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"Here's an Upd8!": A Study on Danes' English Practices in Written

Communication on Facebook and Instagram.

1 Abstract

The discussion of social media and language acquisition is a still relevant debate. In the Danish society, many believe that social media reflect badly on the Danish language, as English has a bad influence on the standard language. This paper explores how Danish Facebook and Instagram users incorporate the English language in their computer-mediated communication. Through empirical research, the study seeks to address how Danish Facebook and Instagram users utilise the English language to reach a communicative purpose and questions how the data support the idea the users apply English similarly, based on the media's affordances. The study examines Danes' English practices using mixed quantitative and qualitative methods. Data are collected through an observational approach where the online interactions of 16 participants, 4 major Facebook groups, and 2 popular Instagram influencers are documented. These online users were all located through convenience sampling. Supplementary knowledge is further attained through a mixture of an email interview and questionnaire. All English content located in the data is categorised in the communication channels of posts, comments, stories, and instant chat messages. To understand the degree to which users apply English, further categorisations are made, which divide the data into; English used exclusively, English used through switches, English used through hashtags, English used through GIFs and stickers. Findings suggest that the users in this study frequently apply the English language on Facebook and Instagram, however, the usage varies in online contexts, environments, and communicative purposes. English is used extensively through switches by all subjects and these switches are usually done through single, English words. Through a detailed analysis, it is exemplified how these switches are connected to the main affordances of Facebook and Instagram. These affordances connect to most social media sites and they are labelled as 'rapidity', 'least effort', 'space limitation', and 'creativity and fun'. Here, findings show how users switch to English due to the quick pace of a written conversation, a carefree attitude towards language switches, economy, and to express creativity and stress humour. The humorous attitude towards the English language proved an important component in the Danish users' English application. It was

discovered how English was frequently used in a creative and funny matter, which corresponded to the digital affordances of hashtags, GIFs, and stickers. These technological advances offer the users alternative ways to express emotions and stress humour. The findings also reveal that the subjects repeatedly mark their English use with expressive punctuation or capital letters. This suggests that users consider their interlocutors in online interactions and mark their English in order to avoid misunderstandings. This was further confirmed by the interviews where the participants revealed how they assess their online audience in terms of their English skills. Furthermore, investigations of the English applied throughout the data show a difference between the 3 main data sources. The participants in the study apply English readily, easily and without much concern for grammatical rules and standard conventions. On the contrary, the Instagram influencers and Facebook groups detained from using large quantities of English. If they did, it was through simple word switches. In this study, an important implication to consider is the idea of 'technological determinism' where researchers ascribe all responsibility of language change to technological advancements. It must be noted that the increasing use of English in the Danish language cannot be blamed on social media alone. Furthermore, the research strategy chosen as convenience sampling has shortcomings in terms of demographic restrictions. Firstly, no generalisations can be made using this approach and secondly, males are highly outnumbered by females, while the age groups also prove less representative.

2 Introduction

The past decade has seen a rapid development within the concept of social media. A concept, which is increasingly recognised as an important component in the research on language behaviour. As the world becomes increasingly globalised, the online domain offers its users an entry into a world of unlimited opportunities. Here, people are able to connect through rich, versatile platforms, where they develop and structure strong and weak relations, independent of time and space. The online presence is additionally strengthened by the maintenance of a favourable image kept alive through visual personas. This self-representation is often associated with social network sites, which offer several multipurpose communication modes, such as text, images, and videos. Through these channels, users share their experiences of the world they know, through a language they understand. The concept of social media is often associated with an alternative perspective on written language as users constantly adapt and change their

language to fit the communicational needs of the online situation. Each social media operates with specific frameworks, which both provide opportunities and set limitations for its users and their written communication. Studies on social media's affordances show the importance of these linguistic possibilities and restrictions when investigating the complex language development within computer-mediated communication. As online users utilise the advancements of social media to fit their written interactions, new language alternatives arise. Furthermore, social media as an online community supports and integrates the linguistic adaptions and normalises the unconventional approach to written language, ultimately inducing worldwide language trends. Here, English plays an essential role, as many social media sites encourage an international perspective where users connect across borders and nationalities despite their language differences. English often becomes the natural choice as social media sites likewise build upon the language in their structures and functions. This natural contact with English that social media offer manifests itself in the language application of non-English speakers, only intensified by the trends and norms developed by the extensive amount of written English happening on social media. Such trends become especially conspicuous in the Danish dictionary where English word borrowings slowly increase in numbers. This development seems to worry parts of the Danish society who consider English as a threat to the Danish language. Questions have been raised about the decline of language correctness with the introduction to the Internet and today, increasing concerns about the youth's language acquisition dominate the debate on social media. The alternative and unconventional language uses flourishing on the online platforms reflect unfavourably on the concept of social media. This paper examines the significance of written language on social media and argues that Danes' incorporation of English online could be treated as an advantageous quality. This paper will review the research conducted on the topic and by empirical research seek to understand how English is applied in a Danish context online. Moreover, the research will examine the significant role of affordances in the context of social media.

2.1 Motivation

This project provided an important opportunity to investigate and reflect on the recurring debate on social media and language change. This is a complex issue as opinions vary greatly throughout the literature. What is not yet clear is the precise impact that the Internet's technological advancements have had on people's language acquisition and

how much of the responsibility we truly are able to ascribe to social media (Cameron & Panović, 2014, p. 41). Languages are used by individuals across the world and they change and adapt constantly. As long as languages are active, change is inevitable. A common form of change is word borrowings from other languages (Gregersen et al., 2014, p. 73). Looking at the Danish language, one will find numerous integrated words traced back to different languages through time (Engelske Låneord, n.d.). However, as the online world collides with our daily lives, many worries on the implications the English language will have on Danish. This concern is especially based on the account of English loan words that are adapted to the Danish language each year (Engelske Låneord, n.d.). Interestingly, English is no stranger to Danish formal discipline, as English is an integrated part of Danish education from very early school grade levels (Folkeskolens Fag, n.d.). However, when English and Danish collide with the seemingly informal setting of social media, paradoxes occur. English becomes an additional option to Danes' communicative needs online and the two languages can no longer be treated as two isolated entities as in most formal education. Now, English is applied as an extension of Danish, thus serving different communicative purposes than the educational setting. This paper attempts to show how this incorporation of the English language is applied in Danes' computer-mediated communication and how social media platforms potentially encourage the use of English. Facebook and Instagram were chosen based on their superiority within the concept of social media and due to the platforms' popularity and acceptance from the Danish majority (Kort Nyt. Brug af Sociale Medier i 2018, n.d.). As Facebook and Instagram set different guidelines for their users, the two platforms were deemed incomparable. Nonetheless, it was believed interesting to assess users' understanding of the language choices connected to each platform. To expand the scope of the study and to understand the use of English in multiple online settings, additional data were collected from two Danish Instagram influencers and four Danish Facebook groups.

2.2 Problem Statement

Through empirical research, I would like to explore how Danish Facebook and Instagram users incorporate the English language in their computer-mediated communication. Through interviews, I will seek to determine these users' language attitudes concerning their choices of English and Danish online. Additionally, I will

analyse the digital affordances of Facebook and Instagram to determine if, and how, they affect Danish users' choice in language.

2.3 Research Questions

This research seeks to address the following questions:

1. It will be examined how Danish Facebook and Instagram users utilise the English language to reach a communicative purpose on the two platforms.

2. The research will likewise question which patterns in the data support the idea that Danish Facebook and Instagram users apply English similarly based on the media's affordances.

3 Literature Review

3.1 Language and Scandinavia

This study explores the linguistic choices of Danes on social media. To understand language online, one must reflect on the language situation in the Scandinavian scene and its changes throughout the years. In the Nordic countries, it is estimated that about 200 different languages are being spoken at present (Gregersen et al., 2014, p. 73). Since the 1960s, globalisation and immigration have meant a shift in the human landscape and with the emergence of many foreign languages in society, much of the standardised languages in both Sweden, Norway and Denmark seem challenged by this development (Quist & Svendsen, 2010, p. xiii). The fusion of new language styles disrupted the idea of proper language use and concepts like slang, word borrowings and code-switching altered the way Scandinavians used language (Quist & Svendsen, 2010, p. xv). In Denmark, immigration influenced many aspects of society, especially within politics since it posed a challenge to pedagogics and education. In order to understand and study bilingualism in schools, The Køge Project was implemented. The study focused on Danish and Turkish codes and illustrated how the alternations in their language depended on various reasons (Quist & Svendsen, 2010, p. 7). Most importantly, the study concluded that the observations made on code-switching showed a comprehensive linguistic understanding of both the primary and secondary language used by the subjects. The children code-switching between Danish and Turkish were not displaying bad literacy, on the contrary, a broader conception of the languages at their disposal (Quist & Svendsen, 2010, p. 7). Consequently, humans as "language species" will always apply

the linguistic features available to them and shift between codes in order to secure a successful communication (Quist & Svendsen, 2010, p. 7).

The widespread distribution of the English language is closely connected to the idea of popular culture. Here, The United States of America, in particular, dominates nearly every area of the global market (Berns, Bot & Hasebrink, 2007, p. 3). A large amount of the entertainment industry and commerce are American, including television shows, movies, fashion brands, and music, to name a few (Berns, Bot & Hasebrink, 2007, p. 3). America has had an immense influence on the world throughout the twentieth century, which is important to consider in this study. (Crystal, 2012, p. 127). Danes are, among most other European countries, exposed to English on a regular basis, mostly through the Internet (Rothoni, 2017, p. 92). Through here, it is possible to access the most popular content, which is in large parts of English origin, whether it is British or American. In a study conducted by Anastasia Rothoni (2017), fifteen Greek teenagers in the ages 14-15 were observed in terms of their everyday English literacy practices. Rothoni's (2017) case study illustrates the vast global activities happening in teenagers' involvement with popular culture and the media (p. 92). She specifically focuses on the aspect of teenagers' English acquisition outside the classroom where hobbies and interests become the main source in learning the language. Often, they are exposed to a vast amount of English content before any official education begins (Rothoni, 2017 p. 92). This development strongly indicates that a large part of English literacy among European teenagers is not controlled or regulated by any educational institution (Rothoni, 2017, p. 93). Interestingly, a large part of these English practices happen in what Rothoni (2017) calls "globalized online spaces" (p. 93). Regarding this study, these globalised, online spaces are important to consider understanding Danes' fusion of English in their otherwise Danish, digital communication. The constant access to online content, mainly based on American or British pop culture, normalises the use of English in their digital communication. Based on Rothoni's (2017) case study, this incorporation of the English language happens from a very early age in today's digitalised society (p. 92).

3.2 Identity

Language is strongly intertwined with our identity and sense of self, most importantly, how we want to be perceived by others. Thus, our language serves as a meaningful tool to indicate both cultural and social identity (Haberland et al., 2008, p. 22). On a cultural front, people wish to see their mother tongue thrive in society and grow

strong enough to survive. Speaking one language will create associations to the culture and keep it alive through words (Crystal, 2012, p. 125). On the social front, language can indicate social status, social groups, even age and gender (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou, 2003, p. 3-4). Especially within youth culture, language is a critical factor when studying identity. The natural detachment from the established order, where adolescents claim independence from adults, is an interesting phenomenon within linguistic research (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou, 2003, pp. 4). Here, language serves as a tool in the pursuit of autonomy as it connects and separates speakers across social groups and cultural association. Language behaviour in youth culture often reflects the rejection of "mainstream norms and dominant culture values" (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou, 2003, pp. 4). Consequently, language choices among adolescents are often associated with unconventional, creative and bold linguistic alterations, which further support their construction of a desired, favourable identity (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou, 2003, pp. 4). This construction of identity through language is especially important to consider in research on social media. The concept of social network sites builds upon the central element of identity creation where users literally construct online selves through platforms like Facebook and Instagram. These online identities are important on the platforms, since the network-oriented structures constrain their users to treat these self-promoting profiles as the main source of information. Consequently, Facebook and Instagram profiles narrate the user's identity through text, images or other virtual aids, however, only tell the precise story that the user wants you to hear (Boyd & Ellison, 2008, pp. 219-220). Thus, language use on social media is interesting in the sense that written language becomes an indispensable tool to express originality and stand out in a virtual world inhabited by billions. On the contrary, language is also used to conform to users' desired social groups where language serves as a sense of belonging (Boyd & Ellison pp. 220-221).

3.3 Globalisation and English as an International Language

In order to gain a better understanding of Danes' incorporation of the English language in their digital communication, a global perspective is necessary. The English language is tightly connected to globalisation, since it dominates as the international language of the world (Haberland et al., 2008, p. 35). Every large institution is somehow influenced by English, whether it is the media, commerce, technology, education or youth culture (Haberland et al., 2008, p. 35). The three concentric circles of English demonstrate

the distribution of English around the world and explain the language in a global context. The circles are as follows; English as a native language (ENL), English as a second language (ESL), and English as a foreign language (EFL). The groups belong to the inner, outer, and expanding circle (Haberland et al., 2008, pp. 35-36). It is estimated that the number of speakers within the circle of EFL outnumbers the speakers of both ENL and ESL, which only demonstrate the widespread practice of the language. This has been a result of globalisation where English takes part in nearly every aspects of our daily lives. Together with immigration and mobilisation, the English language has been altered to fit its communicative needs and this inevitably resulted in noticeable linguistic changes (Crystal, 2012, p. 142). As a language is adopted in new locations, it will be adapted by loan words, borrowings and code-switching, to name a few. English as an international language is messy and has undefined rules as different communities deploy the language in different ways (Crystal, 2012, p. 165). In response to the complexity of the English language outside the inner circle, the paradigm of English as a lingua franca (ELF) was introduced to the research. Due to globalisation and the widespread of the English language, English is considered "the lingua franca of the world" (Pietikäinen, 2017, p. 37). ELF tries to understand the function of English, rather than the form, resulting in a new approach to foreign language speakers (Pietikäinen, 2017, p. 5). ELF is concerned with speakers who share no native language and interested in how they utilise English to reach a communicative purpose (Pietikäinen, 2017, p. 9). ELF is an innovative approach to English where speakers disregard the "correct" understanding of the language in a complex linguistic process. ELF thus accepts the efficiency of multiple language uses, as long as the overall meaning is secured. The concept of code-switching becomes especially interesting within this field, as all linguistic resources are utilised in interactions, even as speakers share no cultural or linguistic background (Brunner & Diemer, 2018, p. 61-62).

3.4 Code-Switching

Code-switching, also written as code switching or codeswitching (Nilep, 2006, p. 1), is a vastly studied phenomenon which presupposes the use of two or more languages during interaction. The term is often connected to research in bilingual communities where speakers operate with rich linguistic resources, often managing two or more language systems in their everyday linguistic practices (Brunner & Diemer, 2018, p. 59). Switching between languages has been an area of research for many decades, however, code-switching as a term found its foothold in literature around 1972 (Nilep, 2006, p. 4).

The sociocultural linguist John. J. Gumperz lead the way for much of the research on code-switching known today (Nilep, 2006, p. 6). The term gained popularity and both functional and linguistic factors have been investigated in order to broaden the conception of language behaviour (Poplack, 2000, p. 226-27). Code-switching is one of many terms covering this code-based conception of language (Orman, 2013, p. 90). Among other expressions are code-mixing, code-meshing and crossing (Wei, 2018, p. 9). The switching between languages disrupts the idea that people only use one language at a time and challenges the belief of 'proper' language use (Heller, 1988, p. 1). Previously, the use of code-switching was believed to be an incorrect practice and a sign of weak linguistic knowledge (Caparas & Gustilo, 2017, pp. 349-350). Several studies have discredited code-switching as a compensation for poor linguistic skills and proved it to be the exact opposite (Quist & Svendsen, 2010, p. 7). Switching between languages shows an understanding of multiple language vocabularies and demonstrates a detailed, grammatical understanding of each language; especially how they intertwine in complex sentence structures (Poplack, 2000, p. 241). This complexity makes code-switching difficult to determine, as the phenomenon carries a certain unpredictability. However, much of the research on code-switching with a structural, cognitive, and functional perspective suggests how switches can be unpredictable, yet not completely random (Dorleijn, 2016, p. 131-132). Initially, the phenomenon was mostly researched in oral communication, but later gained attention in written interactions as well (Montes-Alcalá, 2016, p. 24). Much of the previous research on code-switching is concerned with the grammatical function of the switches. A popular classification is the division between extra-, inter, and intra-sentential code-switches (Koban, 2013, p. 1175). Here, researchers distinguish between basic tag-switches, switches outside clause level switches and switches inside clause level (Koban, 2013, p. 1175). In addition to the grammatical focus, the research on code-switching has also had other perspectives, such as sociolinguistic and interactional focus (Koban, 2013, p. 1175).

A recurrent criticism concerning code-switching is the idea that bilingual practices all categorise as separate codes (Brunner & Diemer, 2018, p. 61). This entails that each code is a language variety (Nilep, 2006, p. 2). With the notion of definite boundaries between each language, code-switching often fails to investigate the truly complex and entangled practices in bilingual interaction (Brunner & Diemer, 2018, p. 61). Due to this dilemma, new terms were introduced to the field.

3.5 Translanguaging

In the wake of the twenty-first century, non-conventional language practices blossom as different nationalities are repeatedly intertwined through migration, internationalisation, and digitalisation in an ever-growing global world. This development challenges the traditional view of language as something preserved within nationalities, preferably unspoiled and standard (Wei, 2018, p. 14). As languages are embraced, altered and used across nationalities, the debate of whose rights and ownerships to languages becomes vague and blurred (Wei, 2018, p. 15). In addition, many multilingual language communities utilise their language practices to such an extent that terms like code-switching becomes insufficient and too simplistic in its interpretation of the language mix that occurs (Wei, 2018, pp. 11, 14). The debate of language as a standard entity preserved by its rightful owner, contrary to the language creativity unfolding in multilinguistic communities, demonstrates how the definition of language is a conflicting matter. The global development in the 21st century inevitably implies that languages will coexist side by side, however for many, it is still difficult to accept how their own language will be mixed, used, and altered by many other nationalities (Wei, 2018, p. 14). The continuous resistance towards language mixing essentially opposes a natural and important stage in language evolution (Wei, 2018, p. 14). To understand the changes and processes concerning these complex language practices, many researchers believe that the interpretations must go beyond terms as code-switching, however, not replace them (Wei, 2018, p. 9). In the 1980s, Cen Williams created the Welsh term 'Trawsieithu', which later translated to translanguaging (Conteh, 2018, p. 445). The term originated in Welsh education to understand the advantages of bilingual classroom teaching. Translanguaging is a "purposeful cross-curricular strategy for the planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning inside the same lesson" (Conteh, 2018, p. 445). Translanguaging accepts the idea of language as an active process, which undermines the more traditional conception of language as something definite. The term transforms language from a noun to a verb to demonstrate the complexity of speaking multiple languages. Instead of focussing solely on the separate languages known by bilinguals, translanguaging seeks to understand how they include all language resources to reach the communicative purpose (Conteh, 2018, pp. 445-46). As translanguaging is concerned with multilinguistic research, its criticism commonly revolves around the resemblance to traditional terms as code-switching and mixing and questions the need for yet another definition. Translanguaging is generally acknowledged for its in-depth

examination of multilinguistic practices since the term goes beyond the hierarchical division of languages as code-switching does (Conteh, 2018, p. 446). Translanguaging addresses issues beyond the languages used in interactions and tries to uncover the underlying social and cultural dimensions connected to the different language styles.

