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Cover picture by Tero Wester.

Human beings use linguistic features, words with meanings, morphology, syntactic restrictions and, as we have seen, values ascribed to them by speakers. Features which are similar in certain respects can be dissimilar in other respects among different languages users and in different contexts. This also pertains to the values ascribed to features or clusters of features which may be evaluated quite differently by different speakers or groups of speakers.

- Jens Normann Jørgensen

ABSTRACT

Using two Finland-based internet football forums as main data sources, this thesis explores usages of multilingual communicative resources in multi-authored online football discourse. Furthermore, it discusses metapragmatic reflexivity, meta-level discussions on the acceptability and correctness of multilingual language uses in these *Futisforums*. This phenomenology of multilingualism and heteroglossia is discussed *vis-à-vis* the types of sociolinguistic indexicality that connect the forum discussions to larger societal patterns: domains of globalized and local football fandom, the sociolinguistic backdrop of the ostensibly monolingual Finnish participant framework, and the early 21st century technology of the interactive web forum. This is done in the framework of the 'sociolinguistics of globalization', with a reorientation towards mobile linguistic resources, drawn from a multiplicity of sources, organized in individuals' repertoires, and employed in multilingual, multi-voiced discourse arenas. Ethnographically framed observation and data collection were conducted in order to integrate emic football enthusiasts' perspectives with the descriptive sociolinguist's etic vantage point. This dissertation comprises five research articles, each of which illuminates particular facets of the multilingualism in the *Futisforums*. Two of the articles have a methodological and theoretical main focus, while one of them is a quantitatively grounded exploration of multilingual 'framing devices' in processes of entextualization. Two articles contain detailed interactional-sociolinguistic analyses of the dynamics of multilingual language use *in situ* with local negotiations of multilingualism, particularly Finnish, Standard English, non-Standard English and Swedish. Two of the articles show how certain appropriated non-Standard language uses are linked to the aspects of mockery and degradation, while two of them emphasize the inclusive and benevolent facets of multilingual language use in football fandom. In the concrete realities of these online discourse events, these contrasting aspects are intertwined rather than separate, and both aspects are further intertwined with appropriation, stylization, playfulness, humour and a high sense of performance.

Keywords: appropriation, computer-mediated communication, crossing, English, entextualization, fandom, Finland, Finnish, football, globalization, metapragmatic reflexivity, mobility, multilingualism, non-Standard, online ethnography, sociolinguistics, Standard, web forums

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A doctoral dissertation always takes some time to ripen, mature and materialize. This one has taken, together with other concurrent academic and non-academic projects, seven years and a couple of months in total since I embarked on it. What an enormous effort this has been! Notwithstanding, it will finally reach a conclusion one of these days. To freely adapt from the Biblical parable, if seven years of famine will be followed by seven years of plenty and vice versa, let me hope that these indeed were the famine years. For it has been a long, tough and tiring journey. But at the end of the day, also a rewarding one; and I have been fortunate to draw inspiration and encouragement from many good people. It makes me humble to think how privileged I have actually been, to have engaged with some of the best people in the field, and with ample support from others.

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Samu Kytölä

Tämä työ on omistettu mummulleni Impi Annikki Kytölälle (1925–2009)

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ARTICLE 2
Kytölä, Samu & Jannis Androutsopoulos (2012). Ethnographic perspectives on multilingual computer-mediated discourse: insights from Finnish football forums on the Web. In Gardner, Sheena & Marilyn Martin-Jones (eds.) (2012), *Multilingualism, discourse and ethnography.* Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism 3. New York, NY: Routledge, 179–196.

ARTICLE 3
Kytölä, Samu (2012b). Peer normativity and sanctioning of linguistic resources-in-use: on non-Standard Englishes in Finnish football forums online. In Blommaert, Jan, Sirpa Leppänen, Päivi Pahta & Tiina Räisänen (eds.) (2012), *Dangerous multilingualism: northern perspectives on order, purity and normality.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 228–260.

ARTICLE 4
Kytölä, Samu (submitted b). Negotiating multilingual discourse in a Finland-based online football forum: metapragmatic reflexivity on intelligibility, expertise and 'nativeness'. Submitted for review to *Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism.*

ARTICLE 5
Kytölä, Samu (submitted a). Polylingual language use, framing and entextualization in digital discourse: Pseudonyms, 'Locations', 'Favourite teams' and 'Signatures' on two Finnish online football forums. Submitted for review to: Tyrkkö, Jukka & Sirpa Leppänen (eds.) (forthcoming), *Linguistic and textual innovation in new media contexts.* Thematic issues in *Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English.* Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

ABBREVIATIONS

The acronyms and abbreviations used in this study are as follows.

CMC = computer-mediated communication

CMD = computer-mediated discourse

DCOE = discourse-centred online ethnography

FIFA = La Fédération Internationale de Football Association (The International Federation of Association Football). Also a console game of the same name.

FF2.org = *Futisforum2.org*, a football web forum founded 21 March 2006. The name is stylized online as *Futisforum²* but spelled here always without the exponent for the sake of clarity (it is not to be confused with footnotes).

HJK = Helsingin Jalkapalloklubi, a major football club from Helsinki

UEFA = Union des Associations Européennes de Football (The Union of European Football Associations)

1   INTRODUCTION

Football[1] has, ever since its early history, been a 'globalized' sport. It is arguably one of the ultimate multicultural and transcultural forms of popular culture in today's late modern world of globalization and intensifying diversities. This is reflected in various forms of *football discourse* – text and talk *about and within football*, language use as social action that focuses on, draws from, or makes statements about football and football culture. Migration and mobility of players, fans, media crews, writers and other stakeholders, as well as the mobility of football discourses, are part and parcel of the phenomenology of this world's biggest sport. In contrast to many Anglo-American driven forms of globally popular culture, football culture is a relatively polycentric one, with significant centres of globally spread followers' attention emanating from all continents, particularly Europe. Football enthusiasm has diverse local manifestations (demarcated by factors such as ethnicity, languages, nation, city, rivalry, religion, politics, or shared history), and these are in perpetual exchange and flow with each other, both in embodied and otherwise mediated ways. The degree of globalization in football has become even higher in the past decades, as big football competitions have been extensively broadcast and mediated around the world via satellite television and, more lately, the broad domain of inquiry in the thesis at hand – the internet. More and more discourse about football circulates around the world in increasingly rapid, effective and accessible ways. These 'texts' go around in an increasing number of formats, technologies and software; they are increasingly complex and multisemiotic in nature, to a greater extent multi-authored than before in history, and, as I will

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[1]   I adopt the British and European usage of 'football' throughout this dissertation. In North America, Oceania South Africa and several other places, this sport is generally called 'soccer', while the word 'football' is reserved for other related sports; consider the usage 'American football' in many parts of Europe. In light of this ambiguity, I admit that 'soccer' would actually be the less ambiguous term to use, particularly for North American readers, while it is also understood widely outside North America. However, I still prefer to stick with 'football' because of my European background and due to the established sociological tradition of research into 'football' (see e.g. Giulianotti 1999).

argue, more multilingual than before. Meanwhile, the mobility of stakeholders has been accelerated during the post-Iron Curtain wave of globalization, whose perhaps most concrete outcome for football has been the so called Bosman ruling by the Court of Justice of the European Communities in 1995 against imposing nation-level quotas for foreign players. As exemplified in the sections and articles that follow, the relatively 'stable' and relatively 'monocultural' nation state of Finland has not remained unaffected by these flows. The number of Finnish football professionals earning their salary outside Finland has increased drastically in the past two decades (the 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s) in the wake of superstar Jari Litmanen (see Article 4) and his 1970s generation of talented players. By now many Finnish players, or players who have passed Finland in their life trajectory, have made careers spanning several clubs and countries, particularly in Europe.

With respect to football discourse, while monolingual Finnish football discourses (texts and talk) continue to exist in certain highly policed genres of communication, Finland-based or Finland-related football discourses are increasingly multicultural – and multilingual. In 21st century late modernity, the movements and trajectories of football's social actors are increasingly complex and diverse, and discourses on them are frequently ambivalent, challenging many of the assumptions and normativities of the Modern, nationalistic project that is embedded tightly in the framework of nation states, each of which has 'a culture', 'a society', 'a language' and so forth. However, late modern football discourses are ambivalent and hybrid, and this ambivalence and hybridity itself becomes a target of carnivalistic mockery and humour, essential ingredients in the collective experience of being human, also in late modernity.

This dissertation is very much about these ingredients: about hybridity, ambivalence, heteroglossia and complexity as well as discourse *about* that complexity. This study is concerned with the nexus point where the domains of football fandom and enthusiasm, the 21st century technology of the interactive, multi-authored internet discussion forum, and multilingual language use by a traditionally monoethnic, monocultural Finland-based participant framework come together in the time frame of this century's first decade. The overall object of inquiry in this study is the use of multilingual[2] communicative resources, doing things in the social world with resources and items from several linguistic varieties, which is manifest in two major Finland-based online football forums (and a little bit beyond). Moreover, this study explores *metapragmatic reflexivity* in that hybrid multilingual football language – the phenomenon whereby discussants on football go 'off-topic' by engaging in *meta-discussions* on the usability, acceptability and correctness of the diversity of multilingual language uses. As can be seen in these rationales, this study adopts a broadly social constructivist approach to linguistic diversity and language variation (e.g. Rampton 2006; Heller 2007b; Coupland 2007; Blommaert 2010). In

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[2]   I discuss the terminological and epistemological points concerning the terms 'multilingual(ism)', 'polylingual', 'heteroglossia' and the like in more detail below.

so doing, this study aligns with the research traditions of (interactional) sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and ethnography, pragmatics, and socio-culturally inclined discourse analysis to a greater extent than with other branches of linguistic inquiry.

This thesis aims to inform, in both empirical and theoretical ways, about four interrelated domains of inquiry: the sociolinguistics of football, the sociolinguistics of Finland, the sociolinguistics of computer-mediated communication and the sociolinguistics of globalization. In parts of this thesis (particularly Articles 2, 3 and 4), I offer close empirical analyses on Finnish football enthusiasts' language use and metapragmatic debates. In so doing, I wish to bring more detail and nuance into the more macro-sociolinguistic debates on the hegemonies, positions, importance, and usefulness of the major languages in the sociolinguistic domain of Finland: English, Swedish, Finnish and their reciprocal positioning (Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Leppänen et al. 2011; Pietikäinen 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2011; Pöyhönen 2009; Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005). Furthermore, I engage with the theoretical concerns and empirical calls voiced within the sociolinguistics of globalization, exemplified by Blommaert (2003, 2005, 2010), Pennycook (2007, 2010), Coupland (2003b), Rampton (2006) or Heller (2007a, 2007b). In that line of inquiry, there have been attempts to break away from the sociolinguistics of relatively stable or predictable speech communities with regular or identifiable patterns of language choice or code-switching. In their stead, scholars involved in this exercise offer a renewed kind of sociolinguistics that takes *polylingual languaging* (Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b), *transglossia* (García 2009) and complex, situated language use as starting points, exploring things people (social actors) do and achieve with language, often integrated within a multisemiotic framework that does not take 'verbal' language as primary, but rather as one option in a palette of mediating means for social, interactive meaning-making. Third, while the need for empirical studies of multilingualism in computer-mediated communication (CMC) has been articulated by Danet & Herring (2003, 2007), Androutsopoulos (2004, 2006a, 2006b) and Georgakopoulou (2006), there is still scope within CMC for research from different sociolinguistic contexts and domains (such as Finland, Finnish, the world of football, or fandom here) as well as from different technological and interactional formats, such as the web forum, which has proved relatively long-lasting in the overwhelming wave of newly emerged formats and inventions within the social media. Finally, while sociological and cultural studies of football have been taken seriously for decades (Giulianotti 1999; Brown 1998), linguistic study, let alone *sociolinguistic* study, of football discourse is only beginning (Lavric et al. 2008). It is to these four fields that I wish to anchor this study; in these framing sections I will review the most relevant recent developments in them, while each of the research articles contained in this dissertation will contribute to them in different ways. In the final discussion, I will reflect on the contributions that this study offers to the respective fields and lines of inquiry. While the analysed discourses occur in relatively micro-level contexts ostensibly outside the big trends in language,

they are 'small stories' (Bamberg 2004; Georgakopoulou 2007) that are part and parcel of the quotidian social fabrics for thousands of people[3]; hence they do matter to many, and they are deeply embedded and intertwined with several bigger 'Discourses' (Gee 1999; Blommaert 2005: 13–16), such as global and local football supporter cultures, multilingualism in Finland, or the global spread of English in (and out of) computer-mediated settings. In Blommaert's words, "what we witness in the field of language will undoubtedly be mirrored in other fields of social and cultural process" (2011: 14), and ethnographically inclined interactional sociolinguistics is well equipped, through vivid descriptions of rich points in everyday discourse, to provide indexical connections to current problematics and issues on a more macro scale. This thesis is aimed at analysing small phenomena set against big phenomena in our world (Hymes 1974; Blommaert 2005: 1–20; Heller 2006: 222; Rampton 2006: 391–395; Blommaert & Dong 2010: 1–15).

This is the overall rationale for this thesis. In Section 1, I will outline my more specific aims and research questions (Section 1.1), the frameworks through which I approach my topics (Section 1.2), the methodologies deployed to those ends (Section 1.3), brief definitions of my key concepts (Section 1.4) and an overview of the structure of this thesis (Section 1.5).

1.1   Aims and research questions

The overall aim of this thesis is the documentation, description and analysis of the use of multilingual resources – features and items from several languages – in two Finland-based football discussion forums on the Web[4], *Futisforum* and *Futisforum2.org.* Furthermore, my purpose is to discuss the metapragmatic reflexivity – the talk about language choice and about specific uses of language – in multilingual discussions on these forums. Most of the time, the analysis deals with uses of different varieties of English and Finnish embedded in different genres and functions of online communication. The empirical bias towards English (and Finnish) here is driven by four background factors: the macro-sociolinguistics of Finland, the general language education and competence of late modern Finns, the constellation of multilingualism in football discourses globally, and the distribution of multilingualism on the internet at large. However, as seen in Articles 3 and 4 in particular, resources from other languages and varieties than English and Finnish can also be salient in the co-construction of meaning and (dis)identification, and in the performance of identities and affiliations. Moreover, it becomes apparent in the

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[3]   This argument is supported by these football forums' readily available statistics, which give indicators that the two *Futisforums* have had ca. 40,000 registered members each, while the most popular discussion topics can attract hundreds of thousands of 'views' by registered members and non-registered readers.

[4]   When I wish to refer to them both at the same time, I shall use the plural proper noun '*Futisforums*'.

course of the analyses that the classification of items of language use into clear-cut, discrete 'language' categories is not always sufficient: resources from different languages are often mixed, blended and thus hybrid; while new heteroglossic usages continually emerge in the course of the forums' social practice. In Section 4.6, I will briefly review the research traditions of code-switching, code-mixing and crossing in this regard. As exemplified in each article, meaning-making in these web forum data is accomplished in multisemiotic ways: other semiotic resources and other mediating means than (written) language are deployed in this format of communication in the situated contexts of the *Futisforums*. This aspect will be more fully discussed in Section 4.14. Although multisemioticity and the issue of resemiotization (see below for elaboration) are not at the heart of this thesis, the multisemiotic dimension of the multilingual web forum data will be discussed in Section 4.14 as well as in the research articles whenever relevant.

This dissertation is comprised of five independent research articles, which have been published in edited volumes or submitted to journals for review. The key research questions I address in the five research articles as well as in these summary and framing sections are as follows.

1. What kind of multilingual resources are deployed in the multi-authored communication on two Finnish online football forums (*Futisforum* and *Futisforum2.org*)?
2. From which languages and varieties do these originate?
3. How, and in which discourse positions, are these multilingual resources deployed, and, possibly, by what kind of screen personae?
4. What kind of metapragmatic reflexivity is manifest in connection with the use of multilingual resources?
5. In that metapragmatically reflexive emic discourse, what kind of overt and covert attitudes are voiced towards different languages and varieties as well as their usages?

1.2 Frameworks

The analyses contained in this dissertation have all been carried out, broadly speaking, in social constructivist, qualitative frameworks within linguistics: interactional sociolinguistics, pragmatics of computer-mediated communication (CMC) or digital discourse (CMD), socioculturally aligned discourse analysis, and linguistic anthropology and ethnography (of *ways of writing*). Phenomena and findings accessible within these frameworks are assessed and mirrored against relevant aspects of macro-sociolinguistics, big 'Discourses' (Gee 1999) and globalization. More specifically, I explore the research questions and phenomena outlined above through four particular lenses, each of which guides the analyses in a dialectical manner. The four broad frameworks utilized for this dissertation are: 1) the social history of football and football culture,

including aspects of football enthusiasm, fandom and supportership; 2) the macro-sociolinguistics of Finland in the past few decades, particularly the tripartite constellation of the majority language Finnish, the biggest minority language Swedish, and the ubiquitous world language English; 3) the sociolinguistics of computer-mediated communication (CMC) or digital discourse, particularly the still infant research strand of multilingualism on the internet; and 4) the sociolinguistics of globalization, critically reworked and reoriented by the early 21st century sociolinguists. I shall briefly outline each of them in turn here, with more detailed accounts provided in Section 4.

Sociological research on football and football culture has thrived since the early 1970s (Giulianotti 1999: 39–65; Brown 1998); for a long time, the most burning societal need was to advance our understanding of football hooliganism and violence, and the behaviour of supporter masses at large. These strands of inquiry have been greatly informed by such behavioural sciences as social psychology (Giulianotti 1999; Taylor 1982). More recently, the apparent globalization aspects of football have received due attention within the disciplines of history, sociology and social psychology (Brown 1998; Giulianotti 1999; Giulianotti & Robertson 2009; Krøvel & Roksvold 2012). However, for some reason, *sociolinguistic* research on the language of football has been extremely scarce.

From Finnish sociolinguistics, I draw mainly on the recent research on multilingualism in Finland, and particularly the reorientation of the study of English in Finland of the last few years (Leppänen & Nikula (2007), Leppänen (2007), and Leppänen et al.[5] (2008, 2009a, 2011). This line of research is currently coupled with research on Northern multilingualism (Pietikäinen 2010; Pietikäinen et al. (2011) and the new sociolinguistics on spoken language(s) in Helsinki (Kalliokoski 2011; Lehtonen 2011). Moreover, I briefly review some of the earlier concerns of Finnish sociolinguistics with the aim of locating this study in the tradition.

From the sociolinguistics of computer-mediated communication, I draw mostly on Jannis Androutsopoulos's (2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2007b) work on language choice, code-switching, identity work in CMC as well as his critique of technological determinism (Androutsopoulos 2006a) in the first wave of CMC studies. Furthermore, I align with his discourse-centred online ethnography (DCOE) (Androutsopoulos 2008) and, more broadly, the reorientation of the CMC field to embrace the complexity, hybridity, playfulness and deeply socio-cultural situatedness of digital communication, which ethnographic approaches are better equipped to interpret than mere text analyses of log data (Androutsopoulos 2006a; Georgakopoulou 2006; Thurlow & Mroczek 2011a). Finally, to balance the earlier bias of CMC scholarship towards the ('native') English-speaking internet, I join the growing body of work on digital discourse in non-Anglo-American contexts (e.g. Danet & Herring 2003, 2007; Thurlow & Mroczek 2011b).

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[5]   I was a co-author in Leppänen et al. (2009a, 2011).

The fourth framework in which I wish to situate this thesis, in a dialectical relationship, is the recent work on the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2003, 2010; Coupland 2003b; Heller 2007a, 2007b; Pennycook 2007, 2010). In this line of inquiry, the diversification of diversity (or *superdiversity*; Vertovec 2007, Creese & Blackledge 2010; Blommaert & Rampton 2011) is the norm, not an exception. Hybridity, ambiguity, equivocality and complexity are accepted as part and parcel of the contemporary, late modern sociolinguistic 'order'; the mobility of people and instability and fluidity of communities are taken as starting points, and linguistic variation and diversity is examined against that backdrop. Styles, performance, appropriation and transglossia are integral phenomena and foci for analysis for the realigned sociolinguistics of late modernity (Rampton 2006). Certainly digital communication should be part of that framework, and the work by Androutsopoulos (2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b, 2010c, 2011), Georgakopoulou (2006), Thurlow & Mroczek (2011a, 2011b) has opened up some exploratory paths for the present study to follow and broaden.

It should be noted that these four frameworks are all interrelated to some extent, except for the almost non-existence of sociolinguistic work on football. For instance, Pietikäinen (2010) and Pietikäinen et al. (2011) relate their work closely to some of the developments in the sociolinguistics of globalization (scales, polycentricity, nexus analysis, visuality), while simultaneously Leppänen et al. (2009a, 2009b, 2011, forthcoming) and Leppänen & Häkkinen (forthcoming) link their work to recently upgraded notions of translocality, heteroglossia, hybridity, entextualization, resemiotization and superdiversity. Part of that work even addresses CMC at the same time (Leppänen 2009, 2012; Peuronen 2011; Leppänen et al. forthcoming; Leppänen & Häkkinen forthcoming). However, this study is one of the first attempts to combine the highly globalized cultural form of football (or even sports in general) on the sociolinguistic agenda.

1.3 Methodologies

One of the research articles (Article 1) has a methodological emphasis, three of them (Articles 3, 4 and 5) have a descriptive and empirical focus, and one of them (Article 2; co-written with Dr Jannis K. Androutsopoulos) places equal weight on methodological and empirical issues. While this dissertation in overall terms relies on the qualitative research paradigms of discourse analysis, online ethnography and interactional sociolinguistics (applied to asynchronous written-modality discourse) in its aims in respect of the documentation and description of multilingual language uses as well as analyses of their indexical social meanings, Articles 3 and 4 also incorporate quantitative methods to shed light on the distribution and frequency of different languages and more nuanced varieties in different spatial and functional positions in the totality of the discourse, while at the same time, testing and contesting the 'calculability'

of the languages and varieties discernible therein. All in all, this thesis draws on an eclectic combination of mixed methods with the overarching aims of triangulation and rich description.

The range of methodologies employed in this thesis is mainly qualitative. I draw on the tradition of interactional sociolinguistics (Fishman 1970: 37–56; Hymes 1974, 1996; Gumperz 1982; Rampton 2005, 2006) in the analyses of multilingual language use in sequential discussion threads on the web forums. This is necessarily an appropriation, since interactional sociolinguistics has mainly been preoccupied with spoken conversation, 'ways of speaking' (Hymes 1974), while most of the digital discourse analysed in sociolinguistic studies is in the written mode (Hinrichs 2006; Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2006b, 2007b, 2011; Leppänen 2008, 2012). While the core of interactional-sociolinguistic analysis is realized at the grassroots, on the micro-level of verbal interaction, the tradition has paid due attention to connections to macro-sociolinguistics since its very early years (Fishman 1970: 51–56). These indexical connections are what the present thesis attempts to investigate by looking at links to three overarching and partly overlapping macro-contexts: the globally and locally constructed practices of football enthusiasm (Giulianotti 1999; Giulianotti & Robertson 2009), the macro-sociolinguistics of the nation-state Finland (Leppänen et al. 2009a, 2011; Pöyhönen 2009), and the general sociolinguistics of computer-mediated communication (Androutsopoulos 2007a, 2007b, 2011; Georgakopoulou 2006; Leppänen & Peuronen 2012). In congruence with this orientation, tailored specifically for this thesis, I have appropriated methodologies from the discourse-analytic strand of the study of English in Finland (Leppänen 2007; Leppänen & Nikula 2007) and the sociolinguistics of CMC (Androutsopoulos 2007a, 2007b, 2008; Hinrichs 2006; Leppänen 2009). Moreover, on the quantitative side of the exercise, the large survey on the uses of and attitudes to English in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2009a, 2011; I was a co-author) has functioned as a backdrop in the dialectal relationship with the qualitative work (Leppänen 2007; Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Leppänen et al. 2008) done on the topic. However, a more structured juxtaposition of those quantitative findings with the corresponding qualitative findings lies in the future. Moreover, informed by sociolinguistic work on language choice in digital discourse (Androutsopoulos 2007b; Hinrichs 2006; Durham 2003; Paolillo 1996, 2011), quantitative methods were used in Articles 1, 4 and 5 to broadly and tentatively measure the distributions and frequencies of distinct languages or varieties in the respective datasets. Admittedly, this is slightly at odds with the general orientation and epistemological approaches adopted in this thesis, but I would argue that these exercises serve to strengthen the arguments and provide a necessary degree of triangulation (cf. Androutsopoulos 2008; Androutsopoulos & Beißwenger 2008). In most of the empirical parts of this thesis (embodied in Articles 1–5), however, the overarching methodology is interactional-sociolinguistic, discourse-analytic (in the sense of Blommaert 2005; Androutsopoulos 2008; Herring 2004; Leppänen et al. 2009b): I attempt to make sense of what language use, and multilingual language use in particular, does

in the social world of the participants and, dialectically, what that social world does to the language uses therein. To that end, I have integrated an online-ethnographic approach to the project, albeit with an emphasis on structured long-time observation and relatively restricted contact with the members of the community (Hine 2000, 2005; Androutsopoulos 2008; Peuronen 2011; Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012). My epistemological emphasis on macro-level issues outlined above is informed, above all, by recent approaches to language and globalization (Blommaert 2003, 2010; Coupland 2003b, 2007; Rampton 2006; Pennycook 2007; Heller 2007a) as well as the older sociolinguistics concerning ways of speaking and linguistic repertoires (Hymes 1974, 1996; Gumperz 1982).

