

Upper-secondary School Students' Use of, Motivations for
and Perceptions of Finnish-English Code-switching in
Northern and Southern Finland

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<p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>Englannin asema muun muassa kaupan, tutkimuksen ja koulutuksen kielenä on Suomessa viime vuosikymmeninä vahvistunut entisestään. Englanti näkyy entistä vahvemmin myös suomalaisten jokapäiväisessä elämässä ja kielessä, ja etenkin nuorten kielenkäytössä englannilla on useita, erilaisia tehtäviä suomen kielen rinnalla monenlaisissa tilanteissa. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli tutkia lukioikäisten suomi-englanti koodinvaihdon yleisyyttä puheessa ja kirjoituksessa sekä syitä siihen. Vastaaajia myös pyydettiin arvioimaan muiden kielenkäyttäjien mahdollisia syitä koodinvaihtoon tietyissä, annetuissa tilanteissa. Näissä ennalta annetuissa tilanteissa, jotka olivat tekstikatkelmia internetin keskustelupalstoilta, kirjoittajat olivat käyttäneet eripituisia ja -tyylyisiä, alun perin englanninkielisiä elementtejä. Lopuksi vastaaajia pyydettiin arvioimaan näiden elementtien etäisyyttä suomesta ja englannista, eli sitä, kuinka kiinteäksi osaksi suomen sanastoa ne olivat jo muuttuneet tai vaihtoehtoisesti kuinka kaukana ne yhä olivat siitä. Aineisto kerättiin kahdesta, eri puolella Suomea sijaitsevasta koulusta, ja näitä tuloksia verrattiin toisiinsa tiettyjen tutkimuskysymysten osalta.</p> <p>Teoreettisesti tutkimus kiinnittyy monikielisuuden sekä koodinvaihdon tutkimukseen. Työ on määrällistä tutkimusta, jonka tutkimusmetodina käytettiin kyselylomaketta ja aineisto analysoitiin tilastollisesti. Vastajat olivat 18–19 -vuotiaita lukiolaisia kahdesta koulusta, joista toinen sijaitsee Pohjois-Suomessa ja toinen Etelä-Suomessa. Vastaaajia oli yhteensä 81, joista 31 Pohjois-Suomesta ja 50 Etelä-Suomesta. Kysymyslomake oli osittain otettu aiemmasta Suomessa toteutetusta tutkimuksesta, mutta sitä oli muokattu tämän työn tarpeiden mukaan.</p> <p>Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat aiempien tutkimusten tapaan, että englanti-suomi koodinvaihto on jo melko yleistä suomalaisten nuorten kielenkäytössä, ja se on yleisempää puheessa kuin kirjoituksessa. Useimmiten koodinvaihto vastaaajien omassa puheessa ja kirjoituksessa tapahtui huomaamatta, mutta tärkeitä syitä olivat myös englannin käyttö tehokeinona, kielen tyyllittely ja se, ettei muita sopivia ilmaisuja ollut saatavilla. Vastajat arvioivat myös muiden kielenkäyttäjien vaihtavan suomesta englantiin osittain samoista syistä, osittain syyt olivat erit. Vaikka osa annetuista kielellisistä elementeistä onkin jo melko yleisiä suomen kielessä, suurin osa niistä sijoitettiin kuitenkin vastaaajien arvioissa lähemmäs englantia kuin suomea. Osasyynä tähän voivat olla vahvat ja perinteiset kielinormit, joiden mukaan kielet ovat erillisiä yksiköitä, jotka ovat selkeästi erotettavissa toisistaan. Erot tuloksissa kahden koulun välillä olivat pienet, mikä viittaa siihen, että englanti tavoittaa nuoret etenkin median kautta yhtäläillä maalla kuin kaupungissakin ja näkyy siten myös nuorten kielenkäytössä sekä Etelä-Suomessa että Pohjois-Suomessa.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

The growing academic interest in Finns' attitudes towards English is a result of the steadily strengthening status of English as an international lingua franca - an ongoing process which has not yet shown signs of decelerating. English is already so common in Finn's everyday lives and so inseparable from many of our fields of life that we may not even notice it or its effects on our language use anymore. According to Hiidenmaa (2003:74), especially some fields of life, such as advertising, academic world and business life are prone to adopting English elements. However, the spread of English does not only show at formal settings and contexts - the increasing number of loan words, catchphrases, names and many other English influences that slip into Finnish is so familiar in our everyday lives that we may not often even regard them as "not originally Finnish" or foreign. Because the phenomenon is common to us, the various uses of and motivations for using English among and besides Finnish - that is, code-switching - therefore often remain unclear. However, according to Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 9-10), the spread of English also seems to awaken fear in Finns; English is sometimes seen as a deteriorating force that eats away some of the diversity of the Finnish language and people fear that soon there will be little original left of our mother tongue under the influence of English. One of the aims of this study is connected to this; to further dispel the fears and misconceptions connected to the phenomenon by providing information on the matter.

The goal of this thesis is to examine 18-19 year-old upper-secondary school students' own use of Finnish-English code-switching in speech and writing as well as their perceptions of possible reasons to it in both their own and others' speech and writing. Another aim of the thesis is to examine the respondents' views about the level of foreignness of specific English (or at least originally English) elements in an otherwise Finnish text. More specifically, the purpose is to find out which kind of code-switched elements (English, used together with Finnish) included in the study the respondents already accept as Finnish and

which they still conceive as part of the English lexicon. These elements were taken from discussion forums on the internet and they vary in length and degree of modification; i.e. whether they are orthographically, morphologically or syntactically modified or not modified at all. These elements are more specifically discussed in chapter 4.3.3. The data were collected through a questionnaire in two different schools, one situated in Northern Finland and the other in Southern Finland. This was done in order to allow the possibility to compare the answers so as to see whether there are differences in the respondents' answers. Three hypotheses were also set regarding three of the four research questions. These research hypotheses will be stated in chapter 4.1, together with the research questions. The questionnaire comprised of three parts. The first part contained questions regarding the respondents' background and use of English in their everyday life - more specifically, how often the participants listen, speak, read and write English in different situations. The second part consisted of questions about the frequency of Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' own speech and writing as well as their assessments about reasons for such language use. The last part of the questionnaire contained a question regarding how close to or far from Finnish the participants would place the English elements in the given examples. In addition, after every example there was also a question concerning possible reasons for using the particular item in the example. The data from the two schools was analyzed quantitatively. A questionnaire study provided the possibility of a larger sample and thus a better chance to draw conclusions from the results than a study based on interviews, for example.

Studies concerning English in Finland have mainly concentrated on Finns' attitudes towards English and to its spreading use in Finland. A recent large-scale survey study which dealt with the matter was conducted by Leppänen et al. (2011) and it investigated, among many other things, Finns' attitudes towards mixing English with Finnish and reasons for mixing the mother tongue and English. The study was very extensive and it covered respondents from several parts of Finland, from many age groups and people from different

backgrounds, whereas the present study will be able to focus on a specific age group and to compare the results from two schools in Northern Finland and Southern Finland. Therefore, although I partly used the same questions as in the study by Leppänen et al. (2011), I was able to modify the questionnaire to make it fit the age group better and therefore have a more detailed look at young language users' insights to code-switching. The survey will be more specifically discussed in chapter 2.1. As a future English teacher I am personally interested in the use of English in Finland and the position of English besides Finnish. Furthermore, I have not yet seen a study where the participants were asked to evaluate the place of a word or an expression between two languages, as is done in the present study. The topicality of the subject in Finland, the lack of studies with the same research setting and the societal importance of the issue and the possible usefulness of the research results for me as a future teacher make the topic worth examining.

In chapter 2 I will first discuss the present status of English in Finland, more specifically, the factors that have contributed to the spread of English in Finland as well as the various uses of English in Finland in different fields of life. I will also touch upon the issue of Finns' opinions about and relationship to English and Finnish-English code-switching, which will be done by examining the survey by Leppänen et al. (2011). After this, in chapter 2.2, I will move on to examining some research results on the contact situations found between Finnish and English and Finnish-English code-switching, this way gradually moving closer to the focus of the present study. In chapter 3 the theoretical framework focuses on bilingual language practices, more specifically, on bilingualism and code-switching. These two areas of study are central regarding the present study, as its focus is on the frequency of code-switching among upper secondary school students in Northern and Southern Finland and their motivations for it, as well as the respondents' perceptions of the foreignness of the given elements in the questionnaire. The origins of code-switching research lie in bilingualism studies and, therefore, I will take a brief look at some concepts and issues in bilingualism research that are the most

central regarding the present study. I will then examine code-switching, which will be discussed in more detail; code-switching as a research area, some of the central concepts, code-switching and borrowing as well as uses of and motivations for code-switching. After that I will move on to the present study in chapter 4: the research questions, the hypotheses set, the participants, the questionnaire and the methods used will be discussed. In chapter 5 the results will be presented and further reflected upon in chapter 6. Finally, in chapter 7 the methodology of the study will be discussed and some further research idea will be suggested.

2 ENGLISH IN FINLAND

Due to the increasing amount of English in Finland, researchers' interest in Finns' attitudes towards the influence of English has grown. As the use of English in Finns' everyday lives has rapidly increased, there has been speculation about Finns' views on the strengthening status of English. There has been a great deal of discussion about the matter and debate about its possible drawbacks, for example the fear of English demolishing other languages or at least impoverishing them through language mixing. In many discussion forums intense debates can be seen concerning English loan words and mixing English and Finnish. Taking these concerns into account, the results of a large-scale survey on Finnish people's opinions on English by Leppänen et al. (2011) were quite surprising: contrary to some earlier beliefs, Finns' overall attitudes towards English are quite positive and English is mainly not considered as a threat to the Finnish language and culture but as a resource in the globalizing world, although pessimistic views were present, too. Also the attitudes towards Finnish-English code-switching were overall positive. This chapter will further concentrate on these issues, which are closely linked to the present study. I will first take a closer look at the historical phases of English in Finland as well its present status and uses in Finland. After this I will take a glimpse at some research results on Finnish-English contact situations, that is,

code-switching, as the focus of the study is specifically on Finnish-English code-switching.

2.1 English besides Finnish - The spread and uses of English in Finland

According to Leppänen and Nikula (2008:16), the status of English in modern Finland is a result of various factors and historical events. English can be seen to have come to Finland between the 1920's and the 1940's, whereas it stabilized its status between the 1940's and the 1960's, as it superseded German in popularity as a foreign language in schools. Additionally, the rebound in the Finnish economy added the need of English skills in business life and trade. In the 1960's the urbanization and modernization led to an increase in interest in English as an international language and this status only gained strength during the 1970's and 1980's as Finland prospered and began to identify with the western world economically and culturally. In the 1990's the development of English as a language of international communication continued. Additionally, the economic and cultural globalization as well as the development of information and communication technology in the 2000's only gave strength to the need and importance of English. According to Leppänen and Nikula (2008:17-19), English is undisputedly the most popular foreign language in Finland today as well as the one that Finns master the best. Leppänen and Nikula (2008:21) state that of the changes listed above especially the structural, political and cultural changes in the Finnish society made way to English, as the Finnish society took influences from the Anglo-American values, politics and cultures. Leppänen and Nikula (2008:21) add that in a sense English has symbolized the modern western internationality in the post-war Finland. Therefore, the strengthening status of English in Finland can be seen as a sign of Finland's attempts to identify itself with the western world and to withdraw from Swedish, German and Russian spheres of influence. The current situation of English in Finland has therefore its historical reasons but also the linguistic situation in Finland has had its impact. Leppänen and Nikula (2008:21) point

out that although Finland is officially a bilingual country, in practice Finnish has been and is mainly the language of communication in all fields of life in Finland. Therefore, there has not been a need for any lingua franca to enable communication within the country, as in some multilingual communities, which is why English has not developed into its own variety in Finland.

The influence of English can be seen in many fields of life; it affects education, the academic world and media as well as business life. According to Statistics Finland (Lukiokoulutuksen päättäneiden ainevalinnat 2011), 99.6 % of the students who graduated from upper secondary school in 2011 had studied English. This can be considered one indicator of the popularity of English in Finland and of the great influence that English has on Finns' lives. According to Leppänen and Nikula (2008:20), English is a popular subject at school and it has also become a common language of teaching in different educational institutions, such as in basic education, vocational schools as well as in universities. In addition, not only is English nowadays increasingly the language of scientific and academic publications in Finland but its effects can be seen in our everyday language, too: advertisements, job advertisements, company and brand names as well as Finnish words and catch phrases often include English elements; often they are totally in English. Furthermore, Leppänen and Nikula (2008:20-21) add that also television programs and movies with subtitles instead of dubbing have brought English into Finns' lives while at the same time English has quickly gained a position as an essential lingua franca in international relations and business as well. According to Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003:5), the spread of English is reflected in the manner of people's speech, too; code-switching is common in youth language and code-switched English words and tag-switches are frequent in jargon as well as in everyday spoken language. According to Romaine (1995:122), a tag-switch is a short item in one language which is placed in an utterance that is entirely in another language. For example inserting items such as *you know*, *I mean* or *whatever* into an otherwise Finnish utterance would be an example of tag-switching.

As the amount of English in the Finnish society increases, its uses, functions and effects have become an interesting theme for research to linguists. For example English in business life, youth language and advertising are some of the themes (among many others) that have been examined in Finland. In her article Paakkinen (2008) reviewed four theses that examined the functions and meanings of English in Finnish television and magazine advertisements. On the basis of the four theses Paakkinen (2008) examined the frequency and placement of English in Finnish advertisements as well as what kind of English is used. The purpose of the review was also to study what kind of things the choosing of English in advertisements is meant to convey and what viewers think of such advertisements and their multilingual nature (Paakkinen 2008:300). To briefly summarize, Paakkinen (2008) found that according to the results (both quantitative and qualitative), English is frequent in Finnish advertisements but mainly only in short bits, often in the form of words among Finnish text, whereas entirely English advertisements are rare. Even though the amount of English in Finnish advertisements is low, English elements are often placed so that they are easy to spot by the audience, so as to make the advertisement more memorable. Additionally, the English used in the advertisements is quite simple with no complicated sentence structures. Code-switching was also examined in some of the data. In magazine advertisements both intra- and intersentential code-switching was found. Titles, headings, illustrations and catchphrases were often in English in magazine advertisements. The functions of English and Finnish were often quite clear, as Finnish was used in order to provide facts about the product, whereas English was used in order to persuade the consumer to buy the product. Paakkinen (2008:325) sums up the results so that English is frequent in Finnish advertising but not a threat to Finnish. In addition, English is used to persuade the consumer and to convey trendiness and internationality, which would be more difficult to do with only Finnish, although English seems so common in advertising that viewers and readers often do not even notice it. Paakkinen (2008:325-326) concludes that advertisers make good use of this combination of

neutrality and on the other hand the richness of expression connected to English when they plan commercials and advertisements.

By far, the most extensive study on English in Finland is a national survey conducted in 2007 by Leppänen et al. (2011). The themes addressed by Leppänen et al. (2011:31) were “the role and functions of English in Finland, studying and knowing English and other foreign languages, Finns’ active uses of English, seeing and hearing the English language in the linguistic landscape of Finland, attitudes towards English, uses of and attitudes towards code switching and the future of English in Finland.”. The target group of the study was wide, as it consisted of people from different parts of Finland, people from cities and the countryside, men and women, young and old, people with different educational backgrounds and people who do and who do not know any English. The research data were collected by drawing a random sample from the Finnish population database of Statistics Finland, the final number of respondents being 1495 (Leppänen et al. 2011:38). Leppänen et al. (2011:63) found that English has a strong position as the most commonly studied, used and encountered foreign language in Finland, the respondents’ age and level of education being the most important background factors influencing the importance of English in the respondents’ lives. According to the study, young people see English as an asset, whereas older people, less educated people and people from the countryside do not feel as positively about English and their relationship to English is not as personal. Overall, Finns’ relationship to English seemed fairly pragmatic and English was perceived as necessary in regards to international communication. With regards to the possible threat that English poses to Finnish, Finns seemed quite confident. A majority of the respondents thought that English is, indeed, displacing other languages, but not as many saw English as threatening Finland’s national languages. The results thus suggest that Finns are quite confident about their own languages, their status and vitality and perhaps not as concerned about its possible effects in Finland and on Finnish as it may seem. All in all, the respondents’ reactions to code-switching were quite moderate and neutral, too, young respondents having the

most positive attitudes. However, negative opinions were also found; Leppänen et al. (2011:139-140) suggest that one possible reason for this could be the foreignness of the phenomenon, raising concerns in some groups of people.

2.2 When Finnish and English mix - Contact situations between English and Finnish

Leppänen and Nikula (2007, 2008) have examined contact situations between English and Finnish in different social domains, looking at the ways in which English is used alongside and among Finnish as well as the distribution of Finnish and English in such situations. According to Leppänen and Nikula (2008:22-24), the situations form a continuum in which three broad types can be recognized: a) situations that are totally or mainly monolingual in English, (b) situations that are predominantly in Finnish but with some English elements, and (c) bilingual situations in which participants make constant use of resources from both English and Finnish. Leppänen and Nikula state that in the type a) there are two main situations where the language used is totally or mainly English. In the first one, English is the only common language between the parties, for example between people with Finnish as their mother tongue and people with English as their mother tongue; therefore no code-switching to Finnish occurs as Finnish is not the parties' common language. The other situation occurs between Finnish people among whom English has been chosen to be the language of communication, such as in Finnish CLIL (the content and language integrated learning) schools, where pupils learn content through an additional language (foreign or second), the idea being that students thus learn both the subject and the language at the same time. Furthermore, according to the study, in type b) situations the language used usually consists of single English words or phrases mixed with Finnish, either in their original form or with some morphologically or phonetically adapted to Finnish. The switches from Finnish to English may also sometimes be longer than single words. Finally, the type c) - bilingual situation in which participants frequently make

use of resources from both English and Finnish - entails more switching between Finnish and English as in type b) situations (Leppänen and Nikula 2008:22-24). The participants could be called bi- or multilinguals due to their employment of resources from more than one language in such way in these situations (e.g. Muysken 1995:7). Leppänen and Nikula (2008:24) add that in such contact situations the length of the switches from Finnish to English can vary from short to longer stretches according to the situation and the purpose of the switch (code-switching can for example mark a change in the subject).

Leppänen and Nikula (2008:22) remind that the borderlines between such situations are hazy due to the context dependent nature of language and emphasize the fact that there is not only one way to use English in Finland. Instead, different situations and contexts create different conditions for the use of English and Finnish. Although Leppänen and Nikula (2008) mainly discuss the issue from the point of view of discourse studies on which the present study is not based, the contact situations in the questionnaire examples in the present study could be categorized on the basis of the three situation types. The foreign items in the 12 text passages range from single words to longer stretches of text, as in the following passages taken from the questionnaire (the examples, i.e. the words and clauses to which the respondents are asked to react are in bold, the English translation is in italics):

Sitäpaitsi tossa Indian Fallssin **huudeilla** on vielä 300 asukkaan Crescent Mills.

And besides nearby Indian Falls there is Crescent Mills with 300 residents.

Minun mielestäni vaihtari on lähdössä väärällä asenteella, jos sillä on väliä minne joutuu! North Dakota Rulez! Täällä ei ole mitään, mutta ei se mitään!
It's all about new experiences!

I think an exchange student has got a wrong attitude towards going on an exchange, if it matters to him/her where he/she will end up in! North Dakota Rulez! There is nothing in here, but it is okay! It's all about new experiences!

Among the “foreign” elements in the text passages (at this point these elements can be called “English” or “foreign” for the sake of brevity) are words that are morphologically adapted to Finnish; for example, they entail Finnish case suffixes. Furthermore, some of the foreign elements are longer switches than this, as in the illustration above. However, defining whether the situations could be categorized as the type c) found by Leppänen and Nikula is more difficult, since the text passages are quite short. Therefore, they do not reveal much of the overall contact situation or the possible functions of the switches, making it hard to decipher whether the writers make *frequent* use of resources from both English and Finnish, employing linguistic resources from more than one language in a way that is common for bi- or multilinguals. To sum up, it could be said that if these contact situations were to be placed in the continuum, they would probably stand somewhere between the situation b) and c) described by Leppänen and Nikula (2008:22-24), as they comprise both single words adapted to Finnish and longer stretches of switches of English that would indicate a language use somewhat similar to the language use of bi- and multilinguals. After all, as Leppänen and Nikula (2008:22) remind, the boundaries between the three situation types are vague and therefore a continuum well illustrates the matter. The orthographic, morphological and syntactic adaptations and non-adaptations of the example elements in the questionnaire will be discussed in chapter 4.3.3.

As said, much of the questionnaire I used is based on the study by Leppänen et al. (2011), as it also examined, among other issues, the uses of Finnish-English code-switching. This is also the focus of the present study, although the scope of the present study is much narrower. On the other hand, some research questions presented here are completely different from the ones posed by Leppänen et al. (2011). Furthermore, the small scope of the present study enabled me to focus on a specific age group and to compare the results from two schools in order to have a more detailed look at young language users’ insights to language mixing. The adaptations made into the questions from the questionnaire by Leppänen et al (2011) will be elaborated on in chapter 4.3.1.

The results of the survey will be reflected to the results of the present study throughout the paper, which will hopefully give a more extensive and multifold picture of the subject.

3 BILINGUAL LANGUAGE PRACTICES: BILINGUALISM AND CODE-SWITCHING

The present study, with its focus on code-switching, is theoretically closely linked to bilingualism (or multilingualism) studies, as code-switching studies originally stem from the field of bilingualism. Thus, in order to describe and use the concepts essential for the present study, I will first take a general look at bilingualism in chapter 3.1 before moving on to the focus of the study, code-switching, and its terminological jungle in chapter 3.2. It will become evident that this is no problem-free task and instead of finding a consensus on definitions, there will be many suggestions out of which I will have to make the best of. I will focus on the main topic of the study, code-switching, and thus examine bilingualism only briefly.

3.1 Defining bilingualism

According to Clyne (1998:301), the term “multilingualism” is usually divided into individual and societal multilingualism by linguists, depending on whether language use and competence is thought of as a possession of an individual or a society. Clyne adds that at the individual level, however, the term most commonly used is “bilingualism”. The term “multilingualism”, then, is more often used when referring to language practices at the societal level. Defining these “practices” in a very general sense, bilingualism is often described as the possession of, competence in or use of two languages by the same person (eg. Wei 2007:7). However, as said, even though the term “bilingualism” refers to using or possessing *two* languages, it is also commonly used to discuss people who possess or use *two or more* languages. According to

Clyne (1998:301), then (keeping in mind that multilingualism is often thought of as “societal bilingualism”), a common definition for multilingualism would be “the use of more than one language” or “competence in more than one language”. Scholars commonly adopt one of the terms under which the other is subsumed or use the two terms interchangeably, often without separating them explicitly. This has resulted in a very common situation in linguistics where no single or clear definition for a phenomenon exists, and often researchers define the concepts themselves. The definitions above are very general in nature, and defining bilingualism in more detail becomes even more complicated. In this chapter I will use the term bilingualism when referring to both individual and societal use of two or more languages, on one hand in order to avoid repetition and, on the other hand, because within the scope of the study there is no need for a detailed description of all the facets of measuring bilingualism. In the present study the focus is on code-switching, often categorized as a subdiscipline of bilingualism studies. However, before moving on to code-switching I will briefly touch upon the different aspects and problems of defining bilingualism and bilinguals. I will then concentrate on the issues central for the present study, i.e. code-switching and borrowing, as well as different motivations for code-switching. Regarding the respondents’ level of bilingualism, a precise definition of it is not within the scope of this study – here bilingualism is mainly discussed due to its close connection to the main focus of the study, i.e. code-switching.

