categorisation of the different types of CS, but I have not analysed them further since they are not relevant for this study. The posts are short – written in the format of a few words, one sentence or two sentences.

² In a previous version of the *Jodel* website it has been stated that “[Jodel] updates you on what’s going on at your university. You’ll see the most recent posts [...] and connect with fellow students. By up/down voting users Jodels, you have the power to decide what your campus is talking about” (*The Jodel Venture GmbH*. 2016. Available: <https://jodel-app.com/#> [10 May, 2016]), but the website has now been revised and the target group has been removed.

When in the analysis I provide examples from my data, I follow the common conventions of marking the codeswitched elements in italics, and I also provide a translation of the Swedish elements. For intra-word CS the elements of the Swedish language are marked in bold. As previously mentioned, I included smileys, emojis or emoticons in the examples from my data, because they may be relevant for the categorisation of the different types of CS, but I have not further specified what kind of smiley, emoji or emoticon it is since that is not relevant for this study. In the examples I therefore wrote just the word *smiley* in parentheses and it may refer to either smiley, emoji or emoticon. All the examples are as they are, so they will include spelling errors, which then will not be separately marked. In the analysis I refer to earlier examples in order to avoid duplication.

3.3 Methods

For convenience, I repeat the research questions here and then go on to explain the methods used in this study.

- How do people codeswitch in written discourse in the chat forum *Jodel*?
Are there any specific structural types of CS?
- Are there any specific functions that CS performs in the chat forum *Jodel*?

As already stated, I collected all the *Jodel* posts that contain both Swedish and English posted during the two collection periods. I excluded any codeswitches containing expressions concerning popular culture, for example names of songs, series and films, TV-show titles, and band and app names. In order to establish if a word is a borrowing or a codeswitch, I consulted the 14th edition of the Swedish standard reference dictionary *SAOL Svenska Akademiens ordlista*, which was published in 2015 and is, since 2017, accessible online. There were several instances in the data collection that I had intuitively classified as English words, but it turned out that they had been accepted into SAOL 14 (2015) and I have therefore excluded them from this study. Some borrowings included in SAOL 14 (2015) are *deal, milkshake, loser, mainstream, joint, feedback, laptop, layout, live, random, trafficking, time-out, online, offline, comeback, deadline, hashtag, outfit, tweet, party, spoiler, copyright, freak, and kinky*. However, I included borrowings that do

occur in SAOL 14 (2015) if they are somehow a mixture of English and Swedish, such as *freakar*, *spoilar*, *spoilat*, *tweeta*, *hashtagga*, *body buildar*, *dealsen* and *milkshaker* (see for instance example (66)). In these examples the English noun borrowings are mainly converted into verbs according to Swedish grammar and therefore they are included in my data. While collecting my material I wrote them all down in a Word-file and later I transferred them to an Excel-file.

The first step of the analysis was to categorise the codeswitches according to their positions in the post. I categorised the codeswitches according to the positions of the codeswitched element as *beginning*, *middle* or *end*. Example (14) illustrates the position of the codeswitched element as beginning.

- (14) *Sharing is caring*, kärlek åt folket!
Sharing is caring, love to the people!

In example (15) the codeswitched element occurs in the middle of the post.

- (15) Ja har följt den här *channel* för att lär mig svenska, men den här e ju bra! (smiley)
I have followed this *channel* to learn Swedish, but this one is good! (smiley)

The codeswitched element appears in example (16) at the end of the post.

- (16) Tror att @oj är en liten *dramaqueen*
Think @oj is a little *dramaqueen*

I counted every clause containing CS as a separate item, which means that one post and one sentence can contain more than one codeswitched item. In example (17) CS occurs twice, once at the beginning and once in the middle of the post.

- (17) *Nope*. Brukar vara vettiga som tar emot önskemål. Igår var riktigt *lowest of the low* DJ
Nope. Usually sensible that accept wishes. Yesterday was really the *lowest of the low*
DJ

After categorising the positions of the codeswitched elements in a post, I looked at the different types and degrees of CS. I divided the instances into *inter CS*, *intra CS*, *intra-word CS* and *tag-switching*. Example (18) illustrates inter CS, while example (19) illustrates intra CS.

- (18) *BUSTED!* Ta nu o kolla in marknadsföringens etiska regler. Om det är reklam ska de klart och tydligt framgå.
BUSTED! Go ahead and check the ethic rules of marketing. If it is an advertisement it should be made clear.
- (19) Gilmore girls, verkar *cheesy* och tråkig först men är riktigt bra när man kommer in i det
Gilmore girls, seems *cheesy* and boring at first but is really good when you get into it

Example (20) is intra-word CS, while example (21) is tag-switching.

- (20) Måst man va studerande fö att *joina*?
Do you have to be a student to *joina*?
- (21) Är man intresserad av nån så då ska man visa det, som börja skicka åt honom. Skiter det sig och han inte är intresserad så då vet du ju det och slipper fundera på det mera. Om han är intresserad då så får du ju reda på det, *win win!*
If one is interested in someone one should show it, as to start texting him. If it turns into shit and he is not interested so then you know that and do not have to think about it any more. If he is interested then you will find out, *win win!*

I also added categories for *hashtags*, *abbreviations*, *expressions*, *combined types of CS* and *multiple occurrences of codeswitches*. The category of hashtags (#) consists of both phrases and words, for example *#lazysaturdays*, *#fml* ‘fuck my life’, *#prettyonceinalifetime*, *#blessed*, *#backpacking* and *#goals*. The category of abbreviations also includes both phrases and words, for example *lol* ‘laughing out loud’, *btw* ‘by the way’, *omg* ‘oh my god’, *bro* ‘brother’, *ya* ‘you’ and *ons* ‘one-night stand’. The category of expressions consists of expressions such as *Neverförget* ‘Never forget’, *wut* ‘what’, *lit* ‘something or someone was or is fun/overly exciting/pumped up’, *peepz* ‘people’, *noobs* ‘a person lacking in skill’, *cringe* ‘when someone acts or is embarrassing’ and *lööv* ‘love’. I categorised these instances as separate types because of their format. In the category of combined types of CS, we find instances where there is a combination of different types of CS within the same codeswitched element. In example (22) inter CS is combined with abbreviations.

- (22) *Damn sry my man*. Hon tog sitt pack o flydde slagfältet
Damn sry my man. She took her stuff and fled the battlefield

In the category of multiple occurrences of codeswitches, we find posts with two or more codeswitched elements. In example (23) CS occurs twice, first as inter CS and then as intra CS.

- (23) *What, vad gör mig desperat all of a sudden?*
What, what makes me desperat all of a sudden?

After categorising the different types of CS, I examined the occurring types of CS in more detail and categorised each codeswitch into single words or short phrases. I looked at, for example, the instances of intra CS and the occurrence of a switch at the word level or at the phrase level.

There were some ambiguous cases in categorising the different types of CS, where I had to make a choice. These were mostly caused by the occurrence or rather the absence of punctuation. Since the posts tend to be short, just a couple of words or one or a few sentences, punctuation is in some cases omitted and it affects the categorisation of the types of CS. In some cases, a smiley, an emoji or an emoticon may be used in the place of punctuation, and that also affects the categorisation. Some people may use *Jodel* to say what they feel in a spare moment, and the written post may take the format of spontaneous speech more than written text, which explains the absence of punctuation. Punctuation and blank spaces between words may also be omitted to save time, effort and keystrokes (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 218–220, 232). It should here be pointed out that the character sets are different on different phones and that may also affect the occurrence of punctuation; for example, people may use a dot instead of a comma because of easy access. I therefore trusted the format of the post more than the punctuation. Besides that, I discovered two instances where the equals sign (=) is used in the middle of a sentence and in these cases I decided to categorise them as intra CS. Additionally, I found some instances where parentheses and asterisks are used and depending on the case I categorised them as either intra CS or inter CS.

After categorising the different types of CS, I analysed the functions of CS. As already stated, I used a taxonomy based on Grosjean's (1982), Gumperz's (1982) and Androutsopoulos's (2013) classifications of the functions of CS, when analysing the functions of the codeswitched elements in *Jodel* (see table 1 in chapter 2.3 Functions of codeswitching). I did go through the individual codeswitches and categorised them according to all possible functions of CS and not just the main ones (see Lee 2017: 50). I categorised the codeswitches in my data as *addressee specification, quotation, personalisation, message qualification, reiteration, switching fixed phrases,*

interjections, linguistic need, topic, changing the role of speaker (such as *showing expertise and raising status*), *performing culturally specific genres* (such as *joke-telling*), and *distinguishing between facts and opinion* (see examples in chapter 2.3 Functions of codeswitching and in chapter 4.3 Functions of codeswitching in *Jodel*).

I categorised tag-switches, just like Gumperz (1982: 77–78), Lindholm (2013: 20) and Poplack (1980), as interjections (see example (8) and examples in chapter 4.2.4 Tag-switching), but I also, just as Koskilahti (2012: 53–57), added curse words into that function (see examples in chapter 4.2.2 Intrasentential codeswitching). Moreover, I categorised, not just greetings, farewells and wishes, as the function of switching fixed phrases, but also words of thanks and forgiveness, such as *thanks* and *sorry* (see examples (9), (22), (64) and (65), and Androutopoulos 2006: 531, 533–534). As already mentioned, people may codeswitch to fill a linguistic need, because they lack the facility in one language, but I cannot know that by looking at my data (see Grosjean 1982: 149–150, 152). Instead, I categorised the codeswitches into the function of linguistic need if there were no Swedish equivalents or appropriate translations or if it was just better expressed in English than in Swedish (see Grosjean 1982: 150, McClure 2001: 180–182, Halim and Maros 2014: 131–132). The function of linguistic need is illustrated by examples (10), (14), (24)–(25), (33), (53) and (56).

(24) Min flickvän är en *pain in the ass*, vad gör jag?
My girlfriend is a *pain in the ass*, what do I do?

(25) Dags för den dagliga *powernappen* (smiley)
Time for the daily *powernappen* (smiley)

When looking at the function of topic, people codeswitch in *Jodel* when talking about, for example, human relations, health, sports, computer programs and apps, studies and student life, feminism, animals, food, music and films (see examples (11), (15), (32), (34)–(36), (59) and (61)–(63)). The function of changing the role of speaker, such as to raise one's status and to show expertise, is, as already stated above, also found in my data, for instance abbreviations (see examples in chapter 4.2.6 Abbreviations), expressions (see examples in chapter 4.2.7 Expressions), tag-switching (see examples in chapter 4.2.4 Tag-switching), hashtags (see examples in chapter 4.2.5 Hashtags), and CS due to the topic

by using certain terms connected with, for example, computer programs and apps (see examples (11), (15), (34), (36) and (62)–(63)).