3.6 English on Social Media

Social media often pose a challenge to what is perceived as standard, written language since much of the digital communication happening on the platforms is informal and unconventional. Sandra Barasa (2016) has, in her article, "Spoken Code-Switching in Written Form? Manifestation of Code-Switching in Computer Mediated Communication", studied the differences between code-switching in oral and written language. She concludes that computer-mediated communication is a complex phenomenon, which should be treated and studied on its own (Barasa, 2016, p. 49-50). However, because the area of social media is new and still lacks its own frameworks, Barasa (2016) examines if the methods for code-switching in spoken language are suitable to use in computer-mediated communication. Her study reveals that the motivations behind code-switches in computer-mediated communication are quite similar to spoken language, however, the most important difference is the influence of the media's affordances (Barasa, 2016, p. 61). 'Rapidity', 'least effort', 'space limitation', and 'creativity and fun' are all categories in which media's affordances influence code-switching in computer-mediated communication. 'Rapidity' happens in synchronous communication, when the pace is quick and users write what is first to mind (Barasa, 2016, pp. 61-63). 'Least effort' is when users apply the words most convenient, while 'space limitation" refers to the use of code-switching where words are shortened to fit the desired need of the media (Barasa, 2016, pp. 64-67). Lastly, 'creativity and fun' explains code-switching on social media as a trend, for users to create an image or a specific personality (Barasa, 2016, p. 67). Consequently, computer-mediated communication shares specific characteristics with spoken language, but they cannot be ruled comparable. It offers an informal and relaxed attitude towards language and in some modes have characteristics of spoken-like conversations in terms of turn taking and quick pace (Dorleijn, 2016, p. 138). Oppositely, computer-mediated communication lacks one of the most important features of face-to-face conversation, that is, personal cues and gestures. These physical elements are often crucial to establish moods and context

(Dorleijn, 2016, p. 139). In online, written text, these cues are emphasised with visual cues, such as emoticons, GIFs and stickers (Dorleijn, 2016, p. 140).

Similar to Sandra Barasa, Marta Dąbrowska (2013) explores the use of English in a computer-mediated context. Dąbrowska (2013) demonstrates how speakers within two different circles of English, ESL and EFL, make use of written English on Facebook (p. 63). As the international language in the expanding circle, English is now playing an exceptionally important role, both inside and outside formal education (Dąbrowska, 2013, p. 64). Dąbrowska (2013) emphasises how it becomes increasingly common for EFL speakers to adopt and use the language, even without much proficiency or larger educational background. She exemplifies that the electronic media have a great influence on the development, since they "certainly encourage the use of English, firstly, due to this sense of safety and acceptance, and secondly, because this is a space where people interact with friends as well as strangers from other countries" (p. 64). Dąbrowska (2013) focuses on code-switching to English in Hindu and Polish Facebook users' communication. Among 300 text samples, she attempts to distinguish the infiltration of the English language respectively to the groups of ESL and EFL speakers (pp. 64-66). Firstly, there is a noticeable difference in the amounts of posts written entirely in English, here done mostly by users with English as a second language (Dąbrowska, 2013, p. 66). Secondly, Dąbrowska (2013) observes how ESL users code-switch naturally and unmarked in their communication, whereas EFL users tend to mark their switches with features such as emoticons and expressive punctuations (p. 67). She claims these features add a humorous downplay to the switches, making the subjects aware of their use of a foreign language and switches as "an in-group identity marker" (p. 67 + 73). The ESL Facebook users wrote long passages in English, which illustrated their comfortability towards the language (Dąbrowska, 2013, p. 68). Dąbrowska (2013) believes that the possible fear of mistakes detain EFL users from writing longer sections in English (p. 68). Interestingly, the EFL users kept a correct and standardised English through their communication whereas the ESL users were more likely to apply informal English with slang and incorrect spellings (Dąbrowska, 2013, p. 71). The ESL users switched to English to precise the meaning, especially where Hindi denoted a different meaning. Dąbrowska (2013) exemplifies with the English "hi" opposed to the Hindi "Namaste" and "salaam", which carry religious associations (p. 80). Summed up, EFL users are more attentive to

the relationship of their counterparts when switching languages, making the conversation as easy as possible by adding humour and marked switches.

4 Description of Terms

4.1 Computer-mediated Communication

Computer-mediated communication is a key term when investigating online language behaviour. Throughout this paper, the term will be referred to as CMC. CMC, at its simplest, refers to the written activity happening through the digital advancement of computer technology. The term gained acceptance throughout the 1980s where computer technology increased in popularity (Hougaard, 2014, p. 45). The interest in CMC was driven by the seemingly simplistic perception of the written text performing as spoken-like language (Herring, Stein & Virtanen, 2013, p. 3). Later, research was broadened to include multiple areas within the structural features of the written language, as well as sociolinguistic concerns. The latter, an area where code-switching in CMC emerged as a linguistic area of research (Herring, Stein & Virtanen, 2013, p. 3). With the rise of Web 2.0, millions of users were now connected independent of time and space in an online world with the autonomy to apply languages as they thought fit. Here, monolinguals and multilinguals alike utilised the new opportunities given by CMC, only increasing the attention to research on language applied online (Montes-Alcalá, 2016, p. 24). Two definitions important to differentiate between when explaining CMC is the concept of synchronous and asynchronous communication. Synchronous communication refers to interactions where users attend the conversation simultaneously. This implies that both users are present in the online communication as it is happening. Examples of synchronous communication could be a phone call, or in a social media context, a Skype conversation or an instant chat dialogue (Page, Barton, Unger, Zappavigna, 2014, p. 18). Conversely, asynchronous communication refers to interactions happening across the interlocutors' online presence. Here, users are able to communicate despite the barrier of time. Examples of asynchronous communication could be traditional letters, or in a social media context, emails or replies to comments when the other user is offline (Page, Barton, Unger, Zappavigna, 2014, 18-19).

4.2 Social Media and Web 2.0

An important definition to make when examining an Internet-based concept like social media is the distinction between Web 1.0 and Web 2.0, two characteristic usages

of the World Wide Web through time (Dohn & Johnsen, 2009, p. 13). The move to the latter resulted in a major change in online behaviour, since the entire structure and purpose of the internet shifted. Web 1.0 was defined by an informative internet where communicative opportunities for the average user were limited. Conversely, the World Wide Web that we know today, Web 2.0, is based on a dynamic way of thinking, enabling users to utilize the Internet's innovative connection to the world around us. Here, communication and interaction are key words to describe the processes happening online (Dohn & Johnsen, 2009, p. 13). In the wake of Web 2.0, the concept of social media was introduced, which only increased the online presence and conceptualised the idea of an interactive Internet (Dohn & Johnsen, 2009, p. 13-14). The concept of social media distinguishes itself from traditional media through the way communication travels. Traditional media are characterised by one-way communication, whereas social media enable many-to-many communication through multiple communication channels (Page, Barton, Unger, Zappavigna, 2014, p. 5). The concept of social media is understood in varying degrees among scholars, thus making the term difficult to define. The many social media sites vary in style and genre, as well as the communicative purpose (Page, Barton, Unger, Zappavigna, 2014, pp. 5-6). This study will focus on one of the most popular social media types, that is, the 'social network sites'. These are defined as:

> Services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system. (Boyd & Ellison, 2008, p. 211).

This study is based on findings from Facebook and Instagram, which are two most famous sites associated with this description (Stæhr & Mortensen, 2018, p. 12). Facebook and Instagram are commonly characterised by a structure, which enables a variety of possibilities to connect with the outside world. Here, friends and strangers connect through multiple communicative choices provided by each platform. This could for instance be interest-orientated Facebook groups or Instagram profiles (Boyd & Ellison, 2008, p. 210). Since Web 2.0 is characterised by the social interaction it enables, this is not what distinguish social network sites from the rest. Social network sites are original in the context of networks. Their originality lies in the display of each person's social network and the attention to personal ties connected across each platforms (Boyd & Ellison, 2008, p. 211). The structure of Facebook and Instagram is based on this notion,

which organises each profile according to online acquaintances. On Facebook, a user's network is called "Friends" and on Instagram, "Followers". Both platform require all friends and followers to be users before any networks are possible. Thus, a user's friends or followers always consist of other users on the platform (Boyd & Ellison, 2008, p. 211). The online experience on Facebook and Instagram is built upon a profile with the user's information, such as name, age, location, as well as a profile picture (Boyd & Ellison, 2008, p. 213). Privacy is relative on the platforms, but they both offer individual adjustments to a profile's visibility. It is possible to regulate how much content the Facebook users outside one's personal network are allowed to see when browsing the profile. On Instagram, it is possible to change the profile from open to closed. A closed profile on Instagram is synonymous with a private profile. Here, the user denies any access from users outside the personal network. In case outside users want to access a private profile, they are obligated to "follow" the profile. Before any content is shown, the profile must accept their request. On the contrary, open Instagram profiles have no authority on which profiles view or follow them (Controlling Your Visibility, n.d.).

Instagram was introduced as a mobile application in 2010 and by 2016, the app exceeded 500 million users (Lee & Chau, 2017, s. 22). The app is a picture-based social network site where users are able to post images and videos directly from the phone gallery. It is possible to supplement these visual posts with descriptive text underneath and once uploaded, this is called a 'post'. Users can then 'like' the post by double tapping the image, as well as add a comment (Exploring photos and videos, n.d.). Instagram also offers its users a function called 'stories', a time-limited alternative to the post. Here, users can upload an image or video that will appear separate from the other posts on the profile. A story will last for 24 hours, only to disappear again (Stories, n.d.). Lastly, Instagram enables users to interact privately with each other in their direct messaging system, Instagram Direct (Direct Messaging, n.d.).

Facebook was founded in 2004 and in March 2019, statistics showed an average of 1.56 billion users active on a daily basis (Our Mission. Our History, n.d.). Like Instagram, Facebook offers a variety of interaction possibilities, both within synchronous and asynchronous communication. Among these are the status update, story, and instant message. A Facebook status update enables users to post informative content such as personal experiences, moods, entertainment or content they find otherwise relevant for their network (Halim & Maros, 2014, p. 127). Friends can then react to the status to

illustrate they enjoyed the content. This was originally labelled as a 'like', however, today it is possible to apply different reactions to a post (Burns, 2017, p. 376). Facebook offers the time-limited function called 'stories' as well. Facebook's direct messaging system, where users can communicate privately, is called Messenger (About Messaging, n.d.). On both Facebook and Instagram, users can 'tag' friends and followers within their personal network. If a user wants friends to view a funny video, it is possible to tag them in the comment section by adding '@' before the username. This way, the friends tagged will receive a notification, telling them who tagged them and where (Halim & Maros, 2014, p. 127). One of the main characteristics of social network sites is the hashtag. The hashtag is a key word or sentence added in a post or comment, usually relevant for the content displayed. By adding '#' before a word, sites like Facebook and Instagram automatically develop a functional link through the hashtag. As users add hashtag to their posts or comments, the content is made searchable. Hashtags will direct users to the communities developed through the tag, that is, all public content applying the specific hashtag (Burns, 2017, p. 381).

Facebook and Instagram also allow their users to communicate through visual aids as part of the technological structure on the platforms. Visual aids are here referred to as GIFs, stickers and emoticons, which are all accessible as an integrated part of Facebook and Instagram. GIF is a file format, short for Graphics Interchange Format, and is widely used across Facebook and Instagram. A GIF is very short film clip that repeats itself (Burns, 2017, p. 381). Stickers are an online label that users can add to enhance the visual aspect of their communication, whether it is written or visual. On Facebook, it is possible to add stickers in comments, private chats, or on images in the 'story' function. On Instagram, they are only accessible in stories (Adding Effects and Filters, n.d.). In CMC, emoticons originally stem from the lack of physical cues where users started to develop faces through punctuation (Page, Barton, Unger, Zappavigna, 2014, p. 36). Over the years, emoticons have undergone a massive change, from punctuation to animation, and are now an integrated part of communication systems on social media. Visual aids like GIFs, stickers, and emoticons grow in popularity as they inspire the users to explore a more creative approach to their written communication (Burns, 2017, p. 41).

With the distinctive network possibilities within social network sites, new career possibilities started to appear. Users were fast to utilise the advantages of the one-to-many communication offered by the platforms and people creatively explored the possibilities

of online networking. The rapidity of information online enabled users to reach a vast amount of people and the more creative and original content, the larger an audience (Audrezet, 2018, p. 1). Today, these large public profiles can be found on many different platforms and are referred to as "social media influencers". They can be unknown individuals or celebrities who attract a large following and heavy traffic on their profiles or channels (Chae, 2018, p. 246). Instagram is especially known for this phenomenon where countless profiles earn their living through the platform (Iqani, 2019, pp. 230-31). The profiles vary in content and they are sponsored by different companies through brand building (Iqani, 2019, p. 232). Influencers will often do contractual collaborations with brands, enabling "social media influencer" as a career option (Iqani, 2019, p. 232). They have the ability to inspire and encourage their audience on different matters, making them especially valuable for social media marketing.

4.2.1 Digital Affordances

With the purpose of studying digital interaction on social media, this study recognises the importance of the technological advances and limitations connected to each platform. Here, the concept of digital affordances is applied, since the term conceptualises how social media's structure and design affect online behaviour, especially language (Meredith, 2017, p. 43). Originally, the idea of affordances was constructed by James Gibson, who referred affordances to "the possibilities that any object offers for action" (Meredith, 2017, p. 43). Thus, the interest lies in the relationship between object and actor, not in the object itself. When the concept is applied in a digital context, the interest is therefore not how the technology regulates the online interaction, but more specific, how users utilise specific technological advances to their advantage (Meredith, 2017, p. 43). In a digital context, affordances will help to understand how users apply specific technologies to communicate (Meredith, 2017, p. 53). Each social media offers different genres and styles in their structure (Page, Barton, Unger, Zappavigna, 2014, p. 18). As the technological functions differ, their effect on the linguistic choices should be considered (Meredith, 2017, p. 43). Since many platforms deploy the hashtag function, this technical, searchable advantage corresponds with the concept of an online affordance. With the hashtag function, users have accepted and adapted this feature to fit multiple linguistic purposes in their online interaction (Zappavigna, 2015, p. 1.). The hashtag is a good example of a digital advantage provided by a platform, whereas, an example of a digital limitation could be the restrictions to text

size. Restriction in text size is known to influence users' language behaviour, as it generates linguistic creativity in order to reach the communicative purpose despite the constraint on keystrokes (Page, Barton, Unger, Zappavigna, 2014, p. 18). The lack of personal cues, such as lack of gestures or voice intonation, is likewise a limitation to the digital, written interaction of many social media sites. This is a well-known affordance, since it generates much of the alternative, written options that balance the absence of personal cues. The emergence of the emoticon is part of the solution to introduce emotions to written text (Page, Barton, Unger, Zappavigna, 2014, p. 18).

5 Methods

This study employs a mixed method approach, combining quantitative and qualitative data. Additionally, the methods consist of a blended data collection, namely, a combination of online data with supplementary information on participants through a mixed interview-questionnaire approach. Firstly, quantitative analysis will examine to which extent Danes apply English on Facebook and Instagram. Secondly, qualitative analysis will investigate the technical affordances likely causing the switches to English on the two platforms. Content analysis will be used to analyse the data. Since this study concerns itself with Danes' incorporation of English online, literature on English code-switching will be drawn upon. Especially Sandra Barasa's (2016) study on code-switching and social media's affordances will be investigated in the qualitative analysis. Additionally, Marta Dąbrowska's (2013) research on online English practices within ESL and EFL speakers will be considered. However, it is important to note that there are certain drawbacks associated with this approach. Categorising the data based on Barasa's divisions will not make it possible to ascribe every piece of data to a certain function or motive. It is very possible for switches to carry multiple functions or none at all (Montes-Alcalá, 2016, p. 4).

To distinguish variation in the language used across Facebook and Instagram, as well as within each platform, data were collected from different sources. To understand how English is used by Danes online, it becomes essential to include all relevant areas on Facebook and Instagram. Therefore, different methods were applied in this study to acquire a thorough investigation of the English language applied in Danish computer-mediated communication. Through an observational study, different online spaces were entered, whether they were private or public. Private users on Facebook and Instagram

offered a look into their lives on the platforms for four weeks, while four public Facebook groups were entered and observed as well. Two large Instagram influencers were likewise included in the study to add further data. To supplement the findings on Facebook and Instagram, a mixture of an email interview and questionnaire was issued to the private users participating in the study. The answers collected will offer a perspective to the language choices as well as establish demographic information.

5.1 Data Collection Method

To understand people's activities and language use online, one must first access the data. Social media usually offer easy entrée into the lives of the users (Costello, McDermott, Wallace, 2017, p. 2). Based on the endless amount of data that social media offer, the first step towards a successful data collection was goal setting (Lai et. al., 2015, p. 142). Clarifying ones objectives and understanding the scope of the study were important steps before the actual data collection (Lai & Wai Ming, 2015, p. 142). This study explores a very specific language feature and the data amount therefore had to meet the desired quantity to draw plausible conclusions. Based on the time frame of the study, it was decided to dedicate four weeks for data collection. Four weeks should offer enough data to represent the average content each participant in the study usually generates. The objective was to be able to categorise and distinguish Danes' incorporation of the English language in their digital communication based on the four weeks of data collection.

5.1.1 The Participants

The participants were all selected by means of convenience sampling, which is a nonprobability sampling technique (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016, p. 1). Convenience sampling was chosen based on the resources of the project, as well as its time limitations. As a nonprobability sampling technique, convenience sampling offers an easy and convenient approach to the selection of participants, however, also introduces limitations (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016, p. 1). Convenience sampling excludes random participant selection from the population. Consequently, generalisations about the Danish population and their behaviour online will be impossible to determine. It can, however, provide useful insights and statements on characteristics (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016, p. 2). In addition, convenience sampling was chosen in order to reach a specific target group, namely Danes with a Facebook or Instagram account, preferably both (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016, p. 2-3).