The definitions of bilingualism discussed above are very general in nature, but it does not mean that there is a lack of literature on the subject, quite the contrary. According to Romaine (1995:11), different categories, scales and dichotomies have often been used to define and describe bilingualism. Attempts have been made to categorize bilinguals according to different factors that affect the degree of bilingualism, such as proficiency and function. The number of definitions and descriptions is immense; they vary from very broad definitions (with only a few qualities that a person must possess to be called a bilingual) into detailed descriptions, requirements and skills that make a person

bilingual. As said, the numerous types of bilingualism and bilinguals are, however, not within the scope of the study and thus mentioning the diversity of the terminology and concentrating on what is essential for the present study will suffice. Bloomfield (1933:56, as quoted by Romaine 1995:11) defines bilingualism as “native-like control of two languages”. Although the definition seems short and simple, it contains many problems. What exactly is a “native-like control” of a language, what does it entail? Putting aside the problem of defining a native-like control for a while, if one should master a language like a native speaker to be able to call oneself bilingual, the amount of bilinguals in the world would probably be quite small. Many of the people who consider themselves bilinguals would probably not be bilinguals according to this definition. Mackey (1956:8, as quoted by Mackey 2000:22) takes a stance to this central problem of defining bilingualism. He states that since the point at which a speaker of a second language becomes bilingual is either arbitrary or impossible to determine, bilingualism must be treated as something entirely relative. Furthermore, Mackey (1959, as quoted by Mackey 2000:22) adds that the use not only of two but of any number of languages should also be included in the concept of bilingualism and he ends up in the conclusion that bilingualism should thus be considered simply as “the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual”.

3.2 Code-switching

At present, code-switching is a popular research topic, although at one time it was not considered a credible research subject. Instead, it was merely thought to be a deficient way of speaking, a result of the speaker’s lacking skills in the other language. After the interest in code-switching studies expanded, also the need for new terminology to describe the phenomenon grew. Again, as with bilingualism, there has been little agreement among scholars about the code-switching related concepts. On the contrary, there seems to be as many terms and definitions as there are scholars. This has resulted in a terminological

confusion; there is a vast amount of different terms established to describe and name code-switching related phenomena and also a great deal of variation in the use of these concepts. In the next section I will first take a brief look at the history of code-switching research after which I will focus on the terminology in chapter 3.2.2; the origins of the term code-switching and some of the other important concepts. As the terms mostly argued about are 'code-switching' and 'code-mixing' and the perceived distinction between them, as well as the perceived distinction between the terms 'code-switching' and 'borrowing', I will examine these terms in chapter 3.2.3. The distinction between code-switching and borrowing will then be discussed in more detail since the topic of the present study is closely related to this pair of concepts. The last chapter, 3.2.4, concentrates on findings about the different motives for and uses of switching codes in speakers' language practices.

3.2.1 Code-switching as a research area

Although today code-switching (also the form 'codeswitching' is used), defined by Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) as the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation, is a rapidly growing research area in the field of language contact studies, this was not always the case. Originally, according to Gardner-Chloros (2009:9), code-switching was scarcely noticed in the field of bilingualism for a long time and, therefore, according to Milroy and Muysken (1995:8), the study of code-switching was slow in starting, when compared to for example the research on bilingualism in general and to the research on borrowing and interference. Discussing reasons for lexical borrowing, Weinreich (1968:56-60) named, among others, the low frequency of words in a language, homonymy and the need for synonyms as possible motives for lexical borrowing. Additionally, Weinreich also referred to this "transfer of words" from one language to another as a common phenomenon in bilinguals' speech but stated that it may also occur through "mere oversight", especially in affective speech when the speakers' attention is almost completely

focused on the topic of the message instead its form. Haugen (1950:211), for his part, explained the altering use of two languages as “merely an alternation of the second language, not a mixture of the two”, occurring only in “abnormal cases”. To sum up, at the time code-switching was merely seen as an oddity, deficient use of language caused by a speaker’s lacking knowledge and skills in one language. According to Kovács (2001:62), code-switching research really took off in the late 1970s after some fundamental works related to bilingualism and code-switching (Weinreich 1966, Haugen 1953, Clyne 1967, Hasselmo 1972, Blom and Gumperz 1972). Gardner-Chloros (2009:9) also states that the study of code-switching had remained more or less invisible until the work of Gumperz and his associates in the 1960s and early 1970s, after which the interest in the subject increased considerably. Milroy and Muysken (1995:9) also mention the pioneering research by Gumperz in the 1980s on interactive strategies applied by bilinguals (code-switching), after which the subject was seen as a credible research subject by linguists. According to Milroy and Muysken (1995:9), Gumperz was the first one to directly challenge in his analyses the view of code-switching as a deficient knowledge of language. Gumperz referred to the dominant view as follows:

The bilingual exchanges we have examined furthermore show that code switching does not necessarily indicate imperfect knowledge of the grammatical systems in question. Only in relatively few passages is code alternation motivated by speakers’ inability to find words to express what they want to say in one or the other code. In many cases, the code switched information could equally well be expressed in either language. Something may be said in one code and reiterated without pause in the other, or an expression in one code may be repeated in the other code elsewhere in the same conversation (Gumperz 1982: 64-65).

Gumperz (1982:65) concludes that intelligibility, lucidity, ease of expression as well as educational inferiority cannot, therefore, be considered as the main determining reasons for bilinguals to switch codes. Instead, his findings suggested that code-switching has a discursive and interactional function for bilinguals; code-switching is a linguistic resource through which a variety of social and metaphorical meanings are conveyed (Gumperz 1982, Milroy and Muysken 1995:9).

According to Auer (1999:1) and Gardner-Chloros (2009:9), code-switching related phenomena have gained a great deal of scientific interest during the last decades. Ever since the field of code-switching truly started to gain interest among researchers, it has been studied from various perspectives. At least four main disciplines can be distinguished: the sociolinguistic, the psycholinguistic, the syntactic (grammatical perspective) and the conversation-analytic approach. According to Auer (1999:1), the pioneering code-switching studies (e.g. Poplack 1979, Blom and Gumperz 1972) have turned code-switching into a center of focus of a great deal of syntactic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic studies. Kovács (2001:65) also divides the field of code-switching into four main areas: sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, linguistic (grammatical aspect) and interactionist/conversationalist perspective. Kovács (2001:66) states that the early research on code-switching focused on the social function of the switch, referring to the work of Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Gumperz (1982), whereas the linguistic or grammatical approach was at the core of the code-switching research until the 1990s. Furthermore, according to Kovács (2001:65), attempts have also been made to combine the different approaches into one single model in more recent studies. Auer (1999:1) on the other hand, mentions the syntactic (grammatical aspect), sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic research perspectives as some of the main approaches within the field of code-switching in the last decades. Kovács (2001:65) continues by stating that Auer himself has approached code-switching from the conversation-analytic perspective, where code-switching is seen as a discourse device, as in Gumperz' work, and mainly explained through conversation analysis. Although the names for the different approaches somewhat differ, it could be said that the perspectives adopted most often by researchers either concentrate on the social, psychological, linguistic (grammatical) or conversational side of code-switching. However, since the present study mainly focuses the use of code-switching in Finland and thus does not directly belong into any of these, there is no need to discuss these areas in more detail. Instead, I will move on to discussing the thorny issue of defining code-switching and phenomena related to it, the most central issues from the point of view of the present study.

3.2.2 Defining code-switching

Despite the vast amount of literature and research on code-switching, only few researchers have tried to explain the basic term, 'code', how it came into the study of code-switching and what was originally meant by the word. Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998), however, provides an attempt to define the term. Since with respect to the present study, an exhaustive discussion regarding the history of the term is not essential I will now take only a brief look at Alvarez-Cáccamo's work on the origins of the term. After this I will move on to examining the various definitions of the concept.

According to Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998:30), the expression "switching-codes" was originally adopted to linguistics from information theory by Jakobson in 1952. Jakobson (as quoted by Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998:30-31) points out that different languages or different styles of the same language may have different 'codes'. In the expression "switching-codes" the term 'code' did not refer to 'language', although in bilingualism research it is commonly done. Originally, according to Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998:30-31) and Kovács (2001:61), by 'codes' Jakobson referred to the speaker's system of speech; the speaker's language or style of speech has a code which the listener has to interpret in order to understand the message. Alvarez-Cáccamo (ibid.) emphasizes that Jakobson's formulation was that each language style *has* a code, it itself is not code. In other words, according to Nilep (2006:17), both the speaker and the listener make use of a code or codes in their communication: "Speakers use communicative codes in their attempts (linguistic or paralinguistic) to communicate with other language users. Listeners use their own codes to make sense of the communicative contributions of those they interact with." Both listeners and speakers may need to shift their expectations to come to a useful understanding of the other party's intentions. According to Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998:31), the term 'switching code', in turn, was referred by Jakobson as "the change a monolingual or bilingual speaker must effect in order to interpret ('decode') another person's system ('code'), or to produce such a change". Thus, the original use of the expression

“switching codes” did not refer to switching languages (‘code’ did not refer to ‘language’). However, in bilingualism research today this is widely done. Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998:32) continues that the reverse form, code-switching, was first explicitly mentioned by Vogt in 1954. Weinreich (1968:73) and Haugen (1950:211) used the word ‘switch’ when referring to language changes by bilinguals according to changes in speech situation. Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998) pointed out that all the stages and turns in the evolution of the terms ‘code’ and ‘code-switching’ are not clear to him, and it seems that the early stages of the term code-switching are as complex as its current situation as a debated concept in the terminological jungle. In any case, Kovács (2001:62) states that after the fundamental works conducted by Weinreich, Haugen, Clyne, Hasselmo and Blom and Gumperz, the study on code-switching truly took off in the late 1970s, after which code-switching research has developed into an independent field of research with a great number of publications.

Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) define code-switching as “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation”, including different forms of bilingual behavior under this general term. Myers-Scotton (1993:1), however, uses the word *linguistic varieties* in her definition: “Codeswitching is the term used to identify alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation”. Gumperz (1982:59) refers to code-switching as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”. In his work, Gumperz referred to conversational code-switching, which has been further developed and studied by conversation-analyst Auer (1998:1), who defines code-switching as (a part of a) verbal action: the ‘alternating use of two or more “codes” within one conversational episode’. Gardner-Chloros (2009) subsumes dialects into the definition, according to which code-switching is the use of two or more languages, dialects or varieties in the same conversation. Poplack (2006:214) defines code-switching as “the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent”. In her work, which focuses on the syntactics of code-switching, she defines code-switching according to the

degree of integration of items from one language (L1) to the phonological, morphological and syntactic patterns of the other language (L2). Elements that are completely adapted from one language (L1) to the phonology and morphology of the other (L2) are not seen as code-switches, whereas elements from one language with no adaptation of patterns to the patterns of the other language at all are regarded as code-switches.

The definitions above are quite general in nature, although they are naturally partly determined by the researchers' field of study. They say nothing about the length of the switch or its place of within a sentence or clause. However, these criteria have, indeed, been taken into account by scholars. Thus, various types of code-switching have been identified, and the differing use of these terms by scholars only adds to the confusion of code-switching related terminology. According to Milroy and Muysken (1995:8), 'intra-sentential switching' (also 'intrasentential'), 'inter-sentential switching' (also 'intersentential') and 'tag-switching' (also 'emblematic switching' or 'extra-sentential switching') are often used. With intra-sentential switching Milroy and Muysken (*ibid.*) refer to switches used within the sentence, in contrast with inter-sentential switching, switches between sentences. With the terms tag-switching, emblematic switching or extra-sentential switching, Milroy and Muysken (1995:8) refer to "switching between an utterance and the tag or interjection attached to it". In her work, Poplack (2006:219) used the term tag-switching when referring to elements that are freely moveable and may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence. According to Romaine (1995:122), tag-switching "involves the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language." Also Romaine adds that tag-switches can be easily inserted at many points in a sentence since they are subject to minimal syntactic restrictions.

Another problematic issue concerning defining the term code-switching is related to the above categorization. According to Kovács (2001:62), the terms most often used are 'code-switching' and 'code-mixing'. Some scholars define

the terms code-switching and code-mixing partly through the above categorization of intrasentential and intrasentential switching: Kachru (in 1978, 1983, as quoted by Myers-Scotton 1993:1), for example, uses the term code-switching when referring to intersentential switching, and prefers to use the term code-mixing for language alternations which are intrasentential. Muysken (2001:1), for his part, uses the term code-mixing “to refer to all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence”. Muysken reserves the term code-switching for the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event (*ibid.*). Kovács (2001:62) points out that these terms are sometimes used as complementary terms, the term code-switching referring to language alternation between sentences but not inside a sentence or a clause, whereas the term code-mixing is reserved for the altering of two or more languages within a clause. Kovács (2001:62) mentions also other terms that are often used, such as *code-change*, *language alternation*, *code-alternation*, *code interaction*, *code-blending* and *code-shifting*. Just as the use of the concepts mentioned earlier, the use of these terms is also highly varied. For example Lauttamus (1990:18) uses ‘code-switching’ as a cover term to refer to code-changing and code-mixing. Gafaranga (2005:282), for his part, uses the term ‘language alternation’ instead of code-switching, since no consensus has been found as to what counts as code-switching.

To sum up, in the study of code-switching there are almost as many terms and definitions as there are researchers, and since no agreement on the different concepts have been found. In the end the choice is mainly a question of individual preference - although at the same time it creates more confusion. Also the fact that code-switching has been studied from many perspectives adds to the variety of definitions; for example CA (conversation analysis) researchers define code-switching differently than researchers who examine it from a syntactical point of view, with grammar in the focus. In the present study the definition by Poplack (2006:214) will be adopted when referring to code-switching; “the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent”. Poplack defines code-switching according to the

degree of phonological, syntactical and morphological integration of the L2 language to the L1 language, which is also done in the present study. However, the phonological criterion is excluded in the present study, as will be explained in chapter 3.2.3. What “the degree of syntactical and morphological integration of the L2 language to the L1 language” actually means in the present study will be elaborated on in chapter 4.3.3.

3.2.3 Code-switching and borrowing

The definition of borrowing and its relation to code-switching is, again, another debated issue within the study of code-switching, and defining whether borrowing and code-switching should be distinguished or not is problematic. This issue is relevant regarding the present study since one of the research questions is concerned with how closely to either Finnish or English the respondents would place the elements on a semantic differential scale. I will examine whether the words and sentences in the examples in the questionnaire could be categorized as borrowings, code-switches or perhaps as something in between and see, whether the respondents’ answers correspond to the hypothesis formed on the issue. The hypothesis will be presented in chapter 4 and the precise categorization will be described in chapter 4.3.3. Before moving on to this, it is worth discussing some central terms and issues in the study of code-switching and borrowing first.

Before actually going into discussing the different views on code-switching and borrowing, it is worth mentioning some important concepts in order to understand what the issue is about. According to Sankoff et al. (1990:72), when a single word etymologically belonging to one code (language) appears in a sentence that is otherwise entirely in the other code, it is a case of *donor* and *host* languages, the former code being the donor and the latter code being the host language. The distinction between a host and a donor language is often referred to this way by linguists when discussing code-switching and borrowing. Also

the terms *base language* and *recipient language* are used when referring to the languages to which donor language elements are adopted; for example Poplack (2006:215) follows the definition by Hasselmo, as she defines base language as the language to which a majority of phonological and morphological features of discourse can be attributed (Hasselmo 1970, as quoted by Poplack 2006:215). Myers-Scotton (1992:19) uses the terms *matrix language* vs. *embedded language*. According to Muysken (1995:182), in the cases where there is reason to assume that there is a base language, determining it is partly dependent on the discipline. According to Muysken (1995:182), a discourse-oriented way to determine the base language would be to say that it is the language of the conversation, whereas a statistical definition would be “the language in which most words or morphemes are uttered” (Muysken 1995:182), and a psycholinguistic answer would be that it is the language in which the speaker is the most proficient. In a structurally oriented perspective (grammatically oriented), however, the definition of base language is often not as simple. Muysken (ibid.) states that traditionally there are two types of answers given to the question: According to the first model, the first word or first set of words in the sentence determines the base language and triggers a set of analytic rules. In the other structurally oriented model some element or set of elements, often the main verb, which is the semantic core of the sentence and determines the state or event of the sentence, determines the base language. It is clear that again there are almost as many definitions as there are scholars, but I will not go any deeper in the attempts to define a base language in structural studies of code-switching, as it is not within the scope of the study. Suffice it to say that in the present case of Finnish and English, the terms *host language* and *donor language* will be used when necessary, and they will simply be defined as the language mainly used by the speaker (the *host language*: Finnish) into which *donor language* elements are adopted (which, in this case, is English).

According to Boztepe (2003:5-8), researchers can be divided into two main groups regarding their stance into whether lexical borrowing and code-switching should be distinguished and if so, how it should be done. One group

(e.g. Poplack) has argued that single other-language items are different from longer stretches of switches. These scholars propose the level of morphosyntactic and phonological integration of the foreign words into the recipient language as the criteria for defining whether the single word is loan or not. Poplack (as quoted by Boztepe 2003:6) has proposed that a donor language item should be syntactically, morphologically and phonologically integrated into the base language before it can be called a loanword. Only syntactic or phonological integration or no integration at all would mean the item is an instance of code-switching. Poplack et al. (1989:392) named the intermediary category as *nonce borrowings* (or *nonce loans*). Nonce loans are not necessarily recurrent, widespread, or recognized by host language monolinguals. They are morphologically and syntactically integrated into the host language but may or may not show phonological integration. *Loanwords* (*established borrowings/loans*), on the other hand, are highly integrated into the host language and are often commonly known and used by the language users. However, according to Boztepe (2003:6), including the phonological integration when defining loanwords was later questioned due to the difficulty of distinguishing it – therefore, the criterion of phonological integration was discarded by many. Boztepe (2003:6) adds that according to Poplack’s view, lexical borrowing is seen as a continuum from established loans to nonce borrowing, pointing out, however, that here code-switching is not included in the continuum and nonce borrowings are not seen as cases of code-switching.

Boztepe (2003:6) adds that most researchers, however, do not see the borrowing vs. code-switching distinction as critical to analyses of bilingual speech but regard the two as forms of code-switching instead. These researchers acknowledge single-word (i.e. insertions) and multiple-word (i.e. alternations) occurrences as code-switching instead of separating the two. For example Myers-Scotton (1992:21) rejects the idea of a clear categorization between code-switching and borrowing since she sees the two as related processes which form a continuum. Myers-Scotton (1992:30) proposes *frequency* as the single best criterion when defining the closeness of borrowed forms to the recipient

language's mental lexicon. Boztepe (2003:8) does not regard it critical to make a distinction between code-switching and borrowing either. Boztepe refers to *the transition problem* presented by Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968, as quoted by Boztepe 2003:5), according to which it is difficult to determine the point in time when a lexical item has reached the status of a loanword in the recipient language, due to the diachronic nature of language change. Although Boztepe (2003:8) does not deny morphological and syntactical integration as reliable criteria to discern code-switching from borrowing, he states that distinguishing the two phenomena may not be meaningful. He points out that there are more similarities than differences between the two and, as the transition problem states, it may be impossible to separate them. According to Boztepe (2003:8), to understand the social and cultural processes involved in code-switching one should forget about trying to categorize borrowing and code-switching.

In the present study the model by Poplack et al. (1989) will be adopted, but with a few modifications. According to Poplack et al. (1989:403), code-switching is characterized by "a total lack of inflection of nouns". Furthermore, Poplack et al. (1989:393) describe unambiguous code-switches as "multi-word fragments which are lexically, syntactically and morphologically" guest language, whereas borrowing is characterized by "a strong tendency" to inflect the borrowed nouns. Therefore, in the present study, a donor language item (here, either a single word *or* a multi-word item) that does not show lexical, syntactical or morphological integration in the host language is regarded as a code-switch, whereas a loan/borrowing is integrated at some or all of these levels to be classified as one. Also the distinction between an established and a nonce loan will be adopted here; as said, according to Poplack et al. (1989:392), nonce loans are not necessarily recurrent, widespread, or recognized by host language monolinguals and they are often morphologically and syntactically integrated into the host language, whereas established borrowings/loans are highly integrated into the host language and are often commonly known and used by the language users. Poplack also included phonological integration as one criterion when distinguishing loans and code-switches; however, it will not

be used as a criterion here. Phonological integration was discarded by many scholars due to the difficulty of distinguishing it and, additionally, it would not work in the present study where the foreign elements are taken from a discussion forum, i.e. they are in the form of written language. It would thus be very difficult to estimate, how the writer would have pronounced the items. An additional tool for categorizing the elements in the present study is related to their frequency in language use. According to Myers-Scotton (1992:30), if one is to distinguish borrowings and code-switches from each other, frequency is the single best criterion for defining the closeness of borrowed forms to the recipient language's mental lexicon. In other words, the more frequent the form is in linguistic practices, the more integrated it is with the speakers' lexicon and the closer it is to the status of a loanword (and the farther from a status of a code-switch). How this categorization will actually be done on the basis of this hybrid model will be explained in more detail in chapter 4.3.3.

The views by Poplack and Myers-Scotton are, in fact, quite the contrary, as the two researchers define code-switching and borrowing differently. As mentioned, Poplack et al. (1989) do not suggest that there is a continuum between code-switching and borrowing, handling them as distinct processes, whereas Myers-Scotton (1992:21), on the contrary, sees the two phenomena as related instead of two phenomena. In the present study, however, one of the hypotheses is that the linguistic items in the given text passages will fall along a continuum ranging from Finnish to English, from established loans to code-switches. This is because the objective of the study is not purely on examining the grammatical constraints and characteristics of code-switching and borrowing but the focus was more on people's language *use* in everyday life, instead. Regarding code-switching in everyday language use, as well as everyday language use in general, the borders between different languages and other categories are hazy; some assumptions and categorizations can be made but they are often not absolutely accurate or clear. Therefore, in the present study, a continuum was a good tool to illustrate the phenomenon. This thesis aimed at shedding some light on the frequency of and reasons to code-

switching among upper secondary school pupils as well as their perceptions of the level of familiarity or foreignness of the code-switched and borrowed items. Additionally, taking into account the small scope of the investigation and the restricted amount of elements to be classified, the hybrid model sufficed. Therefore, the starting hypothesis was that the items will stand along a continuum according to the model utilized here, and that the factors affecting the level of familiarity or foreignness of the items are linked to their integration to and frequency in Finnish.

To sum up, the items in the text passages were categorized into nonce loans, established loans and code-switches. This was done by looking into the possible syntactical and grammatical accommodations made to the items, for example inflecting the guest language items (English) according to the host language (Finnish) grammar. The items were further examined through looking into their frequency in Finnish, which was done by examining Finnish dictionaries but also through searching for the items in Finnish discussion forums, this way charting their frequency in language use. The hypothesis regarding these items will be presented again in chapter 4.1 and the categorizations with the frequency charting will be elaborated on more closely in chapter 4.3.3.

3.2.4 Uses of code-switching

Since this thesis aims at examining the frequency of and motivations for respondents' switching from Finnish to English in their linguistic practices as well as their assessments on other people's reasons for doing the same, it is worth looking at some of the earlier results on the matter. I will first briefly take a look at some classic studies about the motivations for code-switching after which I will concentrate on findings from Finland, with Finnish-English code-switching in the focal point. As the present study is interested specifically in the motivations for code-switching among young people, studies about the matter will be discussed in more detail.