In my data there were some cases which might have the functions of conveying agreement, conveying conflict and excluding, but I can only speculate if a poster actually codeswitched to show agreement, annoyance, anger or wanted to exclude (or include) someone (see chapter 4.3 Functions of codeswitching in *Jodel*). I could not categorise the codeswitches according to the function of triggering, because I have not collected materials of a discussion thread. I also could not categorise the codeswitches due to the function of habit, because the *Jodel* posts are, as previously stated, anonymous. The codeswitches in *Jodel* could not be categorised according to the function of “the most available word”, because I cannot tell if people shift between languages depending on convenience (see Spolsky 1998).

The analysis is divided into three parts. In the first part I present the positions of the codeswitched elements in the posts. In the second part I present the different types and degrees of CS in *Jodel*. In the third part I introduce the functions of the codeswitched elements in *Jodel*.

4 Results

This chapter presents the results of the analysis regarding the positions, types and functions of CS in the chat forum *Jodel*.

4.1 Positions of codeswitching in *Jodel*

The results of the analysis show that there are 1,172 instances of CS in the 1,000 posts in my data. As table 2 shows, there is a huge variation in the positions of the codeswitched elements.

Table 2: Positions of codeswitching

Position	Number of codeswitches
<i>Beginning</i>	181
<i>Middle</i>	609
<i>End</i>	382
Total	1,172

The codeswitched elements occur, as shown by the figures in table 2, most frequently in the middle of the post and less frequently at the beginning of the post. As many as 609 codeswitched elements are found in the middle of the post, while 382 codeswitched instances are located at the end of the post, and then as few as 181 codeswitched elements are placed in the beginning of the post. Among the 1,172 instances there are 319 instances that are included in posts with two or more codeswitches (see chapter 4.2.9 Multiple occurrences of codeswitches).

4.2 Types of codeswitching in *Jodel*

In this chapter I present the different types of CS, their form and positions.

4.2.1 Intersentential codeswitching

Table 3 shows that there is variation in both the positions and the structure of the codeswitched elements in inter CS.

Table 3: Intersentential codeswitching according to structure and position

Structure	Position			Total
	<i>Beginning</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>End</i>	
<i>Phrase</i>	30	7	78	115
<i>One-word</i>	34	0	10	44
Total	64	7	88	159

According to the results, the majority of the instances above are sentences in the format of short phrases. Most of the cases of inter CS appear at the end of the post or at the beginning of the post, but rarely in the middle of the post. Inter CS and one-word is illustrated by example (26).

- (26) *Nope*, inte alls. Dom är mer intresserade i hurdan personlighet jag e
Nope, not at all. They are more interested in the personality I am

Examples (4) and (27)–(28) are cases of inter CS and short phrases.

- (27) Nå du verkar va ganska bra på att upprepa saker, *no offense!*
 You seem to be pretty good at repeating things, *no offense!*

- (28) De vi alla nog, *and proud* (smiley)
 We all are, *and proud* (smiley)

4.2.2 Intrasentential codeswitching

There is a huge variation, as we see in table 4, in both the positions and the structure of the codeswitched elements in intra CS.

Table 4: Intrasentential codeswitching according to structure and position

Structure	Position			Total
	<i>Beginning</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>End</i>	
<i>Phrase</i>	42	142	76	260
<i>Word</i>	32	298	107	437
Total	74	440	183	697

The number of intra CS in my data is, as shown by the figures in table 4, very high. The results demonstrate that single words are more frequently codeswitched than short phrases in cases of intra CS. The figures also reveal that more than half of all the instances are codeswitched in the middle of the post rather than at the beginning or at the end of the post. Intra CS and single words are illustrated by examples (29)–(30), and intra CS and short phrases are illustrated by examples (31)–(33).

- (29) Hur fungerar det med morgondagens *deals*?
How does it work with tomorrow's *deals*?
- (30) Det var en *dude* som höll på så under en tent en gång så hela bänken å bordet skakade.
Stirra på honom i nån minut argt men idioter märkte inget. Tänkte slå honom (smiley)
There was a *dude* who was doing that during an exam once so that the whole bench and
the table were shaking. Stared at him angrily for a couple of minutes but idiots do not
notice anything. Thought about hitting him (smiley)
- (31) *I know* men har absolut inga krafter att gå dit med feber
I know but have absolutely no powers to go there with a fever
- (32) Beror på situationen.. ja menar kan man *fuck on the first date* så kan man väl hålla hand
också
Depends on the situation.. I mean if one can *fuck on the first date* so then one can
probably hold hands too
- (33) Snöslasket fryser inatt, *way to go* med snöröjningen!
The slosh will freeze tonight, *way to go* with the snow clearing!

The category of intra CS includes 38 occurrences of curse words, such as *bullshit*, *shit*, *fucking*, *buttfucked by*, *screw*, *fuck*, *fucked up*, *fuckable*, *the bitch*, *fucked*, *fuck it*, *hell no*, *bitches*, *fuckyeah*, *shiet*, *damn*, *damn people*, *absolutely fucking perfect*, *shitstorm*, *shitty*, *fuck off*, *who gives an actual fuck*, *load of bullshit*, and *fuck on the first date*, as illustrated by examples (32) and (68). These cover close to two thirds of the total 61 instances of curse words in the data. The rest of the cases of curse words occur in other categories: 10 as inter CS, 4 as abbreviations (*wtf* 'what the fuck'), 3 as intra-word CS (see example (37)), 3 as hashtags (see examples (3), (7) and (42)), and 3 as combined types of CS (see examples (22), (50) and (60)).

4.2.3 Intra-word switching

The figures in table 5 show that in intra-word CS, as in the previous types, there is variation in both the positions and the structure of the codeswitched elements.

Table 5: Intra-word switching according to structure and position

Structure	Position			Total
	<i>Beginning</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>End</i>	
<i>Phrase</i>	0	2	1	3
<i>Word</i>	9	108	22	139
Total	9	110	23	142

It is interesting to see that there are as many as 142 instances of intra-word CS, and that most of these occurrences are single words occurring in the middle of the post. Examples (34)–(36) illustrate intra-word CS and single words, while example (37) illustrates intra-word CS and a short phrase.

- (34) Vill gärna höra motiveringar till varför ni *downvotar* mina svar också! Är uppriktigt nyfiken
Would like to hear the motivations to why you *downvotar* my replies too! Am honestly curious
- (35) Ingenting hände med *crushen* men jag gjorde slut med min dåvarande pojkvän och det var absolut det bästa beslutet jag kunde ha gjort.
Nothing happened with *crushen* but I did end it with my former boyfriend and that was absolutely the best decision I could have made.
- (36) Hej sku nån veta hur man får *addat* sin abomail ti iphones mail-app? Vet nån va *domainens* adress ska vara? (smiley)
Hi would anyone know how one gets *addat* one's abomail to the iphones mail-app? Does anyone know what *domainens* address should be? (smiley)
- (37) Jag kommer säkert lyckas *fucka upp* på något sätt (smiley) Tro mig
I will probably succeed to *fucka upp* in some way (smiley) Believe me

4.2.4 Tag-switching

Tag-switching in my data is, as we see in table 6, very rare compared to the other types of CS. One reason for the small number of tag-switching might be the format. Montes-Alcalá (2001: 196) points out that switches in written text do not take place in the same spontaneous way as in oral discourse, since the person has more time to think over what he or she is going to say. It might therefore be that tag-switching is more common in spoken communication than in written discourse.

Table 6: Tag-switching according to structure and position

Structure	Position			Total
	<i>Beginning</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>End</i>	
<i>Phrase</i>	1	0	4	5
<i>Word</i>	3	0	2	5
Total	4	0	6	10

The results, in table 6, reveal that tag-switching appears more frequently at the end of a sentence than at the beginning of a sentence. Tag-switching and single words are illustrated by examples (8), (38) and (39).

(38) *Alright*, helt förståeligt nog. Ledsen att det blev så (smiley)
Alright, completely understandable. Sorry that it turned out that way (smiley)

(39) Nej, jag håller med om att den är inte är intressant, jag tycker mest det är kul att se hur trådskaparen anstränger sig för att trigga folk men att ingen sväljer betet (smiley),
hurray
 No, I agree that it is is not interesting, I mostly think it is funny to see how the thread creator makes an effort to trigger people but no one swallows the bait (smiley),
hurray

Example (40) is a case of tag-switching and a short phrase.

(40) Inser att jag låter som en emo högstadieelev *oh my* (smiley)
 Realise I sound like an emo high school pupil *oh my* (smiley)

Interestingly, single words and short phrases are codeswitched equally often in the category of tag-switching.

4.2.5 Hashtags

Table 7 shows that there is also variation in both the positions and the structure of the codeswitched elements in the category of hashtags.

Table 7: Hashtags according to structure and position

Structure	Position			Total
	<i>Beginning</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>End</i>	
<i>Phrase</i>	1	4	36	41
<i>Word</i>	1	0	16	17
Total	2	4	52	58

There are 58 instances of CS in this category, and the majority of these codeswitches are short phrases instead of single words. As many as 52 cases are located at the end of the post. Examples (41)–(42) illustrate short phrases, while example (43) illustrates a single word.

- (41) Alla borde kunna gifta sig i kyrkan med sig själv. *#memyself&I #makelovegreatagain*
 Everyone should be able to marry in church with themselves. *#memyself&I #makelovegreatagain*
- (42) Tänk om jultomten inte kommer till oss i år (smiley) *#mardröömin #väntarmeränbarnen #sofreakingexcited*
 What if Santa Claus does not come to us this year (smiley) *#nightmaare #waitingmorethanthechildren #sofreakingexcited*
- (43) Känslan när man vaknar efter en kväll ute, hela kroppen värker men mår ändå bättre än man förtjänar (smiley) *#blessed*
 The feeling when one wakes up after a night out, the whole body is aching but still feel better than one deserves (smiley) *#blessed*

In my data there are only cases where posters wrote a post in Swedish, and then included a hashtag in English (see Jurgens et al. 2014). There are no instances where CS occurs within a hashtag (see Lee 2017: 51–52).

4.2.6 Abbreviations

There are 82 instances of abbreviations in my data. As table 8 shows, there is, as in the previous types, variation in both the positions and the structure of the codeswitched elements in abbreviations. Abbreviations seem to prefer short phrases rather than single words, and almost half of the instances occur in the middle of the post compared to the positions beginning and end.