16 participants agreed to share their content on Facebook and Instagram throughout the four weeks of data collection. To secure correct and tangible statistics on the subjects, they were asked to specify this in the interview. The participants vary from 19-39 years in age and include 13 females and 3 males. 15 participants were Danish and one was Dutch, however, raised in Denmark since the age of five (Appendix E). To sum up, all subjects were Danish or lived in Denmark for more than 20 years. Based on this information, it is possible to expect that all participants have received a formal English education one way or the other. As standard procedure in Danish schools, children are introduced to English from first grade (Folkeskolens Fag, n.d.). English was therefore expected to be a language they knew well. Indeed, all participants in the interview listed that they spoke English, six of them emphasised 'fluently' (Appendix E).

Collection of data entailed a close online observance of their activities such as posts, comments, tags, and stories, but also a look into their private conversations on the instant chat functions. Everything besides the private conversations were possible for the researcher to obtain without help from the participants. As they agreed to participate in the study, an Instagram account was created solely on the purpose of tracking and observing them (Nannaspeciale, n.d.). Instagram is a platform where the users are able to choose between an open or closed profile. The participants with private profiles were instructed to accept the request from the created profile. It was possible to track their posts, the comments on the posts, stories, and their comments on other users' posts without any disruption from irrelevant content. On Facebook, an already active profile was used for the purpose. The ability to collect the majority of data without the participants' direct involvement was a big part of the study. The participants were informed about the overall topic of the study, but the focus on English use was never mentioned before the end of the data collection. It was important for the participants to stay uninformed, as the goal was to obtain as natural language choices as possible. The participants were not supposed to reflect on their written content on Facebook and Instagram during data collection. Of course, it was impossible to collect data without the participants' knowledge, as the researcher needed informed consent. Consequently, they knew a researcher was tracking them during the four weeks, however, not the exact purpose. It was not possible for the researcher to gain access to the instant chat messages on Facebook and Instagram without direct help from the participants. Private messages were deemed too private to access for a month. As a compromise, it was arranged that the

participants would present screenshots of the conversations they believed fit to share. Each Sunday during the collection period, the participants would send screenshots from the past week.

5.1.2 The Facebook Groups

Four Danish Facebook groups were additionally accessed to prevent any case of data shortage. They were entered February 2019 and were chosen based on their Danish language. They varied in size and theme to secure a rich and versatile database. The aim was to find Danish groups, their themes and topics subordinate, in order to explore their incorporation of the English language on a daily basis. The four groups differed in size, theme, and daily activities. Since the researcher never revealed the project to the groups, the data should be unbiased and authentic. All four groups were public, but required admission. That is, the groups were all visible to find, but to view their content and members, the researcher had to request entry by answering questions. During the four weeks of data collection, the groups were entered each night and screenshots were made from all posts published within the last 24 hours, along with the comments attached. The comment section on a post was only screenshotted once.

"International Hyggegruppe" was the largest group entered. The group was defined as a place to debate and have fun and part of their description read, "The group that never sleeps" (International Hyggegruppe, n.d.). When entered, the group contained 44,193 members with 10-15 posts a day. "International Hyggegruppe" was originally chosen on its large size, but unexpectedly proved a rather controversial group. The majority of posts and comments were concerned with religious convictions, gender prejudices, and public exposure of members with personal disputes. The second largest Facebook group was "Makeup og tips" with 35,170 members when entered. People in this group shared experiences with makeup, asked for tips and tricks. The number of posts varied during data collection, but reached an average of 5-10 posts a day (Makeup og tips, n.d.). The third group. "Hunden er vores bedste ven" had 25,285 members when entered. Here, the members shared picture of their dogs, expressed concerns, or asked questions. The members posted around 5-10 posts a day (Hunden er vores bedste ven, n.d.). The last group, "Alle Os Der Elsker Netflix - Danmark" was the smallest among the four Facebook groups, with only 834 members when entered. Here, people would share recommendations from Netflix Denmark, discuss and review film and series and ask

questions (Alle Os Der Elsker Netflix – Danmark, n.d.). The group generated very little data with only 5-10 posts a week.

5.1.3 The Instagram Influencers

There is no group functions on Instagram and it was feared that the participants would generate less content on Instagram than on Facebook. Therefore, it was decided to follow two popular, Danish influencers on the platform. The two girls chosen generated large content on a weekly basis and with the rise of 'influencing' on social media, it was deemed interesting to include this in the study. Since their occupation is to influence social media users, their language could play a vital role in the tendencies and norms dominating social media. @Helsematildedk (HelseMatildedk, n.d.) and @Katrine.gisiger (Katrine Gisiger, n.d.) were chosen based on their consistent use of Danish, their frequent activity on the platform, and their large following. Like the Facebook groups, their content was screenshotted each day and archived. This included their posts, the comments on the posts and their stories. The two influencers were followed from February 2019 and at the time @Helsematilde had 65,500 followers, while @Katrine.gisiger had 33,800 followers. Both influencers posted regularly with 1-3 posts, as well as multiple stories a day. Their posts roughly generated the same amount of responses with 0-200 comments a post, with few exceptions of "giveaways" where the influencers launched competitions. Here, the comment sections would reach 600-1700 comments a post.

5.2 Email Interview

To gain a better insight into the motivations behind the participants' use of English, an interview was set in place. Interviewing the participants should create an understanding of their attitude and experience with language use in CMC and elucidate why and how they incorporate the English language in their Danish communication.

It was decided to use email interviews based on the assumption of flexibility. It is a convenient way to answer questions since time and space are of no concern and the participants are able to care for the attention to details while answering (Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015, p. 83). Since the study concerns itself with the participants' online behaviour on social media, their internet accessibility fortunately did not prove a risk, since it was established they all had internet access (Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015, p. 81). In order to address the topic as specific as possible, a pilot test was issued to ensure any misleading, unclear, ambiguous, or redundant questions were detected in time of release.

Email interviews have certain limitations and it was therefore important to respond properly to the consequences of this approach. Email interviews are asynchronous communication, which eliminates the usual factors of time and space, as seen in face-to-face interviews (Opdenakker, 2006, p. 9). As an online method, email interviews prove difficult when establishing rapport with participants. Thus, an appropriate, encouraging introduction to the process was therefore essential to the participants' overall collaboration (Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015, p. 81). Establishing rapport is a significant step towards honest attitudes and informative answers (Jorgenson, 1992, pp. 148-156). All participants had a relation to the interviewer to some degree and the familiarity should eliminate any distrust or scepticism about the interviews (Mann & Stewart, 2011, p. 5, 11). In addition, email interviews compromise the support of social cues, which in some cases can prove crucial to the understanding or interpretation of certain utterances (Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015, p. 81). Thus, clear and understandable language is of most importance when formulating the questions (Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015, p. 81). Lastly, email interviews deny the interviewer of controlling the participants' environment throughout the interview (Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015, p. 81). By sending an email, the interviewer entrusts the participants to choose a suitable setting for their completion of the questions. Unfortunately, present technologies enable participants to gain access to their email at inappropriate times, which could result in less serious or unfocused answers (Opdenakker, 2006, p. 7).

The participants received all 16 questions at once, based on the assumption that some participants would lose interest if each question were to be send separately. The interviews therefore became a single interaction as opposed to a series of interactions (Mann & Stewart, 2011, p. 4). It was feared that it would take the participants too long to answer each question and fail to deliver results. The consequence was the lack of follow-up questions, allowing the participants to elaborate on their answers (Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015, p. 80). Instead, they received one email to answer all sixteen questions and as expected, a few participants still needed reminders. It is generally considered risky to send several questions at once in email interviews, as the amount of questions might demotivate or overwhelm the participants (Bampton & Cowton, 2002, pp. 4-5). Therefore, labelling this method specifically as interviews is insufficient, as the lack of follow-up questions and dynamic interaction with the participants eliminate important structures of an interview. The method is thus a mixture of an email interview and

questionnaire. Its limitations have been noted and will be considered. However, for the sake of a readable experience, the method will henceforth be referred to as 'email interviews'.

The same participants were used in the interview as in the data collection. As the subjects agreed to participate in the study, they accepted an email interview as the final step in the process. It was decided to include all 16 participants for the interview to secure rich results, regardless of potential withdrawals (Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015, p. 81). Since the subjects all actively participated in the data collection, it was assumed that they had a genuine interest in the project. All sixteen participants answered the interview and only three needed further reminders. Sixteen questions were issued, determining the subjects' age and nationality, as well as exploring their motivations behind their use of English online. All sixteen interviews were finished within five weeks. Online interviews always carry a risk of losing participants in the process due to lack of interest or personal difficulties (Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015, p. 81). To ensure as rich a participation as possible, precautions were made during the process. As mentioned, the participants were informed about the interview from the beginning. As they confirmed the interview a month prior to release, they had the opportunity to prioritise their time in advance (Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015, p. 81).

The email interview consisted of 16 questions, all carefully created and formulated to acquire the most specific information possible. To establish rapport with the participants, a thorough and detailed introduction was composed. Since emails lack face-to-face interaction and therefore challenge the opportunity to connect with the participants, the text prior to the questions becomes essential (Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015, p. 81). Thus, the introduction was composed with great attentiveness to details and a readable, concise amount of text (Appendix E, p. 119). The introduction clearly showed gratitude for their participation, as well as informing the subjects on the procedure in case of confusion or further questions (Appendix E, p. 119). In addition, the introduction reminded the participants of the promise of anonymity and clearly stated the length of the interview in order to pre-empt hurried answers or abandonment.

In order to achieve effective information and useful answers, the interview questions were considered in thoughtful details. Formulating precise questions is not only important for future answers, but also an essential step towards active participation and maintaining the subjects' interest throughout the interview (Mann & Stewart, 2011, p. 22). Since the

interview questions were sent in one email, their wording proved even more significant, as they should guide the participants and connect the questions to each other (Mann & Stewart, 2011, p. 22). The first three questions revolve around the participants' age, nationality, and language practices (Appendix E, p. 120). These questions were formulated to clarify their demographics, as these statistics could prove important. It could also prove significant to note if any participants were bilingual or fluent in several languages. Question 4 determines on which social media the subjects are active to establish their relationship with online networking sites (Appendix E, p. 120). Question 5 tries to define the participants' primary language on Facebook and Instagram (Appendix E, p. 120). This question was asked in order to understand the subjects' immediate thoughts about their main communicative language on the two platforms. Question 6 and 7 perform as follow-up questions to number 5, as the participants should be able to elaborate on their comprehensive language use online (Appendix E, p. 120). Questions 8 concerns itself with the phenomenon of code-switching, however, does not mention the term (Appendix E, p. 120). This question was of most importance, since it addressed the participants' thoughts on code-switching. Code-switching is a large part of the findings and therefore had to be addressed. Question 8 is not an open-ended question, as it only needs to guide the participants in the direction of English practices online. Question 9 therefore elaborates on questions 8 as a follow up question (Appendix E, p. 120). This question aims to discover the motivations behind the participants' change in language. The question is now open-ended, hoping to discover different answers from the subjects. Question 10 and 11 try to determine how the participants' English practices change with the setting and relation (Appendix E, p. 120). Question 12 is not directed at the subjects' English practices online, but tries to uncover to which extent they process their language when writing. Question 12 is important when interpreting their online data, as the time they spend considering their language online can explain motivations behind code-switches. Question 13 works as a follow-up question and should uncover if the participants use more time constructing their written language in public or private text (Appendix E, p. 120). Question 14 forces the participants to contemplate on the motivations connected to their own, as well as other people's English use online (Appendix E, p. 120). Question 15 tries to uncover whether the participants notice the phenomenon in their everyday online conversations (Appendix E, p. 120). Lastly, question 16 was added to the interview in order to contrast the extensive use of English

online. The question should determine whether the participants used other languages to the same extent (Appendix E, p. 120).

5.3 Ethical Considerations

The methods used in this study all necessitate thorough ethical investigations in terms of data collection and anonymity. In the wake of social media, research on the topic has raised certain issues and paradoxes in terms of the right to anonymity and informed consent (Stæhr & Mortensen, 2018, p. 22). Social networking sites like Facebook and Instagram originated on the basis of publicity and accessibility with the intention of a widespread audience. Especially platforms like Instagram and Facebook appeal to the self-presentation and creation of online identities, often connected with the need to be watched, liked and followed at all times. This reputation of social media collides with the idea of anonymity and informed consent and as a much debated topic, data collection on social media can pose a challenge if not confronted in the early stages of research (Stæhr & Mortensen, 2018, p. 22). As social media develop as an essential part of modern society, the ethical and moral considerations when handling its data become increasingly important (Stæhr & Mortensen, 2018, p. 23). Collection and distribution of personal information is today one of the largest businesses, essentially made possibly by the rise of social media (Floridi & Taddeo, 2016, s. 2-3). Recent laws like GDPR remind us how our credulity online is utilised by social media and several scandals have revealed how much of our personal information is being extracted and distributed for different purposes (Floridi & Taddeo, 2016, s. 2-3). In the wake of a new era with far more focus on IT security, especially transparency within social media, researchers are likewise expected to ask permission whenever data are collected (Stæhr & Mortensen, 2018, p. 23). Individuals should be offered the chance of informed consent as well as anonymity. Informed consent presupposes that researchers not only ask permission to use the data, but also clearly inform their subjects about the intentions and application of the data collected (Floridi & Taddeo, 2016, s. 1-2).

All subjects participating in this project were informed about the purpose of the study. As they signed up, they agreed to be observed on Facebook and Instagram for four weeks. They allowed the researcher to screenshot and archive their public interactions and they each provided private messages once a week. They were promised full anonymity in the paper and assured that all sensitive information would be concealed, such as names, usernames, profile pictures and other personal material visible in the data.

A relevant ethical issue concerning this project was the third party contributors. As the participants offered their online interactions to the researcher, the conversations with their interlocutors were displayed as well. Secondary users interacting with the participants dominated the data and it was deemed too big a project to contact and inform all of them individually. As private messages were handed to the researcher, the participants informed their interlocutors themselves about the project. Of course, with the promise of anonymity still applied. Another ethical challenge in the project concerned the Facebook groups and Instagram influencers added to the data collection. The two influencers were contacted and informed about the project, but both failed to answer. Nevertheless, as the two women have public profiles used for entertainment, it was deemed less intrusive to continue the data collection. As mentioned, social media influencers depend on publicity to survive as a career and therefore the mentioning of their profiles in the study seemed reasonable. The comments collected on their profiles are harder to argue for, since these are posted by private users. Contacting all users was deemed unrealistic in terms of time constraints. Arguably, since these users have chosen to post on a public, Instagram profile, it was decided that anonymity would suffice. A similar conclusion was made for the four Facebook groups. However, an additional argument to keep the groups uninformed about the project was the risk of being banished. All four Facebook groups were closed when entered, meaning that the researcher had to apply for access to view their content. Especially two of the groups contained a large amount of sensitive content. Private conversations on problematic body issues or racist and sexist posts were recurrent themes in these groups. It was believed to be too risky, had the researcher exposed her intentions.

All data collected as screenshots were archived and categorised securely on a drive and only the researcher had access to the database. As the data were transcribed into charts and tables, no names or other personal information were transcribed. If users had tagged or mentioned another person in the text, a "@_" was merely added for context.

6 Results

6.1 Presentation of Data

In this study, data were collected from various sources on Facebook and Instagram in order to establish Danes' incorporation of the English language in their computer-mediated communication. Data were collected from different sources in order to gain a rich and plentiful database for analysis, hopefully broadening the perspective on Danes' English application on Facebook and Instagram.

Of the four weeks data collection, 4352 screenshots were retrieved. This number includes all data sources, that is, participants, Facebook groups, and Instagram influencers. The screenshots are of instant chats, comments, posts, and stories. In all, 1830 of the 4352 screenshots were retrieved from the participants alone. 1224 of these screenshots were instant chat messages offered by the participants from both Messenger and Instagram Direct. The participants' stories counted for 236 screenshots, their posts for 78 and the comments for 292 screenshots. These numbers count for both Facebook and Instagram. Data from the Instagram influencers reached 931 screenshots and the Facebook groups reached 1591. It is worth mentioning that the Facebook groups produced considerably more data than accounted for in this paper. However, due to space limitations, the data had to be cut. As the screenshots have been counted, it is important to note that one screenshot not necessarily counts for merely one comment or text message. As the data were collected, screenshots were taken to include as much data as possible. Some screenshots include up to ten comments per shot or multiple interactions in a text message conversation. Therefore, 4352 screenshots do not translate to 4352 written interactions, but many more.

6.2 Coding Procedures

All data collected in this study have been divided into the different communication channels on Facebook and Instagram: instant chats, posts, comments, and stories. Subsequently, all data have further been categorised depending on how the English language is applied; 'English only', 'switches', 'hashtags', 'GIFs and stickers', and 'other languages'. The latter category is added to understand to which extent other languages than Danish and English are used in the data. It was believed that this category would serve as a sharp contrast to the use of English, only exemplifying how the English language dominates social media. The category counting English GIFs and stickers was added since these features are clear affordances of both Facebook and Instagram. This category could essentially uncover new information as to why English is such widely distributed online. The first two categories are devoted to English, written text. The following sections will present an account of how English is perceived and understood throughout the data.

6.2.1 Defining English

To analyse the data, a clear and explicit definition of English language practices had to be defined. In her article, Dąbrowska (2013) mentions the grey area between code-

switching and informal word borrowings (p. 70). In this study, this likewise proved difficult to distinguish as the data were analysed and categorised. Today, the Danish vocabulary includes a wide range of loan words, with English words accepted in the Danish dictionary each year (Jensen & Lorentzen, n.d). On March 8, 2019, 780 new words were added to the Danish dictionary, including words like "swag", "mindset", "influencer", "vlogger", and "voice over" (Nyeste Ord I DDO, n.d.). During data analysis, no distinction was made between English loan words in the Danish dictionary and English words not present in the Danish dictionary. It was later discovered that numerous of the English words noted in the data were present in the Danish dictionary. To mention only a few, words like "shit", "nice", "yes", "join", "all right", "crazy", "douchebag", "deal", "casual", and "weird" can all be found in the Danish dictionary. This is a matter of conflict, as code-switching becomes an inadequate approach. As mentioned previously, literature on code-switching has criticised the approach for its insufficiency in analysing more complex instances where language cannot simply be separated. These loan words applied to the Danish vocabulary are a good example of language as a process, not a definite possession belonging to them and us (Wei, 2018, pp. 11, 14). In this case, a term as translanguaging seems more adequate, as the language behaviour is more connected to a global development where languages intertwine across nationalities (Wei, 2018, p. 13). New words in the Danish dictionary include "youtuber", "instagrammer", and "mansplaine" (Nyeste Ord I DDO, n.d.). Youtuber and instagrammer are the same in English, but are now Danish words as well (Youtuber, n.d.; Instagrammer, n.d.). All the words listed above technically belong in the Danish language, which eliminate their occurrence in a Danish sentence as code-switching. However, all these words were still documented and categorised in the data analysis, as they give clear indications on how the English language is applied and accepted online. Therefore, much of the data that initially categorised as code-switches are now referred to as merely 'switches' to avoid any term connected to code-based language approaches in order to prevent misunderstandings.

