



Universiteit Leiden
Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen
LUCL - Leiden University Centre for Linguistics

*Motivations for code-switching in blogs of Italian
expats living in the Netherlands*

Federica Gammaldi
f.gammaldi@umail.leidenuniv.nl
1071343

First supervisor: Dr. D. Smakman
Second supervisor: Dr. M. Parafita Couto

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Abbreviations

CMC: Computer Mediated Communication

RO set: Rights and Obligations set

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Introduction

The linguistic phenomenon under analysis in this study is code-switching, which has been proved to be a fascinating phenomenon for many linguists. It occurs when a speaker alternates between two codes – languages or language varieties – in the course of the same speech act. It is viewed by linguists as a remarkable skill and as an index of bilingual proficiency. However it is commonly perceived as an expression of language degeneration. Code-switching can be studied from several perspectives: linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, anthropology, philosophy and many others. Therefore, it is not surprising that there is no general agreement on one definition (Stavans & Hoffman, 2005). In this thesis, we will consider code-switching from a sociolinguistics point of view, and we will follow the definition of Myers-Scotton "codeswitching is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation" (1993, p.3).

The main goal of the present research consists in investigating the motivations for code-switching in a specific group of people: Italian expats living in the Netherlands. The linguistic situation of expats appears very interesting: they have been living abroad for a certain amount of time but they are not fully integrated in the host country and they speak daily at least two languages. Despite the large literature on the sociolinguistics approach to code-switching, most of the research have been carried out on spoken language, very little attention has been drawn on code-switching in written discourse and on community groups such as expats, which nowadays are a growing phenomenon and are becoming an active and dynamic part of many countries. This thesis is an attempt to fill this gap, using blogs written by Italian expats living in the Netherlands. I shall try to investigate the reasons to code-switch and if those reasons are somehow connected to the expats' identity and their role in society.

In the Oxford English Dictionary, an expat is: 1) an expatriated person. In modern usage, a person who lives in a foreign country; 2) of, pertaining to, or being an expatriate; living in a foreign country especially by choice. In common usage, by expat –colloquial abbreviation of expatriate - is usually meant a skilled and high-educated worker who works abroad for a limited period of time. The following groups of people can be included in the expatriate market:

- Professionals working abroad, often on limited period of time
- People who decide to move abroad in search of a better life-style or salary
- International students studying abroad

The number of people moving to a different country is increasing across all expatriate categories - irrespective of motivation, geographic origin and social background ("Expats worldwide", n.d.).

The Netherlands is one of the favored European countries by expats from all around the world: according to research by the national statistics office CBS, the country hosts between 39,000 and 75,000 expats. In the CBS research, an expat is considered as someone who was born outside the Netherlands and does not have Dutch nationality, who is aged 18 to 75 and earns a salary. The four big cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) and their surrounding areas are the most popular expats' destinations, also other university cities host a significant number. The report also shows the business services, healthcare,

academia, trade and the hospitality industries are most likely to employ expat staff (“So just how many expats are there in the Netherlands?”, 2015).

The current research is focused on Italians living in the Netherlands, which are 35.715, making them one of the biggest expats communities in the country, according to the latest data of 2012 (“Dati statistici sugli italiani nel mondo”, n.d.). The Netherlands is the sixth European country for number of Italians, after Germany (688.000), Switzerland (582.000) and France (378.000).

Thesis overview

In chapter 1, we will start the discussion with providing some fundamental background information, we will discuss the field of Computer Mediated Communication together with several research previously published on similar topics and we will review the abundant theory concerning code-switching. Chapter 2 provides a thorough description of the methodological background. Chapter 3 offers an overview of the collected findings and to conclude Chapter 4 gives a summary of the conclusions and answers the search questions.

1. LITERATURE

Since the present research will focus on blogs, a short introduction to the field of Computer Mediated Communication (henceforth: CMC) is required. Then, we will proceed to discuss the public opinion on English language in Italy. Hereafter, we will draw our attention on the different definitions and approaches to code-switching, focussing on the sociolinguistics and pragmatics aspects and we will attempt to give identity a definition. Moreover, we will review previous works on code-switching in CMC and on the role of identity. Finally, my research will be introduced together with the research questions.

1.1 CMC: Computer Mediated Communication

The corpus of data used for this research is extrapolated from blogs, hence it is necessary to talk about this specific form of communication. CMC is the general acronym for Computer Mediated Communication, Barasa (2010) defines it as: “the process by which people create, exchange and perceive information using technologies like networked telecommunications systems that facilitate or mediate encoding, transmitting, and decoding messages” (p.2). Initially the term was coined for messages exchanged exclusively by networked computers, but this definition lacked the human aspect of communication; thus in the late 1990, following new studies, the definition was reviewed including the humanity component, defining it as “a process of human communication via computers involving people situated in particular contexts engaging in processes to shape media for a variety of purposes” (p.2). The term was later further expanded including communication through mobile telephone as well, namely SMS.

Crystal (2001), in his work *Language and the Internet*, also discusses features of the relationship between the two; he made a distinction between synchronous and asynchronous communication in CMC (which he calls ‘Netspeak’). In the first case, in order for the communication to be successful, the interlocutors are required to be available at the same moment (real time communication), such as in instant messages. Examples of asynchronous communication are e-mails and SMS, where the interlocutors do not have to be necessarily present at the same time in order for the communication to succeed. Social network websites can fall into either categories, blogs belong to the latter. One of the main characteristics of synchronous CMC is that communication is very fast, mostly informal, and does not allow the interlocutor to think, in this way it can be compared to everyday verbal speech. Furthermore, Crystal asserts that these new forms of communication have triggered an evolution in concepts such as a spoken and written language. Traditionally, language is conceived into two categories: spoken and written genres. Speech is more context dependant, structurally simpler, it uses deictic expressions, it is time-bound and dynamic, participants are usually present, and thus the speaker has a particular addressee in mind. Because participants are involved in face-to-face interaction, they can rely on extra linguistic cues such as facial expressions, gestures and feedbacks. On the other hand, writing tends towards structural complexity, formality and abstraction. Writing is space-bound, static, the writer usually is distant from the reader and does not know who the reader is going to be, the meaning expressed must be clear since written speech lacks of visual contact.

What makes CMC interesting is that in such environments, the distinction line between written and spoken language is blurred. Written communication in CMC, especially the synchronous one (e.g. e-mail, chat group), may resemble face-to-face communication, for

instance in the use of colloquial features which are typical of the spoken language which are commonly found in CMC contexts, such as short construction, phrasal repetition, looser sentence construction. However, one of the biggest differences between CMC and face-to-face interaction is the rhythm of the interaction which is much slower in internet communication and lack of most of the salient features of conversations. Because of these unique characteristics, it has been suggested by Barasa (2010) that CMC should be considered as a genre of its own, even though it shares some features with spoken interaction and written text, it does have its additional distinctive features.

Therefore, written and spoken speech have several differences, but the dividing line is rather thin when we are dealing with internet communication.

1.1.2 CMC: blogs

This research will examine language switches in blogs, a special website in the form of a journal, where facts are presented chronologically. Therefore, it is relevant to dedicate a section to them in order to describe some characteristics of such online platforms.

The name *blog* is a contraction of the term *weblog*, it is a website which consists of a series of entries organized in chronological order often updated with new information about different topics, the writer is referred as 'blogger'. Generally, weblogs are devoted to one or several subjects or themes, usually of topical interest, and, in general, can be thought of as developing commentaries, individual or collective on their particular themes. A weblog may consist of the recorded ideas of an individual with his personal view (a sort of journal) or be a collaboration open to anyone (Rouse, 2006). The phenomenon started to spread at the end of the '90s, in 1999 the first free platforms were released. At first, blogs were just a mix of links, commentary, and personal notes before they developed in a sort of personal public journal. Blogs' updates are called 'posts', they usually have a title, a link and a description, they are usually divided in categories and labelled; each blog post can vary in length, it can be composed by a short essay, a long article or story, or just few sentences. Blogs can be easily recognized from other web pages because of some distinguish features, for instance, blogs always have an archive of previous posts, users are allowed to comment, a calendar and a short biography or some information about the author are present, and most importantly, the writer's personality and ideas always emerge (Winer, 2003).

The current research focuses on a specific type of blogs, the ones dedicated to expats. Expat writers share their experiences about moving and settling abroad, they discuss important components of life in the host countries such as visas, accommodation, job hunting, health care, education, but also information about the hosting society and funny anecdotes about everyday life and cultural differences and traditions.

1.2 English language in Italy

In spite of the invasion of English expressions in Italian which is taking place nowadays, attitudes towards the expansion of the English language in Italy are mostly negative. From 2000 until today, the use of English words in written media increased by 733%; the research was conducted by a media company and calculated the most common borrowed lexical items and also asked a sample of people which words they consider the most inappropriate (Rogato). The history of this "purist" attitude goes back to the fascist era (1922-1945), when linguistic purity was one of the central aspects of the regime, the intent was to reach a nationalistic ideology through the racial and linguistic cleansing. After the war, the American

globalization infiltrated in many areas of everyday and social life in the whole Western Europe, included Italy. The contact between the two languages has brought up not only the borrowing of numerous foreign words but also a coinage of “false-Anglicism” (i.e. words that look and sound English but have a new meaning in Italian). Additionally, the spread of foreign terminology is due to the fact that Italy does not have an appointed authority for the defence of the national language as it can be found in other countries, such as France.

This negative attitude is expressed by the journalist Indro Montanelli, who talks about “a mental vice inherited by centuries of servitude” and the linguist Arrigo Castellani, who labels this phenomenon as “morbus anglicus” (in Pulcini 1997). More recently (2015), Crusca Academy’s¹ president, Claudio Marazzini, also argued and condemned the growing use of Anglicism amongst Italians (Esmiol, 2015). Further examples of such position, are found in the numerous online petition for the safeguard of Italian language such as #dilloinitaliano, ‘#sayititalian’(Testa, 2015), and interview to daily newspaper columnist Beppe Severgnini who asks to the Italian prime minister to stop recurring to English language (Leveille, 2015). As it will be shown in the results, this negative attitude towards Anglicism in everyday language is also found in the survey’s answers.

1.3 Literature on code-switching

Since my research will be on code-switching, an outline of the main theories and publications about the topic is given in this section. First, the three approaches to code-switching are explained (1.3.1), together with some of the most common definitions (1.3.2). Then, I will proceed with explaining the distinction between code-switching and borrowing (1.3.3), and I will focus on the pragmatic and sociolinguistics aspects of code-switching with particular attention to Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model (1.4.2). Finally, after this theoretical excursus, we will attempt to give a definition of Identity (1.5).

1.3.1 Three approaches to code-switching

There are three major approaches to the study of code-switching. The structural approach, or theoretical linguistics, deals with what code-switching can reveal about language structure in terms of lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics; the psycholinguistic approach, on the other hand, is concerned in which cognitive mechanisms underlie in the production and perception of bilingual speech. Finally, the sociolinguistic approach views code-switching as an important insight into social constructs and investigates which social factors encourage or discourage code-switching. A complete study of code-switching needs to combine all the approaches. In the current research, a sociolinguistic approach is taken. The first of the approaches to code-switching research afore mentioned, dedicates mostly to the study of the morphological and syntactic patterns in code-switching. It is challenging because albeit syntactic theories are intended to be universal, they have been largely constructed on monolingual speech, while with code-switching research we are dealing with multilinguals. It has been demonstrated through this theoretical linguistics approach, that from a structural perspective, code-switching is highly systematic, structurally coherent and rule-governed (as we will see in Poplack’s free morpheme and equivalence constraints, in section 1.3.3).

¹ *L’Accademia della Crusca*, Crusca Academy, is the lead institution in the field of research of the Italian language, it was the first institution of this kind in Europe and the first one to release a vocabulary.

In the psycholinguistic approach, most studies are conducted in laboratories using controlled stimuli in order to research cognitive mechanisms and to control the parts of the brain involved in the control of two languages. The biggest challenge in psycholinguistics investigation of code-switching is to comprehend how language processing takes place in such a rapid and efficient manner.

Other than the structural and cognitive dimension of code-switching, the social motivations and contexts for such linguistic behavior cover a fundamental role; this is what the sociolinguistics approach deals with. Language behavior is first and foremost related to speakers' identity and aspects of social life in general, thus, it is necessary to examine discursive functions and individual's motivations in language choice. The sociolinguistics approach considers many variables and external factors, such as age, gender, class, social networks, community norms, identity and attitudes.

1.3.2 Definitions of code-switching

In this section some general definitions of code-switching will be given, starting from Weinreich's definition which dates back to 1953, when code-switching was considered as an imperfect acquisition of a language, until the seventies when there was an attitudinal change towards this linguistic phenomena and code-switching begins to be studied with a structural approach as a rule-governed phenomenon (Poplack 1980). More information about the sociolinguistic approach will be given in section 1.4.

Weinreich (1953), one of the pioneer of contact linguistics, uses the term 'interference': "those instances of deviation from the norms of either language, which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact", although he does not refer explicitly to borrowing or code-switching. He also adopts a negative attitude towards code-switching, he stated that the ideal bilingual recognizes the appropriate moment to switch from one language to another, being this moment recognizable by changes in the speech situation (e.g. interlocutor or topic) but certainly does not switch in a stable situation or within a single sentence (p.73); in other words, perfect bilingualism coincides with a situation of diglossia, where the two languages have a rigid distinction in situations and in function. This kind of view is shared by other studies previous to 1970. For instance, in 1971, Labov wrote "No one has been able to show that such rapid alternation is governed by any systematic rules or constraints and we must therefore describe it as the irregular mixture of two distinct systems" (p. 457). In the following years there is a shift in the way code-switching is considered amongst linguistics, when they start to realize the importance of such phenomenon in social life and when it is discovered that there are some structural laws behind the language alternation. In this period the two most relevant approaches of code-switching studies are born: the structural one and the sociolinguistics one.

One of the leading figures of the first approach is Poplack (1980), she refers to code-switching as "the mixing by bilinguals (or multilinguals), of two or more languages in discourse, often with no change of interlocutors or topic". She identified three different types of code-switching: 'tag-switching', 'inter-sentential', and 'intra-sentential'. Tag-switching is the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is completely in the other language, without violating syntactic rules. Intra-sentential code-switching it occurs outside the sentence level, the switching occurs when a sentence in one language is completed and the next one starts in a new language. These types of switching do not require a great fluency in

both the languages involved. On the contrary, intra-sentential switching involves a switch at a sentence level, thus it requires a higher level of fluency since part of the utterance must follow the rules of both languages.

