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FUNCTIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING IN POLISH AND HINDI FACEBOOK USERS' POSTS

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Abstract

In the modern era the use of English has become very widespread, the language being used more and more by non-native speakers in a variety of contexts. The objective of the paper is to explore the use of the English language as a second and as a foreign language by bilingual Polish-English and Hindi-English speakers in the medium of Computer Mediated Communication, represented in the following study by the social network context, in order to demonstrate differences in the use of the language by the two groups, stemming from the status of English in the two respective circles, the Outer and the Expanding. The particular aspects of analysis include the frequency of the use of English, the length of the English posts and, notably, the phenomenon of code-switching, its typology and the functions which the respective languages typically perform in the switched elements.

1. English as an international language

Many linguists (cf. Kachru 1992; Jenkins 2009; Seidlhofer 2011) speak about the pluricentricity of the English language when analysing the use of the language outside its original native boundaries, and there is an ongoing debate concerning who owns English today. This perception has been fully justified as regards the Outer Circle countries (Kachru 1983, 1992), i.e. countries where English has a position as the second language. However, the position of English in the countries of the Expanding Circle, where it has become an important language of international communication is not to be overlooked either, as can be gathered from the analyses of the use of English in various

types of electronic media (cf. Durham 2007; Warschauer et al. 2007, Dąbrowska 2010, 2011a, c). Admittedly, although it is not so widely known and is not used on a daily basis in the Expanding Circle, English has quietly begun to play a very important role in these countries not only as a language of communication with foreigners, or within multinational companies established across various parts of the world. It has also become the language of academia and scholarship, as a result of which those who wish to gain access to information concerning scientific developments, study abroad or simply gain a certain recognition in the scholarly world, must not only know English passively, but also use it when participating in the world of scholarship (cf. Phillipson 1992; Duszak and Okulska 2004; Graddol 2006). Thus, one does not have to be a formal student of English philology to become a fairly fluent user of this language, though obviously without that extensive background knowledge of the linguistic and cultural norms will be somewhat diminished.

2. English in CMC

A familiarity with English in the spoken medium often incurs a more frequent use of the language also in the written medium, where a good knowledge of English, particularly of the informal variety as well as the spelling norms, becomes much more essential. The latter aspect of the written medium may obviously discourage people from resorting to this variety, yet, when in a fairly safe environment, non-native users of English as an international language apply this language more readily. The electronic media, which are rather informal, or at best semi-formal in their nature (cf. Crystal 2006; Baron 2008; Dąbrowska 2011a, c, d, 2012), certainly encourage the use of English, firstly, due to this sense of safety and acceptance, and secondly, because this is a space where people interact with friends as well as strangers from other countries. This aspect is notable in the social media, such as Facebook, Google+ or Youtube, where making new friends is not too difficult, particularly when one knows English relatively well and can get one's meaning across fairly easily, for English has by some taciturn agreement become one of the markers of Computer Mediated Discourse – a marker of the CMC community of practice, especially in some types of CMC registers (cf. Baron 2008; Seidlhofer 2006, 2011, Trousdale 2010; Dąbrowska 2011d).

3. Study data

The purpose of the following is to conduct a further analysis of the use, but more importantly the function, of the English language both in English as a second language and as a foreign language to complement that already presented in Dąbrowska (2011d, 2012). The focus is on the context of the phenomenon of language choice and code-switching, which will be implemented through examples of the use of English by Hindi and Polish users of Facebook, respectively.

Similarly as in the previous stages of the analysis, 300 text samples (different than in the previous studies), i.e. individual posts left on the Facebook walls, either in one's own or one's friends' profiles will be analysed for the purpose of this study. It will comprise a group of 150 posts written by Hindi speakers and 150 posts written by Polish Facebook users, respectively. The posts have been collected from the profiles of 10 speakers of each of the two languages (i.e. 20 altogether), however, on each wall there are also posts written by their Facebook contacts, on average 3–5 persons per analysed user, which altogether gives us between 60 to 100 post authors, i.e. between 30–50 Hindi Facebook users and 30–50 Polish Facebook users. The two core groups of post authors consist of 6 Hindi-speaking men and 4 Hindi-speaking women, and 6 Polish women and 4 Polish men, respectively. Age-wise each of the two groups covers the span between 25 and 55 years of age, which makes this brief analysis representative of the young adult and middle-aged group of speakers, all of them having gone through formal English education, be it primary and secondary as well as college schools in India or school lessons and/or university studies in the case of Poland. This is the most active, and thereby the most trend-setting group of speakers (cf. Eckert 1997), which makes them representative of the tendencies characteristic of the two cultures, and more specifically of the educated, technologically savvy young and middle-aged users of the language. The posts cover a period of time between April 2012 and, depending on how active one is as a Facebook user, the preceding weeks or months, and the study utilises all the messages put up on the walls by both the profile owners and their contacts, naturally only those written entirely or at least partly in English.

An initial survey of the samples of the two respondent groups immediately highlights a basic difference between the two groups, i.e. between the two circles, the Outer and the Expanding ones, that is the one of the frequency of use. Both groups of Facebook users write their posts in order to stay in touch with their friends and acquaintances, who are primarily persons belonging to the two respective cultures, as the scanning of their contact lists demonstrates. In the modern world, however, having foreign contacts, especially in the age group indicated above, is a matter of fact (very often these friends are people known through the CMC medium, and sometimes only through that medium). This is one of the reasons why Facebook users sometimes choose to write their posts in a foreign language, but although many of them are familiar with various languages, e.g. German, Italian, Spanish, Urdu, Marathi, etc. they do not, or very seldom, put up posts in those languages, choosing to write in English instead. However, an examination of the language of the posts and the nationality of the authors of the posts responding to the wall messages and commenting on these demonstrates that more often than not the respondents are not foreigners, but Indians and Poles, respectively, yet, not infrequently they too choose to comment in English rather than Hindi or Polish, as would be most natural. In fact, I specifically, as indicated above, excluded from the present analysis posts which are written for the sake of or are motivated by posts authored by non-Indian or non-Polish users, respectively, in which case the use of English would be the most natural, if not the only, choice. The study, therefore, focuses on posts from among

the selected 300 which were written completely or partly in English and directed towards users of the same nationality as the profile owners themselves. In this way the extent to which the English language features there reflects the degree of penetration of English into the English as a second and as a foreign language context.