The data categorised in 'English only' were based on the condition that all text had to be written exclusively in English. That is, all posts, stories, and comments on Facebook and Instagram. This also included any English hashtags, stickers and emoticons. The two examples below demonstrate a post and a story both categorised as 'English only:

Example 1: Instagram Post

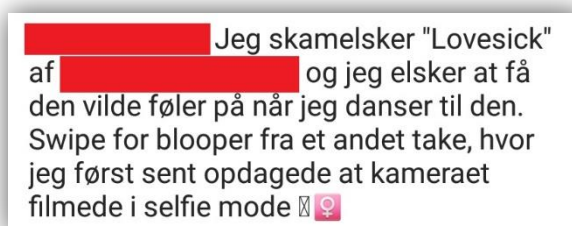*Example 2: Instagram Story*

The category 'English only' proved difficult to establish in the instant chat messages. Whenever a participant had written a message in Danish, followed by an additional message in English, they would theoretically be switching between languages. However, the message would also categorise as text exclusively written in English. Example 3 is a demonstration of this:

Example 3: Instant Chat Message Facebook

It was decided that all instant chat messages written in English, as the one above, would categorise as 'English only'. They would be categorised as switches if one message contained Danish and English in one written space. Written space is referred to as the coloured text bubbles appearing on the screen as you send your message. Example 3 has been categorised as a text written entirely in English with "Also LOOK AT HER", as no Danish appear in this written space.

The category named 'switches' was originally created based on a code-switching approach, but as previous sections argue, there is doubt about the term's validity in much of the data. The categorisation is thus called 'switches' and deals with text containing both English and Danish in one written text. The following examples below are demonstrations on how switches were categorised in the data. In Example 4, the user writes Danish but switches to English with the words "swipe", "blooper", "take", and "selfie mode". Example 5 is an Instagram story where the user only writes two words, however, still manages to switch. Lastly, Example 6 is an Instagram comment where the user starts the sentence with the Danish interjection "ej", but continues the rest of the sentence in English:

Example 4: Instagram Post

Example 5: Instagram Story
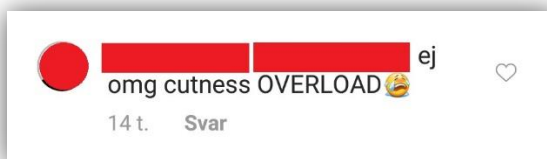
Example 6: Instagram Comment

The category 'hashtags' was created to observe to which extent English hashtags were used in the data. All posts, stories, private chats, and comments containing English hashtags were categorised.

Example 7: Instagram Comment
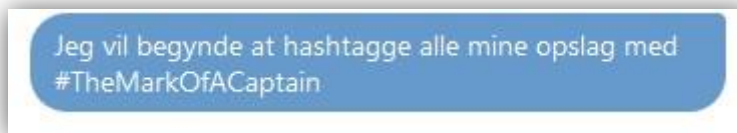
Example 8: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 7 is a post where the user includes the two English hashtags "#teamworkmakesthedreamwork" and "#sunday" after a Danish text. In Example 8, the user explains the hashtag "#TheMarkOfACaptain".

The category 'GIFs and stickers' required an English GIF or sticker in the interactions on Facebook and Instagram. This section is complex, as Facebook and Instagram do not share the same functions. After an investigation of the two platforms, it is evident that GIFs and stickers are not possible to add as a direct affordance on Instagram posts or comments. Thus, the data in this category are only identified in some areas of the data. Examples of English GIFs and stickers are seen below:
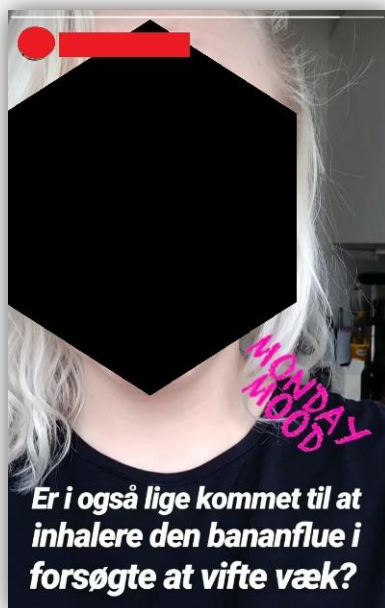
Example 9: Instagram Story
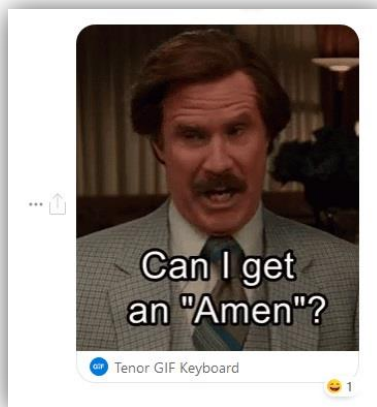
Example 10: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 9 is a story where the user writes in Danish, however, has added a sticker saying "Monday mood". Example 10 is a GIF sent in a private chat depicting the actor Will Ferrell who says, "Can I get an "Amen"".

Lastly, the category 'other languages' required text to be written in other languages than Danish or English. This both included data where text was written entirely in another language or done through a simple switch. The examples below illustrate simple switches, the first to the Spanish greeting "holá" and the other to Spanish article "el":

Example 11: Instant Chat Message Facebook
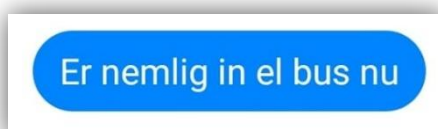
Example 12: Instant Chat Message Facebook

6.2.2 Defining English Switches

Looking at the tables, a vast amount of English switches appears in the data. To understand the context of these switches, a thorough examination is necessary. The English switches are therefore categorised individually to broaden the perspective on the

Danes' English use. The switches are divided into three main categories: 'switching in a Danish text to an English word', 'switching in a Danish text to an English sentence', and 'switching in a Danish text to an English hashtag'. These three categories are created to establish the amount of English being used and how hashtags, a clear affordance of social media, might inadvertently cause the switches.

In Appendix B, C, and D (p. 102-19), tables have been made to account for the English switches in all communication modes; private chats, stories, posts, and comments. The data have been divided across Facebook and Instagram and separated between participants, Instagram influencers, and Facebook groups.

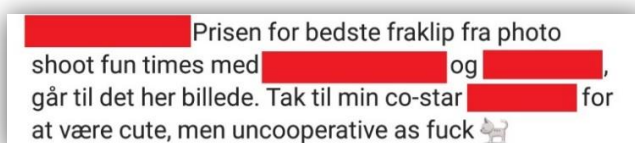Categorising the switches to either an English word or an English sentence proved more difficult than first expected. Exactly what should categorise as a sentence or simply words seemed like a grey area. Especially if the participants used multiple English words in one text, but not necessarily creating a sentence. It was decided that switches to English sentences would only be categorised on the following conditions; when more than two English words were used in continuation of each other or when they were separated with punctuation or emoticons. A few exceptions were found where two to three English words were counted as single words: "two-step verification", "by the way", "holy crap", "to go", "too late", "in case", "hack & slash", "thumbs up" (Appendix B). These are all expressions counted as words, not sentences. Words like "sleep over", "to-do", "no-go" "queer bater" and "cop out" were also categorised as switches to words (Appendix B). Anything written with an article attached also counted as single words like "the shit" and "the household" (Appendix B).

Often, a text would contain a switch to English multiple times, both using single words and sentences:

Example 13: Instagram Post

The text "photo shoot fun times" and "uncooperative as fuck" categorise as English sentences and "co-star" and "cute" count as single words. Examples like this will appear

twice in the tables, both in 'switching in a Danish text to an English word' as well as 'switching in a Danish text to an English sentence'.

All text transcribed to the tables have not been altered in terms of spelling, capital letters or punctuations. This includes words like "2day", "yaaaas", "shiiiet", "nooooo", "NOOOO" and "NO-go". A few times the participants have used quotation marks or other markers like " tho' ", " "booty" ", and " 'teaser' " (Appendix B). As a result, the tables might include alternative spellings of the same word. For later interpretation of the participants' language choices, it is important for the wordings and markings to remain intact in the data. Abbreviations are also common in the data, many derived from the English language. These shortenings are therefore counted as English words. Examples of English abbreviations found in the data are: "omg" [oh my god], "lol" [laughing out loud], "btw" [by the way], and "asap" [as soon as possible] (Appendix B).

6.3 The Participants: Results

The results, as shown in Table 1, illustrate each participant's use of English in their data:

Table 1

P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8
53/19 of 76	47/28 of 292	79/56 of 137	33/11 of 42	22/7 of 18	85/43 of 230	20/70 of 201	75/62 of 211
P9	**P10**	**P11**	**P12**	**P13**	**P14**	**P15**	**P16**
12/9 of 46	22/36 of 98	33/7 of 60	13/9 of 25	40/40 of 159	12/10 of 46	10/4 of 163	11/5 of 26

The table documents each time the participants and their interlocutors applied either an English sentence, phrase, or single word. It is important to note that Table 1 is an approximate calculation of the results. The English language accounted for is a precise count, however, the overall baseline is counted in screenshots. To explain, Participant 1 applied English 53 times in the 76 screenshots collected from her during data collection. Furthermore, her online associates applied English 19 times. It was decided to include the third party sources in the participants' instant chat messages, as this data could help uncover further proof of Danes' English application.

The table likewise demonstrates how the participants vary in data amounts, a result of a significant inequality in their online activities on Facebook and Instagram. The highest count of English located is 85 instances and belongs to Participant 6. The lowest count of English is Participant 15 with only 19 occurrences. Yet, by looking at the two participants' data amount, it is clear that they produced different quantities. During data collection, participant 6 generated 230 screenshots to the database, while Participant 9 only produced 46 screenshots.

To gain a better overview of the results, an additional table is made, separating the data from Facebook and Instagram. Here, the data is categorised within each communication mode, that is, instant chats, posts, comments, and stories:

Table 2

	Facebook				Instagram			
	Instant Chats	Posts	Comments	Stories	Instant Chats	Posts	Comments	Stories
Only English	271	5	25	0	1	18	23	68
Switches	461	7	8	0	1	15	4	14
Hashtags	2	0	1	0	0	19	0	6
GIFS & Stickers	21	0	3	0	0	0	0	10
Other languages	11	0	1	0	0	0	0	3

Table 2 shows how the English language is being applied throughout the participants' online behaviour. On Facebook, 271 instant chat messages were forwarded in English alone, while 25 comments and 5 posts were written entirely in English. On Instagram, English posts counted for 18, while 23 English comments were collected. In addition, the participants posted 68 stories written in English alone. Table 2 also illustrates how the participants incorporates the English language through switches. On Facebook, switches

were located in 7 posts and 8 comments. On the instant chat function Messenger, 461 instances of switches were accounted for. On Instagram, 15 posts, 4 comments and 14 stories contained switches to English. In addition, a few English hashtags were found in the data, mostly in the Instagram posts; 19 posts contained one or more English hashtags, while six stories also had English hashtags presented. On Facebook, only three instances of English hashtags were found; one comment and two instant chat messages. Looking at the category counting GIFs and stickers in English, the participants make use of this feature a few times. On Instagram, this feature is only visible in the stories where the subjects used it 10 times. Once again, it is important to emphasise that Instagram does not allow its users to post either GIFs or stickers in the comment sections or in the posts. This of course explain the low score in this category. On Facebook, it is possible to post GIFs or stickers in the comment section and three occurrences were found. The participants made use of the feature 21 times in the instant chats. The final category, 'other languages', had some occurrences in the data. On Facebook, the participants made use of other languages 11 times in instant chats and only one time in the comments. On Instagram, this phenomenon was only found three times in the stories collected.

It deserves notice, that the table shows a visible imbalance between the data from Facebook and Instagram. Only two screenshots from Instagram's instant chat functions were retrieved during data collection, compared to the 1224 screenshots from Messenger. In addition, none of the participants published stories on Facebook. These two categories are therefore significantly uneven, making it difficult to compare the two at all.

6.3.1 English Only and Switches

A thorough account of the participants' English, written communication is present in Appendix B (p. 103). The tables show how the participants frequently communicated in English throughout data collection. Instances where the participants only applied English were located in all communication modes. Again, the instant chat messages dominate in numbers. Nonetheless, several participants also turned to an exclusive English approach in posts, comments, and stories. Of these three, stories were particularly frequent in English. Of the 236 stories collected, 68 of these were exclusively written in English.

A detailed account of all the participants' English switches can be viewed in Appendix B. Here, it becomes obvious how the majority of the participants' English switches are to single words. The data from Facebook's instant chat, Messenger, are the largest data

group among the participants. Here, a large amount of switches was therefore located. 350 English words were located among the 1224 screenshots shared by the participants. As a contrast, switches to English sentences were located 109 times, while English hashtags only appeared twice. Looking at the English switches in both posts, comments, and stories, the participants generally switched to single words more often than whole sentences. There is a noticeable scarcity in switches located in posts and comments. Both on Facebook and Instagram, very few switches occurred in these.

The above results illustrate that many participants readily used English as their primary language in communication on Facebook and Instagram. Both post, comments, stories and chats contained a decent amount of text written exclusively in English. In addition, vast amount of English switches were likewise located in the data. Here, the participants seemed most comfortable switching to single words, opposed to complete, English sentences.

6.4 The Instagram Influencers: Results

Data collected from the two Instagram influencers have been categorised as well. Table 2 illustrates the results found:

Table 3

Instagram Influencers				
	Instant Chat	Post	Comment	Story
Only English	X	1	20	18
Switches	X	27	66	41
Hashtags	X	3	5	4
GIFs & Stickers	X	0	0	4
Other Languages	X	0	0	1

Data have not been collected from the influencers' instant chats on Instagram. This is private information, not accessible for an outside source. Thus, the category of instant chat is disregarded in Table 2. It should also be noted, that data collected from the comment section have been posted by numerous Instagram users, not the influencers alone.

Apart from the lack of instant chats, it was possible to collect data in the additional categories. As Table 2 shows, the two Influencers have made use of the English language. Combined, they created 18 stories written entirely in English and 20 English comments were located. However, only a single post in English were found. The influencers frequently mixed Danish and English with 42 stories and 18 posts containing switches to English. In the comments, users switched to English as well with a total of 54 instances located. A few English hashtags were found, four time in their stories, 3 times in a post, and 5 times in the comment section. As in the participants' results, the category of GIFs and stickers was minimal, as Instagram does not allow this feature in the comments or posts. Four instances were located in their stories. The influencers rarely wrote other languages than Danish or English, only one occurrence was found in the stories.

6.4.1 English Only and Switches

A thorough account of the influencers' English, written communication is present in Appendix C. The tables demonstrate how the two influencers rarely applied English as their main language. Only a single post was located, alongside a few stories. English was more frequent in the comment sections, where the influencers and their followers wrote 20 comments in English.

A detailed account of all the influencers' English switches can be viewed in Appendix C. The switches from Danish to English amounts to a substantial part of the English data from the influencers. Similar to the participants' results, the influencers and their followers mainly switched to single, English words.

6.5 The Facebook Groups: Results

The results of the four Facebook groups are illustrated in Table 4:

Table 4

	Facebook Groups			
	Chat	**Post**	**Comment**	**Story**
Only English	X	2	4	X
Switches	X	16	83	X
Hashtags	X	0	0	X
GIFs & Stickers	X	2	21	X
Other Languages	X	0	10	X

As with the data from the Instagram influencers, no instant chats were collected in the Facebook groups. As stories are not connected to Facebook groups, this area is left blank as well. Consequently, only posts and comments uploaded to the groups were accounted for. Among 648 screenshots of the interactions, only 2 posts were written exclusively in English, while 24 comments were found. 16 posts contained switches from Danish to English and a total of 83 comments had switches. No English hashtags were located in the data, in fact, no hashtags were found at all. The four groups uploaded 2 posts with English GIFs and stickers and 21 comments contained one of these features. Lastly, no other languages were used in posts, however, 10 instances of other language use were documented in the comment sections.

6.5.1 English Only and Switches

An account of the Facebook groups' written, English communication is present in Appendix D. As the two tables illustrate, the four groups produced significantly small amounts of data in English alone. Only 2 posts and 3 comments were located among the 1591 screenshots. This minimal use of English is a sharp contrast to the results of the participants and influencers.

A detailed account of the Facebook groups' English switches can be viewed in Appendix D. Here, the Facebook groups utilised the English language recurrently. In the posts uploaded by the groups, people switched to English words 14 times. In the comments, members switched to English words 69 times and to English sentences 14 times. Similar to the results of the participants and influencers, the Facebook groups likewise mostly applied the English language through switches to single words.

6.6 Email Interviews

A mixture of an email interview and questionnaire was chosen as a supplementary method to gain knowledge on the participants' experiences with language use online. The purpose of the questions was to understand the motivations behind the participants' use of English in their computer-mediated communication. Most importantly, the questions aimed to clarify the participants' awareness towards their own and others' English practices on Facebook and Instagram. Detailed accounts of each participant's interview can be found in Appendix E (p. 112-131).

To sum up the overall beliefs and opinions collected through the interviews, tables have been made to condense the data:

Table 5

Why they write English	How they write English	Where they write English	To whom they write English
Memory: - When they remember the English words before the Danish - When they lack the Danish word and do not want to look it up - Quick responses - It happens unintentionally Style: - Because English sounds better, cooler and funnier - English performs better in writing - English is used when joking, Danish is used in serious conversations - To sound intellectual and clever - To stress words and make strong sentences Availability: - English expressions cannot be translated to Danish - Danish lacks specific words - More accurate, suitable words in English - English is natural in everyday speech - English is natural online - If words become negative in Danish - Adopting English when traveling Exclusion - To avoid exclusion of non-Danish speakers online - Adapting and copying their interlocutor - Friends online will understand English	- Slang - English phrases/idioms learned elsewhere (influencers) - Through gifs and emoticons - Through English pop cultural references - Adjectives - Abbreviations - Hashtags - Vines, memes, and GIFS - Viral phrases - Interjections - Switches to English in the start of a conversation - Through jokes non-translatable	- Both Facebook and Instagram - Messenger - Oral communication as well - Use English more on Instagram - Will comment in English on English posts - In informal environments - Mostly Facebook - Instagram is entirely in English - Danish is for private conversations - Never use English on Facebook and only through code-switches on Instagram	- With friends and partners - With people close to them - Only with people they know will understand - Never with older generations - Never with parents - Never with strangers - Never to people with poor English practices - Never with friends with disabilities like dyslexia

Table 6

Do they consider their language on Facebook and Instagram	Why do they think Danes code-switch online	Do they notice when other users code-switch
- Consider it in one-to-many communication like public posts and comments - Never consider Messenger chats since it is more personal - Consider it with strangers - Consider it with international friends - Consider it with family and older generations - Consider cultural appropriation in slang - Consider grammar, misspellings and abbreviations - Consider it in arguments - Try to use Danish as much as possible - Never considers language online	- An internationalised, and digitalised development - Influence from American pop culture - References from English television, movies, music - Influence from English-speaking celebrities - Limitations in the Danish vocabulary (word borrowings) - Users reach larger audiences in English (e.g. hashtags) - English is the dominating language on the Internet - English is connected to prestige and innovation - Denmark look up to English-speaking countries - Danes have great English literacy and like to show it	- Never notice because it is normalised online - Never on social media, but always in oral speech - When it feels unnatural or too comical - When it is unexpected - When people misspell the English words - When politicians or the older generation do it - When strangers do it - Do not notice it, but unconsciously adapt to it

The tables show the general answers given by the participants and summarise the most important and noticeable points given. The participants have given motivations behind their frequent use of English, which can be divided into four main categories; memory, style, availability, and exclusion. These categories merely serve as guidelines to grasp the vast information given by participants to get an overall view of the results. The majority of participants explain how the lack of Danish words often results in switches to English where the participants remember the English word before the Danish. Few participants mention their reluctance to use a dictionary as a help, which usually results in a switch to an English word. A large part of the subjects explains that the use of English often happens unintentionally. The participants explain their motivations behind their switches as a part of an expressive style. Here, many state how English sounds better, funnier, more impressive or smarter than Danish. A few of them explains how the two languages have clear distinctions; English is for jokes or light conversations and Danish is for serious conversations and discussions. The participants also agrees on the availability of the English language. They express how English offers words and expression not found in Danish. Additionally, how certain English expression or words lose meaning when translated. Many agree how English is a natural part of the online vocabulary, some even mentions how English is closely intertwined with their everyday, Danish language. Two participants emphasise how Danish words may carry negative connotations that English words do not. A few of the subjects touch upon the difficulty of international relations on

Facebook and Instagram and explain how their use of Danish will exclude many from the online narrative.