Some scholars, such as McClure (1977), Kachru (1978), and Pfaff (1979) differentiate between code-mixing and code-switching – on the basis of whether it is intersentential (code-switching) or intrasentential (code-mixing), whereas some scholars distinguish them on contextual criteria (i.e. code-switching marks a change in the social situation, such as in Kachru). Some adopt code-switching as the general term, while Muysken (2000), for instance, employs code-mixing as the generic definition, being more neutral, and uses code-switching for “rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event” (cit.). Nonetheless, Muysken’s definition of code-mixing includes what many others call code switching and employs the verb ‘switch’ to talk about code-mixing. In *Bilingual Speech* (2000), Muysken individuated three mixing strategies: (1) insertion of material from one language into the structure of another; (2) alternation between structures of two languages, where the two languages remain relatively separated; (3) congruent lexicalization of elements from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure.

Poplack and Meechan (1995) also distinguish between the two notions, they define code-switching as “the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments from two languages, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and, optionally, phonological) rules of its lexifier language” (p.200) and emphasize the fact that the two languages are clearly distinguished.

McClure (1977) adds one more definition, ‘code-changing’, meaning a phenomenon that involves a total shift to another language system, including syntax, morphology and all the function words, whereas code-mixing involves exclusively constituents; nonetheless she uses code-switching to cover both notions.

1.3.3 Language contact phenomena: distinction between code-switching and borrowing

In the research field of code-switching different terminologies are found which can be confusing, as we have seen, the phenomenon itself can have various definitions and interpretations according to the perspective of its study. Amongst the terminology found there are: code-mixing, insertion, transfer, code alternation, language alternation, congruent lexicalization, style shifting, fused lects, and mixed code. Moreover, in recent literature there is a great deal of disagreement as to what determines the defining lines between code-switching and other language contact phenomena, namely borrowing. For instance, intersentential code-switching, can be equated with borrowing. Gumperz (1982) believes that the two concepts must be separated: “borrowing can be defined as the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other”, where the items are incorporated in the grammatical system of the borrowing language, they are treated as part of the vocabulary and follow the syntactic rules. On the other hand, he says that code-switching “relies on the meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must consciously or subconsciously process as strings formed according to the internal rules of two distinct grammar systems” (p.66).

Myers-Scotton (1993) disagrees, according to her, there is no clear-cut between the two and thus little motivation to distinguish the two; borrowing is simply limited to single word switches, while code-switching both to single words and multi-words but it does not necessarily involve a complete switch to another language.

Furthermore, she elaborates the Matrix Language Frame Model, in this model one of the two languages generally covers a more predominant role in the grammatical frame of the utterance in code-switching. This language is called the matrix, or base, language of the interaction, and the other one is the embedded, or guest, language. In most recent publications (2006), she talks about ‘classic code-switching’, “elements from two or more language varieties are found in the same clause, but only one of these varieties is the source of the morpho-syntactic frame of the clause” (p.241). Thus, in classic code-switching, there is no complete shift to the other language, because syntactic frame of the utterance comes from one language. In another type of code-switching, which she calls ‘composite’, the interaction between the two grammars is more pronounced, the embedded language contributes in the structure of the utterance.

In contrast to Myers-Scotton, Poplack is one of the supporter of the distinction code-switching/borrowing, according to her code-switching and borrowing are based on different mechanisms, “borrowing is a very different process from code-switching, subject to different constraints and conditions” (in Myers-Scotton, 1993, p.177). She adds a third category: ‘nonce-borrowing’ which involves lone lexical items which assume the morphological, syntactic and phonetic features of the recipient language.

Poplack (1980), as mentioned earlier, adopts a structural approach to code-switching, she identifies code-switching according to the degree of integration of morphology, phonology and syntax from one language to the other. She proposed two syntactic constraints - the free morpheme constraint and the equivalence constraint –which apply and were always valid in the bilingual Spanish - English studies conducted, but do not aim to be universal. The free morpheme constraint states that “code-switching does not take place within a word between a free morpheme and a bound morpheme (e.g. code-switching between “eat,” an English verb stem, and “-iendo,” the Spanish present progressive, is impossible)” (p.586). As for the equivalence constraint, it stipulates that code-switching only occurs at points where the combination of elements from the two languages do not violate a syntactic rule of either language.

Bhatia & Ritchie (1996, p.629-631), deny the utility of a distinction between code-switching and code-mixing, according to them most of the times the two are strictly correlated and difficult to distinguish.

To summarize, ‘code-switching’ means shifting completely to the other language for a word, a phrase or a sentence, whereas ‘borrowing’ is taking a word or a short expression from the other language and adapting it to the base-language (Milroy & Muysken, 1995); however, the general tendency is to regard code-switching as the generic term for such language contact phenomena, this is the approach that is going to be adopted here.

1.4 Focus on the pragmatics and sociolinguistics of code-switching: Functions of code-switching

As stated previously, there are many approaches to code-switching besides the structural one, the sociolinguistics pragmatic framework assumes that the reasons to code-switch are basically stylistic and thus it is not satisfactory to treat the phenomenon exclusively in terms of the internal structure of sentences. In this section the attention will be on Gumperz, who suggested that code-switching should be looked at as a discourse mode, as an option bilingual speakers have in order to express their social identity. Finally, Heller’s view of code-switching as a renegotiation of power is also taken into account.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) are the first to analyze patterns of alternation in different language varieties, namely between standard language and dialect in a Norwegian village. They demonstrated that code-switching is not the result of an imperfect acquisition of the two languages but it is a strategy adopted by speakers to signal aspects of their ethnic and social identity. In this publication, the concepts of situational and conversational code-switching are introduced for the first time. The former occurs when distinct varieties alternate in association with changes in interlocutor, context or topic, whereas the latter occurs when there are changes in variety without external factors. An example of the first kind is, for instance, native speakers of Spanish in the United States who usually use Spanish in home settings but switch to English in public settings (e.g. schools, government offices). On the other hand, metaphorical code-switching takes place between a single interactions, it is called metaphorical because it exploits associations between codes and social roles for communicative effect. Myers- Scotton (in Paolillo, 2011), describes an interaction in a bank in Kenya as an example for metaphorical code-switching, a customer addresses a bank clerk in Swahili, when this refuses to go on with the transaction because it would be against the rules, the customer switches to a minority language which they both share. By using the minority language asking for a personal favour, the customer is covertly appealing to the bank clerk's ethnic loyalty (Paolillo, 2011, p.3).

In *Discourse Strategies* (1982), Gumperz suggests six discourse functions which are deduced from data drawn from three different code-switching studies on various language pairs: Spanish-English, Slovenian-German and Hindi-English. The individuated functions are: quotation (a quote is code-switched), addressee specification (a code-switched message aims at a specific addressee), interjection (an interjection is code-switched), repetition (a code-switched message repeats what has just been said), message qualification (i.e. a topic is introduced in one language and then commented and further explained in another), personification or objectification (a code-switched message implies a personal or objective tone, to symbolize the degree of involvement of the speaker in the message).

Another important component of Gumperz's approach is the distinction between 'we-code' and 'they-code'; he states that in order to really understand the semantic processes that are at work in code-switching, one must see whether code-switching's direction is from a we code to a they code or the contrary. Generally speaking, the first one is associated with the minority language whereas the latter with the majority, dominant language. We-code typically represents in-group, informal relations and personalized activities, while they-code shows out-group, less personal and more formal relationships. The speaker uses one of the codes in order to create a conversational effect.

A further example of the interplay between language and ethnic identity can be found in Heller. In her work, code-switching is viewed from a socio-political perspective, as a political strategy, especially one for ethnic mobilization; it is a way people shape language in order to pursue their goals. She recognizes that code-switching may be conventional (a customary use of the language) or unconventional (violates expectations). The way powerful groups use language to maintain their power and how the subordinate groups react and vary in their choices. The case study taken into account is the alternation between French and English in Quebec, Canada. In this example, code-switching reflects the renegotiation of power in the way French and English are altered. Speakers use language in order to fulfill social goals such as strengthening or erasing group boundaries and ethnic differences. To not code-switch means willingness to maintain ethnic boundaries (except in some cases when speakers do not own the required skills), whereas code-switching symbolizes to cross or level ethnic

boundaries or to ease inter-ethnic tension (in Eastman 1992). Heller's view and Rampton's definition of crossing (see next section) are somehow similar in the way they both conceive code-switching as something that speakers practice in order to express boundaries of ethnicity, race or language community and as something typically associated with an ethnic group and used by non-member to accomplish social functions.

In the next section more information about the notion of code-crossing will be provided.

1.4.1 "Borrowing an identity": Code-crossing

Ben Rampton, in his *Crossing, Language and Ethnicity among adolescents* (1995), introduces the concept of crossing and describes it as a form of code-switching. The term 'code-crossing' was coined by Rampton and it refers to the use of a language which generally is not thought to belong to the speaker; this concept is thus a way to "maintain or change ethnic group boundaries". He starts from the premise that code-switching is a kind of 'contextualization cue'; a contextualization cue is: "a way by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic context is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (p. 276). Basically, the way language is manipulated symbolizes one's identity or the identity one wants to assume. Code-crossing is a contextualization cue because it plays with social values and with attitudes which are involved with the language used. It is relevant to add that crossing, in contrast with code-switching, focuses on code-switching adopted by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ, it is concerned with switching into languages which are not generally associated and thought to belong to a specific group of speakers, such as for instance immigrants, tourists, exchange students, and expats, all groups of people who could be defined 'linguistic outsiders' (Rymes, 1998).

In my opinion, the linguistic behaviour of expats can be combined to code-crossing, when expats decide to adopt terms which do not belong to their personal background they are trying to "redefine the reality". We will see validation of this in the results.

1.4.2 Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model

The Markedness Model deals with social motivations for code-switching, it sheds light on social identities and for this reason it is very relevant to our research and will be treated in this section.

Myers-Scotton presented a model which explains variations in linguistic code choice; the general point of departure of the theory is that code-switching occurs because at least one of the interlocutors involved in the conversation wishes to move to a different social arena and redefine the interaction, therefore there is a relationship between linguistic code and social meaning of the interaction (1977). The model is based on markedness and unmarkedness of code choices, the use of a particular code is seen as marked or unmarked, in other words, what community norms would predict is unmarked, in contrast what is unexpected and not predicted is marked. This is possible because all linguistic codes or varieties have some social and psychological associations in the speech community where they are used, such associations are identified as rights and obligations set (henceforth: RO set) which function as norms or code of behavior that are established by a certain social group, they represent what participants can expect when interact in their community, RO set is the reason why choices are seen as more or less unmarked (1998).

When speakers make code choices they have five maxims in mind:

- 1) The Unmarked Choice Maxim: when the speaker wants to confirm RO set
- 2) The Marked Choice Maxim: in this case, the speaker wishes to establish a new RO set
- 3) The Exploratory Choice Maxim: when the speaker is not certain of the communicative intent or is not sure of which one will help achieve his/her social goals
- 4) Deference Maxim: this maxim occurs when additional deference is requested in special circumstances
- 5) Virtuosity Maxim: switch takes place in whatever code is considered as necessary or adequate in order to carry on the conversation or to accommodate to the interlocutors.

The deference and the virtuosity maxims can be considered as complementary of the unmarked choice, in most societies it is appropriate to call for deference or to accommodate to others 'speech, thus if these maxims are followed the choice will be expected and therefore unmarked. These maxims are strategies for communication, this approach assumes that speakers are rational when code-switching, they are consciously aware of the fact that they are making choices from an opportunity set (i.e. their linguistic repertoire) to achieve their social purposes. It is important to mention that such maxims were originally formulated to refer to natural spontaneous conversations, but they can also be applied by writers to literary texts (1998, p.25), in contrast with the previous mentioned studies which concerned exclusively spoken interactions.

In the next section, the maxim of markedness is examined further.

1.4.3 Marked code-switching: Motivations for making marked choices

Certainly, the most interesting part of the Markedness Model, and especially the most pertinent to my research, is the marked maxim, which considers code-switching as a marked choice. To summarize what was discussed previously, in cases of marked choice the speaker wants to take distance with the expected RO set, the speaker is asking the interlocutor to put aside all the presumptions based on societal norms and, through marked code-switching, s(he) is giving a different view of themselves. In *Social Motivations for Codeswitching* (1993), Myers-Scotton emphasizes the fact that there is only a single general motivations for making marked choices: "to negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it" (p.132); then, it is added that such code-switching occurs in all communities and at all linguistic levels, this makes marked choices the most universal type of code-switching. Additionally, she describes some uses of marked code-switching including: to increase social distance via authority/anger, use of marked code-switching as an ethnically-based exclusion strategy, as highlighting the message ("the message is the medium", p.138), for aesthetic effect, marked choices as echoic (irony), and to conclude, structural flagging.

1.5 Identity and intercultural communication

So far, we have been talking about identity, group membership and social distance. In this section we will attempt to shed light on the concept of identity. The way we speak is purely social, everything we say shares information about personal background, emotions, perceptions, our surroundings and our relationship with what we are talking about; it is the result of how we see ourselves and how we want others to see us. In other words, language is a social phenomenon and our socialization influence how we consider ourselves and how we communicate with others.

Jackson (2014), states that identity is basically our self-concept or sense of self, it defines how we see ourselves and our place in the world (p.130). Identity starts to be built when we are very young through a primary socialization process, meaning the culture we are raised in. Culture is a difficult and controversial concept to be defined, in a highly simplistic way, we can say that by culture is meant a group of values, worldviews, traditions, ethnicity, and speech community. Clearly this primary socialization process differs among and within cultures, nonetheless all of us develop a sense of who we are and how we fit in the society, we are all somehow influenced by the primary socialization of our environment. However, individuals have multiple identities, asserting themselves in various social circumstances. Some aspects of our identity are rooted from our childhood, others are dynamic and may be developed during adolescence or adulthood and remain stable throughout the rest of one's life. Identities are both avowed and ascribed. The avowed identity is the way we present ourselves, meaning how we want others to see us, whereas the ascribed identity is the one others assign to us or the one we give to someone else. The ascription of an identity can be influenced by various factors such as age, language, accent, ethnicity, and social class.

Individuals who have interactions with people from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds (through immigration, education, employment, travel or marriage) may possess a multicultural identity. Martin and Nakayama (2008, in Jackson 2014) define a multicultural identity as: "a sense of in-betweenness that develops as a result of frequent or multiple cultural border crossing" (p.143). This being multicultural, can be expressed nonverbally as well as verbally; the way language is used can express multiple dimensions of our identity, for instance, through the use of code-switching. Moreover, must be remembered that social value is attached to the knowledge of English, this is an indicator of status, modernization, mobility and outward looking attitude; code-switching, thus, functions as an index of social identity. Trudgill (2003, in Jackson 2014) explains that code-switching may serve as a strategy to project a dual identity "that of a modern, sophisticated, educated person and that of a loyal, local patriot" (p.275).