4. Form and function of posts in English in the two study groups

Scanning the posts chosen for analysis demonstrated that only 36 out of the 150 posts (24%) written by the Polish users were actually written entirely in English, e.g. *food for thought; 100% agree; I am lady in red (skirt) today ;); It's been a busy day!!! Missed the beginning ; -); you can at least enjoy the end ;); Lots of fun !!! Hard to believe they are real!; Magnificent Streep; Happy New Year everyone!!!; cute as cute could be!; FUNNY :)))*; *The Artist - great, great film !!!; Great! Thank you; Yes, you have to live with it :)))*; *I'm genuine, elegant, peaceful and lovely :) How about you?*, whereas as many as 95 out of the 150 posts put up by the Indian users (63%) (thus nearly 3 times as many as the Poles) were written entirely in English, e.g. *Thanks big brother!! Hope u are doing great!; Hi X, just saw your message. Will cal you soon; Happy b'day X!! how r u doing? That's a honor, little buddy! :); Hey man, from where are you getting all these words? Awesome.. By the way, was I your colleague?; True. But with every new haircut, there is a new you!; But seriously, you girls should look pretty all the time..... :P; Let me know. We can all buy tickets together!; ...And its a BEACH night with my crazy wacked out gang!!!!!! Simply Awesome!! ♥♥♥; Hahahahahaha!!!! Miss u A!!!! Mwah! :-), etc.¹ As the present analysis focuses on the phenomenon of code-switching, however, the following comments should merely serve as an illustration of the extent of English language use on Facebook.²*

These figures, on the one hand, show that English is frequently chosen as a language of Facebook posts, even when used between non-native users of it, but on the other, there is an obvious difference in frequency between the users of English as a second and as a foreign language. What is also worth pointing out at this stage is the length of the posts written in English. In the case of the Polish users of English the longest recorded amounted to 25 words (names and titles were treated as one word), as in: *First had only 60, but then looked some up in Wikipedia - Pockies are LU chocolate sticks, tripe I ate under a different name, ...* but the majority are much shorter, e.g. *It's been a busy day!!! Missed the beginning ; -); Great cover of the song which got stuck in my head.); Raise with me a toast to JRR Tolkien on his 120th anniversary of birth; Lots of fun !!! Hard to believe they are real!*. It may also be observed that the English chunks were on the whole short and consisted of only one sentence, e.g. *Happy Easter!; cat-yoga ; -); I woke up with this song ;); very funny....:P; it's been*

¹ All the examples cited in the text retain their original form, except for the substitution of the names of any persons or places with the letter 'X' in order to avoid any danger of user identification by the readers.

² For an analysis of the use of English in all-English messages written by Hindi Facebook users see Dąbrowska 2012.

too long! :); food for thought; 100% agree; I am lady in red (skirt) today ;); FUNNY :)); can't wait for it !; only some contained two clauses, e.g. First had only 60, but then looked some up in Wikipedia - Pockies are LU chocolate sticks, tripe I ate under a different name...; A preview clip from the movie 'Living in a Big Way' 1947 - starring Gene Kelly - just released on DVD from Warner Bros Archives; It's been a busy day!!! Missed the beginning;-); amazing! my absolute number 1!! ♥♥♥; Finally home:) What a relief...; I'm genuine, elegant, peaceful and lovely :) How about you.

In the case of the posts produced in English by the Indian respondents the longest one contained 39 vocabulary items, followed by a post of 38 words, i.e. *Good to hear from u ...How n where r u now-a-days? Yes I will be in X during that timewill arrange his interaction with the Royal X Army...even u must keep X on ur itenary for XXX...; My friend has been on TV now many many times, it like congratulating priyanka chopra for every shot she takes, so now instead of congratulating him, I just check and make sure his white socks are not showing.* It can also be seen that the chunks may be much more elaborate, e.g. the final example above consists of as many as six sentences, similarly as *Hi X, would have loved to be there, unfortunately won't be back in time. So sorry to have to miss it. See you when I'm back. Best of luck!* Some of them were a sequence of simple clauses, e.g. *Today's Success & Today' Defeat are just another Steps in the Long Journey of Life.... So Why Stress and Create a Strife !!... Always Be Happy, Be Alive !!!!!*, and some contained subordinate clauses, e.g. *But it did feel soooo good. There was a time I used to get a haircut every month, just because it felt so good. Now, I rarely do it, but it still feels equally good.* An additional observation that might be made with regard to the two groups of users writing their posts in English is that it somehow looks and sounds normal and acceptable to phrase their comments in English in the case of the Indian users, as these on the whole seem to express just simple unmarked observations, and the sequence of comments written in English by consecutive post authors confirms it is a usual method of communication. By contrast, some posts (27 out of 36, i.e. 75%) written by the Poles have an additional element added in the form of smileys or exclamation marks, which indicates the slightly more jocular tone of the comment and marks it from typical posts written in Polish, e.g. *amazing! my absolute number 1!! ♥♥♥; cat--yoga ;-); tru, tru :); you can at least enjoy the end ;); Now it shows that I don't feel like going to Paris ;); FUNNY :)); I'm genuine, elegant, peaceful and lovely :) How about you?.* This suggests that it is not just a mere observation, but that it carries an additional expressive value, and the author appears to wish to draw special attention to his or her words by opting for a foreign language, that is a language which often helps to stress one's emotional attitude towards something more rather effectively (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993; Baker 1997, after Gabryś 2000). The Hindi users naturally make use of such devices too, but to a considerably lesser extent (45 out of 95, i.e. 48%), e.g. *And its a BEACH night with my crazy wacked out gang!!!!!! Simply Awesome!! ♥♥♥; That's a honor, little buddy! :); But seriously, you girls should look pretty all the time..... :P* and, as can be judged from the above, without this additional function attributed to English. This will be one of the particularly important aspects to be addressed with regard to the phenomenon of code-switching described below.