Besides the many reasons as to *why* the participants write English on Facebook and Instagram, it has also been visualised *how* the participants believe they incorporate the English language online. Various answers were given, a few rather specific. Many of the subjects mentioned how slang, abbreviations, hashtags, and visual functions as GIFs are usually written in English. Others mentioned adjectives, interjections or a switch to English in the beginning of Danish sentences. The participants also explained how their English practices often dominated one platform. Many agreed they used visibly more English on Instagram than Facebook, while some believed there to be no difference at all. Private conversations in instant chats were usually done in Danish, but many added how switches to English often happened here as well. Some participants also noted how they would copy the language that their interlocutors used. A common opinion among the participants was to whom they would write English. Of course, English was required with all non-Danish speakers, however, many noted how English terms and expressions were dropped in conversations with strangers and users of an older generation. In addition, a few mentioned how they considered people's overall literacy before adding English to the conversation. Here, friends or family with poor English skills were considered.

Table 6 illustrates how much the participants considered their language on Facebook and Instagram. A general opinion was the importance of their language in one-to-many communication. This included public posts and comments, which other users would see. Messenger was generally viewed as a personal communication channel where many did not pay attention to their language use. In addition, the subjects mentioned the importance of language use when writing to strangers, international relations, friends, or users of an older generation. Many were concerned with standard language conventions as misspellings and grammar and one participant mentioned the importance of cultural appropriation in slang. In the interview, the participants were asked to elaborate on their opinion, as to why Danes frequently use the English language online. A large part believed it to be a natural development. Internationalised, digitalised, Americanised, and globalised developments were all mentioned. Many participants agreed that different media all influence the Danish language, e.g. television, social media, and music. A few of the subjects also noted Denmark's close relationship with English-speaking countries and how Danes generally have great English skills. Lastly, a large part of the participants

explained how they never notice when other users switch between Danish and English. Some described how they notice it when it is unexpected. Here, examples included when English-speaking users switch to Danish or when older generations use English slang.

7 Analysis

7.1 Switching Languages on Facebook & Instagram

This section will apply current literate on CMC and code-switching to analyse the English switches found in the data. Here, the written data will be analysed to broaden the perspective on research question 2: which patterns in the data support the idea that Danish Facebook and Instagram users apply English similarly based on the media's affordances.

Sandra Barasa (2016), who examined code-switching in written computer-mediated communication, concluded that this form of interaction should be treated differently than oral communication. She (Barasa, 2016) determines how social media have specific affordances to consider when accounting for people's motivations behind language switches (p. 61). This paper takes a critical stance to code-switching as a specific approach, however, still agrees to the relevance of these different affordances when investigating switches from one language to another in a written, online text. Thus, inspired by the literature, Barasa's (2016) four categories will be used to analyse and explore motivations behind the users' switches on social media. The categories are; 'rapidity', 'least effort', 'space limitation', and 'creativity and fun' (pp. 61-67). As the participants' data is analysed, the email interviews will be used as supplementary knowledge, connecting the users' language attitudes with their actual language behaviour. In addition, the findings will be compared to Dąbrowska's (2013) study. She states that EFL speakers seem reluctant to post or comment sections entirely written in English and that they tend to mark their switches to English with a "humorous undertone" (p. 82). She believes that this behaviour stems from EFL speakers' insecurities concerning their English literacy (p. 81). It would be interesting to apply this knowledge to the data collected and investigate to which degree the participants apply the English language. Furthermore, the data will clarify if any participants mark their English in their online communication.

7.1.1 Rapidity

Rapidity is mostly connected to the synchronous communication that instant chats offer. This category acknowledges that language alterations happen when users are active

at the same time. Here, they communicate through multiple written interactions, awaiting quick replies from each other. Barasa (2016) explains how rapidity will result in hurried answers where the users will write their instant thoughts with an immediate language choice (p. 61). Thus, only instant chats will be analysed in this section. In the interviews, the participants somewhat agree that they pay more attention to language use in public posts. Based on this theory, posts on Facebook and Instagram should contain minimum English switches caused by rapidity, since the participants spend more time writing it. It therefore makes sense to treat this affordance in relation to synchronous communication as instant chat messages.

The participants frequently switched from Danish to English in their instant chat communication and rapidity therefore becomes a relevant factor to analyse. Looking at Table 5 and 6, the interviews uncovered several reasons for English switches connected to memory. Many mentioned how they remember English words before the Danish and apply the English word to maintain the quick pace of instant chats. This is consistent with Barasa's (2016) idea of synchronous communication and the language alternations that this quick interaction produces.

As Table 12 shows, the most frequent single words switched to English were "yes" and "nice. In the instant chats, "yes" was used 25 times and "nice" was used 23 times (Appendix B).

Example 14: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 15: Instant Chat Message Facebook

As the data were categorised, an interesting tendency was discovered; the two words "yes" and "nice" are both accepted word borrowings in the Danish dictionary (Yes, n.d.; Nice, n.d.). This complicates the findings, as these two words are now part of the Danish language and, arguably, do not categorise as switches to English. As mentioned previously, these word borrowings are still accounted for in this paper, as they are clear indications of the overall influence from the English language. An important question to consider is then this; are these words written by the participants because they are a part of the Danish dictionary or are they a part of the Danish dictionary because they are used so frequently? Why would the participants write "yes" instead of the Danish equivalent "ja"? "Yes" might be the first word appearing in their minds as they write an answer to a question. The adoption of "yes" in the Danish dictionary only support the idea that "yes" is just as intuitive to write or say as "ja". This would make the switch motivated by rapidity of the message, as "yes" naturally comes to mind before "ja".

The participants not only switched to single English words, but frequently switched between Danish and English sentences as well. These switches were used in different contexts and they vary in length and style. Example 16 demonstrates how an English sentence can be incorporated into Danish:

Example 16: Instant Chat Message Facebook

The participant is describing a weekend event where a person got sick at a party and ruined a sofa. Another person saw it and blames him, but feels bad. The participant is describing all this to a third person and ends her sentence with, "så pls don't judge". Example 16 is a part of a conversation where the two friends communicate fast back and forth, within minutes, sometimes seconds. The quick pace and gossip-like conversation might cause the switch to English unknowingly. Because the participant writes "så" instead of "so", she indicates that she started in Danish after the comma, but then switched to English. Had she intended to write, "pls don't judge" from the start, she might have translated "så" to "so". The switch to English after "så" could be a result of rapidity where the participant writes the first language coming to mind.

Example 17 shows how the same participant repeatedly switches between English and Danish, both between her written spaces and in a sentence. Her written language is quick and unedited in the first two text messages:

Example 17: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Twice, she neglects to press the space bar between "i will not settle for less" and "OMG OMG OMG". In addition, she disregards the written standard of "I" with a capital letter. These findings further suggest that the pace has been quick and unedited. As her friend answers her in Danish, she replies in Danish with "SNITTEEEE". By asking the participant, it was discovered that this word arises from the Danish "hindbærsnitte", a pastry. The word "snitte" is used about attractive people. Afterwards, both users reply in Danish, however, with English switches appearing in both texts. Her friend writes, "ANYWAY jeg vil give hende en kjole fra en hjemmeside hun tit er på", to which the participant replies, "jeg er proud". This online interaction contains multiple English switches, seemingly motivated by different factors. As her friend writes, "(…) som venner eller whatever", the motivation behind the switch seems to be connected with rapidity or least effort. He tries to describe a complicated relationship between him and a girl, but fails to define it. Instead of a full definition on their relationship status, he adds "whatever" in the end to imply a state of uncertainty. The word "whatever" does not have a direct, sufficient Danish translation in this context. Using "whatever" to avoid an extended writing process or enabling a quicker response, both fit the description of rapidity and least effort.

7.1.2 Least Effort

Least effort is concerned with the convenience of CMC and social media. This category implies that users on social media will use whatever words giving them least trouble to write (Barasa, 2016, pp. 64-65). This applies to words shorter in another language or if the users are certain of the spelling in one language, but not the other (Barasa, 2016, p. 65). Ultimately, much of the switches located in the data seem to fit this category. Looking at Table 5 and 6, a several participants mentioned how they often remember a word in English, but then refuse to spend time to look up the Danish equivalent. Multiple examples were found among the instant chat messages where the participants applied English words shorter than their Danish equivalent. An example is the word "ish". This word was counted as the third most applied English word in the instant chats. It was mostly used as an alternative to the Danish word "agtigt", as seen in Example 18.

Jeg regner med at Søren og jeg er hos dig 13:45 ish ❤️

Example 18: Instant Chat Message Facebook

It implies that the sender of the message is not quite sure if their utterance is exact. The participant writes a time she expects to arrive, but ends with "ish" to demonstrate that this is not precise. Compared to the Danish word "agtigt", "ish" is noticeably shorter to write, which correspond with the theory of least effort. However, the Danish abbreviation of circa, "ca", could suffice in this context. This could indicate that some instances of the word "ish" could stem from rapidity as well, since the participants simply write the first word imaginable. Because the context might vary, the motivation for using "ish" will vary as well.

Returning to "yes", one would think that "ja" was quicker to write, as the word is shorter, thus using as little effort as possible. The frequent use of "yes" is quite interesting compared to the English opponent "no", which is used only once in the data from the instant chats. The alternative "nope" was found 5 times, and the alternate spelling

"noooooo" was located twice. The word "no" is shorter than the Danish equivalent "nej", which corresponds with the theory of least effort, but "no" is rarely used. Interestingly, "no" is not to be found in the Danish Dictionary like "yes", which support the findings that "no" is not as widespread as "yes" in Danish communication. Oddly enough, the word "no-go" is registered in the Danish dictionary and the word was likewise located once in the data:
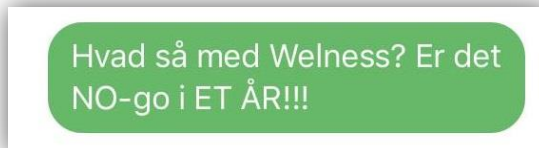
Example 19: Instant Chat Message Facebook

In relation to the principle least effort, "no-go" is another good example of the varying word length from Danish to English. Looking at Example 19, the participant was just informed how her boyfriend was not allowed swimming due to an injury. She asks if wellness is a "no-go" for a year. In Danish, the sentence would have been constructed differently, as there is no direct translation of "no-go". The closest comparison is the Danish "ikke tilladt" (No-go, n.d.), which illustrates how much shorter and easier "no-go" is to write.

Example 20 is another good example of 'least effort' where the participant uses the word "swipe":

Example 20: Instagram Post

This word is also widely used in the Instagram influencers' data, as "swipe" is a unique part of the Instagram experience. On Instagram, "swipe" refers to the users' ability to move their finger across a touchscreen to unlock a certain function, for instance, when following a link attached to a story. As in Example 20, "swipe" indicates how the user has attached multiple photos in a post, only visible when swiping left and right. The swipe

function is therefore an integrated, well-known function on Instagram and it would make no sense for the user to translate. If she did, she would have to explicitly explain what users had to do, as there is no direct translation. This would result in a longer text and ruin the textual aesthetics that many Instagram captions try to uphold. A sharp and precise text is easy on the eyes and attracts more users to the profile. Moreover, "swipe" is also a word borrowing found in the Danish dictionary (Swipe, n.d.).

In Example 21 below, a participant is tagged in a public Facebook post and responds with, "HAHA life". This comment refers to an embarrassing video posted on Facebook, to which the participant relates. By writing "life", she avoids explaining how she relates to the content; she merely states how this scenario corresponds with her life. If this comment contained the Danish word, "livet", instead, the word would probably still denote the same meaning, however, a shared understanding would not be guaranteed. This short response is most likely connected with rapidity or least effort.

Example 21: Facebook Comment

The Messenger conversations contained many switches to English sentences and a large part fits the category 'least Effort'. Many of the English sentences would have been longer if written in Danish. Example 22 is a good example:
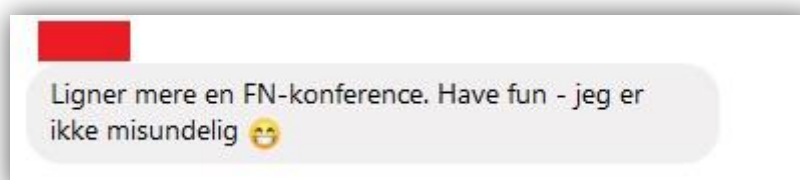
Example 22: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Here, the user refers to a picture where his interlocutor is located during the conversation. The user believes that the place looks like a FN conference and writes, "have fun – I'm not even jealous". Firstly, "have fun" is written in the imperative mood, which would

have been a weird choice in Danish. If the tone of the message should have been kept intact, the user could have wrote, "I må have det sjovt", roughly translating to "You guys have fun". By writing, "have fun", the user avoids longer sentences, as well as misunderstandings. The example could also fit rapidity, as the user wants to communicate a message quickly, writing whatever comes to mind. Some participants explain in the interview, that if the Danish translation does not fit the desired tone, English is the second choice. Many also state that English is a natural language online, for some, even a natural language in speech as well. The user in Example 22 may never notice this switch in language, as it is part of his natural speech.

7.1.3 Space Limitation

Message systems within CMC often have restrictions in terms of text size (Barasa, 2016, p. 66). This affordance is usually connected to social media, as character limits produce digestible information, making the entire reading experience far more user-friendly. This is likewise an affordance causing users to consider their language choices when composing a text online. Barasa (2016) believes that code-switches are connected with this theory, as they are used for economy in order to save space (p. 66). This is likewise an affordance to consider in this study, as Facebook and Instagram offer quite different opportunities concerning text quantity. Facebook is not a platform where space limitation is an integrated restriction per se. If one wishes, Facebook allows its users to write large quantities of text, in both posts, comments, and Messenger's instant chats. Stories allow as much text as you can fit in the picture, which applies for Instagram's stories as well. Instagram posts are restricted to 2,200 characters, however, the limit on hashtags is separated from this number. Users are allowed up to 30 hashtags per post. This applies to the comment section as well (How do I use hashtags on Instagram?, n.d.). 2,200 characters are a generous text size compared to Twitter, which only offers 280 characters per post (McCallum, 2019). With this being said, many users on Instagram avoid reaching the character limit, as captions usually get more views if they are quick and easy to read (McCallum, 2019). Barasa's (2016) theory, that code-switches occur as an answer to text restrictions, resonates with the idea of English as the dominating language on social media. If a Danish word is too long, or a sentence too comprehensive, English often offers a more accurate translation. This is frequently mentioned by the participants in the interviews as well (Table 5 & 6, Appendix A, pp. 102). From this perspective, the affordance of space limitation is somewhat similar to 'least effort' and

one might argue that the English translation serves the same purpose in the two categories; to make things easier. However, when a switch occurs as least effort, it happens somewhat unintentionally. Barasa (2016) believes that the affordance of space limitation results in "carefully edited messages" (p. 66). The distinction is therefore simple; space limitations require users to contemplate actively on their language choices. Space limitation on social media is often restricted to 'public' content like posts (McCallum, 2019). In the interviews, the participants likewise mentioned how they focus more on public content and use more time on their language in these online spaces. This statement is compatible with the idea that posts and stories generate more awareness on language use, since a larger audience will view it.

Since neither Instagram nor Facebook are very firm in their text restrictions, this affordance is difficult to locate throughout the participants' data. Example 23 is a comment on a public Facebook post where the participant replied, "Omg ja". Here, it is difficult to determine if the English abbreviation is used as a quick answer and not a short answer. Arguably, the example fit could fit both 'rapidity', 'least effort', and 'space limitation'.

Example 23: Facebook Comments

Example 24, 25, and 26 below show how three participants use alternative spelling as they switch to English. All three examples are from instant chat messages and they are all contractions of standard phrases. By shortening the phrases, the English language becomes informal. In Example 24, the participant writes, "alrite", a contraction of the standard expression "all right". In Example 25, the participant writes, "kinda" as a contraction of "kind of". Lastly, Example 26 shows a participant writing, "dunno" as a contraction of "I do not know" or "don't know":

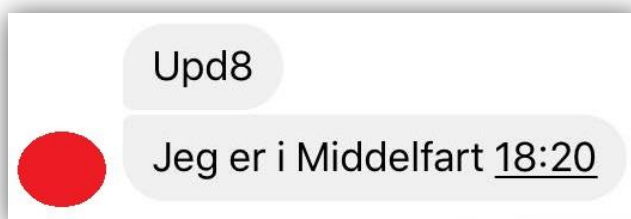*Example 24: Instant Chat Message Facebook*

Example 25: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 26: Instant Chat Message Facebook

These shortenings could be motivated by either 'rapidity', 'least effort', or 'space limitation'. It is possible that the participants make use of these shortenings to write the message faster or to avoid writing the expression in their correct, but longer version. If these shortening were to be used outside instant chats, 'space limitation' could be a principle to consider. However, because all examples were taken from instant chats, with no restrictions on characters, it seems unlikely. Interestingly, examples like these indicate a very relaxed approach to the English language. This contradicts Dąbrowska's (2013) findings where EFL users apply a formal tone when writing English online, as to not violate any rules. Here, the participants show no sign of considerations within standard spelling and they likewise show no worries about the understanding from their receivers.