These were the broad methodological and epistemological commitments pertaining to this overall project; next I will briefly outline the methodological choices specific to each article. The reader is advised to see the articles in their entirety for a more detailed account.

Article 1 (Kytölä 2012a) has a methodological focus. The main purpose of that article is to outline the research problems concerning the multilingualism of web forums. For the sake of conciseness, the article deliberately isolates the format of the web forum from other formats of digital discourse, although as the 2010s progress, the borders and distinctions between digital formats are becoming increasingly blurred and blended. However, I see a certain longevity and stability in the format of the web forum over the past 13–14 years (1999–2013) whereas several other digital formats have come and gone. Moreover, as the web forum is a somewhat under-represented in the literature on the sociolinguistics of CMC (but see Hinrichs 2006; Androutsopoulos 2007b; Peuronen 2011), especially with the rapid emergence of new digital formats and platforms, there is scope for a focused methodological reflection on the format of the web forum. As a further justification, a few keyword searches online reveal that several Master's (e.g. Devic 2007; Peuronen 2008) and other academic theses on the multilingualism of web forums (mainly following the code-switching paradigm) have been published, and many more are likely to follow, showing the general interest in and subsequent need for fuller theorization. Article 1 contains a sociolinguistically attuned account of how web forums work, a literature review of earlier studies on multilingualism in web forums (notably Androutsopoulos 2006b, 2007b; Hinrichs 2006; McLellan 2005; Sperlich 2005), and a meta-analysis of emergent and potential methodological combinations for such study.

Article 2 (Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012) is partly methodological, the focus divided between methodological issues and empirical analysis. Its main methodological argument concerns the benefits achieved by integrating the discourse-analytic and ethnographic perspectives to the interactional-sociolinguistic study of multilingualism online. This is also the overall methodological and epistemological ethos throughout this dissertation. In contrast to Article 1, the theoretical part is in not restricted to the format of web forums but addresses issues of CMC and CMD in general. The empirical parts, however, illustrate the benefits of a triangulative, integrative methodology,

particularly the affordances and constraints of discourse-centred online ethnography (DCOE) and the choices researchers face within that paradigm. Moreover, Article 2 discusses the methodological aspects of data collection and the importance of openness to the connectedness and interlinkability of (often circulating) online discourses on the part of the researcher. This interlinkability, in turn, is connected to issues of entextualization (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Blommaert 2005: 47) and the double-voicing (Bakhtin 1984: 185–195) of discourse (see Section 4.7).

Article 3 comprises qualitative, interactional-sociolinguistic analyses. Unlike Article 4, which focuses on the sequential development of one discussion thread and the social 'micro-world' present in that thread, Article 3 explores a skein of related discussion threads. There is no separate quantitative section in Article 3; but numerical and statistical information is utilized when applicable and relevant for understanding the social meanings that emerge in the multilingual discussion skeins. The online-ethnographic backdrop specified in Articles 1 and 2 is also maintained in Articles 3, 4 and 5.

Article 4 is a qualitative, interactional-sociolinguistic analysis of just one multilingual discussion thread from *Futisforum.* Along with Article 1, this article employs the paradigm of code-switching (Gumperz 1982; Heller 1988; Auer 1999; Gardner-Chloros 2009), with the presupposition of the presence of discrete 'codes' that can be 'switched'. It also discusses some of the recent developments in sociolinguistics that radically contest the *a priori* separability and discreteness of 'codes' (languages or their varieties) in favour of heteroglossia, hybridity and polylingualism (Pennycook 2007, 2010; Heller 2007a, 2007b; Bailey 2007; Jørgensen 2008b; Blommaert 2010; Androutsopoulos 2011; Leppänen 2012; Weber & Horner 2012). However, the code-switching paradigm and discreteness seems to fit that particular dataset rather well: resources from Finnish, Swedish and English alternate in that sequence in relatively patterned ways and distinct from each other. Moreover, it contains a quantitative overview of language distribution in the analysed sequence (one discussion topic spread over an entire league season, i.e. approximately eight months).

Article 5 employs both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. In that article, four subspaces within the two *Futisforums'* member profile affordances are quantitatively analysed in terms of language choice. As these affordances of pseudonym, signature, virtual 'Location', and 'Favourite team' are often ambivalent and hybrid in terms of the language used in them, the quantitative analysis of the distributions of languages is reflexively critiqued and complemented by a qualitative analysis of *framing* (Goffman 1986; Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; Androutsopoulos forthcoming), entextualization (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Blommaert 2005: 47) and identification.

Despite my final decision to keep structured contact with the members of the online communities (a key tenet in ethnography) to a minimum for practical reasons, persistent observation, fieldnotes and other methodological choices identified with ethnographic perspectives were employed throughout the study.

In sum, my methodological aim has been to give a thick, rich description of certain sociolinguistic realities, "a close look at language practices in a specific setting" (Heller 2006: 13), an account of "how things happen, and some sense of why they happen the way they do" (Heller 2006: 222). The reality thus described is "kaleidoscopic, complex and complicated, often a patchwork of overlapping activities. Compare it to a soccer game." (Blommaert & Dong 2010: 11.)

1.4   Key concepts: a glossary

To help the reader follow the arguments outlined in this thesis, this section contains a glossary of the key sociolinguistic concepts that I have employed. A more detailed discussion of some of the nuances, differences and debates concerning these concepts can be found in Section 4 and, where space allows, in and across the independent articles 1–5. The key concepts below are listed in clusters of related terms, in roughly the same order as in Section 4 (especially Sections 4.4–4.8).

multilingual – containing or having several languages; any instances of language use where several languages or varieties are used; also a person who knows more than one language; a general umbrella term, which I intend as rather neutral here. Usually presupposes the discreteness and countability of 'languages' (but see e.g. Heller 2007a, 2007b).

polylingual – etymologically synonymous to 'multilingual', but has acquired different implications in recent usage (Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b, Jørgensen et al. 2011): the phenomenon where two or more different sets of features (i.e. 'so-called languages') are combined in a speaker's linguistic production. Polylingual language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims (Jørgensen 2008b: 163). I use the term 'polylingual' along with its implications in Article 5, which was written last; in the other four articles I use the umbrella term 'multilingual' in the neutral sense described above.

heteroglossia – the phenomenon where linguistic forms and features (either from different languages or from within 'one language') are mixed and combined in hybrid constellations; also includes the co-presence of several styles, registers and voices; derived from Bakhtin (Leppänen 2012; Androutsopoulos 2011; Lähteenmäki et al. 2011).

linguistic resources – concrete items and features of language used for human interaction (Hymes 1996; Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b; Blommaert 2003, 2010). May or may not be traceable to any 'language' with a name and/or prestige (Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b; García 2009).

repertoires – the totality of linguistic and semiotic resources that individuals possess and can mobilize in interaction (Hymes 1996; Blommaert 2010). From their repertoires, individuals can choose whichever particular resources are suitable for whatever situation of usage.

communicative competence – an individual's linguistic repertoire combined with her or his pragmatic and metapragmatic abilities to deploy items from that repertoire (Hymes 1974, 1996).

code-switching – the phenomenon where two or more languages are used in one communicative situation (Gumperz 1982; Heller 1988; Auer 1999; Gardner-Chloros 2009). To some extent this notion presupposes the discreteness of varieties ('codes'), but this definition has been questioned (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 167–170) and amended with notions such as *code-mixing* and *mixed codes* (e.g. Auer 1999).

crossing – "code alternation by people who aren't accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ" (Rampton 2005: 270). This original [6] formulation of crossing presupposes to some extent the discreteness of languages ('code', 'the second language'); however, Rampton (2005) acknowledges the possible fluidity of the 'borders' that are 'crossed' in this respect.

appropriation – the adaption of elements of a language or a linguistic variety to local uses (Canagarajah 1999; Hill 2008: 158–174; Bucholtz 2011: 69–80)

double-voicing (*multi-voicing* [7]) – the phenomenon where discourse is simultaneously directed toward the referential meaning and toward another discourse (toward someone else's speech) (derived from Bakhtin 1984: 185–195).

entextualization – the process of making a stretch of discourse into an extractable 'text' that can be lifted out of its earlier setting; a text always carries elements of its history of use within it (Bauman & Briggs 1990: 73; Blommaert 2005: 47).

sociolinguistic style – the use of resources of linguistic variation to create social meanings (Coupland 2007). Can also incorporate social-semiotic variation of a kind not traditionally regarded as 'linguistic'.

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[6]   Rampton's monograph appeared first in 1995; I have used the 2005 reissue here.

[7]   I use 'double-voicing' in this thesis in concordance with the canon of usage, but perhaps a better solution would be to extend the notion to 'multi-voicing'. This would be more accurate, allow for a more open-ended application, and be more compatible with 21st century sociolinguistics in general. 'Multi-voicing' is in fact occasionally used in the original publication (Bakhtin 1984; I have used the English translation only).

stylization – language use that projects "personas, identities and genres other than those that are presumedly current in the speech event [bringing] into play stereotyped semiotic and ideological values associated with other groups, situations or times [dislocating] a speaker and utterances from the immediate speaking context" (Coupland 2007: 154).

metapragmatic reflexivity – the phenomenon whereby language users engage in meta-level discussions about the language used in the context (Blommaert & Rampton 2011; Verschueren 2012). Can occur on any distinguishable level of language use.

sociolinguistic scale – a spatial metaphor for the movement of people (language users), their competences, repertoires, discourse-in-use and concrete communicative resources in time and place. When moving across scales, language users and the language they use (discourse, text, talk) encounter changing norms and expectations (Blommaert 2010: 32–37).

enregisterment – "processes whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users" (Agha 2005: 38), or as paraphrased by Johnstone (2010: 1), a "process in which particular linguistic forms and sets of forms come to index particular meanings and social identities".

These are the key sociolinguistic concepts that I have utilized in this thesis (in both the independent articles and these framing sections). All of them have a substantive history of usages, and all of them are suitable for studying the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2003, 2010; Coupland 2003b; Heller 2007a, 2007b). All of them are also much more fully discussed and debated in the sociolinguistic literature, and thus varying and contrasting definitions exist. Above, I have confined myself to outlining the ways in which I have used them for the purposes of the present research. More discussion on them, with particular reference to the five research articles, can be found in Section 4, especially Sections 4.3–4.11.

   Finally, it should be noted that the notion of *frame* is used here for three purposes. The theoretical and technical usage of 'frame' in this dissertation is derived from Bateson (1972) and Goffman (1986); it is used and more fully discussed in Article 3. For the sake of clarification, I will explain my more everyday usages of 'frame' here. First, as this thesis is realized in the format of an 'article dissertation', I make the distinction between the five independent research articles (Articles 1–5) and Sections 1–8 of the thesis at hand. These sections (Introduction, Ethical considerations, Discussion, etc.) are not intended to contain much original research that is not already included in the independent articles. Instead, their purpose is to provide 'frames' through which to understand the empirically focused parts of this thesis (mainly the articles). Moreover, an extended literature review is only possible in these

sections due to the respective space limitations of each article. As the sections contain the crucial elements of an introduction and conclusion, I call them the 'framing sections' of this thesis (as opposed to the five articles). Second, when I write that something is 'framed' in a particular way, this is the everyday, common-sense, less technical (but abstract) usage of the word. For instance, by referring to the *Futisforums* as "framed by default in relatively monoethnic, even monolingual terms" I simply wish to refer to the fact that most of the language that can be seen superficially on the forums is in Finnish, and this can be observed even by a newcomer. Even in concrete terms, the 'frames' (that which surrounds the core material; cf. Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; Androutsopoulos forthcoming) of *Futisforum2.org* are in Finnish, although the technical aspects of the software in *Futisforum* are actually in English. All the subforums have a Finnish denomination, and most of the topic headings one sees are in Finnish. The forums were originally created by Finnish persons for Finnish(-speaking) persons to discuss football and related matters in Finnish. In sum, the forums are 'framed as Finnish' (but, as the central argument throughout this thesis goes, they are not only, consistently or 'purely' Finnish). Another example of this common-sense usage of 'frame' here is "negatively framed meta-commentary on non-Standard, or 'erroneous', or 'bad' language use", where I simply want to suggest that the meta-commentary in question is expressed in a negative way by the commenter.

1.5   The structure of this thesis

This doctoral thesis follows the format of the 'article dissertation'. It is a relatively common format in the fields of the natural sciences, medicine and information technology, but rather under-represented in the social sciences, arts and humanities. This dissertation comprises five research articles accompanied by eight framing sections. The purpose of these framing sections is to give a more nuanced picture of the *Futisforums* as spaces for distinct communities of practice, bring together the independent articles which were written over a period of several years (mainly between 2008 and 2012), anchor the present research in the tradition and current issues of sociolinguistics, and discuss its four overarching frameworks (football, Finland, globalization and digital communication). Moreover, I use these sections for reflection on the methodologies that were employed, outlining the ethical considerations pertaining to this kind of study, summarizing the aims and key findings of the five research articles, and concluding with a final discussion and key implications.

The structure of this thesis is as follows. After these introductory sections (1) I will give a brief social history of the two *Futisforums* and the communities of practice aligned with them *vis-à-vis* certain key events in the history of football from a Finnish perspective (Section 2). The next section (3) discusses the ethical considerations pertaining to this study, which is informed by and rooted

in ethnography, but with a focus on discourse, ways of writing and communicative styles rather than aspects of the contributors' personal issues. The ethical considerations discuss access to data, issues of anonymity and the assignment of credit, and the researcher's position *vis-à-vis* the communities and discourse analysed in this thesis. Section 4 begins 'taking stock', with reviews of the relevant background literature in light of the research aims and questions of interest. I begin that section by reviewing some of the (mainly) sociological background literature on football, its fans and supporters, indicating the absence of socio-*linguistically* inclined studies of football discourses (Sections 4.1 and 4.2).

Section 4.3 discusses the 'nexus science' or 'mother science' of this thesis, sociolinguistics. The discussion on the problematics and issues within sociolinguistics as a whole are then funnelled down into three more specific domains: the sociolinguistics of Finland (Leppänen et al. 2011; Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Pietikäinen 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2011; Pöyhönen 2009; Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005), the sociolinguistics of CMC (Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2006b, 2007b; Georgakopoulou 2006; Leppänen 2012; Leppänen & Peuronen 2012), and the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2003, 2010; Coupland 2003b). This nexus section on sociolinguistics, furthermore, delves deeper into the key concepts and terms (Sections 4.4–4.8) that were briefly introduced above in Section 1.4. Section 4.12 briefly discusses ethnography as a perspective on sociolinguistic study, Section 4.13 outlines the tenets from online ethnography that have been followed in this study, and Section 4.14 reviews the multisemiotic aspects of this research, particularly from the point of view of resemiotization.

Rooted in the discussion of the researcher's position (Section 3.3) as well as the social history of the *Futisforums* (Section 2), Section 5 provides a description of the research design, including observation (Section 5.1), technical issues of saving and storing web forum data (Section 5.2), data collection (Section 5.3) and selection (Section 5.4) procedures used in this thesis. Section 5.5 discusses some of the final omissions from this thesis.

Section 6 is a summary and overview of the five research articles that constitute the empirical core of this dissertation. In that section, I summarize and discuss the research design, the relevant contextual factors and the central findings of each article, each a subsection of its own. Finally, Section 7 is a discussion of the entire project. The section allows for a broader discussion and considers the implications of the study. In the end, I make some suggestions for further study.

The research articles are appended after the list of references.[8] All five research articles (numbered 1 to 5) were written separately between 2008 and 2012 within the same overall research project and design. Article 2 was co-

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[8] Unfortunately, some copyright restrictions apply to the parallel online publication of these articles.

authored by Samu Kytölä with Dr Jannis K. Androutsopoulos[9], while all other articles were written by myself alone. Articles 1, 2 and 3 were published in 2012 following the common practice of referee reviews and editorial work. Publication plans for Articles 4 and 5 were negotiated between 2008 and 2012 (see the bibliography entries for the most up-to-date information).

[9]   I am grateful to Jannis Androutsopoulos for his permission to use this co-authored piece as a part of this doctoral thesis.

2   *FUTISFORUM* AND *FUTISFORUM2.ORG*

In what follows is a brief social history of the main primary data sources of this dissertation, the two *Futisforums*, with the aim of a detailed contextualization of the online discourse documented and analysed in the five research articles. The purpose of this section is to help readers to situate the empirics of this project in various intertwined layers of context. The main emic sources that I have used in covering the early history of *Futisforum* are ex_deBoer et al. (2000, 2002), of which more below. Moreover, I have acquired emic insights through online-ethnographically positioned observation (see Sections 4.12, 4.13 and 5.1) of the two *Futisforums* in transition, particularly between 2005 and 2008. Although face-to-face ethnographic methods (e.g. interviewing, video recording, joining football events in the role of a researcher) was left out of the final research design in favour of a more discourse-oriented, log data-based approach, many occasions of informal talk with a few *Futisforumists* (and active readers) informed me on the early history of the forums. The main print sources that I have consulted for the cross-checking and juxtaposition of facts, events and results regarding the Finnish football events that are referred to are Airio & Walden (2010) and the annual yearbook *Jalkapallokirja* (2005, 2006, 2007, 2008) published by the Football Association of Finland (Suomen Palloliitto).

2.1   The *Futisforums* as communities of practice

With the aim of heuristic modelling of the sociocultural constellation and participation framework of the *Futisforums* in mind, I loosely conceptualize them as a relatively big 'community of practice'. The concise definition that I will follow for this elusive notion is 'a group of people who maintain regular interaction, sharing an interest or a passion for a particular set of phenomena' (drawn from Lave & Wenger 1991; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992; Wenger 1998; Bucholtz 1999). The concept of a community of practice was first used in the context of collective learning processes, but it has gained much ground and

generated applications in many social sciences. The notion community of practice has to a great extent replaced the canonical but overly stable and essentialistic 'speech community' (e.g. Fishman 1970: 28–35) in current sociolinguistics as well (Rampton 2000, 2006: 14–15). It is extremely useful for the description of online communities, although it should be emphasized not all digital communication has a sense of community. The *Futisforums* clearly fulfil these criteria: the members maintain regular (often daily or almost non-stop) interaction, they share an interest (even passion) in football, and do things (share discourse) to achieve their goals. Alternatively, computer-mediated communication can also take place within 'affinity spaces' with less longevity; these spaces may also be based on shared interests, lifestyles and cultural products, but their popularity may be short-lived (Gee 2004; Gee & Hayes 2011; Leppänen et al. forthcoming). There is no exact line between affinity spaces and communities of practice online, but the sense of community is stronger in communities of practice than in affinity spaces. Both long-lived communities of practice and more ephemeral affinity spaces can, however, provide online social actors with meaningful arenas for social practice and participatory 'prosumer' ('producer' + 'consumer') culture (Burgess 2008; Burgess & Green 2009; Ritzer 2010; Leppänen et al. forthcoming). Importantly, the 'sense of community' is not experienced in similar ways by different participants: one person's community of practice can thus be another person's affinity space. For instance, the most prolific key contributors to *Futisforum* are highly likely to feel a sense of community when socializing with and via the forum (the often very familiar peer screen personae behind the pseudonyms), whereas the very same forum, or part of it, may be just an affinity space for more casual contributors or 'lurkers'. Speaking for myself, apart from my role as a researcher I have been a modest, less prolific writer to *Futisforum* and *Futisforum2.org* during these past years. Yet I can certainly feel the sense of community, which becomes concretely realized in the ways of writing, experiencing and responding to events in physical life (important matches, grassroots football events, and so on). With this experience and insight in the backpack, I regard multilingual language use – and the metapragmatic reflexivity related thereto – as one of the broad practices within the *Futisforum* (and *Futisforum2*.org) community of practice.

One can further argue that neither *Futisforum* is a single homogeneous community of practice; instead they should be seen as conglomerations of many smaller communities of practice which may or may not overlap and become intertwined in the course of time and discourse practice. For example, the 'subcommunity' that discusses the Finnish men's national team may have a membership largely different from that of the 'subcommunity' that gathers to debate such topics as Lionel Messi (FC Barcelona) and Cristiano Ronaldo (Real Madrid)[10]. In fact, these two distinct subcommunities may have totally different

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[10]   These clubs are among the greatest football clubs in the history of football; both compete in *La Liga* in Spain. The two players, Messi and Ronaldo, have been among the greatest players during the time of this research, and they have been playing for

active members, although they both take place within the technological and discoursal domain of *Futisforum2.org* (or earlier, *Futisforum*). And when their participation frameworks differ, so also do the ways of writing practised by them. However, on the basis of my long-term acquaintance and observation, I suggest that the ways of (multilingual) writing explored in this thesis are so common and widespread that they apply to the core of the community, and not just to any one peripheral sub-community within the forums. As a final point on this brief conceptualization of community of practice, we should remember that communities of practice are not always and solely 'doing practice' or 'practising'; on the contrary, they are essentially also mental constructions, 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991), when enough criteria are fulfilled for such an imagined entity to occur. While Anderson's (1991) canonical work deals mostly with nation states and imagined nationhood, it is a concept that can be validly applied to smaller-scale communities as well. Indeed, the two *Futisforums* discussed in this thesis can be grasped concretely in the discourse that emerges (and remains) on the online space, but it is equally much an ideational construct in the minds of the participants, in their *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977).

2.2 Early history: *Soccernet.fi* in 1996–1997

The first incarnation of the immediate predecessor of *Futisforum* was in the autumn of 1996, when the website *Soccernet.fi* was founded in cooperation with the Football Association of Finland (*Suomen Palloliitto*). This site mainly included edited content, such as news, links, information on Finnish national squads and football series, and event calendars[11]. These various types of edited content aside, the first interactive feature of the site was a guestbook feature called 'Palsta' (Finnish for 'forum', 'board', or even 'column'). All the messages in that 'guestbook' (although it was not called that in Finnish) appeared in reverse chronological order in one thread without any thematic division. The first short message on the board appeared on 2 October 1996: it says "Litmanen on kone !"[12], and it is posted by the nickname 'Asia vilpitön'[13], which I take as an *ad hoc* coinage at the moment of posting.

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      their clubs, cited in the text, from 2009 (C. Ronaldo) and from 2004 (Messi) until at least 1 February 2013.

[11]   The only way I have been able to view the early manifestations of the site *Soccernet.fi* has been via *Internet Archive Wayback Machine*, available at http://web.archive.org (last accessed 1 February 2013). This extremely valuable open archive contains a few occasional snapshots from *Soccernet.fi* dating back several years. I have no first-hand memories of the early site, although it is highly likely that I visited it occasionally as a football enthusiast between 1996 and 2004. This may have happened via a search engine (most typically *Altavista*), or through hyperlinking from other sites; exact details from the time preceding this research project are lost.

[12]   Literally: "Litmanen is a machine !". The general colloquial Finnish idiom refers to the Finnish superstar Jari Litmanen's (born 1971) consistent ability as a player at the height of his career.

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Jo on aika, Suomen päästä MM-kisoihin !
Tekeekö Möller Curret ?
"Maccabi" (06.10)

Litmanen on kone !
"Asia vilpitön" (02.10)
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FIGURE 1   Prehistory of *Futisforum*.

Figure 1 shows some prehistory of *Futisforum:* the allegedly first two messages[14] in October 1996 on 'Palsta', the interactive single-threaded board on *Soccernet.fi*. The pseudonyms in double citation marks were added automatically by the software. Between October 1996 and May 1997, according to the pages archived by the *Wayback Machine*, there were 56 single messages on the board, which is a fraction of the amount *Futisforum* would soon accumulate. New messages appeared on the board at the pace of eight messages per month, which now seems only a distant glimpse of the later activity. However, the length of messages became longer, and the argumentation more detailed, already in the course of the seven months when the interactive feature was known as 'Palsta'. The form through which messages could be posted to Palsta is shown in Figure 2. The only obligatory field was 'Pseudonym', and consequently every message that is left in the archive has a pseudonym. Not one of these pseudonyms seems to consist of a first name and a family name. This finding from the prehistory of the emergence of *Futisforum* can help contextualize (and can be compared with) the findings on the polylingualism of the *Futisforums'* pseudonyms analysed in Article 5.

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13   ex_deBoer et al. (2000, 2002); these retrospective recollections are supported by my later findings via *Internet Archive Wayback Machine*, available at http://wayback.archive.org/web/19970211062714/http://www.soccernet.fi/palsta /index.htm (last accessed 1 February 2013).

14   The second message translates literally as "Now it's time, for Finland to qualify for the World Cup !" (non-Standard Finnish punctuation sic).