5. Code-switching in the Polish and Indian posts

The strategy of code-switching as well as the use of English as opposed to the native tongues, is a particularly interesting aspect to study in the context of both bilingualism and bilinguality (cf. Hamers, Blanc 1989; Milroy, Muysken 1995; Romaine 1995, Bullock, Toribio 2012), as it adds information concerning one's fluency in the second/foreign language and one's preference regarding language choice when writing about certain subjects. It also contributes to an investigation of language attitudes, as one's choice of one or the other language will indirectly indicate one's feelings about them (cf. Dąbrowska 2011b). At this stage an examination of the messages written on Facebook by members of the two cultures, as well as my personal knowledge of the people, suggests that they are all fluent speakers of English, and they write it in an idiomatic way. However, the relatively longer stretches of texts written by the Indian users might indicate that English is a more comfortable and a safer choice for them than for the Polish users, who, possibly for fear of making unwanted mistakes, may subconsciously show preference for shorter posts that are grammatically and lexically less complex and challenging in English. The Poles also choose to write in the standard (particularly British) version of English, and on the whole in a formal or semi-formal register rather than a colloquial variant, e.g. *I'm genuine, elegant, peaceful and lovely :) How about you?; you can at least enjoy the end* which means the less frequent examples of informal and colloquial English are particularly marked, and possibly used for jocular purposes, e.g. *tru, tru :); best b-day present ever!!; Thats great ! :) Can't wait!*. With only a few examples of departures from the standard spelling norms (e.g. *Wiosna comin'; tru, tru :); best b-day present ever* the Polish users of English tend to spell their English words very correctly, and, as indicated in my study of shortenings in text messages (cf. Dąbrowska 2011c), any departures from the rules are mainly of a typographic and unintentional character (e.g. *virtu, batery, thats*). This is because their presence might indicate to the recipients that the author's knowledge of English is imperfect, which is an evaluation of the users of a foreign language, contrary to the use of English as lingua franca that would rather avoid the matter (cf. Jenkins 2009; Seidlhofer 2011). On the the other hand, it is not uncommon for the Indian English users to opt for the informal/colloquial variant of English, as well as to bend the rules of spelling (in particular) and grammar freely, despite the fact that they all have gone through many years of English-medium education, contrary to the Polish users. In fact this is probably why the Indian group feel at ease when violating the rules rather as one would do with one's own native language, for indeed, as Kachru (1992) claims, they do own the language, much as they own a number of other languages they speak on a daily basis. This may be illustrated by, e.g. *yes i do love karelas but this pics in ur profile shows u r a strict veg.; That's a honor, little buddy! :); if i compose for any movies or any albums u must innograte that with ur poem i feel proud and blessed becuse ur my one of roll model and lovely bro; Mixed like sandwich fillings? :P; the two worko-holic in my life! I miss you guys the mostest!!! ♥♥♥.; sir n ma'am rock :) the essence of this place is incomplete without u two :); cheers X. n hoping there are zillions of*

moments to come, for you to enjoy d joys of togederness....happy marriage anniv :). Thus, it may be concluded that the Poles, as representatives of users of English as a foreign language, show greater care towards the correctness of English usage, as it is something which is not entirely theirs, so it has to be, metaphorically, looked after and handled with care, for it also has a symbolic value as an indication of one's good education. The users of English as a second language, on the other hand, are surrounded by this language on a daily basis and do not treat it as something precious yet at the same time distant, although, without doubt, the position of English in India when compared to the local tongues is very high and one's knowledge of the language certainly increases one's prestige (cf. Dąbrowska 2011b, d, 2012). The above observations also indirectly lead to the conclusion that Polish users of English still primarily belong to the group that uses English as foreign language and not English as a lingua franca, and thus it may be many decades before they can be treated as fully fledged members of the Expanding Circle, where linguists are beginning to locate the countries from the former Eastern Block (cf. Kachru 1992; Seidlhofer 2011). The above observations can also be corroborated by my findings concerning attitudes to English as a second and foreign language, the result of research carried out in a number of European and post-colonial countries, respectively, by means of electronic questionnaires and semantic differentials (cf. Dąbrowska 2006, 2013). It was demonstrated that users of English as a foreign language have a more positive attitude towards it than users of English as a second language (studies focusing on the attitudes towards English as a lingua franca are yet to be completed, as the field itself is only now beginning to emerge as an area for discussion). The present analysis is, therefore, yet another source of information concerning this matter.

6. Structural typology of the switches

As regards code-switching itself, a primary observation which should immediately shed some light on the differences between the two cultural groups of Facebook users is the fact that there were 20 posts out of the 150 (13% of the examples) marked with code-switching of various types recorded in the Polish-speaking group and as many as 44 posts out of the 150 (29% of the examples) in the Hindi speaking group. These numbers, much as the ones accounting for the all-English posts, demonstrate the differences in the frequencies of using English. Thus, both the actual character of the use and possibly the sense of confidence in connection with utilising a foreign as opposed to a second language between the two circles, suggests that code-switching indicates a more limited linguistic confidence on the part of the user than in the case of the all-English messages. The investigation of this phenomenon in the collected material, as indicated in the title of the paper, will focus mainly on its functional aspect, although some general comments concerning its form will also be offered for the sake of a more complete coverage of the issue. The traditional classification of code-switching, following Poplack (1980, 1981), Romaine (1986) and also Myers-Scotton (1993), divides the switches in terms of their form into extra-

inter- as well as intra-sentential switches. The investigation of the collected examples shows that all the types of switches can be identified, although the extrasentential (which some linguists disregard entirely, discussing only intra- and inter-sentential switches, e.g. Gabryś 2000) are few, i.e. *sorry, ale nie zauważyłam* ['sorry, but I didn't notice'] in the Polish material. However, as mentioned in my earlier study (cf. Dąbrowska 2011a), the status of *sorry* in Polish is not yet clear, and it may be more likely to be treated as an informal borrowing rather than a switch, although in the case of bilingual users the boundary between switches and borrowings is hard to define (cf. Dąbrowska 2011a, d). Further examples include *BTW, trzeba by ukuc jakies powiedzonko typu Better vertu*, ['one would have to coin a little phrase of the better vertu type'], and *X-VOC, slightly belated happy birthday*, though neither of the above is a prototypical switch, as in the former the typical CMC abbreviation *BTW* ['by the way'] was applied, and in the latter the name in the form of a vocative indicated the use of Polish, as English does not possess this nominal case, whereas the rest is a phrase used in English. Altogether three Polish examples of extrasentential switches were recorded, with 9 Hindi examples (*lukng smart bhaiya; bhaiya, you are cordially invited to my marriage...; wish you same bhaiya; happy holi to u too bhai; ... if you believe or not that's true anna; isssh what suspence you created; oh!!!! nice timing na; arey.. m talking abt the first kids camp.. i was there; waaaah... I njoyed the papers*). The cases identified in the Hindi posts are most frequently those in which the Hindi address terms *bhaiya/bhai/anna* ['brother'] are switched, but these are not an integral part of the sentence, as one may easily delete them with the meaning of the sentence remaining the same (cf. Hudson 1996), which is why they are quoted here. Otherwise switches of the question tag particle *na* and some interjections or exclamations like *wah* ['wow'], *isssh* ['shhh'] or *arey* ['hey'] may be found in such a position. It has to be noted, though, that all of these are in fact switches from English into Hindi as far as the extrasentential elements are concerned, but may in fact be recognised as local Hindi borrowings in English.

On the other hand, examples of both inter- and intrasentential switches are quite well attested in the collected material. In the case of the Polish users of English the distribution of the two types is almost equal, as there were eight cases of intersentential and nine cases of intrasentential switches found. As noted above, the posts written by the Poles tend to be rather shorter than those written by the Indians, so examples of switching-marked posts also as a rule contain very truncated phrases, even if they are intersentential switches, and therefore can be seen as safe choices, as e.g. *nice... ślinka leci* ['nice... mouth-watering']; *zasmarkana... again* J ['with running nose... again J']; *pamiętam, pamiętam... cheek to cheek* ['I do remember... cheek to cheek'], although some longer examples may be quoted too, e.g. *upps! better on FB chat than stay alone sad, mozna by nawet jakis konkurs zrobic...* ['upps! better on FB chat than stay alone sad, one could even organise some competition'] or *Otwieramy zdjęcie i klikamy, że lubimy! Pomóżcie nam wygrać! Open and click Like! Help us win!* (the meaning of the Polish sentence is repeated in English). Finally, the switches of the intrasentential type, which require the most fluent knowledge of the two languages were detected as well, although they are far less challenging in their form here, e.g.