Abbreviations from the English language are generally used online, many originating as an answer to the written, digital lifestyle that the internet offers. Looking at Tables 1-28 English abbreviations are a common occurrence in the overall data where words like "omg", "lol" [laughing out loud], "wtf" [what the fuck] "fyi" [for your information], "omw" [on my way] "asap" [as soon as possible], and "idk" [I don't know] appear frequently (Appendix B, C, & D, pp. 104-20). This is most likely a result of a hurried conversation where messages are exchanged fast and often. The abbreviations could also stem from the concept of 'space limitation' where the shortening of phrases leaves room for more text. The shortenings could also be understood as a process of 'least effort' where the users not only reject the Danish expression, but also demonstrate how English switches lead to further reduction in the written language. In continuation of the traditional abbreviations seen above, another form of online slang is located in the data. Here, users have incorporated numbers into their written, English words. Examples are "4-ever" [forever], "2day" [today], "m8" [mate], and "upd8" [update] (Appendix B, C, & D, pp. 104-20). Examples below illustrate this tendency for abbreviations:

Example 27: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 28: Facebook Comment
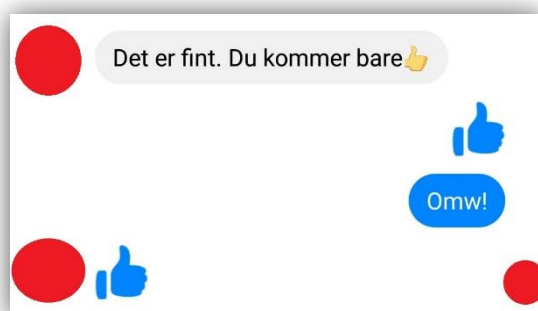
*Example 29: Instant Chat Message Facebook*

Example 30: Facebook Comment

Except from Example 30, the examples above show how these abbreviations are used for a quick answer, which corresponds with the affordance of 'rapidity'. Because these English word shortenings are quite unusual, users must be aware of their receivers' understanding. Even if the words seem obvious in an English context, Example 29 and 30 are written in a Danish context. The user cannot expect the English abbreviation to be a matter of fact for the receiver. Example 30 also differs from the others, as the comment is longer. The example is taken from the Facebook group "International Hyggegruppe". The comment size suggests that the shortening "m8" is not used for 'rapidity' or 'space limitation'. This shortening could be a result of 'least effort', but as the user clearly spend time constructing a longer comment to begin with, it seems unlikely. In this interaction, two members of the group discuss a climate debate and the tone is therefore serious. The use of "m8" seems misplaced in the context. Ultimately, it could be an attempt to lighten the tone of the discussion, which corresponds with Dąbrowska's (2013) findings.

The participants' English switches in comments are generally shorter than their posts and instant messages. This could correspond with an affordance like 'space limitation'. However, Facebook comments are not restricted in characters, making it more likely that the participants shorten their comments for 'rapidity' or 'least effort'. The participants

were often tagged in different humorous memes or videos and the short comments were usually written in relation to this content. The short comments on these videos are likely to serve as a quick response to indicate it has been seen. These videos do not initiate a full, elaborative conversation in the comment section and the comments are therefore short, often quick to close the conversation. The participants frequently replied with only emoticons or GIFs. The following examples demonstrate a few of these observations:

Example 31: Facebook Comment
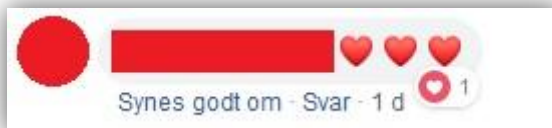
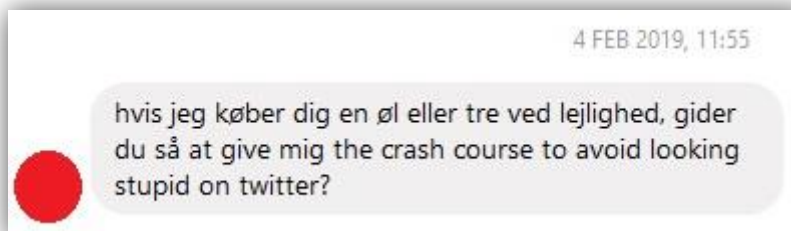
Example 32: Facebook Comment

Example 33: Facebook Comment

In can be concluded that the affordance of 'space limitation' serves very little purpose in this study, however, it is undoubtedly an important aspect to consider in computer-mediated communication nonetheless.

7.1.4 Creativity and Fun

CMC has certain disadvantages connected to its written form, especially the lack of physical cues, found in spoken conversations (Barasa, 2016, p. 67). To balance this, CMC has adapted to these issues over the years. As a social media user, it is possible to apply virtual cues in written communication as alternative solutions to the lack of physical signals. Emoticons are a classic example of alternative indications of mood (Barasa, 2016, p. 67). Barasa (2016) explains how this development is connected to yet another motivation behind code-switching in computer-mediated communication, that is, 'creativity and fun' (p. 67). She explains how language switches are used to create online identities, to establish membership, and conforming to trends (Barasa, 2016, p. 67). Thus, switching to English can be seen as a creative way to express individuality and signify joint, intellectual fellowship. These switches are therefore extremely interesting, as they are part of a particularly deliberate and reflected process.

Example 34 is a message sent to a participant on Messenger where the user asks, "if I buy you a beer or three on occasion, will you then give me the crash course to avoid looking stupid on twitter?":

4 FEB 2019, 11:55

hvis jeg køber dig en øl eller tre ved lejlighed, gider du så at give mig the crash course to avoid looking stupid on twitter?

Example 34: Instant Chat Message Facebook

The English switch to "the crash course to avoid looking stupid on twitter" is a long sentence, compared to the majority of switches in the data. This sentence is constructed to sound like an actual name of a course and it adds a light and humorous tone to the message. The user obviously thinks she is bad at Twitter and need the participant to help her appear more professional on the platform.

In the interview, the participants agreed that English was usually applied when Danish did not suffice. Here, the participants referred to specific English phrases, idioms or references, which would lose meaning or sound stupid if translated to Danish (Table 5 & 6, Appendix A, pp. 102). As the participants write these phrases and expressions in

English and deliberately preserve the original language, they understand the importance of translation. Not only do they explain how these utterances could potentially lead to misunderstandings if translated to Danish, but they also specify how direct Danish translations are viewed as uncool. This perspective indicates that switches to English sentences are partly motivated by the opinion of others and thus connects to language style and the need for 'creativity and fun' within written, online interactions.

Example 35 demonstrates how an English phrase would lose meaning if translated to Danish. The user writes, "the last video with the strawberry kinda killed me":
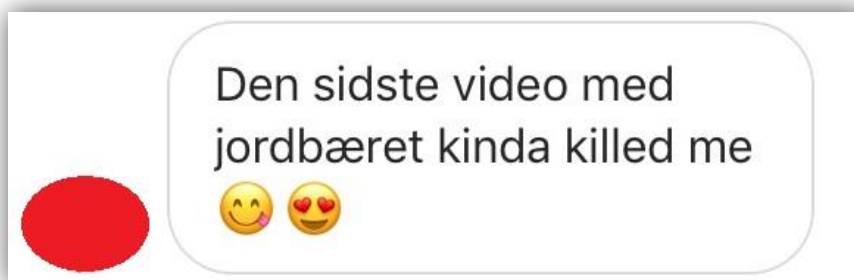
Example 35: Instant Chat Message Facebook

The user refers to a picture of a dog wearing a strawberry hat. The expression "kinda killed me" is used to indicate that the picture produced strong emotions, such as joy or humour. Although, had she written all text in Danish, the sentence would have sounded much harder: "Den sidste video med jordbæret slog mig ligesom ihjel". The example is a good demonstration of the dilemma many of the participants call attention to in the interview. They describe how English expressions, often urban and young, fail to deliver the intended tone and meaning in Danish. The English switches then become a creative process where the users incorporate English as a part of the Danish language to reach the desired tone. In Example 35 above, the sentence is grammatical correct despite the switch and the two languages fit together. As few of the participants mention in the interview, this language approach is of course dependent on their receiver's complete understanding. They describe how they consider or rewrite texts to older generations, such as parents, or to friends with low English practices. This also indicates how some switches are an active, considerate process for the participants. An additional example of an English switch connected to language trends online is Example 36, a comment found on @helsematildedk's post:

Example 36: Instagram Comment

The comment is posted as a part of a competition where users are able to win vitamins for their hair. @helsematildedk asks her followers to tag the friend they believe deserves it the most. Translated to English, the user writes, "that would be my best wifey and me, we deserve a little good for our locks". The English switch to "wifey" is an interesting choice for two reasons: firstly, the spelling is rather unconventional from the traditional "wife". Secondly, the user tags her female friend and uses "wifey" as an equivalent to "best friend". The specific spelling of "wifey" refers to "a condescending way of referring to a person's wife" or "a woman, especially an old or uneducated one" (Wifey, n.d.). These definitions are very negative, which are inconsistent with the comment itself where the user applies hearts and kisses emoticons. Consequently, since "wifey" is used in a positive context and her friend is hardly her legal wife, the English word must denote another meaning. Through several searches in unofficial, urban dictionaries, it is clear how the English switch "wifey" refers to someone special to you, a loyal girl who has wife potential (Wifey, n.d.). The English word "wifey" has been adapted by the younger generations and now imply a positive relation to a person. Consequently, Instagram users will have to understand the term in the positive context for the comment to make sense. This switch is thus a clear example of how trends in the English language appear among Danes. Social media convey these expressions to the rest of the world where every user, despite their mother tongues, are able to incorporate English language trends to fit their communicative needs.

English hashtags were counted as English switches, as the tags were regarded as written, English text. Two English hashtags were found in the instant chat messages. Looking at hashtags as an affordance of social media, their occurrence in instant chats makes no sense. Hashtags are developed as a tool to connect to certain communities and trends and their features depend on availability. The function of hashtags is not available in instant chats, as these messages are private and no hashtag searches are possible. In Example 37, the hashtag is inserted as a finishing statement connecting to previous messages:

Example 37: Instant Chat Message Facebook

The user writes, "Haven't been drinking water yet, besides a glass on the plane. So that's good. #stayhydrated". A quick search on Instagram reveals that 620.000 posts currently contain the hashtag "#stayhydrated". Because the user clearly forgot to drink water herself, she applies the hashtag as an ironic remark. The hashtag serves no functional purpose in the message, which indicates that the user only applied the hashtag to stress the irony. Using the hashtag outside its functional level could be seen as a funny and creative way to express sarcasm. By using the pound sign, emphasis is drawn to this specific text. Interestingly, the hashtag is switched to English in an otherwise Danish context. During the interview, few participants explained how they write English hashtags to gain more followers, but this would only apply to public posts. Arguably, this example could be a result of a Facebook user who unknowingly misuses the hashtag. However, if the user applies the hashtag to emphasise sarcasm, the English switch could be part of the irony and an expression of creativity, as the user purposely applies an affordance of Facebook in the wrong place. In her study, Dąbrowska (2013) finds that EFL speakers switch to English "to lighten to tone of the message" (p. 74). In Example 37, the user switches to English as an ironic statement and further emphasises her humorous approach to the conversation with a non-functional hashtag.

Other examples of a creative approach to the hashtag function is Example 38 and 39. These are both comments from users on posts from @katrine.gisiger's profile:

Example 38: Instagram Comment

Example 39: Instagram Comment

In both comments, the users switch between Danish and English in the hashtag itself. In Example 38, the user writes "screwsamtalebadeværelser" and in Example 39, "opgørmedtheperfectfacebooklife". These roughly translate to "screw conversation bathrooms" and "break away from the perfect Facebook life". Not only do these hashtag violate the digital function of hashtags on Instagram, they likewise defy the practicality within the hashtag function. Firstly, the hashtags are placed in the comment sections where hashtags are non-searchable. Like Example 37 above, these hashtags are not visible if other users search them, which defeat the technical purpose of the hashtags. Secondly, the linguistic choices within these hashtags are questionable in terms of availability. Hashtags are used to easily connect with communities and trends through a specific hashtag, a concept that requires precision and definition in order for people to find it. The use of two languages in one hashtag only complicates the process of finding them, as they now require users to know and apply both Danish and English. These two examples also indicate a humorous approach to the conversation. The hashtags emphasise the written text to make a statement. Instead of capitalising the words, which usually show emphasis,

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the users creatively turn their expressions into hashtags. By doing so, the users, in a way, conclude on their comments by adding a final statement.

The participants' data contained many creative uses of the English language. Many of the examples are predominantly switches to English slang where the participants use urban expressions, add alternative spellings or grammatical alterations to English words. Example 40 shows a user reacting to a piece of music, to which he describes as "liiiit af":
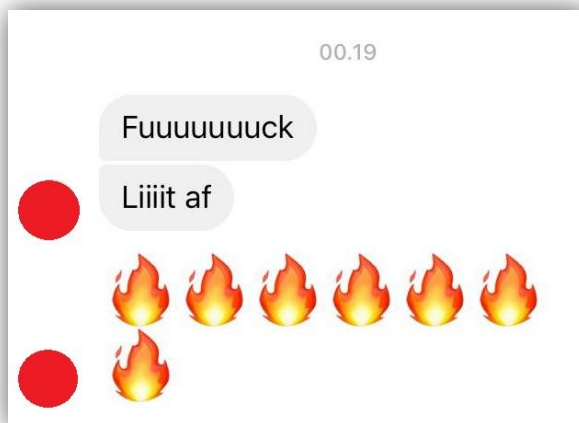
Example 40: Instant Chat Message Facebook

"Lit af" is the shortened version of "lit as fuck". Lit is used to describe something exciting or excellent and by adding "as fuck", only indicates further excitement (Lit, n.d.). With this message, the user demonstrates his English skills, more specifically, his knowledge on the informal, youth-based slang that native English speakers apply. Nothing could directly translate to Danish without losing meaning and the user must be aware of the implications of his message. He has to be certain that his receiver understands the expression. Not only does he apply English slang, he even applies the shortened version. He has to be sure that the receiver understands "lit" as well as the abbreviation "af". "Af" is also a Danish preposition, which could complicate the communicative purpose even further.

When switches to English become a deliberate process on social media, the language is often a reflection of the online character the users want to portray. Example 41 is a Facebook post where a user congratulates a participant on her birthday:

Example 41: Facebook Post

The informal language is very enthusiastic and the user applies multiple linguistic resources to express his emotions through the message. The switches he makes to English indicate a relaxed approach to language conventions, however, his choices appear deliberate nonetheless. Not only does he switch between Danish and English in the message, he even merges the two languages in the word, "fødz-twin-dude-bro". The first part, "fødz", originates from the Danish word "fødselsdag" [birthday], while "twin" and "dude" are English. The last word, "bro" could both originate from the English word "brother" or the Danish word "bror". Judging by the specific words used, the word is a personal joke between the two. Dąbrowska's (2013) observes how her EFL users are very thorough when writing English, as the language "is not entirely theirs" (p. 69). This example contradicts those findings, as the user shows little attention to the correctness of the English language. This example, together with Example 24-30 ("alrite", "kinda", "dunno", "upd8", "4-ever", "omw", and "mate"), all demonstrate how Danish Facebook and Instagram users repeatedly violate the rules of Standard English. In Example 41, the users adopts English to create a personal narrative, specifically targeted at the receiver. The English switches are used to personalise a message and the user clearly believes that his receiver will understand. All examples mentioned here contradict Dąbrowska's (2013)

findings. These users adapt English and use it as their own language. Example 41 demonstrates how English switches in a Danish context can be applied as a creative strategy to display originality and individuality.

Participant 7 mentioned in the interview how English switches can make a sentence stronger, with more force on the expression (Appendix E, p. 124-5). Example 42 is a possible demonstration of this:

Example 42: Instagram Comment

Here, a user commented on a post from @katrine.gisiger. The user applies the English saying, "life is a bitch", but adapt it to a Danish context. By saying "life er en bitch", the user alters an English expression with Danish words. Interestingly, she keeps part of the expression English with "life" and "bitch", which question the motive behind the language switch. Why translate "is" and "a" and not keep the entire expression English? The comment suggests a playful approach to the text where the user keeps the communication as Danish as possible. However, by leaving "life" and "bitch" in the conversation, it denotes to the commonly known English expression, securing the overall understanding of the phrase. This example also implies a certain "street-smartness" and "toughness" (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou, 2003, p. 9), since the word "bitch" is incorporated in the sentence. This makes the sentence stronger, with more force. Furthermore, by accepting the use of an offensive word like "bitch", the user demonstrates the seemingly unbothered attitude towards language choices online. This could be a result of the informal setting provided by Instagram.

Another example of an informal approach to the English language is Example 43:

Example 43: Facebook Comment

The example show two Facebook comments on a photo of a restaurant. One of the participants tagged her boyfriend and commented "det var det fedeste!" [it was the greatest], to which he replies, "It was tha shizzle!!". Here, the user applies a version of English slang originating from American hip-hop culture (Shizzle, n.d.). The word "shizzle" can be used to refer to something nice or exciting, but are usually replaced with the word "shit" (Shizzle, n.d.). In addition, the user writes "tha" instead of "the", which corresponds with his informal language style. Because the user applies the specific slang word "shizzle", it indicates a deliberate language choice. Here, the user applies the English language in a very informal manner, using slang that only a targeted audience would recognise. This comment is another example on how users apply the English language to express creativity. This case demonstrates how American popular culture is applied in linguistic contexts, completely unrelated to the environment in which it is usually spoken. The user adopts the informal language and shows no considerations to grammatical correctness, which again contradicts Dąbrowska's (2013) findings on EFL online users.

Example 44 demonstrates how a participant rhetorically returns to an English switch and applies the same language strategy within a conversation:
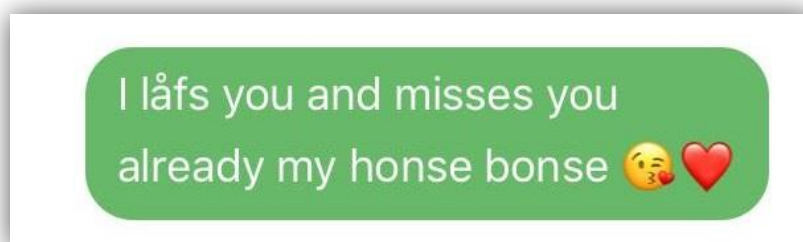
Example 44: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Roughly translated, he writes, "I'm here with a glass of wine, writing a speech to my dad.. Oh the feels… They be feelin'…", whereas the conversation continues and his friend point out that she made "pølsehorn", a Danish pastry, depicting small edible horns. To this, the participant replies, "the horns… They be hornin'", mimicking his early message. Here, the English switches seem deliberate to fit a certain rhetorical structure on his part. As the two messages tie together, it seems like the participant used time constructing the messages, or at least considered the English language in the last text. He imitates himself and the last sentence becomes somewhat comical. In reality, the sentence makes no sense, but ties together with the above message. This is another example where English switches are done in a creative and funny matter.