Palsta Ilmoitus - Soccernet

- Tällä kaavakkeella voitte jättää jalkapalloaiheisia mielipiteitä kaikkien luettavaksi.
- Pidätämme oikeuden jättää julkaisematta asiattomia ilmoituksia.
- Täyttäkää kentät ja painakaa "lähetä" nappia sivun lopussa.

Ilmoittaja (ei pakollinen):

Ilmoittajan e-mail (ei pakollinen):

Nimimerkki (Pakollinen):

Kommentti/Ilmoitus:

[Lähetä]   [Älä lähetä]

FIGURE 2   The message writer's interface of *Soccernet's* interactive feature 'Palsta'.

According to the archived[15] pages of *Soccernet*, the new board *Futisforum* was started on 27 March 1997. On that board, posts still appeared chronologically one by one, but instead of the 'guestbook' design, there was the new possibility of replying to a *thread* of messages. This is an important precursor to the more complex and more visual 'web forum proper' that became the yardstick format around 1999–2000. The first post, a welcome message ('Tervetuloa' means 'Welcome'), was apparently posted by Joonas Vuorinen, as seen below in Figure 3. Note the thread structure indicated by indentation, different kinds of 'bullets' (white circle, black square) and the message headings generated by the software, including the English abbreviation 'Re:' and the title of the previous message.

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15   http://wayback.archive.org/web/19970412160701/http://www.soccernet.fi/interact/futisforum/index.html (last accessed 22 January 2013).

FIGURE 3   *Futisforum* on 12 April 1997, according to *Internet Archive Wayback Machine*.

The name of the new board *Futisforum* can thus be reliably credited to March 1997. Further thematic clustering of messages into subforums was still not in use (ex_deBoer et al. 2000, 2002). Some key members of the early years joined in 1997, although registration of a pseudonym (nickname, 'nick') was enabled in the autumn of 1998 (ex_deBoer et al. 2002). Examples of the early key members whose screen personae I can easily identify with my later insights are 'kinkladze', 'Gunner', 'Hucle' and 'JiiPee' as well as a mythical, provocative screen persona called 'Lasse', who has allegedly used dozens of different nicknames on the two *Futisforums*.[16] However, this study does not go deeper into particular screen personae in the *Futisforums*.

To give an idea of the current topics and appearance, here are two screenshots (Figures 4 and 5) from the archived version of *Futisforum's* 1997 edition. These are the oldest screenshots in which I have been able to spot other languages than Finnish in the headings of threads (cf. Article 5 on polylingual framing). Figure 4 shows *Futisforum* on 15 July 1997, threads initiated between 2 June and 4 June, 1997. Note the English heading and the alternation between English and Finnish in the pseudonyms. Figure 5 shows *Futisforum* on 15 July 1997, threads initiated between 4 July and 10 July 1997; both pictures are snapshots of the thread list. (Note the use of Swedish.)

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16   Of particular relevance to the present topic of inquiry regarding the provocative member 'Lasse' is his inclination to Hollandophilia and usages of Dutch. These were excluded from this dissertation, however. The equally provocative and emically well-known pseudonym 'kinkladze' occasionally displays interesting usages of Russian and Serbian. For 'Hucle', see Article 5, Appendix 3.

- suomalaisselostajat suojatöissä - **Horse** *6/04/97* (0)
- Helsinki-Suomen fudismekkako?.... - **Johanna** *6/03/97* (0)
- England for the cup! - **Jumalan vasen jalka** *6/03/97* (4)
    - Re: England for the cup! - **KHietala 'Three Lions will Roar'** *6/04/97* (1)
        - Re: England for the cup! - **Jussi Hanska** *6/04/97* (0)
    - Re: England for the cup! - **OFFi** *6/03/97* (1)
        - Re: Suominen on hyvä - **red devil** *6/04/97* (0)
- England for the cup! - **Jumalan vasen jalka** *6/03/97* (1)
    - Re: England for the cup! - **red devil** *6/04/97* (0)
- Rangers - **Kopi** *6/02/97* (2)
    - Re: Rangers - **Johanna** *6/03/97* (1)
        - Re: Rangers - **Ainakin 50** *6/04/97* (0)
- Samuel Ayorinde - **KHietala** *6/02/97* (0)

FIGURE 4   *Futisforum* on 15 July 1997; threads initiated between 2 June and 4 June, 1997.

- Pelipaidoista vielä - **Flamma** *7/10/97* (1)
    - Re: Pelipaidoista vielä - **beckham** *7/11/97* (0)
- Ny tänare i Rops - **Christian** *7/09/97* (1)
    - Re: Ny tänare i Rops - **Viivi** *7/13/97* (0)
- omat kasvatitko itseisarvo? - **red devil** *7/09/97* (1)
    - Re: omat kasvatitko itseisarvo? - **Koisty** *7/09/97* (0)
- ktp nousuun! - **augusto palacios** *7/08/97* (1)
    - Re: ktp nousuun! - **Semi Arajuuri** *7/08/97* (0)
- Umeå. Sweden - **Christian Andersson** *7/08/97* (1)
    - Re: Umeå. Sweden - **Yeah** *7/08/97* (0)
- WANTED - **XTC** *7/07/97* (0)
- TP-SEINÄJOKI - **Nimetön** *7/04/97* (7)

FIGURE 5   *Futisforum* on 15 July 1997; threads initiated between 4 July and 10 June, 1997.

Although this 'prehistory' is outside the empirical focus proper of this thesis (the discourse events analysed in more detail date from ca. 2004–2007), it is illuminating to explore some of the roots of multilingual practices in the *Futisforums.* The oldest thread that I was able to discover where the core discussion did not occur in some variety or style based on the default Finnish was initiated by 'Christian Andersson' and titled 'Umeå, Sweden' (Figure 6). (The English translation of the Swedish passage is: "I wonder if there exists a similar chat forum in Swedish where Finnish football is talked about.")

Futisforum

[Vastaa] [Lähetä uusi viesti] [Kaikki viestit]

Umeå. Sweden

Lähettäjä: Christian Andersson
(08. Heinäkuuta 1997 klo 00:07:54:)

Hej
Jag undrar om det finns någon motsvarande chat forum på
svenska där man pratar finsk fotboll.

Vastaukset tähän viestiin:

* Re: Umeå. Sweden **Yeah** *7/08/97* (0)

FIGURE 6   An early *Futisforum* posting in Swedish.

Only one answer seems to be elicited (according to the archived version of the page (Figure 7). (The English translation is: "At the moment there is no such forum, I think. But it is not illegal to try here. If it gets difficult with Swedish you can also use English. If you have a similar forum in Sweden you can also try there. Swedish internet pages often have Finnish guests.")

Re: Umeå. Sweden

Lähettäjä: Yeah
(08. Heinäkuuta 1997 klo 13:16:45:)

Vastaus viestiin:
" Umeå. Sweden " , jonka lähetti Christian Andersson

För tillfället det finns inte sånt forum, tror jag. Men det är inte förbjudet att försöka här. Om det blir svårt med svenskan du kan också använda engelska.

Om ni har i Sverige motsvarande forum du kan också försöka där. Svenska internetsidor har ofta finska gäster.

FIGURE 7   Another early *Futisforum* posting in Swedish.

This is probably one of the first occasions that there was metapragmatic reflexivity about the language use or language choice in *Futisforum*, which was then three and a half months old, excluding the older 'Palsta'. An allegedly Swedish man writes from the other side of the Gulf of Bothnia, interested in Finnish football but apparently unable to express himself in Finnish, the main language of the emergent *Futisforum*. Nickname 'Yeah's' reply, stated in rather essentialist terms and in almost Standard written Swedish is benevolent and cooperative, but no further replies seem to have surfaced. The nickname 'Christian' writes a similar inquiry in Swedish on the following day: "Ny tänare i Rops?" [sic][17], but there are no further traces left of his activity or other forumists' responses to him. However, in the light of the sequences discussed in more detail in Article 4 ('billie' and the fans of Jari Litmanen) and Articles 2 and 3 ('altan' and the mock-discourse on Turks) it is illuminating to find this early example. While *Futisforums* are framed as Finland-based and Finnish-language forums in many ways, the global appeal of football ensures that there are frequent non-Finnish visitors to them, trying to establish interaction and negotiate language choice, particularly between Finnish, English and Swedish (see Article 4).

2.3   The rise of *Futisforum* – the late 1990s and early 2000s

Years 1998 and 1999 remain a gap in the *Futisforum* data available for exploration. I have never been able to retrieve those years by *The Wayback Machine* either, but I rely on ex_deBoer et al.'s (2000, 2002) emically positioned history for that period. One definitive key moment of disappointment in the collective history of Finnish football fans was the last-minute own goal against Hungary in the decisive World Cup qualification match on 11 October, 1997. This event set the scene for years of pessimism and an inferiority complex for Finland supporters; even if this is not directly seen in any of the empirical data here, it is an undercurrent that deserves attention in this overview. For example, Finnish *Futisforumists'* eagerness to celebrate Jari Litmanen's success (Article 4) on the one hand, and to downgrade 'Anfield_mate's' (nickname changed) activities as a Liverpool FC fan, on the other, can be interpreted through the lens of this inferiority discourse spanning decades. ex_deBoer et al. (2002) further state that there was an early (1997) juxtaposition and friction between 'skill football' allegedly exemplified by the Netherlands and 'combat football' exemplified by England. This is transformed in 1998 into an even fiercer debate between Italy and England. In 1999, *Futisforum* begins to receive attention in mainstream media such as television and newspapers (ibid.) – this was still a time when internet forums were perhaps not so potentially influential on the

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[17]   "Ny tränare i RoPS?" would mean "New coach in RoPS?", where 'RoPS' denotes the club Rovaniemen Palloseura.

more meso- or macro-levels of society (but see Hine 2000 on the mobilization of people through social media in the 1990s).

5 June 1999 is a significant date for the empirical purposes of this thesis, as this was the day of the European Championship (2000) qualification match between Finland and Turkey in Helsinki. During that match, Kurdish political demonstrators invaded the pitch during the first half (when the score was 2–2) and in the midst of the incident the Finnish television sports reporter Jari Porttila entered the pitch as well. He attempted to interview a member of the Turkey background crew, and it was during that short interview, before Porttila became interrupted by the security staff, that he uttered his question:

"What do you[18] think the next happen now?"

Throughout the interview, Porttila spoke in markedly Finnish-accented English. In my informed interpretation, it is due to the Finnish accent, the idiosyncratic non-Standard word order and the generally amusing and extraordinary aspect of the moment, that this interrogative sentence has become the key quote of 'bad English' that has been circulated over the internet, not least in the two *Futisforums.* In other words, according to CMC terminology, the utterance has become a meme[19] (Shifman & Thelwall 2009; Burgess 2008). My motive for describing this incident here is that the memetic Porttila utterance is central to the metapragmatic reflexivity found on the *Futisforums*. It is extremely frequent that any non-Standard, colloquial, 'ungrammatical' or 'bad' English phrase used in the forums becomes immediately or soon afterwards followed by this Porttila quotation. This is not overt (e.g. 'Hey, that is bad English') but *covert* metapragmatic evaluation: with the stylistic resource of double-voicing Porttila's voice, subtle social meanings are conveyed. I will get back to this in the remaining section and the individual articles.

In 2000, *Futisforum* was beginning to acquire its more permanent appearance and organization (Figures 8 and 9)[20]. Around that time, possibly in 1999, the graphic emoticons that have been a central part of both *Futisforums'* ways of writing were established. The selection of emoticons for use in *Futisforum* and *Futisforum2.org* has changed slightly over time, although remaining relatively limited and basic (see Figures 16 and 17).

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[18] This is my transcription based on the video recordings available on the public video sharing site *YouTube* (youtube.com). This is also the most common transcription that circulates over the internet. Listening carefully, it could be argued that the word 'do' is assimilated into 'you', in which case a slightly more accurate transcription would be "What d'you think the next happen now?". However, as important as this key meme is for the general argument of this thesis, this transcription issue is rather insignificant here.

[19] In everyday and academic digital discourse, the adjective 'viral' is used in describing internet memes (Burgess 2008). The website *Know Your Meme* is dedicated to the documentation of popular memes, mainly from the English-language internet. It is located at http://knowyourmeme.com/ (last accessed 1 February 2013).

[20] Retrieved via *Internet Archive Wayback Machine* (last accessed 1 February 2013).

FIGURE 8   *Futisforum* index (starting page), 7 December 2000.

FIGURE 9   *Futisforum's* subforum 'Jalkapallokulttuuri' ('Football culture'), 17 January 2001.

Figure 9 is a screenshot of the eleven then most recent topics. With regard to Article 5, note one topic heading in English and the linguistic hybridity of pseudonyms under the heading 'Lähettäjä' ('poster').

2.4   Trench warfare: international football vs. Finnish football

Some of the early contributors from those years have continued to write until the present day (early 2013) with the same nickname or a new one, albeit mostly on *Futisforum2.org* since the desertion of *Futisforum* around 2008–2009 (more on which later). According to ex_deBoer et al. (2000, 2002) and the archives early discussions, the long-lasting key themes of *Futisforum* began to emerge around 1998–1999. I will briefly deal with these key themes here, as they can help contextualize and understand the core data deployed to illustrate my points about multilingual language use in Articles 2–5. One of the key themes of debate is the success of Finnish football – or more precisely the relative lack of it. Among the topics in Finnish football, the most central is the Finnish national team. which received a major facelift with the first full generation of Finnish football professionals in the 1990s (particularly Jari Litmanen; see Article 4) and the hiring of the Danish master coach Richard Møller Nielsen in 1996. Another hot topic has been the following of Finnish clubs in European-level

competitions; in that niche of football culture, HJK's qualifying for the UEFA Champions League in 1998 remained unparalleled until at least 2012 (HJK, a Helsinki club, has been one of the leading Finnish clubs of all times, also the 1990s and the early 21st century). HJK's qualifying for the Champions League and the relatively high rate of success in the group stage[21] of that competition ignited the flame of Finnish football pride and fandom in its own way. Yet another general topic that emerged in the early years of *Futisforum* was the close following of Finnish players' career paths as professionals abroad: Jari Litmanen (see Article 4), Sami Hyypiä and Antti Niemi stand as emblematic of that generation, and each subsequent generation has produced more international players (but not as yet as successful as the 'golden generation' born in the 1970s, another topic of longevity). Finally, the promotion of Finnish football culture and fandom took wing around the same time: this is also reflected in the division of *Futisforum* into subforums, one of which has been 'Football culture' ('Jalkapallokulttuuri') ever since. One of the most significant concrete outcomes was the manifesto 'Finland must become a football society' ('Suomesta jalkapalloyhteiskunta') crafted in 2000–2001 in great length and detail by member 'ttr'. The *Futisforum* debates in this vein have frequently been formulated as antitheses to ice-hockey, the consistently most popular spectator sport in Finland (although the number of practising football players outnumbers those of ice-hockey). To some extent, ice-hockey and other sports were regarded as 'inferior' to the football, 'the King of Sports', already by the early *Futisforumists* (ex_deBoer et al. 2000, 2002; see also Article 2).

Another general key theme since the early days of *Futisforum* has been 'international', non-Finnish football. Although most of the multilingual data analysed in Articles 2–5 have to do with Finnish football more than international football, the discussions on international football are also key in understanding the big picture of *Futisforums'* multilingualism. The tension between the global and the local is particularly relevant in Article 5 on the heavily emblematic multilingualism of various 'framing devices' on the *Futisforums.* More specifically, the discussions on international football typical of *Futisforum* include the debate between Anglophiles, Germanophiles, Hispanophiles and Italophiles. These four, globally significant football 'cultures' have acquired many emic designations in the two *Futisforums:* for example, English football is emically referred to as 'misty islands' ('sumusaaret'), 'panic clatter' ('hätäpäiden kalinaa') or just 'clatter' ('kalinaa'). Similary, Spanish and Italian football persons are emically called 'the glue-haired' ('liimaletit'); also dishonest characteristics such as cheating are ascribed to them in contrast to the allegedly honest 'lads' of the British Isles. This conception of 'the honest lad' ('rehti lädi') has, in its turn, acquired an ironic negative ('as if') connotation that has become widespread in the Finnish online football communities. These

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[21]   With 1 victory, 2 draws and 3 defeats, HJK ended up the weakest team in that group of four; however, the opposing sides (Kaiserslautern, Benfica and PSV Eindhoven) were so strong that HJK's performance can hardly be regarded as particularly disappointing, after all.

debates have occurred both during the national league seasons (mostly August to May) and during the big competitions for national teams (mostly the World Cup and European Championships, each held every fourth year), and are virtually non-stop.

Throughout the history of *Futisforum*, there has been considerable tension between the loudest advocates of Finnish football and the *aficionados* of any aspect of international football. Indeed, the *Futisforums'* emic denotation for a supporter or a fan of a non-Finnish club or national squad is 'mieshuora' ('man whore') (see Article 3). This term looks rather gross on first encounter, but it is used extensively throughout the two forums, regardless of the gender of the supporters in question. In and outside *Futisforum*, a popular counter-insult used about Finnish football by advocates of 'better' football has been 'potkupallo' or 'potkis'. This insult has no direct equivalent in English, but the first part of the compound, 'potku', denotes 'kick' (while in neutral Finnish 'football' would be literally 'jalkapallo'). To bring this general socio-historical description back to the topic of multilingual language use, this tension is particularly evident if one juxtaposes Article 3 with Article 4. In Article 4, the fandom of the most prominent Finnish football hero Jari Litmanen is shared by one non-Finnish participant, 'billie' (pseudonym changed), which, along with the Litmanen admiration mediated through Swedish and Finnish media quotations, creates a benevolent spirit throughout the discussions analysed. A more hostile attitude towards a fellow forumist is explored in Article 3, where the use of dialectal English as an alleged sign of solidarity with Liverpool FC is interpreted as the archetype of the 'man whore' by the more extreme forumists, resulting in a discourse of serious mockery and exclusion. It has to be noted, however, that the overall spirit on the two *Futisforums* has not been particularly nationalistic or xenophobic in any aggressive way; quite the contrary: even the majority of the louder advocates of Finnish football are socio-politically quite far from either extreme nationalists or extreme xenophobics. Of course, in a big football-based community as this, political and ideological views will vary somewhat, but political nationalism is definitely not a major ingredient in the *pro* Finnish football discourse that is so prevalent in the *Futisforums.* Rather, the international and highly globalized nature of football is seen as a uniting force, and most of the time, its 'worst enemies' are often found within Finland (e.g. ice-hockey and its fans, the mainstream media, the allegedly inefficient and incompetent Finnish Football Association and so on).

2.5 An era of growth: 2003–2006

In 2006, when I started the data collection, the oldest remaining parts of the 1990s *Futisforum* (excluding the older bits and pieces archived by *Internet Archive Wayback Machine*) are some the nicknames registered in early 1999. Possibly some of these members' 'Locations' (Article 5) also date from 1999, although it is likely that many of these key members had changed 'Locations' in

their member profile many times since. The technological format of the web forum as we currently know it also dates from 1998–2000 (Ternisien 2011), which is when *Futisforum* was already close to its present and long-lasting format and meta-functions[22]. In 2000–2002 the forum's activities in terms of the number of registered members, number of topics and threads increased sharply: by the end of 2002 the number of registered members surpassed 5,000 (ex_deBoer et al. 2000, 2002).

The biggest activity in quantitative terms in *Futisforum* occurred in 2003–2006, when the number of registered members exceeded 30,000. This co-occurred with the time when personal computers with an internet connection were rapidly becoming more common in Finnish homes (Tilastokeskus 2005). It is from this era that I already began to have first-hand experience: I began reading the forum with casual interest in May[23] 2004, had a budding research plan in late 2005 and began the actual research in 2006. Many of the multilingual practices that are the focus of this study were already there in 2004, including the choice of pseudonyms, headings of discussion topics and the mockery of non-Standard English features such as reporter Jari Porttila's English usages in live TV broadcasts (see Articles 2, 3 and 4). The brief social history of these multilingual practices will be outlined later. In 2005–2006 (reportedly also earlier; ex_deBoer et al. 2000, 2002), *Futisforum* malfunctioned often on account of excessive internet traffic and bad administration by the founder of the site (Finnish Football Association), the host (the company *Makra*, which seems to have been highly unreliable in the forumists' opinion) and the individual administrators and moderators (who apparently did not sacrifice the time and effort needed for such massive flows of traffic). Many 'classic' topics disappeared completely during that time, something which I witnessed live or at very short notice, often to my great disappointment. This triggered excessive anger and frustration among the members, and several short-lived substitute forums were founded to provide a base for discussion when the big *Futisforum* was down[24]. One of them, founded by the forum activist 'Bootlegger'[25], was finally convincing enough to trigger a mass emigration from the original forum, and this was how *Futisforum2.org* was born. It was founded on 21 March 2006 and rapidly gained popularity during 2006. The year 2006 – my main

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22 Ternisien (2011) is a useful overview of the development of the web forum between 1994 and 2011. The years 1998 to 2000 saw the emergence of web forums written in the php script; this is what I refer to above with "as we currently know it". *Futisforum* uses the *phpBB2* software, while *FF2.org* uses the *Simple Machines Forum* software. According to the archived pages, *Futisforum* formerly used *The Ultimate Bulletin Board* software (screenshots from 2000).

23 I have no fieldnotes from the time prior to any of my research, but I can date my first visits to *Futisforum* with the Cup success of my then football club, Palokan Riento. In April and May 2004, our team reached the fifth round of the Finnish FA Cup in football, and, as far as I remember, I found *Futisforum* during a session of web browsing on that year's Cup and our progress.

24 For instance, one short-lived 'substitute *Futisforum*' was founded by nickname 'Tiksa' on 26 December, 2005 at http://www.createphpbb.com/futisforum/ (last accessed 1 February 2013)

25 I have exchanged a few messages with him.

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observation and data collection year when I originally planned to focus on *Futisforum* – was the turning point, when major football topics were actively discussed in both forums, but by the end of 2007, *Futisforum2.org* had impressively usurped the position of the most active Finnish football forum. The majority of older activists had either transferred their nicknames to *FF2.org* or registered new ones to begin a new online life in the new forum. Some football and non-football topics continued to thrive in the older *Futisforum* in 2008–2009 (even until 2011), but the amount of activity was by now a tiny fraction of that in the rapidly growing *FF2.org*, which has proved its staying power and popularity for nearly seven years now (January 2013). The number of registered users in *FF2.org* is 41,000 (excluding the permanently banned and deleted ones, which I estimate to be a further 4,000 or so), the number of topics is 35,000 (excluding deleted topics which I estimate to be a considerable number), and the number of messages is ca. 5.4 million (excluding deleted messages which I estimate to be ca. 2 million; see Section 5.3).[26]

2.6   Towards more sophisticated web forum software

By the time of my actual data collection, *Futisforum's* software had been changed from *Ultimate Bulletin Board* to *phpBB*, and later *phpBB2.* In 2006, *Futisforum* looked roughly as seen in Figure 10.

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[26]   These statistics are from 1 February 2013, collected with the help of the forum's internal statistics functions available to all members. For example, the statistics page of the forum indicates that the number of users in the forum is 41,000, but the latest registered user has in the URL address of his/her member profile the string 'u=45100'. This suggests that ca. 4,000 member profiles have been deleted, and this is supported by my message exchange with the moderators as well as in the 'meta-topics' where bans and demolitions of profiles are announced and contested.

FIGURE 10   *Futisforum* index (main page) on 24 December 2006.

From the main page one can navigate to a particular subforum with one click. Figure 11 below gives the readers an idea of what *Futisforum's* subforums with listings of topics in inverted chronological order look like, including a list of some of the topics discussed in the summer of 2007.

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FIGURE 11   *Futisforum's* subforum 'Kansainvälinen jalkapallo' ('International football').