*dzięki! wszedłem drugi raz **this year na FB** :)*; [‘thanks! I have entered FB for the second time this year :)’]; *PS: III raz na FB **this year** :) **Is the old addiction making a come back?*** [‘PS: 3rd time on FB this year :) Is the old addiction making a come back’]; *kto kogo tutaj **more?**...* [‘who whom here more?’]; *Oczywiście :) Na szczęście prawie wszystkie określenia są pozytywne, więc wszyscy jesteśmy wspaniali **in a way** :))* [‘Of course :) Luckily almost all the designations are positive, so we are all fantastic in a way :)’]. It needs to be observed that the collected examples illustrate the “chunk by chunk” principle of switches rather well (cf. Levelt 1989; Gabryś 2000). Such an economic use of switches inside a sentence, thus “playing it safe” is probably the most characteristic feature of the use of English as a foreign language, particularly in the written form, as this is where mistakes and violations of the grammatical constraints of the two languages involved are most likely to occur.

On the other hand, the two types of switches are distributed in the posts written by the Indian Facebook users as follows: intersentential switches appeared eight times, whereas the intrasentential type was recorded as many as 28 times. The former group may be illustrated by the following examples: ***And you choose to chastise me before you congratulate him***, “*daai sasre na jai ane gaandi ne shikhaman appe*” [‘And you choose to (...). A smart /condescending woman has left her in-laws home because of differences with them but will advice everyone against doing so’]; *Hahaha..thx X! **Dat i am.. Koi shaq!?!? :-P*** [‘Hahaha... Thanks X! That I am... Any doubts!?!? :-P’]; ***Yes, please do. Itna asar tokne ka... Love u sweetheart! Always and forever!! ♥*** [‘yes, please do. That is the effect of interfering. Love you sweetheart. Always and forever’], while the latter is to be found in, e.g. ***very cute***, *bachpan main bhi **face pe attitude hain, very very cute*** [‘Very, very cute. Even in childhood there is that attitude on his face. Very very cute’]; ***Sir congratulations!! May god bless u both!! Aur aap dono eksaath rahe forever..)*** [‘Sir, congratulations! (...). And may you two live forever together’]; *ye **place kaha hai bhaya*** [‘where is this place brother?’]; *Kayse hoo X **Bhii... bhii sorry for not calling, will talk with u soon...*** [‘How are you, brother X. Brother, sorry for not calling, we will talk soon’]; ***With Telugu boys flanking me on both sides, what can one expect!?! :***; *hau, aisa! Telugu chokrey aisa **effect maarte*** [‘With Telugu boys flanking me on both sides, what can one expect? Just this! This is the influence of Telugu boys’]; ***Bcz last minute hi sab yaad ata hai!!! :-P*** [‘Because one remembers everything in the last minute’]; *Kaminiiiiiiii.. **U actually put it up!!! Will kill u..mil meko ab!! :-P*** [‘You rascal! You actually put it up! I will kill you. Let me just get hold of you’]; *v **nice didi...ya X kon kon dance kartay*** [‘Very nice, older sister. Who [pl.] does the annual dance?’]; ***not bad X...zindagi mein kuch free nahin...right on!!!!*** [‘Not bad, X. There is nothing free in life. Right on!’. It can be noted that, similarly as in the case of the extrasentential switches, some of the examples collected here are switches from English into Hindi, rather than the other way round.

The clear preference for the use of the intrasentential type of code-switching, which I equate with code-mixing, especially when it comes to the written medium (cf. Dąbrowska 2011d) shows that the level of the command of English, alongside that of Hindi, is very advanced, as the most challenging type of switching is performed successfully. Since the middle- and upper-class Indians who go through the English medium

education begin their formal acquaintance with English very early in their lives, mostly around the age of 4–5, as well as the fact that they are then also surrounded by English on TV and not infrequently also at home, means that most of them would qualify for the status of compound bilinguals (Hamers, Blanc 1989; Romaine 1995; Matras 2009). As the two linguistic systems would largely be located in the same area in their brain, this accounts for the close link between the two tongues and the skilful combination of the grammar of the two systems when the need to observe the constraints arises.

7. Functions of Polish-English and Hindi-English switches

Having offered a brief overview of the form of the switches, we can now analyse the reasons behind the switches and the functions all the three types of switches perform, especially in the written medium of Facebook, and in the context of community of practice (cf. Eckert, McConnell-Ginet 1992; Seidlhofer 2006; Dąbrowska 2011d). When analysing the motivation for code-switching, Myers-Scotton (1979: 73) wrote that the underlying reason for code-switching may “be subsumed under a broader explanation which views a desire to attain as high rewards as possible and as low costs as possible as the determining factor in any language choice,” which in this case may be ease of use as well as an appreciation of one’s level of education by others. She (Myers-Scotton 1979: 73) also listed four more specific reasons: a) a lack of knowledge of one language or a lack of facility in it, b) the use of another language to exclude some persons from an interaction, c) switching into another language in order to introduce a new subject, and d) speaking in a different language to impress others. Other researchers looked into the specific reasons for code-switching as well, some even distinguishing between linguistic and non-linguistic reasons. Baker (1997, after Gabryś 2000: 116–117) listed the following motivations for both kinds: 1) linguistic reasons: substituting an unknown word; lack of an equivalent in L1; clarification for the sake of understanding; reinforcement of a command or a request; emphasis on a particular point of a verbal exchange, and 2) non-linguistic reasons: showing positive or negative feelings to the interlocutor; showing willingness to participate in a conversation by interrupting in another language; introducing humour; manifesting an attitude to one’s interlocutors; topic specificity; lightening the tension of conversation; marking social distance with regard to others; reporting a conversation in the language it was spoken in. The above classification is not without its flaws, and the assignment of some of the above categories to one or the other type appears at times to be erroneous, e.g. placing the reinforcement of a command or request as well as emphasis on a particular point of the verbal exchange (the two in fact overlap considerably) under linguistic rather than non-linguistic reasons. They do, however, constitute a useful point of departure for further discussion.