Table 8: Abbreviations according to structure and position

Structure	Position			Total
	<i>Beginning</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>End</i>	
<i>Phrase</i>	21	17	12	50
<i>Word</i>	1	24	7	32
Total	22	41	19	82

Abbreviations that are used in *Jodel* in the format of short phrases include *btw* ‘by the way’, *omg* ‘oh my god’, *lol* ‘laughing out loud’, *imo* ‘in my opinion’, *wtf* ‘what the fuck’, *bffs* ‘best friends forever’, *idk* ‘I do not know’, *asap* ‘as soon as possible’, *atm* ‘at the moment’, *dunno* ‘do not know’, *irl* ‘in real life’, *rip* ‘rest in peace’, and *yolo* ‘you only live once’, as illustrated by example (44).

- (44) *Idk, imo* tror tjejer att de är snyggare än de är och då blir de bara bitchiga och tror att de är prinsessor
Idk, imo girls believe that they are prettier than they are and then they just become bitchy and think that they are princesses

The following abbreviations in the format of single words are used in *Jodel*: *ons* ‘one-night stand’, *bro* ‘brother’, *sis* ‘sister’, *bf* ‘boyfriend’, *gf* ‘girlfriend’, *bj* ‘blow job’, *pls* ‘please’, *ya* ‘you’, *sry* ‘sorry’, and *tb* ‘throwback’, as found in examples (45)–(46).

- (45) Jag är iaf inte för *ons*, skulle ha obehag för sånt (smiley) är väl för ”gammalmodig” på det viset (smiley)
 I am at least not for *ons*, would be uncomfortable for that (smiley) am probably too ”old fashion” in that manner (smiley)
- (46) Ja? Pampas e bästa området i Finland så vaffö int flytt dit (smiley) nästan alla pampeser vill nog nån da tibaka dit så fattar nog din *gf*
 Yes? Pampas is the best area in Finland so whhy not move there (smiley) almost every Pampees will probably someday back there so understand your *gf*

4.2.7 Expressions

As shown in table 9, I categorised 7 instances of CS in the category of expressions: 6 instances are single words, while 1 case is a short phrase. Most of the occurrences in this category occur in the middle of the post.

Table 9: Expressions according to structure and position

Structure	Position			Total
	<i>Beginning</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>End</i>	
<i>Phrase</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>Word</i>	0	4	2	6
Total	0	5	2	7

Examples (47)–(48) illustrate single words and (49) is an example of a short phrase.

(47) Brukar fastlaskiainen faktiskt va så *lit* som alla alltid säger? H. Gulis
Is fastlaskiainen actually as *lit* as everyone always says? G. Freshman

(48) vittu såna *noobs* här e, bose e bara overpriced, köp audio technica ifall du vill ha prisvärde eller bang & olufsen ifall du vill ha riktigt premium
fuck these *noobs* here, bose is just overpriced, buy audio technica if you want pricevalue or bang & olufsen if you want the real premium

(49) Tyckte glöggundan var ganska lame i år jämfört med tidigare!?! Sämre stämning på baren iaf. *Neverförget* 2015, Norlie&KKV (smiley)
Thought glöggrundan was pretty lame this year compared to previous!?! Worse mood at the bar at least. *Neverförget* 2015, Norlie&KKV (smiley)

4.2.8 Combined types of codeswitching

There are 17 instances in my data that combine different types of CS within the same codeswitched element, as shown in table 10 (see chapter 3.3 Methods). All 17 occurrences are short phrases, and the majority of these codeswitched elements occur at the end of the post.

Table 10: Combined types of codeswitching according to structure and position

Structure	Position			Total
	<i>Beginning</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>End</i>	
<i>Phrase</i>	6	2	9	17
<i>Word</i>	0	0	0	0
Total	6	2	9	17

Erica Björkvik

It is interesting to see that 16 of these codeswitches are a combination of the category of abbreviations with another type of CS. There are, for example, instances where abbreviations are combined with hashtags, as in example (50).

- (50) När ens kille runkar till bilder av sin ex *#fml*
When one's guy jerks off to pictures of his ex *#fml*

There are also cases where abbreviations and inter CS (example (51)) and abbreviations and intra CS (example (52)) are combined.

- (51) *Feel ya sis!* Blöder som ett vattenfall och har mensvärk, ryggont och tarmkramper på samma gång... (smiley)
Feel ya sis! Bleed as a waterfall and have period pains, back pain and intestinal cramps at the same time... (smiley)

- (52) Man förstår ju allt! Så *pls, dont judge everything* ni ser på Jodel!
One understands everything! So *pls, dont judge everything* you see on Jodel!

In my data I found one instance where intra-word CS is combined with abbreviations (see example (53)) and one instance where intra-word CS is combined with intra CS (see example (54)).

- (53) Borde man försöka förhindra anonym internetmobbnig iställe fö att säga att dom som int kan ta de inte är menade för internet? Vet att dehär kanske int va så seriöst men sluta *victim blamea pls*
Should one try to prevent anonymous Internet bullying instead of saying that those who cannot handle it are not meant for the Internet? Know that this might not have been so serious but stop *victim blamea pls*

- (54) Det va *white trashigt*
That was *white trashigt*

The most common combination of combined types of CS is abbreviations and inter CS (see examples (22), (51), (60) and (67)).

4.2.9 Multiple occurrences of codeswitches

In my data there are 147 posts that include multiple occurrences of codeswitches (see chapter 3.3 Methods). In these 147 posts there are 319 individual instances of codeswitches. As we see in table 11, the majority of these codeswitches occur in the

middle of the post when the posts are divided into types according to the different placements of CS.

Table 11: Multiple occurrences of codeswitches according to position

Position	Number of codeswitches
<i>Beginning</i>	38
<i>Middle</i>	207
<i>End</i>	74
Total	319

We find great variations in the combinations, as presented in table 12.

Table 12: Patterns of multiple occurrences of codeswitches according to positions

Positions	Number of posts
<i>Beginning–end</i>	10
<i>Beginning–middle</i>	15
<i>Beginning–middle–end</i>	1
<i>Beginning–multiple middle</i>	2
<i>Multiple beginning</i>	4
<i>Multiple beginning–middle</i>	1
<i>Multiple middle</i>	62
<i>Multiple middle–end</i>	9
<i>Middle–end</i>	33
<i>Middle–multiple end</i>	2
<i>Multiple end</i>	8
Total	147

The term *multiple* means here that CS appears more than once in one post and in the same position, for example multiple beginning means that CS occurs twice or more at the beginning of the post. When we look at the positions of CS in posts with multiple occurrences of codeswitches, we find that the most common type is a post with two or more codeswitches in the middle of the post, as in examples (55) and (56).

- (55) Kanske du tycker att ni är det men har hon lämnat dig så är det ju rätt så *obvious* att hon ej tycker det. *Just accept it* och gå vidare.
Maybe you think that you are that but she has left you so then it is pretty *obvious* that she does not think so. *Just accept it* and move on.
- (56) Problemet med de *nice guys* jag har dejtat med är att de är för försiktiga och blyga..liksom kan du *make a move already*, blir bara förvirrad om såna personer är intresserade eller inte när.de inte säger nåt
The problem with the *nice guys* I have dated is that they are too careful and shy..like can you *make a move already*, just get confused if those people are interested or not.when they do not say anything

Posts with CS in the middle and at the end is also fairly frequent, as we see in table 12, and that is illustrated by examples (57) and (58).

- (57) Håller me att *who cares* men samtidigt e de lite skit stil (smiley). *My moral is strong with this one!*
Agreeing that *who cares* but at the same time it is a bit shitty style (smiley). *My moral is strong with this one!*
- (58) Försök å studera eller *give up*. Du kan förstås skicka epost för din lärare och försöka att förklara din situation *but i wouldnt go there*
Try to study or *give up*. You could of course send an email to your teacher and try to explain your situation *but i wouldnt go there*

Table 13 shows that there is also a huge variation in the combinations according to the different types of CS in posts with multiple occurrences of codeswitches.

Table 13: Multiple codeswitches according to the types of codeswitching

Combinations	Number of posts
<i>Abbreviations–abbreviations</i>	3
<i>Abbreviations–intra-word CS</i>	3
<i>Abbreviations–intra CS</i>	5
<i>Abbreviations–inter CS</i>	1
<i>Inter CS–abbreviations</i>	1
<i>Inter CS–intra-word CS</i>	3
<i>Inter CS–intra CS</i>	5
<i>Inter CS–inter CS</i>	2
<i>Expressions–intra CS</i>	1
<i>Tag-switching–intra-word CS–intra CS</i>	1
<i>Intra-word CS–intra-word CS</i>	2
<i>Intra-word CS–intra-word CS–intra CS</i>	1
<i>Intra-word CS–hashtags</i>	1
<i>Intra-word CS–intra CS</i>	9
<i>Intra-word CS–hashtags–intra-word CS</i>	1
<i>Intra-word CS–inter CS</i>	2
<i>Intra-word CS–intra CS–inter CS</i>	1
<i>Intra-word CS–intra CS–intra CS–intra-word CS</i>	1
<i>Intra CS–abbreviations</i>	6
<i>Intra CS–abbreviations–abbreviations</i>	1
<i>Intra CS–expressions</i>	2
<i>Intra CS–intra-word CS–inter CS</i>	1
<i>Intra CS–intra-word CS</i>	13
<i>Intra CS–hashtags</i>	7
<i>Intra CS–intra CS</i>	44
<i>Intra CS–intra CS–intra CS</i>	4
<i>Intra CS–intra CS–intra CS–intra CS</i>	1
<i>Intra CS–inter CS</i>	11
<i>Hashtags–hashtags</i>	1
<i>Hashtags–intra CS</i>	1
<i>Hashtags–intra CS–intra CS</i>	1
<i>Intra CS–intra-word CS–intra-word CS</i>	1
<i>Intra CS–intra-word CS–intra CS</i>	1
<i>Intra CS–combined types of CS</i>	3
<i>Intra CS–intra CS–inter CS</i>	3
<i>Intra CS–intra CS–hashtags</i>	1
<i>Intra CS–intra CS–intra CS–hashtags</i>	1
<i>Intra CS–hashtags–hashtags</i>	1
Total	147

As we see in table 13, the most typical combination is intra CS with intra CS, which we saw in examples (55) and (56). There are also instances with intra CS and intra-word CS illustrated by example (59).

- (59) Och gör inget med din *crush* förrän du gjort slut med pojkvännen OM det känns bättre med *crushen* (smiley)
And do not do anything with your *crush* until you have ended it with the boyfriend IF it feels better with *crushen* (smiley)

Another preferred combination of types of CS, in multiple occurrences of codeswitches, is intra CS and inter CS, which we saw in examples (57) and (58).