From the subforum's main page, the listing of current topics (or old topics, if one navigates onto 'lower' subpages), one can enter single discussion threads with one click. One sample of a discussion suffices here to give an idea of how the discourse of a *Futisforum* discussion thread looks in practice. Figure 12 is from a retrospective discussion thread on the Finland vs. Turkey match depicted above. While that match was played in June 1999, the retrospective 'remembering' thread was initiated in June 2005, and the snapshot in Figure 12 is from messages posted on 18 September 2006. The topic – a legendary match with a legendary, memetic English utterance by the reporter – arguably has longevity, since it lasted over a year. Threads on the same topic have also been posted in *Futisforum2.org* since 2006.
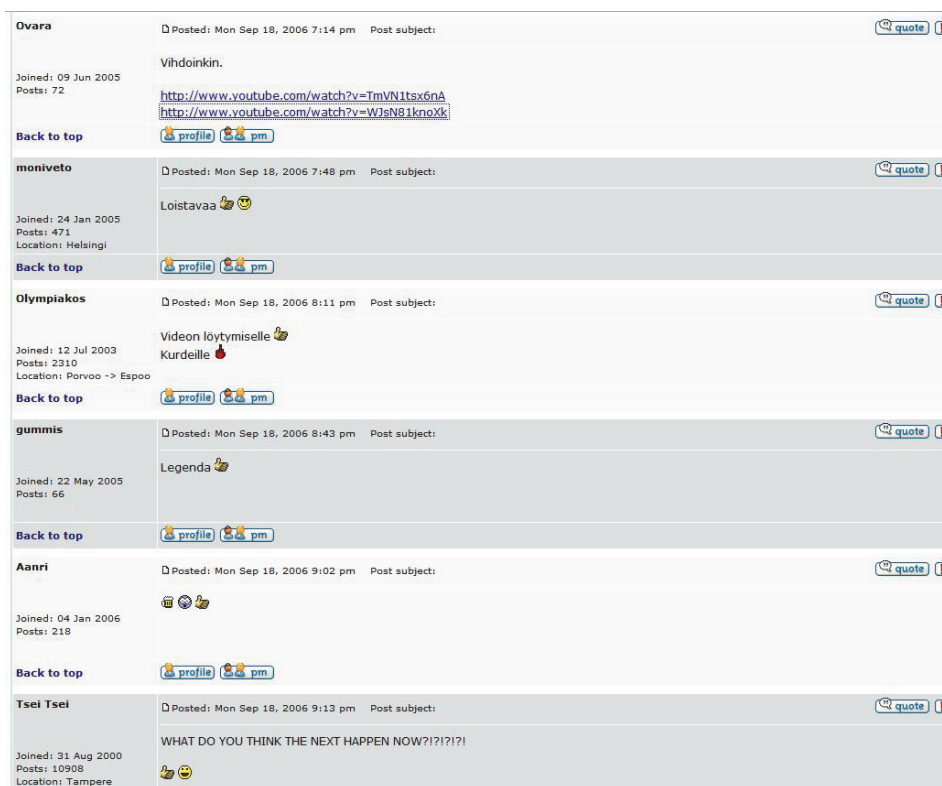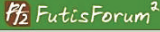
FIGURE 12   A screenshot from a *Futisforum* thread from 18 September 2006.

2.7 *Futisforum2.org* and the transitional years 2006–2007

In 2006, *Futisforum2.org* was founded, and it quickly became a serious competitor to *Futisforum*. 2006 and 2007 were transitional years in this respect. In Figures 13–15 below, one can get an idea of the general look of *Futisforum2.org*. This appearance is to some extent tailorable in one's own user profile, but I have here used the default settings. As with the original *Futisforum* above, I will include screenshots of the main page (Figure 13), one subforum (Figure 14) and one discussion thread (Figure 15).

FIGURE 13   *Futisforum2.org* main page with a listing of subforums, 1 February 2013.

FIGURE 14   *Futisforum2.org*, the subforum 'Suomalaiset pelaajat maailmalla' ('Finnish players abroad'). 1 February 2013.

FIGURE 15   A snapshot from a *Futisforum2.org* discussion thread.

The topic of the discussion in Figure 15 is topic is IFK Mariehamn, a major club from the almost monolingually Swedish-speaking Åland Islands. Note the alternation between Swedish, Finnish and English (cf. Article 4) and the Porttila quotation as a covert metapragmatic comment on the language debate.

2.8 Visuality and graphic emoticons

The purpose of these screenshot figures is to give an idea of the visuality of the two *Futisforums.* Arguably a major proportion of the social action that goes on in the forums is mediated by written, verbal language, which is also the level on which multilingual language use is mainly analysed in this thesis. It is, however, crucially important to understand how that language takes place, both chronologically, sequentially, visually, and in relation to the subspaces of the forums. In fact, an analysis grounded more firmly in visual grammar and the social semiotics (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; Iedema 2003; Scollon & Scollon 2003) of the forums would be a legitimate option, especially on forum threads where posted pictures play a big role (e.g. the entire *FF2.org* subforums 'Jalkapallokuvia' and 'Kuvafoorumi'; 'Football pictures' and 'Picture forum'). More detailed analyses of particular discussion threads are contained in Articles

1, 3 and 4; more detailed analyses of the functions of the various subspaces are found in Article 5; Section 4.14 will briefly discuss issues of multimodality and resemiotization. Finally, Figures 16 and 17 show the variety of graphic emoticons[27] that are available as semiotic affordances for posters. It is uncertain whether this selection completely matches the selection available in 2005–2006 as I did not make detailed fieldnotes about the emoticons. These are used very frequently, while not every writer seems to use them. Some of the social meanings of these graphic emoticons are briefly discussed in Articles 3 and 4.
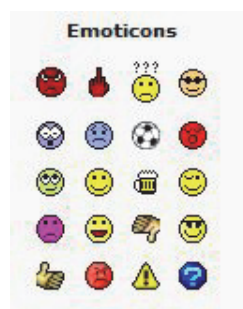
FIGURE 16   The emoticons available for use in *Futisforum* in February 2007.

FIGURE 17   The emoticons available for use in *Futisforum2.org*.

2.9   The range of subforums

To give the readers an idea of the entire range of subforums that are available in these two *Futisforums,* I include here four glossaries (Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4). The original Finnish titles of the subforums are in the left-hand column, while my English translations are given on their right. The subforums are designed to match the topics listed and discussed under them as accurately as possible, but of course off-topic or overlapping discussions emerge all the time. In addition to the titles of the more specific subforums, the table shows their classification into broader groups in the forums (marked 'CLASS' below). The division into subforums has changed slightly on both forums; the listings here are based on the 2006 situation (21 October 2006 for *Futisforum*; 13 October 2006 for *Futisforum2.org*). On *FF2.org* some subforums have further subforums; I label them here as 'sub-subforums'. Those subforums that are available to registered members only (*FF2.org*) were added on 30 June 2012.

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27   Available at http://futisforum2.org/index.php?action=help;page=post (last accessed 1 February 2013).

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TABLE 1   The subforums in *Futisforum* (21 October 2006).

Futisforum subforums	English translation
CLASS: Suomifutis	**CLASS: Finnish footie**
Suomen maajoukkueet	Finland national teams
Veikkausliiga	Finnish premier league
Muut Suomen sarjat	Other Finnish leagues
Suomalaiset pelaajat sekä joukkueet ulkomailla	Finnish players and teams abroad
Jalkapallokulttuuri	Football culture
Naisten futis	Women's footie
Nuorten futis	Junior footie
CLASS: Kansainväliset	**CLASS: International**
Kansainvälinen jalkapallo	International football
Jalkapallon arvokisat ja maajoukkueet	International championships and national teams
CLASS: Muu futis	**CLASS: Other footie**
Veikkauspelit	Football pools
Siirtouutiset/huhut	Transfer news/rumours
Futiskuvia	Footie pictures
Futiskyselyt	Footie polls
Pelit	Games28
CLASS: Muut aiheet	**CLASS: Other topics**
Vapaa keskustelu / Ilmoitustaulu	Free discussion / Bulletin board
Uutiset	News
Muu urheilu	Other sports
Kehityskeskustelu	Developmental discussion
Supporter zone	Supporter zone
Varoitukset ja bannit	Cautions and bans

TABLE 2   The publicly viewable subforums in *Futisforum2.org* (13 October 2006).

Futisforum2.org subforums	English translation
CLASS: Suomalainen jalkapalloilu	**CLASS: Finnish football**
Suomen maajoukkueet	Finland national teams
sub-subforum: Suomen Maajoukkueen Kannattajat ry	sub-subforum: The Supporters of the Finnish National Team (registered association)
Veikkausliiga	Finnish premier league
Muut sarjat	Other leagues
sub-subforum: Naiset ja nuoret	sub-subforum: Women and juniors
Suomalaiset ulkomailla	Finnish (players and teams) abroad
Jalkapallokulttuuri	Football culture
sub-subforum: Jalkapallomatkailu	sub-subforum: Football travel
CLASS: Kansainvälinen jalkapalloilu	**CLASS: International football**
Seurajoukkueet	Clubs
sub-subforum: Englannin sarjat	sub-subforum: leagues in England
sub-subforum: Espanjan sarjat	sub-subforum: leagues in Spain

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28   'Games' here does not refer to actual football matches, but all possible games related and unrelated to football (computer games, console games, online games, collectors' card games, poker, etc.)

sub-subforum: Italian sarjat	sub-subforum: leagues in Italy
sub-subforum: Saksan sarjat	sub-subforum: leagues in Germany
Maajoukkueet ja arvokilpailut	National teams and international championships
sub-subforum: EM-kisat	sub-subforum: European Championship
sub-subforum: MM-kisat 2006 Saksa	sub-subforum: World Cup 2006 Germany

TABLE 3 The subforums viewable to registered members in *Futisforum2.org* (1 February 2013).

Futisforum2.org subforums for registered members	English translation
CLASS: Muut aiheet	**CLASS: Other topics**
Yleinen keskustelu	General discussion
Muu urheilu	Other sports
Kuvafoorumi	Picture forum
Pelit	Games
sub-subforum: FIFA-sarjat	sub-subforum: FIFA leagues
Tavaratori	Marketplace
FF²	FF² (the forum itself as a topic)

TABLE 4 Additional subforums in *Futisforum2.org* that had been added between 13 October 2006 and 1 February 2013.

Some *Futisforum2.org* subforums that appeared after[29] 13 October 2006	English translation
sub-subforum: Nuorten ja naisten maajoukkueet	sub-subforum: Juniors' and women's national teams
sub-subforum: Joukkuekeskustelut	Team-specific discussions (Finnish premier league)
sub-subforum: Otteluseuranta	sub-subforum: Match live following
Ykkönen	One (the second highest level in Finland)
Kakkonen	Two (the third highest level in Finland)
sub-subforum: Harrastefutis	sub-subforum: Hobby footie
sub-subforum: Futsal	sub-subforum: Futsal
Cup-kilpailut	Cup competitions
sub-subforum: Kausiotsikot	sub-subforum: Season topics (for foreign clubs)
sub-subforum: Veikkauspelit	sub-subforum: Pools games
Jalkapallokuvat	Football pictures
Taktiikka, valmennus ja seuratoiminta	Tactics, coaching and club work
Vedonlyönti	Betting

In Section 5.4 and in the detailed empirical description in Articles 2, 3 and 4, I will refer to these subforums when a particular dataset is drawn from as particular subforum.

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[29]   http://futisforum2.org/ (last accessed 1 February 2013).

2.10 Introduction to linguistic practice in *Futisforum*

This section introduces us to the multilingual practices and usages that are found in *Futisforum,* anticipating the actual analysis contained in this thesis. I assume that the major emergence of multilingual practices in *Futisforum* dates from around 1999–2000. In 2000–2002 other topics than football began to thrive in *Futisforum*: it was actually a key insight, pointed out to me by *Futisforumists* in informal communication, that these off-topic subforums were important to many members from the point of building rapport and co-constructing the community of practice. While I have mainly concentrated on football topics and threads in the choice of actual case studies here, it has proved impossible to insist on this as an exclusive rule, since many sociolinguistically interesting practices and patterns are rhizomatically located across several subspaces and subforums (cf. the 'mill tattoo' and 'bad Finnish' cases in Article 2, and the mock-Lädi case in Article 3). Since around 2001–2003, *Futisforum* has caused controversy in other media (print and online), which has been to a great extent due to its tolerance of expression, opinion and 'anarchy' (emic designation). Most of the early exposure in other media was negative (obscene, violent and largely unmoderated language use, racism, overblown critique of the Football Association of Finland and the main coach of the national team). Such unmoderated, anarchistic, and at times even malevolent ways of writing are illustrated mostly in Articles 2 and 3. However, to balance this, *Futisforum* has also featured in positively framed news such as anti-racism (see Kytölä 2008), broader concrete initiatives for the Finnish football culture, public charity fund-raising for groups of under-privileged people in Finland or for a brain-injured fellow forumist. Fund raising has occurred at *FF2.org* and received attention in the mainstream mass media, although it has to be pointed out here that many journalists in the mass media are known activists in the *Futisforums*; it would thus be a fallacy to separate informal online media and 'serious' print media in this respect. While I take a critical stance towards the bullying and mockery discourse events discussed in Articles 2 and 3, I also wish to highlight the positive power of the online football community in promoting many good causes as well as their creative and consistently entertaining debate style (Articles 4 and 5).

The set of insider vocabulary and ways of writing idiosyncratic to *Futisforum* began to emerge around 1999 (ex_deBoer et al. 2000, 2002). These are at the heart of this dissertation, and I refer to them as 'forumisms' and 'Forumese'. While 'forumism' is an emic term ('foorumismi'), 'Forumese' is my own coinage. 'Forumism' refers to single features (lexemes, phrases and sayings, down to orthographic deviations, morphemes and other features smaller than single lexemes) which I regard as *Futisforums'* insider language or as language originating from the *Futisforums.* Some of these have spread online and offline to more general usage; however, it would be premature to exaggerate their overall influence on the Finnish language at this point (but in the future,

especially if Finland *does* become a 'football society', who knows what may happen?). 'Forumese', then, is my loose designation for a whole, imagined language variety consisting of a large amount of forumisms. The boundary between non-Standard Finnish and Forumese (or in some cases, non-Standard English and Forumese) is a blurred one, and it is not the purpose of this thesis to resolve this issue completely. However, the usefulness of the variety's name, 'Forumese' takes on more justification in some of the empirical work contained here. For instance, Article 5 tentatively categorizes the forums' 'framing devices' according to the language or variety used: there it becomes necessary to distinguish between items recognizable as 'Finnish', 'non-Standard Finnish' (understandable by *anyone* who knows Finnish well), and 'Forumese' (understandable by those who know *Futisforums* well). Moreover, Articles 2 and 3 document in detail the emergence and early usages of certain features that become deeply embedded, part of 'Forumese' for years. Rather than a fully formed variety, 'Forumese' is thus best seen as a distinct sociolinguistic style (Coupland 2007) or a way of writing (Hymes 1974). I will return to this issue at later points.

2.11 The question of 'lurkers'

In this dissertation, I will not pay much attention to the issue of 'lurkers', readers who do not write at all (Baym 2000: 144–147; Nonnecke & Preece 2001). 'Lurkers' have, alternatively, been called 'simple readers' or 'eavesdroppers' (Marcoccia 2004). The forums' internal statistics functions indicate that all topics have been viewed multiple times more than there are replies to them. There is no indication, however, if these views are by registered members who contribute frequently, by registered, non-contributing members or by non-registered web users anywhere. Those *Futisforum2.org's* few subforums that are for registered members only rule out the last category of non-registered lurkers. In addition to the thousands of active contributors and tens of thousands of registered members with few postings, there are probably a multiple number of non-registered readers. In my research on multilingual language use, I only explored active authors' multilingual performance, the visible discourse. With my methodological choices, I can only speculate on how non-writing 'lurkers' understand or 'silently' react to the discourse they view (Rutter & Smith 2005; Baym 2000: 144–147; Nonnecke & Preece 2001). Lurkers should not be seen as a big problem in a discourse-oriented (sociolinguistic) online ethnography, since the focus is here on the discourse *that is*, not on discourse *that never emerges*. However, even if lurkers do not perform multilingual language use in its strictest sense, they are likely to have metapragmatic awareness (or reflexivity without any visible response). From another perspective, attitudes towards usages of particular varieties, styles, phrases, words, and so on, may generally be more neutral than the discourse itself suggests. It can reasonably be hypothesized that extreme opinions (for instance, strongly negative statements

about the use of English in *Futisforum,* or the use of a certain variety of English, or even the use of a single linguistic variant) are more easily voiced from behind the affordance of a web forum pseudonym, whereas holders of neutral opinions may prefer to stay silent on the topic – the 'nothing to say' phenomenon (cf. Nonnecke & Preece 2001).

2.12 Passing of time and 'tacit knowledge'

All in all, things tend to change in football culture, and in an online community such as the *Futisforums,* so rapidly that even 'relatively recent' topics appear to have an aura of antiquity around them. This seems to me partly due to the changes in the outer appearance of the forums (old websites look 'funny' or 'nostalgic'), but also, as both forums have now an established appearance, due to the changes in the current participant frameworks, current ways of writing ('Forumese', like any variety, changes over time). Also, the popularity trends of 'micro-topics' are in flux, although the 'macro-topics', the big stories, seem to remain the same over the decades. With these insights in mind, changes and developments can clearly be seen in the digital discourse on the two *Futisforums* when comparing the different phases from the original *Soccernet* 'Palsta' of 1996 via the threaded *Futisforum* of 1997, the new *Futisforum* of 2000 with thematic subdivisions, the php-script forum of 2002 and the *Futisforum* which I first learned to know in 2004–2005, to the gradual but rapid demise of the forum in 2007–2009 and its almost complete dereliction left by 2012. What makes this change over time more complicated is the success of *Futisforum2.org,* which in many ways is a continuation of and concordant with *Futisforum,* but also in many other ways discontinuous with it, a new forum in its own right. In that sense, the atmosphere of the discussions of 2006 or 2007, when *both* forums were still active and competing for users, was different across the two forums, not only because of the changed outlook. In order to write a more holistic and more accurate social history of the *Futisforums* and the communities of practices they have helped to form, we would need much more ethnographic work, even more engagement with the discourse left in the ruins of the older forums, and most importantly, collaborative writing with long-time *Futisforumists* (see also ex_deBoer et al. 2000, 2002). In the course of these years, this kind of knowledge has grown to represent the 'tacit knowledge' (e.g. Polanyi 1967) of the community, passed in the forums' history and folklore from generation to generation – and 'generations' in this context come in much shorter waves than is generally understood in human life.

2.13 *Futisforum* vs. *Futisforum2.org*

Here is a brief juxtaposition and comparison of the two major forums after the completion of data collection. For *Futisforum2.org,* the future looks bright, as the forum is extremely active, well administered and ardently moderated by an eclectic group of active moderators. The number of registered members grows steadily, and the discussions maintain a good level of quality, entertainment value and social rapport. Naturally, there are also continuous complaints that the standards of the discussions have declined, but all in all, the forum seems to have longevity and stable popularity (this brief review was written in January 2013). The situation seems worse for the original *Futisforum*, which saw a mass emigration around 2006–2007 and has ever since further deteriorated and been taken over by spam robots. The administrators announced the closure of the entire site *Soccernet.fi* in March 2011, but as of June 2012, the remnants of the once so vibrant, appealing and influential *Futisforum* remain online despite the disappearance of the edited mother site. Some niche[30] discussions remained active until at least 2011 also in *Futisforum,* despite the active victorious development of *FF2.org*.

2.14 Classic sociolinguistic variables *vis-à-vis* the *Futisforums*

As can be seen, this thesis does not make very many claims about issues of age or gender. In computer-mediated communication, most of the big variables of face-to-face, embodied communication are not immediately identifiable due to the complex chains of mediation, atemporality and asynchronicity and the lack of physical co-presence of the interlocutors (Herring 1996b, 2004; Thurlow et al. 2004). These include, for example, age, gender, social class, ethnicity and geographical affiliation. Rather than by direct sensory perception – which is not always fully possible in physical 'offline' encounters either – these aspects of online identities are mediated through discourse, semiotic means and technologies (Herring 1996b; Sudweeks et al. 1998; Gauntlett & Horsley 2000; Hine 2000; D. Bell 2001; Danet 2001; Thurlow et al. 2004; Markham & Baym 2009; Thurlow & Mroczek 2011b). In an online linguistic environment such as the *Futisforums,* the classic sociolinguistic variables (age, gender, geographical location, social class) can be of less importance than in face-to-face communication, as other salient factors govern the use of language (e.g. expertise, seniority in community, knowledge of subgenres). Within CMC

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[30]   'Niche' here is not an evaluative label; on the contrary, I respect the experts who maintain a high level of expertise and discussion, even in the older *Futisforum*. 'Niche' refers here to a specific football culture and the fandom around it, examples still thriving in *Futisforum* in 2011, years after the start of its gradual demise, include active threads on the III division in the Helsinki area, Italian *Serie A*, Arsenal's season topics, and Latin American football.

scholarship, particularly its early years when researchers had a fascination for its 'newness', this has received due attention (Herring 1996; Sudweeks, McLaughlin & Rafaeli 1998; Gauntlett & Horsley 2000; Danet 2001), although it is outside the scope of this study to provide a detailed discussion.

However, a few things need to be said about the demography of the *Futisforum* community (or overlapping communities), along with critical discussion of how certain we can be about the members' offline personae. In the case of the format of web forum, the key means for this are text and discourse: posts, member profiles with possible images, and the overall reputation that online personae accumulate via these affordances. This is appropriate because the community (or communities) embedded in the *Futisforums* are neither representative of all Finns nor even all Finnish football fans, and it thus helps to put the findings in perspective. The discussion below is based upon observation and notes during the extensive fieldwork period online (aided by fieldnotes), my informal encounters with the forum members and explicit meta-discussions in the forums on 'who we are', i.e. discussion threads and excerpts that deal with the members' age, gender, geographical etc. distribution. Moreover, cues are taken from members' self-ascribed profile information (e.g. a member can simply display publicly below his screen name that he is from the city of Turku, etc.). What follows is a brief overview of the ways in which the membership, participation frameworks and the actual discourse in the two *Futisforums* might be mirrored against the most central classic sociolinguistic variables.

2.15 The *Futisforums* and gender

As regards the gender issue, by far the majority of *Futisforumists* are male. This becomes manifest on many layers of the overall discourse. In the offline 'material' world, there are considerably more males playing and following football than females; and although this gap has (fortunately) been narrowed in recent decades, stereotypes and folk perceptions still strongly prevail regarding the male dominance of football (Giulianotti 1999: 146–173; Krøvel & Roksvold 2012). Particularly, in the heyday of the original *Futisforum* (ca. 1999–2007), being a female was frequently, time and time again, 'made an issue'; the few publicly female members were generally known by their screen name, and they were frequently teased, sometimes even harassed. Moreover, myriads of jokes were cracked about the small number of females on the board as well as the counter-discourse of the incurable helplessness of the forum's (allegedly heterosexual) males in ever finding female company. Perhaps as a consequence of this male dominance, a new dedicated forum[31] was founded for women's football on 2 November 2006. The emergence of *FF2.org* in the spring of 2006 changed the picture somewhat: perhaps the new board – partly new administrators and moderators, and partly new and 'fresh' discourse practices –

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[31]   http://www.naisfutis.net/foorumi/ (last accessed 1 February 2013)

helped pave the way for female members to register more actively. The official forum statistics from *FF2.org* indicate a ratio[32] of ca. 16:1, but this can be unreliable, as most members do not indicate the optional gender choice at all, while many publicly male members have selected 'female' in their profile (and possibly vice versa). In sum, gender still seems to matter to a great extent in the *Futisforums*; while some publicly female members are key members in these communities of practice, others continually receive sexist responses, and yet others, I have reason to assume, do not reveal the female aspect of their identity at all. The gender aspect is not a key issue in any of the case studies contained in this dissertation, but it does emerge as salient *in situ* in a few cases. In Article 4, the nickname 'billie' creates a female impression, but this becomes an issue only sporadically. In Article 3 it seems that the few participating females take a strong stance against the bullying and mockery of 'Anfield_mate' conducted by mostly male members, although the sequence is too small and tentative to provide a more reliable result. Otherwise, for the foci of this study, I assume the *Futisforum* discourse to be male-dominated yet, most of the time, relatively ungendered.

2.16 The *Futisforums* and age

On the basis of my long observation (and fieldnotes), it is reasonable to assume that the majority of active, contributing *Futisforum* members are between 15 and 40 years of age. If that estimate is transferred to the year of birth, I suggest that the majority of the original *Futisforum's* key members were born between 1960 and 1989. In the hegemony of *FF2.org*, writers born in the 1990s (and possibly even in the 2000s by now!) have also clearly surfaced in greater numbers. As with gender, age in web forums (and many other types of digital discourse) is rather constructed in discourse than a direct correlate of a participant's physical age. In the two *Futisforums*, older members are both appreciated (because of their *a posteriori* football history expertise and perspective) and ridiculed (because they do not seem to understand younger generations' ways). The same applies more or less inversely to the youngest participants, but they may alternatively be considered senior members in terms of membership and number of postings. For instance, prolific young writers in *FF2.org* have gained a considerable amount of sincere respect, or alternatively or simultaneously, ironic 'camp' respect for their writings and online reputations. Their lack of experience 'on the field' can be a cause of teasing. For instance, if a senior member reflects on key events in the collective memory such as the black night of autumn 1997 when Finland was dramatically defeated by Hungary, or HJK's performances in the 1998–99 UEFA Champions League, or the Finland vs. Turkey match in June 1999, younger members may not have been football

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[32]   http://futisforum2.org/index.php?action=stats   (available   only   to   registered members; last accessed 30 June 2012)

followers at the time, and may become targets of teasing because of it. In a similar vein, members enthused about more recent (global) football events such as FC Barcelona's or Spain's recent big victories, are often disregarded and dismissed due to their lack of historical depth or their shallow 'glory-hunting' ways. In sum, age matters in the *Futisforums* to some extent, but perhaps more saliently, it is seniority as a forum member, or football expertise, or contributions to the forums that is appreciated.