With specific reference to the Indian context, Kachru (1983: 197) suggests three types of motivation for code-switching, viz. the use of a given language for register identification, formal clues for style identification, and a device for clarification and interpretation. Moreover, one of the most recent approaches to an explanation of bilingual behaviour, particularly as regards the Outer Circle, which results in code-switching, is

that proposed by Bhatia (2011: 41), which he calls the Bilingual Linguistic Optimisation Theory, i.e. "(1) accommodation and neutralisation of paradoxical or opposing features of two participating languages and (2) enhancement by drawing mutually exclusive or overlapping features from the two or more languages." The author sees it as a corollary to both the Accommodation Hypothesis (cf. Giles, Powesland 1975; Giles 1984, 2009) and Myers-Scotton's Markedness Hypothesis (1993). According to Bhatia (2011: 48), language mixing is motivated by three types of factors: "(1) speech accommodation, multiple identities, social distancing, (2) situational factors, and (3) message-intrinsic factors," all of which prove relevant for the present analysis.³ In my own classification of the motives behind the switches that stem from the analysis of both groups of posts I would almost automatically disregard Myers-Scotton's point concerning prospective Facebook friends being excluded from a Facebook conversation. On the contrary, Facebook as a social network, whose main purpose is to connect people rather than separate them, would prompt strategies that bring people closer together, with English certainly being one of the most important aspects of this process in general as a language of international communication and as the most frequent language used in the CMC (cf. Crystal 2006; Graddol 2006) as a community of practice marker (cf. Trousdale 2010). It may, however, as the discussed posts demonstrate, also bring together those who already speak the same language, and thereby act as a strong marker of in-group membership and an expression of positive feelings towards the interlocutor. Other functions that the Facebook use of English appears to perform are, as will be seen below: introducing humour, a lack of equivalent vocabulary in the L1, topic specificity, a reinforcement of uttered meanings, and reporting somebody's words as they were originally uttered. Let us now consider how these functions were distributed between the two linguistic groups of Facebook users.

7.1. Polish-English switches

a) Elements of humour, introducing a light and friendly tone, marking in-group membership

It appears that the function connected with introducing a humorous undertone, which at the same time serves as an in-group identity marker, is attested most often in the posts written by the Polish Facebook users, e.g.

1. *nice... ślinka leci :D* ['nice... mouth-watering :D'];
2. *WIOSNA time has come!!!!* ['the springtime has come!!!!'];
3. *It's official!!! Wiosna comin' ;-)* ['it's official!!! The spring (is) coming'];
4. *Po 6 latach pozbyłem się prowizorycznych mebli (montowanych na miesiąc max) z kanciapy... Weird. PS: III raz na FB **this year :) Is the old addiction making a come back?*** ['after six years I have got rid of the makeshift furniture (assembled for a month maximum) from my cubbyhole... Weird. PS: 3rd time on FB this year J Is the old addiction making a come back?'];

³ Bhatia (2011: 49–50) specifically lists quotations, reiteration, message qualification, rhyming and other literary effects as well as hedging/taboo expressions.

5. *o prosze, to byl jakis FB odwyk?? Nie przejmuj sie,³ jaskolki nie czynia wiosny, na pewno nie jest zle. BTW, trzebaby ukuć jakies powiedzonko typu **Better vertu** [‘oh really, has there been any FB rehab?? Don’t worry, three swallows don’t make the spring, it surely isn’t that bad. BTW, one would need to coin a little phrase of the Better virtue type’]; **upps! better on FB chat than stay alone sad**, *mozna by nawet jakis konkurs zrobic...* [‘oops! Better on FB chat than alone sad, one could even organise some competition’];*
6. *dzieki! wszedlem drugi raz **this year na FB** :) [‘thanks! I’ve got on FB for the second time this year’];*
7. *pamiętam, pamiętam... **cheek to cheek** :) [‘I do remember... cheek to cheek’].*

An analysis of this group, in fact almost half of the switches attested in the Polish material (nine items out of twenty) shows that by shifting into English the users lighten the tone of the messages, which is often additionally underlined by the use of smileys and/or exclamation marks, here observed six times. There is no reason to think that the main motivation underlying the use of these switches was a wish to be understood by as many Facebook contacts as possible, since it is unlikely that foreign readers would understand the stretches of text in Polish. Therefore, it may be assumed that the comments with Polish-English elements are meant primarily for the users’ Polish contacts, and the fact that the Facebook friends are offered comments in English, and still manage to comprehend them, means there is a positive attitude towards both this language and the users’ friends, in addition to the hope that the authors will be understood.

b) Language economy

There is also a further reason, which was not included in the above lists, but which I had described with regard to another CMC medium, namely text messages. I named this function language economy (cf. Dąbrowska 2011c) and here, as it seems, it can only be identified in two examples, viz,

1. *Oczywiście :) Na szczęście prawie wszystkie określenia sa pozytywne, wiec wszyscy jesteście wspaniali **in a way** :))) [‘Of course :) Luckily almost all designations are positive, so we are all fantastic in a way ☺)’];*
2. *ok, ja nie obiecuje zasadniczo, bo od południa pracuje i pracuję i końca nie widać... ale **keep in touch** [‘OK, I am in principle not promising anything, as I have been working all the time since the afternoon, and and no end of it can be seen... but keep in touch’].*

The two switched elements have perfectly good Polish equivalents, viz. *w pewnym sensie* and *bądź w kontakcie*. Perhaps the Polish phrases are too wordy, too heavy chunks, and the user also knows a shorter expression. Additionally, by choosing this approach he or she will create a bond with those who understand him. Thus, there is a certain overlapping of function between this and the previously discussed categories.

c) Quotes

Quoting the original words as they were uttered or written by someone else in a text one has heard or read somewhere, and which have somehow become iconic, is a good reason for keeping the original wording even if the environment is a different language, rather than attempting an ad hoc, often clumsy translation. Here four examples illustrate this strategy:

1. *pamiętam, pamiętam ... **cheek to cheek***:) ['I do remember... cheek to cheek ☺'];
2. *ukuc jakies powiedzonko typu **Better vertu*** [... to coin a little phrase of the Better virtue type'];
3. *kto kogo tutaj **more**?...* ['who whom here more?'];
4. ***The Professor!** Wzniescie ze mną toast za JRR Tolkiena w 120. rocznicę urodzin.* ['The Professor! Raise a toast to JRR Tolkien on his 120th birthday with me'].