4.3 Functions of codeswitching in *Jodel*

As already stated, I used a taxonomy based on Grosjean's (1982), Gumperz's (1982) and Androutsopoulos's (2013) classifications of the functions of CS, when analysing the functions of the codeswitched elements in *Jodel* (see table 1 in chapter 2.3 Functions of codeswitching). I categorised the codeswitches, as previously mentioned, according to all possible functions of CS and not just the main ones (see Lee 2017: 50). In my data I found the following functions of CS: addressee specification, quotation, personalisation, message qualification, reiteration, switching fixed phrases, interjections, linguistic need, topic, showing expertise, raising status, joke-telling, and distinguishing between facts and opinion.

In my data there were also some cases which might have the functions of conveying agreement, conveying conflict and excluding. But I can, as already mentioned, only speculate if a poster actually codeswitched to show agreement, annoyance, anger or wanted to exclude (or include) someone. Because of the format of the posts and the anonymity of the posters in *Jodel*, it was not possible to categorise the codeswitches according to the functions of triggering, habit and "the most available word".

Table 14 shows that there is a great variation regarding the functions of CS according to the positions.

Table 14: Functions of codeswitching according to position

Functions	Position			Total
	<i>Beginning</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>End</i>	
<i>Addressee specification</i>	47	155	94	296
<i>Quotation</i>	4	27	8	39
<i>Personalisation</i>	46	77	116	239
<i>Message qualification</i>	181	604	381	1,166
<i>Reiteration</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>Switching fixed phrases</i>	9	5	11	25
<i>Interjections</i>	18	23	29	70
<i>Linguistic need</i>	25	90	57	172
<i>Topic</i>	50	343	115	508
<i>Showing expertise</i>	39	150	67	256
<i>Raising status</i>	48	172	90	310
<i>Joke-telling</i>	22	37	60	119
<i>Distinguishing between facts and opinion</i>	12	61	12	85

The results, in table 14, reveal that the most common functions of CS in *Jodel* are message qualification and topic. Examples (1), (4), (18), (51) and (60) illustrate the function of message qualification, where the codeswitch is used to qualify what is said or to amplify or emphasise a point.

(60) *Wtf*, lever vi på 70-talet eller?
Wtf, do we live in the 70s or?

CS may here also be used to attract attention and/or to introduce an element of surprise (see Paolillo 2011: 14–18, Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014). Examples (11), (15), (32), (34)–(36), (59) and (61)–(63) illustrate the function of topic, where CS is used when talking about human relations and different kinds of apps. CS may also here be used for showing off.

- (61) Drömmar om sin *crush* är ju bara för mysiga. Synd bara så är det just det – drömmar (smiley)
Dreams about one's *crush* are too cosy. Too bad that it is just that – dreams (smiley)
- (62) Varför inte skriva på *mainfeeden* idag? Tillsammans? (smiley)
Why not write on *mainfeeden* today? Together? (smiley)

Other preferred functions of CS discovered in *Jodel* are changing the role of speaker, such as raising one's status, and addressee specification. Posters in *Jodel* codeswitch to raise their status by using abbreviations, curse words, certain terms connected with, for example, computer programs and apps, expressions, tag-switching, and some specific hashtags. This is illustrated by, for instance, examples in chapter 4.2.2 Intrasentential codeswitching, in chapter 4.2.4 Tag-switching, in chapter 4.2.6 Abbreviations, in chapter 4.2.7 Expressions, and examples (3), (11), (34), (36), (41), (47), (62)–(63) and (68).

- (63) Om jag vill skicka en persons snapstory till en annan, får den som lagt upp *storyn* en *notification* då?
If I want to send a person's snapstory to someone, does the person who posted *storyn* get a *notification* then?

The function of addressee specification is illustrated by examples (1), (2), (4), (6), (16) and (51), where the codeswitch serves to direct the message to one addressee (see Gumperz 1982: 77).

The functions of reiteration, switching fixed phrases and quotation are, on the other hand, rare in *Jodel*. There is only one instance of the function of reiteration, where CS is used to clarify and emphasise what is said, as illustrated by example (5). The function of switching fixed phrases, such as greetings, wishes and words like *sorry* and *thanks*, is illustrated by examples (9), (22), (64) and (65).

- (64) *Happy* glöggrunda! (smiley) Glöm int bort att bete er!
Happy glöggrunda! (smiley) Do not forget to behave!
- (65) Ok *sorry*, vet inte varför jag svarade på finska.
Ok *sorry*, do not know why I replied in Finnish.

The function of quotation, both direct quotations and reported speech, is illustrated by examples (2) and (66).

- (66) man hashtaggar *#whyamIlikethis* inte som skilda ord, är helt pointen med en hashtag
one hashtaggar *#whyamIlikethis* not as separate words, which is pointen with a hashtag

As we see in table 14, CS in the middle of the post frequently has the functions of addressee specification, quotation, message qualification, reiteration, linguistic need, topic, showing expertise, raising status, and distinguishing between facts and opinion, while CS at the end of the post typically has the functions of personalisation, switching fixed phrases, interjections and joke-telling.

Table 15 shows, just like the previous results, a great variation regarding the functions of CS according to the types of CS. I only looked here, as already mentioned, at the individual codeswitches and all possible functions of CS, and not multiple occurrences of codeswitches (see chapter 4.2.9 Multiple occurrences of codeswitches).

Table 15: Functions of codeswitching according to the types of codeswitching

Functions	Types								Total
	<i>Inter CS</i>	<i>Intra CS</i>	<i>Intra-word CS</i>	<i>Tags</i>	<i>Hash-tags</i>	<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>Expressions</i>	<i>Combined types of CS</i>	
<i>Addressee specification</i>	47	168	34	1	13	25	3	5	296
<i>Quotation</i>	0	37	1	0	1	0	0	0	39
<i>Personalisation</i>	15	49	5	10	57	80	7	16	239
<i>Message qualification</i>	159	693	142	10	58	80	7	17	1,166
<i>Reiteration</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Switching fixed phrases</i>	7	15	0	1	1	0	0	1	25
<i>Interjections</i>	10	37	3	10	3	4	0	3	70
<i>Linguistic need</i>	26	115	22	0	3	2	3	1	172
<i>Topic</i>	23	327	108	0	11	34	3	2	508
<i>Showing expertise</i>	7	90	54	0	2	80	7	16	256
<i>Raising status</i>	19	127	57	0	5	80	7	15	310
<i>Joke-telling</i>	24	69	1	3	14	4	0	4	119
<i>Distinguishing between facts and opinion</i>	3	74	3	0	3	2	0	0	85

The results reveal that all the functions listed in table 15, except for the function of personalisation, are frequently found as intra CS. The function of personalisation is used with abbreviations. By CS abbreviations posters in *Jodel* mark, show and emphasise group belonging and identity, express solidarity and closeness, and indicate familiarity and intimacy (see Koskilahti 2012: 53, Hård af Segerstad 2002: 149, 233, Lotherington and Xu 2004: 323, Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014, Lee 2007: 201, McClure 2001: 188, Fung and Carter 2007: 349).

As we see in table 15, all types of CS most commonly have the function of message qualification, except for tag-switching, abbreviations and expressions that also have several other functions with the same numbers. Tag-switching is equally often used for message qualification, personalisation and interjections. Abbreviations and expressions occur equally often in the functions of message qualification, personalisation, raising status and showing expertise. Inter CS also frequently has, except for the function of message qualification, the function of addressee specification, while intra CS and intra-word CS have several instances of the function of topic. The category of hashtags also has many occurrences of the function of personalisation, while the category of combined types of CS has many cases of the functions of personalisation and showing expertise.

Cases of CS that have the functions of conveying agreement, conveying conflict and excluding also occur in my data, but, as previously mentioned, I can only speculate regarding these functions. Examples (6) and (67) illustrate the function of conveying agreement, while examples (7) and (68) may illustrate the function of conveying conflict, such as annoyance and anger.

(67) *I feel ya*, har precis samma känslor
I feel ya, have the exact same feelings

(68) Vem fan festar med huppari? *Fucking* bönder de här e int Vasa
Who the fuck parties in a hoodie? *Fucking* farmers this is not Vaasa

Abbreviations, expressions, hashtags and codeswitches regarding certain terms connected with, for example, computer programs and apps, may have the function of excluding, as well as including. The function of excluding, as well as including, is illustrated by examples in chapter 4.2.6 Abbreviations, chapter 4.2.7 Expressions, and in examples (11), (15), (34), (36), (41), (50)–(51) and (62)–(63).

5 Discussion

In this chapter I discuss the results of the analysis: first, general observations and after that the results regarding the positions, types and functions of CS in the chat forum *Jodel*.

5.1 General observations

As previously mentioned, the majority of previous studies carried out in the field of CS have focused primarily on CS in oral production, while research on written CS has not attracted much attention (Montes-Alcalá 2001: 194). Androutsopoulos (2013: 667) also points out that CS online remains less well researched in comparison to other linguistic processes in CMC. A lot remains to be done in documenting different sites and types of CS online and systematic comparisons between modes, language and settings are still needed (Androutsopoulos 2013: 688). I wish to contribute to filling this gap of knowledge by conducting a study of written data to find out more about the relationship between the English and the Swedish language, and more specifically how and why people codeswitch in written discourse in a specific type of CMC, which is the online chat forum *Jodel*.

Frequencies are impossible to give regarding how common CS is in *Jodel*, but during my two collection periods I had no problem collecting posts with CS, which show that CS is not rare at all in *Jodel* (see chapter 3.1 The chat forum *Jodel* and Lee 2007: 203). There are 1,172 instances of CS in the 1,000 posts in my data (see table 16 in chapter 5.2 Positions of codeswitching in *Jodel*). Previous studies regarding CS in CMC show that CS occurs more frequently in an informal context than in formal contexts (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 227, 242, 248, 260, 262, Koskilahti 2012: 1, 60, Herring 2002: 121), and that CS is much more common in public CMC than in private CMC (Lee 2007: 203). *Jodel* is, as previously stated, an informal public chat forum, where people can post anything they want, join different kinds of channels, and then read and upvote and/or downvote other people's *Jodels* (see chapter 3.1 The chat forum *Jodel*). According to Hård af Segerstad's (2002: 262) results, web chat contributions are often short, with a syntactic structure similar to informal spoken interaction, which is consistent with my findings. The posts in *Jodel* are short – written in the format of a few words, one sentence or two sentences. Informal spoken interaction appears in my data in the format of, for example, abbreviations, which are signs of informality (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 262). Other signs of informal interaction in my data are the occurrences of curse words, hashtags, expressions and tag-switching. The language in *Jodel* is, therefore, as previous studies show, non-standard, playful, deviant from the normative rules, tolerant of typographic and spelling errors, and full of new words, such as slang words like *lit* and

cringe (see chapter 3.3 Methods) (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 55, Crystal 2004 [2001], Herring 2001: 617, Herring 2002: 121, Leppänen 2007: 167).