In many studies code-switching has been found to carry various functions, the results partly depending on the point of view and discipline of the researcher. Blom and Gumperz (2006: 87-88) studied code-switching of bilinguals from a sociolinguistic point of view and introduced the often cited concept pair; “situational switching” and “metaphorical switching”. Situational switching refers to switching codes according to the changes in situation; only one of the languages or language varieties is appropriate in a particular situation and, in order to maintain the appropriateness, the speakers therefore have to switch their language choice according to changes in the situation. For example, a bilingual might use one language at school or other formal settings and the other with family or other informal situations. According to Gumperz (1982: 66), in a setting such as this, the two languages could be called the ‘we code’ and the ‘they code’, the former being the ‘they code’ and the latter being the ‘we code’ in the example above. In a bilingual situation where one language is the majority language and the other is the minority language, the ethnically specific minority language is often regarded as the ‘we code’ and used in informal, we-group activities. The majority language, then, often serves as the ‘they code’, used in formal situations and associated with less personal out-group relations. With metaphorical switching, on the other hand, Blom and Gumperz refer to switching that is not dependent on the situation; instead, it is something through which the speaker can convey special communicative purposes. Such language shift relates to particular topics or subject matters while the social situation remains the same. For Gumperz (ibid.) the starting point for studying code-switching is that it has conversational functions; code-switching is a conversational event.

Auer (1995:120) lists some other, typical conversational functions of code-switching: 1) reported speech, 2) change of participant constellation, 3) parentheses or side comments, 4) reiteration, 5) change of activity type, 6) topic shift, 7) puns, language play, shift of ‘key’ and 8) topicalization, topic/comment structure. Code-switching as reported speech refers to switching from language

x to language y when reporting someone else's speech, using the same language as the original speaker used (language y). A participant-related switch is one where the language is switched according to the person one is talking to in a situation where there are more than two participants; one language is used when talking to one person and then switched when addressing someone else. Code-switching can also serve as marking side-comments or serve as reiteration, for example, clarifying a message or putting emphasis on demands or requests. Additionally, according to Gumperz (1982: 77-78), code-switching can also be used as interjections or sentence fillers. Among Finnish such English interjections and fillers could be for example *anyway, who cares, whatever, you know* etc.

In a more recent sociolinguistic study conducted among adolescents, Jørgensen (2003:776, 2008:174) found that code-switches were only one aspect of interaction and that they were so integrated with the speakers' other interaction mechanisms and tools that it almost made no sense to isolate them. Furthermore, Jørgensen (2003: 778) found that code-switching was also a part of playing with language and, in addition, it contributed to "the construction of social relations among the speakers, both in ingroup marking and in the struggle for status in a hierarchy". Code-switching (or "polylingual behaviour", as Jørgensen names it) in peer group interaction was both a part of linguistic play as well as negotiations of social identities including power struggles; therefore, according to Jørgensen (2008:174), code-switching was just another means of achieving communicative goals, just like other linguistic phenomena. Jørgensen (2008, 2001:126) states that inclusion of English elements into the mother tongue has indeed been found to mark belonging to youth culture and to signal group identity among young people. According to Leppänen (2007:151), in Finland, as in other European countries, the high status of English among youth can often be explained similarly, and the choice and use of English is increasingly an important aspect of youth language.

Jørgensen agrees with the view by Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001), stating that by using linguistic features and choices to achieve communicative goals in social environment, the choice of linguistic features is not random - it is rational. The core idea of Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) is that speakers are well aware that their speaking style is being assessed by the listeners, and so they express themselves the way that creates the desired interpretation in the listener - "they speak to be heard". The speaker weighs his or her words, knowing that a certain speaking style creates a certain image of the speaker. In this way, according to Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001:23), the speakers' way of speaking is a rational choice, planned "to present a specific persona that will give them the best 'return' in their interactions with others, in whatever ways are important to them and are rationally grounded". Some researchers disagree with this view, denying the possibility that speakers always choose their words and speaking styles on the basis of rational motivations.

In their survey, Leppänen et al. (2011:136-37) examined the reasons for code-switching in speech and writing, the options provided being: (a) I will not be understood otherwise, (b) finding another suitable expression is difficult, (c) I use professional or specialist terminology, (d) the people I interact with do the same, (e) it is a good way to create an effect (f) I do not even notice that I am doing it. They found that in speech the most frequently mentioned reason for mixing languages was (f); "I do not even notice that I am doing it", whereas in written language the option "I use professional or specialist terminology" was the most common alongside with the option (f). Furthermore, the least frequently chosen reason was (a), "I will not be understood otherwise". According to Leppänen et al (ibid.), these results suggest that English expressions have become a fairly natural part of Finns' everyday language use and that code-switching appears to be employed mainly as a way of self-expression rather than a way to ensure intelligibility. Leppänen et al. (2011:132) add that 41% of the respondents in the age group 15-24 reported that they mix English and their mother tongue in speech often. This further affirms that English has indeed reached a relatively firm status as an important resource

beside Finnish. The questionnaire used in the present study is based on the same survey questionnaire (Leppänen et al. 2011) and it is thus interesting to see, whether the results from this thesis are similar to these earlier ones. The age range in the present study is, however, narrower than in the survey by Leppänen et al. (2011), making it interesting to see whether age has an effect on the assumed reasons for code-switching.

3.2.5 Polylingualism and languaging

Most of the definitions of code-switching entail the idea of two or more languages, “codes”, or features from two or more languages altering in the same sentence, passage of speech, grammatical system or conversation. The starting point for all of these definitions is the same; languages are separate systems and in code-switching these systems (that do not ‘belong together’) alternate. This traditional view of languages as separate entities that can and should be separated and recognized as not belonging together when studying language use has recently been challenged. I will next discuss studies by Jørgensen (2008) and Møller and Jørgensen (2009) which take a stand on the matter and I will present the most central parts of their study and conclusions.

Møller and Jørgensen (2009) emphasize the difference between the concept of language use, *language*, and the normative concept *a language*. *Language* is a phenomenon that is characteristic for humans, a medium of conveying ideas and concepts, a tool for communication. Language is structured; it has rules and forms in order to make it possible to learn by new individuals, but it is also a creative system and its rules may be stretched, altered and manipulated, which eventually leads to language change. *A (national) language*, on the other hand, is a construct, often named and defined in connection to power struggles, national constructions of identity and so forth. Speakers relate to these constructs that they refer to as languages. In practice, when they use language, they use linguistic *features*, which they think of as representatives of the so-called

languages. Thus, according to Møller and Jørgensen (2009:145, see also Jørgensen 2008:167), speakers see languages as categories of features and can often point out parts of and name these sets of linguistic features. According to Hudson 1996:75 (as quoted by Møller and Jørgensen 2009:145), in the speakers' minds these sets function as prototypical concepts at the level of *norms* and they thus have value ascriptions and notions of "appropriate" use attached to them. However, Hudson (1996:24, as quoted by Møller and Jørgensen 2009:145) adds that at the level of language *use* the boundaries of such categories as "languages" or "varieties" are more problematic to determine. According to Møller and Jørgensen (2009:145), individuals define linguistic features and the appropriateness of juxtaposing these sets of features differently. They add that this is one reason to the fact that languages (sets of features) are not static but in a constant process of development and change. Møller and Jørgensen (*ibid.*) use the term *code* when referring to the abstract concept of "language", "dialect" or "variety", stressing that it is an abstract concept at the level of norms, ideologically motivated and carrying values, not at the level of use. Additionally, along with the normative concept of "a language" come beliefs about access, rights and belonging. Møller and Jørgensen (*ibid.*) point out that with the normative concept of "a language" it thus becomes possible to think of a language as inaccessible for certain individuals, and along comes the norm of how a language can be used as well as the norm of to whom the language belongs. For example it is generally speaking not socially appropriate for a high school teacher to use youth language features in his or her language use, as such language use is not compatible with the identities that teachers are "allowed" adopt.

After discussing language and languages both at the level of norms and the level of use, Møller and Jørgensen (2009:146) end up in the concept of *poly-lingualism*. They state that this term - that can be used both at the level of norms and the level of use - is currently the only concept used in sociolinguistics that can be used at both levels of language. According to Møller and Jørgensen (2009:146), this is possible "because the concept of poly-lingualism is based in

the practices of the individual and not in abstract sets of features". The poly-lingualism norm is in contrast to *monolingualism* norms (the *monolingualism* norm and *the double monolingualism* norm) and the *integrated multilingualism* norm. Møller and Jørgensen (ibid.) state that according to the monolingualism norm, "persons with access to more than one language should be sure to master one of them before getting into contact with the other", whereas the double monolingualism norm entails that people who command two or more languages should keep the languages apart, using them only one at a time similarly to the way that monolinguals use the one language they master. Møller and Jørgensen continue by describing the integrated multilingualism norm, stating that it entails that people who master two or more languages will use their full linguistic competence in these languages whenever needed, taking into account the needs and the possibilities of the conversation as well as the skills of the interlocutors. As said, the poly-lingualism norm, however, is very much in contrast to these norms and the concept of poly-lingualism is also a concept of language use:

language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how much they know from the involved sets of features (e.g. "languages"); this entails that the language users may know - and use - the fact that some of the features are perceived by some speakers as not belonging together and some features are assumed to belong to sets of features to which the speakers has no access (Møller and Jørgensen 2009:146).

As Poplack et al. (1989:392) define it, a *nonce loan* is a donor language element with morphological and syntactical integration to the recipient language, an element that is not enough widespread, common, or recognized by host language speakers to be called a loanword. According to Møller and Jørgensen (2009:147), in monolingualism this kind of language use is considered a deviation, whereas in poly-lingualism such behavior is mainstream language use; using words and expressions from a language or a variety that do not really "belong" to the speaker. Møller and Jørgensen (2009:147-148, see also Jørgensen 2008:169-170) point out that regardless of a person's social standings regarding a language (whether a certain language "belongs" to him or her or not), as human beings we primarily use *language* instead of "a language" or

“some languages” in order to achieve our aims. They thus propose the term *linguaging* to describe human linguistic behavior and *linguagers* to describe the speakers.

Møller and Jørgensen (2009:144-145) deny the view of languages as stable, separate and “pure” entities: according to them, the mixing of languages, as in creole languages, has traditionally been seen as exceptional when compared to the monolingual language use. Makoni and Pennycook (2006:21) suggest destabilizing the notion of languages; that languages should be seen similar to creoles. In their longitudinal study, Møller and Jørgensen (2009) examined the language use of a group of Turkish-Danish speakers from Denmark and a group of Turco-Turkish speakers from Turkey and found such real-life destabilization of languages. In this so called Køge project the researchers collected 4 groups of data which consisted of a range of different data types. The first group of data was collected among the core group of Turkish-Danish informants (12 informants) from Køge, Denmark, during their whole school career of 9 years in 1989-1998. The second set of data was from the same group in their mid-twenties. The third set was data collected among Køge students from grade 8 in 2006 and the fourth set was collected in the 1990’s in Eskişehir, Turkey, with a core group in their grade 1, grade 2, grade 5, grade 7, and grade 8 years plus a group of grade 8 students recorded once. The researchers used both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The purpose was to examine the development of the informants’ interactional behavior over time regarding code choice patterns, comparing the Turkish-Danish speakers from Køge and the Turco-Turkish speakers from Eskişehir.

According to the results by Møller and Jørgensen (2009) in the study described above, language mixing is more frequent among adolescents who encounter features from different languages on a daily basis. This was not very surprising, but the researchers also found that there had been an increase in the amount of mixed utterances between the 1990’s and the 2000’s. Furthermore, the Køge core group used more Turkish in similar situations than they did when they were

adolescents, and also the adolescents in Køge in 2006 used more Turkish than the core group did when they were in school. The change in Eskişehir group was small, but it further showed that in the Køge group the features from different languages were used in more complex ways. This occurred through cross-linguistic wordplays, rapid and frequent switches in the same utterance and other ways through which both sets of features (languages) were present at the same space in the utterance. Møller and Jørgensen (2009:164) named this phenomenon *integration*; linguistic features were treated as they belonged to one set of features instead of two. According to Møller and Jørgensen (*ibid.*), the data from Køge speakers showed steadily increasing integration between the two “languages”, suggesting that the concept of poly-lingualism thus better describes the reality of the speakers than the notion of multi-lingualism.

Concluding from the discussion and results by Møller and Jørgensen, speakers who mix features from more than one language (for the sake of brevity I will here use the term “language” although in the study the expression “set of features” was used) might not see the notion of *language* as black and white as the traditional definitions by scholars have been implying. In their study, Møller and Jørgensen suggest that instead of trying to distinguish languages as separate entities that should be seen as belonging to only some speakers and inaccessible to others due to certain social or normative reasons, all humans should be seen as language users. In other words, all humans should be regarded as language users who simply use any linguistic features available, regardless of how much they know about the language that they employ. According to this view, languages can be seen as resources that, if possible, any speaker may employ when creating certain meanings to achieve communicative goals.

Unlike the study by Møller and Jørgensen (2009), the present one is quite firmly based on the traditional view which defines and categorizes languages (in this case Finnish and English), code-switches and borrowings/loans. This is done in order to see how the speakers perceive certain, originally foreign elements, that is, whether they would categorize them as either Finnish or English. This does

not mean excluding the view of languages as resources that are not clearly defined entities, presented by Møller and Jørgensen (among others). However, in order to see and discuss for example whether some items are possibly on their way to becoming established loans (or alternatively far from it), a categorization of some kind is needed. In the following chapter this categorization will be elaborated on, as well as other central characteristics of the study.

4 THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study is a quantitative study implemented with a questionnaire. The questionnaire is mainly based on a survey questionnaire that was used earlier for gathering data about uses of English in Finland by Leppänen et al. (2011). The modifications made to the questions taken from the survey will be elaborated on in chapter 4.3.1. I will begin by presenting the research questions and hypotheses attached to them after which I will talk about the participants. I will then move on to discussing the questionnaire, the websites utilized in the questionnaire design and the items chosen from text passages as well as their categorization into code-switches and loans. I will also review the problems posed by the questionnaire design before finally discussing the methods of analysis used.

4.1 Research questions and hypotheses

This thesis aims at shedding some light on upper secondary school students' use of, motivations for and perceptions of Finnish-English code-switching in two schools, one in Northern and the other in Southern Finland. There are altogether four research questions presented here, three to which there is a hypothesis attached. The research questions to which there are hypotheses attached are first presented, after which the research question with no

hypothesis is stated. In order to chart the respondents' use of Finnish-English code-switch and motivations for it, the first research question was formed:

1. Do the participants use Finnish-English code-switching in their own speech or writing and why?

The first hypothesis, linked to this research question, is thus connected to the frequency of English in the participants' lives and their use of and motivations for Finnish-English code-switching:

A majority of the participants use Finnish and English together quite frequently in a way that could be defined as code-switching and, due to the frequency of such language use, most of the respondents do not pay attention to it and often fail to notice it in their speech or writing, especially in speech.

The basis of this hypothesis lies in the study by Leppänen et al. (2011), which suggests that English is a frequently utilized resource that is especially common among young Finns' language use. Leppänen et al. (2011:140) found that also mixing Finnish and English is a common feature in Finns' linguistic practices and, again, particularly in the youth language. In the survey it was revealed that using such language most commonly happened without the speaker noticing it, especially in speech and especially among young respondents. Among young Finns code-switching was found to serve as a way to express oneself and for stylistic reasons, whereas to be understood by others was the rarest motivation for code-switching. Møller and Jørgensen (2008:169-170) also found that for young adults English is often only one linguistic resource among others which helps them create meaning. In other words, if switching languages comes almost routinely for young language users, it may be very difficult for them to detect it in their own speech, as found by Leppänen et al. (2011).

The second research question is concerned with how much or little the respondents think the English elements have integrated with Finnish lexicon:

2. Which of the foreign elements (examples given in the questionnaire) included in the study do the respondents connect to Finnish, and which of them do they regard as closer to the English vocabulary?

The hypothesis thus involves an estimation of the placing of the elements in the text passages in a continuum from Finnish to English:

The way the respondents categorize the originally foreign items in the text passages as Finnish, English or something in between is affected by the *linguistic modifications* made to them as well as the *frequency* of the items in Finns' language use.

This hypothesis is based on views by Poplack et al. (1989) and Myers-Scotton (1992), introduced in chapter 3.2.3. A model was formed on the basis of these views to be utilized when categorizing the items (see chapter 3.2.3). To summarize the views and the model used, the orthographic, morphological and syntactical changes made to the originally English items as well as their frequency in language use affect the way language users see them. In other words, these factors have an effect on how closely the speakers associate the items with either Finnish or English lexicon. The more Finnish adaptations into the items and the more frequent they are in Finnish, the closer to Finnish the respondents are expected to place them in the scale. Respectively, the less modifications made in the items towards Finnish and the rarer they are in language use, the closer to English they will be in the scale. The items in the present study are, as said, classified according to this model as established loans (Finnish), nonce loans (in between Finnish and English) and code-switches (English). This hypothesis will also be presented in the form of a continuum along which the items will be placed, hypothesizing their distance from Finnish and English in the respondents' answers. The categorization of the linguistic

elements as loans, nonce loans and code-switches will be explained and justified more thoroughly in chapter 4.3.3 where the continuum will also be presented.

The third research question was formed to examine whether any differences can be detected between the answers given by students in Northern as opposed to the answers given by the respondents in Southern Finland:

3. Are there differences between the answers given by students in Northern Finland versus students in Southern Finland, regarding the frequency of and motivations for use of Finnish-English code-switching as well as the closeness or remoteness to Finnish and English of the given linguistic elements?

The hypothesis therefore relates to the comparisons of results from the two schools:

The differences between the schools are not great due to the way English has spread and still spreads in Finland.

This last hypothesis is based on earlier studies on English in Finland; in the survey by Leppänen et al. (2011:63) 80% of the respondents reported that they see and hear English in their everyday lives. English is, therefore, clearly the foreign language that Finns encounter most frequently in their everyday lives. Leppänen et al. (ibid.) continue by stating that, according to the results, city residents come in contact with English more often than people from the countryside. However, the age range in the survey was broad, whereas in the present study the respondents are young adults, which most probably has an effect on the results. As discovered by Leppänen and Nikula (2008:20), English has recently reached Finns especially through different media – and the media followed by young Finns (the internet, television) in particular are often totally in English or contain very much English. English television programs and

movies are commonly not dubbed in Finland, and often the streaming media (e.g. movies) provided on the internet are not even subtitled, adding to the amount of English that young viewers are exposed to. The internet, in turn, is increasingly present in our lives, as mobile phones, laptop computers and tablet computers (to mention just a few) have become general and popular devices, all of which are easy to carry along and all of which provide access to the internet. Especially young people are quick to adopt such devices, which then lead them to various sources of foreign languages, such as English sites.

Originally the aim was to compare the results from the two schools regarding every research question. However, this proved to be outside the scope of the study, as it would have resulted in too large an amount of data to be reported, so something had to be left out. This will be further discussed in chapter 5. These three hypotheses which are based on earlier theories and findings will be tested in the present study. To see what the respondents regard as possible reasons for such code-switching as in the given examples, the last research question was formed:

4. Why do the participants think Finnish and English have been used together by the original language users in the given examples?

No hypothesis was formed regarding this research question. I have not yet seen another study with an exactly similar research question, which makes it difficult to form a clear estimation of the results. This research question is also very specific due its connection to the certain text passage examples taken from internet discussion forums, making it further more problematic to predict the outcome.

4.2 The participants

The participants of the study were upper secondary school students from two different schools; one school was a small upper secondary school located in a

small municipality in the Northern Finland, while the other was a large upper secondary school in Southern Finland. The total number of participants was 81, of which 45 (55.6%) were female and 36 (44.4%) male and their age ranged from 18 to 19 years old. The number of respondents in the school in Northern Finland was 30 and the number of respondents in the school in Southern Finland was 51. All of the respondents reported Finnish as their mother tongue. The disparity between the numbers of respondents is explained through the size of the municipalities and the schools; as said, one of the schools is small and the other one is larger, which naturally affects the schools' class sizes. The respondents filled the questionnaires anonymously and it was not possible to connect a questionnaire with the respondent at any point, protecting the anonymity of the respondents.

4.3 The questionnaire design

The questionnaire (see Appendix 1) consisted of several parts. Some parts of the questionnaire needed somewhat more planning than others before the questionnaire could be constructed into its final form. In order to construct the last question about how close to or far from Finnish and English the participants would place the foreign elements, the foreign items needed to be chosen first. In order to do this, the places where to look for needed to be limited and chosen first. Finally - after choosing the suitable internet discussion forums and the example items - the items also needed to be categorized according to their degree of linguistic modification and frequency. The categorization was done in order to test the hypothesis of the foreignness of the items from the participants' point of view. However, before describing the process of searching for and choosing the linguistic items and their categorization, the overall structure and content of the questionnaire will be discussed. After this the websites utilized, the text passages chosen and the classification of the items will be elaborated on and, finally, the problems faced in the questionnaire design will be discussed. The hypothesis of the distribution

of the linguistic items will also be presented in the form of a continuum in chapter 4.3.3, together with the categorization of the items.

4.3.1 The questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of three parts. The first part contained background questions about the participants and questions about the participants' use of English in their leisure time and everyday life. More specifically, there were four questions regarding how often the participants listen, speak, read and write English in various situations. The second part of the questionnaire contained questions regarding how often Finnish and English are used together in the respondents' own speech and writing, and what possible reasons they think there could be for such language use. The last part addressed the question of how close to or far from Finnish the English elements in the given examples were according to the participants' opinion. After every text passage example there was also a question concerning possible reasons for using the particular item in the situation. The examples were collected from discussion forums in two websites and they came from naturally occurring texts. Thus, unlike often in similar studies, the examples were not invented. The use of authentic texts served the idea of examining the participants' reactions to code-switching in a more reliable way. Next I will discuss the questionnaire design and the first two parts in more detail, that is, the background information part and the part with questions about frequency of and reasons to language mixing.

The background part entailed questions about the respondents' gender, age and mother tongue. The questions regarding the participants' use of English in their leisure time and everyday life were the following: "In your leisure time, do you listen to...", "In your leisure time, do you read English...", "In your leisure time, do you write in English..." and "In your leisure time, do you speak English...". These were followed by different situations where English is often present and can be used (see Appendix 1). The respondents were asked to choose how often they listen to, read, write and speak English in the given

situations, and the choices were: *Almost daily, approximately weekly, approximately monthly, even less frequently and never*. This question and these given choices (the situations where English is often present and the given choices as frequency of use) were the same as in the questionnaire by Leppänen et al. (2011), except for one point; the choice *Instant messages (e.g. MSN Messenger, other instant messaging programs)* was added in the question "In your leisure time, do you write in English...". Using instant messaging programs is quite common among young people, which is why the choice was added in the list.

The second part of the questionnaire comprised of two questions. The first one goes as follows: "How often do you mix your mother tongue with English when you...". The respondents' were expected to answer this question regarding speaking and writing separately. The alternatives for both speaking and writing were again *almost daily, approximately weekly, approximately monthly, even less frequently and never*. This question was taken from the questionnaire used by Leppänen et al. (2011) as it is. The second question was "Why do you mix your mother tongue with English when you speak or write?" Again, the respondents were to answer this question regarding speaking and writing separately and the alternatives were:

- a) I will not be understood otherwise
- b) Finding another suitable expression is difficult
- c) I use professional or specialist terminology
- d) The people I interact with do the same
- e) It is a good way to create an effect
- f) It is a good way to stylize one's speech or writing
- g) I do not even notice that I am doing it
- h) some other reason, what? _____

Here the respondents were asked to tick the points that they felt suited them, or alternatively leave the points blank, if they felt they did not apply to them. The word *mix* was used in the questionnaire when referring to code-switching,

merely in order to make the questionnaire understandable for the respondents; the study is not theoretically based on *code-mixing*. Also these alternatives were originally adopted from the survey by Leppänen et al. (2011), except for one point. The choice *It is a good way to stylize one's speech or writing* was added in the list. The possible problems brought by the similarity between this choice and the previous alternative, *It is a good way to create an effect*, were pondered for a long time. Therefore, the possibility of leaving the previous one out was considered but in the end they were both included in the questionnaire. The grounds for this is that the latter choice in a sense complements the first one, as they are both connected to the way English has been found to be used alongside Finnish; as for example Jørgensen (2001:126) found, stylizing speech can be considered to be a part of young people's identity construction and their aims at identifying with a group.