To summarize, there is a close link between language and identity. The choice of the language and variety one uses (e.g. dialect, accent, code-switching) can impact on one's status.

1.6 Previous Research

In this section I will attempt to draw a picture of the previous published work about code-switching in CMC and the connection between code-switching and identity in different communities.

1.6.1 Code-switching in Computer Mediated Communication

Very little attention has been dedicated to the study of code-switching in writing. In the current section some of the previous studies conducted in written and in Computer Mediated Communication are reviewed.

Barasa (2010) conducted a study in Computer Mediated Communication (SMS texting, email, IM and chats) in Kenya. From an analysis of the collected data between various languages of Kenya, i.e. English, Kiswahili, Sheng and vernacular languages, additional reasons to code-switch have been found, these are summarized below:

- 1) Least effort, that is, users in order to compose the message want to use as little time and effort as possible

- 2) Rapidity: usually the switched word is the first one the user thinks of
- 3) Mode limitation: is the encouragement in the use of brevity in forms or shorter words
- 4) Accuracy, in other words, users might find more accurate to use words in the original language, some might be very difficult to translate or not adequate
- 5) Identity and Informality: code-switching may be used to show some form of identity or solidarity towards the reader, it can also be used to show off one's creativity and prowess for peer identity
- 6) Creativity: the switched part can be the result of the user's creativity.

Barasa found that the vernacular languages are the least used, one of the reasons is that CMC technology is not "vernacular languages friendly" (p.331), users associate CMC with English immediately.

Similar research in the field of computer mediated communication include the work of Montes-Alcalà (2007), she researched bilingual writers' blogs, she inquired whether they code-switch freely and what are the reasons for such language shift, the analysis includes data from several Spanish-English bilingual blogs where the language choices reveal how "bilingual individuals live in between two worlds, two cultures, and two languages which they can and must use to fully express themselves" (p.162). The results show that bilingual blog writers switch all the time when writing, the author speculates that while in oral production code-switching is stigmatized, this does not occur in informal written texts and in the free and democratic environment which is the Internet. The switches occur mostly for lexical items and for emphatic reasons, and the author concludes that the reason why they switch is simply because it is a valid strategy to pursue stylistic and communicative effects.

More recent studies by Halim & Maros (2014), examined the code-switching functions performed by five Malay-English bilingual users in their Facebook status updates. Data were collected and categorised according to Gumperz's functions and supplemented by more recent literature; findings indicated that code-switching occurs in Facebook status updates and wall posts to serve quotation, addressee specification, reiteration, message qualification, clarification, emphasis, checking, indicating emotions, availability, principle of economy and free switching functions.

1.6.2 Code-switching and Identity in different communities

The common denominator of the studies mentioned in this section is the role of identity in code-switching, all the three research involved different speech communities, which by using a different language want to state group-membership.

The first example of language as a strategy to state group-membership is found in Androutsopoulos (2007), where code-switching in websites and web-forums for various ethnic groups in Germany were analysed. The switches were in the homeland language of the users (i.e. Greek, Persian, Punjabi), while German was the dominant language. The users of these web-pages are mostly second and third generation of immigrants, the majority of them is not fully fluent in the homeland language. The analysis of the afore mentioned pages showed that the reasons to code-switch are most of the time preference related, discourse related or both. In these data, code-switching is used for direct speech, emphatic repetition or expressive speech acts, such as greetings, wishes or other formulaic uses of the home language, or to enact particular genres such as songs, to make a joke, mark obvious exaggeration and to mitigate face threatening acts. In addition, it has been demonstrated

through individual interviews with the users that the home language is used as a resistance to the German dominance.

De Fina (2007), looked at spoken interactions to construct ethnic identity in an all-male Italian immigrants card-playing club in Washington, United States. Data consisted of spontaneous interactions in the club, mostly records of card games, president's speeches and the official newsletter of the club. It has been noticed that language, through code-switching, plays a pivotal role in the construction of identity; code-switching into Italian is used as an important index of ethnic affiliation in socialization practices, the switched words and utterances were considered as highly symbolic as a way to stress ethnicity.

To conclude, the last research taken into consideration is the one by Cerruti (2004), he focused on pragmatics aspects in Italian-dialect code-switching in Torino, Piedmont, using a broad corpus of spontaneous conversations. It was showed how language switch between Italian and local dialect is mostly used in daily conversation as a strategy of interpersonal divergence or convergence. Furthermore, Cerruti suggests a strong correlation with group identity which can be linked to the Gumperz's we-code vs they-code theory. In the same corpus, it was noticed that code-switching is widely adopted in the organization of the speech in order to mark specific narrative tasks such as to highlight parts of the discourse, especially the conclusion or when reporting a specific event (quotes and reported speech).

1.6.3 Differences and possible outcomes of my research

In all the publications mentioned in 1.6, code-switching is a way to stress ethnicity, show attachment to someone's roots and as a distinguishing feature of the dominant culture. In the blogs' excerpts analysed during my research I expect to observe the exact opposite phenomenon; the matrix language is Italian and the embedded languages are English and Dutch, the switch to the embedded languages is a marked choice which signify a group membership transition and an estrangement from the homeland. Thus, I expect the outcome to be the same as in the previous research but reverse, code-switching as indeed a tool to highlight identity, but in the case of expats the identity that participants want to express is not their native one.

1.7 My research

When we speak, we express our reality, different languages express different realities, switching between two languages is the expression of different worlds, one's identity is exposed when one code-switches. Hence, code-switching marks identity and group membership, in the expats' case I expect it to mark a new identity, they are now in the process of integrating in a new society. Switching is not casual but highly symbolic, it serves a purpose; in my data one of the purposes is showing the "being international", being an expat (as demonstrated by the survey's results and the exhibitionism category discovered). My research is different from previous ones, because opposed to other literature found, where the switch is from English towards Italian, and it always represented the desire to highlight Italian ethnicity and emphasize "Italianness" (see 1.6.2), my participants are born and raised in Italy but switch to a foreign language. They do so in written speech, when it is not expected to find code-switching because when writing the author has the necessary time to think about the Italian equivalent, nonetheless they code-switch in a conscious manner (Lipsky, 2005; Molinsky, 2007). More details about the methodology are found in chapter two.

As a point of departure for the hypothesis and as theoretical background it has been used Gumperz (1982), Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model Theory (1977) and Barasa (2010), my research aims to answer the following research questions:

- a) What are the motivations for code-switching in blogs of Italian expats living in the Netherlands?
- b) What is the connection between such motivations for code-switching and identity?

Conclusion

In this first chapter, we tried to shed light on the field of the research, then we synthesized the abundant theory concerning code-switching, concentrating on the sociolinguistics and pragmatic aspects relevant to the study.

In the following chapter, we will discuss the methods adopted to carry the research.

2. METHODOLOGY

In the present research, the motivations for code-switching from Italian to English and Dutch in expats' blogs are studied. This chapter outlines the research design and describes how the research was conducted.

The research was carried out in two parts; firstly, blogs of Italian expats living in the Netherlands were looked into and five of them were selected for the research. After the blog selection, 20 excerpts from different blogs posts were chosen in order to be part of a survey which constituted the second part of the research. The survey was submitted to 45 participants, all native speakers of Italian, and they were asked to express their opinion about the reason for code-switching in the selected excerpts. After all the answers to the survey were collected, each response explaining the reasons to code-switch was labelled according to Barasa's model (2010) and to recurring reasons which were named and considered as new findings.

2.1 Data collection

For the purpose of the study, five blogs written by Italians living in the Netherlands were selected (these are found in Appendix A). Afterwards, for each blog were chosen four excerpts extracted from several blog posts. In this chapter, the collection of data is discussed, namely expat blogs and survey's answers, together with characteristics of bloggers and of the survey's participants.

2.2 Bloggers

In table 1 below, profiles of the bloggers are summarized (age, sex, years living in the Netherlands, occupation and languages used in daily life). The following data were collected through e-mails exchanged between the researcher and the authors or from the blogs themselves. It is relevant to mention that all bloggers are native speakers of Italian and they were not raised bilingual.

Table 1. Bloggers' profile

Bloggers	Age	Sex	Years in NL	Occupation	Languages used in daily life
1	33	Male	9	Customer care in an international company	English, French, Dutch, Italian
2	27	Female	2	Copy-writer for an e-commerce company	English, Italian
3	32	Male	2	Employee in an international company	English, Italian
4	35	Male	9	IT specialist in an American company	English, Italian

5	25	Female	0.5	Master's student	English, Italian
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As it can be observed from table 1, the length of the bloggers' stay in the Netherlands is not homogeneous. Nonetheless they all work in an international environment and they all adopt both English and Italian in their daily life, with the exception of blogger number 5 who is a student.

As also mentioned in chapter 1, code-switching is a linguistic phenomenon usually associated with bilingualism. It is commonly accepted that to be described as bilingual, one must be able to have a native-like control of two languages and to have acquired such languages in a naturalistic context, i.e. being raised by parents with two different mother tongues or living in a bilingual community. Contrary to popular assumptions, age and mode of acquiring a second language have little to do with the language proficiency level of the individual. According to Hamers and Blanc (2000, p.6): "Bilinguality is the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication; the degree of access will vary along a number of dimensions which are psychological, social, sociological, sociolinguistic, socio-cultural and linguistic". This means that the languages spoken are used differently, for different purposes and with a different level of proficiency. Since bloggers use English and Italian everyday but for different purposes and in various social environments, they fall into the bilingual category.

2.3 Blogs' excerpts

There is a wide homogeneity in the topics addressed and the tone adopted in the five blogs, such as everyday life in the Netherlands and their experiences about living abroad as expats. The writing style is generally informal, spontaneous, straightforward and ironic.

Below, some of the excerpts considered for the research and used for the survey are presented with the English translation, parts in *italic* are in English (or Dutch in three of the fragments) in the original blog post. In the appendix are found all the excerpts considered for the research.

(IT) "All'inizio trovavo anche divertenti gli awkward moments dove ciò che per te era normale e scontato veniva ribaltato creando fraintendimenti e facce di chi ha appena annusato la scorreggia dell'elefante"

(ENG) "At the beginning I found the awkward moments fun, where what for you was normal and taken for granted was turned around creating misunderstanding and people would make the face of someone who has just sniffed an elephant's fart"

(IT) "Godersi un momento di lekker chillen estivo"

(ENG) "To enjoy a moment of summery lekker chillen"

(IT) La discussione riguardava un altro membro del PVV, Raymond de Roon, che aveva definito il premier turco Erdogan una islamitische aap"

(ENG) "The discussion was about another member of the PVV, Raymond de Roon, who defined the Turkish premier an islamitische aap"

(IT) "Trasferirsi all'estero è un pain in the ass"

(ENG) “Moving abroad is a pain in the ass”

2.4 Survey

A survey named “*Alternanza linguistica nei blog di italiani in Olanda*” (“Code-switching in blogs of Italians in the Netherlands”) was submitted to 45 participants, all of them were native speakers of Italian. The survey was created and compiled by participants in their native language. The investigation consisted of the twenty blogs’ excerpts found in the appendix; participants were asked to write down, in the text entry space provided, the motivation for code-switching according to their personal opinion.

The first page of the survey consisted of a brief description of my research and the definition of the phenomenon of code-switching, together with the assignment. Details are found in the appendix B.

2.5 Survey’s participants

In table 2 and 3, age and sex of the 45 participants are illustrated, in table 4 the languages spoken by the participants are listed.

Table 2. Age of participants in the survey

Age groups	Participants
20 - 25	16
26 - 30	10
31 – 35	3
36 - 40	3
41 - 45	1
46 - 50	5
51 - 55	2
56 – 60	3
61 - 65	2

Table 3. Sex of participants in the survey

Male	Female
19 (42%)	26 (58%)

Moreover, it was asked to the participants in the survey about the languages they speak and their level of fluency (basic, intermediate, advanced). All participants answered that they speak English at some levels, namely: 6 at a basic level, 18 intermediate, 21 advanced. The second most spoken language is French, with 19 speakers (2 participants at basic level, 13 participants at intermediate level, 4 participants at advanced level), to follow Spanish (4 participants at basic level and one participant at advanced level) and Chinese (2 participants at intermediate level and 2 participant at advanced level). As for the Dutch language, only two of the participants speak it: one participant at intermediate level and one participant at advanced level. In the following table, all the languages spoken by participants are listed, next to the number of speakers.

Table 4. Languages spoken by participants in the survey

Languages	Number of participants
English	45
French	19
Spanish	5
Chinese	4
Dutch	2
German	2
Arabic	1
Korean	1
Japanese	1
Portuguese	1
Romanian	1

2.6 Data analysis

The answers collected in the survey were labelled on the basis of reasons for code-switching, when possible, according to Barasa's findings discussed in section number 1.3.1. The categories are summarized here.

- 1) Least effort: it occurs when the writer (in this case the blogger) wants to spend as little effort and time as possible, in some cases there is also the need to save space.
- 2) Rapidity: this category is probably the most characteristic one of code-switching, it is the most spontaneous option, the first word the speaker, or the writer, thinks of.
- 3) Mode limitation: this arises from the fact that in CMC (Computer Mediated Communication) very often writing is subjected to limitation, such as in the limited characters in SMS or websites; because of such limitation, users are forced to use shorten forms in order not to pass the characters limit.
- 4) Accuracy: often users find some words difficult to translate into another language, therefore they code-switch, they use these words or expressions in the original language.
- 5) Identity: Barasa's results showed that code-switching can be the consequence of peer relationships of or wanting to relate with the audience.
- 6) Creativity: in this case, the writer code-switches to show innovation and talent.

In the current research, some of these categories are interpreted in a different way than Barasa's description. Firstly, mode limitation is not applicable to bloggers; platforms that host blogs usually do not have limitation concerning posts length. There is no characters limit, consequently writers do not have the necessity to use shorten forms. Secondly, the category of identity have not been considered, I personally did not think that it could be applied to this kind of blogs and such motivation was not present in the survey's answers. Thirdly, the category of least effort has been evaluated in a slightly different way; Barasa says that it occurs when the writers want to spend as little effort and space as possible. Amongst the answers collected through the survey, I decided to label as least effort all the explanations which suggested that code-switching was caused by the fact that English is more immediate, incisive and rapid than the mother tongue, meaning essentially that English is more synthetic than Italian. Therefore, it was speculated that the writer adopted such strategy in order to be

more direct and to not elaborate the concept further. In chapter 4, this concept is elaborated further with the support of examples.