Thus, it may be seen that the first example, besides carrying humorous undertones commented on in category (a) is a quote from a well known song by Chris de Burgh *Lady in Red*, to which the author of the post refers once more elsewhere in an all-English post. Example two (i.e. "typu 'Better vertu'") appears to be a reference to a set phrase or quote with which both the post author and its addressee are familiar. The penultimate post is a reference to a previous post in which the author includes a video clip, and the sentence is a comment about the content of the clip, in which the word *more* appears. Finally, the last post is a quote of how one would toast another person, and particularly someone with an academic title, a well known person. Translating the expression into Polish would not have the same pragmatic effect, so this last post may be seen as a combination of both quoting and a demand for context-specific vocabulary.

d) Inclusion of others who do not speak the Polish language

1. *Otwieramy zdjęcie i klikamy, że lubimy! Pomóżcie nam wygrać! **Open and click Like! Help us win!***

One post exemplified that, unlike group (b), the author wants to reach as many people as possible with her request, including her foreign contacts, which is why she decides to repeat herself in order to be understood by as wide an audience as possible. It is a strategy which can often be seen on Facebook, but appeared in the analysed posts only once.

e) Context specificity

1. *X-VOC, **Happy slightly belated Birthday!*** ['X-Voc, **Happy slightly belated Birthday!**']

Finally, there is one post which includes birthday wishes in English. One may wonder why the author decided to send them in English, if both the sender and the addressee are Polish. There may be more than one reason. One possibility might be that, as the addressee is an English teacher, it seems appropriate to use English when addressing him, just for the fun of it. Secondly, I would also suggest that because Facebook reminds its members of their friends' birthdays, and if these members have international

contacts, the wishes are often in English. Therefore, this may simply be a (subconscious) adjustment to the Facebook context and a community of practice type of behaviour (cf. Dąbrowska 2011d), i.e. a case of language accommodation (cf. Giles, Powesland 1975; Giles 1984, 2009; Hudson 1996).

7.2. Hindi-English switches

As regards the posts written by the Indian Facebook users, the following reasons for the switches may be identified:

a) Emphasis and reinforcement, expressing emotions

– the speaker's emotions

1. *Kamiiiiiiii.. U actually put it up!!! Will kill u..mil meko ab!! :-P* ['You rascal! You actually put it up! I will kill you. Let me just get hold of you'];
2. *I have the 2 most amazing bhabhis in the world.. Love u guys sooooo much.. life just wouldnt be the same without u both..my strength..my pillars!!! ♥* ['I have two most amazing sisters-in-law in the world (...)];
3. *Oh!!!!!!!nice timing na* ['Oh, nice timing, isn't it'];
4. *Hmm bhैया .. Awesome ...* ['Hm, brother. Awesome'];
5. *not bad X..zindagi mein kuch free nahin...right on!!!!* ['Not bad, X. There is nothing free in life. Right on!'];
6. *Yes please do! :-) Itna asar tokne ka... Love u sweetheart! Always and forever!! beautiful as always.....) ♥* ['yes, please do. That is the effect of interfering. Love you sweetheart. Always and forever. Beautiful as always'];
7. *Isssh what suspense u created!* ['Wow, what suspense you created'];
8. *Arre same hai. Just 4 inches short :) But shapely, conditioned and all that!* ['Hey man, same with me. Just 4 inches short. But shapely conditioned and all that'];
9. *very cute, bachpan main bhi face pe attitude hain, very very cute* ['Very, very cute. Even in childhood there is that attitude on his face. Very very cute'];
10. *my swear u r one of my roll odel if u belive or not thats true anna* ['I swear you are one of my role models. Whether you believe or not that is true, brother'];
11. *Kayse hoo X Bhii.... bhii sorry for not calling, will talk with u soon....* ['How are you, brother X. Brother, sorry for not calling, we will talk soon'];
12. *Hahaha..thx X! Dat i am.. Koi shaq!?!? :-P* ['Ha, ha, thanks, X. Any doubts?'];
13. *With Telugu boys flanking me on both sides, what can one expect!? :) hau, aisaa! Telugu chokrey aisa effect maarte.* ['With Telugu boys flanking me on both sides, what can one expect? Just this! This is the influence of Telugu boys'];
14. *Abhi tak jage hue ho. sounds like a punju asking for kukkur (murgha) !!* ['Are you still up? It sounds like a Punjabi asking for a chicken (cock)'];
15. *And you choose to chastise me before you congratulate him, "daai sasre na jai ane gaandi ne shikhaman appe".* ['And you choose to (...). A smart/condescending woman has left her in-laws home because of differences with them but will advice everyone against doing so'];

16. **Hi Hero! khup smart disto aahe** ['Hi hero. You look very smart'];
17. **nothing like a morning walk and some quiet time with chai and a notebook to restore a sense** ['nothing like a morning walk and some quiet time with tea and a notebook to restore a sense'];

– showing respect

1. **happy journey sirjii hav a great time** ['Happy journey sir, have a great time'];
2. **have a nice trip sir jee** ['Have a nice trip, sir'];
3. **Sir congratulations!! May god bless u both!! Aur aap dono eksaath rahe forever..:** ['Sir, congratulations! (...). And may you two live forever together'];

– wishes

1. **bhaiya u r cordially invited in my marriage on 18 apr 12 to b held in X** ['Brother, you are cordially invited to my wedding on (...)'];
2. **holi wahi jo prahlad ko bacha le, holika ko jla de....happy holi bhaiya** ['He who saves Pahlad will burn Holika. Happy Holi, brother'];
3. **wish u same bhaiya** ['Wish you the same, brother'];
4. **Happy holi bhiii** ['Happy Holi, brother'];
5. **Happy Holi to u too bhai. :)** ['Happy Holi to you too, brother'];
6. **holi wahi jo prahlad ko bacha le, holika ko jla de....happy holi bhaiya** ['He who saves Pahlad will burn Holika. Happy Holi, brother'];
7. **happy Ugadi bro! :)** ['Happy Ugadi, brother'];
8. **jazakallah everyone** ['May God reward you, everyone'];

– emotional distancing

1. **): hota toh hum abhi aate man! ill still try and see what happens.** ['If anything like that was to happen, we would come right away. I'll still try and see what happens'].

As can be seen, this category is the most numerous, and in fact includes the vast majority of the collected examples of switches from Hindi into English. With regard to the label "emphasis," I understand it as a broad function, namely expressing meanings which appear to be marked when compared with other meanings. They carry a greater emotional value either because the author feels they need to be stressed, or the addressee's status requires special treatment, or else the situation or context are such that they need to be emphasised by the choice of vocabulary or, as in this case, a different language. It is therefore a broad category in which the above-mentioned subsets may be distinguished. The most numerous is that in which the post authors express their own emotional attitude (usually very positive, though negative emotions have also been detected) towards either the addressee or the situation. Positive emotions towards the addressee can be seen in, e.g.

1. **I have the 2 most amazing bhabhis in the world.. Love u guys soooooo much.. life just wouldnt be the same without u both..my strength..my pillars!!! ♥** ['I have two most amazing sisters-in-law in the world (...)'];

2. ***Yea please do!*** :-) *Itna asar tokne ka... Love u sweetheart! Always and forever!! ♥ beautiful as always.....:*) [‘yes, please do. That is the effect of interfering. Love you sweetheart. Always and forever. Beautiful as always’];
3. ***very cute, bachpan main bhi face pe attitude hain, very very cute*** [‘Very, very cute. Even in childhood there is that attitude on his face. Very very cute’];
4. ***Hi Hero! khup smart disto aahe*** [‘Hi hero. You look very smart’].