The constant fusion of Danish and English also leads to self-invented words where both language structures are applied to create words that are different and stand out. Example 45 and 46 illustrate this trend:

Example 45: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 46: Instant Chat Message Facebook

These are two instant chat messages between a participant and her boyfriend. They apply the word merge "låfs" for "love". This fusion is likely because the word "love" is pronounced with "o" as the Danish letter "å" and how the ending "fs" sounds like a lisp. This makes the utterance baby-like and cute, which implies a light, easy conversation style. The last two words "honse bonse", are also an alternative take on the expression "honey bunny", which only intensifies the light tone. This approach to the English language helps connect the couple through linguistic aids, as "I låfs you" becomes a specific identity marker in their written communication. The specific expression "låfs you" was located four times in the Messenger chats with her boyfriend (Appendix B, Table 12).

The creative approach to English is further intensified through the desire to stand out online. Social network sites like Facebook and Instagram urge their users to express originality by adding functions as "like" buttons to comments and posts. Example 47 illustrates a comment where a user's English switches become rather noticeable:

Example 47: Instagram Comment

The comment was posted by a user on @katrine.gisiger's profile and written in continuation of a debate on the measuring unit BMI. The user shows strong emotions towards the topic, as she criticises BMI along with many other issues concerning appearances. Roughly translated, she writes, "yes, BMI should be ashamed of itself! It seriously belongs in a prison camp together with the thigh-gap ideal and "armpit vagina" shaming and all the other bullshit that women are told to either aspire to or be ashamed of!". Here, the user switches to English with the words "thigh-gap", "armpit vagina", and "bullshit", which are significantly noteworthy words and quite unusual. Like previous example of "life er en bitch", this comment creates a powerful text by adding these English words. The absurd terms, "thigh-gap" and "armpit vagina" further demonstrate the point she is trying to make. Even if you never heard the words before, simply the ridiculous names would be enough to question the need to worry about these physical issues. The words would serve no purpose in Danish, mainly due to the terms' unofficial status. It is not possible to locate them in any dictionary, besides unofficial, urban wordlists. In addition, other users might curiously respond to this comment for clarification, which is one of the advantages of social media. People want attention and achieve this through strong, interesting text pieces, as Example 47. The English switches in this comment are therefore seen as a linguistic choice to make a sentence stand out and this connects with the idea of a creative and fun approach to the English language.

The above analysis has investigated the affordances connected to the social network sites of Facebook and Instagram. Drawing on relevant literature, the section attempted to give an account of the English switches located in the data, more specifically how the affordances seemed to influence the language change one way or the other.

7.2 Digital Affordances and the English Language

Returning to the digital affordances of Facebook and Instagram, attention must once again be drawn to the functions of hashtags, GIFs, and stickers. These technical functions were developed to ensure an easy and user-friendly experience on social media platforms. The general idea of digital affordances is the relationship between the object and the actor, specifically how users utilise the technical advancements provided to them. Thus, we should not question what these function can do, but rather, what users are capable of doing with them (Meredith, 2017, p. 43).

7.2.1 Hashtags

The hashtag is a particularly interesting phenomenon in connection to this paper. As we encountered in the above analysis, the hashtag has been used outside its functional purpose several times in the data. Example 37, 38, and 39, "#stayhydrated," "#screwsamtalebadeværelser", and "#opgørmedtheperfectfacebooklife", demonstrated how users modified the traditional use of the hashtag to achieve a humorous approach to the conversation. As the results showed, hashtags were mostly distributed throughout the participants' data, however, a few instances were also located in the influencers interactions. Here, hashtags were applied most in the comment sections. As discussed in the above analysis, the presence of hashtags in an Instagram comment is rather remarkable, as they are non-searchable. Thus, the majority of hashtags in the comment sections suggest that users want to make a statement. The following examples are interactions taken from @Katrine.gisiger's profile and demonstrate this perspective:

Example 48: Instagram Post

Example 49: Instagram Comment

Example 48 is Katrine's post where she explains an old smoothie recipe with broccoli and water, to which a user comments and says, "possibly with ice cubes? #WaterSmuuutiOnDaRocks". Katrine's use of the English hashtag "#goodtimes" makes sense in terms of availability and searchability. If any Instagram user searched the

hashtag, they would eventually come across Katrine's post. By switching the hashtag to English, she further increases the availability, as all English-speaking users will be able to find it. Additionally, the English hashtag is used in continuation of an ironic post where Katrine wittily shares her old, ridiculously healthy recipe. By writing "#goodtimes", she simultaneously indicates the irony, as the post makes it clear that this, in fact, was not good times. The English hashtag "#WaterSmuuutiOnDaRocks " is more complex. Firstly, the user misspells "smoothie", but it is not evident if this is on purpose or not. Although, the user drags the word "smuuuti", which could indicate an intentional alternative spelling. Secondly, the hashtag cannot be searched in the comments, which only speaks in favour a hypothesis that the hashtag is applied as a joke.

Switching to an English hashtag in a Danish text was a rather common practice in the participants' data. The answers to the interviews likewise revealed how several participants purposely used English hashtags to increase views and likes. Example 50 is an Instagram post from Participant 4:

Example 50: Instagram Post

Participant 4 was the only subject in this study whose nationality was not Danish. She identified as Dutch in the interview, but clarified how she lived in Denmark for more than 20 years (Appenix E, p. 125). In her post above, three different languages are located in the hashtag section. English hashtags include "#mylittlebuddy", "#mylittleshadow", "#thenameoneverybodyslipsisgonnabe", and "#shitsandgiggles". The Dutch hashtag "#kleinezwartkop" roughly translates to "little black head". The Danish hashtags include "#hyggehund" and "#hygge", which roughly translates to "friendly dog" and "cosiness". This example demonstrates how the user applies multiple languages within the hashtag function, which only further increase the availability of her post. Now, all users with knowledge on Dutch, English, or Danish could be potential viewers of her content. The interview revealed that Participant 4 spoke both Dutch and Danish fluently and her application of these languages thus makes sense. Her use of English hashtags only

illustrates how the language becomes a natural extension to the global perspective of Instagram. Example 51 demonstrates this further:

Example 51: Instagram Post

This post is uploaded by Participant 8 who only uploaded English on Instagram during data collection. In the interview, he mentions how the English approach is part of the "communication to the whole world" approach that Instagram offers (Appendix E, p. 125). It is clear how the many hashtags serve a purpose. As the post concerns itself with guitars, the hashtags act accordingly. "#guitar", "#guitargear", and "#myguitars" are just few examples that demonstrate how the hashtags perfectly sum up the post. Guitar enthusiasts around the world will be able to search one of the many specific hashtags and locate all relevant guitar posts from Participant 8. This example is a sharp contrast to Example 49 where the hashtag "#WaterSmuuutiOnDaRocks" is very unspecific, not to mention misspelled, further indicating the humorous approach to the hashtag.

7.2.2 GIFs and Stickers

In this study, focus was deliberately directed at GIFs and Stickers throughout the data collection. Like the hashtag function, it was assumed that this technological affordance would play a role in users' online, English communication on Facebook and Instagram. Indeed, the subjects who were part of this study applied these graphical functions quite often.

In general, the participants made use of the GIF-function repeatedly, both in instant chat conversations, as well as the comment section. In the instant chats, 21 English GIFs or

stickers were applied. In the Facebook comment section, they were applied 3 times. Example 52 demonstrates how a GIF is used in a comment as a reply to a post:

Example 52: Facebook Comment

On Facebook, GIFs and stickers are an integrated part of the platform. By clicking on the GIF icon, users can choose visuals from a large database. The above example is posted as a comment to a video with the actor Bradley Cooper. The GIF shows a girl saying, "he is so hot!" and refers to the video. By adding a GIF as a comment, the user is actively participating in the conversation, but without composing any actual text. The participants frequently apply these GIFs as reactions to their friends' messages. Example 53 below is another example where a user applies a GIF in an instant chat message. Further down in Example 54, a member of the Facebook group "Hunden er vores bedste ven" applies a sticker in a comment:

Example 53: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 54: Facebook Comment

GIFs generally depict famous people, movie scenes, or other pop cultural references. Thus, the majority of GIFs in Facebook's database are English. This quick access to thousand different English reactions is what connects GIFs with the understanding of Danes' easy access to an informal channel of the English language. Arguably, inserting a GIF or a sticker instead of actual text demonstrates how easy Facebook and Instagram offer English content to their users. Users literally press a button, which then produces English text for them. Consequently, English can be distributed and incorporated into Danish contexts, even without users' explicit understanding of the content being forwarded. GIFs are likewise connected to a deeper understanding of the American and British pop culture, as many of the GIFs depict famous movie scenes, television characters or iconic references. Contrary, GIFs can also be used with no understand of the cultural reference behind it, as long as it communicates the desired need.

This above analysis sheds light on the important social media affordances of hashtags, GIFs, and stickers. These digital advancements have been accepted by the users in this study and the data reveal how these functions often lead to English use on Facebook and Instagram.

7.3 Marking & Imitating: English as a Foreign Language

This section will further investigate the findings to uncover how the English language is applied throughout the data. This includes how users mark their English with punctuation, capital letters, or emoticons. Additionally, the section explores how users unintentionally inspire each other to use English, a phenomenon that further demonstrates the natural approach to the language.

As the analysis above shows, the participants in this study showed a great appreciation and understanding of the English language. They applied English in their Danish communication through switches and many examples demonstrate how they comfortably executed slang and urban expressions. They seemed to conform to the idea of informal, but popular and acknowledged, English use. Consequently, many of the participants had no problems violating the grammatical conventions of Standard English, which is inconsistent with Dąbrowska's (2013) findings on EFL speakers. She concluded how her EFL users detached themselves from English, as they tended to act in accordance with the standard rules of the language. The majority of participants in this study showed little concern of the correctness of their English application, especially in the private setting of instant chats. Here, they utilised the English language as they saw fit, repeatedly violating standard spelling and grammar.

What seems to correspond with Dąbrowska's (2013) findings is the idea of marked switches. Markings were located with punctuation where users directly marked their English with apostrophes and quotation marks. The following examples are intentionally written with the original punctuation from the users; 'teaser', "booty", "same procedure as last year", "my dick is so romantic it never fucks but always makes love – preferable on a bed of rosepettles" (Appendix B, pp. 104-14). Several participants mentioned in the interviews, how the main priority for them always is the overall understanding of the message (Appendix E, pp. 123-32). These markings of English could be a sign of consideration for the receiver. A clear indication that these specific words demand more attention if the receiver's English skills are weak or unaware of the potential chance of switches. By marking the words and sentences, the users illustrate that they are aware of the English switch and want their interlocutor to be aware as well. Additionally, many English switches were located where the participants emphasised the words or sentences with capital letters or exaggeration of spelling.

Punctuation is here used by the researcher to distinguish the examples; "Nooooo", "NOOOOO", "Shiiiet", "NO-go", "Anywayzzz", "Duuuuuude", "See you at Shizaaahrnn", "HAHA JOKE THE REAL WINNER IS", "KILL ME! KILL ME NOW", "FAKE NEWS" (Appendix B, pp. 104-14). Emphasis is here drawn to the English words, as the participants intensify the tone of their switches. English is, in the majority of the examples, used to express a specific type of emotion. Words like "Nooooo", "NOOOOO", and "KILL ME! KILL ME NOW" are all instances where English switches are used to communicate dissatisfaction with the given situation.
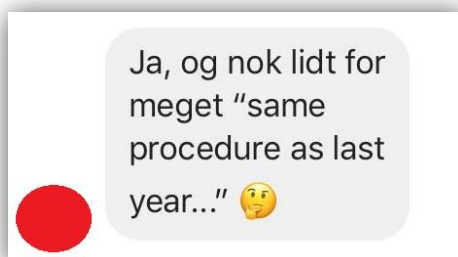
Example 55: Instant Chat Message Facebook

In Example 55, the participant separates the English switch by capitalising it. She writes, "KILL ME! KILL ME NOW! Time should go by 8 times faster because then I would be off by now". The participant is referring to work. The switch is marked by capital letters to emphasise her frustration. The switch to English could potentially function to soften the message. Had the participant used Danish in the same context, the result would be a much harder tone; "DRÆB MIG! DRÆB MIG NU!". This switch to English correspond with the interviews where several participants mentioned how Danish often sounds much rougher in tone than English (Appendix E, pp. 123-32).

A thorough presentation of the participants' English use are available in Appendix B (pp. 104-8). Here, tables show all instances where the participant wrote exclusively in English. In Table 7, there is several instances where all capital letters are used. It should also be noted that several words are dragged to add emphasis (Appendix B, pp. 105-6). Examples include "OMG COOL", "LEAVE BILLY ALONE", "CHALLENGE ACCEPTED", "HEY HONEY", "suuuuuuuure", "soooon", "yeees", "niiiiice", "omggg", and "looool" (Appendix B, pp. 105-6). These examples, as well as the English switches accounted for in the above section, demonstrate how the participants frequently apply the English language in exaggerating or humorous tones.

In Example 55 above, the choice of capital letters suggests a deliberate English switch in order to exaggerate emotions. Examples where the users mark their switches in consideration of the receiver could be:

Example 56: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 57: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 58: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 56 and 57 show two users who apply quotation marks for quotation. In Example 56, the user refers to a TV show she has been watching as she writes, "I was all "it's a scam. A "now we pretend and then Rupaul comes and says HAHA JOKE THE REAL WINNER IS"". The capital letters additionally indicate to the receiver that the English switch is done to mimic the mentioned "Rupaul". Example 57 shows a user applying the reference "same procedure as last year" from the short film Dinner For One (Christensen, 2018). The user apply this reference to something unrelated to the movie. He marks the English switch to demonstrate the quote, thus making his receiver aware that the English sentence has a purpose. Example 58 is a clear demonstration of a user marking her English switch. Here, the interlocutors discuss workout routines and the user writes, "Some believe it targets the "booty" when you walk sideways. Squat do work. I recommend".

The word "booty" is here in quotation marks as to indicate the sudden switch in language. Interestingly, the user does not mark her second switch "squat do work".

Although emoticons as markings were not accounted for in this paper, the case of Example 40, with "liiiit af", could serve as an overall example. Here, the user applies a very specific form of slang, "lit af", an expression that requires complete understanding from the receiver. Interestingly, the user then inserts seven fire emoticons in a separate message. These emoticons connect to the English slang used. The expression "lit af" refers to something excellent or exciting, but in its literal sense also refers to something being on fire. Since the emoticons connect to the expression, they mark the English switch and help the receiver gain a better understanding of the context. If the receiver is confused about the slang, the fire emoticon will help guide the communicative purpose in the right direction; that is, something is lit.

As previously documented, Table 1 shows how the participants in this study produced very different data amounts. The table likewise offers an insight to the English use of the participants' online associates in the instant chat messages. These numbers are rather interesting and could suggest a connection between the language behaviour of the participants and their respondents. Dąbrowska (2013) finds that wall posts in English usually are answered in English, even if all users share the same mother tongue. She (Dąbrowska, 2013) likewise explains how foreign speakers of English are more willingly to apply the language in "safe environments" (p. 64). Online spaces, such as Facebook and Instagram, offer a sense of safety due to the media's informal nature in their written texts (Dąbrowska, 2013, p. 64). This idea of safe environments and the imitation of other's language behaviour are rather interesting in relation to the results in Table 1. The table shows how participants and their addressees produce English in the data. Some participants produce significantly more English than their counterparts. To exemplify, Participant 1 used English 53 times and her addressees only 19 times. Contrariwise, Participant 7 applied English 20 times, while his addressees applied English no more than 70 times. The table also shows how several participants produced close to the same amount of English as their counterparts. To demonstrate, Participant 13 used English the exact amount of times as her interlocutors. She even mentioned in the interview how she usually copies her interlocutors, often unconsciously (Appendix E, pp. 128). The two examples below are located in her data:

Example 59: Instant Chat Message Facebook
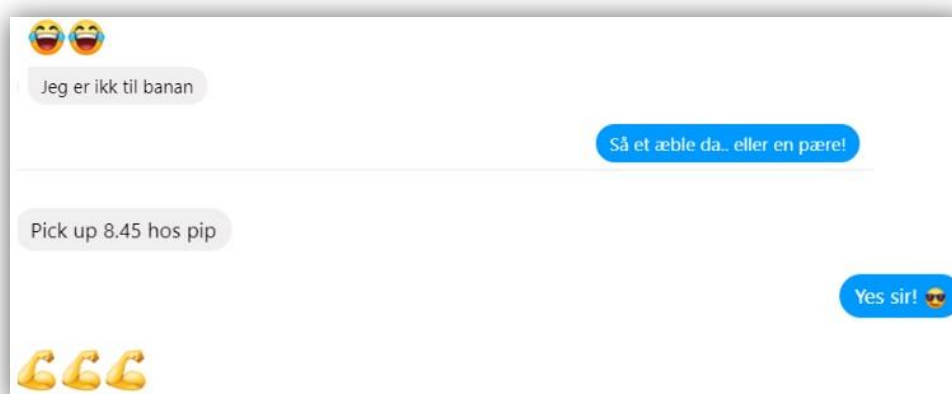
Example 60: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 59 continues the example of a marked switch. Her friend marks "booty" and as a response, Participant 13 applies the term "booty" as well in her responding message. This suggests that Participant 13 could possibly be inspired by the English switch, leading her to use the same term. Especially since her friend marks the word with quotation marks, she draws attention to the English word. This could be an example of the unintentional language imitation that Participant 13 mentioned in the interview. Furthermore, Example 60 is another message exchange from Participant 13 where the conversation starts in Danish, but ends in English. Her friend switches to English by saying "pick up 8.45 hos pip" [at pip], to which the participant answers in English, "yes sir!". Here, the participant continues the English language presented by her friend. Other examples of imitation of language choice are seen below:

Example 61: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 62: Instant Chat Message Facebook

Example 63: Instant Chat Message Facebook

The above examples could all suggest that Danish interlocutors switch to or from English depending on the choices from other users. This behaviour indicates that users validate each other in terms of English use, which further connects to the idea of online, safe environments. If a user applies English in a Danish interaction, it indicates that English is tolerated in her online presence. As many of the examples in the above analysis show, several of the participants assume that their receivers understand the English switches. This is especially noticeable when English slang and abbreviations are applied, since they require a thorough understanding of the English language, particularly in an informal, unconventional setting. These findings suggest that the majority of participants matched expectations with their receivers prior to this study. Ultimately, the participants already know which friends and associates who understand and accept the use of English. Several participants address this issue in the interview, as they describe their cautions with English when communicating to older generations or friends with disabilities.