The third part consisted of questions regarding the foreignness of the elements in the given examples, which were short passages of text taken from discussion forums. There were altogether 12 short passages of which a part was bolded. The respondents were asked to answer questions regarding the bolded parts, which will be explained in more detail in chapter 4.3.3. The respondents were to answer whether they think the bolded part of the text was closest to Finnish, English or something in the middle. A 5-point semantic differential scale was used here, and the respondents were to mark their answer with a cross in the most suitable place in the scale. The question and the scale were as follows:

Do you think the bolded part of the text is Finnish or English, or something in between?

Finnish — — — — — *English*

The semantic differential scale was not adopted from the questionnaire by Leppänen et al. (2011), but originally designed for the present questionnaire instead. Another question regarding the text example concerned the possible reasons for mixing Finnish and English. The question was "Why do you think

the writer used an English word among Finnish in this particular sentence?”. The given options were the same as above, in the question regarding the participants’ own reasons for code-switching (options a-h).

The questionnaire was pre-tested two times before the final version was written. The first version was given to 8 people who were asked to fill the form and give feedback on it thereafter. The second draft was written on the basis of this feedback and again given to 5 people (different than at the first time) who filled it, measured the time that the filling took and gave feedback on the questionnaire. The third and final version of the questionnaire was made on the basis of this feedback. I could not personally be present in the schools where the data was gathered, instead, I gave clear instructions about filling the questionnaire for the ones who gathered the data for me. The questionnaires were sent to me by mail and they were not read by anyone else than me at any point.

Since the main purpose of the study was to examine Finnish-English code-switching, the study was conducted in areas where Finnish is the main language, and therefore the assumption was that a vast majority of the respondents speak Finnish as their mother tongue. Thus, in order to ensure that the participants understood what they were asked to do and to understand the questions, the questionnaire was in Finnish. Since the data was gathered without me being present, there is quite much information and instructions for the respondents in between the different parts of the questionnaire.

4.3.2 The websites

The items in the text passages which were used as examples in the questionnaire were taken from two websites. One website was a forum for Finnish exchange students, currently located at <http://vaihtarit.info>, the other website I took text extracts from, www.vaihtarit.takeforum.com, was an archive

of the previously mentioned website, a discussion forum for Finnish exchange students. The archive contained all the topics and messages posted between 2006 and 2010. The old threads were still available to read but it was not possible to join or post new messages there anymore. The new, active forum, [Vaihtarit.info](http://vaihtarit.info), was a website aimed at Finnish exchange students and Finnish students planning to go on an exchange. Originally the website was only mainly a discussion forum for exchange students and students planning to go on an exchange. The new website, however, was somewhat more extensive of its content. It contained information about student exchange organizations, the possibility to write a blog about one's own student exchange experiences and add pictures of it. It was also possible to discuss student exchange related issues in the forum. The website was founded by and is still administered (at the time of writing this thesis) by private people and it does not represent any organization. (<http://vaihtarit.info/index.html>, 1.3.2012). Both the archive and the active forum contained threads concerning exchange related issues, country-specific discussions, discussions about student exchange organizations, general discussions about student exchange, conversations concerning problems that may emerge while in exchange, discussions about coming home from exchange and about other ways to go abroad than student exchange organizations. In addition to these, the newer forum also had separate threads about general information, rules, instructions and help for the users as well as a thread where new users could introduce themselves. There were also threads concerning hobbies and entertainment, which were not to be found in the archive.

The main language used in the archive threads was Finnish, but in the new forum there were also discussion threads meant for people who write in English, Swedish, Spanish, German and other languages. The words and clauses that were included into the study were all taken from threads where the main language was Finnish. I chose these websites since they were aimed at Finnish exchange students and Finnish students planning to go on an exchange, in other words, the writers had about the same situation in life and they were

about the same age as the respondents. My aim was to avoid any subject specific terminology (e.g. hobbies, sport) typical among some people (namely the hobbyists) and to include more general and perhaps more widely used code-switched elements instead. The respondents most probably have different hobbies and interests which is why the text passages had to be general enough (regarding their content) for the participants to be able to relate to them. To sum up, the websites had to fit the target group well in many respects without being too subject specific at the same time. Furthermore, the idea of choosing authentic examples from websites was that the examples should thus be quite familiar to most of the participants and, therefore, answering questions regarding these examples would be easier for them. It must be noted that the language use on the discussion forums most probably does not represent the language use of the specific age group in general. This is due to the fact that the upper secondary school students and the exchange students on the forum likely have a close relationship to English due to their experiences and interests, which is evident in their language use. Nevertheless, the websites were chosen for the study due to their advantages mentioned above.

4.3.3 The items chosen from text passages and their categorization into loans (Finnish) and code-switches (English)

The examples used in the questionnaire were taken from various discussion threads from both the archive and the active website. The text passages were included in the questionnaire parts where the respondents were asked to assess the bolded items' closeness or distance to either Finnish or English, and the writer's reasons for code-switching in the particular situation. In the questionnaire there was sometimes only the sentence in which the code-switched clause or word emerges in, but in some cases also the clause or the sentence that was before the example clause/word was also provided. This was done in order to give the respondents some information about the context of the clauses and words, as in some cases it would have been impossible to

understand the idea of the passage altogether had there not been any context provided. On the other hand, the amount of context given also had to be somewhat limited, and thus in every example only a part of the whole text passage, written by the original writer, was provided. Deciding on the right amount of context to be given was problematic, and it will be discussed in chapter 4.3.4. The example words and sentences included are the following, though not in the same order as in the questionnaire (translation in English in italics):

Niin california on kuitenkin suomen kokonen että jos siitä lähetään. Itä mua kiinnostaa **west coastin** luonto enemmän kuin muut jenkkien luonto... punapuut on ihania!

Yea I mean California is anyways the size of Finland if we take that as the starting point. I myself am interested in the west coast nature more than nature in other parts of America...I just love the redwoods!

Texas on kyllä tosi tasainen, eikä ainakaan mun mielestä, oo mikään maailman kaunein paikka, mutta on ihan kiva päästä näkemään isoja kaupunkeja ja elään aidossa jenkkiläisessä **neighborhoodissa!!**

Texas is really flat and at least in my opinion it's not the most beautiful place but it's nice to get to see big cities and live in a real American neighborhood!!

Sitäpaitsi tossa Indian Fallsin **huudeilla** on vielä 300 asukkaan Crescent Mills.
And besides nearby Indian Falls there is Crescent Mills with 300 residents.

Aika paljon osaan jo **ignoorata** tuota, mutta joskus, kun sattuu huono päivä, niin saatan alkaa miettimään, että mikäs niissä kengissä on vikana tms.

I can ignore pretty much of that already but sometimes when I got a bad day I may start thinking whether there is something wrong about my shoes or something.

Minä näytän kuulemma saksalaiselta, eräs **patriootti** sanoi näin. yhyy.

I look like a German, one patriot said so. Boo-hoo.

Ja oon tampereelta, eihän tää nyt mikään **metropoli** oo mut tohon verrattuna.
And I'm from Tampere, it's not a metropolitan city but I mean compared to that one.

Niin se vaan menee: suorahiuksiset haluis kiharammat ja kiharahiuksiset suuremmat. Ei tietenkää aina, ite oon näist suorist ihan **happy**, mut pienempänä olisin kyl vähä aaltoja näihi halunnu.

That's just how it goes: People with straight hair want curly hair and people with curly hair want straight hair. But of course not always, I'm pretty happy with my straight hair but when I was little I would've liked some waves in them.

Oltiin kaikki luokissa ja sit vaan tulee **announcement**, että opettajat ovet lukkoon ja tehkää niin kuin on neuvottu.

We were all in classes and then suddenly there's an announcement that teachers have to lock the doors and do as they've been instructed.

I'm so done with this snow... oikeesti... tänään pääsin ekaa kertaa sitte viime maanantain ihmisten ilmoille.

I'm so done with this snow...I mean really...today was the first day since last Monday that I got back in circulation.

Minun mielestäni vaihtari on lähdössä väärällä asenteella, jos sillä on väliä minne joutuu! North Dakota Rulez! Täällä ei ole mitään, mutta ei se mitään! **It's all about new experiences!**

I think an exchange student has got a wrong attitude towards going on an exchange, if it matters to him/her where he/she will end up in! North Dakota Rulez! There is nothing in here, but it is okay! It's all about new experiences!

Mutta eniten rakastan rannikkoa, se meri-ilma tekee mulle niin hyvää (vaikka hiukset ehkä vähän kakkäröityykin mut **who cares?**)

But the thing I love the most is the coast, the sea-air is so good for me (even though your hair gets a bit curly but who cares?)

Yäääh.. Olin niin kyllästynyt väriini hiuksissani että värjäsin ja sitten sain opelta haukut koulussa kun ei täällä sais värjätä muutakuin sitten vikalla vuodella lukiossa. **Well, whatever!**

Boohoo...I was so tired of my hair color that I dyed it and then got hell from my teacher in school because in here you should not dye your hair until you are in the last grade in high school. Well, whatever!

The original text passages have been somewhat modified in order to make the questionnaire readable. Emoticons have been omitted and Nordic graphemes have been added to the words where they were originally absent. The passages are otherwise very much in their original form, with misspellings and the speech-like forms. The words and clauses that the students were asked to react to are in bold, as in the questionnaire. All the items included in the questionnaire were categorized according to the degree of linguistic modification and frequency, which was estimated by the items' frequencies in internet discussion forums. With modification I refer to syntactical and morphological (and also orthographical) adaptations made to the word/item, provided that the item is originally derived from English and has not yet reached the status of an official loan word (i.e. it cannot be found in a Finnish dictionary). Since this part of the questionnaire is not the only point of interest in the study, the syntactical and morphological analysis of the items is not exhaustive and, therefore, a narrow analysis of the items will suffice. Before moving on to the analysis, I will first take a look at the methods that were used when assessing the frequency of the items.

To get an estimation of the frequency of the chosen items in language use, a popular internet search engine was used to look for the search words (the items). In practice this was done by entering the example items in the search engine, looking at the amount of hits found and browsing through them to see, which of the found hits could be considered to suit the study, that is, items in discussion forums. The search was restricted to look for items in Finnish sites only, and – not surprisingly – a vast majority of the hits were, indeed, found in

discussion forums. In addition to the word forms included in the questionnaire, also other forms of the items were included in the search. For example, in addition to searching the item *ignoorata*, also the search words **ignoor* was used in order to see whether the same word had been used in different forms, for example in different tenses (*ignoorasin*, the past tense) and word classes (*ignooraus*, a noun). Because the numbers of hits reported by the search engine were not “correct” (due to the fact that there were also many other sites than just discussion forums where the items were mentioned), they will not be reported here. Instead, only a verbal estimation of the frequency of the items will be reported (very frequent, frequent, not very common etc.). A reason for choosing discussion forums is that the linguistic elements in the text passages are not genre specific and because – although written language – the language used in discussion forums is most often informal, as is the context (the discussion forum itself) and this way close to a face-to-face conversation. Taking into account the scope of the study and the fact that the semantic differential scale question is only one part of the study, this method sufficed. In a large scale study, however, a more specific method would have been justified, for example a corpus study would have been a viable choice.

Below are the items, which are categorized into established loans, nonce loans and code-switches, based on the model utilized and explained earlier in chapter 3.2.3. Categorizing an item as an established loan would label it as “Finnish” whereas categorizing it as a code-switch would, then, label it as “English”. The category in the middle, nonce loans, are thus something in between the two languages. After the categorization a hypothesis of where in a continuum the items would be placed by the respondents is presented. Also the continuum itself with the items placed along it will be presented after the categorization in Figure 1. The items in the text passages were categorized and hypothesized to be placed in the continuum as follows:

Established loans (Finnish)

patriootti and *metropoli*

Both of these words can be found in the Finnish dictionary (Grönros et al. 2006) and will therefore be directly categorized as established loans. *Patriootti* is originally derived from the English word *patriot* and has become a part of the Finnish lexicon. According to Koukkunen (1990:345), the word *metropoli* has originally come from Latin or Greek from which it was adopted to several other languages, such as French and English and also Finnish. It is not exactly clear through which route the word came into Finnish, but here the item is, however, included in the study to represent an established loan from English due to its relatively high frequency in the discussion forums mentioned above. Both words also have “Finnish” equivalents. According to this analysis these words are hypothesized to be placed near established loans in a continuum.

Nonce loans

ignoorata

The word *ignoorata* is obviously derived from the English verb *ignore*. The word in the example is a verb form but it can also be used as a noun; *ignooraus* (ignoring something/someone). The original English form has been modified both orthographically and syntactically, to make it suit the Finnish lexicon and Finnish pronunciation better. The verb is in infinitive form and the case ending *-ata*, which is one of the possible case endings in Finnish verbs in their infinitive form, has been added to the end. The letter *o* has also been doubled. A quick glimpse at the results of a search engine revealed that the word *ignoorata* was used both as a verb as well as a noun (*ignooraus*) in their different forms. Search results of both verb and noun forms were surprisingly numerous. According to Poplack et al. (1989:392), nonce loans are not necessarily widespread or recognized by host language monolinguals, although they are often morphologically and syntactically integrated into the host language. A relatively high frequency would also suggest that the word is perhaps approaching the status of an established loan, however, not frequent and widespread enough to be categorized as one – not found in a Finnish

dictionary. The item is thus categorized here as a nonce loan, but in a continuum it would be placed between established loans and nonce loans; quite frequent and modified in many ways but not enough to have reached a status of a loan word.

huudeilla

This item is originally derived from the English word *hood*, which is a colloquial expression, referring to *neighborhood*; it is a shortened form of the same word. Orthographic changes have been made: in the form *huudeilla* the double vowel *o* has been turned into double *u*. In Finnish words are usually written in the same way they are pronounced, therefore, the word has been orthographically modified to resemble the Finnish pronunciation tradition; in this original word the vowel *o* is, indeed, pronounced in the same way as it would be pronounced in English but now it is, however, also *written* in the same way it is pronounced in *Finnish*. Syntactic changes also appear; the Finnish case ending *-lla* has been attached to the end, indicating location. Just like *ignoorata*, also this item was quite common in the discussion forums, and using it did not seem dependent on the topic of the forum or the thread either. Again, although syntactic modifications can be found as well as several instances of use, the item is labeled here as nonce loan, as it is still not an established loan in Finnish. Similarly to the item *ignoorata*, in a continuum this item would be placed between nonce loans and established loans.

neighborhoodissa

This word is otherwise in its original, English form (*neighborhood*), except that it has been inflected according to the Finnish rule; there is a case ending *-ssa* indicating a locative case. The word appeared to be quite rare both in this specific form and other forms (inflected in different ways, e.g. *neighborhoodin*) among otherwise Finnish texts. The items that were found occurred in texts that were very topic specific, further indicating that the word is not very common in Finnish. The word is, however, morphologically modified and some items were found, so the item would be categorized as a nonce loan. In a continuum it

would be situated between nonce loans and code-switches, closer to a code-switch than of a nonce loan; the item was modified, although not much, and not very common.

west coastin

This word is also in its English form (west coast) but it has also been inflected according to the Finnish rule. The case ending *-in* indicates genitive. Not very many items were found in discussion forums and the ones found were quite context dependent, they were for example used when discussing travelling in the USA or Australia. Also this item is categorized as a nonce loan, since it has some syntactic modifications made to it but it does not seem very common. In a continuum it would be placed in between nonce loans and code-switches, as in the case of the item *neighborhoodissa*.

well, whatever!

This item is totally in its original, English form, without any modifications made to it. The item in this particular form was not common in discussion forums, however, omitting the first part (*well*) resulted in more hits. Lack of morphological or any other modifications would, according to Poplack et al. (1989:403) refer to code-switching, which is characterized by “a total lack of inflection of nouns”. However, the frequency of the latter part of the item was relatively high, which places the item, again, in the category of nonce loans. In a continuum the item would be placed in the middle, as a nonce loan.

who cares?

This is also in its original, English form with no modifications made. The item’s frequency in discussion forums was about the same as with the previous item, perhaps somewhat higher. Although the item is totally unmodified, the frequency of the item is high enough to label it as a nonce loan. In a continuum the item would be placed similarly as the former item, that is, somewhere in between, as a nonce loan.

Code-switches (English)

announcement and *happy*

These two are both unmodified, one-word items. Some instances of the former item could be found in inflected and modified forms (*announcementtia*, *announcementti*, *announcementit* etc.) but these forums were often quite topic specific. The item *happy* seemed somewhat rarer. Overall, the items (inflected and uninflected) were used by some but not very often. Both items are categorized as code-switches here, mainly because of the relatively low frequency. In a continuum these items would be placed between nonce loans and code-switches, closer to code-switches and near the side of English.

I'm so done with this snow and *It's all about new experiences!*

Both these text clauses are multi-word items that have not been modified in any way either morphologically or syntactically (or orthographically). As it could be expected, besides the instances that were taken for the present study, no other items were found in forums. Following the model and the hypothesis used in the categorization, these instances are clearly code-switches and in a continuum they would be placed at the other end, near code-switches and English.

In the last part of questionnaire where these items were included the respondents were asked to assess the placing of these elements between Finnish and English in these given examples with the help of a 5-point semantic differential scale. The respondents were asked to tick the 5-point Finnish-English semantic differential scale and Finnish (established loans) was at one end of the scale and English (code-switches) at the other; value 1 was the closest to Finnish and value 5 the closest to English. The respondents were to mark their answer with a cross in the most suitable place in the scale. When the results were analyzed, each example item received a value from 1 to 5, depending on which point in the scale the respondent had ticked. The fact that the scale is a 5-point scale would mean that the items labeled as established loans would, in principle, get values between 1 and 1.6, nonce loans would get values somewhere between 1.7 and 3.3, whereas code-switches would get

values between 3.4 and 5. However, the possible numerical values that the items would get will not be speculated here, only the approximate placing of the elements between Finnish and English. As said, the hypothesis concerning this part of the study was that the items would fall along a continuum in a certain way (described above) from Finnish to English, from established loans to code-switches. In the analysis the items were thus placed into a continuum ranging from Finnish to English, from established loans to nonce loans and code-switches, according to the respondents' answers. Below is the continuum along which the items are placed according to the hypothesis.

Established loans Finnish		Nonce loans		Code-switches English	
1	2	3	4	5	
patriootti	ignoorata	well, whatever!	neighborhood west coastin happy	hoodissa	I'm so done with...
metropoli	huudeilla	who cares?	announcement		It's all about...

Figure 1. The placing of items according to the hypothesis

I will return to the categorizations and the continuum when reporting the results in chapter 5, where the hypothesis will be tested and the compared with the results. The results will also be presented in the form of a continuum which will be then be set against this one in order to make it easier to compare the hypothesis and the findings.

4.3.4 Issues in the questionnaire design

The objective was to include elements with different levels of modification in order to gain diversity and to see whether the level of modification shows in the respondents' answers. The idea of choosing authentic examples which are

additionally quite frequent was that the examples should be quite familiar to the participants, making it easier to answer questions regarding these examples. Although the examples were categorized in a certain way in the study, in the questionnaire they were in a random order as to reduce the possibility of the participants noticing similarities between them and thus drawing conclusions about the connections between the elements. This could have affected the respondents' answers, as they might have started predicting what they "should" answer; they might have started thinking about a "right answer" to the questions.

The questionnaire design was problematic in many respects with regard to the examples. The first problem was deciding on how much of the original text passage would be included. On the one hand, the idea was that the respondent gets enough information from the example so that he or she can consider possible reasons for the use of the English elements on the otherwise Finnish text. On the other hand, including very long passages of text with only a few English elements to react to would not have been practical. Filling in a long questionnaire can be quite tiresome and, therefore, I tried to include only the most crucial points and keep the examples as simple as possible. In addition, deciding on the amount of context to be given for the example words and clauses was difficult in other respects, too; it had to be considered whether giving too long or too short text passages would substantially affect the respondents' answers. Giving very long text passages could have indirectly provided more information about the writer and his or her interests and language use in general, which might have affected the respondents' opinions about the writer. This could have led the respondent to evaluate the person, when the task was to evaluate the language. Additionally, a person and his or her idiolect are often thought to be so closely connected that it is difficult not to make judgments of people by their language practices. Thus, one could say that it is impossible to evaluate someone's language without evaluating him or her as a person. I was, however, aware of this risk and the results will be examined accordingly.

Another problem was to decide whether the English elements were to be bolded or not and how much of the text was to be bolded. It was difficult to decide where to draw the line; it had to be pondered whether the whole clause or sentence should be bolded (where the supposedly foreign elements were), or only the supposedly foreign word or the few words. In other words it had to be considered whether the respondents would have to react to the whole text passage and its foreignness or to smaller bits of it and decide on their foreignness. In the end I chose to bold the small, supposedly foreign elements only instead of the whole text passage, as I wanted the respondents to focus on those elements specifically.

Also the design of the instructions in between the questions posed a few difficulties. Since I could not gather the data myself, I had to add quite many instructions in the questionnaire for the respondents. On the one hand, the description of where the examples were taken from could have been omitted but, on the other hand, this would have made it difficult for the respondents to think of possible reasons for such language use. The context dependent nature of language makes it difficult for one to draw conclusions from mere passages of speech or text detached from their context. It was, therefore, important to offer the participants at least some information about the context of the examples (but no too much). Yet another problem, common for questionnaire studies, was the problem of giving the respondents ready-made options from which to choose. This problem seemed to concern especially the questions about reasons for Finnish-English code-switching. It had to be pondered whether giving options would be too leading. However, had the options been left out, the possibility of getting no results at all would have been greater, as the respondents might not think of any reasons.

4.4 Methods of analysis

The data was collected with a questionnaire to be analyzed statistically. The students' answers were given numeric values which were then typed into a spreadsheet application Microsoft Excel 2010 for Microsoft Windows and analyzed using the IBM SPSS Statistics program, which is a computer program used for statistical analysis. This chapter will further elaborate on the statistical analyses used in each part of the data.

The frequency of Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' language use was examined through calculating the percentage values of the answers. In points where comparisons were made between the two schools, this was done to both the whole data and the data from the two schools separately. The relative frequency of instances was calculated to obtain percentages. According to Rasinger (2008:90), a relative frequency indicates how often something occurs relative to something else. For example, as in this case, how many of the students (in the whole data) code-switch almost daily out of all students; this is done by dividing the number of students who code-switch daily with the number of all students and by multiplying it with 100 the percentage is obtained. Rasinger (2008: 89-90) adds that by simply counting the students who code-switch almost daily, approximately weekly, approximately monthly, only very rarely and never, would have only provided the absolute frequency, which is not very useful if the purpose is to compare the numbers, as in the present study. The percentage values describing the distribution of answers were calculated in every question except the last one which included a semantic differential scale.