2.17 The *Futisforums* and class

Connections between social class and language use have been a central topic of inquiry since the very early days of sociolinguistics (Fishman 1970: 57–71; see Labov 1966 for a 'classic' study of the correlation between class and speech features). While sociolinguistic research on class has during the years been somewhat overshadowed by age-, gender- and ethnicity-based studies, scholars such as Rampton (1999, 2000, 2005, 2006) have argued for further and more elaborated sociolinguistic research on class. Finland has a reputation as a society where class plays relatively little difference, but everyday observation would suggest that sociolinguistic differences do exist between classes or between people in different domains of social life. There is very little sociolinguistic literature on class in a Finnish context, but a major survey (Leppänen et al. 2009a, 2011) found that education and occupation correlate to some extent with most aspects of English use and attitudes toward English. One of our findings was that the more educated and people in managerial or 'expert' occupations use English more, and in more diverse and versatile ways, than the less educated or people in manual or 'low-end' healthcare work. To bring the discussion back to the context of the *Futisforums*, even after years of observation and online-ethnographic research, it is rather hard to pinpoint particular forum discussions or single users whose language 'shows off' strong features of class. Very rarely does it feature in metapragmatic evaluations among the forumists, either. The stylistic choices, for instance on the axis formal–informal, could be strongly class-influenced if explored more deeply from that perspective, but in the present research design I regard them as stylistic choices and aesthetic preferences rather than mediated outcomes of class differences. However, interestingly, class becomes an issue in Article 3, where the use of a Scouse dialect becomes the target of mockery and even racist outbursts, and emerges as a distinct mock-style that becomes embedded in the group repertoire of 'bad Englishes'. In that case study, the indexical values attached to Scouse have to do with class and geography (Liverpool) in roughly equal measures; and much of the discourse analysed in Article 3 is based on years of accumulated teasing and mocking discourse which I did not want to tap into in more detail for ethical and practical reasons.

2.18 The *Futisforums* and geographical or dialectal variation

Finally, let us have a brief look on the ways in which matters of geography (i.e. the physically and socially determined location of the forumists that constitute their community of practice) is made salient in the *Futisforums'* discourse. Most *Futisforumists* appear to be ethnic[33] Finns who know Finnish as their first language ('mother tongue', 'heritage language', etc.). A remarkable number of *Futisforumists* identify themselves as Finnish-Swedish, but most of them mainly use Finnish on the forums. Some forumists overtly represent themselves as bilingual or having grown up in two or more distinct 'cultures', while others may 'give off' such information in observably non-native, non-Standard, or second-language ways of writing Finnish[34]. The forumists who represent themselves as non-Finnish speakers are another category; some of these are analysed in Article 2 ('altan'; the mock-Arabs), Article 4 ('billie') and Article 3 ('altan'). Moreover, there is a relatively large group of Finnish-speakers writing in Finnish from a location outside Finland. These are not explicitly dealt with in this thesis, but they are an integral part of the overall constellation of participants. Football-cultural or linguistic expertise acquired in these forumists' countries of residence is manifest in the forums as multilingual, heteroglossic language usages. For example, the 'framing devices' explored in Article 5 are a good example of the polylingual language behaviour of Finnish football enthusiasts abroad. (I refrain from explicitly pointing out 'who' they are.) Some forumists observably prefer to write Finnish dialectally: the dialects that I observed multiple times during the data collection include Kotka (south-east), Savo (east), Pori (south-west), Lappi (north), Tampere (south-west) and the capital Helsinki. Because of the history, size and position of Helsinki, however, its 'dialect' may be difficult to precisely distinguish from sociolect and slang (Nuolijärvi 2006; Kalliokoski 2006; Lehtonen 2006; Lehtonen 2011). Generally, dialectal writing appears to be discouraged and standard Finnish preferred in the *Futisforums'* mainstream; and there is great variation between 'dialect writers' in how much dialectal input they actually include in their messages or member profiles. Furthermore, there are metapragmatic discussions that

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[33] I am aware that the ubiquitous and elusive notion of ethnicity could be problematized and discussed in much more detail. However, the purpose of this section is to give a brief general overview of the *Futisforums* and their participation framework; a more detailed discussion of ethnicity issues is therefore left for the empirical analyses (Articles 2–5), where, for instance, 'Turkishness', 'Arabness', 'Englishness', 'Scouseness' ('Otherness' in general) are focused on when they emerge as salient in the data.

[34] Like the mercurial notion of 'ethnicity', I am aware of the various ways in which these problematic terms and concepts can be contested and deconstructed, also within the sociolinguistics of globalization, the strand in which I situate this study. Rampton (1990) points out the dissatisfaction already expressed by the earliest sociolinguists towards these essentialising notions. However, let us be content with them for the purpose of a general, tentative description of the *Futisforums*. More nuanced descriptions that contest and deconstruct them are found in Articles 4 and 3, for instance.

explicitly evaluate Finnish dialects, both on-topic (topics devoted to this) and off-topic (football discussions that turn into a dialect debate). Also English dialects are discussed frequently; Article 3 and the case study 'Anfield_Mate' contain the most flagrant example among the case studies where Liverpudlian (Scouse) ways of speaking/writing are devalued and represented as inferior. In these metapragmatically reflexive discussions, Finnish dialects, too, are evaluated in negative terms. Moreover, Article 5 illustrates how dialectal items can be used in the discoursal subpositions of 'Location' or 'Signature', and even forum pseudonyms. The sample I use in Article 5 includes not only dialectal Finnish and English, but also German (Bavarian) and Italian (Piedmontese or Lombard)[35]; this would suggest that it is legitimate for these Finnish language and cultural experts to include dialectal 'foreign' language in their performance. This brings us to issues of appropriation, crossing, double-voicing and entextualization defined in Section 1.4 and elaborated in Section 4.6 and 4.7.

2.19 Other Finnish football forums

In sum, the two *Futisforums* have been a rich source of sociolinguistic data for this research project, and thus my original intention to include a much broader investigation of other Finnish football sites and other CMC formats was to a great extent rejected in the face of the abundance and complexity of *Futisforum* and *FF2.org* data. Besides these two giant forums, however, I have followed and researched several smaller Finnish football forums during the project, even if the raw data found in them were finally excluded for the purposes of this dissertation. The biggest general Finnish football forums after the two *Futisforums* are *Paitsio.com* and *Futismaailma.com*[36]. Of these two, the forum embedded in the edited website *Paitsio.com* has a heavy emphasis on English football, which can be seen, for instance, in the number of topics about English football or the degree of detail devoted to it, when compared to other football 'cultures'. The forum[37] at *Futismaailma.com,* another edited football website in Finnish, has no particular bias towards any country or football 'culture'[38]. These two forums are also relatively big, yet already a quick investigation of their statistics reveals that they are much smaller than *Futisforum* or *FF2.org. Futismaailma.com* as an edited website has arguably taken its place in the

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[35]　Of course, the line between 'language' and 'dialect' can be drawn with different criteria; in many ways it can be legitimate to consider Piedmontese or Lombard as languages distinct from Italian.

[36]　'Futismaailma' literally means 'Football world', although 'futis', a Swedish-based loanword, is clearly colloquial Finnish in lieu of the Standard noun 'jalkapallo'. 'Paitsio' means 'offside' here.

[37]　Between 2008 and 2012, *Futismaailma's* forum was called '*Alakulma*' (literally 'The lower corner' [of the goal]). Prior to 2008 and since 2012, it has just been called 'keskustelu' ('discussion').

[38]　I do not regard 'culture' in this context in any way a countable phenomenon or an essentialistically definable category; hence the inverted commas here in lack of an accurate term for this fluid concept.

Finnish football 'Web sphere', but its discussion forum has never grown to be as popular as the two *Futisforums*. *Paitsio.com* has been around for a long time (at least from 2005); although not overall as active as *FF2.org*, it seems to effectively fill a niche for enthusiasts of English football and seems to have longevity. Furthermore, many clubs have their 'local' forums, and many of them seem to have overlapping memberships and even the same pseudonyms as the two large *Futisforums*. Anecdotal findings and non-structured observation suggests that in bigger football countries (e.g. the UK, Germany, Russia), each club has one or more active forums, but big general football forums for an entire nation or 'one language' are not found. Moreover, as mentioned above, there is a relatively large Finnish forum dedicated to women's football and another one dedicated to junior football[39], and yet another one to futsal, (*fútbol sala*)[40]. It seems that they were originally founded because the original *Futisforum* displayed at times malevolent attitudes towards ladies' and juniors' football and futsal. However, even after the establishment of these 'friendlier' specific forums, discussions about both ladies' and juniors' football and futsal continued in *Futisforum* and *FF2.org*.

Many memes (see e.g. Shifman & Thelwall 2009; Burgess 2008) and 'forumisms' which are in frequent use in *Futisforum* are also used extensively in the smaller forums, whether club-specific, ladies, juniors or futsal, and also in non-forum websites such as blogs and *Facebook*). For the data selection purposes of this thesis, discussions on women's and juniors' football are excluded, but this in no way means that I have no regard towards either. On the contrary, I greatly appreciate both the concrete and discursive grassroots work done in these two domains in Finland. While the discourses on ladies' and juniors' football as well as futsal would be definitely worth researching (for instance, from the point of view of gender or age construction), I excluded them at an early stage to prevent an overload of researchable data.

During this research project, I have visited these smaller forums frequently but not in a structured, systematic sense, with the exception of my first acquaintance in late 2005 and early 2006, when I systematically browsed through almost all the sections and subforums of the forums that then existed. My overall observation on them is that the two major *Futisforums* are less strictly moderated, more anarchistic, and more idiosyncratic in discourse practice, while the communicative styles in the other forums veer closer to unmarked Standard or unmarked colloquial written Finnish. That said, it is clear that many writers shuttle between the forums, and in so doing, many of the idiosyncrasies and stylistic aspects associated with *Futisforum* and *FF2.org* 'leak' into other sites, too. Further, they leak and travel into Finnish non-football forums and into non-Finnish forums as well (see Articles 2 and 3 for documentation and analyses of such circulations). Then again, many prolific

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[39] http://www.nappulafutis.com/foorumi/ (last accessed 1 February 2013)
[40] http://www.futsalforum.fi/ (founded 2 January 2012; last accessed 1 February 2013). Several years earlier there was an edited Finnish futsal site called *FutsalSuomi*. The 'golden age' of that site appears to have been around 2001–2005, part of which is retrievable via *Internet Archive Wayback Machine* (as per January 30, 2013).

Futisforum or *FF2.org* writers seem not to participate at all in the other football forums, at least not with the same pseudonym and not with all the 'baggage', the social reputation, that seems to be at stake on *Futisforum* or *FF2.org.* The same applies to the *intra-forum* distributions of activity; for instance, some prolific *Futisforum* or *FF2.org* pseudonyms appear not to contribute at all to the ladies, juniors or futsal topics. Some prolific authors write almost exclusively for 'International football', while others contribute solely to 'Finnish football' or a more specific subforum.

2.20 Section summary

This section has been a general, socio-historical outline of the two *Futisforums*, their emergence and development and their relation to each other. Its overarching intention was to familiarize the reader with the 'hot' topics, the orientations and attitudes, the debates and arguments typical of them, with particular focus on the emergence of multilingual language use in them. Above, I briefly anticipated some of the key sociolinguistic issues that this study investigates as well as the general participation framework. From the point of view of language use, this historical overview sets the backdrop for the multilingual styles (Coupland 2007) and ways of writing (Hymes 1974, 1996) that are used in jocular, teasing, mocking and sometimes aggressive ways. The general orientation of many prolific key forumists towards Finnish football (but seldom in an otherwise nationalistic way) and the success of Finnish actors in the field (national team, clubs, players) is a particularly important context for plausible interpretations in the cases analysed in Articles 3 and 4. In Article 4, the allegedly English discussant 'billie' (pseudonym changed) is rather warmly (yet jokingly) welcomed into the collective fandom of the Finnish superstar Jari Litmanen, while in Article 3, the Turkish member's suspicions of betting fraud and the Finnish member's extensive Liverpool FC fan activity meet a negatively framed response. The screenshots from different periods in Figures 1–15 give a general idea of the ways in which multilingual assemblages are exhibited in the forums' subspaces, or how a meme such as the Porttila quotation can be drawn upon in covert metapragmatically reflexive comments about language use. Next, we turn to the ethical considerations relating to this study.

3   ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Computer-mediated communication has proved a notoriously grey research domain from the standpoints of research ethics: while earlier formats of CMC (in the 1990s) were perhaps more readily distinguishable as open/public (e.g. edited websites) or closed/private (e.g. emails, email lists), there have always been formats and genres in between (e.g. chat channels, newsgroups and forums that anyone can join). Moreover, we should remember that technical availability and openness does not equate with social or cultural openness; for instance, technically open-access social media (formats) may contain socially confidential or vulnerable interaction, and conversely, technically closed or limited-access social media (formats) may contain digital discourse that is clearly made for public consumption. In addition, different web users (both writers and readers) have divergent opinions and experience of what is public and what is private; in fact, users of digital social media may not always be aware of the privacy settings of the applications and sites via which they interact. A telling case from the Finnish football scene is the web tool *Nimenhuuto.com*, which is designed for facilitating the collective planning, organization and mutual communication of sports teams (or other relatively small communities). It has features such as event calendars, registration for events on an 'in-out-maybe' basis, and storage of shared files. However, it also has the affordance of discussion threads (not a proper web forum); and I, together with my teammates, have frequently noticed how many teams and groups (occasionally including our own) leave their internal discussions open to public view (especially if this is an 'opt-out' option). This has the effect of many strange, messy bits of interaction being available and accessed online, often found among a search engine's search results or suchlike. The same goes for currently popular application such as *Facebook*, and many web forums as well.

The most recent waves of social media, referred to by many as 'Web 2.0' (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2010c) further complicate matters from the research ethical point of view, as the lines between public and private – or open and closed – CMD are ever more contested and blurred. Prime examples include

Myspace, *Facebook* and *Twitter*, each a success story of the first decade of the 2000s, but web discussion forums (in their current relatively 'stable' manifestation since 1999–2000) can also be problematic. Some researchers argue that all the possible caveats and ethical guidelines we know from human research should be applied to studies on humans' interaction online, while at the other extreme it is thought that any 'texts' publicly accessible on the web are readily available for research use, since their producers are or were (or at least should be) aware that what they post as their thoughts and opinions can be viewed by all and sundry. While digital discourse is often ephemeral and prone to get lost (websites or parts of them can be deleted forever with one or two clicks), it also has the potential to become stored and circulated for decades (as yet; we do not have a longer perspective of the participatory Web). Thus, even if a user regrets having written something and removes it from the social medium used o for that purpose, there is always the possibility that someone (or a web spider program) has saved and stored it, and that it remains online for any potential amount of recirculation over the internet. As for the *Futisforums*, I regard them most of the time as public opinion discourse that its writers intend to make public, including the myriads of discussions where the main focus of socializing between screen personae is the exchange of football-related informational discourse. All in all, there is a strong sense of public, at times 'artistic' performance, including heavy stylization and a high level of awareness of the public nature of the discussion. However, to be on the safe side, and as asking thousands of members is practically impossible, I adopt here an intermediate position for my research on the *Futisforums*; this position is further elaborated in the following Sections (3.1–3.3).

3.1 Access to data

The two *Futisforums* are technically open for anyone to read, with three exceptions: first, certain non-football subforums of *FF2.org* (see Section 2.9) require registration, but this is free and open to all and does not require moderator approval. Second, for the moderation of forums, moderators have their own subforum; and third, private messages between members sent via the forums' private message function are of course not shown to outsiders (although they are often quoted in joking and/or malevolent ways) in the forums' more public parts). The last two cases (moderators' subforums and private messages) are excluded totally from this study; I have also made very little use of the *FF2.org* subforums which require registration. The 'mill tattoo' case and the ice-hockey mockery in Article 2 come partly from those subforums, along with one thread used in Article 3 to illustrate the emergence of the 'mock-Lädi' style. In the case of the latter, I have deleted parts of user information to be on the safe side from an ethical point of view; however, my informed opinion is that the phenomenon itself deserves attention in sociolinguistics and possibly across a broader field, too .

I acknowledge that by far the majority of the writers have submitted their writings voluntarily; therefore I would not expect much complaint if the writings are taken up beyond the forums' boundaries. 'Boundaries', of course, are deceptively insubstantial in the realm of the internet, and particularly with the convergence of different participation formats both online and offline (see Leppänen et al. forthcoming; Peuronen 2011; Androutsopoulos 2008, 2010c; Georgakopoulou 2006). However, I see the need for certain precautions when recycling and entextualizing further 'out of context' deeply situated discourses and threads of interaction in which actual people, or more or less reputable web personae, have made perhaps notable investments, or perhaps shared slices of their personal emotional life. In this respect, a log data-based sociolinguistic study such as this should strike an acceptable balance between openness, crediting performance and possible protection. All this becomes better informed and is more arguable with the integration of ethnographic perspectives in research (Article 2; Androutsopoulos 2008). Although I did not use the informed consent principle in this study of multilingual discourses, every forum member with whom I discussed this research showed a positive or a very positive, or at least neutral, attitude towards my scholarly aims.

Lawson (2004) legitimately suggests that online authors of synchronous CMC whose texts one aims at using for research purposes should ideally have their opinion canvassed on whether to be given full credit for their writings (in a 'copyright' sense), or to totally opt out of 'donating' any traces of text for recycled research purposes in another context (for a practical application, see also Pavlenko 2005: 244–247). For open and public asynchronous CMC, such as the *Futisforums*, I do not regard informal consent as by any means necessary for quoting extracts for research purposes; the researcher should nevertheless be subtly attuned to issues that possibly seem sensitive to the community of practice explored (see Sixsmith & Murray 2001; Brownlow & O'Dell 2002; Kralik et al. 2005). Some researchers (e.g. Lawson 2004) have reservations about harming CMC users' online reputations; I would take a slightly different view with regard to the *Futisforums*. The reputations accumulated in 'screen life', which become mediated when recontextualized in a research context, are also to a great extent 'deserved', whether positively or negatively; and judging from responses in the *Futisforums* to cases where they have been featured in mainstream mass media, there seems to be a fair consensus that the forum discourses are public (apart from mutual private messages). However, I do not want to suggest that critique of online personae for one or two questionable or unethical social acts (writings) should always be balanced and softened lest the overall image of the same persona should become misrepresented. Purely provocative nicknames, persistent antagonists, or 'trolls', in my view, deserve at large to be portrayed as such, although the researcher should be as familiarized as possible with the researched online community before making hasty

judgments on the personae therein.[41] This brings us to the issues of anonymity and credit.

3.2 Anonymity or credit?

For Sanders (2005: 72), non-participatory observation (lurking) as a method for understanding social interactions is less ethically controversial than actually using data, direct quotations, from CMC data without the authors' informed consent. This is an understandable stance in that Sanders's reported research was about sex work communities online, part of which were working in illegal or legally ambiguous conditions. However, my informed take in the case of the two *Futisforums* is less strict: for the most part I consider the digital discourse found in *Futisforums* as public domain. Case-specific consideration has, of course, been part of the current research project; for instance, many sensitive issues concerning the members or even their public online personae were omitted or, in spite of my researcher's and personal curiosity, left totally unexplored. However, I see no ethical reason to totally refrain from researching online conflict. Human and social research should, of course, always attempt not to harm the researched, but there must be ways in which to research conflict, antagonism, aggression and discrimination online. I would even argue that extreme pleas for informed consent or anonymity (or 'double anonymity' when changing pseudonyms) when reporting CMC research can sometimes be hypocritical, if the online discourse community leans towards public or semi-public, or if it is framed in several ways as public performance. I do therefore research conflict, inasmuch as it is related to the research questions here, but I try to balance the cases where these 'negative' issues are discussed with the more benevolent side of the *Futisforums* in order to give a nuanced and truthful picture of the entire communities and the people behind them, whose contributions have actually given motivation and a topic for an interesting and relevant doctoral dissertation.

Ortega & Zyzik (2008) examine CMC research connected to second language learning, addressing a variety of ethical challenges in research on digital communication: informed consent, anonymity and relations between the researcher and the researched. They argue that even pseudonyms and hard log data should be manipulated:

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[41] For instance, after all these years some prolific, distinguished and/or provocative *Futisforum* writers whose postings I have read in hundreds, if not in thousands, have still left me confused regarding their opinions, ideologies and stances, to an extent that it seems wise to refrain from positing anything too definite about them. One key member who has contributed in both *Futisforums*, for instance, seems to alternate between an aggressively provocative role and an idealistic 'world-healer' depending on the day and the context. I should therefore as a researcher not portray any individual pseudonym or web persona on the basis of a limited amount of evidence, but rather, attempt to do justice to a larger picture.

> Internet identities are all the more vulnerable precisely because any reader of a research report could conceivably use the public availability and archival capabilities of the Internet to retrieve cited data or even to trace down a digital person and join an online conversation that was the topic of published research (Ortega & Zyzik 2008: 346)

This is certainly true, and this approach reflects many of the concerns voiced in the first decade of CMC research. However, many forms of CMD are not only fully open in a technical sense, but also simultaneously framed by their producers as open statements. In that light, a contrastive viewpoint arises: alternatively cultural materials online should be credited to their 'artists' rather than privacy-protected (Ortega & Zyzik 2008: 346; Bruckman 2002). For me, this sounds a feasible solution in the case of the *Futisforums:* in my reading, the main ethos at least for the experienced heavy users is indeed to make a performance, a public display out of their communicative repertoires and styles – hence a possible need for crediting them for their creations. Ortega & Zyzik (2008: 346) further argue:

> Researchers should decide along a continuum from zero to heavy disguise, varying their decision on each occasion depending on the purposes of the research, the vulnerability of the population studied, and the right of the participants to receive credit for their cultural creations and to be protected from harm.[42]

Bruckman (2002) suggests a tentative classification of degrees of disguise into 1) no disguise, 2) light disguise, 3) moderate disguise and 4) heavy disguise. Of these, my decisions have mostly fallen into the categories of 'light disguise' (Articles 2, 3 and 4) and 'no disguise' (Article 5 and the generic screenshots in Article 1 and in Section 2). Bruckman's (2002) light disguise is characterized by the following guidelines:

1) Names, pseudonyms and some other identifying details (place names, organizational and institutional names, etc.) are changed.

2) Verbatim quotes may be used, even if they could be used to identify an individual.

3) Group members themselves may be able to guess who is being discussed.

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[42] This is precisely the solution that I reached independently between 2006–2008 in the early stages of this project, prior to having access to Ortega and Zyzik's (2008) article. I assume that many others have come to the same conclusion, even in studies where this is not overtly stated. My conclusion in this respect was informed by my familiarization with the online community, my unstructured contact with some *Futisforumists*, by reviewing background literature on CMC research ethics, in numerous research seminars with colleagues and professors from different fields and with contact to two of the moderators in *Futisforum2.org*.

4) An outsider could probably figure out who is who with a little investigation.

5) Details that are harmful to individuals should be omitted.

Most of the time, I felt that this degree of disguise was the right one for the research at hand, but all in all, there is no single answer to issues of anonymity, consent and contact (Ortega & Zyzik 2008: 349–350; Androutsopoulos 2008; Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012). In the case of the close qualitative studies in Articles 2, 3 and 4, I have changed the pseudonyms to be on the safe side. However, Article 5 researches the actual pseudonyms and public member profiles in a way that can hardly have adverse effects on any of the researched; hence there is no disguise in that study. Some real screenshots with unchanged nicknames are included in this thesis in order to give a realistic flavour of the discourse at hand. The same effect can be reached by just going to the forums online. There is absolutely no way in which I could anonymise the forums themselves: the two *Futisforums* are the only big football forums where Finnish is used extensively.

3.3 The researcher's position

Despite the spread and prevalence of sports in the contemporary phase of globalization (Giulianotti 1999; Giulianotti & Robertson 2009), sports-related topics have been nearly non-existent within sociolinguistics, let alone football topics[43]. In many ways, I regard myself here as a bidirectional interpreter. On the one hand, as a lifelong enthusiast and follower (if not always exactly an 'expert') of football, I illustrate what benefits and insights the analysis of discourses of this global sport can bring to an audience of sociolinguists. Thus, for an audience and readership within humanities, mainly linguistics, I have introduced the domain of football as a legitimate and interesting target for sociolinguistic study. I have worked as an interpreter of football discourse ('text and talk') for a linguistics audience interested in the same sociolinguistic phenomena but ignorant of the socio-cultural implications of the world of football. But arguably the position that I have occupied during this study has been that of a two-way mediator. On the other hand, I bring a researcher's insights from sociolinguistics, particularly its commitment to respect diversity and to refrain from prescriptive statements about language(s), to a football audience in relevant places and occasions. I have increasingly found myself in spreading sociolinguistic knowledge to actors in the grassroots football communities where I have participated myself. I have been the interpreter of some key tenets of linguistics, sociolinguistics, linguistic ethnography and

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[43] *Sociolinguistics Symposium* 19 in Berlin in August 2012 was, to my knowledge, the first attempt to convene for a discussion of the sociolinguistics of football.

language attitudes to the football (and futsal) people I keep meeting on an almost daily basis. The roles I have had in the grassroots football community in the course of the 2000s include amateur player, amateur coach in both football and futsal, both men and junior boys, referee in junior football, manager of a men's futsal team, chairperson of a club, and an active follower of matches in different competitions and follower of the local football scene in general. This has happened not so much within the same forums that I use as primary data for this dissertation (although that is an option for further study; see Section 7 for discussion), but primarily in other ways, in the everyday situations of text and talk in football events (offline and online), where misconceptions, voiced language attitudes and many curious questions arise. Although these latter mentioned roles have been more of an 'informal', 'grassroots', 'off-work' role, they have simultaneously been inextricably linked with this research project, so that the knowledge that accumulates within the research project 'leaks' into my everyday text and talk with actors on the football field, although not usually exactly the same ones whose processes and products I analyse here. This double role as a mediator in two ways serves as a backdrop to the ethnographic premises of this research, creating an autobiographically grounded basis for the choice this topic of interest. One limitation of this study is that I did not take an active role in most of the metalinguistic debates in the web forums that ended up as data for this study. This decision was conscious, both methodological and practical. First, I had the aim of collecting 'naturalistic', naturally occurring log data without intervening or influencing the course of the debates myself. Second, at a later stage of observation and data collection, the reasons were more practical (cf. Androutsopoulos 2008, Hinrichs 2006), having to do with the management of time and delimiting the project. It certainly seems that a more detailed and more ethnographically grounded ethics project for researching football communities online would be one of the next steps to take.