Furthermore, the observations collected during the survey, showed additional reasons to code-switching recurring in all the excerpts which were part of the survey. The new categories found are the following:

- 1) Self-censorship
- 2) Emphasis
- 3) Exhibitionism
- 4) Anglicism
- 5) Reported speech

Conclusion

The chapter provided details about the research design, its participants and the theoretical background adopted for the data treatment. In the next chapter the results of the research will be presented together with the new findings mentioned in the previous section.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of the study described in the previous chapter is to discover the reasons for code-switching in written discourse, namely blogs, of Italian expats living in the Netherlands. I noticed that such blogs are rich of instances of code-switching, all the blogs taken into account for the study are written in Italian and the switches occur in English, but also in Dutch although to a lesser extent. Twenty excerpts have been selected from five different blogs and I asked to 45 people to explain which are according to them the reasons for the language switch. Subsequently, all the answers have been labelled and categorized according to the previous work of Barasa (2010) and new reasons to code-switching have been discovered. The results of the research are illustrated in this chapter.

3.1 Findings

3.1.1 Survey's answers

Table 5 below shows the answers collected during the survey. In the first column, the excerpts are indicated with their correspondent number, the other columns are for Barasa's motivations and the new findings. The numbers represent the total of participants who gave the correspondent category as motivation for code-switching. Participants expressed the motivations in their own words, then the researcher labelled each answer. Some participants gave more explanations whereas others did not express their opinion in some of the questions. For this reason the total of motivations per each excerpt is not always 45, the number of the participants who completed the survey.

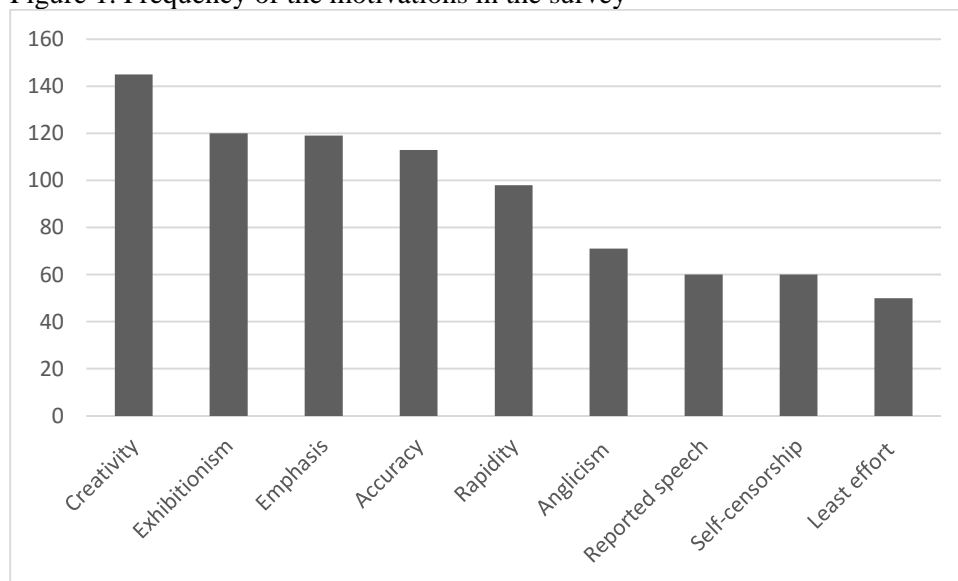
Table 5. Answers to the survey "Alternanza linguistica nei blog di italiani in Olanda"

N°	Barasa				New Findings				
	Least effort	Rapidity	Accuracy	Creativity	Exhibitionism	Emphasis	Anglicism	Self-censorship	Reported speech
1	2	1	8	3	-	6	5	18	1
2	1	3	14	2	8	4	4	2	2
3	-	6	-	3	17	6	3	-	15
4	2	5	12	10	4	8	-	-	-
5	-	4	9	6	13	1	3	-	-
6	3	-	4	8	3	2	9	-	1
7	1	4	14	4	3	4	-	-	12
8	1	2	5	1	-	8	-	9	18
9	7	4	10	4	5	1	3	4	-
10	4	4	2	17	3	6	2	2	2
11	-	6	1	12	5	17	-	-	-
12	10	8	2	5	4	3	3	-	3
13	7	6	1	7	5	9	5	-	1
14	1	8	-	15	14	4	1	-	-
15	-	9	-	10	7	9	3	-	-
16	5	5	-	13	5	6	1	-	4
17	2	14	16	-	6	3	3	-	-
18	2	1	9	5	8	1	20	-	-
19	2	3	2	8	6	9	5	-	1
20	-	5	4	2	2	6	1	25	-

The topics of the excerpts taken into account are diverse, thus the motivations to code-switching vary for every question of the survey. It can be seen that for some excerpts the answers have been more shared than others: in excerpt 1, self-censorship was the motivation to code-switching according to 18 participants, whereas reported-speech was the most popular answer in excerpt 18 (18 participants), 20 gave Anglicism as the motivation to code-switch in excerpt 18 and 25 participants assigned self-censorship as the motivation for the language change in the last excerpt.

All the motivations for code-switching and their frequency are summarised and showed in graph 3.

Figure 1. Frequency of the motivations in the survey



With a total of 830 answers collected through the survey, as it can be seen from graph 3, the most common motivation in the sample of blogs examined is creativity (mentioned 145), followed by exhibitionism (120), emphasis (119), accuracy (113), rapidity (98), Anglicism (71), reported speech (60), self-censorship (60), and least effort (50).

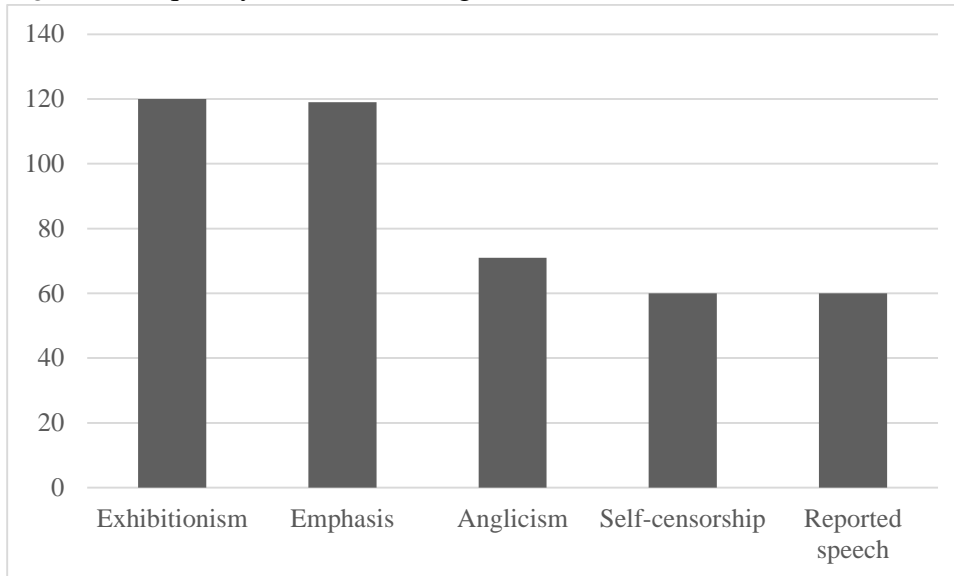
In 3.2 and 3.3, each motivation will be explained individually with examples of the survey's answers.

3.2 New findings

In chapter 3, it has been explained how data were collected and how they were labelled and divided into categories. The theoretical background adopted is the one from Barasa and her categories were used as a model for the classification of the answers to the survey. I noticed that some other motivations were recurrent in the survey's answers and they did not match Barasa's criteria. To these new reasons for code-switching that I intuitively discovered, I assigned a name (exhibitionism, emphasis, Anglicism, self-censorship, and reported speech). These are defined from now on as new findings; such new reasons discovered during the research are explained and with examples in this section.

The graph below shows how many times each category occurred in the survey.

Figure 2. Frequency of the new categories



Each category is now illustrated together with the transcription of few examples of the survey's answer.

Exhibitionism

This new category found is the most relevant for the research and it is also the one which recurs the most in the survey's answers. The name *exhibitionism* was given because the word recurs in the answers collected and it explains the behaviour of wanting to brag, to show to the readers that who is writing is able to speak another language and is integrated in the hosting culture. In psychology, exhibitionism is a condition marked by the urge to expose one's sexual organs ("Exhibitionism", 2014), however, by extension it is also a behavioural aspect, it is the tendency of some people for approval and admiration from others and they look for such approval showing their skills and their superiority. Therefore, I define exhibitionism as the linguistic behaviour used as a social marker by some categories of people, such as expats, to expose their identity and their linguistic skills or their social class.

The excerpts, whose motivation to code-switching was considered to be exhibitionism according the largest number of survey respondents, are 3 ("*moreover, posso finalmente dire che...*"), 5 ("*godersi un momento di lekker chillen estivo*") and 14 ("*I 10 consigli per rimorchiare una Dutch girl*"). The responses to the survey which were coded as exhibitionism are all similar to the following ones: "The blogger wants to show off", "To show integration in the Dutch society", "To express the ability of the speaker to speak two languages", "I think the writer wants to highlight his integration in the reality he lives in starting from the fact that he speaks the language".

Emphasis

The second new category which was taken into account was named *emphasis*. The reason is because the language switch does give special stress or importance to something and to highlight a specific concept. In the responses referring to the category of emphasis, amongst the more recurrent ones are found: "English is used to reinforce the concept", "To put more emphasis, it would not be the same in Italian", "To catch the reader's attention". Excerpts 11

(“*per dire addio o magari tot ziens.*”), 13 (“*prima differenza enorme fra the Italian e the Dutch way per giocare a calico balilla*”) and 15 (“*and, in the end devo dire che*”) are the ones that, according to survey’s participants, present code-switching for emphasis.

Anglicism

In the current research, by *Anglicism* is meant a word or a short sentence borrowed from English which is easily understood in Italian because of the widespread use of such word or expression. They are “cult” and commonly used especially by young people and on the internet. Generally, an Anglicism is “an expression from English used in another language, such as *le fairplay* in French”, as described in the Concise Oxford English Dictionary of Linguistics.

Connected to this notion are borrowing: “conventional term for the introduction into language of specific words, constructions, or morphological elements of language”, and loan word: “a word imported by borrowing from another language. E.g. English chamber is one of many loan words introduced from Old French in the Middle Ages; karma a borrowing from Sanskrit in the 19th century; blitz one from German in the 1940s” (Matthews, 2014). Thus, the difference is that an Anglicism is simply an English word in another language, in all of the instances of my research the Italian equivalent would express the same concept.

Excerpts 1, 6, 13, 18, and 19 are the ones which have been validated more often by survey’s participants with Anglicism as the reason for code-switching. Thus, *karma is a bitch*, *Sightseeing & Tourist Attractions*, *Nightlife*, *the Italian way*, *entertainment*, *congratulations*, *you won!*, are considered as Anglicism.

Self-censorship

I define the category of *self-censorship* as the motivation to code-switching used in order to mitigate meaning and avoid using vulgar expressions. Such category is found when the blogger, rather consciously, is trying to mitigate the meaning of the switched part of the discourse. It is not a case that instances of self-censorship are found in all the excerpts which present swear words or strong statements or when talking about delicate topics.

Examples of the explanations collected for this motivation are: “In order to avoid writing a swear word in Italian; the use of a foreign language reduces its meaning and its gravity”, “In English it sounds less vulgar”, “To hide the meaning and to make it less strong”. As mentioned earlier, the self-censorship category is found in all the excerpts which present swear words or in delicate political issue, such as excerpt 8 (“*...che aveva definite il premier turco Erdogan una islamitische aap*”) or swear words such as excerpt 1 (“*karma is a bitch...*”) and 20 (“*trasferirsi all'estero è un pain in the ass*”).

Reported speech

This motivation for code-switching is also found in previously mentioned research, such as Gumperz (1982) and Cerruti (2004), but it is not found in Barasa’s motivations for code-switching.

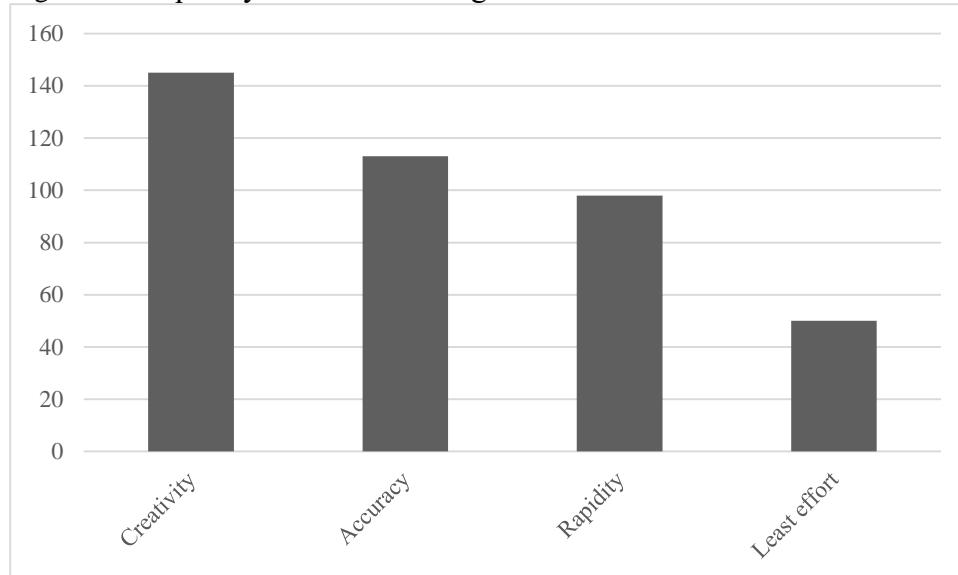
In some of the excerpts provided to the participants, the switched part was indeed a quotation (excerpts 3 and 7); nonetheless, reported speech was listed as a motivation for code-switching in other excerpts as well.

3.3 Barasa's categories

In section 4.2, the new motivations for code-switching discovered during the research were described in detail. In the current section, Barasa's motivations for code-switching which were found in the survey's answers are analysed and explained with examples.

In graph 5 is showed the frequency of the categories amongst the answers collected.