In the last question where the respondents were asked to tick the 5-point Finnish-English semantic differential scale, each example item received a value from 1 to 5, depending on which point in the scale the respondent had ticked. Value 1 was the line closest to Finnish and value 5 the closest to English. The mean values and standard deviations of the answers were calculated. The closer

the mean value was to value 1, the closer the item was connected to Finnish by the participants and, reversely, the closer it was to value 5, the closer it was associated to English. Mean values and standard deviations (SD) were examined together, since, as Rasinger (2008:127) states, standard deviations are often difficult to interpret on their own; the smaller the SD is in relation to the mean, the less dispersed the data is and, thus, the closer the individual values are to the mean. The less dispersed the data is and the closer the individual values are to the mean, the more unanimous the respondents are about the item and vice versa. Therefore, mean values on their own do not tell much about the results either, as the answers may be very dispersed, indicating disagreement about the item. Also the highest and the lowest given scores were examined, which supplements the examination of mean values and the standard deviations; naturally, the smaller the scale of values given, the smaller the standard deviation. According to Rasinger (2008:61-62), in linguistics a semantic differential scale is usually used for measuring attitudes, and it is done by asking the respondents to indicate their response along a continuum between two opposing terms. Often these terms are contrastive adjective pairs, and the respondents are asked to tick the point between the two adjectives (e.g. good - bad, active - passive). A semantic differential scale is often a 7-point scale but it is common to provide fewer choices, 5 (as in the present study) or even 3. Rasinger (2008: 62) adds that another popular instrument for measuring attitudes is a Likert scale, where the respondents are also asked to indicate their opinion along a continuum. In a Likert scale, however, the respondents are asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with a particular issue, which is in the form of a statement (e.g. "Learning English in school is beneficial for students"). The Likert scale usually ranges from 5 to 7. Rasinger (2008: 62) reminds that although in both semantic differential scale and a Likert scale giving odd numbers enables the respondents to indicate a "neutral" or "balanced" opinion, there is always the risk that the respondent gives a neutral answer for neutrality's sake.

An independent samples t-test was used to compare the results between the schools regarding the frequency of code-switching in speech and writing and the differences in the answers to the semantic differential scale (described above). According to Metsämuuronen (2006:530), a t-test is useful if the scale used for measurement is either an interval scale or a good ordinal scale (for example a Likert-scale, or a semantic differential scale as in the present study), if it can be assumed that the variable is normally distributed and if the sample size is fairly large. On the other hand, if the scale used is either an interval scale or an ordinal scale *without* the assumption that the population is normally distributed and the sample is small, the Mann-Whitney U-test is a better choice. According to Larson-Hall (2009:137), an independent samples t-test assumes that the two mean scores are independent and that variances of the populations from which the samples are drawn are equal (in this study, the two schools). Before the results of the t-test (whether there are any statistical differences) can be examined, this assumption must be tested, which is done with the help of Levene's test. According to Larson-Hall (2009: 256), Levene's test checks this *null hypothesis* which states that variances are equal. If the result from Levene's test for p-value is over 0.05 (that is, the probability for Levene's test), which is commonly used as a boundary value, the variances are considered to be equal and we accept the null hypothesis. On the other hand, if the probability is less than 0.05, it can be concluded that the variances are not equal and the null hypothesis of equal variances can be rejected, concluding that there is a difference between the results (the variances in the two populations). According to Metsämuuronen (2006:533), after checking the result of Levene's test and whether the variances are assumed to be equal or not, it is possible to choose the t-test to be checked; if the Levene's test indicated that the variances are equal (p-value is over 0.05), the variances are assumed to be equal in the t-test and vice versa, which then either confirms or rejects the initial hypothesis. If the p-value (2-tailed t-test) is over 0.05, the null hypothesis is accepted; there is no statistical difference. If the value is, however, under 0.05, the hypothesis is rejected and it can be concluded that there is a difference. As said, the value 0.05

is often used as a boundary value for statistical significance as in this study too, but the precise values used here are the following:

p. < 0.001 *** = statistically very significant

p. < 0.01 ** = statistically significant

p. < 0.05 * = statistically almost significant

Pearson's chi squared test for group independence was used to assess the comparisons between the schools regarding the reasons for Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' speech and writing. According to Larson-Hall (2009:207), the two main uses of Pearson's chi square test (often shortened as simply "the chi square test") are the *test for goodness of fit* of the data and the *test for group independence*. The test for goodness of fit is used when there is only one categorical variable with two or more levels of choices, whereas the test for group independence can be used when there are two or more variables and all of the variables are categorical (as in the present study). In the chi-square goodness-of-fit test there is an assumption of the probability of each choice; the test is thus used when one wants to measure how good the fit is to the probabilities that we expect (how well the data fits with the probabilities). Larson-Hall (2009:207) adds that the test for group independence can be used if there are more than just one categorical variable to see whether there are any associations between the variables. In the present study this test was used to examine whether there was any difference between the two populations (the schools in the North and in the South). The p-values were calculated in order to see whether the differences between the groups were statistically significant. The limit values used were the same as in the ones used in the t-test for equality of means presented above. According to Rasinger (2008:145), Pearson's chi square test can be used to analyze categorical data, meaning that the data has been counted and divided into categories. However, if one needs to analyze parametric or continuous data, such as students' weight, it cannot be used.

5 RESULTS

One of the objectives of this study was to examine the frequency of and motivations for Finnish-English code-switching in upper secondary school students' linguistic practices. Another motivation for the study was to look into the students' thoughts about the possible reasons for Finnish-English code-switching in given samples of text from a discussion forum. The respondents were also asked to estimate certain words and sentences in order to find out how closely the students attach these foreign (or at least originally foreign) elements into either Finnish or English. Additionally, the data was gathered in two distinct schools in order to be able to compare these data.

The results are reported in this chapter. The questions where the respondents were asked about reasons why they mix Finnish and English or why they think others mix Finnish and English in the given example passages contained a blank line where the respondents could add something that was not already among the answer options. Some participants added their own answers here and these answers will also be reported in this chapter, each in their respective places. Originally the idea was to compare the results from the two schools regarding every research question but it later proved outside the scope of the study. Therefore, in the end the students' assessments of possible reasons for Finnish-English code-switching in the given text example passages were not compared regarding the two schools. Instead, the frequency of Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' speech and writing, their reasons for Finnish-English code-switching in speech and writing and the placing of the elements in the Finnish-English semantic differential scale in Northern and Southern Finland were compared.

The background questions will be discussed first, after which the frequency of Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' speech and writing will be reported, where comparisons between the results from the two schools will also be made. After this the respondents' own motivations for code-switching from

Finnish to English will be reported. Comparisons between the two schools will also be made regarding this question. After this the students' assessments on possible reasons for Finnish-English code-switching in the text example passages will be reported (regarding the whole data only). Finally, the placing of the elements in the Finnish-English semantic differential scale will be examined. This will be done by looking at the whole data at first after which the results from the two schools will be compared.

5.1 Background questions

The background part consisted of questions about the respondents' gender, age and mother tongue. The background questions also concerned the participants' use of English in their leisure time and everyday life, as the respondents were asked to choose how often they listen to, read, write and speak English in the given situations (movies, books, music, letters etc.). Originally the purpose with the many background questions was to be able to examine whether there would be correlations between the frequency of listening, reading, writing and speaking English and for example the frequency of Finnish-English code-switching. This, however, proved to be outside the scope of the study as it would have resulted in an unnecessarily large amount of data. In the end, the only part of the background information to be examined was the question about the frequency of Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' speech and writing and the possible differences here between the two schools. These results will be reported next.

5.1.1 The frequency of Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' speech and writing

The frequency of Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' speech and writing was examined by posing questions about how often the respondents mix Finnish and English when they speak and write, the choices

being *almost daily*, *approximately weekly*, *approximately monthly*, *only very rarely* and *never*. These questions were in the background part of the questionnaire but they will be integrated into this chapter since none of the other background questions will be discussed. Measuring the frequency of Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' speech and writing was done by comparing the percentual mean values of the respondents' answers. The percentual values are presented in Figure 1.

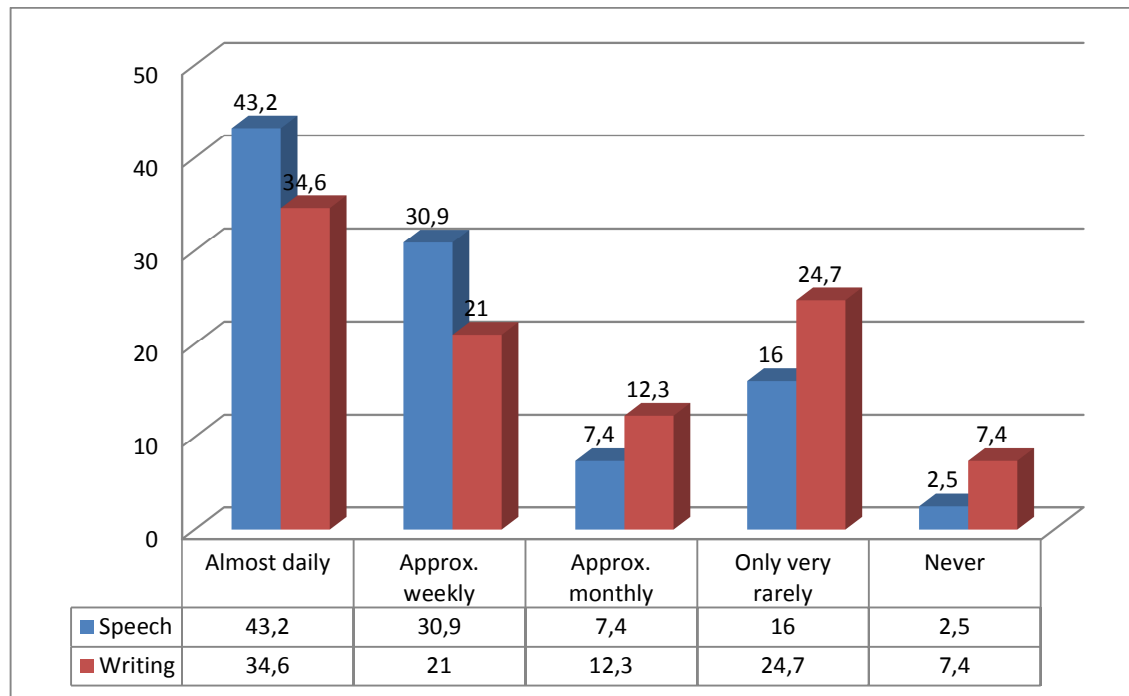


Figure 1. The frequency of Finnish-English code-switching in the speech and writing of the respondents

Most of the subjects reported that they code-switch from Finnish to English when they speak either almost daily (43.2%) or approximately weekly (30.9%). The same tendency can be seen in code-switching practices in writing too, as 34.6% of the respondents reported they code-switch in writing almost daily and 21.0% approximately weekly. However, taking into consideration the small sample of the study, relatively many of the participants reported that they use such language only approximately monthly (7.4% in speech, 12.3% in writing) or only very rarely (16% in speech, 24.7% in writing). Additionally, the results

show that code-switching practices are overall less frequent in writing than in speech among the respondents.

To sum up, it seems that code-switching is a quite common phenomenon in the students' everyday lives. A majority of the respondents reported they mix Finnish and English either almost daily or approximately weekly, although there were also respondents who reported that they do so only approximately monthly or only very rarely. Some participants also reported that they never code-switch. Code-switching seems more common in spoken than in written language. The results are in line with earlier results of English as an important part of Finnish people's lives and of code-switching as a common feature of especially adolescents' language practices.

5.1.2 The frequency of Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' speech and writing - comparisons between the two schools

The frequencies of Finnish-English code-switching in the students' linguistic practices (speech and writing) in the two schools were measured by looking into the percentual distribution of the answers and comparing the results. The possible statistical significance of the differences was also measured and the results are presented in Table 1. The percentual values from the school in Northern Finland are presented in Figure 2 and the results from the school in Southern Finland are presented in Figure 3.

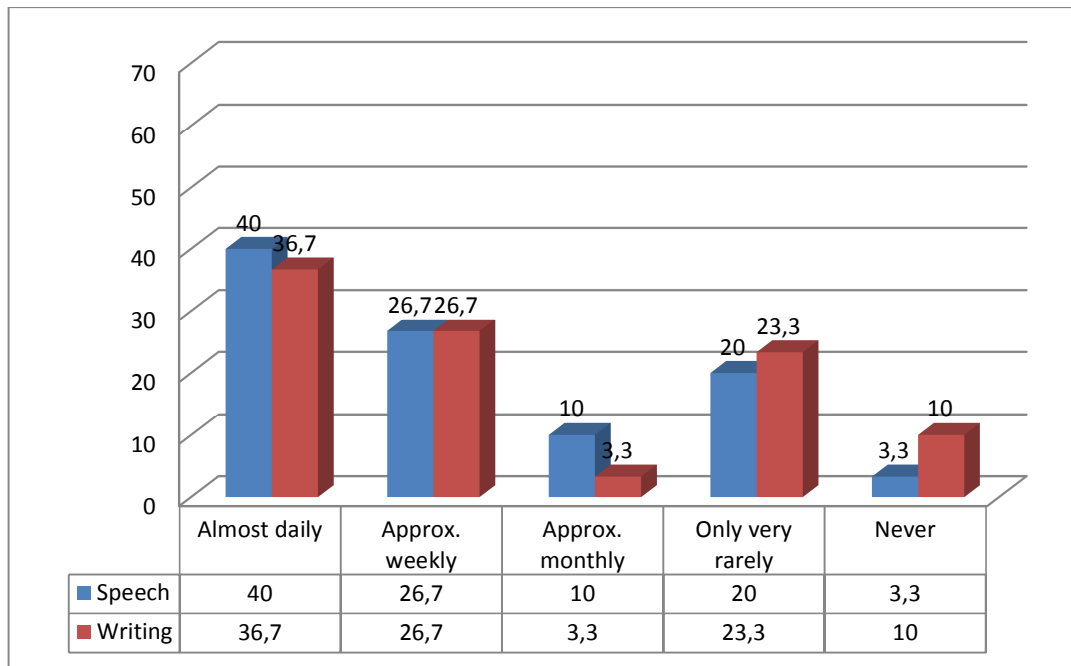


Figure 2. The frequency of Finnish-English code-switching in the speech and writing of the respondents from Northern Finland

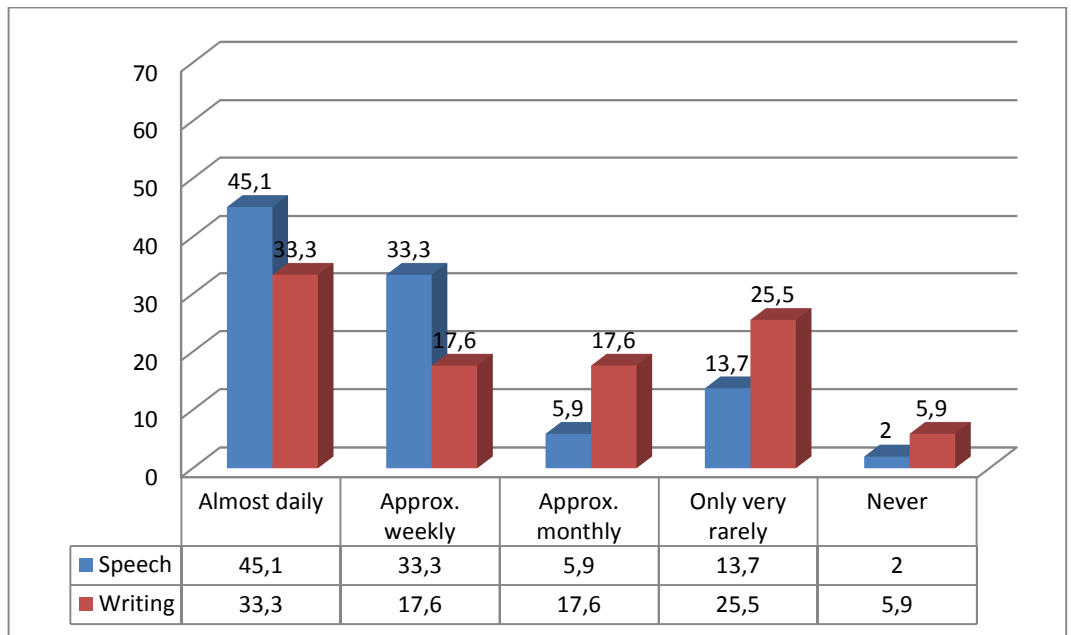


Figure 3. The frequency of Finnish-English code-switching in the speech and writing of the respondents from Southern Finland

Table 1. The statistical difference between the results

	Sig. (2-tailed)
Speech	0.343
Writing	0.764

As the two figures show, a majority of the students from both schools report they code-switch from Finnish to English either almost daily or approximately weekly and again code-switching seems more common in spoken than in written language. 40.0% of the students from the North reported they code-switch in speech almost daily and 26.7% approximately weekly. On the other hand, 20.0% reported they code-switch only very rarely. Regarding code-switching in writing, the numbers were either lower or about the same in the North; 36.7% almost daily, 26.6% approximately weekly and 23.3% only very rarely. In the school in Southern Finland 45.1% of the students reported they code-switch in speech almost daily and 33.3% approximately weekly. Code-switching in writing was again less common, 33.3% almost daily, 17.6% approximately weekly, 17.6% approximately monthly, 25.5% only very rarely and 5.9% never. As presented in Table 1, the differences between the results from the two schools were not statistically significant; the 2-tailed significance test values were 0.343 for speech and 0.764 for writing.

The differences between the schools were not major. The distribution of answers between code-switching *almost daily* and code-switching *never* were quite similar, except for some dissimilarities. As regards code-switching in writing, among the students in the North the answers were more unevenly distributed between approximately weekly, approximately monthly and only very rarely; about the same number of people said they either code-switch approximately weekly or only very rarely. In the South the students' answers were more evenly distributed between these three. However, the differences were small. Overall, the differences between the two schools were not major, which indicates that young people's uses of English besides and among Finnish in Northern and Southern Finland are perhaps not very significant.

5.2 Reasons for Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' speech and writing

The possible reasons for Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' speech and writing were studied by using multiple choice questions. Here the respondents were asked to tick any point that they felt suited their language practices or, alternatively, leave the points blank if they felt they did not apply to them. There were no restrictions on the number of points to choose. The answers are presented in the form of percentages in Table 2 and further illustrated in Figure 4.

Table 2. Reasons for Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' own speech and writing

	Speech	Writing
I will not be understood otherwise	11.1%	9.9%
Finding another suitable expression is difficult	51.9%	37.0%
I use professional or specialist terminology	22.2%	33.3%
The people I interact with do the same	37.0%	23.5%
It is a good way to create an effect	50.6%	32.1%
It is a good way to stylize one's speech or writing	53.1%	45.7%
I do not even notice that I am doing it	66.7%	32.1%

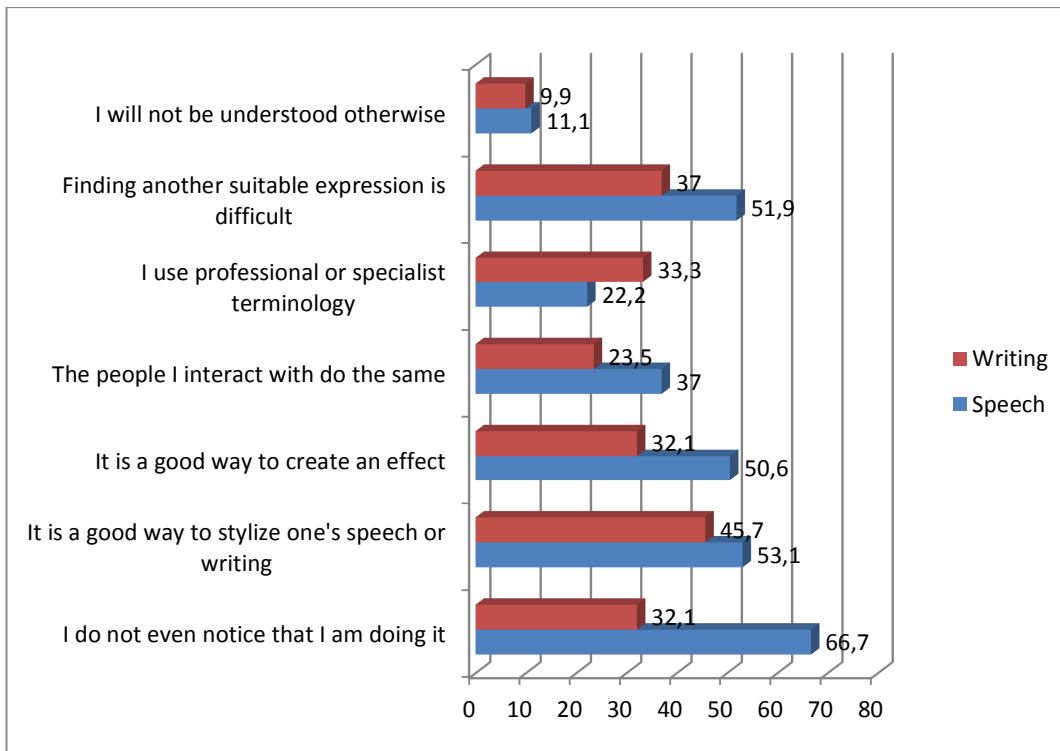


Figure 4. Reasons for Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents' own speech and writing

According to the results, the reasons for switching from Finnish to English are quite evenly distributed regarding speech; 66.7% of the respondents reported they do not even notice when they switch from one language to another, whereas 53.1% of them regarded code-switching as a good way to stylize one's speech and 51.9% thought that sometimes finding another suitable expression is difficult and, thus, code-switching takes place. Additionally, 50.6% of the respondents regarded code-switching as a good way to create an effect and thus emphasize the given message. The failure to be understood was the least frequent reason (11.1%), followed by using professional or specialist language (22.2%) and other people acting the same way in a conversation (37.0%). The distribution of answers was less even regarding writing; the three most commonly mentioned reasons for switching languages were stylizing one's writing (45.7%), the difficulty to find another suitable expression (37.0%) and using professional or specialist language (33.3%). 32.1% of the participants reported that they do not notice switching languages and the same number of

respondents reported the will to create as a reason. Switching languages because others do the same was chosen by 23.5% of the respondents, and again the failure to be understood was the least frequently chosen reason (9.9%). In addition, two of the respondents mentioned reasons that were not among the given choices. One mentioned that “In Finnish there is no suitable word or it might be too long, for example *critical hit* – *kriittinen osuma*, it is easier to say *critti* than *hit*”. The other had simply stated that “English is a beautiful language”.

The findings indicate that using Finnish-English code-switching often goes unnoticed by the speaker, or if it is a conscious choice, it is often a way to enliven or stylize one’s language use or a way to emphasize something with the help of English. Sometimes finding another suitable expression might be simply difficult and English then provides additional resources to accomplish one’s communicative purposes. Obviously speaking the same way as others in the situation is also a relatively important motive. Motivations for code-switching in writing were distributed less evenly, but again it seems that stylizing one’s language use and the search for a suitable expression are among the most common motivations for switching languages in writing, too. According to the results, turning to code-switching because of not being understood by others seems quite rare.

5.3 Reasons for Finnish-English code-switching in the respondents’ speech and writing - comparisons between the two schools

The reasons for switching from Finnish to English in the two schools were also compared. This was done by looking into the percentual values of the results which were then set against each other. The data from the schools were compared and the statistical significance tested with Pearson’s chi-square test. The results are shown in table 3 and further illustrated in Figure 5. In Figure 5 the first two columns indicate the participants’ reported reasons for code-

switching in writing (first from the students in the South and then from the students in the North) and the next two columns indicate the same for code-switching in speech (again first from the students in the South and then from the students in the North). The school in Southern Finland is abbreviated as *S. Finland* and the school in Northern Finland is abbreviated as *N. Finland*.