5.2 Positions of codeswitching in *Jodel*

The results of the analysis show that CS occurs most frequently in the middle of the post in the chat forum *Jodel*, as we see in the summarised table 16.

Table 16: Types of codeswitching according to position

Types	Position			Total
	<i>Beginning</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>End</i>	
<i>Inter CS</i>	64	7	88	159
<i>Intra CS</i>	74	440	183	697
<i>Intra-word CS</i>	9	110	23	142
<i>Tag-switching</i>	4	0	6	10
<i>Hashtags</i>	2	4	52	58
<i>Abbreviations</i>	22	41	19	82
<i>Expressions</i>	0	5	2	7
<i>Combined types of CS</i>	6	2	9	17
Total	181	609	382	1,172

This is an interesting result, because the posts in *Jodel* are, as previously stated, short and written in the format of a few words, one sentence or two sentences, and one could therefore expect that CS occurs at the beginning or at the end of a post. These findings suggest that the use of English in CS is actually a natural way of writing and interacting in this context (see Auer and Eastman 2010, Halim and Maros 2014: 133). CS is not here added as a surprise element at the beginning of the post or as an afterthought at the end of the post (see Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014).

The results, concerning the types of CS, reveal that intra CS, intra-word CS, abbreviations and expressions are frequently found in the middle of the post, while inter CS, tag-switching, hashtags and combined types of CS typically appear at the end of the post (see

the summarised table 16 above). The category of multiple occurrences of codeswitches is also very common in the middle of the post with two or more codeswitches (see chapter 4.2.9 Multiple occurrences of codeswitches). The most preferred combination of types of CS is here intra CS and intra CS, which explains its positioning. It may not come as a surprise that the category of hashtags occurs at the end of a post, because one would assume that due to its format. But it is fascinating to see that tag-switching, inter CS and combined types of CS exist at the end of a post. Tag-switching may appear at the end of a post, because the majority of these codeswitches are exclamations (see chapter 5.3 Types of codeswitching in *Jodel*). The majority of inter CS at the end of a post have the functions of message qualification and addressee specification, which may explain their positioning. The majority of combined types of CS at the end of a post have the functions of message qualification, personalisation and showing expertise, which does not, however, explain its positioning.

The results, concerning the functions of CS, therefore also show that there is most functional variation in CS in the middle of the post, except for the cases of CS that have the functions of personalisation, switching fixed phrases, interjections and joke-telling, which typically appear at the end of the post (see table 14 in chapter 4.3 Functions of codeswitching in *Jodel*). CS at the end of a post has the function of personalisation, because it mainly consists of hashtags and tag-switching. The same applies to interjections, which besides that also consist of curse words. The majority of the curse words in my data occur at the end of a post and since I categorised them as interjections, just like Koskilahti (2012: 53–57), it explains the positioning of that function (see chapter 4.2.2 Intrasentential codeswitching). CS at the end of a post has the function of switching fixed phrases, because posters tend here to end their posts by expressing thanks and forgiveness or saying farewell. It is unclear why CS at the end of a post has the function of joke-telling. It may be because the posters want to show off, attract attention and/or introduce an element of surprise (Paolillo 2011: 14–18, Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014). Just as Sophocleous and Themistocleous (2014) point out CS in CMC may be used just to add a humorous tone. The majority of the cases of CS that have the function of joke-telling at the end of a post consist of intra CS and inter CS.

5.3 Types of codeswitching in *Jodel*

The posters in the chat forum *Jodel* employ the following different types of CS: inter CS, intra CS, intra-word CS, tag-switching, hashtags, abbreviations, expressions, combined types of CS, and multiple occurrences of codeswitches (see table 16 in chapter 5.2 Positions of codeswitching in *Jodel*).

The results of the analysis reveal that intra CS occurs more frequently than the other types of CS in the chat forum *Jodel*, which conforms with previous studies regarding CS in CMC (Lindholm 2013: 21, Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 367, Paolillo 2011: 18). In my data there are as many as 697 instances of intra CS of the total of 1,172 codeswitches. Since CS dominates, as mentioned above, in the middle of the post, it explains the result regarding the high number of intra CS in *Jodel*.

The second most common type of CS in *Jodel* is inter CS, with 159 instances. This result contrasts with Siebenhaar's (2006: 499) and McClure's (2001: 164) results, where inter CS is the most frequent type of CS.

Previous studies show that intra-word CS appears, not just in language learning, but also in CMC (Lindholm 2013: 22–23, Koskilahti 2012: 38–41, Yletyinen 2004: 50–53, 102). According to my results the third most common type of CS in *Jodel* is intra-word CS, with 142 instances. Lindholm (2013: 22) points out that it is usually verbs that show word-internal CS, which is consistent with my findings. These occurrences of intra-word CS may now still be seen as CS, but in the future, they may be considered as borrowings, and be accepted in the Swedish standard reference dictionary *SAOL Svenska Akademiens ordlista* (2015) (see chapter 3.2 Materials and List of references).

Previous studies also demonstrate that abbreviations occur in CMC in particular in web chat (Herring 2002: 121, Hård af Segerstad 2002: 246), in SMS (Hård af Segerstad 2002: 254), in emails (Lee 2007: 201–202), and in instant messaging (Lee 2007: 201–202), which is consistent with my findings. There are 82 instances of abbreviations in my data. Hård af Segerstad (2002: 148–152) noticed, as previously mentioned, three different types of abbreviations in her data, but only acronyms (abbreviations made up from the first

letters in a phrase/word) occur in my data (see chapter 2.4 Codeswitching in computer-mediated communication). In my data there are two cases of abbreviations that are exactly the same as in Hård af Segerstad's (2002: 149) data: *ya* 'you' and *lol* 'laughing out loud'. Besides that, I also discovered two cases of abbreviations that are exactly the same as in Lee's (2007: 202) survey: *btw* 'by the way' and *bf* 'boyfriend'.

According to previous studies multilinguals codeswitch hashtags in CMC (Lee 2017: 51–52, Jurgens et al. 2014: 51–60), which agrees with my results. There are 58 occurrences of hashtags in my data. In my data there are only cases where posters wrote a post in one language (in this case Swedish), and then included a hashtag in a second language (in this case English), which conforms with results from previous studies in CMC (Jurgens et al. 2014). There are no instances where CS occurs within a hashtag (see Lee 2017: 51–52). The majority of the hashtags in my data serve as an annotation about the poster's feelings or comments on the content of a post, which agrees with the results of Jurgens et al. (2014: 59).

In 17 instances we find combinations of different types of CS within the same codeswitched element. It is interesting to see that 16 of these codeswitches are a combination of the category of abbreviations with another type of CS. The most preferred combination of combined types of CS is here inter CS and abbreviations. There are also 147 posts that include multiple occurrences of codeswitches (see table 12 and 13 in chapter 4.2.9 Multiple occurrences of codeswitches). The most typical combinations of types of CS in these posts are intra CS with intra CS, intra CS with intra-word CS and intra CS with inter CS. It may not come as a surprise that intra CS dominates in this category, since it is the most frequent type of CS in *Jodel*.

The results of previous studies of CS demonstrate that tag-switching is not as common as the other types of CS and that is consistent with my findings, where the most unpopular types of CS in *Jodel* are tag-switching and expressions (see Yletyinen 2004: 47–48, 103, Lindholm 2013: 20). In my data there are only 10 instances of tag-switching and 7 instances of expressions. Previous studies show that tag-switches take the format of fillers, tags, idiomatic expressions, exclamations or onomatopoeic tags (Poplack 1980: 605, Lindholm 2013: 20). In my study tag-switches take the format of exclamations and onomatopoeic tags, the same as in Lindholm's (2013: 20) study, for instance *hurray* and

whoop, but I also found tags and fillers, such as *alright* and *win win*, which is consistent with Poplack's (1980: 596) results. However, in Poplack's (1980: 596) survey tag-switches also take the format of idiomatic expressions, which do not occur in my findings. Poplack (1980: 596) also categorised curse words as tag-switching, but I categorised them into other types of CS depending on their format (see examples in chapter 4.2.2 Intrasentential codeswitching). There are only 7 instances of CS in the category of expressions, and most of these occurrences consist of slang words. According to Montes-Alcalá (2001: 196) switches in written text do not take place in the same spontaneous way as in oral discourse, since the person has more time to think over what he or she is going to say. It might therefore be that tag-switching and expressions are more common in spoken communication than in written discourse.

Through a variety of historical, political, economic, social and cultural processes, English has acquired a unique role and status in Finland (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 339). The high number of instances of intra CS in the chat forum *Jodel* may therefore be due to the impact that the English language has today in our society. We are surrounded by the English language in our daily life, for example media (films, series, music and apps), print media (youth magazines, commercials, job announcements and trade names), social media, and education (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 339). It is for that reason not surprising that people codeswitch single words or short phrases within a sentence or in this case a written post. The high number of CS in the middle of the post and the high number of instances of intra CS therefore suggest that the English language is not used in *Jodel* for shock value, but rather that the use of English in CS is a natural way of writing, interacting and communicating (see Leppänen 2007: 167, Auer and Eastman 2010, Halim and Maros 2014: 133). The low occurrence of some types of CS may be due to the format of the posts, i.e. just a few words or one sentence or two sentences, or due to the absence of punctuation.

Previous studies have shown that the most common codeswitched elements are single words and short phrases (Thomason 2001: 136). However, in Poplack's (1980: 602–603) study full sentences are the most frequently switched constituent. My findings reveal, on the contrary, that there is a strong preference for single words rather than short phrases, as we see in the summarised table 17. There are as many as 680 instances of codeswitched single words and 492 occurrences of codeswitched short phrases in my data. One factor

that may play a role here is the format of the posts. If the posts had been longer, the number of short phrases could have been higher.

Table 17: Types of codeswitching according to structure

Types	Structure		Total
	<i>Phrase</i>	<i>Word</i>	
<i>Inter CS</i>	115	44	159
<i>Intra CS</i>	260	437	697
<i>Intra-word CS</i>	3	139	142
<i>Tag-switching</i>	5	5	10
<i>Hashtags</i>	41	17	58
<i>Abbreviations</i>	50	32	82
<i>Expressions</i>	1	6	7
<i>Combined types of CS</i>	17	0	17
Total	492	680	1,172

As we see in the summarised table 17, posters in *Jodel* prefer short phrases with inter CS, abbreviations, hashtags and combined types of CS, while they select single words in intra CS, intra-word CS and expressions. Interestingly, single words and short phrases are codeswitched equally often in the category of tag-switching.