Figure 3. Frequency of Barasa's categories



Creativity

Creativity is when the blogger code-switches to show originality and talent in writing. It is the most frequent category in the survey, amongst Barasa's, and it is a bit of a jolly one because all answers which could not be attributed to the previous categories were labelled as creativity. Some examples are: "the blogger is ironic", "it is a fun word-play", "the blogger wants the reader to be immersed in the Dutch atmosphere", "to be more creative", "to express an emotional connection", and "the use of English is a stylistic choice". Some of the excerpts where creativity was indicated as the motivation for code-switching are number 10 ("*...the king of bike trafficking, suppongo*"), 14 ("*I 10 consigli per rimorchiare una Dutch girl*") and 11 ("*per dire addio o magari tot ziens...*").

Accuracy

It can be difficult to find the perfect translation or the right word to express a concept, this is why bloggers tend to code-switching and use certain expressions in English. Examples of the survey's answers which were labelled as accuracy are: "a translation would not be effective", "English seems more adequate and in Italian it wouldn't express the same feelings", "difficult to find an Italian correspondent", "English suits better in this case". Excerpt 2 ("*all'inizio trovo anche divertenti gli awkward moments...*"), 7 ("*a noi è capitato di sentirci dire che eravamo gezellig quando abbiamo cenato sul marciapiede di fronte casa...*") and 17 ("*...oltre ai soliti assignment ho da consegnare già un progetto di tesi...*") were indicated in the results of the survey as examples of accuracy.

Rapidity

When usual or habitual to use a certain word in a language, then it is common to use that specific word also when speaking another language, just because that is the first word that comes to one's mind. Samples of responses which were labelled as rapidity are: "the blogger probably used this expression many times in English, this is why it remained in the original language", "I think the blogger uses English in everyday life, so it is more natural to use such expression", "it is spontaneous for the blogger". Among this category are excerpt 17 ("*...oltre ai soliti assignment ho da consegnare già un progetto di tesi...*") and 12 ("*split the bill, pagare il conto all'olandese*").

Least effort

This category is defined by Barasa as the willingness of the writer to spend as little effort as possible in their production. In the current research such motivations is used by the bloggers because English, in most of the instances, is a highly more rapid and synthetic language than Italian. Examples of answers referring to this characteristic of the language are: "in Italian the same sentence would be much longer", "the blogger uses English to be more concise and immediate", "English is more synthetic and effective", "to keep it short". In the survey, excerpt 12 ("*split the bill, pagare il conto all'olandese*"), 7 ("*a noi è capitato di sentirci dire che eravamo gezellig quando abbiamo cenato sul marciapiede di fronte casa...*") and 9 ("*che una ragazza sia girly o tomboy, va bene tutto*") were pointed as examples of code-switching because of least effort.

3.4 Discussion

3.4.1 Differences with Barasa's motivations to code-switch

As mentioned in the previous chapter, since the data analysed here are consistently different from the ones used in Barasa's research, some of the categories have been interpreted differently from their original conception.

Firstly, Barasa included in her findings the category of mode limitation. Such reason for code-switching arises from the fact that in CMC the writer is very often limited in space, such limitation is not applicable to blogs. For this reason, the category of mode limitation was not considered in the data analysis.

Secondly, the way I interpreted the category of least effort presents some differences with the original meaning. As explained earlier, this motivation to code-switch occurs when the writer wants to spend as little effort and time as possible: "when confronted with text input in CMC, users will often choose the most convenient input that requires the least effort to avoid strain. A good example of this is the neglect of capital letters at the beginning of sentences/messages and proper nouns" (p.43). In my data, I realized that this is not the case, every writer was consistent in always using correct grammar and orthographic rules; but instead code-switching tended to happen when expressing the concept in Italian would have been more rambling and long-winded, while in most of the cases English showed up to be a more synthetic and straight forward language. This is how the least effort motivation was interpreted and, according to such interpretation, the answers were labelled. It can be supposed that Italian is not CMC friendly, English expresses ideas and thoughts faster and in a more synthetic way.

3.4.2 Criticism and attitude towards code-switching

A negative attitude emerged towards code-switching in the answers collected. This is in accordance with the general attitude towards English in Italy that was previously discussed in section 1.2 in chapter two.

Some of the participants pointed out that English in several cases is not necessary to express a certain idea better, that Italian works perfectly fine: “English raises a sense of confusion in an already confused sentence”, “useless abuse of English terms, there is an Italian translation and it is even better”. Other participants believe that the use of English worsen a sentence: “English makes the sentence uglier”, “I do not understand, it sounds horrible” and “very unnatural”. Some subjects suggested that the use of the foreign language might arise from ignorance: “the blogger does not know Italian grammar and syntax”. In addition to these responses, I consider the answers which motivated the reason to code-switch as the willingness of the author to sound glamorous and “cool” as an indicator of critics and negative attitude towards English.

Conclusion

In the chapter, the results of the survey have been discussed, particular attentions has been given to all the categories of motivations for code-switching: both the motivations used as a theoretical background and the new findings, which have been defined and explained with examples. It has been found that the most common reasons to code-switching in Italian expat’s blogs are: creativity, exhibitionism, emphasis and accuracy, followed by all the others.

4. CONCLUSION

Thanks to the collected data we were able to discover the most common motivations to code-switch in blogs written by Italian expats living in the Netherlands. We used as a reference Barasa's motivations (2010) and we recognized five additional reasons. In the 20 excerpts deducted from the blogs the most common reasons are: *creativity*, *exhibitionism*, *emphasis* and *accuracy*. Furthermore, the answers collected from the survey and the resulting formulation of the category of *exhibitionism* showed that there is a strong connection between code-switching and the way expats see themselves and want to be perceived in the society.

In this final chapter, I will answer to the research questions, observe the limitations of the research, and draw a comparison with the works mentioned in chapter 1 and finally a conclusion.

4.1 Answers to the research questions

- a) What are the motivations for code-switching in blogs of Italian expats living in the Netherlands?

I created a survey, from the responses collected I am able now to give an answer to the research question. In addition to the motivations used as a point of departure (Barasa, 2010), I found five additional motivations to code-switching, these are, in order of relevance: *exhibitionism*, *emphasis*, *Anglicism*, *reported speech* and *self-censorship*.

In the case of code-switching for *exhibitionism*, expats want to praise themselves, they display the fact that they are multilinguals and they want to demonstrate that they are relocating to a new social category (the one of the expats), they are fluent in another language and they are integrated in a new environment.

The second of the new motivations found is *emphasis*, it is used to highlight a concept and catch the reader's attention. Then we find *Anglicism*, which consists of easily understandable and common expressions or words borrowed from the English language. The motivation of *reported speech*, a way to express the content of an utterance without quoting directly, is found also in some of the previous research mentioned in chapter one, such as Cerruti (2004) and Gumperz's *Discourse Strategies* (1982). To conclude, the last of the new motivations found is *self-censorship*, Italian expats code-switch when trying to mitigate the meaning of a sentence and avoiding to use swear words and vulgar expressions.

- b) What is the connection between such motivations to code-switching and identity?

I expected code-switching to mark a transition in the identity of the bloggers, to highlight their "being international". The first reason to expect this outcome is that when writing the blogger usually has the time to focus on the language, think about the appropriate vocabulary and to edit the text, nonetheless the amount of foreign words in expat blogs is extensive, meaning that bloggers code-switch consciously and intentionally, with a motive in mind.

As for the relationship between the motivations and the role of identity, the answers collected validated my hypothesis, the most recurrent motivation to code-switching is the category of *exhibitionism*, expats code-switch also because, to say it in Myers-Scotton's terms, they want to "redefine the interaction and move to a different social arena" (1977), code-switching is thus a marked choice, something unpredicted and not expected which is used to make a statement in a conversation (or in this case, in a written document). When

code-switching expats manipulate the language, they adopt vocabulary which does not belong to their personal linguistic background. Such manipulation of the language symbolizes that they are trying to redefine their reality, their identity and through language they shape the identity they want to assume, this process is very similar to the one of code-crossing (Rampton, 1998). Table 5 shows that the excerpts with the instances of code-switching, of which the motivation to code-switch is classified as exhibitionism are numerous, especially excerpts 3, 14 and 5. These are, in my opinion, good examples of language manipulation and adoption of foreign terms by the writer in order to redefine the reality. In all the excerpts mentioned, Italian would be perfectly acceptable and suitable semantically and pragmatically, moreover all the expressions are easily translatable and of everyday usage. For instance, in excerpt 3 “moreover” can easily be replaced with “*inoltre*”, in excerpt 5 “lekker chillen” would become “*riposo*” and “a Dutch girl” in excerpt 14 would become “*una ragazza olandese*”. None of the other motivations to code-switch seems acceptable in these cases, the only explanation to use a foreign expression must be that the blogger is trying to indicate something.

4.2 Comparison with other research

The other research mentioned in chapter one present some dissimilarities with the study conducted in this thesis, these concern data corpora, methodology and results.

The first difference is the matrix language of the corpora used, while in the previous research this is always the one of the country where the subjects live (in the case of Androutsopoulos (2007) for instance the matrix language is German and English in the study conducted by De Fina (2007)), and the embedded languages are the ones of the country of origin (Greek, Turkish and Pujabi in Androutsopoulos (2007) and Italian in De Fina (2007)), in my research the matrix language is the native one of the participants, namely Italian. As far as methodology is concerned, none of the mentioned works adopt a survey as a research method, they are all based on quantitative data rather than qualitative. Finally, there are a few differences in the results. In Androutsopoulos (2007) the switching occurs as a resistance to the linguistic dominance of the country where the participants live, while in my research we recently discovered that the switch occurs for the opposite reason, my participants want to show integration in the hosting country. Similar results are found in De Fina (2007), where the participants are Italian immigrants members of a club and they speak their ancestors’ language to show ethnic affiliation. In Montes-Alcalà (2007) and Cerruti (2004) the results are more similar to the ones found in my research. In the first case, code-switching is a valid strategy to pursue communicative and stylistic effects, as in the creativity category of my results. In the second case, code-switching serves the purpose to highlight parts of the discourse, as in the category of emphasis. To conclude, the results of Halim & Maros (2014) are also comparable to my new findings. Among the functions of code-switching in Facebook status updates in Malay found by Halim & Maros there are: code-switching for quotation (the same as the category of reported speech), code-switching for emphasis (same as the emphasis category), code-switching for economy (meaning that the writer tends to adopt less intricate forms and easy words in order to ease communication uses English because English words are shorter than Malay words and therefore it results much easier, the same view I have on the least effort category), and free switching (similar to creativity in my results).

4.3 Limitations

Although the research reached its scope, some limitations are unavoidable. The main caveats of the thesis are concerned with the size of the corpus and the reliability of the survey.

The corpus of data consisted of five blogs and only 20 excerpts were extrapolated and taken into account for the analysis. The choice of using a limited number of text fragments was made in order to keep the length of the survey acceptable for the participants and to keep their interest and motivation to complete the survey. A wider corpus and divided by the content of the posts will certainly offer a deeper insight in the motivations to code-switching in expats' blogs.

Secondly, in order to conduct the research I created a survey, which is not the most reliable way to measure something relative and personal such as the motivations to adopt a certain language. It would have been beneficial for the research to conduct an interview with the bloggers, or create an additional survey, but unfortunately this was not possible.

Conclusion

The present research has added further interpretative pieces to the analysis of the phenomenon of code-switching through the study of blogs written by Italian expats. In line with Myers-Scotton's view of code-switching as a marked choice (1993), which states that speakers dis-identify with the expected rights and obligations set, and Gumperz's idea that "language differences serve primarily to mark social identity and are perpetuated in accordance with established norms and traditions" (1982, p.39), we observed how code-switching is used as a creative tool and especially as a way to state the new identity of expats, and to express the fact that they now belong to both worlds, their native country, Italy, and the hosting country, the Netherlands.

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Appendix A

Blogs and blogs' excerpts

Blogs

Blog 1: Amsterdam secondo Alf (<http://blog.zingarate.com/amsterdam/>)

Blog 2: Alice in the Netherlands (iointhenetherlands.blogspot.com/)

Blog 3: Mamma vado ad Amsterdam (<https://mammavadoadamsterdam.wordpress.com/>)

Blog 4: Vivo @ Amsterdam (<http://www.danielebesana.com/blog/amsterdam>)

Blog 5: Land of flying tulips (<https://flyingtulip.wordpress.com/>)

Excerpts

(1) “*Karma is a bitch*, per cui, anche se non ci si crede, meglio non farla arrabbiare, non si sa mai”

“*Karma is a bitch*, so, even if you don't believe in it, better not to make it angry, you never know”

(2) “All'inizio trovavo anche divertenti gli *awkward moments* dove ciò che per te era normale e scontato veniva ribaltato creando fraintendimenti e facce di chi ha appena annusato la scorreggia dell'elefante”

“At the beginning I found the *awkward moments* fun, where what for you was normal and taken for granted was turned around creating misunderstanding and people would make the face of someone who has just sniffed an elephant's fart”

(3) “*Moreover*, posso finalmente andare in giro guardandoli con gli occhi stralunati e dire: “*winter is coming*””

“*Moreover*, I can finally go around looking at them with dazed eyes and say: “*winter is coming*””

(4) “Che *lekker!* Dove provare la cucina tradizionale olandese ad Amsterdam”

“How *lekker!* Where to taste traditional Dutch cuisine in Amsterdam”

(5) “Godersi un momento di *lekker chillen* estivo”

“To enjoy a moment of summery *lekker chillen*”

(6) I titoli dei post sono tutti in inglese, per esempio: “*Sightseeing & Touristic attractions*”, “*Nightlife*”. Secondo lei, perchè l’autore del blog ha fatto questa scelta? The posts’ titles are all in English, such as: “*Sightseeing & Touristic attractions*”, “*Nightlife*”. According to you, why the author opted for this choice?

(7) “A noi è capitato di sentirci dire che eravamo *gezellig* quando abbiamo cenato sul marciapiede di fronte a casa una di queste sere di estate”

“It happened to us that people said we were *gezellig* when we were having dinner on the sidewalk in front of our house one of these summer evenings”

(8) La discussione riguardava un altro membro del PVV, Raymond de Roon, che aveva definito il premier turco Erdogan una *islamitische aap*”

“The discussion was about another member of the PVV, Raymond de Roon, who defined the Turkish premier an *islamitische aap*”

(9) “che una ragazza sia *girly* o *tomboy*, va bene tutto”

“That a girl is *girly* or *tomboy*, it doesn’t matter”

(10) “ E indovinate chi era???. Lo stesso tipo che non parla inglese che mi aveva venduto la mia prima bici! *The king of bike trafficking*, suppongo”

“And guess who was it???. The same guy who does not speak English and who sold me my first bike! *The king of bike trafficking*, I suppose”

(11) “Per dire addio o magari *tot ziens* a tutti quei posti che mi piacevano”

“To say goodbye or maybe *tot ziens* to all those places that I liked”

(12) “*Split the bill*, pagare il conto all’olandese”

“*Split the bill*, paying the bill the Dutch way”

(13) “Prima differenza enorme fra *the Italian and the Dutch way* per giocare a calcio balilla”

“First huge difference between *the Italian and the Dutch way* to play foosball”

(14) “I 10 consigli per rimorchiare una *Dutch girl*”

“The 10 advices to pick up a *Dutch girl*”

(15) “*And, in the end* devo dire che...”