Negative emotions or comments or also apologies are to be seen in the following examples:

1. ***Kayse hoo X Bhii.... bhii sorry for not calling, will talk with u soon....*** [‘How are you, brother X. Brother, sorry for not calling, we will talk soon’];
2. ***Kamiiiiiiii.. U actually put it up!!! Will kill u..mil meko ab!! :-P*** [‘You rascal! You put it up! I will kill you. Let me just get hold of you’] (negative emotions, but with a jocular feel);
3. ***And you choose to chastise me before you congratulate him, “daai sasre na jai ane gaandi ne shikhaman appe”*** [‘And you choose to (...) . A smart/condescending woman has left her in-laws home because of differences with them but will advice everyone against doing so’].

Opinions and evaluations concerning situations or objects may be illustrated by the following:

1. ***Hmm bhaiya .. Awesome ...*** [‘Hm, brother. Awesome’];
2. ***not bad X mein kuch free nahin...right on!!!!*** [‘Not bad, X. There is nothing free in life. Right on!’];
3. ***Isssh what suspense u created!*** [‘Wow, what suspense you created’];
4. ***Arre same hai. Just 4 inches short. :) But shapely, conditioned and all that!*** [‘Hey man, same with me. Just 4 inches short. But shapely conditioned and all that’].

A slightly different subcategory when using the English language to express one’s attitude is that of showing respect or deference to addressees who, as can be deduced by the use of Hindi forms of address, occupy higher positions or are older than the author. This is when the use of English, as the language of higher status in India, becomes useful in order to reflect the speaker’s respectful attitude, as in:

1. ***happy journey sirjii hav a great time*** [‘Happy journey sir, have a great time’];
2. ***have a nice trip sir jee*** [‘Have a nice trip, sir’];
3. ***Sir congratulations!! May god bless u both!! Aur aap dono eksaath rahe forever..:*** [‘Sir, congratulations! (...). And may you two live forever together’].

In this way, the English language serves as a politeness strategy carrier.

Yet another situation may be observed when the addressee is equal to the speaker, however, the occasion, e.g. a religious or another type of holiday or a personal celebration, calls for a slightly more official tone. The English language once again becomes useful in marking these occasions and their festive character, as a language which

evokes more official connotations. This can be seen in *bhaiya u r cordially invited in my marriage on 18 apr 12 to b held in X* ['Brother, you are cordially invited to my wedding on (...)]. What also helps to create this particular atmosphere is the use of set phrases like *happy holi* or *happy Ugadi*, which are readily available to mark such occasions.

Finally, one further example,

1.): *hota toh hum abhi aate man! ill still try and see what happens* ['If anything like that was to happen, we would come right away. I'll still try and see what happens']

appears to have a slightly different function, although it is related to the topic of the emotionality of meanings, i.e. that of emotional distancing. The previous sentence expresses the speaker's concern about an event, whereas the English sentence constitutes a comment of sorts about the whole situation, as well as the speaker's decision.

b) Specific vocabulary

1. *wow, kab hua tha yeh snowfall* ['Wow, when was that snowfall?'];
2. *lol kise pata tha ki aise dihknewala shaitan lawyer banega* ['And who would have known that someone so devil-like looking would become a lawyer'];
3. *Bcz last minute hi sab yaad ata hai!!! :P* ['Because one remembers everything in the last minute'];
4. *v nice didi...ya varshi kon kon dance kartay* ['Very nice, older sister. Who [pl.] does the annual dance?'];
5. *hau, aisa! Telugu chokrey aisa effect maarte* ['Just this! This is the influence of Telugu boys'];
6. *Sab ko busy rakta hai* ['He makes everyone busy/attracts everyone's attention'];
7. *hi X beta, how r u* ['Hi son, how are you?'];
8. *waaaah...i njoyed the papers...dese bunch of guys were quiet entertaining* ['Wow. I enjoyed the papers... this bunch of guys were quite entertaining'].

The second, and much smaller, category is certainly different from the previous group from a formal point of view, as, contrary to the previous examples, the predominant language used in some of the posts is Hindi. In fact there may be only one English word in the whole sentence, as in *lol kise pata tha ki aise dihknewala shaitan lawyer banega* ['And who would have known that someone so devil-like looking would become a lawyer']; *hau, aisa! Telugu chokrey aisa effect maarte* ['Just this! This is the influence of Telugu boys']; *Sab ko busy rakta hai* ['He makes everyone busy/attracts everyone's attention']; *wow, kab hua tha yeh snowfall* ['Wow, when was that snowfall?'] or it may be just a fixed phrase of expression, as, e.g. *Bcz last minute hi sab yaad ata hai!!! :P* ['Because one remembers everything in the last minute'] or *hi X beta, how r u* ['Hi son, how are you?']. These individual words or phrases have no exact cultural and functional equivalents in Hindi lexically or grammatically, yet, they carry certain concrete cultural associations or indicate a higher status, e.g.

lawyer, snowfall, effect, busy, last minute. The use of the English expression *how are you* (with the help of the typical CMC abbreviated language) instead of *tum kaise ho?* also seems to be more appropriate when addressing a young boy who studies English at school and may be in awe of the American or British cultures as sources of popular songs or actors. What is even more important is the use of the English greeting *hi*, which, unlike the traditional *namaste/namaskar* or *salaam* is neutral and free from religious connotations, which is particularly useful when interacting with a child, as is the case in this post. Finally, the last post, which in fact contains more English than Hindi (the latter only as the initial interjection), is included here because of the association with school days that the author is making, which, as noted before, probably means memories of the English medium education system. Hence it is included in this category as an example of a topic specific use of English.

c) Quotes

1. *ye place kaha hai bhaya* ['where is this place, brother?'];
2. ***You are Loved when you are Born..... You are Loved when you Die !!!.... IN BETWEEN... You Have To Manage !!!!.... Life hai Anda, Khushi se Jee, Kabhi Mat Kar Issey Ganda !!!!!*** ['You are loved (...). Life is an egg, live in happiness [also: with the happy one] and never make it dirty'] – *yeh "khushi" kaun hai ??* [Who is this happy one?];
3. ***Learned a new word in Hindi - 'kukur mutta'. Much laughter at speculations about its possible etymology!*** ['Learned a new word in Hindi – 'a mushroom.' (...)];
4. ***sounds like a punju asking for kukkur (murgha) !!*** ['Sounds like a Punjabi asking for a chicken (cock)'];
5. ***Hahaha..thx timma! Dat i am.. Koi shaq!?!? :-P*** ['Ha, ha, thanks, X. Any doubts?'] – *No shaq* ['No doubts'];
6. ***And you choose to chastise me before you congratulate him, "daai sasre na jai ane gaandi ne shikhaman appe"*** ['And you choose to (...). A smart/condescending woman has left her in-laws home because of differences with them but will advice everyone against doing so'].