As a final point falling under the ethics rubric – and I deliberately let it be part of the general heading 'researcher's position' – I would like to voice one caveat concerning some of the arguments and statements that are made throughout these sections. When I write about writing, reading (literacy), computers, the internet and other communication technologies, particularly their ubiquity at the present, I here restrict my points to the 'Western world' ('The First World', 'the developed world'). As much as I take concern with the global inequalities both in terms of material well-being and mental capital such as literacy or education, the scope of this study falls, at the end of the day, outside these big 'world order' issues (Wallerstein 2004). I do pay attention to the globalized aspects and the 'big stories' indexically linked with the 'small stories' (Bamberg 2004; Georgakopoulou 2007) that are explored here, but the aspects of globalization that are discussed here do not reach the biggest global scale problems. My cautious generalizations will therefore only concern the 'West' (mainly Europe), but some of the points that become relevant in the discussion of my actual football discourse ('the data') arguably have to do with more global issues such as discourses on 'the Other', as will be seen later. As

pointed out in Sections 1 and 4.1 in particular, football is a highly globalized cultural form, and studying football discourse from a sociolinguistic point of view can open gates to address larger-scale problems and issues in the world. Suffice it to say here that despite the democratic, participative ethos that underlies the development of the internet, a terrain of myriad opportunities, and its most prominent application, the World Wide Web, many old and new inequalities of the world system still hold powerfully. A most striking one is that only the more affluent part of the world's population enjoys the privilege of internet connections or personal computers with which to link to the internet in the first place.

4   TAKING STOCK: THEORY AND BACKGROUND

The theoretical frameworks and methodological choices specific to each of the five research articles (Articles 1–5) are spelled out in each in more detail; however, they all share certain points of departure. These are outlined in this section. In this review, I unpack and define the core terminology employed in this dissertation, with particular attention to how they can be aligned with my core objectives of researching multilingual language use and metapragmatic reflexivity in Finnish internet football forums. I begin by locating a gap of linguistically oriented work in the body of football research, much of which has been conducted within sociology and cultural studies (Sections 4.1 and 4.2). I then move on to review some of the key concerns of sociolinguistics, the 'nexus science' in which this study is rooted (Section 4.3). Although web forums and the connectivity of football fans via the internet are relatively new contexts for language use, the essence of the sociolinguistic phenomena at hand is not; thus, a review of some of the most relevant early sociolinguistic concerns will help to make for a less shallow understanding of the present-day situation. Next, I will proceed to discuss in more detail the key concepts used in this thesis; these were concisely defined in Section 1.4. Section 4.4 discusses my approaches to the concepts of multilingualism, polylingualism and heteroglossia, while Section 4.5 taps into the notions of linguistic resources, repertoires and communicative competence. Section 4.6 reviews the key tenets of code-switching, directing the discussion to crossing (Rampton 2005) and appropriation. Section 4.7, in turn, discusses issues of double-voicing (multi-voicing), entextualization and stylization with the purposes of this study in mind. In Section 4.8, I move on to define and discuss metapragmatic reflexivity, a key notion in this thesis. With these key concepts and tools as our equipment on this journey, Section 4.9 moves the discussion into the three more specific strands of sociolinguistics in which this thesis is anchored, and to which it particularly wishes to contribute. The first of them is the sociolinguistics of Finland (Section 4.9), including both the macro-sociolinguistic history of Finland during the past few decades and studies on some micro-contexts, particularly on the uses of English in Finland. Section 4.10 takes stock of the

sociolinguistics of computer-mediated communication, a relatively new subfield, with particular reference to the works of Jannis Androutsopoulos. Section 4.11 outlines central issues in the sociolinguistics of globalization (e.g. Blommaert 2003, 2010; Coupland 2003b, 2010a, 2010b) and how this study dialectically both draws from them and contributes to them. Section 4.12 is devoted to a brief discussion on how ethnography as a perspective can contribute to sociolinguistic study, and which ethnographic perspectives I deploy in this thesis, which is mainly based on written, visual digital discourse, 'log data'. To complement that section, Section 4.13 describes the main tenets of online ethnography, another relatively recent but rapidly growing approach to computer-mediated communication. Finally, Section 4.14 introduces the issues of multimodality and resemiotization, with the focus on the reasons why their understanding is essential even to a language-focused study.

4.1   Football research: a sociological emphasis

Along with the domains of (late modern) globalization, the nation-state Finland and online writing, football (soccer) is one of the key domains in which this thesis is anchored. This section gives a concise review of scholarship in football fandom and football discourse. Football as a sport, pastime and a cultural form is one of the major global success stories of the past 150 years (Giulianotti 1999: 1–22), and there is an overwhelming amount of scholarly literature on football, largely within the 'hard-science' domains of physiology, biomechanics, exercise psychology and such, but also in the areas of coaching, tactics, sports administration, and so forth. More relevantly for this study, football has been researched to a great extent within sociology and cultural studies (e.g. Giulianotti 1999, Giulianotti & Robertson 2009; Brown 1998, Taylor 1982). A particularly thriving subdomain of social and cultural studies on football has been the unfortunate growth of racism, hooliganism and violence, and fan behaviour in general; this research line has mostly been conducted within sociology and such behavioural sciences as psychology. However, linguistic studies of football text and talk have been extremely few (see Lavric et al. 2008), and *sociolinguistic* studies on football next to non-existent. This is one of the gaps that this study attempts to bridge by establishing an interface between football and (micro)-sociolinguistics. For the purposes of the present study, and to meet the demands of conciseness, I will here only briefly review the areas of sociological research that are most relevant to the present research questions and the precious few linguistic studies on the language of football, suggesting some ways in which my present approach differs from them.

Brown (1998) is a collection of articles that take a sociological and historical approach to forms of fandom and football supporters' antagonisms in European football; some of these articles analyse factors and variables that have led to the rise of fan violence in different continents. A particularly illuminating exception to these concerns is Andersson & Radmann (1998) on the history of

Scandinavian football fandom, where football supportership is discussed in a Scandinavian (i.e., Danish, Norwegian and Swedish) context, one which has been regarded as a less violent and less aggressive, possibly less fanatical geo-sociocultural development that so far has not experienced big disasters or fatal confrontations. However, whilst Finland is arguably a less successful and less prominent football nation [44] than the three above-mentioned Scandinavian nation states, Finland is also an essential part of the Nordic, and indeed European, cultural sphere. With this in mind, Finnish football phenomena have not featured in international sociological scholarship. Heinonen (1999, 2005) offers analyses (in Finnish) on Finnish fans of the English club Everton FC, framing his sociological-anthropological inquiry with the social history of Finnish football fandom directed towards non-Finnish clubs. This is mirrored in my sociolinguistic analysis here to an extent: as we see in Article 3 in particular, some of the *Futisforumists* have developed the pejorative (yet simultaneously ironic and jocular) concept of the 'man-whore'[45] denoting a Finnish fan or supporter of a foreign club or team. An important prerequisite for this was a series of institutional decisions at the level of national, publicly funded institutions: namely, from the 1960s onwards, live football broadcasts were shown from England on *Yleisradio (YLE)*[46] while the opportunity of betting on English league matches from August to May was provided by *Veikkaus*, the public monopoly on sports betting. These played their part – decades before the affordances offered by satellite TV or the internet – in the creation of an 'English bias' in football available to Finnish homes and consumers. It was mainly during the biggest competitions, such as the World Cup or European championship (both of which are held every four years), that non-English international football was featured in the Finnish state-owned media. (Commercial media channels only began to thrive in Finland in the 1990s, and seldom featured football prior to the 21st century.) This bias can clearly be seen in the early years and the present of the *Futisforums* and other Finnish football sites on the web, as while English football continues to be strongly prevalent among a large group of Finnish followers, another group are strongly and aggressively opposed to the hegemony of English football. On the one hand, there are supporters and followers of exclusively Finnish football online; they declare jocularly, but simultaneously in earnest, that Finnish should be made a 'football society' (the manifesto *Suomesta jalkapalloyhteiskunta*; see Section 2.4). On the other hand, there are passionate *aficionados* of non-Finnish and non-English football worlds, most prominently those of Germany (where the main language is German), Spain (Spanish) and Italy (Italian), but also Dutch or

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[44] This is a frequently voiced source of frustration and regret in the discussions on the two *Futisforums*. Indeed, it is one of the key themes throughout their history (see Section 2.4, in particular). As a life-long actor on the Finnish grassroots football scene, I identify with the *Futisforums'* community of practice in this respect.

[45] (Sic); in the forumists' ways of writing, which I loosely sketch as 'Forumese', this emically grounded term is 'mieshuora'. The English translation 'man whore' has been used in the forums occasionally but not very frequently, at least since 2005.

[46] The state-funded national broadcasting company, and thus a rough equivalent of the BBC.

Brazilian, etc. football. The nationalistically (but mostly non-militantly) framed Finnish fandom of Finnish football is most clearly manifested in Article 3, in the derision and exclusion of the nickname 'altan' (pseudonym changed), who insists on maintaining suspicions about betting fraud in an ordinary, most likely non-rigged Finnish league match, and the discourse around the nickname 'Anfield_mate' (pseudonym changed), who supports an English club and does not seem too interested in promoting Finnish football culture. What I tentatively call the *aficionado* culture – supportership, fandom and the following of non-English international football – is not described in this thesis in great detail, but important indexical links to it can be seen in Article 5, which explores the pseudonyms along with other affordances of identification in the *Futisforums'* member profiles as 'framing devices'. By looking at the concrete realizations of these framing devices, we can get a grasp of the polycentricity and the appeal of different 'football cultures' in the strongly and overtly indexical use of different languages or varieties that are generally regarded as 'foreign' in Finland, or for Finns (cf. *crossing* in Rampton 2005).

Heinonen (1999, 2005) has researched Finnish fans of Everton FC[47], and their experiences of 'flow' (Csíkszentmihályi 1990) in their quotidian fandom activities. Although language use is not Heinonen's focus, he includes an abundance of interview quotes indicative of the Finnish Everton fans' *ways of speaking* in the Hymesian (Hymes 1974, 1996) sense. Heinonen's ethnographic and sociological study has an important link to the present study in that it describes in great detail the emergence and everyday lived reality of the Finnish fans of an English club, which is a historically deeply rooted phenomenon in Finland (cf. the emic pejorative 'man whore' in the *Futisforums*). Some of the multilingual cases I have researched are closely intertwined with this emic notion of the 'man whore'; the most notable example in this dissertation is the case of 'Anfield_mate' analysed in Article 3, where the emblematic usages of features ('bits and pieces'; Blommaert 2010: 23) of Scouse evoke a big wave of hate and mockery discourse. Ironically, the case is connected with Liverpool FC fandom, while Heinonen's sociological study concentrated on Liverpool's biggest local rival, Everton FC. In addition to these two clubs, English clubs such as Manchester United, Arsenal, Tottenham, Chelsea or Newcastle are popular in Finland. Article 5 shows how English football is a salient background factor in the choice of English pseudonyms, 'Locations', 'Favourite teams' and 'Signatures' – framing devices that can be deployed to highlight aspects of identity, identification or affiliation.

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[47]   Everton FC is a famous football club in the city of Liverpool, England. Everton have mainly played at the highest level of English football; see Pietarinen (2012) for a summary.

4.2   Linguistics of football

There is a strong body of sociological literature on football (Giulianotti 1999; Giulianotti & Robertson 2009; Brown 1998) which has shed light on our understanding of the connections between football, nationhood, nationalism, fandom, economy, mass media, ethnicity, and gender. However, despite the critical integration of that line of work with discourses in the media and fan discourse, the linguistic-discursive side of this global sport has remained under-researched. Lavric et al. (2008) is, to my best knowledge, the first initiative on the linguistics of football[48], with emphases and focus areas such as football semantics, the football lexicon and terminology in different languages, metaphor and idioms, euphemism and emotion, media (television and newspaper) representations of football events. Many of the chapters in Lavric et al. (2008) exemplify how a corpus-analytic approach can benefit our understanding of football language; however, interactional-sociolinguistic approaches are on the margin, and there is only one study of digital discourses in the volume (Chovanec 2008). A proportion of the contents (approx. 25 %) focuses on terminology and loan-words, which fall outside my immediate research interests. While the dominant strand on studying English in German-speaking and Finnish contexts was, for decades, the 'Anglicisms' approach (whether descriptive or normative), my main interests lie beyond the level of lexicon. Other topics covered in Lavric et al. (2008) include idioms, frequency of phrases, adjectives and metaphors in football reporting, regional identities in football chants, emotional language in media and multimodal analyses of TV live commentary. Veering towards my present purposes, the 'football and multilingualism' section of the volume is the shortest one; in that section, Thaler (2008) legitimately explores the deployment of football discourses in second language English teaching, whilst Giera et al. (2008) introduce a research project on a 'globalized', multilingual football team. Apart from the papers in Lavric et al. (2008), Ringbom (2012) investigates multilingualism in the Finnish club IFK Mariehamn (located in the monolingually Swedish Åland Islands) through a questionnaire survey. His applied aim is to facilitate and encourage more efficient communication within the multicultural men's first team of IFK Mariehamn in the Finnish football league, but the survey-based piece lacks deeper engagement in the actual language practices of the team. However, it is certainly a new opening in the Finnish (Finnish-Swedish) context and its applied purpose is to be duly appreciated. Further, in a non-Western context, Adetunji (2010) is a particularly welcome advance on the nexus of Yoruba *in situ* nicknaming of English Premier League players. His study is an ethnographic following of public 'viewing centres' in Nigerian cities for one season, focused on English Premier League fandom in Nigeria (cf. Section 4.1

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[48]   The volume was put together in the wake of the conference *Österreichische Linguistik-Tagung (ÖLT)* held in Innsbruck in October 2007, which included a workshop on the topic 'Language and football'.

above). Adetunji contextualizes his findings "within the Yoruba football worldview" (Adetunji 2010: 2), making it a legitimate and relevant addition to the 'Western' canon on the topic. It is to be hoped that this line of research will continue, as Western ethnocentrism (or, more accurately, lack of cultural relativism) seems one of the traps that the emerging research on the global linguistics of football might wish to avoid[49]. Football research should by all means embrace the highly globalized nature of the sport. However, these recent openings and advances towards a linguistics of football, the most popular and globalized form of sport, still seem, to some extent, to lack perspectives or empirical takes on the *sociolinguistics* of football[50]. This is the niche where I wish to locate the present study, by framing it theoretically and methodologically in the nexus of three already existing sociolinguistic strands: the sociolinguistics of Finland (and Finns), the sociolinguistics of computer-mediated communication (or digital social media), and the sociolinguistics of globalization (or mobility).

Finally, turning to football and the media, Krøvel & Roksvold (2012)[51] is a new edited volume on mediated discourses of football. Reviewing the volume, Meier points out how modern fan culture is heavily mediated, and how recent changes in mediating technologies "challenge the hierarchical transmitter-receiver relationship, which has characterized old media" (Meier 2012) [52]. Vogan complements this by suggesting that

> while Internet and social media technologies have blurred the line between those who produce and those who consume sports media, the entire history of football fandom is marked by fans' engagement with and use of various media. (Vogan 2012: 1892)

He validly continues that football fandom is not "simply mediated", but it is mediated in different ways and for different purposes (Vogan 2012: 1892–1893). These insights are also echoed in this thesis, as it is about active, agentive football fans and enthusiasts who do not adopt the role of mere consumers. Instead, they are also producers and creators of the polycentric (and heteroglossic) football culture they follow, becoming what could be called 'prosumers' (Burgess 2008; Burgess & Green 2009; Ritzer 2010; Leppänen et al.

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[49] See also Blommaert (2008) on grassroots writing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Blommaert (2010: 63–136) on the legitimate inclusion of not one but several African contexts in his exercise of the study of language in globalization.

[50] At the time of finishing this dissertation, a welcome sign of an attempt to address this gap appeared. The major sociolinguistics conference of the 2000s–2010s, *Sociolinguistics Symposium*, was held for the 19th time in Berlin in August 2012, and the organizers (partly the same researchers that contributed to Lavric et al. 2008) announced in late 2011 that one thematic symposium within the large conference would be on the topic 'the sociolinguistics of football'. I submitted a proposal and participated in the symposium, but the insights and new developments emerging there were too late for the completion of this manuscript. I hope to be able to utilize those insights in my later work.

[51] Krøvel & Roksvold (2012) was published too late for inclusion in the literature reviews of this thesis. Here, I have had to rely on two good reviews of the book (Meier 2012; Vogan 2012).

[52] No page numbering.

forthcoming) in a dialectal process. Moreover, Vogan critiques the naiveté of common (negative) misconceptions of football fandom, pointing out that

> fandom is a complex and productive process through which active consumers build and assert identities. It is a participatory phenomenon wherein fans share in the creation of texts' cultural meanings and provide feedback that can shape those texts' production and circulation (Vogan 2012: 1890)

The final point that I wish to take on board from Vogan's review is that social media

> enable fans to create and assert their identities in ways that were previously impossible and showcase how these media sometimes reinforce traditional hierarchies […] Social media have brought an increased degree of self-consciousness and reflexivity to football fans' performances of their fandom. (Vogan 2012: 1892)

Indeed, this applies in its entirety to the study of multilingualism in digital, interactive football discourse. The fact that different scholars in different parts of the world have recently been thinking alike (cf. Vogan 2012 above) must be seen as a further justification for the rationale of the present study. As I pointed out, those works were published only when this manuscript was in its final stages, but it is encouraging to see that scholarship on football culture is about to take a 'discursive turn', guiding our attention to ways in which football is made meaningful in the everyday practice of supporters and fans. I align to a great extent with these arguments and, with this study on football fans' multilingual language uses, wish to engage in a dialogue with the 'mediated discourse' view represented by the scholars cited above.

4.3 Sociolinguistics as the nexus science

This section describes my general orientation to the history and development of sociolinguistics as a nexus discipline, with the main focus on the relevance that some of the early concerns of sociolinguistics still hold for a renewed communicative context such as the web forums analysed here. As sociolinguistics has swelled to a vast field of inquiry with an awe-inspiring range of sub-branches and applications, I must here restrict my review to certain 'classic' topics on the one hand, and some of the reorientations made around the turn of the millennium, on the other. My more detailed reviews that follow in Sections 4.9–4.11 are focused on the delimited domains of the sociolinguistics of Finland, of computer-mediated communication, and of globalization, respectively. Throughout this thesis, and in Sections 4.10 and 4.11 in particular, I review the ways in which the traditional frameworks and 'variables' are being reworked in late-modern sociolinguistic research.

 While the roots of sociolinguistics (or 'the sociology of language') arguably lie even deeper than the 1950s (Blommaert 2005: 5–13; Fishman 1970; Hymes

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1996), it can retrospectively be suggested that the field emerged as an independent interface of paradigms in the 1950s–1960s in the works of such scholars as Ferguson (1959), Fishman (1965, 1970), Labov (1966), and Gumperz & Hymes (1986).[53] Of this body, I will refer most to the anthropologically inclined strand best exemplified by Hymes (1971, 1974; Hymes 1996 is a good retrospective collection of papers); and I will get back to him in Section 4.12, in particular. An early preoccupation of sociolinguistics was to identify *varieties* within the so-called *languages*; contrary to 'languages', 'variety' was meant as a neutral, descriptive category, free from evaluative or prescriptive burdens, and independent of its status in a given society. Although this should be self-evident to all of us half a century later, I regard this as a yardstick achievement of sociolinguistics. Unfortunately, its repercussions or uptake in the domains of language education and policy have been very limited; and everyday text and talk with non-linguists, even educated ones, reveals a wide gap here (but see Preston 2000; Niedzielski & Preston 2000). It seems characteristic for human beings (at least in the Western hemisphere) to value 'Standard' varieties of language (particularly ones that have global, international, or at least national hegemony) at the cost of different types of non-Standard varieties. This is manifest in the majority of the empirical work contained in this dissertation (see Articles 2, 3 and 4 in particular); metapragmatic reflexivity, especially mockery, is not targeted at 'languages' as much as it is targeted at the 'non-Standardness' of particular *features*. At many points of this thesis, it is necessary to distinguish language-internal variation, and for that job I mainly use the term 'variety'. Also, the sociolinguistic term 'code' has been used as an equally neutral and descriptive synonym of variety (Hymes 1996: 207–210; Fishman 1970); and it has been particularly persistent in the research tradition of *code-switching* and *code-mixing* (Heller 1988; Myers-Scotton 1993; Auer 1995, 1999; Androutsopoulos 2006b; Gardner-Chloros 2009), which could equally well be called *variety-switching* and *variety-mixing*. But although 'variety' is more frequent in other research contexts, 'code' persists in that particular paradigm. However, it is important that these key epistemological and practical orientations within sociolinguistics by no means render the notion of 'languages' completely useless. My own position (informed by Hymes 1996; Heller 2007a, 2007b, Blommaert 2005, 2010; Rampton 2005, 2006; Pennycook 2007, 2010; Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b; García 2009; Androutsopoulos 2011; Leppänen 2012) is to regard 'languages' as socio-historical, political constructs that often have standardized literal varieties alongside possible dialects, sociolects or other 'low' varieties. Regarded from a slightly different perspective, 'languages' are varieties that have a degree of prestige and that have been 'enregistered' (Agha 2004, 2005) into their position. Of course, 'an entire language' can also have low prestige or even stigma; and enregisterment (Agha 2004, 2005) can equally well happen to non-Standard varieties or styles (Johnstone 2010). Importantly, as I follow a research epistemology and design heavily influenced by ethnography

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[53] Needless to mention, many more founding scholars (Einar Haugen, Basil Bernstein, Susan Ervin-Tripp, etc.) would deserve a mention in a more detailed review.

(Section 4.12), 'language' is, furthermore, a meaningful and relevant *emic* category that is made salient in the actual discussions that I use as primary data.

As signposted in the early enthusiasm of this new and important field, the aim of sociolinguistics is to study language varieties, their functions and their speakers in constant interaction with each other (Fishman 1970: 4). Furthermore, a central question in sociolinguistics is summarized in a very simple but effective manner in the title of the early influential work by Fishman (1965): "Who speaks what language to whom and when". This seemingly simple question from nearly half a century ago is compatible with the research questions of this dissertation, too, with its adaption and application to online *ways of writing*, or, independently of the choice of mode, *communicative styles* (Hymes 1974). Thus, when adjusted and reoriented for the present written-mode, asynchronous context, the question could be reformulated as: "Who writes in which varieties and styles to whom and how, under what circumstances, and on what topics?" Finally, early sociolinguistics also paid attention to what types of attitudes or indexical meanings are ascribed and attached to the different varieties at large, and their specific usages. This orientation and these research problems are compatible with what I call 'metapragmatic reflexivity' in this thesis. The notion of language attitudes has been linked within sociolinguistics with the idea of symbolic value (Fishman 1970: 3–4); more or less a different facet of the same phenomenon is captured in the sociolinguistic adaptation of Bourdieu's (1977) 'cultural capital' or, more specifically, 'linguistic capital'. The key questions that have been asked in this strand include: What opinions do people hold about different varieties? What varieties or ways of speaking do people value or devalue, like or hate, cherish or despise, and why? Approaches have ranged from survey questionnaires and interviews to studies of metapragmatic evaluation of attitudes. Indeed, parts of this dissertation discuss language attitudes even more than language use *per se*. I do not use questionnaire or interview-based approaches to language attitudes here; instead, my approach to researching them here is to pay close attention to the fine-grained fabrics (cf. Rampton 2005, 2006) of interaction, the verbal representations of attitudes that become overtly or covertly voiced in the football discussions that drift into the topic of language(s).

Having briefly linked the key aims of this study to the research tradition of sociolinguistics at large, let us now turn to the key sociolinguistic concepts that have been deployed in this study.