“*And, in the end* I must say that...”

(16) “*The bike is gone* (o quasi)”

“*The bike is gone* (almost)”

(17) “E siccome oltre ai soliti *assignment* ho anche da consegnare già un progetto di tesi con bibliografia...”

“And since together with the usual *assignment* I also have to hand in a thesis project with bibliography...”

(18) “Proprio quando uno si convince che la musica leggera italiana (nello specifico quella napoletana) sia il peggior male dell’*entertainment* mondiale (...)”

“Exactly when you are convinced that Italian pop music (specifically the Neapolitan one) is the worst in the global *entertainment* (...)”

(19) “Se per qualsiasi motive dovreste decidere di venire qui:

CONGRATULATIONS, you won!”

“If for any reason you should decide to come here: *CONGRATULATIONS, you won!*”

(20) “Trasferirsi all'estero è un *pain in the ass*”
“Moving abroad is a *pain in the ass*”

Appendix B

Survey's description

“Il questionario fa parte della mia ricerca per la tesi finale del Master in Language and Communication dell'università di Leiden, Paesi Bassi. Il questionario è anonimo e l'unico scopo è quello di raccogliere dati per la ricerca. L'argomento è il fenomeno di code-switching, o alternanza linguistica, nei blog di italiani che vivono nei Paesi Bassi. Per code-switching si intende l'uso che parlanti bilingue o multilingue fanno di due o più lingue in un unico discorso. Ogni domanda del questionario presenta un estratto dai blog analizzati, dove l'autore mischia due o più lingue (italiano, inglese o olandese). Nello spazio sottostante ogni domanda scriva quali sono, secondo lei, le motivazioni dell'autore per questo passaggio di lingua. Grazie!”

“The survey is part of my research for the final masters' thesis in Language and Communication at the university of Leiden, the Netherlands. The survey is anonymous and the only purpose is to collect data for the research. The topic is code-switching in blogs of Italians living in the Netherlands. By code-switching is meant the use by bilinguals or multilingual of two or more languages in one discourse. Every question of the survey is composed by a fragment of the analysed blogs, where the author mixes up two or more languages (Italian, English or Dutch). In the space beneath each question, please write which are, according to you, the motivations for such language shift. Thank you!”

Appendix C

Survey's answers (Originally in Italian, translated in English by the thesis' author)

(1) *"karma is a bitch, per cui, anche se non ci si crede, meglio non farlo arrabbiare, non si sa mai"*

1. Irony
2. It sounds better in English
3. The blogger doesn't know how to say it in Italian
4. It express the concept better
5. It sounds better in English
6. In order to not pronounce the word "bitch" in Italian, furthermore the concept might have been offensive for Buddhist people
7. The word in Italian might have been considered too strong, in English is allowed
8. The English "bitch" is more effective than the Italian correspondent
9. The use of English is for emphasis
10. "Karma" is used as a synonym of destiny
11. In order to avoid writing a bad word in Italian; the use of a foreign language it reduces the meaning of it, its gravity
12. In order to make the expression less "strong"
13. There is no Italian correspondent
14. It is a common sentence, commonly used on the internet, even in English is immediately recognizable and understandable
15. The English sentence is used in order to stress the concept, also in a phonetic way
16. When you say a swear word in English it sound less vulgar, gross
17. Sometime, saying a swear word in a different language sounds less vulgar, maybe because you hope others will not understand
18. Maybe the writer was quoting something
19. Avoiding the use of the mother language for a swear word
20. The writer is swearing, but he's hiding it using the foreign language
21. To avoid swearing in Italian and make the sentence less vulgar
22. To be sharp, incisiveness
23. The writer thinks is less vulgar in English
24. Maybe using "...karma is a bitch" the writer wants to use a strong expression, but in Italian would sound more vulgar
25. To put more emphasis
26. To put more emphasis

27. The English expression is a quote, from a movie or a book, it is a well-known expression, thus is easily recognizable to the reader
28. The expression became “slang”, it is immediately recognizable and more familiar than the Italian correspondent
29. It is a common saying, in any case karma could not be translated...personally I prefer to translate the second part of the sentence in Italian
30. The writer wants to say something bad, in English it sounds less vulgar
31. Allegory for analogy with a popular English saying
32. To make the message more immediate, or simply because there is no such saying in Italian, or in order to strengthen the concept
33. Because a translation would imply the use of a swear word and sound bad (cacophonous)
34. Bitch is considered by the author more adequate than the Italian correspondent, it helps attenuate the message. Or the author is very fluent in English and might consider the use of English expression more natural
35. The author wants to communicate how unstable is karma. It uses the word bitch to say that one must live with it.
36. I don't know, maybe to express the idea better, in English it sounds less strong than in Italian 37. It's an American catch phrase
38. I think the author thinks is cooler to talk about karma with the English term bitch
39. I think in Italian it would be more vulgar and carry a heavier meaning than in English
40. To say “il karma è una puttana”, it doesn't express the same feelings, even if the meaning is the same
41. In order to sound cooler
42. There are similar expressions in Italian, the writer could have avoided that.
43. The English expression seems more adequate in order to express the concept and it is sharper
44. English is surely more synthetic and in Italian would sound too vulgar
45. English is more appropriate, it avoids to be vulgar

(2) *“All' inizio trovo anche divertenti gli awkward moments dove ciò che per te era normale e scontato veniva ribaltato creando fraintendimenti e facce di chi ha appena annusato la scoreggia dell'elefante”*

1. Difficult to find an Italian correspondent
2. English expresses the concept in a more synthetic way
3. Italian is less effective
4. It is imported, cannot be translated
5. I don't know
6. In Italian is less effective, doesn't express fully the concept
7. Better expressed in English, a translation wouldn't be satisfactory
8. There is no Italian correspondent
9. The English expression is more immediate

10. I don't know
11. The "moments" the writer is talking about are not really positive, the use of the foreign language is to soften them
12. To raise the sense of confusion in the already confused sentence
13. It sounds better than 'momenti imbarazzanti'
14. It is common language, usually found on the internet
15. English is probably used because no correspondent is found in Italian
16. I don't know what it means, if I google it would be cheating!
17. If one would know the movie it would understand immediately
18. The author wants to show off
19. No answer
20. Impossible to translate
21. English explains the concept better
22. To put emphasis
23. The writer wants to sound snob, posh
24. The Italian translation would not explain the concept as well as English does
25. To put more emphasis, to feel cool in using English
26. To put more emphasis on those moments
27. It is difficult to translate 'awkward' in Italian, English expresses the concept better
28. As in the case of the previous question, the English expression is a quote, from a movie or a book, it is a well-known expression, thus is easily recognizable to the reader
29. I think the writer just wants to make an impression, wants to sound cool, modern
30. The use of "awkward moments" is more original
31. The blogger thinks the use of English is less compromising
32. Lack of Italian correspondent
33. This expression is commonly used also on tv
34. The author maybe uses "awkward moments" because using a foreign word sounds more exotic, or maybe more emphatic in this context
35. The use of English means is even more awkward
36. When one knows more than one language might feel than one term, in a different language, might express better an idea because it is felt as belonging to a different context
37. The author feels superior
38. Italian does not express the idea as well as English, in Italian it would sound less cool
39. The writer probably heard this expression many times in English, that's why it remained in the original language
40. I think the writer uses English in everyday life, so it is more natural to use such expression

41. Maybe the audience is not Italian
42. This could be avoided, probably is a quote from a movie
43. It refers to jargon widely used on the internet
44. It is a widespread expression on the internet, it has an immediate impact on readers both Italian and foreigners
45. Habit, (s)he is used to talk this way

(3) *“Moreover, posso finalmente andare in giro guardandoli con gli occhi stralunati e dire: “Winter is coming”*

1. To provoke laughter
2. To highlight that the one who is speaking is different
3. The use of English is snobbish and pompous
4. The language switch is to highlight a concept
5. It looks like the author forgot the word “inoltre”, while “winter is coming” is a quote
6. To show off
- . The use of “moreover” is useless, in Italian the meaning would be the same. “Winter is coming” is a quote from the tv show Game of thrones, a translation would lose its meaning.
8. I do not think there is a specific motivation not to use the mother language
9. The English word at the beginning is a turning point with what it has been previously expressed. As for winter is coming, since the author is living in a foreign country must use this language to communicate.
10. I have no clue
11. In this case, the language switch is used to signal the passage to another topic and a to signal a conclusion
12. To show off with foreign friends
13. It’s a cult sentence and to show off
14. Moreover: it’s a habit or just showing off; Winter is coming: quote
15. The use of English is to highlight the oddity of the one who’s speaking
16. To use adverbs at the beginning of the sentence is common, I do it too all the time but I don’t know why. Winter is coming is just a quote
17. Commonly used expressions 1
8. The writer just wants to show that he knows English
19. No answer.
20. It is reported speech
21. I cannot find a reason
22. To catch the attention
23. It sounds like the writer is mocking someone
24. I don’t really understand the reason, maybe "moreover" is used to introduce the new sentence, while "winter is coming" is a quote

25. To show off and look cool! To use English when you could perfectly use your native language is not excusable
26. It's a quote
27. The use of moreover sounds random to me. Winter is coming is a quote, Dutch people know English, thus they can understand.
28. It's just habit
29. Moreover is used just to show off, "Winter is coming" is a quote, it's like citing Shakespeare and say "To be or not to be" instead of "essere o non essere".
30. It refers to the tv show, it is more like a catchphrase
31. The author doesn't know Italian grammar and syntax
32. Mix of languages to show that he's well integrated abroad
33. I don't know
34. Moreover is probably used because is spontaneous to the author who uses it all the time. Winter is coming is a quote, the writer wanted to refer to the tv show and to its collective consciousness
35. The author uses "moreover" because he uses it daily and does not think that it could be easily translatable ... winter is coming is a quote, so untranslatable
36. Common use in ever language, media phenomenon
37. I don't know 38. The author just want to express himself in a cool way
39. Winter is coming is a quote, moreover I don't know, maybe he was preparing the reader to the English in the quote
40. I don't understand the use of moreover, while I think the other is a quote
41. I don't understand the reason for the first one, while the second is a quote, the author wanted to be funny
42. English here is totally pointless
43. It looks like the author, living abroad, is used to communicate in English
44. It's a fun wordplay, it links the coming of winter with the famous book quote
45. Reported speech

(4) *"Che lekker! Dove provare la cucina tradizionale olandese ad Amsterdam"*

1. Irony
2. It's a suggestion
3. Doesn't know the Italian word
4. Something the writer says every day, colloquialism
5. The Dutch sounds more fluid
6. The sound is similar to the Italian "leccare", maybe the writer liked the Dutch word more
7. Maybe it is one of the first word the author learnt, so it is easy to use in a discourse for him
8. It has a bigger effect if you're talking about that country to use that word
9. In another language it wouldn't have the same effect!

10. Lekker suggests me the verb leccare, so it is immediately associated with something good.
11. Assonance with the word leccare, since he's talking about restaurants it fits well
12. To catch the attention of the writer
13. To show integration in the Dutch society
14. Lekker: to highlight that he's referring to Dutch cuisine
15. Lekker it gives the idea of something good, phonetically as well
16. He's talking about Dutch food, so he uses a Dutch word also in order to share the appreciation for Dutch cuisine with the locals
17. I don't know
18. He's in the Netherlands so he adapts to the place
19. No answer
20. It's an exclamation
21. To reinforce the meaning
22. To be more sharp
23. The author thinks it fits better than the Italian word
24. The Dutch term sounds more joyful, it also has an onomatopoeic sound "da leccarsi le labbra"
25. To attract more readers. Lekker is one of the first words foreigners learn, so the intent of the writer is to attract expats...or just to show off that he learnt few new words in Dutch
26. To impress the reader
27. To make the sentence more meaningful, maybe used ironically, we are still talking about Dutch cuisine....
28. Speaking of Amsterdam, the writer wants the reader to be immersed in the Dutch atmosphere
29. To highlight how good it is
30. They're talking about cuisine, it fits well
31. To put emphasis on the concept
32. The switch is because he's talking about Dutch cuisine
33. Speaking of Dutch cuisine, the writer thought it was appropriate.
34. To put more emphasis, the use of lekker is adequate to the context
35. The author wants to make us feel as we are in Amsterdam with him since lekker is an expression you hear everywhere
36. I think it's because this is one of the first words a foreigner learns in Holland, so it is understood by all the readers of the blog.
37. It's a way to let the interlocutor understand that the writer is integrated
38. It's a "cool fusion", which indexes linguistic contamination, living in a country where your language is not spoken is inevitable to create a mix
39. Probably using a Dutch adjective talking about Dutch cuisine, the writer thought he was getting closer to the culture and the new things he's discovering
40. It is a very common expression, the writer wanted to communicate how lekker the food is

41. To express that the concept of lekker in the Netherlands is different from the rest of the world
42. I understand the linguistic contamination here, it is to evoke a genuine atmosphere to the reader 43. The expression is referred to what the writer is talking about
44. The Dutch word is believed by the author to be more adequate to express the concept
45. More appropriate since he's talking about Dutch

(5) *"godersi un momento di lekker chillen estivo"*

1. Irony
2. The words already sound relaxing
3. In Italian relax is not qualified with weather, so the foreign term is more appropriate
4. It's a common used sentence
5. Because of the linguistic context the writer lives
6. He didn't know how to say it in Italian
7. Maybe it is one of the first word the author learnt, so it is easy to use in a discourse for him, moreover is similar to English, thus easy to remember
8. There are no reasons to use a foreign term
9. Maybe the author is being ironic. He needs to relax but he's not able to do so.
10. I have no idea
11. There is no Italian word for it...we would use relax which is foreign anyway
12. To be in synchrony with the readers
13. It underlie the fact that he's integrated with Dutch reality
14. The writer report san expression to adapt to the context he lives in
15. It is an idiomatic expression, commonly used by the writer
16. Since it is a moment lived in the Netherlands with particular Dutch characteristics I guess, using the original term sound more effective
17. I don't know and I would never understand
18. Wants to show off
19. No answer
20. I don't know
21. It is much cooler
22. To catch the attention
23. To sound snob
24. I wouldn't know
25. To sound cool and show off, it sounds better than the Italian correspondent
26. He just got confused because he speaks too many languages