5.4 Functions of codeswitching in *Jodel*

As already stated, I used a taxonomy based on Grosjean's (1982), Gumperz's (1982) and Androutsopoulos's (2013) classifications of the functions of CS, when analysing the functions of the codeswitched elements in *Jodel* (see table 1 in chapter 2.3 Functions of codeswitching). I categorised the codeswitches, as previously mentioned, according to all possible functions of CS and not just the main ones (see Lee 2017: 50). The posters in the chat forum *Jodel* employ the following functions of CS: addressee specification, quotation, personalisation, message qualification, reiteration, switching fixed phrases, interjections, linguistic need, topic, showing expertise, raising status, joke-telling, and distinguishing between facts and opinion (see table 14 and 15 in chapter 4.3 Functions of

codeswitching in *Jodel*). This result agrees with previous studies regarding the functions of CS in CMC (Siebenhaar 2006: 500, 502, van Gass 2008: 439, Paolillo 2011: 14–18, Fung and Carter 2007: 349, 352, 356, Androutsopoulos 2006: 531, 533–534, Koskilahti 2012: 53–57, Lotherington and Xu 2004: 323, Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014, Leppänen 2007: 166, Lee 2007, Halim and Maros 2014: 129–132).

The results reveal that message qualification and topic are the most common functions of CS in the chat forum *Jodel* (see table 14 and 15 in chapter 4.3 Functions of codeswitching in *Jodel*). In my data there are as many as 1,166 instances of message qualification and 508 instances of topic. The results of Koskilahti's (2012: 53–57) and Halim's and Maros's (2014: 130) study show that CS, in discussion forums and in Facebook interactions, functions as message qualification, which is, as we see, consistent with my findings. Koskilahti's (2012: 62) results also reveal that the function of message qualification dominates in formal discussion forums, which, on the other hand, contradict my findings, since *Jodel* is an informal chat forum. It may seem quite natural that the functions of message qualification and topic are the most preferred functions of CS in the chat forum *Jodel*, since CS occurs most frequently in the middle of the post and as intra CS. The function of message qualification is the largest function of CS in *Jodel*, because there is a huge internal variation within this function. Posters codeswitch here to qualify or clarify what has been said, to amplify or emphasise a point, to attract attention, to express thoughts, feelings, informality, intimacy, familiarity and solidarity, to introduce an element of surprise and/or to add a humorous tone, etc. (see Grosjean 1982: 152–154, Paolillo 2011: 14–18, Fung and Carter 2007: 352, 356, Lotherington and Xu 2004: 323, Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014, McClure 2001: 183–184, Lee 2007: 201, Halim and Maros 2014: 130–131). This function is also used, for example, when a topic is introduced in one language and commented on or further qualified in another language (Romaine 1989: 149). This explains why the function of message qualification is the most dominant function of CS in *Jodel*. Posters in *Jodel* also codeswitch due to topic, especially when talking about, for example, human relations, health, sports, computer programs and apps, studies and student life, feminism, animals, food, music and films.

Other typical functions of CS in *Jodel* are changing the role of the speaker, such as raising one's status, with 310 instances, and addressee specification, with 296 instances. Posters in *Jodel* raise their status by CS abbreviations, curse words, certain terms connected with,

for example, computer programs and apps, expressions, tag-switches, and some specific hashtags. Previous studies of the functions of CS show that CS is used in CMC to specify the addressee, which agrees, as we see, with my results (Siebenhaar 2006: 500, van Gass 2008: 439, Androutsopoulos 2006: 531, 533–534, Halim and Maros 2014: 130). Interestingly, the function of addressee specification does not appear in Koskilahti's (2012: 56) study, which contradicts my findings.

Previous studies of the functions of CS have found that CS is used in CMC as direct quotations or reported speech (van Gass 2008: 439, Androutsopoulos 2006: 531, 533–534, Koskilahti 2012: 53–57, Halim and Maros 2014: 129), and in greetings and salutations (Siebenhaar 2006: 500, 502, Paolillo 2011: 14–18, Androutsopoulos 2006: 531, 533–534, McClure 2001: 186), but the functions of quotation and switching fixed phrases are, on the contrary, rare in *Jodel*. In my data there are only 39 instances of quotation and 25 instances of switching fixed phrases. My findings, regarding the function of switching fixed phrases, are in that sense similar to van Gass's (2008: 438) results, which show that CS is not used in greetings and farewells. I categorised, not just greetings, farewells and wishes, as the function of switching fixed phrases, but also words of thanks and forgiveness (see Androutsopoulos 2006: 531, 533–534). Koskilahti (2012: 53–57) did, on the other hand, categorise greetings as interjections. It may be that the functions of quotation and switching fixed phrases are more common in discussion forums which are not anonymous. It may also be that the function of switching fixed phrases is more preferred in spoken communication than in written discourse.

Another function of CS in CMC is reiteration (Androutsopoulos 2006: 531, 533–534, Halim and Maros 2014: 130). The function of reiteration is the rarest function of CS in the chat forum *Jodel* (see table 14 and 15 in chapter 4.3 Functions of codeswitching in *Jodel*). According to Koskilahti's (2012: 56) findings, CS does not have the function of reiteration and there is only one instance of reiteration in my data. Interestingly, the function of reiteration does occur in Halim's and Maros's (2014: 130) survey. The results regarding this function may look different if I had collected posts from a complete discussion thread with several posters. It may also be that the function of reiteration is used more in discussion forums which are not anonymous.

In my data there were, as previously mentioned, some cases which might have the functions of conveying agreement, conveying conflict and excluding, but I can only speculate if a poster actually codeswitched to show agreement, annoyance, anger or wanted to exclude (or include) someone. But a pattern can still be recognised, where abbreviations, expressions, hashtags, and codeswitches regarding certain terms connected with, for example, computer programs and apps, may have the function of excluding, as well as including.

The results of my study show that the functions of addressee specification, quotation, message qualification, reiteration, switching fixed phrases, interjections, linguistic need, topic, showing expertise, raising status, joke-telling, and distinguishing between facts and opinion are frequently found as intra CS (see table 15 in chapter 4.3 Functions of codeswitching in *Jodel*). This may not come as a surprise, since intra CS is, as already stated, the largest type of CS in *Jodel*, and there is for that reason a huge variation regarding the functions within this type of CS.

The function of personalisation is used with abbreviations (see table 15 in chapter 4.3 Functions of codeswitching in *Jodel*). One possible motivation for using abbreviations for personalisation is, not just to save time, effort and space, but also to mark, emphasise and show identity and closeness, express solidarity, and indicate familiarity and intimacy (Koskilahti 2012: 53, Hård af Segerstad 2002: 149, 233, Lotherington and Xu 2004: 323, Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014, Lee 2007: 201, McClure 2001: 188, Fung and Carter 2007: 349). It is, as Koskilahti (2012: 53) emphasises, a stylistic function, where CS is used to achieve a certain style and mark group belonging (see Hård af Segerstad 2002: 149, 233). According to Koskilahti's (2012: 62) results, the function of personalisation dominates in informal discussion forums, which is consistent with my results.

As previously mentioned, the results reveal that message qualification is the most common function of CS in *Jodel* and therefore all types of CS frequently have this type of function (see table 15 in chapter 4.3 Functions of codeswitching in *Jodel*). This result is expected, since the function of message qualification is the most dominant function of CS in *Jodel*, and because there is so much internal variation within this function (see the paragraphs above). Tag-switching, abbreviations and expressions also have several other

functions with the same numbers. Tag-switching is equally often used for message qualification, personalisation and interjections. Abbreviations and expressions occur equally often in the functions of message qualification, personalisation, raising status and showing expertise.

Inter CS frequently has, except for the function of message qualification, the function of addressee specification, which is consistent with Sienbenhaar's (2006: 499) results. It is interesting that inter CS is very common at the end of a post and still has the function of addressee specification, because one would assume that the function of addressee specification appears at the beginning of a post. Intra CS and intra-word CS frequently also have the function of topic, which one would expect, since these types of CS are very common in the middle of the post, and the function of topic is the second largest function of CS in *Jodel*. The category of hashtags has, except for the function of message qualification, the function of personalisation, since posters with hashtags show, mark and emphasise group identity and group belonging (Jurgens et al. 2014: 52). Hashtags frequently occur, as previously stated, at the end of a post, which is expected and natural due to its format. The majority of the hashtags in my data serve as an annotation about the poster's feelings or comments on the content of a post (Jurgens et al. 2014: 53), which also explains its positioning. The category of combined types of CS also has the functions of personalisation and showing expertise. This is because the majority of these codeswitches are a combination of the category of abbreviations with another type of CS. Abbreviations function, as previously mentioned, as an identity marker, a marker of closeness, familiarity and intimacy, an expression of solidarity and group belonging, and I therefore categorised them as having the function of personalisation (see Koskilahti 2012: 53, Hård af Segerstad 2002: 149, 233, Lotherington and Xu 2004: 323, Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014, McClure 2001: 188, Fung and Carter 2007: 349, Lee 2007: 201). Abbreviations can be assumed to have the function of showing expertise, because not all posters may know their actual meaning (see Leppänen 2007: 166). It is unclear why the majority of the category of combined types of CS dominates at the end of a post.

Tag-switching frequently appears, as already stated, in the functions of message qualification, personalisation and interjections, which is expected and assumed. I categorised, just like previous studies, tag-switching as interjections (Poplack 1980: 596, 605, Lindholm 2013: 20). The majority of the tag-switches in my data are exclamations

and onomatopoeic tags, which may also explain why tag-switching is very common at the end of a post and has the functions of message qualification and interjections (see Lindholm 2013: 20). Tag-switching has the function of personalisation, because posters mark, show and emphasise, just like with hashtags and abbreviations, group belonging, identity, solidarity and closeness with tags, such as *whoop* and *ohoy*. Abbreviations and expressions most commonly have the functions of message qualification, personalisation, raising status and showing expertise, which is natural. Abbreviations and expressions are used to mark and emphasise identity, closeness, solidarity and belonging, and hence the function of personalisation. They are used to raising status and, in that sense, to show off and/or impress other posters. They are also used to showing expertise, since not all posters may know their actual meaning (see Leppänen 2007: 166). Abbreviations and expressions are, as already stated, preferred in the middle of the post.

Because of the format of the posts and the anonymity of the posters in *Jodel*, it was not possible to categorise the codeswitches according to the functions of triggering, habit and “the most available word”. I could for that reason neither categorise the codeswitches according to the function of linguistic need in the sense that a poster lacks the facility in one language and therefore uses CS (see Grosjean 1982: 149–150, 152). However, previous studies of CS have shown that CS is not employed extensively to fill out gaps in the vocabulary (Yletyinen 2004: 72, 98). Instead, I categorised the codeswitches into the function of linguistic need if there were no Swedish equivalents or appropriate translations or if it was just better expressed in English than in Swedish (see Grosjean 1982: 150, McClure 2001: 180–182, Halim and Maros 2014: 131–132). Some of these codeswitched words and phrases may in the future receive Swedish equivalents or appropriate translations or be accepted as borrowings in the Swedish standard reference dictionary *SAOL Svenska Akademiens ordlista* (2015), for example *catfisher*, *sugar daddy*, *ghosting*, *cringe*, *victim blaming*, *fat-shaming* and *lap dance* (see chapter 3.3 Methods).