4.4 Multilingualism, polylingualism and heteroglossia

This study identifies with and draws from the relatively recent developments in sociolinguistics which take multilingualism (polylingualism, plurilingualism, metrolingualism, etc.), rather than monolingualism, as an epistemological starting point, a default state of affairs. In so doing, I engage in a rebuttal of the persistent fallacy within late 20th century linguistics (sometimes labelled

'Saussurean' or 'Chomskyan'; see Heller 2006, 2007a; Blommaert 2005: 214–221; Blommaert 2010: 1–13; Pennycook 2007: 22, 49) that monolingualism is a theoretical and empirical ideal for the societal order or for linguistic research (see also Makoni & Pennycook 2007). Heller (2006) suggests that monolingualism is a social construction of unity, shared values and practices that seriously erases social difference; such *de jure* monolingualism prevalent in the West has indeed had considerable currency in most branches of linguistics (e.g. the philological tradition; transformational-generative grammar, but also the sociolinguistics of allegedly stable speech communities such as tribes, towns or nation states). I take multilingualism as the default state of affairs in the world, and monolingualism as an exception that may occur in certain real-life genres of language use, particularly in the most ardently regulated, guarded and 'gate-kept' ones. Hymes importantly includes the diversity of styles and registers within the framework of multilingualism:

> Of course there has always been multilingualism, and, within a monolingual group, a plurality of styles and registers. Ways of using language have always been defined in relation to each other, have always been potentially in competition with each other. […] What they can express is partly a function of their niche within the cultural ecology of a community and larger society, influenced by policies […] funding […] resources […] and the like. Hymes (1996: 211)

Apart from the more recent works cited above, Hymes's vantage point is also echoed in some of the yardstick works of the 1980s; for instance, Le Page & Tabouret-Kellet (1985: 2), argue strongly for the conceptualization of variation and diversity as norms, rather than (ostensible) homogeneity, monoculturality or monolingualism.

But let us turn now to definitions of this central terminology. *Multilingualism* is the standard, nowadays most commonly used term for the phenomenon of several languages existing or co-operating within an individual's mind and behaviour, within a group, within a community of practice, or within a macro-level scale such as a nation state or a federation. The traditional alternative for such broad issues is the term *bilingualism*; it is to be noted for the impressive and significant body of work done under the name in areas such as language education, language acquisition, and psycholinguistics, but the prefix 'multi-' is epistemologically an important step forward from 'bi-' by virtue of not restricting the number of languages in a given context at a given time to two. The history of research on multilingualism is dominated by the term 'bilingualism' ('bi-', derived from Latin, implying 'two'), and that term has also often been used to cover instances of more than two languages. Even as late as 2007, a manifestly social-constructivist volume on multilingualism (Heller 2007b) used the term 'bilingualism' in its title. In my view, this term should be reserved for situations, contexts, individuals and communities where it is plausible to distinguish between two (and not more) linguistic varieties – either emically by the interlocutors or etically by the researchers. Where it is possible or necessary to distinguish between three or more discrete varieties,

'multilingual(ism)' or one of the other terms below should be deployed. Most of the works that I have drawn upon in this research project deploy the term *multilingualism* (e.g. Danet & Herring 2003, 2007; Androutsopoulos 2004, 2006b; Pavlenko 2005; Blommaert et al. 2005, 2012; Lytra & Jørgensen 2008; Lähteenmäki et al. 2011). In contrast, Hinrichs (2006) and Heller (2007a), while adopting open, social constructivist approaches each in their own field, still use the previously hegemonic term bilingualism. Of them, Hinrichs (2006) is actually working on a distinguishable language pair most of the time, while Heller (2007a) takes a more radical departure by considering 'bilingualism' as a form of social and political language practices circulating "in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces" (Heller 2007a: 2), merely keeping the traditional name.

Next I will define, for my purposes, the cluster of terms that refer to the types of coexistence of multiple languages, or of features from multiple languages. The general term throughout this thesis (including its title) is *multilingual*. I use this – by now controversial – broad and generic umbrella term for the ostensibly neutral meaning 'containing several languages', to cover any instances of language use where several languages or varieties are used. To some extent, this concept has presupposed – and still presupposes – the discreteness and countability of languages, which was the dominant view in almost all linguistics in the 20th century (but see Hymes 1974, 1996). In the 21st century, social constructivist approaches to language have vehemently critiqued this view as essentialist, pointing out that what we generally call distinct 'languages' are social constructs that have been prescribed social status (e.g. prestige or stigma) in the course of history (Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Heller 2007; Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b; García 2009; Blommaert 2010). For such prescription, including the social statuses ascribed to non-Standard and stigmatized varieties, Agha (2004, 2005) has suggested the term 'enregisterment' (see also Johnstone 2010; Dong 2010; Møller & Jørgensen 2012). Moreover, Weber and Horner (2012), Coupland (2007) and Heller (2007a, 2007b) adopt a markedly constructionist approach to multilingualism and challenge the concept of languages as entities. However, while most of these recent, social constructionist developments of multilingualism are otherwise well-covered, they almost completely omit computer-mediated communication, a gap that should be bridged as digital discourse is an integral part of meaning making in many people's lives in today's world (see Androutsopoulos 2006a and Georgakopoulou 2006 for first attempts from the CMC scholarship).

A recent challenge to the structuralist view of languages as separate and discrete entities (that are affected by each other in several kinds of language contact, that have 'intra-language' variation, that change over time, and so on) is brought by the term and epistemology of *polylingual*. This term actually has the same components as 'multilingual', with the distinction that the prefix 'multi-' comes from Latin, while 'poly-' comes from Ancient Greek. However, the usage of the term 'polylingual' currently differs theoretically, empirically and epistemologically from that of 'multilingual'. In Jørgensen's radical,

thought-provoking position papers (2008a, 2008b; see also Jørgensen et al. 2011), polylingualism is defined as the phenomenon where two, three, four, or more different sets of features (i.e. 'so-called languages') are combined in a speaker's linguistic production. In Jørgensen's words,

> language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved 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 (Jørgensen 2008b: 163).

This is for him 'polylingual languaging' (Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b, Jørgensen et al. 2011). 'Languaging', however, has several meanings in different research traditions; I will therefore favour the more neutral and transparent nominal phrase 'language use' for 'languaging'. Jørgensen's 'polylingual' is closely related to *metrolingual* (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010), *translingual* (Makoni & Pennycook 2007), *transglossia* (García 2009) as well as *heteroglossia*, which originates from Bakhtin and was later adopted by sociolinguists. These concepts are further elaborated below. In this thesis, I use the term 'polylingual' along with its implications in Article 5 (which was written last); in the other four articles I use the umbrella term 'multilingual' in a neutral sense.

Plurilingualism is a newer term often favoured and encountered in official EU documents and contexts; and often the use of that term entails a move away from the countability of bounded languages implied in the prefixes 'bi-' or 'multi-'. For some reason, *plurilingualism* has not been immensely popular in sociolinguistics on the topic (but see e.g. Canagarajah 2009, Jaffe 2012). In most research, 'plurilingual' has been used as a synonym for 'multilingual', whether the discussion is about individuals, communities or larger societal patterns. However, some researchers draw a distinction between the terms. According to Jørgensen et al. (2012, no page numbering):

> Similarly to polylingualism, it refuses the idea of languages as separate and separable linguistic entities. Like the term multilingualism, plurilingualism has been used for individual and societal phenomena as well, although it has a clear focus on the individual dimension of languages since it is sometimes even understood as individual (as opposed to societal) multilingualism.

For the sake of clarity and consistency, and due to the long tradition of 'multilingualism', I do not use 'plurilingual' in this dissertation. Alternatively, the term 'translingual' is used by Makoni & Pennycook (2007). With the prefix 'trans-', this is perhaps the most accurate term for describing the approach advocated by 'polylingual(ism)' (Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b) and Jørgensen et al.'s (2012) definition of 'plurilingualism' above. The term 'translingual' suggests that language users cross alleged, ostensible and perceived borders and boundaries between languages – in other words, they 'transgress' them. Bailey (2007) and Heller (2007a) advocate the same idea, as does Rampton (2005, 2006) in his work on crossing. All these positions are relatively close to those adopted

by Blommaert (2003, 2005), Blommaert et al. (2005), or the even more radical turn by Otsuji & Pennycook on *metrolingualism,*

> creative linguistic practices across borders of culture, history and politics. Metrolingualism gives us a way to move beyond current terms such as 'multilingualism' and 'multiculturalism'. It is a product of modern and often urban interaction, describing the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language. The focus is not so much on language systems as on languages as emergent from contexts of interaction. (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 240).

This is a legitimate positioning *per se*, but for my present purposes, and perhaps online web environments in general, the notion of 'metro-' as often 'urban' requires a corrective, as online language use as social practice is not bound to a physical space, whether a city or peripheral area (see also Pennycook 2007: 54–55 on *translingualism vis-à-vis* cultural and linguistic translation processes). Otsuji and Pennycook's (2010) discussion is indeed strongly tied to the highly heterogeneous context of the 21st century *metropolis*. This is a connotation that I prefer to eschew here as the Finnish online football communities are not tied to metropolitan life, cities or even towns. Moreover, the communities of practice revolving around the *Futisforums* are, after all, relatively homogeneous compared to urban communities of practice around the world.

There is an increasing propensity among CMC scholars and scholars of language and globalization to draw from Bakhtin's notions of *heteroglossia* and *double-voicing* (*multi-voicing*) (1984) in order to capture the hybrid nature of contemporary communication and discourse between repetitiveness and originality or authenticity, between intertextuality and creativeness, or between entextualization (Bauman & Briggs 1990, Blommaert 2005: 47–48) and retextualization. Recent examples of the application of heteroglossia to multilingual contexts affected by aspects of globalization, such as the present one, include those by Rampton (2005: 216–219), Bailey (2007), Leppänen et al. (2009b), Leppänen (2012), Androutsopoulos (2011), and Creese and Blackledge (forthcoming). I utilize the Bakhtinian concept of double-voicing particularly with regard to the data sets in Articles 3 and 5.

All in all, I regard the epistemologies of 'translingual' and 'polylingual' as the most suitable *a priori* definitions for my purposes, although I leave an openness to an exploration of *emic* categories, which often appear more essentialistic; for example, the *Futisforumists* write and organize their sociolinguistic world very often in terms of bounded languages, such as we could argue that non-linguists do. This probably has to do with the written mode, which is usually closer to Standard, highly *enregistered* (Agha 2004, 2005; Dong 2010; Møller & Jørgensen 2012) forms of language. A case in point is my take in Article 5, where, on the one hand, I attempt to tentatively classify and categorize specific items ('data') in terms of bounded languages to give a quantitative 'road map' overview, and on the other hand, have nevertheless to acknowledge the 'languagelessness' of a major part of the data. As an exercise,

however, I do not regard it as a failure or a disappointment; rather it is best taken as an illustration of concrete, polylingual linguistic resources at work. Of the terminology reviewed above, I see potential in the further development of 'translingual'; time will show which term the sociolinguists of late modern globalization will prefer in the future. However, I stick here to the general umbrella term 'multilingual' to describe the overall topic of this thesis, while I use Jørgensen's definition of 'polylingual' in Article 5 in order to create tension between the partial countability of varieties and the challenges brought to this by the type of linguistic diversity at hand (highly asynchronous 'framing devices' rather than interactional, sequential discourse).

I shall now move to 'languaging' and 'translanguaging'. Contesting the 'Chomskyan' view of languages as systems with deep structures and rules and surface realizations, languaging sees language as the process and product of social activity, a practice of human agents. Penny Lee (1996: xv) points out that the usage of 'language' as a verb can be traced back to Whorf (1940 as cited in P. Lee 1996: xv) who used 'languageable', putting the word in inverted commas. A. Becker (1991: 230), building on Ortega y Gasset and the biologists Maturana and Varela (1987), made a case for "a shift from the code image of language to an autopoetic image of languaging"; this is an important precursor to the views outlined above, which have emerged in the early 21st century. 'Languaging' hence points to an idea of language as a process, the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience via language. After Maturana and Varela (1987) and A. Becker (1991, 1995), it seems to have taken more than a decade for the notion and the term 'languaging' to fully take wing, but by now (2012) it seems central to understanding language use as a social process with which to perform, achieve and do things. An even more radical turn is, again, offered by Pennycook (2010) who suggests that language does not *a priori* precede social interaction, but rather, language *emerges out of* collaborative action and practice. Prominent works drawn upon for this study where the agency and social action implied by 'languaging' as a verb instead of the more traditional 'language use' include Makoni & Pennycook (2007) and Jørgensen (2008a, 2008b), who writes about 'polylingual languaging'. The idea of language as activity is yet more widespread than the usage of 'languaging', gaining prominence in works by scholars such as Norris and Jones (2005), Heller (2007a), Blommaert (2005), Rampton (2005) and Androutsopoulos (2010b, 2010c). 'Languaging', however, has varying meanings in different research strands; for instance, Thibault (2011: 210) locates 'first order languaging' "in the intrinsic expressivity and interactivity of human bodies-in-interaction" in contrast to 'second order language', "the cultural dynamics of an entire population of interacting agents on longer, slower cultural-historical time-scales". Alternatively, Swain (2006: 98) defines languaging as "the process of meaning making and shaping knowledge and experience through language". Swain continues: "Languaging about language is one of the ways we learn language" (ibid.). Thus, she treats languaging as a kind of metacommunicative (multimodally accomplished) discourse about language structure in

pedagogical contexts. Owing to this ambiguity, I have refrained from using 'languaging' extensively in this thesis. Finally, and above all, the term *translanguaging* for multi-/pluri-/polylingual behaviour that can have an empowering and emancipating sense of giving voice and agency for plurilinguals in unequal discourse contexts was first suggested by the applied linguist Ofelia García, on the basis of her insights regarding Spanish-English classroom problematics in the US (see García 2009; Creese & Blackledge 2010, forthcoming; Canagarajah 2011; Lewis et al. 2012). Ideally, the fruitful application of 'translanguaging' would perhaps require a more deeply multicultural or multiethnic research constellation than the one at hand by default. Although unequal discourse situations emerge frequently in the context of the *Futisforums* explored here (see particularly Articles 3 and 4), I leave 'translingual' and 'translanguaging' for future endeavours, deploying here the terms 'multilingual' and 'polylingual' for the documentation and description of the asynchronous, multi-authored football discourse under investigation.

Having explained my rationale in relation to the terminology describing the coexistence of features from multiple languages and varieties, I will now turn to the conceptualization of these concrete features.

4.5 Linguistic resources, repertoires, and communicative competence

Anthropologically inclined thinking about language, along with some notions drawn from sociolinguistics, highlights the notion of *linguistic resources* – the concrete items and features of language used for human interaction (Hymes 1996; Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b; Blommaert 2010). Features are a useful analytical unit, since they are concrete and they can be observed in use – whether or not they can be traced to any nameable 'language' (Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b; García 2009; Blommaert 2010: 47). In the case of the written digital discourse in focus here, this can refer to any layer of written language use: letters of any alphabet, morphemes, syllables, words, phrases, clauses, sentences, paragraphs, extended excerpts of discourse. In web forums such as the *Futisforums*, linguistic resources are complemented in communication with other semiotic resources (emoticons, pictures, layout, colour, hyperlinks, software-specific affordances, etc.). Alternatively, these 'non-linguistic' or non-verbal resources could also be included within a broader notion of the 'linguistic' and a more holistic view of what 'language' is (e.g. Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; Scollon & Scollon 2003; Iedema 2003; Levine & Scollon 2004; Blommaert 2010). However, for conceptual clarity, I will here use the qualifier 'semiotic' to complement 'linguistic' in this sense.

Taking a step upward onto a higher level of abstraction, we have another important notion stemming from classic sociolinguistics, communicative *repertoires* – the totality of linguistic and semiotic resources that individuals

possess and can mobilize in interaction (Hymes 1996; Blommaert 2010). From their repertoires, individuals can choose whichever particular resources are suitable for whatever situation of usage (Jørgensen 2008b). For the early sociolinguists (e.g. Fishman 1970: 2), it meant the range of languages and varieties, along with the degree(s) of competence(s) and the functional labours of division, available to a given 'speech community'. Most of the sociolinguistics on *repertoire* was preoccupied with verbal repertoires, which was a legitimate and important linkage to the Hymesian linguistic anthropology (Hymes 1971, 1974, 1996), as it was often concerned with indigenous languages that might not have writing conventions. However, the issue of written or literal repertoires has to be approached in a markedly different light than that of verbal ones, a notion that is further complicated by the inclusion of *mediation*. In the digital discourse analysed in this thesis, one important aspect of that mediation is that it takes place with computers (keyboards, screens) and the most recent communication technologies (internet). Of course, the mode of writing and the aspect of literacy are part of the whole constellation of mediation here.

Repertoires, then, are closely related to the notion of 'competence': an individual's linguistic repertoire combined with her or his pragmatic and metapragmatic abilities to deploy items from that repertoire is approximately the same as her or his *communicative competence* (Hymes 1974, 1996). 'Competence' is perhaps a more central notion in the fields of language learning, acquisition, teaching and education than in 'sociolinguistics proper', but it was also part and parcel of the founding parents' analytical vocabulary (Fishman 1970, Hymes 1996).

> "The term *competence* […] should not be a synonym for ideal grammatical knowledge […] or extended to a speech community collectively […] or extended to ideal communicative knowledge […] or done away with […] Rather, *competence* should retain its normal sense of actual ability […] assessed in relations to contexts of use (Hymes 1996: 58–59).

I find the term 'competence' partly useful from both the etic and emic standpoints. Indeed, from an emic point of view, competence in languages and varieties appears to be an issue in football discussion topics which incorporate multilingual language use. The ways in which competence becomes an issue include negatively framed meta-commentary on non-Standard, or 'erroneous' , or 'bad' language use in my primary data, and self-evaluations on the understandability and usability of different varieties (mainly English and Swedish in the empirical case studies contained here). From an etic point of view, I see a degree of legitimacy here for assessing the forum writers' competences as a reflection of the macro-sociolinguistic situation in Finland; for example, the fact that Finnish is known well by most Finns; that English has been studied by most Finns between the ages 10 and 60 (Leppänen et al. 2009a, 2011; Pöyhönen 2009); that Swedish is studied at some point in life by almost everyone in Finland but that there is, nonetheless, a large population who do

not seem to be competent in it, and so forth. With such a macro-sociolinguistic mirror in our hand, it is at times legitimate to descriptively (and tentatively) evaluate the ranges and limits of the *Futisforum* members' competences in different varieties and their nuances. (Such evaluation is, however, importantly not the crux of this thesis; it is only exercised as a subordinate method for the broader descriptive aims.) As an experienced learner and user of Finnish, English and Swedish myself, I have a sophisticated knowledge of variation and nuances within those 'language systems', which I will at times use to evaluate possible competences behind the primary data, the discourse on the football forums. All in all, instead of analysing competence in any 'bounded' languages, I highlight the epistemologies brought by the other concepts defined here: 'repertoires' (Hymes 1996; Blommaert 2003, 2010: 102–106), 'resources' (Blommaert 2003; Blommaert 2005; Rampton 2005), 'features' (Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b), 'expertise' (Hymes 1996; Blommaert & Rampton 2011) and 'semiotic agility' (Prior 2010; Thorne & Fischer 2012). All these notions can be seen as constitutive of the 'new literacies' in our late modern era (Lam & Rosario-Ramos 2009; Leppänen et al. 2009a; Thorne & Fischer 2012).

4.6 Code-switching, crossing and appropriation

Much research on multilingual language use is conducted within the umbrella paradigm of *code-switching* (Poplack 1980; Gumperz 1982; Heller 1988; Myers-Scotton 1993; Auer 1995, 1999; Gardner-Chloros 2009; Sebba 2012), the analysis of use of two or more languages in one communicative situation, or a stretch of interaction, with the focus usually either on structural social factors around the alternation. This is also true with research on multilingualism in computer-mediated communication and digital discourse (Hinrichs 2006; McLellan 2005; Androutsopoulos 2007b, 2011, 2013; Frick 2010), although demarcating 'communicative situations' in CMC, especially asynchronous[54] CMC, is often beset by ambiguity. As code-switching research has been fuelled by spoken-language interaction, it is unsurprising that the mode of speaking, and particularly speaking in face-to-face encounters, has guided the field (Hinrichs 2006; Androutsopoulos 2007b, 2013; Gardner-Chloros 2009; Sebba 2012). There are, however, certain limitations in the application of the tenets of the code-

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[54] In 'asynchronous' written computer-mediated communication, participants need not be online at the same time but they can read each other's contributions with a time lapse. In contrast, in 'synchronous' written CMC participants see each other's writings in real time. While, in early CMC scholarship, it made sense to distinguish between CMC technologies and formats and to advance understanding of how communication via them worked, this rough division lacks a sense of agency, what users really do with these technologies (see e.g. Thorne 2003). For instance, asynchronous technologies can be employed for synchronous, 'real-time' purposes and vice versa. I witnessed this very often when observing and collecting my *Futisforum* data. Furthermore, new technologies and formats are continuously blurring this division, which was coined for older CMC formats (e.g. chat vs. email).

switching tradition to written discourse, in this case asynchronous, multisemiotic, multi-authored online discourse. The cognitive processes that are at play in many genres of spoken interaction are dissimilar to those going on in written interaction, whether 'synchronous' or 'asynchronous' (Hinrichs 2006; Androutsopoulos 2007b, 2013; Gardner-Chloros 2009: 20–23; Sebba 2012). As can be seen in the empirical parts of this thesis (Articles 1–5), the multilingual language uses that can be observed and analysed in the *Futisforums* go far beyond the descriptions of spoken-mode code-switching found in the literature (see Section 4.10 for elaboration).

One element in the general paradigm of code-switching has been the demarcation[55] of instances of *in situ* code-switching from *borrowing* and *loan words* between languages (as-systems). Indeed, a frequent response to the topic of this research project, particularly in genuinely engaged linguistics circles, has been to inquire if there is an abundance of English loan words or borrowings in Finnish 'blog writers'' [sic] football vocabulary[56]. Arguably, as is always the case with cultural contact and language contact, the global domain of football is very prone to vocabulary change and exchange, too. Indeed, most of the earlier studies on the 'linguistics of football' have taken this phenomenon as their starting point (Tingbjörn 2003; some papers in Lavric et al. 2008). However, this study is not so much about 'loan words' or 'borrowings', interesting and legitimate a target of study as that may be, but on a broader range of situated uses of multilingual resources (cf. Androutsopoulos 2007a, 2007b, 2011, forthcoming; Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012; Leppänen et al. 2009a, 2009b, 2011; Leppänen 2012). In line with the literature reviewed in this section, and with the research projects that I have been part of (Leppänen 2007; Leppänen et al. 2008, 2009a, 2011, forthcoming; Leppänen & Häkkinen forthcoming), my focus here goes beyond separable language pairs or triads, beyond the structuralist, essentialist thinking of languages as discrete entities with boundaries (Heller 2007a; Pennycook 2007; Blommaert 2010; Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2006b, 2011). Instead, the main interest lies in the particular, situated uses, styles (Coupland 2007) and indexical meanings that resources drawn from different source 'codes' (languages, varieties, registers) acquire, keep, lose, or develop. Moreover, the focus is on metapragmatically reflexive discourse that signals language (or variety) boundaries, their crossing, attitudes towards perceived code-switching or mixing, etc. (cf. 'contextualization cues' in Gumperz 1982).