27. I think it's a commonly used expression, so habit
28. The author wants the readers to be immersed in the Dutch atmosphere
29. The writer is referring to a specific context: using the Dutch term he gives exactly that feeling of chill and relax
30. It fits better in this case
31. Useless language switch
32. Language mix to show that he's integrated
33. I don't know
34. I don't know, maybe the author is showing off, he lives in the NL and uses this expression often 35. Wants to highlight the relax of the moment
36. The author couldn't do otherwise, the Dutch term symbolizes something typically Dutch and different from the Italian idea of relax
37. I don't know
38. I think it is just a way to sound cool and linguistic contamination
39. To get closer to the culture
40. It is what a Dutch would say
41. To highlight the fact that they're in the Netherlands, who is writing links the specific moment to the country where it happened
42. To show that the writer is not a tourist, he learnt the language and the typical expressions
43. It looks like a linguistic mannerism of the writer
44. The writer is saying something typical Dutch
45. It fits better in the discourse, impossible to translate

(6) *I titoli dei post sono tutti in inglese, per esempio: "Sightseeing & Turistic Attractions", "Nightlife". Secondo lei, perchè l'autore del blog ha fatto questa scelta?*

1. To earn more visibility
2. Such terms are of common use also in languages different from English
3. To earn more visibility also to reach an international audience
4. Because English is more known and international
5. This way everyone can understand and thus read the article
6. Such words catch more the attention
7. In reference to the International atmosphere of the blog
8. The use of English is more striking
9. To reach a wider audience
10. English is internationally recognized
11. The words are easily understood, they appeal and attract a wider audience, especially tourists 12. To catch the attention of readers, everyone knows these words

13. To attract also foreigners to the blog, in any case English is more immediate as a language than Italian (vita notturna vs nightlife)
14. To be more recognizable for an International audience
15. Everyone can speak English nowadays, the use of English makes the blog accessible to people of different nationalities
16. Common usage words, easier to use to communicate
17. To attract a wider audience
18. He's quoting someone
19. To attract a wider audience
20. To be more concise and attract a wider audience
21. To attract a wider audience
22. To attract a wider audience, with an Italian title he would reach a lower number of reader
23. To make the text more exotic, or to attract a wider audience
24. English is commonly used
25. Most of the blogs are in English
26. To make it more international
27. English is the most known language, this way he can reach a wider audience
28. In English it has a bigger impact
29. To get more page views, and get more money from commercial which are usually on blog pages 30. To reach a wider audience
31. To show off, talking in English about something which is abroad it can also give more trust to the reader, like the writer knows what he's talking about, he describes it as a local would do and not like a normal tourist.
32. To make the blog sound more exotic
33. English is much more concise and brief than Italian
34. To look more cosmopolitan, in English you can play with words more
35. English is more concise and synthetic
36. To say "giro turistico e attrazioni turistiche" or "vita notturna" sounds really old fashion 37. To reach a wider audience
38. Such titles are very popular, they don't need translation
39. To appear more international
40. The writer is talking about touristic stuff, so he uses English which is the quintessential tourist language
41. It looks like the writer is imitating an international travel guide
42. Using English everyone can understand what the writer is talking about, to have a wider audience
43. To show off...
44. To be more creative and fun
45. It is ugly in Italian

(7) *“A noi è capitato di sentirci dire che eravamo gezellig quando abbiamo cenato sul marciapiede di fronte a casa una di queste sere di estate.”*

1. Irony
2. There is no translation which would express the same feeling
3. The translation would be effective
4. It is difficult to express the same concept in Italian
5. Maybe it is reported speech
6. To me it doesn't make sense
7. The writer is reporting an expression he has heard
8. Probably in Italian there is no similar word for it
9. In order to avoid being understood
10. I think in Italian wouldn't be the same
11. I don't know
12. Telling a story that happened in the Netherlands with the words used by a Dutch
13. There is no such correspondent in Italian, in language and in culture, if you're sitting on the sidewalk outside your house in Italy you're considered homeless
14. Reported speech, the writer heard this word somewhere
15. The word is commonly used
16. Maybe because originally the moment happened in Dutch, as gezellig was the keyword, the writer decided to leave it in the original
17. Common usage
18. Reported speech
19. To take distance
20. To put emphasis on that specific adjective
21. Describing something typical Dutch, that's why he is using Dutch
22. To be more creative
23. There is no Italian correspondent
24. To catch the attention on that word
25. Directed speech
26. Directed speech or the writer wants to show off
27. The first adjective that came into the writer's mind
28. The Dutch term suits better
29. To put more emphasis
30. Reported speech, to save the original meaning

31. Random
32. Reported speech
33. Reported speech, the reader in this way can emphasize with the writer
34. No translation available in Italian
35. I don't know
36. To sound cool...but also to show that the writer is integrating in the new culture through the use of the new language
37. The use of the Dutch adjective implies that who said it is Dutch, so there is no need to add extra information
38. It is reported speech, a very common word used by Dutch people
39. Reported speech, the people who commented where clearly Dutch
40. Commonly used in everyday life, the writer shows he's not a tourist
41. It is reported speech, looks like the Dutch has a deeper meaning than Italian
42. Probably the Dutch word is more synthetic and effective
43. Reported speech
44. Put more emphasis on the moment
45. More accurate, impossible to translate

(8) *“La discussione riguardava un altro membro del PVV, Raymond de Roon, che aveva definito il premier turco Erdogan una islamitische aap”*

1. In the native language would sound more offensive
2. To underlie how brutal is the expression
3. It is reported speech, the writer doesn't share the same idea
4. To reinforce the concept
5. Maybe it's a typical Dutch expression
6. To hide the meaning to those who do not speak Dutch
7. It is reported speech
8. Reported speech
9. As a provocation
10. I don't know
11. Since the expression is really harsh the writer uses a foreign language in order to make it sound less harsh
12. To hide the meaning a bit, to make it less strong
13. Insults always sounds better in the original language
14. Reported speech
15. Reported speech
16. More effective in the original

17. I don't know
18. Reported speech
19. It suits better
20. To be more incisive
21. Reported speech
22. To make it sound even harsher
23. It's a very common expression in the Netherlands and can cause laugh
24. It has a derogative meaning
25. It's reported speech
26. It's reported speech
27. It's reported speech
28. It's reported speech
29. To put more emphasis on what happened
30. The definition has not been translated to save the meaning
31. Reported speech
32. Reported speech
33. Put more emphasis on the insult
34. Reported speech to put more emphasis
35. To describe exactly what happened
36. A translation would be of less impact
37. The use of the Dutch adjective implies that who said it is Dutch, so there is no need to add extra information
38. I don't know
39. Reported speech, makes the concept stronger
40. Reported speech
41. Reported speech, the insult sounds stronger
42. Reported speech
43. Reported speech
44. To be of more impact
45. To make it sound less ugly

(9) *"che una ragazza sia girly o tomboy, va bene tutto"*

1. Irony
2. It sounds funnier than the Italian version
3. The writer is talking with an English person

4. The concept is difficult to express in a different language
5. The writer is bisexual and doesn't know that
6. Italian does not work as well as English
7. Doesn't know how to translate
8. No Italian correspondents
9. I don't know
10. I don't know
11. Here maybe the use of a different language is in order to make the difference between girly and tomboy even stronger
12. To hide the meaning a bit, to make it less strong
13. Useless abuse of English terms, there is an Italian translation and it's even better
14. It's common expression
15. Common expression amongst young people
16. In Italian would be much longer...
17. More intuitive
18. Wants to show that he knows the language
19. To express better an idea
20. To reach a wider audience
21. The writer thought these words are more fashionable
22. English words are more adequate
23. In Italian would lose their meaning and impact
24. The writer is indifferent
25. The first thing that came into the writer's mind
26. These words are common and more neutral than the Italian correspondents which have a derogative meaning
27. More fashionable terms, the Italian is not as glamorous or might sound derogative
28. Commonly used on the internet
29. Doesn't want the reader to understand
30. The message is more immediate
31. Difficult to translate, the connotation in Italian is more negative
32. More concise and short
33. Shorter in English
34. Common expressions in English
35. In Italian it would be too long
36. To be cool
37. I don't know, maybe in English they have a different meaning

38. Common adjectives, they sound more 'international'
39. Difficult to express the same meaning in Italian
40. Useless Anglicism
41. It looks like English can express the concept better
42. English is more synthetic and effective
43. The first word that came into the author's mind
44. The author speaks English everyday
45. Sounds better, style reasons

(10) *"E indovinate chi era??? Lo stesso tipo che non parla inglese che mi aveva venduto la mia prima bici!!!
The king of bike trafficking, suppongo."*

1. Irony
2. The writer is making fun of the person
3. Snobbish
4. Difficult to express in a different language
5. No Italian correspondent
6. I don't know
7. In English sounds more official, ranting
8. The use of English makes the text more vivid and rich
9. The writer wants to give visibility to bike guy
10. I don't know, maybe there is a hidden meaning
11. English expression sounds like a definition, reported speech....something used to describe someone who doesn't speak English
12. To hide the meaning and make it less strong
13. The writer is being ironic, English "king" sound more evil than "re"
14. To highlight the meaning
15. To highlight the irony of the situation
16. Put more emphasis, ironic
17. It sounds more authoritative in English
18. Wants to show off
19. Makes the sentence funnier
20. To catch the attention
21. The writer wanted to sound funny
22. To put more emphasis wouldn't sound the same in Italian
23. It's probably reported speech or wants to be sarcastic

24. Irony, thinks about the meeting in a funny way
25. First word that came into the writer's mind
26. Commonly used, meme, humoristic
27. Commonly used, meme
28. Commonly used
29. To highlight the funny moment
30. The writer is being ironic
31. It sounded better
32. English is more evocative and suggestive than the Italian
33. To add a dramatic effect to the sentence
34. To create a contrast, since the guy wasn't able to speak English
35. Reported speech
36. To be cool in speaking English
37. In English sounds better, more majestic...I don't know why
38. It sound less negative in English
39. To put more emphasis and attention on who he's talking about
40. Useless Anglicism...maybe it's a quote but I don't get it
41. English is more synthetic, concise and expresses the concept more effectively
42. The writer uses English because he is mentioning the nickname he has given to the guy
43. Sounds more fun in English
44. It's a poetic license
45. English is a habit

(11) *"Per dire addio o magari tot ziens a tutti quei posti che mi piacevano."*

1. Irony
2. Repetition to reiterate the concept
3. To reiterate the concept
4. Idem
5. This has to do with the writer's emotions. He translated in order to let the Dutch places understand that he was leaving
6. I don't know
7. Maybe is something easy he learned when he first moved to the country
8. He was in the Netherlands so he speaks Dutch
9. To express a strong emotional connection
10. Maybe because readers are both Italian and Dutch

11. Reiteration, strengthen the concept
12. Reiterate a concept and show off
13. The goodbye is more emotional this way
14. It fits well
15. The author wants the reader to notice that he masters another language as he does with his native one
16. It's like you speak to the places you lived in with their own language
17. I don't know
18. Wants to show off
19. The sentence is both for Italian and Dutch audience
20. To put more emphasis
21. To be more precise and use a word of the hosting country
22. The Dutch is useless in this case
23. It is a word the writer learnt when he first moved to the county
24. To show attachment to the country where he lived
25. The writer is saying goodbye to Dutch places so he uses Dutch, he wants to reinforce the meaning
26. Reinforce the meaning and express affection
27. It's like he's saying goodbye to the language as well
28. Reiterate the concept
29. Useless code-switching
30. To show affection 31. To express the concept better, probably he was used to use Dutch, he's leaving the NL and that culture, so he uses Dutch
32. Maybe the Dutch word it carries more pathos and emotionality
33. Says goodbye in the mother tongue, to be sure the places will understand
34. To inform the reader that tot ziens means addio
35. It's a person who lived in a foreign country
36. Reiterate the concept
37. The places he was saying goodbye are Dutch
38. Uses the two languages which he commonly uses in everyday life
39. The writer learnt some basic Dutch and wants to show off
40. The writer doesn't want to give up using the original, but translates it in Italian as well. I appreciate it, it's a nice stylistic choice
41. The writer is leaving the country, so speaks in that language. Emotional meaning
42. Nostalgic goodbye to the country
43. To highlight the concept
44. Emotional reasons

45. The author uses these languages in everyday life

(12) *"Split the bill. Pagare il conto all'olandese"*

1. Irony
2. He uses Italian later in order to explain
3. It's a more International expression
4. It's an expression
5. English sounds better
6. We do like this in Italy. Nonsense
7. It is often used in an International environment, so it is easier to report it in English
8. I don't know
9. It's much stronger, no discussion
10. I don't know
11. No answer
12. To use a more neutral term, in Italian "alla romana" doesn't sound so good
13. More immediate than Italian correspondent
14. English is more immediate and incisive
15. It's a common expression
16. In English is more rapid, ironic and shorter than Italian
17. More intuitive
18. Reported speech
19. He translates for the Italian audience
20. Reported speech, something they say in Holland
21. I don't know
22. I don't know
23. It is part of the writer's everyday speech, he probably uses English more often than Italian
24. He uses English to sound more special
25. It is more concise
26. English is more immediate
27. It's like writing in English makes it sound normal
28. I don't know
29. It's a common expression in the country where it is used. It may cause misunderstanding
30. To keep the distance, to reinforce the fact that is something used in a different country not his own
31. Because it's something that happens in the Netherlands, not in Italy, it wouldn't make sense to say it in Italian

32. Maybe it makes more sense to use the English expression, probably he doesn't even know the Dutch or Italian equivalent
33. Split the bill is more immediate
34. I don't know it looks like an ostentation
35. It's reported speech
36. To sound cool
37. I think here is being sarcastic, highlighting the fact that Dutch people don't offer meals very often in contrast to Italians
38. Because an Italian wouldn't split the bill...to sound less rude towards the Dutch
39. The writer was speaking in an international environment
40. Nice stylistic choice
41. The writer is using a typical English expression
42. It's a slang expression also understood by Italians
43. Habit
44. More immediate, faster
45. To sound cool in speaking English

(13) *"Prima differenza enorme fra the Italian e the Dutch way per giocare a calcio balilla"*