8 Discussion

8.1 Social media's Influence on Language

A general opinion on CMC, especially in relation to social media, concerns itself with the alleged departure from standard, "correct" Danish. This is a frequent debate where many believe the English language ruins Danish, often supported with the fact that many English words are accepted in the Danish dictionary each year. In addition, social media are often based on written communication in an informal setting, which is known

to result in a relaxed, unbothered approach to the language use. Several participants mentioned in the interview, that they never consider their language choices on neither Facebook nor Instagram, which suggests that the platforms are, in fact, an informal environment for them.

The participants in this study showed a thorough understanding of English, both in the sense of grammatical accuracy, but also with unconventional English use, such as slang. They rarely misspelled words, unless intentionally using creative, unconventional spellings for emphasis. As social media actively encourage Danish users to go beyond the boundaries of their native language, the paradox of the Danish language starts. As English becomes an integrated part of the Danish language, a line is drawn between generations who were raised on strict Standard Danish and generations whose lives are built on global, digital communication. Here, a term like translanguaging helps to understand the social and cultural development happening within language understanding. It becomes increasingly difficult to understand language as a solid entity used by a society to express nationality (Wei, 2018, p. 15). It is an ever-changing process where languages are used across borders and experimented with by youth culture. It goes beyond the individual using languages to express identity, it is an occurrence changing the relationship between "language and the nation-state" in a constant process of changes and adjustments (Wei, 2018, p. 15). Globalisation, internationalisation, and digitalisation are all terms important to remember when taking this perspective. As the world becomes increasingly intertwined across borders and as schoolchildren are introduced to multiple ethnicities from early ages, language becomes fluent in societies. Countries like America and Great Britain are continuously entangled in Danish culture, especially through popular culture as television, music and literacy. Social media is the major contributor of this content, which constantly expose users to English content. Much of this content separates itself from the traditional understanding of the media, as much interaction on social media is raw and unedited. Previous understandings of the written media were confined to published content from educated authors writing books and newspapers. Social media function as the entire worlds' mouthpiece where people, regardless of educational background, "publish" written content constantly (Cameron & Panović, 2014, p. 40). This massive amount of unrevised, written text circulating around the globe is part of the change we see in the English language. Ultimately, it becomes part of the change that we see in the Danish language as well.

8.2 Language and Identity

As mentioned in previous sections, language is closely connected to identity. The concept of identity is especially important on social network sites like Facebook and Instagram, since their entire structure centres around the creation of online personas. As users interact with their network through posts, stories, comments, and chats, their written language shows their personality. As the data from the participants were categorised and analysed, large amounts of the documented text seemed to correspond with the affordance of social media that Barasa (2016) calls 'creativity and fun'. This category tries to understand how online users apply and switch between multiple languages as an answer to the restrictions of computer-mediated communication. Here, the lack of physical cues forces the users to think outside the box and produce a creative approach to conversations through language switches (Barasa, 2016, p 67). The switches from Danish to English is partly, in this category, an attempt to meet the expectations of the users' real life character; an attempt to convey the identity usually resided in their physical cues. The category likewise investigates the switches that occur as an attempt to follow trends or conform to group connections (Barasa, 2016, p. 67). The affordance of 'creativity and fun' therefore seems to correspond to the idea of a specific identity construction happening through language online. Additionally, this category captures the informal tone often associated with social media, as the findings suggest that users deliberately apply unconventional language practices in order to increase popularity. Unlike school and work, social media are virtual worlds where users receive no bad mark for their linguistic practices and platforms like Facebook and Instagram offer complete autonomy over users' own actions. Here, users are measured by their abilities to stand out, attract audiences and praised for their entertainment value (Stæhr & Mortensen, 2018, p. 10). Language and identity are a major part of this. In addition, many Europeans are exposed to English long before any official education begins, much of it informal through internet-based media or television, consequently affecting their approach to the language (Rothoni, 2017, p. 92). Furthermore, the early exposure to English could also explain how the majority of the participants seem to adopt the English language as a part of their own. According to Dąbrowska (2013), her EFL users showed a noticeable detachment from the language, as they seemed to mark their switches and apply English with great precision, as not to violate any rules of the foreign language. Looking at the participants' data, grammatical rules and standard conventions were violated repeatedly. Slang and idioms, not available

in the standard dictionaries, were located in the data and many of these expressions were well-known urban adaptions to the English language in America. The participants' abilities to practice the correct form of American slang and preserve a noticeably relaxed approach to a foreign language demonstrate their close connection to the English language. In the interview, Participant 3 even directed the attention to cultural appropriation through African American vernacular, which shows a deep understanding of the culture connected to English, especially how users could violate the language beyond the grammatical conventions (McWhorter, 2018). Danish students are taught English from very early grades, however, the vast amount of unconventional, urban English found in the data validate how these users are also exposed to English through multiple other sources. Danish and English coincide and intertwine uncontrollably in the everyday, digital life of young Danes. The way in which the participants adopt and adapt English demonstrates their confidence and comfortability with English.

Since language and identity are as closely connected as implied, it likewise seems interesting to investigate the tendency to choose between Danish and English as a primary language on Facebook and Instagram. The data uncovered a vast amount of English, both as an integrated part of the users' Danish language, but also as their primary language on Instagram. In the interview, Participant 8 mentions that he writes Danish on Facebook, but keeps an English profile on Instagram (Appendix E, p. 125). This corresponds with the data collected where all his Instagram posts are exclusively English. He even rewrites his English Instagram posts to Danish and uploads them on Facebook, which demonstrates that the switch between Danish and English is a deliberate choice on his behalf. He explains how the English approach to Instagram is an attempt to satisfy the platform's structure of "communication to the whole world". This deliberate separation of the language between the two platforms suggests that Facebook and Instagram offer different communicative purposes. The majority of participants explained in the interview, how Instagram generates more English than Facebook, which could connect to the digital opportunities of the platform. Instagram allows its users to follow, like and comment all open profiles on the platform. Consequently, Instagram profiles are open to unfamiliar relations, as the users have no control of their followers and readers. With the hashtag as another digital affordance, Instagram proceeds to satisfy the idea of connectedness and availability with a constant opportunity to discover new and relevant profiles. Additionally, the platform builds on the concept of popularity where followers

are the first piece of information visible on a user's profile. The desire for admiration is likewise a driving force behind the use of English. Instagram invites users to look beyond their private relations and seek larger networks through hashtags. If users want to explore Instagram's diversity and seek to increase followers, they must look beyond the limitations of Danish. Thus, users on Instagram might feel inclined to maintain an international approach to the platform, since their content will be understood by a larger audience.

Participant 5, 7, and 13 all mention how they write English to avoid excluding their international relations when posting on social media, which suggests that international acquaintances are a common consideration in language choices online. Thus, Instagram fulfils users' need to be part of a global community, the phenomenon that Rothoni (2017) calls "globalized online spaces" (p. 93). In these spaces, such as Instagram, English is practiced outside educational guidelines, which normalises the use of the language (Rothoni, 2017, p. 93). Here, a term like ELF seems relevant to include, as a globalised online space like Instagram attracts users around the globe, connecting different nationalities through the lingua franca of the world, English (Cameron & Panović, 2014, p. 40). Participant 8 kept his Instagram profiles English explicitly to meet the expectations of this globalised online space.

The desire to be part of a global community only intensifies the need for adequate English skills, as much of the communicative purpose on Instagram would be lost in translation, or not be understood at all. With that being said, a large part of the English communication is informal, unconventional phrasing and spelling, which not only requires an overall understanding of English, but also a combined comprehension of the urban slang associated with the informal style of social media. Thus, Instagram as a global community not only requires you to know the basic rules of English, but also expects users to navigate the trends of modern, English language. Ultimately, the trends and alterations to the language online are set by English speakers around the globe, not exclusively restricted to English speakers of the inner circle. One area still restricted by the perceived ownership to language is the topic of cultural appropriation through language. This dilemma was mentioned by Participant 3, who tried to avoid this linguistic feature online. This reflection on English slang indicates that social media, as a "safe environment" for English use, is not as straightforward as it seems. Here, the debate about ownership of languages becomes further complicated, as the identity of minority cultures, as African American communities, lies in specific linguistic practices (McWhorter, 2018). Adopting

this form of slang could potentially violate cultures and communities. Among the participants' data, the specific expression in Example 43, "It was tha shizzle" could be an illustration of this. However, cultural appropriation is a rather complex topic, too extensive to cover in this study, but nonetheless important to note. Consequently, English as a language is far from a solid entity, to which a clear line can be drawn between foreigners and natives. In the analysis, it was observed that English was applied to serve many purposes on Facebook and Instagram. Most importantly, the overall understanding of the message must be respected. Interestingly, English served no significant purpose in the participants' instant chat messages, as the overall understanding was secured from the start due to the Danish origin from all users. As the analysis showed, switches to English could here be connected to the digital affordances of the media, not a solution to meet a shared language, such as ELF.

8.3 English Use Across the Data

Looking at the data collected from the Instagram influencers, a noticeable small amount of English was applied in their written communication. Only a single English post was located, which merely contained the word "Anyone?" (Appendix C, Table 20). They both frequently switched to English in Danish posts and stories, but mainly kept the communication Danish. This strictly Danish approach to Instagram indicates a deliberate choice on their behalves, as they potentially exclude large parts of the Instagram community. Interestingly, these influencers's careers depend on views, likes, and followers, which conflict with the Danish approach to their profile. Arguably, the influencers would attain much more followers if they changed their primary language to English. The departure from this global perspective on Instagram could be a result of loyalty to the Danish followers. As previously mentioned, a recurrent criticism concerning Danish is the alleged impact from the English language. This debate suggests that the use and incorporation of English is an undesirable development. The influencers could potentially lose Danish followers due to a change in their primary language and risk the overall understanding of their message. It could further be added how the Danish language could function as a specific identity marker for the influencers. The Facebook group "International Hyggegruppe" demonstrated this by addressing the issue first hand with Example 64:

Example 64: Facebook Comment

Here, a user specifically asks members of the group to translate a debate to English, to which a member explains that he must learn Danish if he wants to understand. This group in particular dealt with sensitive topics such as immigration and racism, which often resulted in very strong, positive emotions towards Denmark and the Danish language. Nevertheless, vast amounts of English switches were located in the data (Appendix D, Table 29). Additionally, this group alone produced a noticeable amount of English misspellings. The word "weird" was spelled as both "wird" and "wierd", while "what" was spelled like "wath" (Appendix D, Table 28 & 29). These examples could potentially stem from typos, but could also suggest a lower knowledge of English from some members. In connection to spelling, the Facebook groups frequently made use of English GIFs and stickers. A feature like GIFs and stickers is an integrated part of Facebook, which functions independently from the members' knowledge of English. Thus, Facebook users with weak English skills will be able to add a GIF or sticker, essentially doing the spelling for them. Members' weak English skills could be an important motive behind the noticeably adamant attitude towards the Danish language choice in the group. If large parts of the members know little to no English, they could perceive the language change in posts and comments as an intrusion from another culture (Crystal, 2012). If they have no apparent connections or substantial knowledge to the English language, they might be more likely to view it as a negative impact. In contrast, the participants in this study showed an overall positive attitude towards the influence from the English language. In the interview, they connected much of their switches to popular culture's idioms and expression, which further exemplifies their deeper connection to English

culture (Appendix A, Table 6). They adopted many expressions and adapted slang to fit their communicative purposes and did not question Danish users' choice to write English online. On the contrary, they understood the necessity for English online, few of them mentioning how Danish would exclude international relations from the narrative. This is the exact opposite approach from "International Hyggegruppe" where members actively seemed to exclude non-Danish speakers. It may well be that these Danish group members are the ones feeling excluded from the English narrative.

8.4 Limitations & Critique of Methods

Throughout this paper, the most important limitations have been considered in relation to data collection and findings. Nevertheless, a final account of these complications will be discussed along with the methods applied in this study.

Concerning the research strategy, a rather significant area to assess is the choice of convenience sampling. It was chosen due to the method's convenient approach to the selection of participants and the guarantee of a specific target group. However, convenience sampling precludes random participant selection, which consequently eliminates the opportunity to generalise on Danes' online language behaviour (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016, pp. 1-2). The results are therefore insights on certain characteristics within the data (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016, p. 2). Additionally, the approach is an "over- or underrepresentation of portions of the population" (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016, p. 3). This is reflected by the demographics of the participants in this study, particularly concerning age and gender. Firstly, females are considerably outnumbered, with only 3 males among the 16 participants. Secondly, the participants vary in age, but only to a certain degree. The participants' ages span from 19 to 39, a 20-year difference, however, still exclude data from a large part of the population. It would have been beneficial to extract data from participants within the early teenage years, as well as generations like Baby Boomers or older. A different approach that included more generations and genders could have succeeded in a clearer understanding of Danes' attitudes towards English online.

Due to the restrictions to size, no further analysis or discussion were made on the findings within other languages used in the data. This additionally category was applied to the data to exemplify how English dominated the social media communication. A thorough

examination of these results could have been beneficial for the conclusion, but for now, only serve as supplementary knowledge on the data.

With that being said, it is also essential to account for the complex relationship between language and technology. In this study, the online language choices of Danes were investigated according to the specific affordances that social media offer. These communicative opportunities included hashtags, GIFs, and stickers, which were understood as relevant functions within Danes' English application online. However, much of the current literature on this field understands the implications of ascribing the responsibility of language change to technical advancements (Cameron & Panović, 2014 p. 41). This implication is understood in relation to "technological determinism", which presupposes that "technological change is represented as the cause of social change" (Page, Barton, Unger & Zappavigna, 2014, pp. 14-15). Consequently, it is not possible to determine whether the English influence on the Danish language is an effect of the increasingly online presence. It is therefore only possible to reflect on the specific language choices apparent in the data and connect results with the current literature and historical knowledge. However, no conclusions based on the data will be made on the connection between language change and technology.

9 Suggestions for Future Studies

This paper investigates the degree to which Danes incorporate the English language in their computer-mediated communication on Facebook and Instagram. There is, however, abundant room for further progress in determining the motivations behind the switch to English in an online context.

Firstly, the lack of full representation in age groups gives rise to the reflection on English application across generations. The recurrent debate on language change in Denmark worries about the youth's excessive use of English in their everyday communication (Engelske Låneord, n.d.). By optimising the data collection to a larger representative and random participant selection, it would be interesting to explore Danes' use of English on social media with attention to generation differences. In this paper, it was not possible to draw attention to age differences due to the small-scale size of the study. In addition, it was not possible to determine ages of the members in the Facebook groups, as well as the followers interacting in the influencers' data.

The interviews conducted in this paper revealed rich information on the thoughts behind the participants' English use. Interestingly, a recurring statement found throughout the answers was a reflection on the specific emotions connected to English and Danish. Several participants explained how English is applied in funny and light conversations, whereas Danish is used in serious conversation. Furthermore, few also mentioned how English words are applied when the Danish equivalent is too tough in tone. Further investigations could be made on the language attitudes associated with English. Here, a matched-guise test could reveal further information on participants' subconscious feelings and beliefs connected to English use online (Kristiansen & Rathje, 2014, p. 111-112).

10 Conclusion

This study set out to investigate how Danish Facebook and Instagram users incorporate the English language in their computer-mediated communication. A total of 16 participants agreed to share their online, written data for four weeks, while two major Instagram influencers were followed, as well as four large Facebook groups. A mixture of an email interview and questionnaire disclosed supplementary knowledge on the Danish participants' attitudes towards the English language online. The project gathered a rich database of written, online interaction, which revealed a significant amount of English use across the platforms. Further investigation proved how a majority of the English data consisted of switches between Danish and English. Based on current literature on the topic, it was shown how the English switches related to the online experiences of social media. Here, the data were analysed based on the most prominent affordances connected to written communication online: rapidity, least effort, space limitation, and creativity and fun. The study has found that the English switches were based on users' communicative purpose. Findings show how users switch to English due to the quick pace of a written conversation, a carefree attitude towards language switches, economy, and to express creativity and stress humour. A noticeable finding to emerge from the research is the influence of other digital affordances, such as hashtags, GIFs, and stickers. These practical functions offered by Facebook and Instagram demonstrate how English becomes a natural part of the online experience, as these affordances mostly succeed with a basic knowledge of English. GIFs and stickers are generally provided with English text and the hashtag operates in the global setting of social media where English connects and guides the users across communities. Additionally, it was also shown how

the digital affordances of English hashtags were used outside their functional level to achieve alternative communicative needs.

The second major outcome of the research was insights to the users' specific approaches when applying English. The findings suggest that users often mark their English switches and have a tendency to imitate the language chosen by their interlocutors, which correspond with previous literature on the topic. The participants in this study showed a profound and detailed knowledge on the English language, which became evident through their excessive use of slang and abbreviations that suggested a fully informed approach to the urban, modernised English practice. Interestingly, the participants frequently violated grammatical rules and standard conventions, which disagrees with former literature on EFL online users. This, however, was not the case with neither the influencers nor the Facebook groups who did not apply English as readily as the participants. These findings suggest that the online environments and audiences are of importance when applying English comfortably on social media. The Instagram influencers and Facebook groups were all based on unfamiliar communities where Danish was treated as the safe choice. In fact, English switches dominated the participants' instant chat messages where they seemed acquainted with most interlocutors and applied English seemingly unbothered. Oppositely, the strict approach to the Danish language in the Facebook groups and influencers also indicated an active choice as to not exclude any Danish followers with weak English skills. The relevance of online exclusion is clearly supported by the interviews. Here, several participants explained how they considered their receivers before switching to English. Contrary, few also mentioned how they exclusively wrote English on Instagram and/or Facebook to avoid excluding international relations. This information shows how international connections are a common occurrence on Facebook and Instagram, which only speaks for the global and international perspective often associated with social media. It further demonstrates how the majority of participants had little trouble with applying English, however, several did direct these worries to specific receivers who they believed had bad English skills. These answers revealed how users assess their audience's English knowledge and detain from applying the language with older generations or people with disabilities.

The results of this study indicate that English is, in fact, a highly applied language online, however, varies in context, online environments, and communicative purposes. Some Danes in this study use English as the primary language on Instagram to keep

communication directed at the world, while writing Danish on Facebook for their grandmother to understand. The research has shown how English is widely applied through switches from Danish, which further supports the idea that English increasingly becomes a natural choice in online, Danish communication. These findings complicate the traditional understanding of languages, as the explicit distinction between Danish and English is blurred online. Here, the terms translanguaging and ELF are rather representative in nature, as they acknowledge the power of using multiple languages to reach a communicative purpose. The results of this research prove that English is used in numerous online contexts, whether the purpose is to be funny, to gain followers, to include international relations to the online narrative, or simply unconsciously imitate the language choices received throughout the social media experience. This study has confirmed that English is widely distributed by Danes online, both as a primary language, as well as through switches. The findings enhance the understanding of the digital affordances on Facebook and Instagram, explicitly how they intensify English as a natural extension of the Danish language.

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