In some cases, it is quite unclear why people codeswitch in the chat forum *Jodel* and what kinds of further functions the codeswitches actually have. All the codeswitched elements in *Jodel* may or may not, for example, be used to attract attention, to show off, to express thoughts, feelings, solidarity and informality, to show, mark and emphasise group belonging, identity and closeness, to indicate familiarity and intimacy, to introduce an

element of surprise and/or to add a humorous tone, and so on (Paolillo 2011: 14–18, Fung and Carter 2007: 349, 352, 356, Sophocleous and Themistocleous 2014, Koskilahti 2012: 53, Lotherington and Xu 2004: 323, McClure 2001: 188, Hård af Segerstad 2002: 149, 233, Lee 2007: 201, Halim and Maros 2014: 130–131, Jurgens et al. 2014: 52). Some of the codeswitches may also function as a style marker, such as abbreviations, hashtags, expressions, tag-switches, etc. (see Koskilahti 2012: 53). Posters may also codeswitch in *Jodel* because it is their natural way of interacting and communicating (see Leppänen 2007: 167, Auer and Eastman 2010, Halim and Maros 2014: 133).

6 Conclusion

Previous studies of CS have focused their attention on different aspects of it: grammatical/syntactic or discourse/pragmatic (Romaine 1989: 111). In my study I combined both the grammatical and the pragmatic perspective to get a broader view of written online CS. This is one of the strengths with my survey. By examining both the pragmatic and the grammatical aspects of written CS in CMC, instead of just one aspect, the results may demonstrate most interesting and relevant results.

The findings of this study reveal that there actually are connections between the positions, types and functions of CS in the chat forum *Jodel*. The results show that CS occurs frequently in the middle of the post and that intra CS is the most common type of CS, while message qualification and topic are the most dominant functions of CS in *Jodel*. Intra CS, intra-word CS, abbreviations and expressions are typical in the middle of the post, while inter CS, tag-switching, hashtags and combined types of CS appear at the end of the post. The majority of the functions of CS are also very common in the middle of the post, except for the cases of CS that have the functions of personalisation, switching fixed phrases, interjections and joke-telling, which occur at the end of the post. All types of CS in *Jodel* frequently have the function of message qualification and all functions of CS in *Jodel* are common in intra CS, except for the function of personalisation, which is used with abbreviations.

The findings suggest that the English language is not used in the chat forum *Jodel* for shock value, but the use of English in CS is a natural way of writing and interacting in

this context. This is an important result, because it contributes to new insights regarding the function and the use of languages, but also to understanding language mixing and language change in general. It also offers insights to further studies in pragmatics, sociolinguistics and discourse linguistics.

One can speculate why the use of English in CS is such a natural part of writing and communicating in the chat forum *Jodel*. One reason might be the recent spread of English in Finland and its changing role and significance (Leppänen 2007: 149). The important role of English in Finland might be a result of a number of cultural, educational and social processes of change (Leppänen 2007). It is a fact that nowadays practically all Finnish young people have learnt English at school at some point during their basic education, and that practically all of them who have access to TV, films, series or popular music cannot help being exposed to English on a daily basis (Leppänen 2007: 150). As a result, English is now an everyday resource that writers can use alongside with, instead of, or mixed with Finnish or Swedish for particular purposes (Leppänen 2007: 150), which is, as we see, consistent with my findings. In Leppänen's (2007: 167) study, about youth language in media contexts, the young Finns take up English as one communicative resource in different ways, and design their uses of it, along with the varied Finnish, and in this case Swedish, resources at their disposal, in ways that allow them to express and negotiate their meanings and identities and a sense of belonging. It is not just the influence from the Internet, media, social media, print media, and our English education (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 339, Leppänen 2007: 150), which might be reasons for why the use of English in CS is such a natural part of writing, but also the fact that English is usually our go-to language when it comes to, for example, current IT, research, apps, films, music, and so on.

Other reasons for why the use of English in CS is such a natural part of writing and interacting might be due to historical change, language environment and the surroundings of the *Jodel* community. It might be that we are today more used to using English than before. English was, for instance, already common amongst the Finnish population in Leppänen's (2007) and Leppänen's and Nikula's (2007) study and therefore one assumes that it is even more common nowadays. The Swedish language and the English language are also syntactically similar and for that reason it might be easier and more natural to codeswitch between these languages. Since the app *Jodel* is mostly used by university

students one could also speculate whether that has an influence or not when it comes to the use of English in CS, especially regarding the absence of spelling errors in the posts (see chapter 3.2 Materials). The chat forum *Jodel* is, as previously stated, an anonymous public community and therefore the barriers for the use of English in CS might be lower, because of the relaxed and informal surroundings. As Leppänen (2007: 166) points out, today's Finland is connected with the wider world and therefore it is obvious and inevitable that the English language is a natural part of our communication, interaction and daily life. We are, as we already know, surrounded by it in almost every aspect of our lives.

Like in all research there are limitations in the present study. Because I only chose to examine 1,000 posts from one online chat forum and with only two languages, it is not possible to generalise my results to all online chat forums. The results of my study might have been different if I had collected more data and data from different kinds of online chat forums. Frequencies are impossible to give regarding how common CS is in *Jodel*, because I only collected posts containing both Swedish and English, and the posts also disappeared after a short period of time (see chapter 3.1 The chat forum *Jodel* and chapter 3.2 Materials). But during my collection periods I had no problem collecting posts with CS, which show that CS is not rare at all in *Jodel* (see chapter 5.1 General observations). It is possible that I missed some posts when collecting my data and it may affect my results. My observations regarding the positions, types and functions of CS are, as previously mentioned, based on my interpretations and therefore involve an inevitable degree of subjectivity. Since the app *Jodel* is anonymous, I cannot draw any conclusions on social factors and other variables and their relevance in written CS in CMC.

It would be interesting to conduct continued and in-depth research on written online CS, and specially to conduct a similar survey with a larger material to achieve greater validity, where one also focuses on different kinds of variables, such as social background, upbringing, age, ethnicity, sex, education and occupation. Another suggestion for further research is to conduct cross-media and cross-mode research. The results may be most interesting if one compared different kinds of media and modes of CMC with each other. A third suggestion for continued research is to examine and compare more than two languages with each other. In my data I noticed posts where people codeswitched between, not just Swedish and English, but also Finnish, and it would be interesting to

Erica Björkvik

investigate the relationship between these three languages further. Another example for further research is to examine CS via multimedia CMC with audio, video and pictures, since most CMC used today is still text-based (see Herring 2007, Hård af Segerstad 2002: 51, Herring 2001: 612). As Androutsopoulos (2013: 688) emphasises, a lot remains to be done in documenting different sites and types of CS online and systematic comparisons between modes, language and settings are still needed.

But even though my material is relatively small, I still see this study as a contribution to the continued research on CS. This study and its research results may form the basis for continued research on written CS and written online CS in CMC.

Svensk sammanfattning – Swedish summary

Kodväxling i chattforumet *Jodel*

Inledning

Majoriteten av tidigare studier i kodväxling har primärt fokuserat på muntlig produktion, medan forskning kring skriftlig kodväxling fortfarande är i ett tidigt skede (Montes-Alcalá 2001). Det har också forskats mindre i kodväxling online än inom andra lingvistiska processer i datorförmedlad kommunikation (Androutsopoulos 2013). Jag bidrar till att fylla denna forskningslucka genom att utföra en studie om skriftliga data för att få reda på mer om förhållandet mellan det engelska och det svenska språket i en onlinediskurs. Syftet med min avhandling är att studera hur och varför människor kodväxlar i skriftlig diskurs i en specifik typ av datorförmedlad kommunikation, nämligen onlinechattforumet *Jodel*. Syftet med min avhandling kan sammanfattas i två huvudsakliga forskningsfrågor:

- Hur kodväxlar människor i skriftlig diskurs i chattforumet *Jodel*? Finns det några specifika strukturella typer av kodväxling?
- Finns det några specifika funktioner som kodväxling har i chattforumet *Jodel*?

Teoretiska utgångspunkter

Det finns fyra huvudtyper av kodväxling: intersententiell kodväxling, intrasententiell kodväxling, taggväxling (eng. tag-switching) och intraordväxling (eng. intra-word switching) (McArthur och McArthur 1992). Dessa typer kan ha många olika funktioner och i denna studie utgår jag ifrån Grosjeans (1982), Gumperz (1982) och Androutsopoulos (2013) klassifikationer av kodväxlingsfunktioner i analysen av mina data. Dessa kodväxlingsfunktioner är: språkval som ett sätt att markera vem ett yttrande är avsett för, citat, personifiering, intensifiering av budskapet, repetition, att förmedla överenskommelse och konflikt, fasta fraser, interjektioner, lingvistiskt behov, ”det mest tillgängliga ordet”, ämne, vana, triggande, exkludering, byte av talarens roll för att visa expertis och höja ens status, skämt och att särskilja mellan fakta och åsikt.

Kodväxling i datorförmedlad kommunikation har undersökts i bland annat bloggar, webbchattar, e-post, sändlistor, SMS, diskussionsforum, spelevenemang, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram och pratshower. I tidigare studier påvisas att kodväxling är frekventare i informell kontext än i formell kontext (Hård af Segerstad 2002, Herring 2002, Koskilahti 2012), och att kodväxling är vanligare i offentlig datorförmedlad kommunikation än i privat datorförmedlad kommunikation (Lee 2007). I tidigare undersökningar pekar även resultaten på att taggväxling är inte så vanligt jämfört med andra typer av kodväxling (Yletyinen 2004, Lindholm 2013). Intrasententiell kodväxling är den vanligaste typen av kodväxling (Lindholm 2013, Leppänen och Nikula 2007, Paolillo 2011). I Siebenhaars (2006) data är, å andra sidan, intersententiell kodväxling den vanligaste typen av kodväxling. Intraordväxling, hashtaggar och förkortningar förekommer också i datorförmedlad kommunikation (Lindholm 2013, Koskilahti 2012, Hård af Segerstad 2002, Herring 2002, Lee 2007/2017, Jurgens m.fl. 2014). Enligt tidigare studier är de vanligaste kodväxlade elementen enskilda ord och korta fraser (Thomason 2001).