1. To mock someone
2. It's a common expression internationally accepted
3. More direct and brief in English
4. It expresses the ability of the speaker to speak two languages
5. It looks like the writer wants to highlight the difference between the two worlds even more
6. I don't know
7. Commonly used in an International environment
8. I don't know
9. To put more emphasis on the differences between the two nations
10. I don't know
11. The use of another language is to strengthen the difference between Italy and NL
12. To give an idea of integration, despite the differences
13. Is a cult sentence
14. Commonly used, to reinforce the differences
15. It is a funny way to make the sentence more colourful
16. It's a common phrase and English sounds better
17. Simpler to say in English

18. Wants to show off
19. Highlight the difference
20. To put emphasis
21. To make the sentence sound more important, since the topic is not so serious he tries to give more authority
22. Common usage
23. To sound cool and reiterate a concept
24. To highlight the difference between Italians and Dutchmen
25. I don't know, maybe the writer is reporting a conversation he had in English
26. It is a commonly used expression, English makes the sentence funnier, more immediate
27. In English makes it sound more normal
28. It is a more original alternative than the Italian equivalent
29. Common experience, widely used on tv and internet
30. Language mix with no apparent reason
31. I don't know
32. Maybe the author uses English in his common life, maybe he is remembering an expression used during a similar experience
33. The use of English makes the difference stronger
34. Common expression
35. It describes an international environment
36. To sound cool
37. To highlight differences between the two nationalities and to add some competition
38. In Italian it's too long, so to be more brief
39. The writer speaks English everyday with Dutch people
40. Useless use of English
41. The English expression is widely used and it fits very well to express the idea
42. Slang used in Italy as well
43. To mock of the way Dutch play foosball
44. It is a common expression, to sound cool
45. Habit

(14) *"I 10 consigli per rimorchiare una Dutch girl"*

1. Irony
2. To sound more exotic
3. It wants to give the idea that he had a Dutch girl and he spoke with her in English
4. To identify better what he's talking about

5. Maybe a Dutch girl is not just a Dutch girl but there is a deeper meaning behind being Dutch
6. It sounds cool
7. To highlight the fact that a Dutch girl is different from an Italian one
8. To sound more international
9. These suggestions are only valid for Dutch girls
10. To reiterate a concept
11. To express the fact that he knows Dutch girls well, he knows what he's talking about
12. To show he's familiar with the topic
13. To show that he knows the Dutch mentality and he's integrated in the society
14. He's referring to an International context, so he uses English
15. To make an impression
16. It makes sense, if you want to pick up a Dutch girl you need to speak English
17. I don't know
18. Wants to show off
19. Wants to show off
20. To put more emphasis
21. Wants to sound funny
22. He's defining a category of people
23. To sound cool
24. He's referring to a specific category of people
25. He would talk to girls in English, that's why he uses English
26. I don't know, maybe he's just used to use English
27. It's like he's creating a category of people
28. These are very common expressions, known by everyone
29. He's categorizing women according to geographical provenance
30. To strengthen the idea that the suggestions are referred to Dutch girls, so to highlight the difference
31. It sounds cool?
32. It's exotic and evocative. It would sound banal or ordinary in Italian
33. He would use English with a Dutch girl
34. To highlight a different kind of girl 35. It's an international environment
36. To sound cool
37. To a Dutch girl you speak in English or Dutch, so it doesn't make sense to speak in Italian in this case
38. In Italian would be too long
39. The writer is probably used to speak about "Dutch girls" in English and referring to them in English as well

40. Useless use of English
41. It looks like a stylistic mannerism of the author
42. Mannerism of the writer
43. Habit
44. To sound cool and exotic
45. To be more creative

(15) *“and, in the end devo dire che...”*

1. Irony
2. It is a poetic ending
3. I don't understand the reason
4. It puts more emphasis on the conclusion
5. I don't understand, it sounds horrible
6. Assonance
7. Typical English sentence
8. I don't know
9. To show off
10. To put more emphasis on the conclusion, in any case is widely used in Italian as well
11. To stress the fact that it's the end
12. To show off that he's multi-ethnic
13. He probably uses it in everyday life
14. It is just a linguistic habit
15. It is a funny connective, probably to make the discourse lighter
16. To use adverbs in English is common usage between people who speak everyday more languages, it's probably an habit
17. I don't know
18. Wants to show off
19. Wants to reach a wider audience, Italian and foreigner as well
20. To catch the attention
21. He might quoting someone and mocking him
22. To reinforce the fact the he's at the end
23. To put more emphasis on what he's saying
24. To put more emphasis on the fact that he's concluding
25. I don't know maybe is a habit
26. Maybe is a habit

27. Puts the attention on the fact that he's concluding and wants to catch the reader's attention
28. Are popular saying known in every country
29. Stylistic freedom
30. No reason
31. I don't know
32. Sounds exotic, maybe the writer uses often English in everyday life
33. It sounds like a film
34. It's a common expression, widely found in pop culture
35. It describes an international environment
36. To sound cool
37. I think in English the meaning is stronger, as to highlight the fact that the post is concluding, at the end
38. It's a common expression, maybe he uses it automatically
39. I don't see any sense in doing this
40. I don't understand. Maybe he's quoting something?
41. The English expression looks like a stylistic mannerism of the author
42. Mannerism of the writer
43. To sound cool
44. Style of the writer
45. Habit

(16) *"the bike is gone (o quasi)"*

1. Irony
2. It's a joke, sounds funnier
3. He's talking about bikes in a context where there are no Italians
4. Gives emphasis
5. I don't know
6. It sounds nicer
7. Maybe he heard it from someone
8. I don't know
9. As a joke
10. There might be a deeper meaning
11. The blogger wants to signal something strong
12. To sound funny and give vivacity to the sentence
13. He's quoting something he repeated many times in the previous days

14. To put more emphasis on the meaning
15. He's being ironic, trying to minimize what happened
16. It sounds cooler
17. It is way simpler and shorter in English
18. He wants to show off
19. I don't know
20. To be more synthetic
21. Trying to minimize what happened
22. English sounds funnier and allow you to have fun with the language
23. Put emphasis on what happened
24. Probably a quote, in English is more expressive and concise
25. Maybe a habit
26. Internet speech
27. I don't know
28. He just wants to use English
29. To highlight what happened
30. I don't know, in Italian sounds fine as well
31. Maybe such sentence sounds more direct and evocative and incisive
32. English allows to be more concise
33. I don't know
34. Describer an international environment
35. To express oneself in a language which is not the native one is a way to say "I know how to speak another language, thus I am cool"
36. I think the use of English adds solemnity to the event
37. I don't know
38. It's probably what he said when this happened
39. I don't get it. Maybe is reported speech
40. Still, looks like a stylistic mannerism of the writer
41. The writer prefers to express himself in English rather than in Italian
42. To sound cool
43. He repeated the sentence many times in the past days...so habit
44. It's the writer's style
45. Habit

(17) *"E siccome oltre ai "soliti" assignment ho da consegnare già un progetto di tesi con bibliografia..."*

1. Difficult to translate
2. The Italian equivalent sounds less professional
3. The Italian word carries a different meaning
4. Highlight the fact that the writer can speak another language, snobbish
5. Maybe the translation is not valid
6. The writer is showing off and being snobbish
7. Because this is the term used in academic environment, in Italian it doesn't make sense
8. There is no Italian equivalent
9. To show off
10. Assignment might be used because similar to the Italian "assegnare" (*to assign*)
11. The meaning of the English word is wider than the Italian one, so it puts more emphasis
12. Everyone can understand
13. The school system is different, there is no equivalent in Italian
14. It is reporting an expression used in a specific context
15. The writer uses this word all the time, it belongs to his vocabulary
16. It sounds cooler than Italian
17. It's a commonly used word
18. The blogger wants to show off
19. So that the reader can emphasize and be immersed in the storytelling
20. To put emphasis
21. The writer cannot find an equivalent
22. It's a common used word, to express the idea better
23. It's a common used word amongst students
24. There is no Italian equivalent, 'compiti' sounds like elementary school
25. Nowadays English colonized many aspects of everyday language, this is one of the cases...or maybe it is just a habit
26. In Italian is boring and conventional, English is more charming and cool. The writer wants to draw the attention on himself
27. It's a common used word in such cases
28. It's easily understandable by everyone and using English the writer avoids a periphrasis
29. It's a standard term uses every day, habit
30. To highlight the difference with Italian universities. Using the Italian word would sound too much like high school
31. The English word is more adequate
32. The writer uses this word out of habit
33. The writer reports the exact word used to be more precise

34. The writer probably studies abroad
35. It's easier to say than the Italian one, he uses this term every day
36. The professor asks for assignments, so he reports the word
37. In Italian the meaning is different
38. It's the word used by the professor
39. It's academic English, but this doesn't allow its usage in an Italian language blog
40. The English term is used in academic and business English
41. This word is commonly used also in non-English speaking countries
42. More appropriate
43. Cannot be translated
44. More appropriate in this sentence
45. In Italian sounds like middle school, not academic

(18) *“Proprio quando uno si convince che la musica leggera italiana (nello specifico quella napoletana) sia il peggior male nella scena dell’entertainment mondiale (...)”*

1. Irony
2. It's a commonly used word, the contrast between something international and national-popular is cute
3. It's commonly used and understandable
4. It expresses better the idea, the writer is talking about something worldwide, so English fits better
5. I find it totally out of context
6. It's a commonly used word, normal to use
7. The writer is talking about something international so he uses English
8. English is more effective
9. To separate and make a distinction
10. "Entertainment" is commonly used
11. It's commonly used, difficult to find an Italian equivalent
12. Easy to understand
13. Commonly used also in Italy
14. Commonly used in every day speech
15. Commonly used, it reiterates the concept and the writer is being ironic
16. It's commonly used ps: I disagree on Neapolitan music
17. Commonly used
18. Wants to show off
19. The meaning is wider
20. To put emphasis and attention

21. Entertainment is an easily recognizable word
22. English is a more flexible language, maybe the meaning in Italian would be different
23. Commonly used
24. There is no Italian equivalent
25. Sounds more professional and international
26. It is common use to use foreign word in order to show off and earn credibility
27. Commonly used on the internet and TV
28. Everyone can understand
29. Talking about something which is global the writer thought English was more appropriate
30. It's a commonly used word. The use of English maybe wants to highlight the fact that he's talking about something global
31. To avoid repetition and keep it short
32. When talking about something global, so English is more appropriate
33. Widespread term
34. The writer is being more international
35. More fashion and snob
36. Better in English
37. Everyone can understand, it fits well in the discourse
38. Commonly used in Italian as well
39. Useless use of English
40. It looks like the writer uses English to express that the idea is global
41. It is a commonly used word when speaking about this kind of topics
42. It is commonly used, no reason
43. Didn't know how to say it in Italian
44. Sounds better in English
45. More glamorous

(19) *"se per qualsiasi motivo doveste decidere di venire qui: CONGRATULATIONS, you won!"*

1. Irony
2. It gives more emphasis to the conclusion
3. The writer is talking to someone who wants to learn English, so he's probably inviting the reader
4. It gives emphasis
5. The audience understand English
6. I don't know
7. It is easy to understand

8. In such context English is more appropriate
9. It's like an invitation
10. Congratulation is similar to Italian, so easy to understand and many people use it
11. Commonly used and known by Italian audience
12. To give an immediate effect
13. I think the writer wants to underlie his integration in the reality where he lives, starting from the fact that he speaks the language. He's challenging who wants to make the same choice he made without an adequate language proficiency
14. More effective and concise
15. To give a bigger impact to the sentence
16. To give a bigger impact to the sentence
17. I don't know
18. Wants to show off
19. This way the sentence is more vivid and exciting
20. To put emphasis on the conclusion
21. To be funny, or ironic
22. Put more emphasis on the sentence
23. The writer is being funny
24. Sounds like reported speech, from a tv game show
25. The writer wants to impress the reader, be immediate and concise
26. The writer is being ironic
27. English expresses the concept better
28. Use of English to put more emphasis on a concept
29. To give the idea that life abroad is the right choice
30. I don't know
31. Maybe the writer wants to put emphasis on the fact that going abroad is the winning choice, this way, using a foreign expression, he links the two things linguistically and conceptually.
32. English is more exotic
33. He's reporting something that uses in everyday life
34. I don't know
35. It sounds more glamorous
36. English is used in order to reinforce the concept
37. I don't know
38. The writer is quoting expressions which usually uses with foreigners
39. Very unnatural
40. It looks like video-game language

41. This expression is widely used on the internet, so easily understandable by a wide audience
42. The writer is being funny
43. To sound cool and show that she/he can speak English
44. English is cooler
45. Habit, first thing that came into mind

(20) “Trasferirsi all'estero è un pain in the ass.”

1. Irony
2. It's a way to avoid swearing in Italian
3. In Italian would be too dirty
4. It express better such feeling
5. It's such a pain in the ass that needs to be stated in English, Italian is not enough
6. Swear words don't sound so dirty in another language
7. It's like self-censorship
8. English is used to make the sentence sound less dirty and vulgar
9. English expresses the concept better
10. It reinforces the concept
11. English is used in order to avoid swearing
12. To be funny
13. Swearing cannot be translated. Moreover is a “cult” expression
14. To highlight the meaning
15. To reinforce the concept
16. The expression cannot be translated and it sounds less vulgar in English
17. To sound less vulgar
18. He wants to show off
19. To make the sentence less dirty
20. To adapt to the environment
21. Less dirty than the Italian equivalent
22. In Italian would be too vulgar. In a language different from the native one, such expressions are softer, because they seem far away from our language.
23. It's a warning
24. It's an habit
25. English is used in order to be less vulgar without losing the original meaning
26. Because once you move abroad everything is foreign, also when your ass hurts!
27. English is used in order to sound less vulgar

28. Attempt to hide the negative meaning, but also to reinforce the concept
29. To reinforce the idea that life abroad is hard
30. I don't know
31. The Italian equivalent wouldn't be acceptable, too vulgar. I think the English expression is commonly used by the writer
32. To use English rather than Italian for a sentence with an intense meaning it makes the sentence softer, less vulgar and more acceptable
33. To make the sentence softer and less vulgar
34. This is what they would say abroad
35. I think that when one's swears in English doesn't realize the real meaning, in Italian this would sound really vulgar, in English this aspect is reduced
36. Pain in the ass is a classic and impossible to translate
37. It sounds less vulgar
38. The writer is quoting an expression which usually uses with foreigners
39. English alleviate the sentence, makes it more adequate
40. English is as effective as Italian, but it makes the sentence less vulgar
41. English is used to write a concept which in Italian would be really vulgar
42. To not sound dirty
43. Habit to speak English
44. Self- censorship
45. English is more effective