Table 3. The respondents' reasons for code-switching in their own speech and writing in Northern and Southern Finland

		School in N. Finland	School in S. Finland	Sig. 2-tailed
I will not be understood otherwise	Speaking	20.0%	5.9%	0.051
	Writing	16.7%	5.9%	0.116
Finding another suitable expression is difficult	Speaking	50.0%	52.9%	0.798
	Writing	40.0%	35.3%	0.672
I use professional or specialist terminology	Speaking	33.3%	15.7%	0.065
	Writing	40.0%	29.4%	0.329
The people I interact with do the same	Speaking	26.7%	43.1%	0.138
	Writing	16.7%	27.5%	0.269
It is a good way to create an effect	Speaking	43.3%	54.9%	0.315
	Writing	23.3%	37.3%	0.195
It is a good way to stylize one's speech and writing	Speaking	60.0%	49.0%	0.339
	Writing	46.7%	45.1%	0.891
I do not even notice that I am doing it	Speaking	63.3%	68.6%	0.625
	Writing	33.3%	31.4%	0.855

Level of significance 0.05*

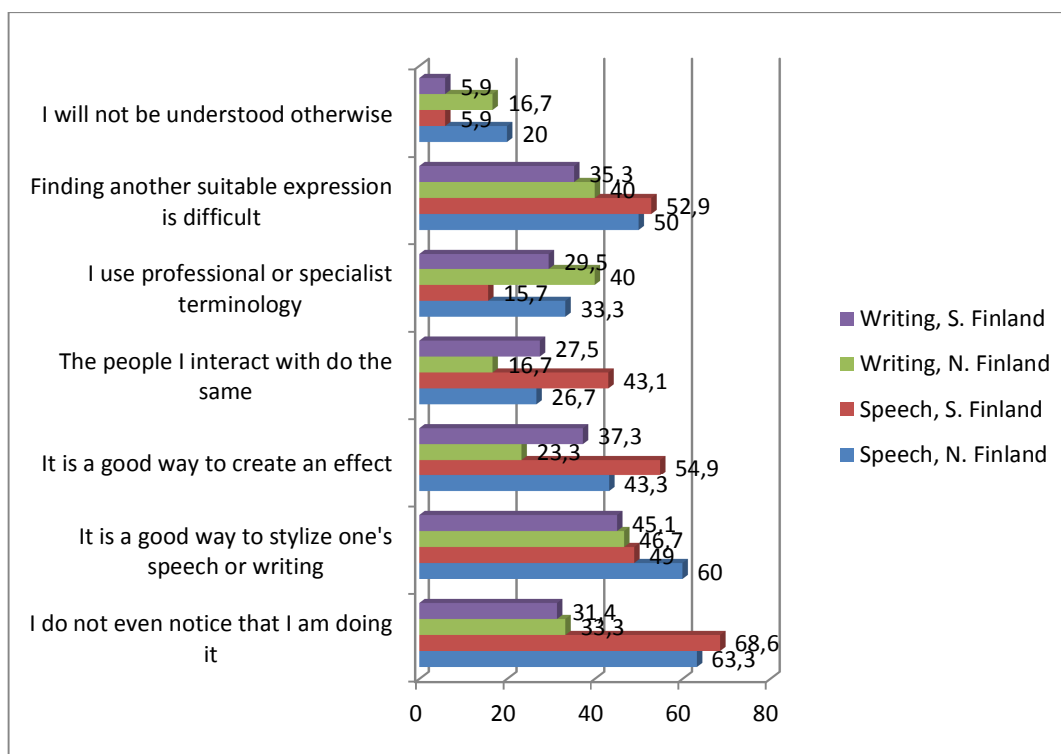


Figure 5. The respondents' reasons for code-switching in speech and writing in Northern and Southern Finland

The differences between the schools were again quite small. The most commonly chosen reason for code-switching in speech was again the fact that the speakers do not notice using Finnish and English together (68.6% in the South, 63.3% in the North), followed by stylizing speech (49.0% in the South, 60.0% in the North) and the difficulty of finding another expression (52.9% in the South, 50.0% in the North) as well as the will to create an effect and boost the message (54.9% in the South, 43.3% in the North). In writing the most common reasons in the both data were stylizing writing (45.1% in the South, 46.7% in the North) and the difficulty of finding another expression (35.3% in the South, 40.0% in the North). Regarding code-switching in writing the answers were again more dispersed than the motivations for code-switching in speech. None of the differences between the two data could be considered statistically significant, although some of them were close; the difference between the schools regarding the reasons *I will not be understood otherwise* and *I*

use professional or specialist terminology in speech were close to the limit of statistical significance (0.051 and 0.065).

The results suggest that the students' motivations for switching from Finnish to English are mostly about the same in the North and in the South. Looking at the percentages it seems that code-switching because others do the same in speech and writing is more common in the South than in the North, but statistically the difference was not significant. Again, the results indicate that differences between students in the North and in the South are quite small, although it could be speculated why the difference between the schools regarding the reasons "I will not be understood otherwise" and "I use professional or specialist terminology" in speech were so close to the limit of statistical significance (0.051 and 0.065).

5.4 The students' assessments of possible reasons for Finnish-English code-switching in the given text example passages

The students' opinions on why the writer had used English among Finnish in the particular, given text examples were examined with the help of the same multiple choice questions that were used when asking about the students' own code-switching practices. Again the respondents were asked to tick any point that they felt might suit the writers' motivations or alternatively leave the points blank, if they felt they might not apply at all. The students' answers are given in two separate figures instead of one, in order to make the figures easier to read. The results are reported in Figures 6 and 7. The overall distribution of the most and the least popular reasons will be examined first before going into discussing the results in more detail (regarding the answers in relation to single items). Here I will concentrate on the respondents' most and least popular suggestions for motivations for code-switching. After this I will examine the respondents' own, open-ended answers regarding the writers' possible reasons for using these particular items.

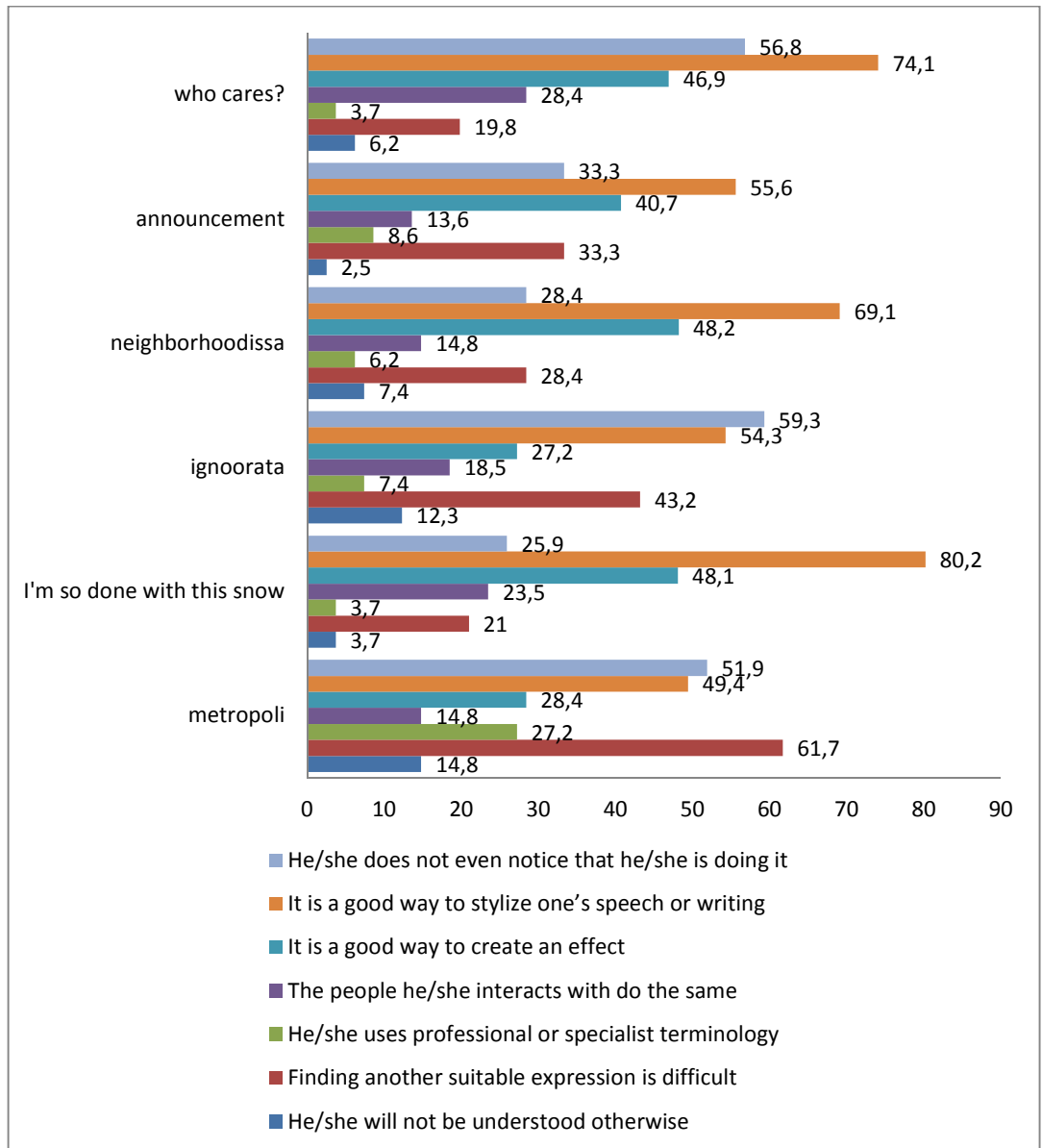


Figure 6. The students' assessments on the writers' reasons for using the foreign elements in the text passages

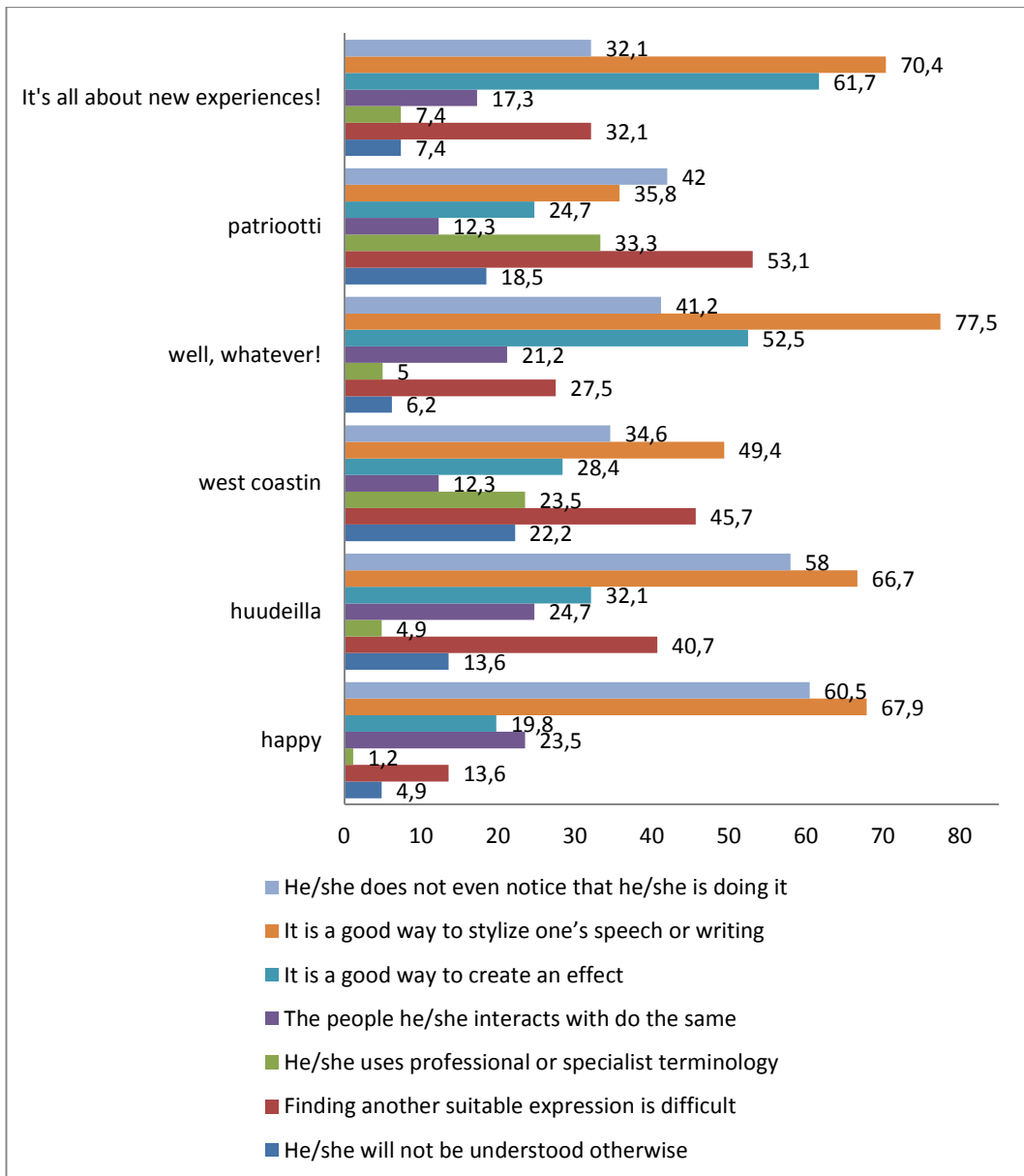


Figure 7. The students' assessments on the writers' reasons for using the foreign elements in the text passages continued

The respondents regarded stylizing one's speech and writing as the most common reason for code-switching in all the text passages. These motivations for code-switching were most often associated with the items *I'm so done with this snow* (80.2%), *well whatever!* (77.5%) and *who cares?* (74.1%). The exceptions were the passages that entailed the items *metropoli* and *patriotti*. The former item was considered to be used due to difficulties in finding another suitable expression by 61.7% of the respondents and the latter was thought to be used

for the same reason by 53.1% of them. The next two reasons that were commonly mentioned were the failure to even notice code-switching (in the case of the items *happy* 60.5%; *ignoorata* 59.3%; *huudeilla* 58.0%) and switching languages in order to make the message more effective (*It's all about new experiences!* 61.7%; *neighborhoodissa* 48.2%; *I'm so done with this snow* 48.1%). Also the lack of another suitable expression was assessed to be a quite common reason for code-switching. As said, this was regarded as the most important reason for using the items *patriootti* and *metropoli*. Overall, the two motivations that were estimated to be the least important were using specialist terminology and not being understood otherwise. Code-switching because others in the situation do the same was situated somewhere in the middle.

The items *metropoli* and *patriootti* were thought to be used mainly since finding another suitable expression was difficult (*metropoli* 61.7%, *patriootti* 53.1%) and the second most popular reason being that language switching was not noticed by the writer (*metropoli* 51.9%, *patriootti* 42.0%), whereas stylizing one's speech was not as popular a reason as was the case with many other items. Looking at the overall distribution of answers in the whole data, the choice "He/she uses professional or specialist terminology" was relatively popular regarding these two items (*metropoli* 27.2%, *patriootti* 33.3%). The responses for items *ignoorata* and *huudeilla* were distributed quite similarly, except that using the former item was mainly thought to have gone unnoticed and because it was thought to be a way to stylize one's language (59.3% and 54.3%), whereas the order was reverse with the latter item (66.7% thought it was a stylizing device, 58.0% thought it was easy to miss the code-switch). The most commonly chosen motivation for using the item *neighborhoodissa* was clearly to stylize one's language (69.1% of the respondents estimated so), the second most popular reason being the will to make the message more effective (48.2%). Using the item as a specialist term and not being understood otherwise (6.2% and 7.4%) were the reasons chosen least often. The item *west coastin* was also thought to be used as a stylizing device (49.4%), although the difficulty of finding another expression was estimated to be a possible reason almost as often (45.7). When compared to the

majority of the items, using the word *west coastin* as a special term (23.5%) was a relatively popular choice among the respondents. Again, the item *happy* was most often thought of as a stylizing device (67.9%) or it was thought to have gone unnoticed by the writer (60.5%). Using the item as a special term (1.2%) was the least popular suggestion as well as the failure to be understood (4.9%). The item *announcement* was thought to be again a stylizing method (55.6%) as well as a means of emphasizing or expressing the message more effectively (40.7%). Not being understood otherwise was the least popular suggestion (2.5%) together with using the item as a specialist term (8.6%).

The item *well, whatever* was clearly thought to be used mainly as a stylistic device (77.5%) and a way to make the message effective (52.5%), the least popular suggestion being using the item as a specialist term (5.0%) and not being understood otherwise (6.2%). Also the item *who cares?* was most often thought as a means of stylizing (74.1%) and over half of the respondents also thought that the item might have gone unnoticed by the writer (56.8%). The item was not really seen as a specialist term (3.7%) or a way to ensure intelligibility (6.2%). *I'm so done with this snow* clearly got a majority of the respondents to think that it was used because of external reasons related to speech style; stylistic reasons (80.2%) and creating an effect (48.1%) got the most of the votes. The least was the sentence seen as a part of jargon (3.7%) or as a way to ensure intelligibility (3.7%). The distribution of answers regarding the sentence *It's all about new experiences* was similar; a majority regarded it as a stylistic device (70.4%) and the second most popular suggestion was that the writer wants to convey the message in an effective way (61.7%). To see the sentence as a part of jargon (7.4%) or as a way to be understood (7.4%) were, again, the least frequently chosen suggestions.

Some of the respondents had also offered their own suggestions of reasons for using these items. Seven of the respondents had pointed out that the word *metropoli* is a common loan word in Finnish and already quite common. One respondent said that the word fits well with the context. Three of the

participants also wrote about the word *patriootti* that it is either already Finnish, very common in Finnish or “almost Finnish”. The word *ignoorata* got somewhat more varied reactions; some said that it is a part of the speaker’s style of speaking, that it is common in Finnish youth language nowadays or that it is a trendy expression. Two respondents wrote that it is simply an easier way to express the Finnish equivalent of the word. *Neighborhoodissa* was thought to be used because it either suited the text well, because it is already a common expression or because the writer “wants to be cool”. One respondent also referred to the context of the word by stating that “the writer wants to emphasize that he/she gets to live in the USA”. Some respondents wrote that the word *huudeilla* is either “a common expression”, “has become a common part of colloquial Finnish” or “already a part of Finnish”. One participant wrote that it is used because it is shorter. The word *west coastin* was regarded as something that the writer could not express in Finnish and, thus, he or she had used English instead.

The rest of the expressions, that is, *announcement*, *happy*, *well*, *whatever!*, *who cares?*, *It’s all about new experiences!* and *I’m so done with this snow* all received more or less negative and deprecating responses, especially the last four items. *Announcement* was thought to be used either because the writer wanted to “show off” or because he/she “wanted to impress others”, “wanted to be cool” or simply because the writer was “annoying”. The respondents wrote about the word *happy* that it was used since it is “a common expression”, since using it is “more stylish” or because the writer did not know how to express his or her feelings in Finnish. Again one of the respondents thought that the writer was simply being annoying. The expressions *well*, *whatever!* and *who cares?* got similar reactions; “a common expression”, “teenager” and “stupidity”. The expressions *It’s all about new experiences!* and *I’m so done with this snow* were also regarded annoying, as the first one evoked reactions such as “annoying”, “grl” (seems to be an onomatopoeic expression indicating growling), “the writer tried to make up something clever” and “the writer thinks he/she is clever”. The latter one got reactions such as “he/she is trying to be cool”, “the way the

writer speaks is annoying” but also more neutral ones such as “using English just feels natural”, “the writer is practicing his/her English skills”, “it sounds better” and even “for no particular reason”.

The results indicate that the either less common or longer stretches of switches (*It's all about new experiences; I'm so done with this snow; well, whatever; who cares*) were estimated to have been used by the writer mostly as stylistic devices or to make the message more effective and to emphasize it, not so much because of intelligibility. In addition, these items were obviously not regarded as special terms or jargon. The established loans which are officially a part of Finnish lexicon (*metropoli* and *patriootti*) were mostly thought to have been used since no other suitable expressions were found. Also the reason “he/she uses professional terminology” was surprisingly often mentioned with these items as well as with the nonce loan *west coastin*, the reason which is hard to speculate on. Surprisingly many of the respondents thought that the writer had not noticed that he or she switched from Finnish to English, although the results of earlier questions indicated that this reason was not viewed as common regarding written language. The result may indicate either a misunderstanding in filling in the task or perhaps the participants simply imagined the person saying the things aloud instead of keeping in mind that the text was originally written language; or perhaps these are both a part of the answer. Overall, the results suggest that the items are thought to have been used for mainly stylistic or practical reasons. Furthermore, the respondents’ own suggestions of reasons for code-switching indicate that opinions of such language use are quite varied among the participants; from neutral comments about the frequency and practicality of the expressions all the way to the writer’s will to impress others, to be clever and to be simply annoying. This result indicates that although the participants’ overall assessments of code-switching and its motivations seem neutral or positive, not everyone see the matter the same way - such language use may evoke negative reactions and sometimes even get someone irritated.

5.5 The placing of the elements in the Finnish-English semantic differential scale

A semantic differential scale was used in order to measure whether the respondents estimated the given, foreign words and sentences as closer to either Finnish or English vocabulary or somewhere in the middle. The scale ranged from 1 to 5, 1 being the closest to Finnish and 5 being the closest to English. The results are presented in Table 4, where the lowest and the highest scores that the elements got are given, as well as the mean values and standard deviations. Here the original hypothesis about the placing of the items in a continuum will be compared with the results. This will also be presented in the form of a continuum in order to ease comparison. The comparisons between the two schools will only be illustrated with the help of a table; here comparisons will not be made in the form of continua.

Table 4. The placing of the elements in the Finnish-English semantic differential scale in the form of numbers

The foreign element	Lowest score	Highest score	Mean value	Std. dev.
metropoli	1	5	2.80	1.123
I'm so done with this snow	3	5	4.85	0.391
ignoorata	1	5	3.52	1.026
neighborhoodissa	3	5	4.48	0.594
announcement	2	5	4.83	0.519
who cares?	2	5	4.28	0.978
happy	2	5	4.33	0.908
huudeilla	1	5	2.72	1.132
west coastin	1	5	4.21	0.945
well, whatever!	2	5	4.43	0.883
patriootti	1	5	2.60	1.103
It's all about new experiences!	4	5	4.89	0.316

According to the results, the dispersion in the students' answers was clearly the lowest regarding the sentences *It's all about new experiences* and *I'm so done with this snow*; the former one only had scores 4 and 5 and thus the standard

deviation was low (0.316), the mean score being 4.89. The latter one had scores ranging from 3 to 5, the standard deviation being 0.391 and the mean score 4.85. In other words, the respondents were quite unanimous that these two sentences were the closest to English and the farthest from Finnish. The word *announcement* was also regarded as clearly closer to English than Finnish, as the mean value was 4.83 and the standard deviation 0.519. The elements that got the lowest scores and were thus regarded as closest to Finnish, were *patriootti* (mean value 2.60), *huudeilla* (mean value 2.72) and *metropoli* (mean value 2.80). However, here the standard deviations were among the highest and the answers more dispersed than in the elements regarded as closest to English. It must be noted, though, that (although there was some dispersion in the answers) these mean values were quite high and closer to the middle area of the semantic differential scale than the Finnish -side of the scale, that is, closer to score 3 than score 1. The rest of the elements, *ignoorata; west coastin; who cares?; happy; well, whatever!* and *neighborhoodissa* were all situated somewhere in the middle regarding the mean score, the standard deviation being between 0.883 and 1.132, except for the word *neighborhoodissa* where the standard deviation was somewhat lower, 0.594.

Below the items are placed along a continuum according to these results after which the original continuum (presenting the starting hypothesis) is shown, too, in order to enable comparison. The underlined parts of the items indicate the approximate placing of the item in the continuum according to the numerical value (mean value) that it got. As mentioned, in the hypothesis the numerical values that the items were to get were not speculated, only the approximate placing of the elements was estimated. The two continua are presented in figures 8 and 9.