I tidigare studier i kodväxlingsfunktionerna konstateras att kodväxling används i datorförmedlad kommunikation för att markera vem ett yttrande är avsett för, i hälsningar, önskningar och farväl, i citat och återgivande tal, för att visa grupptillhörighet och identitet, för att väcka uppmärksamhet, för att uttrycka tankar, känslor och solidaritet, som repetition, interjektioner, intensifiering av budskapet, och personifiering, för att introducera ett element av överraskning, samt för att tillfoga en skämtsam ton (Siebenhaar 2006, van Gass 2008, Androutsopoulos 2006, Paolillo 2011, Koskilahti 2012, Fung och Carter 2007, Sophocleous och Themistocleous 2014, Lotherington och Xu 2004, Halim och Maros 2014).

Material och metod

Materialet för denna studie samlades in från det offentliga och anonyma chattforumet och mobilappen *Jodel* och den svenska kanalen *SvenskaJodlare* i Åbo, Finland. Data samlades in i två omgångar mellan den 21 november 2017 och 30 december 2017 och mellan den 3 februari 2018 och 14 mars 2018. Jag samlade endast in inlägg som innehöll både svenska och engelska. Materialet för denna studie består av totalt 1 000 korta inlägg.

Det första steget av analysen var att kategorisera kodväxlingarna enligt deras position i inlägget som början, mitt och slut. Jag räknade varje sats som innehöll kodväxling som ett separat element, vilket betyder att ett inlägg och en mening kan innehålla mer än ett kodväxlande element. Efter detta delade jag in beläggen i de fyra huvudtyperna av kodväxling. Jag la även till kategorierna hashtaggar, förkortningar, uttryck, kombinerade typer av kodväxling och multipla förekomster av kodväxling. Sedan kategoriserade jag varje kodväxling som enskilda ord eller korta fraser. Efter detta analyserade jag kodväxlingsfunktionerna utgående från taxonomin baserat på Grosjeans (1982), Gumperz (1982) och Androutopoulos (2013) klassifikationer av kodväxlingsfunktioner. Jag kategoriserade kodväxlingarna enligt alla möjliga funktioner, och inte bara huvudfunktionerna.

Resultat

Resultaten från analysen visar att det förekommer 1 172 belägg för kodväxling i mina data och att det finns en stor variation kring positionerna, typerna och funktionerna av kodväxling i *Jodel*. Av de 1 172 beläggen är 181 sådana som återfinns i början av ett inlägg, 609 sådana som finns i mitten av ett inlägg, och 382 belägg sådana som förekommer i slutet av ett inlägg. Det finns 159 belägg för intersententiell kodväxling, 697 för intrasententiell kodväxling, 142 för intraordväxling, 10 för taggväxling, 58 för hashtaggar, 82 för förkortningar, 7 för uttryck och 17 för kombinerade typer av kodväxling. Majoriteten av beläggen för intrasententiell kodväxling, intraordväxling, förkortningar och uttryck förekommer i mitten av ett inlägg, medan intersententiell kodväxling, taggväxling, hashtaggar och kombinerade typer av kodväxling återfinns i slutet av ett inlägg. I mina data finns det 680 belägg för kodväxlande enskilda ord och 492 belägg för kodväxlande korta fraser. I *Jodel* kodväxlas frekvent korta fraser med intersententiell kodväxling, förkortningar, hashtaggar och kombinerade typer av kodväxling, medan enskilda ord kodväxlas med intrasententiell kodväxling, intraordväxling och uttryck. Intressant nog så kodväxlas enskilda ord och korta fraser lika ofta i taggväxling. Resultaten visar också att det existerar 147 inlägg med multipla förekomster av kodväxling och den vanligaste kombinationen av positioner är inlägg med två eller flera kodväxlingar i mitten av ett inlägg och den vanligaste kombinationen av

olika typer av kodväxling är intrasententiell kodväxling med intrasententiell kodväxling. I dessa inlägg fann jag 319 belägg för kodväxling.

Resultaten visar att följande kodväxlingsfunktioner förekommer i mina data: 296 belägg för språkval som ett sätt att markera vem ett yttrande är avsett för, 39 för citat, 239 för personifiering, 1 166 för intensifiering av budskapet, 1 för repetition, 25 för fasta fraser, 70 för interjektioner, 172 för lingvistiskt behov, 508 för ämne, 256 för att visa expertis, 310 för att höja ens status, 119 för skämt och 85 för att särskilja mellan fakta och åsikt. I mina data återfinns också funktionerna att förmedla överenskommelse och konflikt och exkludering (eller inkludering), men jag kan endast spekulera ifall *Jodlare* faktiskt kodväxlade för att visa överenskommelse, irritation, ilska eller ville exkludera (eller inkludera) någon. På grund av inläggens format och avsändarnas anonymitet var det omöjligt att kategorisera kodväxlingarna enligt funktionerna triggande, vana eller ”det mest tillgängliga ordet”. Kodväxling i mitten av ett inlägg har frekvent funktionerna språkval som ett sätt att markera vem ett yttrande är avsett för, citat, intensifiering av budskapet, repetition, lingvistiskt behov, ämne, för att visa expertis, för att höja ens status, och att särskilja mellan fakta och åsikt, medan kodväxling i slutet av ett inlägg vanligtvis har funktionerna personifiering, fasta fraser, interjektioner och skämt.

Sammanfattande diskussion

Resultaten visar att kodväxling förekommer oftast i mitten av ett inlägg, vilket är ett intressant resultat, eftersom inläggen i *Jodel* är, som tidigare angivet, korta, och man kunde därför anta att kodväxling existerar i början eller i slutet av ett inlägg. Mina resultat visar, till skillnad från Poplacks (1980) studie, att enskilda ord kodväxlas oftare än korta fraser. En faktor som kan ha haft en inverkan är formatet för inläggen. Ifall inläggen hade varit längre, kunde antalet av korta fraser ha varit högre.

Resultaten visar att intrasententiell kodväxling förekommer oftare än de andra typerna av kodväxling i *Jodel*, vilket överensstämmer med tidigare undersökningar i kodväxling i datorförmedlad kommunikation (Lindholm 2013, Leppänen och Nikula 2007, Paolillo 2011). Eftersom kodväxling förekommer, som tidigare nämnt, frekvent i mitten av ett inlägg förklarar det detta resultat. Resultaten från tidigare studier visar att taggväxling är

inte så vanligt som de andra typerna av kodväxling och det överensstämmer med mina resultat, där de ovanligaste typerna av kodväxling är taggväxling och uttryck (Yletyinen 2004, Lindholm 2013). Kodväxling i skriftlig text är inte lika spontan som i muntlig diskurs och därför kan det vara att taggväxling och uttryck är vanligare i muntlig kommunikation än i skriftlig diskurs (Montes-Alcalá 2001).

Intensifiering av budskapet och ämne är de vanligaste kodväxlingsfunktionerna i *Jodel*. Koskilahtis (2012) och Halims och Maros (2014) resultat demonstrerar att kodväxling fungerar som intensifiering av budskapet, vilket, som vi kan se, överensstämmer med mina resultat. Det kan verka ganska naturligt att dessa är de vanligaste funktionerna, eftersom kodväxling förekommer frekvent i mitten av ett inlägg och som intrasententiell kodväxling. Intensifiering av budskapet är den största kodväxlingsfunktionen, eftersom det finns en stor variation inom denna funktion. Det kodväxlas här för att kvalificera eller klargöra vad som har sagts, för att förstärka och betona en poäng, för att väcka uppmärksamhet, för att uttrycka tankar, känslor, informalitet, förtrogenhet och solidaritet, för att introducera ett element av överraskning och/eller för att tillfoga en skämtsam ton (Grosjean 1982, Paolillo 2011, Fung och Carter 2007, Lotherington och Xu 2004, Sophocleous och Themistocleous 2014, McClure 2001, Lee 2007, Halim och Maros 2014). I tidigare studier konstateras att kodväxling används i datorförmedlad kommunikation som citat och i hälsningar (van Gass 2008, Koskilahti 2012, Halim och Maros 2014, Siebenhaar 2006, Paolillo 2011, Androutsopoulos 2006), men citat och fasta fraser är, å andra sidan, ovanliga i *Jodel*. Det kan vara att dessa funktioner är vanligare i diskussionsforum som inte är anonyma. Den sällsyntaste kodväxlingsfunktionen i *Jodel* är repetition, vilket överensstämmer med tidigare undersökningar (Koskilahti 2012). Resultaten kring denna funktion kunde ha sett annorlunda ut ifall jag hade samlat in inlägg från en enhetlig diskussionstråd med flera avsändare. Det kan också vara att repetition används mer i diskussionsforum som inte är anonyma.

Alla funktioner som jag hittat i mitt material återfinns oftast med intrasententiell kodväxling, förutom funktionen personifiering som förekommer med förkortningar. Detta kommer inte som någon överraskning, eftersom intrasententiell kodväxling är, som det redan konstaterats, den största typen av kodväxling i *Jodel* och det finns därför en stor variation kring funktionerna inom denna typ av kodväxling. Personifiering återfinns med förkortningar, eftersom man med dem markerar, visar och uttrycker identitet, närhet,

gruppstillhörighet och solidaritet (Koskilahti 2012, Hård af Segerstad 2002, Lotherington och Xu 2004, Sophocleous och Themistocleous 2014, Fung och Carter 2007, McClure 2001). Alla typer av kodväxling förekommer frekvent med intensifiering av budskapet, eftersom det är den dominantaste kodväxlingsfunktionen i *Jodel* och för att det finns mycket variation inom denna funktion. Taggväxling, förkortningar och uttryck har också flera andra funktioner med exakt samma siffror som intensifiering av budskapet. Taggväxling används lika ofta med intensifiering av budskapet, personifiering och interjektioner. Förkortningar och uttryck förekommer lika ofta med funktionerna intensifiering av budskapet, personifiering, för att visa expertis och höja ens status.

Resultaten visar att det faktiskt finns samband mellan positionerna, typerna och funktionerna av kodväxling i chattforumet *Jodel*. Resultaten tyder på att det engelska språket inte används i *Jodel* för chockvärde, utan att användningen av engelska i kodväxling är ett naturligt sätt att skriva och att integrera i denna kontext (se Leppänen 2007, Auer och Eastman 2010, Halim och Maros 2014). Detta är ett viktigt resultat, eftersom det bidrar med nya insikter vad gäller funktionen och användning av språk, men också till förståelsen av språkblandning och språkförändring i allmänhet. Det erbjuder också insikter till ytterligare studier i pragmatik, sociolingvistik och diskurslingvistik.

Även om mitt material är relativt litet så ser jag gärna denna studie som ett bidrag till den fortsatta forskningen om kodväxling. Denna studie och dess forskningsresultat kan ligga till grund för fortsatt forskning om skriftlig kodväxling och skriftlig online kodväxling i datorförmedlad kommunikation.

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