The last of the identified categories is in fact one which contains both switches from Hindi into English (represented by just one example, i.e. *ye place kaha hai bhaya* ['where is this place, brother?'] and from English into Hindi (the remaining examples, some of which were also placed in the other categories). In the latter case this would, therefore, be more of a comment on the functions of Hindi rather than English, which goes beyond the scope of this analysis, yet, since there are only a few of examples, and they are cases of code-switching, it is worth highlighting them nevertheless. They are all examples of quotes, yet the sources of the quotes may vary. The Hindi-English switch contains the word *place*, which in fact can be understood as a quote only in the context of the preceding posts which appeared under a photograph, as they were about an exotic-looking place. The whole exchange was in English except for the one post. A similar reason for switching can be seen

in all the other posts except for the last – there are in fact three pairs of posts and the second element of each pair cites an element from the first, viz. *You are Loved when you are Born..... You are Loved when you Die !!!... IN BETWEEN... You Have To Manage !!!!... Life hai Anda, **Khushi** se Jee, Kabhi Mat Kar Issey Ganda !!!!!* [‘You are loved (...). Life is an egg, live in happiness [also: with the happy one] and never make it dirty’] - *yeh “**khushi**” kaun hai ??* [‘Who is this happy one?’]; *Learned a new word in Hindi - ‘**kukur** mutta’. Much laughter at speculations about its possible etymology!* [‘Learned a new word in Hindi – ‘a mushroom.’ (...)] - *sounds like a punju asking for **kukkur** (murgha) !!* [‘Sounds like a Punjabi asking for a chicken (cock)’]; and *Hahaha..thx timma! Dat i am.. **Koi shaq**!!!! :-P* [‘Ha, ha, thanks, X. Any doubts?’] - *No **shaq*** [‘No doubts’]. It is, therefore, obvious that contextualisation is vital in order to classify certain linguistic choices properly. Finally, the last example, i.e. *And you choose to chastise me before you congratulate him, “**daai sasre na jai ane gaandi ne shikhaman appe**”* [‘And you choose to (...) . A smart /condescending woman has left her in-laws home because of differences with them but will advice everyone against doing so’], quoted earlier as an example of the emphatic use of English, as seen in its first part, directly quotes a proverb in Hindi, which, in order to mark its character, is additionally placed in inverted commas. This is, therefore, the clearest case of quoting in the material analysed.

8. Concluding remarks

To sum up the above discussion of the collected material which, hopefully, may be viewed as representative of two broad groups of users of English as a second and as a foreign language, the following conclusions may be drawn. Although at first sight similar in the sense that both groups do make use of English as a language for maintaining contacts with others via Facebook, a detailed analysis demonstrates that the strategies they use are different. Firstly, the frequency of use of English, even by fluent speakers of English in both groups is ca. 1:3, i.e. 36 Polish : 94 Indian, respectively, which reflects the fact that English is used far more frequently, even on a daily basis, in former colonial countries than in those where it is, and probably will remain, a language of international or possibly inter-group communication. This distinction also has a bearing upon the length of the posts written in English by the members of the two groups, with the Hindi English users often posting stretches of English that were twice as long as that in the Polish posts. This may have to do with the sense of confidence about the use of the language, which is no doubt far stronger in the Hindi group. In that group people have been exposed to English from their early childhood via the English-medium education, while, on the other hand, the Polish users still seem to show greater care with regard to language correctness, which subconsciously makes them opt for shorter phrases that are grammatically and lexically less risky. Moreover, the spelling is also largely according to the standard language norms. The primary difference observed in the all-English posts is that of markedness, i.e. the fact that the Poles do not typically

choose to write in English unless they have something special to say, e.g. something humorous or “in inverted commas,” and therefore their use of English is on the whole marked. Many of the comments written in English by the Hindi Facebook users, on the contrary, carry unmarked, everyday meanings, as the language is often used for everyday communication between friends and within families, as well as in the work or study context.

When it comes to switching between Hindi and English or Polish and English, however, i.e. situations where in the written medium the post author has to make a choice between the two systems (cf. Dorleijn, Nortier 2012), there also appear to be different reasons for the choices. In general terms, when compared to the range of possible motivations for switching suggested by various scholars (cf. section 7), the four broad functions proposed by Myers-Scotton (1979) fail to be reflected in the analysed material. However, those listed by Baker (1997), which partly overlap with those put forward by Bhatia (2011), are quite well represented, particularly with respect to switching for emphatic purposes, showing positive feelings to the interlocutor, which here was combined with introducing humour as an in-group marker, quoting, and to some extent topic specificity as well as possible vocabulary limitation in one language or the other; the list of reasons was additionally extended by language economy, which was postulated in my earlier studies (Dąbrowska 2010, 2011c). As noted above, the Poles use English in most cases to introduce humorous undertones, but they also do so in order to quote an English text heard or seen before. Another reason for switching into English may be to shorten certain wordy Polish phrases, as well as to include more recipients in the addressee group, i.e. those who do not know Polish. All the reasons to a large extent corroborate the findings of my earlier analysis based on other CMC genres, i.e. emails, discussion fora and text messages (Dąbrowska 2010). The Hindi English users, on the other hand, mainly choose to write in English because of its symbolic value, i.e. the fact that it is a language of higher prestige in India, that is therefore, more expressive and convincing. It is also at times used as a language that has specific cultural connotations with regard to certain vocabulary items that are missing from the Hindi language and culture, which largely confirms my earlier findings concerning Hindi-English material (Dąbrowska 2011d). If anything is quoted, Hindi texts are preferred (songs, proverbs, parts of a conversation) rather than English texts – as English is treated in that speech community as a normal, even expected, means of communication. When summing up the linguistic behaviour of the two groups of Facebook users in general terms, a conclusion might be thus ventured that while the Poles tend to focus on their relationship with others during the process of communication, trying to make it smooth, humorous and economical (which I call a hearer-oriented approach), the Indian users express their own emotional states when switching into English, or when using both English and Hindi together, they project their own identity (a speaker-oriented approach). When referring to Bhatia’s (2011: 48) three points (cf. section 7), it might then be claimed that while points (2) and (3) would be common to both groups, point (1) appears to be particularly relevant to the Indian English users. Depending on the degree of ownership of English, therefore, which

without doubt differs between the countries of the Outer and Expanding Circles, its use will create different connotations and invoke different communicative strategies. It appears undeniable, however, that, to quote Bhatia (2011: 51), “[l]anguage mixing, indispensable for creativity, is a defining feature of the bilingual mind.”

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