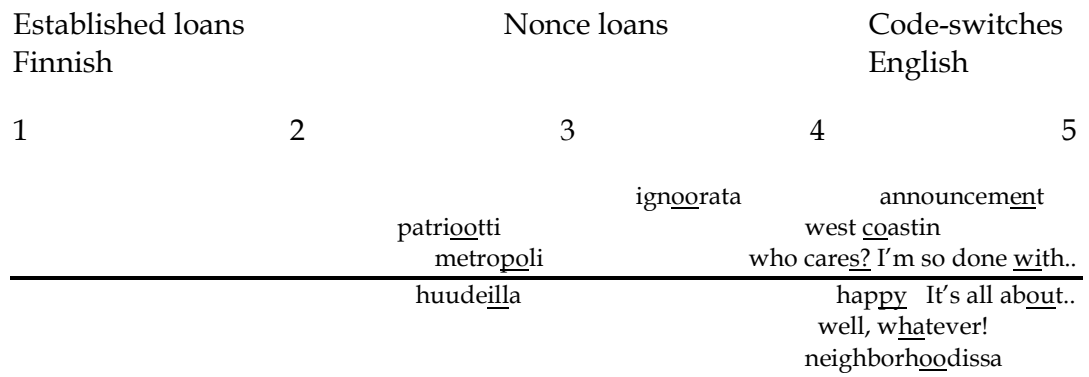


Figure 8. The placing of the elements in a continuum according to the results

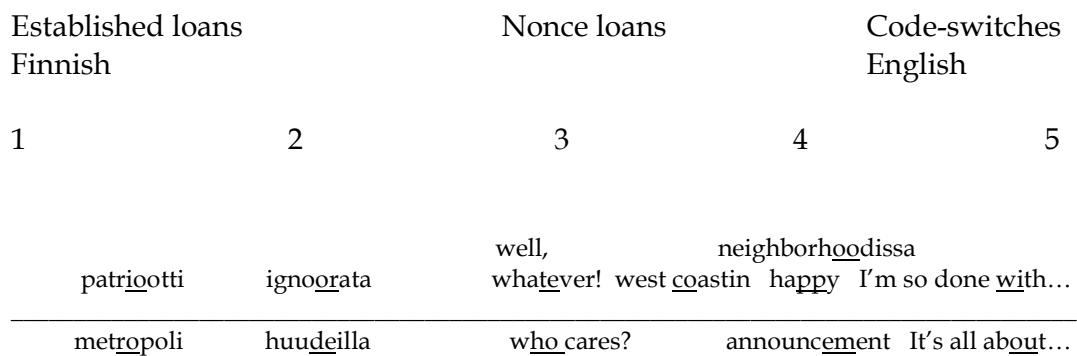


Figure 9. The placing of the elements in a continuum according to the hypothesis

As the results show, *patriootti* and *metropoli* fell the closest to established loans and Finnish, and items *It's all about new experiences* and *I'm so done with this snow* fell the nearest to code-switches and English in the scale. This was predicted in the hypothesis but the predicted distances from Finnish and English were not accurate. The two established loans were placed farther from Finnish than expected. However, also the item *huudeilla* was placed relatively near the Finnish end, as was predicted in the hypothesis. It was actually placed slightly closer to Finnish by the respondents than the other one of the two established loans. The majority of the items fell somewhere between the values 4 and 5, that is, closer to the status of a code-switch and closer to English. This was not hypothesized, as the elements were expected to be distributed more evenly

along the continuum. The item *announcement* was hypothesized to be situated closer to code-switches than nonce loans, which was also the case according to the results, but again the item was somewhat closer to the code-switching side than expected. On the other hand, the items *neighborhoodissa* and *happy* were also hypothesized to fall somewhere in between nonce loans and code-switches, closer to code-switches, which was also the case in the results. The item *ignoorata* was originally hypothesized to fall between established loans and nonce loans, but in this data it proved to fall between nonce loans and code-switches, closer to nonce loans. To sum up, the items to fall into the very ends of the continuum were predicted correctly, although the items that were categorized as established loans fell farther from the Finnish side than expected. The clustering of the majority of the items into the middle ground between nonce loans and code-switches (all somewhat closer to code-switches than nonce loans) was not predicted either. Overall, all of the items fell more or less closer to the English side of the continuum than expected.

5.6 The placing of the elements in the Finnish-English semantic differential scale - comparisons between the two schools

The results from the two schools were compared regarding the students' assessments on the items' places along a continuum from Finnish (established loans) to English (code-switches). The lowest scores, highest scores, mean values, standard deviations and the values for statistical significance are given in Table 5, with both schools in the same table but marked separately.

Table 5. The results for the Finnish-English semantic differential scale in the two schools

The foreign element	School	Lowest score	Highest score	Mean value	Std. dev.	Sig. 2-tailed
metropoli	N. Finland	1	5	2.83	1.234	0.851
	S. Finland	1	5	2.78	1.064	

I'm so done with this snow	N. Finland	4	5	4.83	0.379	0.746
	S. Finland	3	5	4.86	0.401	
ignoorata	N. Finland	1	5	3.33	1.061	0.215
	S. Finland	1	5	3.63	0.999	
neighborhoodi ssa	N. Finland	3	5	4.43	0.568	0.579
	S. Finland	3	5	4.51	0.612	
announcement	N. Finland	2	5	4.60	0.770	0.017*
	S. Finland	4	5	4.96	0.196	
who cares?	N. Finland	2	5	4.07	1.048	0.126
	S. Finland	2	5	4.41	0.920	
happy	N. Finland	2	5	4.17	0.950	0.207
	S. Finland	2	5	4.43	0.878	
huudeilla	N. Finland	1	5	2.40	1.248	0.053
	S. Finland	1	5	2.90	1.025	
west coastin	N. Finland	1	5	3.90	1.155	0.043*
	S. Finland	3	5	4.39	0.750	
well, whatever!	N. Finland	2	2	4.24	0.912	0.162
	S. Finland	5	5	4.53	0.857	
patriootti	N. Finland	1	1	2.17	0.874	0.005**
	S. Finland	5	5	2.86	1.149	
It's all about new experiences!	N. Finland	4	4	4.83	0.379	0.270
	S. Finland	5	5	4.92	0.272	

Significance level 0.05*

As it can be seen in Table 5, the results from the two schools were quite similar. Overall, both mean values and standard deviations were close to each other in both data, so there seem to be only little differences. However, the difference between the schools on placing of the word *patriootti* was statistically significant (0.005), with students from the North regarding it as closer to Finnish than students from the South. The difference between answers regarding the word *west coastin* was statistically almost significant (0.043), with students from the North again regarding it as closer to Finnish. Also the difference between

schools regarding the item *announcement* was statistically almost significant (0.017), again, respondents from the North regarding it as closer to Finnish than students from the South. Otherwise the differences between the two data were not statistically significant, although the difference regarding the word *huudeilla* was close to the limit of statistical significance (0.053).

The results suggest that the respondents in both schools see the items similarly regarding their placing between Finnish and English. However, some differences between the schools were found; statistically the differences between the schools regarding the items *patriootti* and *west coastin* were significant and statistically almost significant. The respondents from Northern Finland placed the former item closer to value 2, whereas the respondents from Southern Finland placed it closer to value 3; *west coastin* was placed at the either sides of value 4, although, as said, here the difference was not very big. All in all, the differences between the schools were small. Since the differences that were found only concerned three of the twelve items and since the differences were so small it can be pondered whether the differences would be greater in a larger sample and whether it is thus here a case of coincidence.

6 DISCUSSION

This chapter will bring together the results of the study, which will be discussed and compared to earlier findings. The results will be examined in the following order: the respondents' use of Finnish-English code-switching in speech and writing will be discussed first, after which the reasons for such language use will be discussed. Then the students' estimations of the possible reasons for Finnish-English code-switching in the given text example passages will be reviewed. Also the results on how the foreign items were placed in the Finnish-English semantic differential scale in the whole sample will be discussed. Lastly, the comparisons between the two schools will be discussed. The results from the two schools regarding the respondents' use of Finnish-English code-

switching in speech and writing, their own reasons for such language use and the placing of the elements in the Finnish-English semantic differential scale will be compared, leaving out comparing the estimated reasons for others' Finnish-English code-switching in the text passages. Finally, some possible topics for further studies will be suggested.

The findings in the present study suggest the same as the results by Leppänen et al. (2011:132), where 41% of the respondents in the 15-24 age group reported that they mix English and their mother tongue *often* in speech, whereas in writing code-switching was not as common. This was also the case in the present study, where a majority of the respondents reported they mix Finnish and English either *almost daily* or *approximately weekly* in speech. Code-switching seems more common in spoken than in written language, which is also in line with findings by Leppänen et al. (2011:139). Code-switching thus appears to be a common element in the students' language practices, especially in spoken language, although there were respondents in the present study, too, who reported that they never code-switch. Overall, the results support the view that English has become a natural part of young Finns' language use, although there are some who totally deny using such language.

The respondents' reasons for code-switching in their own language practices were somewhat different regarding speech and writing. In speech the three most common reasons were the inability to notice the language switches, stylizing speech and the difficulty of finding another expression, whereas in writing the most common reasons were stylizing speech, the difficulty of finding another expression and using professional or special terminology. Emphasizing the message or adding its effectiveness was the fourth most common reason for code-switching in both speech and writing. One possible reason for the differences might be the fact that during speaking it is often harder to actively pay attention to all the words and expressions used. Producing speech is much faster than producing text; the time given for planning text is longer than the time given for planning speech. Choosing

certain elements in a text is thus also more deliberate and conscious, unlike in speech where there is not as much time for deliberately planned word choices. Leppänen et al. (2011: 139) also point out that monolingual norms often regulate written genres and thus affect people's written language more than their spoken language and that planning a text is also more likely to "involve orientation to various monolingual normativities". A longer time dedicated to planning a text might also be one reason for the higher frequency of specialist terminology in the respondents' written language; there is more time to choose certain words and special terms and, additionally, just as other code-switches, specialist terms and jargon may also serve as stylizing devices in written language. It thus seems that the most important motivations for using English among Finnish in speech and writing are about the same, the differences stemming from the different nature of speech and writing and the differences in their production. Also the higher frequency of code-switching in speech might affect the results; because it is more common, it may be easier to assess. The respondents may also be more unanimous about the most important reasons, whereas in writing - where code-switching is less common - it may be more difficult to think of possible reasons, which may cause the answers to disperse more. In addition, as Leppänen et al. (2011:140) and Jørgensen (2009:164) suggest, English may well be just one more linguistic resource that is used for achieving communicative goals, making it difficult to even notice the code-switches and to name the possible reasons for such linguistic behavior.

When asked about the writers' possible motivations for using the specific, allegedly foreign elements, the respondents most often regarded stylizing one's speech and writing as the reason for code-switching in nearly all of the text passages, except for the items *patriootti* and *metropoli*. These items were mostly considered to be used due to difficulties in finding another suitable term. This is understandable, as these items are regarded as established loans by the majority of the respondents (which is what they are also officially); indeed, finding another equivalent term might sometimes be difficult, although there are actually "originally Finnish" equivalents for them. On the other hand, these two

items plus the item *west coastin* were also relatively often thought to be specialist terminology. As said, the first two items do have Finnish equivalents and perhaps using these two words instead of the equivalents might seem like more “professional” to some of the respondents, who might link these words to jargon-like language use. As for the latter item, *west coastin*, it can be speculated whether it is often used in topic specific contexts, such as when referring to American hip hop music, where there are still today – due to some historical reasons – references to east coast versus west coast hip hop rivalry. Therefore, the item might be seen as topic specific terminology by some of the respondents, even though it can be speculated whether it really was the case in the given text passage and context.

The less common or longer stretches of switches (*It's all about new experiences; I'm so done with this snow; well, whatever; who cares*) were estimated to have been used mostly as stylistic devices or to create an effect. Obviously these switches are long and rare, so they are clearly made up and worded by the writers themselves; perhaps it could therefore be said that they call for more knowledge of the language than just using expressions that are already known by many speakers. This is probably why they seem to have very few functions other than stylizing, creating an effect and “showing off” or “being clever” by the respondents. Perhaps they are annoying from the hearer’s or the reader’s point of view because the speaker/writer seems to boast with his or her knowledge and language skills. After all, the writers of the text passages were upper secondary school students who were either planning on leaving for student exchange or had already been on one in some English speaking country, making such language use on the discussion forums somewhat more “acceptable”. The discussion forums in the present study were chosen because they were not genre specific and not focused on some specific hobby or topic that would be characterized by specific language use or jargon (e.g. skateboarding). However, it must be taken into account that the language use in the forums did, however, in this sense somewhat differ from the language use of upper secondary school students who did not have the same background.

Although the results mostly suggest the same as the survey by Leppänen et al. (2011:136), indicating that the most common reasons for code-switching in one's own speech are the inability to even notice the switches as well as creating an effect, it must be remembered that in the former study the participants were asked more generally about their motivations for mixing the mother tongue and English, not about *others'* possible motivations for using some specific items in a specific context. Therefore the results in the present study are somewhat more specific, perhaps offering some insights into the use of and differences between short and relatively known items in contrast to longer and less common switches.

In order to get a more extensive picture of the results, the questionnaires were also examined at the level of single answer sheets in addition to merely counting percentage values. A closer look at the participants' responses in the questionnaires (not looking at the percentages) indeed revealed something worth mentioning. When asked about the writers' possible reasons for code-switching in the given text passages, some of the respondents ticked every box; in some items they only chose some of the choices but very often they ticked every choice. This might indicate that these respondents regarded it difficult or impossible to estimate why the writer had chosen the particular elements or that the reason can be anything or any of the choices, or perhaps they thought they would have needed more information about the context or the writer to be able to answer more precisely. Additionally, there were a couple respondents who reported that they never code-switch and who reacted quite negatively to it (concluding from their open answers). This must be taken into consideration, since the absoluteness of these few answers does not show clearly in the form of percentages. In a sample as limited as this and in this age group these extreme reactions can, after all, be considered quite surprising.

Jørgensen (2008:174) describes code-switching among young people as a part of their repertoire of communicative tools, as linguistic play and as negotiations of social identities including power struggles in the peer group. This can be seen

in the open-ended answers given by the respondents, according to which the kind of code-switching as in the given examples was annoying, teenager-like or an attempt to be clever and make an impression on others. With the help of language use young people in their peer groups negotiate shared values, express their will or unwillingness to belong to a certain group and so they act upon it linguistically; it seems that these respondents connect such code-switching (as in some of the examples) to a certain group that they do not want to belong to. Code-switching can thus act as a group marker, another group's linguistic behavior that the respondents do not recognize as their own. A group member who knows the right linguistic and communicative resources and tricks that are of an advantage in the group, (the kind of language that is linked to the behavior of the we-group), has better chances of reaching a higher status in the group - whereas the consequence of using unwanted sociolects and forms of language use that are perhaps connected to they-groups can be quite the contrary. According to Jørgensen (2008:174), late modern youth can indeed be described as "skilled social actors and negotiators who employ a wide range of linguistic features - accompanied by values ascribed to them - in their mutual exchanges of utterances, in their interaction". Jørgensen (2008:174) states that young people are well aware of the linguistic norms in the society and they therefore know how to act upon them (or against them) in different situations. As found by Leppänen et al. (2011:140) and Jørgensen (2008:174), certain kind of language use is a part of the speaker's identity construction and it also contributes to the social cohesion among the contributors in the group. Some of the respondents clearly associated some of the code-switched items with certain groups and certain kind of people - people who they do not want to identify with. On the other hand, approximately a fifth of the respondents in the North and two-fifths of the respondents in the South reported that they code-switch in speech because others do the same. Although this was not among the respondents' most important motivations, it supports the role of language - including code-switching - as a way to strengthen one's place in a group and to build group solidarity as well as to separate oneself from other groups. Also in the study by Leppänen et al. (2011:137) approximately one third

of all the participants reported that they code-switch in speech and writing because others do the same and, furthermore, code-switching was found to be most common particularly with friends in both speech and writing. In the present study the respondents were not asked about with whom they code-switch with but concluding from these earlier results it would seem quite safe to say that the result would most probably have been the same.

Concluding from these results it can be pondered whether the claim by Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) and Jørgensen (2008) about the rationality of choosing to code-switch is not as far-fetched in the case of Finnish and English. Rather, it seems that code-switching from Finnish to English among the respondents is a case of both rational choice and a random event. When the power of expression of Finnish is not sufficient, English is called for as an additional resource but it is also used as a way to present a specific persona that will benefit the speaker in his or her interaction with others, as suggested by Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001:23). This gained advantage can present itself in many forms, such as identifying oneself with and belonging to a certain group as well as strengthening one's position in the group. On the other hand, it seems that sometimes the items just appear in the language without any clear reason.

Comparing the respondents' most common reasons for code-switching in their own language practices and their assessments on others' code-switching motivations raises interesting questions. Most of the students reported that they do not often notice when they switch from Finnish to English but when they were asked to assess others' reasons for using specific words and expressions, a majority of them thought the reason was something else - in this study the most common reason was to stylize one's language. Indeed, the writers' will to stylize speech or writing and his or her inability to notice code-switches were the two most frequent answers, and although the differences were not great regarding most of the items, the existing differences still raise questions. Although the respondents mostly reported that their own code-switching goes

often unnoticed by themselves, when asked about others' similar language practices, however, they found other reasons for such language use; the will to stylize speech. Is it so that even though one might not notice the code-switches in one's own language use, it is easier to spot them in others' language? Or perhaps the real reason, stylizing speech, is not always thought of as an appropriate reason (or accepted by others) for mixing languages and, therefore, it may not feel comfortable to confess it as one's own motivation for code-switching? Or perhaps the reason is linked to the discussion above; perhaps the respondents would not use these specific expressions themselves, thinking that they belong to someone else's speech style, not his or her own. This thought is supported by some of the respondents' reactions mentioned earlier; using the elements in the text passages is "stupid", "annoying" or teenager-like etc. As said, the differences were quite small, but the reasons behind them can be speculated. It would have been interesting to see whether the respondents' own code-switching practices would correlate with their opinions on other's code-switching practices, that is, whether they would see both their own and others' Finnish-English code-switching as positive or only their own.

Regarding placing the items and expressions in the semantic differential scale, the respondents were quite unanimous about the code-switches. The participants regarded the items categorized as code-switches as the closest to English (the longer switches), whereas there seemed to be more disagreement about the items labeled here as established loans (*patriootti* and *metropoli*), which were placed closer to nonce loans than established loans. This may be a result of the questionnaire and the "test situation" itself; the respondents were asked whether the bolded parts in the sentences or text passages were closer to Finnish or English, and they might have interpreted this so that all the items must be somehow foreign to Finnish - why would they otherwise be asked about them? Another possibility is that some of the respondents simply see the foreignness of the established loans (the fact that they are all originally adopted from other languages) and, therefore, regard them as closer to English. Looking at the hypothesis and the results, the items were not nearly as evenly

distributed as hypothesized, as most of them fell somewhere near the end of code-switches. The items that were predicted to be placed near the Finnish end of the scale, *patriootti*, *metropoli*, *huudeilla* and *ignoorata*, were, indeed, situated the nearest of the Finnish end by the respondents, although not as near as predicted. These items are, according to the categorization model used, quite well known by the respondents due to their frequency in use and also orthographically, morphologically and syntactically modified according to Finnish rules. The longest stretches of switches, *I'm so done with this snow* and *It's all about new experiences*, were, as predicted, the closest to the end of English and of code-switches. Such switches are probably rare due to their context dependency and since they are not punchy enough to stick in people's minds. The rest of the items (*neighborhoodissa*, *announcement*, *west coastin*, *happy*, *well*, *whatever* and *who cares?*) were predicted to be distributed more evenly towards the other end than they actually were and the level of integration into Finnish or frequency did not have major impacts into this. To sum up, the extreme ends of the continuum were easiest to predict, whereas the middle part was the hardest. As stated earlier, as regards the status of a word (a loan word or not) the borders are hazy and difficult to pinpoint especially if they are not clear cases.

The fact that the majority of the items was placed near the English side of the scale and the code-switch side of the continuum was somewhat surprising. There is an interesting conflict between the liberalism in using English elements among Finnish but still labeling the most of the elements as English. After all, the majority of the respondents reported that they often code-switch and that it is so normal that they often do not notice it – and still they regarded the majority of the items as closer to English than Finnish. Also in the open ended answers some of the participants reported that such items are already common in everyday language use or at least in youth language. A possible reason for this might lie in the normative level of language and the level of use, as described by Møller and Jørgensen (2009). While speaking or writing, the respondents might not actively think of the words and expressions used as

belonging to certain languages, but when asked about the matter, the prevailing normative view of languages as separate entities then surfaces and shows in the answers; the respondents answer according to the prevailing norms, that is, they think that there is “a right answer” to the question, although at the level of language use the words are only resources that have no label on them. On the other hand, also the fact that none of the items were clearly and undisputedly regarded as strictly Finnish or English but something *near* the extremes instead, can be speculated on. If the respondents were totally governed by the normative view of languages, it could be expected that the items would all be regarded as either strictly Finnish or English, which they were not. This inconsistency might represent the collision of the normative view of languages and the level of language use in the respondents’ minds: although language users are bound by the normative idea of languages (when asked, they somewhat prefer either language as the answer, not something in between), at the same time they may also think of the language *use*, and indicate that boundaries between languages are hazy in language use - by hesitating to choose only the extreme ends of the scale. In the scale the respondents were not given a choice such as “I do not know”, although choosing the middle line could be interpreted as not being sure. A closer look at the questionnaires revealed, however, that only very few of the respondents had ticked the middle line - mostly they ticked the ones near the two ends.

It seems that at the level of language use speakers do not probably often think of linguistic units as belonging to specific categories, they merely seem like available communicative tools and linguistic resources instead (Leppänen et al. 2011, Jørgensen 2008, Møller and Jørgensen 2009). When asked about the matter, however, the conflict between norms and real language use muddles the participants’ answers. Concluding from this result and looking at the continuum it can be very difficult to say on the basis of the results whether a certain item is becoming a loan word or not. The real frequency of use and the answers given by language users seem like a totally different matter here. As Myers-Scotton (1992:30) suggests, frequency should be used as the single best

criterion when defining the closeness of borrowed forms to the recipient language's mental lexicon, that is, whether the forms are approaching the status of a loan word or not. On the other hand, defining whether a word has become a loanword or not can be difficult regardless of how it is measured - as Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968, as quoted by Boztepe 2003:5) stated, due to the diachronic nature of language change, it is difficult to determine the point in time when a lexical item has gained the status of a loanword in the recipient language (the *transition problem*). A corpus study is often regarded as a worthy tool for predicting a possible loan word status of certain words in a language due to the possibility to calculate real frequencies of use. Although studying corpora is indeed a promising tool for studying real language use, the use of some words in the future can still be difficult to predict, as using them can either be a passing trend (as one of the participants called the item *ignoorata* a "trendy expression") or, conversely, they might become established in everyday language use.

In the national survey by Leppänen et al. (2011:133) differences between the countryside and cities were found significant regarding mixing mother tongue and English, with code-switching being more common among city residents than country dwellers. In the present study, however, there were no statistically significant differences between the two schools, one of which is situated in a rural area and the other in a city. The frequency of switching from Finnish to English was about the same. However, Leppänen et al. (2011:139) also found that switching from Finnish to English is especially common among young Finns, and because the age range in the former study was much wider than in the present one, it might have had an effect on the results. In other words, it seems that age might well be a more defining factor than the area of residence, as the respondents from both the countryside and the city reported that they code-switch often or quite often. After all, as Leppänen and Nikula (2008:20) point out, English spreads especially through media (e.g. television and the internet), which reaches both rural and city areas and which is often an integral part of especially young people's lives nowadays. Also the reasons for

switching languages were mostly the same in both schools: in speech, code-switching without noticing it and also stylizing speech, whereas in writing the difficulty of finding another expression and stylizing text. None of the differences between the two data were statistically significant. Taking into account that no great differences were found in the placing of the elements in the Finnish-English semantic differential scale either, it seems that just as English infiltrates into youth language via different media, its purposes of use follow, and stay approximately the same across areas.

The speakers' notions of the "Finnishness" or "Englishness" of the items and their level of integration also seem very similar in the two schools, suggesting perhaps that while English and its use among Finnish spreads, the normative idea of languages as separate entities is still rooted in all of us – although some signs of partial breaking out from these norms can be seen, too. There were, however, some minor differences between the schools. The differences in the semantic differential scale were statistically significant regarding the item *patriootti* and statistically almost significant regarding the item *west coastin* and *ignoorata*. All of these elements were placed closer to Finnish by the respondents from the North. However, it must be kept in mind that the sample size from the North was smaller than from the South, adding some uncertainty in the results. The standard deviations were also quite big regarding the items *west coastin* and *ignoorata*, with the answers more dispersed in the North. If the result had been the contrary, with the respondents from the South reporting that these items were closer to Finnish more often than the participants in the North, it could be discussed whether it could be due to the fact that the site of innovation for linguistic trends and changes is often located in the densely populated city areas - in the case of Finland, in the South. This is because it could be expected that language use is therefore also more liberal around the innovation centers and the items would perhaps be more broad-mindedly regarded as closer to Finnish already. Now, however, the result showed the contrary, and the crucial information that would be interesting to examine here is not available: the frequency of these example items in the respondents' own linguistic practices. It

could be speculated that if the respondents from the North themselves used the items *patriootti*, *west coastin* and *ignoorata* more often than respondents from the South, it would perhaps explain the difference. Unfortunately this information is not available, leaving this explanation at the level of speculation.

In the present study it was concluded that, as indicated by earlier studies and as hypothesized, using English as a resource besides mother tongue is nowadays common among young people, more common in speech than in writing. The most important reasons for the respondents' own code-switching in speech and writing were about the same as indicated by earlier studies (see Leppänen et al. 2011): as also hypothesized, English elements often go unnoticed by the speaker. Other important reasons were: code-switching is often used in order to create an effect, due to stylistic reasons or because there are no other suitable or available expressions. The code-switches in the text passages were thought to have been used by the writers partly due to these same reasons, partly because of different reasons. It can be speculated if this is a result of noticing elements in other people's language use differently than in one's own or if the respondents do not use the given items themselves and thus regard them as someone else's speech style. As for the second hypothesis regarding the placing of the linguistic items into a semantic differential scale and the continuum, the places of the items could not be predicted accurately with the model used. Only a few of the items, that is, the longest stretches categorized as code-switches, could be placed along the continuum correctly, whereas the rest of the items were more or less incorrectly placed in the hypothesis. It seems that linguistic norms dictate to a great extent the way speakers classify linguistic elements as belonging to certain languages. A surprisingly great majority of the items in the text passages were regarded as closer to English, reflecting the strong norms about keeping languages separate. On the other hand, also some signs of fighting against these norms could be seen, as none of the items were clearly regarded as strictly Finnish or English, perhaps signaling the collision of the normative view of languages and the level of language use in the respondents' minds. As the hypothesis was proved incorrect, the development of certain

items into loan words was difficult to predict based on the results. As regards the third research hypothesis, it can be stated that the results confirmed the initial presumption. The differences between the two schools were overall small in every question where they were examined, indicating that (as it is often stated) media - which reaches both cities and the countryside - is one of the main channels through which English spreads, especially among young language users.

7 CONCLUSION

The aim of the study was to shed some light on upper secondary school students' use of and motivations for Finnish-English code-switching as well as their perceptions of the distance of originally English items (categorized as loans and code-switches) from Finnish and English in Northern and Southern Finland. The study applied quantitative methods and was conducted using a questionnaire. In this chapter the possibilities and limitations of the methods used are first assessed after which possible implications of the study and suggestions for further studies are discussed.

Since the sample of the study was rather small, the generalizability of the findings can be discussed. Naturally, a larger sample would have provided a more reliable picture of the topics discussed in the study, however, due to the scope of the study and restricted resources, gathering a larger sample was not possible. The context dependent nature of language may also have an impact on the respondents' answers and the results. It can be difficult to assess unknown people's motivations for speaking the way they do in certain situations, even though one may have some ideas as a language user oneself. However, it must be kept in mind that although language or speaking style is, on the one hand, a single person's property, on the other hand it is also a shared resource, which enables the assessment of others' language practices. The present study was a quantitative study where qualitative methods were not utilized (if the analyses

of the respondents' open-ended answers are ruled out), but conducting a mixed methods research might have provided more in-depth answers and a more multifold picture of the students' linguistic practices. Adding open-ended questions would be a step closer to such study, and it would also be one possible change made in the questionnaire if it was to be redesigned now. It would also be interesting to know whether the respondents use the given example items themselves in their speech or writing, as it would shed some light on why some differences were detected between the two schools regarding categorizing the items as Finnish or English.

Although the results cannot be generalized to apply to all Finnish upper secondary school students, they can provide some perspective to the changes that Finnish is undergoing, with English being one of the main forces of change. The rapid changes in our society that have made English an important resource besides Finnish cause fear in some groups of people – the fear of a gradual deteriorating of Finnish and finally its replacement with English seems very concrete to some of us. As in this case, it is often the unknown that people fear. One of the purposes of the studies that examine these linguistic changes in Finland is to provide information about Finns' real language use and, therefore, perhaps dispel the fears. The present study further supports earlier studies which, indeed, present English as a resource that is used for various purposes and for various motivations besides Finnish, but not as a force that suffocates Finnish. Leppänen et al. (2011:167) point out that even among young people who frequently employ English in their everyday language use and who, therefore, may not even actively regard English as “foreign”, Finnish still has a solid status. To know about the reasons why and the ways how Finns use English among Finnish is essential in putting such fears into perspective and here studies as the present one play an important role. An interesting topic for further examination would be asking participants to categorize linguistic items, originally adopted from English, and arranging them into a continuum with Finnish at the other end and English at the other, similarly to the one in the present study, but with different methods instead. Studying the matter with the

help of an interview or a semi-structured questionnaire would provide more in-depth answers, enabling to ask the respondents to give their reasons for their answers. This way it would perhaps be easier to examine what is dictated by norms and what comes from the real use of the items and the respondents' own point of view. Although corpus studies are a good way to examine the frequencies of certain items in language within certain time span, language users' own insights would provide a valuable perspective on the issue.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Questionnaire

Hyvä opiskelija,

opiskelen Jyväskylän yliopistossa englannin kieltä. Tutkin sitä, miten suuressa roolissa englannin kieli on lukioikäisten arjessa sekä englannin ja suomen kielen sekoittumista nuorten puheessa ja kirjoituksessa. Tällä kysymyslomakkeella kerään aineistoa tutkimukseeni.

Vastauksesi on minulle tärkeä. Kaikki lomakkeen tiedot käsitellään ehdottoman luottamuksellisesti ja vastaukset ovat ainoastaan minun käytössäni ja vain tutkimusta varten. Vastaaminen tapahtuu nimettömänä eivätkä yksittäiset vastaukset tule erottumaan tutkimuksen tuloksissa missään vaiheessa. Toivon, että vastaat kysymyksiin rehellisesti.

KIITOS VASTAUKSESTASI!

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1. Sukupuoli _____ 2. Ikä _____ 3. Äidinkieli _____
- ___ Mies
- ___ Nainen

Englannin kielen käyttö

Seuraavat kysymykset pyrkivät kartoittamaan sitä, kuinka paljon englannin kieli on läsnä jokapäiväisessä elämässäsi. Kysymykset käsittelevät sitä, kuinka paljon kuuntelet, luet, kirjoitat ja puhut englantia arjessasi. Valitse jokaisen vaihtoehdon kohdalla, kuinka paljon arvelet kuuntelevasi/lukevasi/kirjoittavasi/puhuvasi englantia. Vaihtoehdot ovat *lähes päivittäin, suunnilleen joka viikko, suunnilleen joka kuukausi, harvemmin, en koskaan*. Vastaa niin tarkasti kuin voit ja vastaa jokaiseen kohtaan.

4. Kuunteletko vapaa-ajallasi

Lähes päivittäin Suunnilleen Suunnilleen Harvemmin En koskaan
joka viikko joka kuukausi

- | | | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| a) Englanninkielistä musiikkia | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| b) Englanninkielistä puhetta <i>tekstitetyissä</i> elokuvissa tai tv-ohjelmissa | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| c) Englanninkielisiä elokuvia tai tv-ohjelmia <i>ilman tekstitystä</i> | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| d) Englanninkielisiä radio-ohjelmia | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

5. Luetko vapaa-ajallasi englanninkielisiä

- | | | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| a) sanomalehtiä | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| b) aikakausi- ja harrastelehtiä | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| c) sarjakuvia | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| d) kaunokirjallisuutta | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| e) tietokirjoja | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| f) käyttöohjeita ja tuoteselosteita | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| g) sähköposteja | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| h) WWW-sivuja (esim. verkkolehdet, kotisivut, sosiaalinen media; esim. Twitter) | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

6. Kirjoitatko vapaa-ajallasi englanniksi

	Lähes päivittäin	Suunnilleen joka viikko	Suunnilleen joka kuukausi	Harvemmin	En koskaan
a) Kirjeitä, kortteja	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) Tarinoita, runoja	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c) Tekstiviestejä	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d) Muistilappuja tai muita lyhyitä viestejä	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e) Sähköposteja	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f) Pikaviestejä (esim. MSN Messenger, muut pikaviestiohjelmat)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g) Internetiin (esim. keskustelupalstat, blogit, sosiaalinen media kuten Facebook tai Twitter)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

7. Puhutko vapaa-ajallasi englantia

a) Suomenkielisten ystäväsi kanssa	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) Ei-suomenkielisten ystäväsi kanssa	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c) Perheenjäsenten kanssa	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d) Turistien kanssa Suomessa	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e) Kielteisiä tunteita ilmaistessasi (esim. kiroilu)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f) Myönteisiä tunteita (esim. rakkautta) ilmaistessasi	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Englanti ja äidinkieli sekoittuvat

Joskus sekä suomea että englantia käytetään samassa keskustelussa. Tällaisella kielten "sekoittumisella" tarkoitetaan esimerkiksi sitä, kun englanninkielisiä lauseita tai sanoja lisätään muutoin suomenkieliseen puheeseen tai kirjoitukseen.

Esimerkiksi:

*"Lukion koeviikkosysteemiin ku on tottunu nii toi kokeiden ripottelu miten sattuu ärsyttää. Koeviikot on just parasta aikaa! Ja tosiaan joo, meillä koe on joka **chapterin** (=kappaleen) jälkeen."*

*"Olin niin kyllästynyt väriini hiuksissani että värjäsin ja sitten sain opelta haukut koulussa kun ei täällä sais värjätä muutakuin sitten vikalla vuodella lukiossa. **Well, whatever!**"*

Seuraavat kysymykset pyrkivät kartoittamaan sitä, kuinka usein äidinkieli (suomi) ja englanti sekoittuvat sinun omassa puheessasi ja kirjoituksessasi, ja syitä sille, miksi ne kenties sekoittuvat. Rastita sopiva vaihtoehto sekä puheen että kirjoittamisen osalta. Tässä tapauksessa puhumisella tarkoitetaan kasvokkain juttelua jonkun kanssa, kirjoittamisella ei kasvokkain juttelua, vaan esimerkiksi pikaviestimessä (MSN Messenger ym.) tai sosiaalisessa mediassa (Facebook ym.).

8. Kuinka usein sekoitat äidinkieltäsi ja englantia, kun:

	Lähes päivittäin	Suunnilleen joka viikko	Suunnilleen joka kuukausi	Vain harvoin	En koskaan
a) puhut	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) kirjoitat	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

9. Miksi sekoitat äidinkieltäsi ja englantia puhuessasi tai kirjoittaessasi?

Valitse kohdista a-h ne syyt, jotka sopivat sinuun ja rastita siten jompikumpi tai molemmat ruudut.

	Puhuessasi	Kirjoittaessasi
a) En muuten tule ymmärretyksi	_____	_____
b) En muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisua	_____	_____
c) Käytän ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä	_____	_____
d) Vastapuolikin tekee niin	_____	_____
e) Se on hyvä tehokeino	_____	_____
f) Se on tyylikeino	_____	_____
g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta	_____	_____
h) Jokin muu syy, mikä?	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Seuraavissa kysymyksissä on virkkeitä, jotka ovat esimerkkejä suomen ja englannin kielen sekoittumisesta. Virkkeet on otettu internetin keskustelupalstoilta. Ovatko seuraavien virkkeiden/lauseiden/tekstikatkelmien **tummennetut osat** mielestäsi enemmän suomea vai englantia? Rastita lähinnä mielipidettäsi oleva vaihtoehto janalta siten, että jos tummennettu osa on mielestäsi täysin suomea, rastita vasemmassa laidassa oleva viiva, ja jos se taas on mielestäsi täysin englantia, rastita oikeassa laidassa oleva viiva. Jos taas tummennettu osa on mielestäsi jotain suomen ja englannin väliltä, rastita mielestäsi sopivin kohta janan puolivälistä. Vastaa jokaisesta esimerkistä erikseen. Tämän jälkeen arvioi, miksi kirjoittaja on käyttänyt englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa valitsemalla mielestäsi sopivat syyt kohdista a-h. Tässä kohdassa voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

10. Ja oon tampereelta, eihän tää nyt mikään **metropoli** oo mut tohon verrattuna.

- a) Onko tummennettu osa mielestäsi suomea vai englantia vai jotain siltä väliltä?
Rastita mielestäsi sopivin vaihtoehto.

suomea ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ englantia

- b) Miksi arvelet kirjoittajan käyttäneen englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa?

Rastita syyt joiden arvelet pätevän. Voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

- | | |
|---|-------|
| a) Hän ei muuten tule ymmärretyksi | _____ |
| b) Hän ei muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisu | _____ |
| c) Hän käyttää ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä | _____ |
| d) Vastapuolikin (muut kirjoittajat) tekee niin | _____ |
| e) Se on hyvä tehokeino | _____ |
| f) Se on tyylikeino | _____ |
| g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta | _____ |
| h) Jokin muu syy, mikä? | _____ |

11. **I'm so done with this snow...** oikeesti... tänään pääsin ekaa kertaa sitte viime maanantain ihmisten ilmoille

a) Onko tummennettu osa mielestäsi suomea vai englantia vai jotain siltä väliltä?

Rastita mielestäsi sopivin vaihtoehto.

suomea ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ englantia

b) Miksi arvelet kirjoittajan käyttäneen englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa?

Rastita syyt joiden arvelet pätevän. Voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

- a) Hän ei muuten tule ymmärretyksi _____
- b) Hän ei muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisua _____
- c) Hän käyttää ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä _____
- d) Vastapuolikin (muut kirjoittajat) tekee niin _____
- e) Se on hyvä tehokeino _____
- f) Se on tyylikeino _____
- g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta _____
- h) Jokin muu syy, mikä? _____

12. Aika paljon osaan jo **ignorata** tuota, mutta joskus, kun sattuu huono päivä, niin saatan alkaa miettimään, että mikäs niissä kengissä on vikana tms.

a) Onko tummennettu osa mielestäsi suomea vai englantia vai jotain siltä väliltä?

Rastita mielestäsi sopivin vaihtoehto.

suomea ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ englantia

b) Miksi arvelet kirjoittajan käyttäneen englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa?

Rastita syyt joiden arvelet pätevän. Voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

- a) Hän ei muuten tule ymmärretyksi _____
- b) Hän ei muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisua _____
- c) Hän käyttää ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä _____
- d) Vastapuolikin (muut kirjoittajat) tekee niin _____
- e) Se on hyvä tehokeino _____
- f) Se on tyylikeino _____
- g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta _____
- h) Jokin muu syy, mikä? _____

13. Texas on kyllä tosi tasainen, eikä ainakaan mun mielestä, oo mikään maailman kaunein paikka, mutta on ihan kiva päästä näkemään isoja kaupunkeja ja elään aidossa jenkkiläisessä **neighborhoodissa!!**

- a) Onko tummennettu osa mielestäsi suomea vai englantia vai jotain siltä väliltä?
Rastita mielestäsi sopivin vaihtoehto.

suomea __ __ __ __ __ englantia

- b) Miksi arvelet kirjoittajan käyttäneen englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa?

Rastita syyt joiden arvelet pätevän. Voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

- a) Hän ei muuten tule ymmärretyksi _____
 b) Hän ei muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisua _____
 c) Hän käyttää ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä _____
 d) Vastapuolikin (muut kirjoittajat) tekee niin _____
 e) Se on hyvä tehokeino _____
 f) Se on tyylikeino _____
 g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta _____
 h) Jokin muu syy, mikä? _____

14. Oltiin kaikki luokissa ja sit vaan tulee **announcement**, että opettajat ovet lukkoon ja tehkää niin kuin on neuvottu

- a) Onko tummennettu osa mielestäsi suomea vai englantia vai jotain siltä väliltä?
Rastita mielestäsi sopivin vaihtoehto.

suomea __ __ __ __ __ englantia

- b) Miksi arvelet kirjoittajan käyttäneen englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa?

Rastita syyt joiden arvelet pätevän. Voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

- a) Hän ei muuten tule ymmärretyksi _____
 b) Hän ei muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisua _____
 c) Hän käyttää ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä _____
 d) Vastapuolikin (muut kirjoittajat) tekee niin _____
 e) Se on hyvä tehokeino _____
 f) Se on tyylikeino _____
 g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta _____
 h) Jokin muu syy, mikä? _____

15. Mutta eniten rakastan rannikkoa, se meri-ilma tekee mulle niin hyvää (vaikka hiukset ehkä vähän kakkäroityykin mut **who cares?**)

a) Onko tummennettu osa mielestäsi suomea vai englantia vai jotain siltä väliltä?

Rastita mielestäsi sopivin vaihtoehto.

suomea ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ englantia

b) Miksi arvelet kirjoittajan käyttäneen englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa?

Rastita syyt joiden arvelet pätevän. Voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

- a) Hän ei muuten tule ymmärretyksi _____
- b) Hän ei muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisua _____
- c) Hän käyttää ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä _____
- d) Vastapuolikin (muut kirjoittajat) tekee niin _____
- e) Se on hyvä tehokeino _____
- f) Se on tyylikeino _____
- g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta _____
- h) Jokin muu syy, mikä? _____

16. Niin se vaan menee: suorahiuksiset haluis kiharammat ja kiharahiuksiset suuremmat. Ei tietenkää aina, ite oon näist suorist ihan **happy**, mut pienempänä olisin kyl vähä aaltoja näihi halunnu.

a) Onko tummennettu osa mielestäsi suomea vai englantia vai jotain siltä väliltä?

Rastita mielestäsi sopivin vaihtoehto.

suomea ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ englantia

b) Miksi arvelet kirjoittajan käyttäneen englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa?

Rastita syyt joiden arvelet pätevän. Voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

- a) Hän ei muuten tule ymmärretyksi _____
- b) Hän ei muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisua _____
- c) Hän käyttää ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä _____
- d) Vastapuolikin (muut kirjoittajat) tekee niin _____
- e) Se on hyvä tehokeino _____
- f) Se on tyylikeino _____
- g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta _____
- h) Jokin muu syy, mikä? _____

17. Sitäpaitsi tossa Indian Fallssin **huudeilla** on vielä 300 asukkaan Crescent Mills.

a) Onko tummennettu osa mielestäsi suomea vai englantia vai jotain siltä väliltä?

Rastita mielestäsi sopivin vaihtoehto.

suomea ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ englantia

b) Miksi arvelet kirjoittajan käyttäneen englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa?

Rastita syyt joiden arvelet pätevän. Voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

- a) Hän ei muuten tule ymmärretyksi _____
- b) Hän ei muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisua _____
- c) Hän käyttää ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä _____
- d) Vastapuolikin (muut kirjoittajat) tekee niin _____
- e) Se on hyvä tehokeino _____
- f) Se on tyylikeino _____
- g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta _____
- h) Jokin muu syy, mikä? _____

18. Niin california on kuitenkin suomen kokonen että jos siitä lähetään. Ite mua kiinnostaa **west coastin** luonto enemmän ku muut jenkkien luonto... punapuut on ihania!

a) Onko tummennettu osa mielestäsi suomea vai englantia vai jotain siltä väliltä?

Rastita mielestäsi sopivin vaihtoehto.

suomea ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ englantia

b) Miksi arvelet kirjoittajan käyttäneen englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa?

Rastita syyt joiden arvelet pätevän. Voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

- a) Hän ei muuten tule ymmärretyksi _____
- b) Hän ei muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisua _____
- c) Hän käyttää ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä _____
- d) Vastapuolikin (muut kirjoittajat) tekee niin _____
- e) Se on hyvä tehokeino _____
- f) Se on tyylikeino _____
- g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta _____
- h) Jokin muu syy, mikä? _____

19. Yäääh.. Olin niin kyllästynyt väriini hiuksissani että värjäsin ja sitten sain opelta haukut koulussa kun ei täällä sais värjätä muutakuin sitten vikalla vuodella lukiossa. **Well, whatever!**

a) Onko tummennettu osa mielestäsi suomea vai englantia vai jotain siltä väliltä?

Rastita mielestäsi sopivin vaihtoehto.

suomea ___ ___ ___ ___ englantia

b) Miksi arvelet kirjoittajan käyttäneen englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa?

Rastita syyt joiden arvelet pätevän. Voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

- a) Hän ei muuten tule ymmärretyksi _____
- b) Hän ei muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisua _____
- c) Hän käyttää ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä _____
- d) Vastapuolikin (muut kirjoittajat) tekee niin _____
- e) Se on hyvä tehokeino _____
- f) Se on tyylikeino _____
- g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta _____
- h) Jokin muu syy, mikä? _____

20. Minä näytän kuulemma saksalaiselta, eräs **patriootti** sanoi näin. yhyy.

a) Onko tummennettu osa mielestäsi suomea vai englantia vai jotain siltä väliltä?

Rastita mielestäsi sopivin vaihtoehto.

suomea ___ ___ ___ ___ englantia

b) Miksi arvelet kirjoittajan käyttäneen englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa?

Rastita syyt joiden arvelet pätevän. Voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

- a) Hän ei muuten tule ymmärretyksi _____
- b) Hän ei muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisua _____
- c) Hän käyttää ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä _____
- d) Vastapuolikin (muut kirjoittajat) tekee niin _____
- e) Se on hyvä tehokeino _____
- f) Se on tyylikeino _____
- g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta _____
- h) Jokin muu syy, mikä? _____

21. Minun mielestäni vaihtari on lähdössä väärällä asenteella, jos sillä on väliä minne joutuu!
North Dakota Rulez! Täällä ei ole mitään, mutta ei se mitään! **It's all about new experiences!**

a) Onko tummennettu osa mielestäsi suomea vai englantia vai jotain siltä väliltä?

Rastita mielestäsi sopivin vaihtoehto.

suomea ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ englantia

b) Miksi arvelet kirjoittajan käyttäneen englanninkielistä sanaa suomen seassa kyseisessä lauseessa?

Rastita syyt joiden arvelet pätevän. Voit valita useamman vaihtoehdon.

- a) Hän ei muuten tule ymmärretyksi _____
- b) Hän ei muuten löydä sopivaa ilmaisua _____
- c) Hän käyttää ammattikieltä tai erityistermejä _____
- d) Vastapuolikin (muut kirjoittajat) tekee niin _____
- e) Se on hyvä tehokeino _____
- f) Se on tyylikeino _____
- g) Se tapahtuu huomaamatta _____
- h) Jokin muu syy, mikä? _____

Kiitos osallistumisestasi!