The one development of the social dimension of code-switching research (Myers-Scotton 1993; Gardner-Chloros 2009: 42–64) that I do in fact use throughout this dissertation is Ben Rampton's *crossing*, "code alternation by people who aren't accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ" (Rampton 2005: 270)[57]. While this original formulation

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55   Current code-switching regards this demarcation as a continuum rather than a clear-cut division; see Auer (1999) for an influential continuum model.
56   Such as 'offside' which, by the way, is paitsio in Finnish.
57   That volume was first published in 1995, while the page numbering in my citations follows the second edition published in 2005.

of crossing presupposes, to some extent, the discreteness of languages ('code', 'the second language'), Rampton himself (2005) already questions this separability in multi-ethnic, multilingual environments where ways of speaking were observed and interpreted by him to be fluid and hybrid. For me, the notion of crossing is highly applicable to written discourse and digital discourse; I will return to this in Articles 3, 4 and 5. Rampton's discussion includes, for instance, style in a second (school curriculum) language ('Inner London *Deutsch*'; Rampton 1999, 2006), stylization and mock-accents. The research problems, the data and the overall design in the present dissertation are actually rather different from those of Rampton: where Rampton's work focused on face-to-face multi-ethnic peer interaction in (and out of) schools in London, my study is concerned with the discourse and linguistic practices of a relatively mono-ethnic and (in a traditional sense) monocultural community of practice. This need not be a hindrance to applying his insights, however. I do not see crossing as in any way restricted to either very multiethnic or very urban contexts of language use. Indeed, I would argue that what Rampton documents and so elaborately interprets, moving through indexical ties between the most minuscule micro-level language phenomena (such as phonemes and units of intonation) to the macro of the socio-political situation of the UK from the 1980s on, is in essence an age-old phenomenon, which just had gone largely unnoticed by sociolinguistics before him. Much of my own childhood and adolescence was spent in a relatively peripheral corner of Europe (a smalltown in Eastern Finland) where transnational mobility and primary inter-ethnic or international face-to-face contacts were far and few. Yet foreign languages – or to be exact, varieties, genres and registers, but they were of course strongly and normatively framed as whole and bounded languages – had occupied a stronghold within the Finnish school system, where high value has long been placed on them. The most prominent ones were Swedish, 'the second domestic language', English especially since the 1960s, and German especially in the first part of the 20th century. While Swedish and German (and to a lesser extent, other foreign languages such as French or Russian) were mainly encountered and acquired (if at all) in the school context, English was mediated in a variety of ways, including pop and rock music, TV series and shows, films, video and computer games (also before the spread of the internet), and possibly several kinds of 'hobby literature'. I acquired a large share of my written English by reading Tolkien-related role-playing games' manuals that were unavailable in Finnish translation. These 'languages', features, items and resources from the sets that were called 'English', 'Swedish' and 'German' were all, in principle, equally foreign to us, and English, Swedish and German all elicited from us pupils typical *crossing* behaviour: imitating, echoing, double-voicing (Bakhtin 1984: 185–195), stylization, repetition, and performance (Bell & Gibson 2011). The phrases and utterances that featured in our crossing behaviour were often taken from the school textbooks (accompanied with textbook tapes that were listened to multiple times), but also resources and features acquired from elsewhere could be used (e.g. obscenities in Swedish,

World War II vocabulary in German). But why embed this nostalgic recollection of the late 1980s here? The connection to the *Futisforum* discussions 15–20 years later is not far-fetched or exaggerated at all, since the same phrases from late 1980s – early 1990s textbooks are re-echoed and entextualized in the *Futisforums'* threads with Swedish or German usages[58]. This suggests that these are the empirical and practical encounters that some Finns identify with, in particular, Swedish or German; these were an integral part of the language crossing reality among Finnish youth 25 years ago or so, and they feature in the *Futisforums* all these years later.

In this thesis, the research paradigm of code-switching is used mainly in Article 4; and the terminology debate between code-switching and code-mixing (cf. Auer 1999; Gardner-Chloros 2009: 10–14) is omitted for present purposes.[59] For my ethnographically informed reading of the multilingual *Futisforum* data at hand, crossing is the most applicable advance within the spoken code-switching frameworks. There is more in common with insights accrued in multi-ethnic classroom and adolescent peer face-to-face interaction (Rampton 2005, 2006) and my less multi-ethnic, computer-mediated asynchronous written interaction in that sense than might be apparent at first thought. In digital discourse, regardless of the degree to which the participation framework is 'genuinely' multi-ethnic, very similar processes of crossing can be at work: participants employ resources from several languages and varieties, and create sociolinguistic styles (Coupland 2007; Bucholtz 2011) of writing with these resources. The resources ('features' in Jørgensen 2008b) can originate from languages or varieties that are not thought generally to belong to their users at all, crossing the traditional, essentialistically defined boundaries of 'nativeness', 'mother tongue', 'second language' or 'foreign language' (see Rampton 1990), or of 'ownership' (Hill 2008; Bucholtz 2011). That way the notion of crossing might have more relevance and applicability to *written* discourse and *online* discourse than has been acknowledged this far (for a comparison, see Androutsopoulos 2011, forthcoming; Lee & Barton 2011; Varis & Wang 2011; Peuronen 2011; Leppänen 2012; Leppänen & Häkkinen forthcoming; for crossing research in Finland but in non-digital contexts, see Lehtonen 2011). In sum, bridging insights from Rampton's face-to-face peer-group and school crossing with the growing openness of the CMD scholars of the 2010s for heteroglossia (see Georgakopoulou 2006; Androutsopoulos 2011; Leppänen 2012) is only beginning.

Jørgensen's 'polylingual languaging' basically refers to the same phenomenon as Rampton's crossing, with two additions: first, one's first

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[58]   One persistent meme is the imaginary Swedish youth rock group Het Potatis ('Hot Potato') and their song *Sommaren är här* ('Summer Is Here'), which appear to get circulated and rephrased frequently online as emblems of the collective memory of the Finnish-speaking 1970s generation – also in the two *Futisforums*. I have no historical anecdotal evidence of crossing from my schooldays for other languages: apart from English, German was the only foreign language that I had, and Swedish, as already mentioned, is *de jure* 'the second domestic language'.

[59]   Gardner-Chloros (2009) offers a good up-to-date overview of the field, while Androutsopoulos (2013) aptly updates the field into the domain of CMC.

language (or 'mother tongue') is integrally part of the constellation, and second, the *a priori* distinctness of separate languages is contested, almost denied, more emphatically by Jørgensen than by Rampton.

> We believe that the use of languages of which the speaker knows only very little is more common in late modern urban societies than Rampton lets us know. (Jørgensen 2008b: 168)

Closely related to crossing, I utilize the notion of linguistic *appropriation* – the adaption of elements of a language or a linguistic variety to local uses[60]. Typically, the concept of appropriation has been used within sociolinguistics in post-colonialist contexts where the language of the colonizer (e.g. English) has been adopted by the colonized (e.g. in India) for resistance and possibly even emancipative purposes (Canagarajah 1999); this is a guiding tenet in the field of World Englishes where 'Third World' varieties of English are usually recognized as legitimate, 'full' varieties in their own right, not to be stigmatized *vis-à-vis* the colonizers' variety of English. In this way the appropriated language has been adapted from 'the Other' to local usages. With time, the adopted, appropriated ways of speaking and writing may be recognized (in a more structuralist-variationist approach) as a new variety, e.g. Indian English. These dominance and emancipation relations are somewhat inverted in Jane H. Hill's (2008: 158–174) reading of the concept of appropriation:

> speakers of the target language […] adopt resources from the donor language, and then try to deny these to members of the donor language community" (Hill 2008: 158).

Hill refers to White North Americans' use of 'mock-Spanish', in particular, but also of other varieties stigmatized in the US (Hill 2008). Thus, in her critical inquiry, the dominant stakeholder is the appropriating side, and Hill brings (like Rampton 2005) the question of 'linguistic ownership' to the forefront. So too does Mary Bucholtz (2011: 69–80), whose approach to linguistic appropriation and the ownership of, for instance, 'black' English features by 'white' English speakers lies in the continuum between Hill's argument about everyday racism on the one hand, and the appreciation of diversity and ethno-political emancipation in the World Englishes paradigm on the other. Both Bucholtz (2011) and Hill (2008) pay close attention to the details of the everyday fine fabric of talk in interaction; I adopt their epistemology to researching appropriation in that sense, and I use 'appropriation' here for the phenomena whereby the *Futisforumists* adopt certain languages, varieties, or just single features for their own local purposes. In this thesis, appropriation occupies the

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[60] The notion of appropriation was first used in cultural studies, but for reasons of space I will limit my discussion here to linguistic appropriation. However, it should be noted that we cannot separate 'the linguistic' from 'the cultural'; this is neatly seen in the *Futisforumists*' adaptation of the 'Mock-Lädi' way of writing, in which there is the cultural appropriation of aspects of being a Liverpool FC fan, but in an inverted, ironic manner, for purposes of mockery.

interface between performance, mockery, group affiliation, and disidentification from the 'Other', the owner of these features (cf. Leppänen & Häkkinen forthcoming). In Articles 2 and 3, it is non-Standard English features in particular that accumulate to generate a sociolinguistic group style (Coupland 2007; Bucholtz 2011) where *deliberately* 'bad' English is used instead of Standard forms and variants that otherwise hold more prestigious positions within the forums. These are key examples from my current research that show my orientation to, and application of, both crossing and appropriation.

4.7 Double-voicing, entextualization and stylization

The concepts of crossing and appropriation discussed in the preceding section are relatable and compatible with the notion of *double-voicing* (*multi-voicing*) derived from Mikhail Bakhtin (1984: 185–195). I use this notion for the phenomenon where discourse is simultaneously directed toward referential meanings and toward another discourse, toward someone else's speech or writing. Double-voicing, in Bakhtin's literary theory, is a general tool for understanding and conceptualizing that an instance of speech or writing can be irony, parody, stylization, and so on. These are seen as very central functions in human communication, whether fictional literary work or any genre of communication. Another person's discourses – language that has been uttered or written earlier in history – are used for conveying new discourse that can turn around, ridicule, parody, run counter to, change the social meaning of, or even be hostile to those earlier words, and to the other person who had uttered them. While Bakhtin's influential monograph discusses prose fiction (especially Dostoyevsky, but also Shakespeare, Rabelais, etc.), double-voicing is a highly applicable tool for the analysis of any form of discourse, including spoken everyday conversation and digitally mediated web forum discussions. I utilise the insights offered by double-voicing to sociolinguistic analysis mainly in Articles 5 and 3.

Closely related to double-voicing is the concept of *entextualization*; indeed, the main theorists on entextualization (Bauman & Briggs 1990, Silverstein & Urban 1996, Blommaert 2010) all draw on Bakhtin's oeuvre. Entextualization is an unjustifiably under-employed notion in the sociolinguistics of digital communication, and particularly in scholarship on 'memes' (e.g. Shifman & Thelwall 2009; Burgess 2008), as it offers us a key to understanding the trajectories and circulation of discourses across the open-ended internet, and also in many ways beyond it (see Article 2 in particular). I follow here Bauman & Briggs's definition, where entextualization is

> the process of rendering discourse extractable, of making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit – a *text* – that can be lifted out of its interactional setting […] such that the resultant text carries elements of its history of use within it. (Bauman & Briggs 1990: 73; italics in the original.)

Still within the broad umbrella of linguistic anthropology, Silverstein & Urban (1996) and Urban (1996) also use the concept in their discussion of the 'natural history of discourses'. Moreover, Blommaert adds an important clarification:

> 'Original' pieces of discourse – socially, culturally, and historically situated unique events – are lifted out of their original context and transmitted, by quoting or echoing them, by writing them down, by inserting them into another discourse, by using them as 'examples' (or as 'data' for scientific analysis). (Blommaert 2005: 47)

Thus, in Blommaert's paraphrasing, the new text "is accompanied by a metadiscursive complex suggesting all kinds of things *about* the text" (ibid.: 47). I utilise the notion of entextualization here to describe and interpret the discourse trajectories in Articles 3 and 5, in particular, but I also argue for its increased and more elaborated applicability in understanding 'the linguistic' and, more broadly, semiotic resources in digital discourse.[61]

Next, let us briefly outline the concept of *sociolinguistic style.* This is in a key position if our ethnographically framed aim is a proper understanding of the *Futisforumists*' ways of writing (multilingually). I adopt here Coupland's (2007) versatile and detailed theorization of sociolinguistic style, defining it as 'using the resources of linguistic variation to create social meanings'. Throughout this thesis, I consider all the 'forumisms', the ways of writing which I interpret as particular, if not exclusive, to the *Futisforums*, a key example of sociolinguistic style. Together with resources associated with several languages (especially Finnish and English), 'forumisms' constitute 'Forumese', my tentative term for the conglomeration of styles used extensively in the *Futisforums*, but in a very limited manner outside them or by non-*Futisforumists*. Furthermore, I use the notion of *stylization* to refer to language use that projects "personas, identities and genres other than those that are presumedly current in the speech event [bringing] into play stereotyped semiotic and ideological values associated with other groups, situations or times [dislocating] a speaker and utterances from the immediate speaking context" (Coupland 2007: 154).[62]

Adding to Coupland's (2007) thorough conceptualization of style, Johnstone incorporates the notion of enregisterment (Agha 2004, 2005) in the agenda. Writing from the point of view of rhetoric, she discusses 'enregistered style':

> First, "style" can label a set of patterns of co-occurrence that an outsider such as a researcher notices, but which an insider [...] may not notice and probably does not label. (Johnstone 2010: 4)

Further, for Johnstone (2010: 5), when a co-occurrence of style becomes the object of reflexive scrutiny by its users, and the set of co-occurring forms gets

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[61] Another such step is taken by Leppänen et al. (forthcoming), where I am a co-author.
[62] Coupland (2007: 149–154) draws heavily on Bakhtin and Rampton here, but I have decided to use Coupland's formulation, because it is the clearest and most concise definition. Bakhtin and Rampton are duly credited elsewhere in this dissertation.

linked with one or more social or referential categories by the people who use them, it becomes an 'enregistered style'. Parody can help enregister style (Johnstone 2010: 6), and this certainly goes for double-voicing and a sense of highlighted performance too; indeed, Johnstone argues that "the whole thing is a post-modern performance of the enregistration process" (2010: 7). While I do not really draw on research on rhetoric in this dissertation, I align with Johnstone's position *vis-à-vis* enregistered style to a great degree; it is also one way of conceptualizing the 'forumisms' and 'Forumese' that I discuss in the empirical parts (Articles 2–5).

In sum, 'crossing', 'appropriation', 'double-voicing', 'entextualization' and 'stylization' are closely related to each other, but each of them adds its distinct facets and perspectives to understanding and modelling multilingual language use and metapragmatic reflexivity. Moreover, a closely related notion that would be compatible with this toolkit of approaches, and the *Futisforum* data analysed in this thesis, is Sebba's (1993: 137) *animating*. Sebba states that interlocutors in conversation may 'animate' different personae with the means of linguistic variation, creating indexical meanings that hold symbolic values for the people involved in the conversation. Similarly, in their discussion of creoles and ethnicity, Le Page and Tabouret-Kellet (1985: 2) pointed out that variation in linguistic behaviour should be regarded as the norm and that language is 'essentially idiosyncratic', analysing the ways in which language users' idiosyncratic behaviour reflects social positions, attitudes and values as well as affiliation and disaffiliation within the social groups in which they operate. While Sebba's (1993) and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) main concerns were ethnicity and 'race', similar processes are clearly observable in relation to many other social and cultural dividing lines. For example, the mockery of the 'mill tattoo' and 'ice-hockey mills/mylls' in Article 2 can be characterized as 'acts of identity' (Le Page & Tabouret-Kellet 1985) and animation that are clearly projected within one (ideological and imagined) ethnicity. The dividing lines in those dense contexts of stylized or animated language use are between two fan cultures (football vs. ice-hockey) or between the celebrity scene and 'common people'. In both cases the linguistic-variational means for making difference, for performing acts of identity, is deliberately non-Standard English as a writing style.

All in all, the concepts and tools reviewed in the sections above (crossing, appropriation, double-voicing, stylization, animating and entextualization) amount to a rich set of vocabulary with which to describe and understand real language use in today's late modern discourse contexts with their growing complexity and diversity (cf. *superdiversity*; Creese & Blackledge 2010; Blommaert & Rampton 2011). Common to all of them is that linguistic variation, and metapragmatic reflexivity on it, are used as meaning-making resources in communication; this applies equally well to the more widely researched face-to-face spoken communication (with its open-ended variety of genres and registers) and to written-mode interaction, which has been under-researched from this point of view.

4.8   Metapragmatic reflexivity

A central notion in this thesis, captured in its overall title, is *metapragmatic reflexivity* – the phenomenon whereby language users engage in meta-level discussions about the language used in the particular context. I adopt this formulation of the term from Blommaert and Rampton (2011: 8–10) and Verschueren (2012: 27, 52, 183). Verschueren rightly points out that "metapragmatic reflexivity is an essential ingredient of language use" (2012: 183). For Blommaert and Rampton, metapragmatic reflexivity is "pervasive in all linguistic practice […] a substantial departure from sociolinguists' traditional prioritization of tacit, unself-conscious language use" (2011: 8). Based on my sociolinguistically framed observations of the world in general, and the empirical work concretized in my fieldnotes since 2006, and reported here more specifically, I fully agree and align myself with these statements.

Returning to the claim of 'pervasiveness', Blommaert and Rampton further point out that "ordinary speakers" [sic] evaluate and reflect "on the cultural images of people and activities indexically conjured by particular forms of speech" (2011: 9). As a substantial part of the empirical analyses contained in Articles 2 and 3 are about the circulation of memes – 'bits and pieces' of language – it is worth noting here the connection between metapragmatic reflexivity and sociolinguistic scales. Blommaert and Rampton suggest that

> participants also often orient to the 'multi-scalar', 'transpositional' implications of what's happening. After all, messages, texts, genres, styles and languages vary conspicuously in their potential for circulation – itself a major source of stratification – and sometimes this can itself become the focus of attention and dispute, as people differ in their normative sense of what should carry where,. (Blommaert & Rampton 2011: 10)

This expansion of the concept of metapragmatic reflexivity from the scale of a single discourse event (such as a conversation, or in my analyses, a forum discussion thread, or a cluster or 'skein' of interrelated, concurrent threads) to higher scales is important, if we consider the trajectories and mobility of 'language' in Articles 2 and 3 in particular. For instance, the Liverpudlian (Scouse) ways of writing on the Liverpool-based Liverpool FC fan forum are not only acceptable but probably desirable and prestigious – in Bourdieu's (1977) terms, good 'cultural capital', deployed in the accumulation of Bourdieuan 'social capital' of peer fandom and affiliation. However, when *precisely the same* linguistic features are transferred to *Futisforum* and *Futisforum2.org* – a major scale-jump from a 'native', in-group', 'prestige' resource to a 'non-native', 'Other', stigmatized resource – they become a topic of overt and covert metapragmatic reflexivity, and eventually, they become integrated in the evolving group style (in which non-Standard Englishes already had a firm foothold). This variation operates on multiple levels: orthography, lexical choice, syntax. It is 'writing accent' (or 'writing

pronunciation') with the linguistic and semiotic affordances of the web forum. This kind of mobility of discourses and values is an important focus in the sociolinguistics of late modernity more generally (see Section 4.11), and hence metapragmatic reflexivity should be among its foci (Blommaert & Rampton 2011). In the context of computer-mediated communication, metapragmatic reflexivity has been noted (e.g. Georgakopoulou 2006: 548; Androutsopoulos 2006b: 527, 542; see also Leppänen 2009 on 'policing') but not extensively explored.

Although I take my definitions of 'metapragmatic reflexivity' above from very recently published work, *metapragmatics* at large has a longer history in linguistic anthropology and, to a lesser extent, sociolinguistics. A more widely used term than 'metapragmatic reflexivity' for the same phenomenon is *metapragmatic awareness*, and a central scholar in the field of metapragmatics is Silverstein, who has applied the latter term in his anthropologically framed linguistics (Silverstein 1976, 1977, 1993, 2001; see also Lucy 1993; Jacquemet 1992; Agha 2004, 2005; Verschueren 2000, 2012: 27; Rampton 2011). This is a slightly more cognitively grounded term ('awareness'), with reference to the cognitive processes in the interlocutors' minds when meta-level reflection on language (use) is emerging or happening. With 'metapragmatic reflexivity' I wish to draw attention to the discursive process, the 'reflexivity' *on the discourse* that takes place when metapragmatics in general is at work. Alternative formulations, which would move the focus still further towards concrete discourse, are 'metapragmatic comment(ary)' or 'metapragmatic evaluation'. If we wish, 'reflexivity' can thus be seen as an interface between 'awareness' and 'comment(ary)' here; my main focus is on concrete, observable metapragmatic discourse. The working definition that I follow throughout this thesis is that 'reflexivity' involves concrete stretches of discourse (talk or text) that show the participants' metapragmatic awareness, and possibly aspects of their attitudes. Ultimately, there is not much difference between these terms: Rampton, when writing on style in second language, refers back to Agha (2004: 37) when writing about "reflexive metapragmatic awareness" (Rampton 2011: 3). Finally, the literature also acknowledges the concept 'metalinguistic reflexivity', but this refers perhaps more often to speakers' grammatical competence than the pragmatics of interaction; and to make things more complicated, Rampton (2011: 35–37) actually combines the two.

In sum, metapragmatic reflexivity can occur on any distinguishable level of language use. In this thesis, metapragmatic reflexivity is observed, for instance, on the level of language or variety choice (Finnish vs. English; Standard English vs. dialectal English), the level of pragmatics (whether an expression is perceived as 'suitable' in the situation), syntax (whether an expression is perceived as grammatically 'correct'), lexis (word choice) or morphology (difference between morphemes). Examples of each can be found in Articles 2–5.

The next three sections are dedicated to an outline of the three anchoring points of this thesis (apart from the domain of football, which was discussed in

Sections 4.1 and 4.2). These are the sociolinguistics of Finland, the sociolinguistics of computer-mediated communication and the sociolinguistics of globalization. Each of them has been discussed to some extent already earlier, but each of them deserves a section of their own due to their central position in the rationale of this dissertation.

4.9 The sociolinguistics of Finland

Let us now look at the sociolinguistic situation of Finland, with a focus on the issues relevant to this study. This is done with the overarching aim of assessing what new insights a study like this can bring to Finnish sociolinguistics. This section outlines the nation-state-scale macro-sociolinguistic situation in Finland, with an empirical emphasis again on Finnish, Swedish, and the currently ubiquitous world language English. I briefly review aspects of language education in Finland, discuss issues of individual and collective language competences, and reflect on Finns' attitudes towards different languages. An overall theme in this section is to understand the meso- and micro-level multilingualism of the *Futisforums* in the light of the macro-sociolinguistics of Finland. The central sources (in English) on the topic are Leppänen & Nikula (2007), Leppänen (2007), Latomaa & Nuolijärvi (2005), Takala (1993), Pöyhönen (2009), and Leppänen et al. (2011). While Finland certainly should not be straightforwardly, essentialistically equated with 'Finnish speakers', it is legitimate to conceptualize Finland as one level, one layer, or in the terms used by Blommaert et al.[63] (2005), a relatively macro-level *scale,* within which the more micro-level interactions described in the various parts of this study occur. These are relevant here as they provide us with a rough understanding of what languages and varieties can be regarded as part of their shared knowledge, as the 'given' or 'unmarked', for Finnish people in interaction online (or offline).

My general overview here, restricted to the level of the ideological construct of 'bounded' languages and ignoring the nuances that I deal with in the more detailed analyses in the articles, gives us some background understanding of what languages can be taken as shared, collective knowledge, and to what extent they can be taken so. Finland as a nation state is by no means the only salient 'context' or contextual factor influencing real-life, naturally occurring multilingual language use, but at least it is a salient scale-level that we can describe in relatively bounded and relatively stable analytical terms.

First, let us look at the Finnish language. Finnish is the first language of approximately 92 % of the people living in Finland (e.g. Pöyhönen 2009: 145–

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[63]   In their discussion on introducing scale and issues of space to sociolinguistic analysis, Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck draw on Wallerstein's World Systems Analysis (e.g. Wallerstein 2004; see also Blommaert 2010: 32–37). Note that the concept of 'scale' can cover much more than simply geographical or 'horizontal' spaces of different sorts.

147). Approximately 6 % are first-language speakers of Swedish, although the available statistics do not reveal the proportion of Finnish-Swedish bilinguals – traditionally the most common type of familial or childhood multilingualism in Finland – in either group. These two languages have legal status and a role in Finnish society as the official domestic languages protected by the written constitution and various pieces of legislation. All school pupils have to take obligatory classes in the other domestic language, depending on their language schooling. Thus, an average 'monolingually Finnish' child (such as this author) will have sat through at least six years of Swedish classes by the time (s)he finishes school, typically at the age of 19 or so. This does not necessarily mean that the 'monolinguals' acquire much Swedish during these years; on the contrary, there is enormous variation in the communicative competences of Finnish citizens in their 'second domestic language' (for most: Swedish). For most native Swedish speakers, Finnish is the obligatory second domestic language in school, but the situation is different since most of them live in bilingual, Finnish-dominant regions.

English has, since the 1960s, been by far the most widely studied foreign language in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2009a, 2011; Pöyhönen 2009). The position of English has grown undisputedly over the past 50 years; almost all Finnish people born after the mid-1950s have studied English, and most of them also have a competence in at least some varying registers or genres of English usage (Leppänen et al. 2009a, 2011; Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005; Pöyhönen 2009; Takala 1993). Other foreign languages than English have been on the decline during the past decades of English hegemony. German was the most commonly studied (and best-known) foreign language for Finnish people before the era of English, but nowadays fewer Finns choose to study German at any level of education (Hall 2007, Pöyhönen 2009; Leppänen et al. 2011; for an overview of earlier decades see also Takala & Havola 1983, Takala 1993). French retains its position as the third most studied foreign language, but the proportion of Finns who actually study it is relatively low (Hall 2007, Pöyhönen 2009). Secondary and tertiary schools, and also a few primary schools, as well as institutions of higher education may offer other foreign languages such as Russian, Spanish or Latin, but of these, only Spanish is currently gaining in popularity (cf. Hall 2007; Pöyhönen 2009).

So, given especially that the *Futisforums* under investigation are in many ways framed as Finnish or 'for the Finnish', we can start with the broad assumption that everyone participating (reading or writing, 'consuming' or 'producing') understands or can cope with written Finnish, unless otherwise indicated. This is the 'unmarked' point of departure, which is interrupted when, for instance, writers identifying themselves as non-Finnish (such as 'altan' in Article 3 or 'billie' in Article 4) enter the participant framework. Alternatively, a 'marked' moment of situated language use emerges when Swedish-speaking Finns initiate discussion topics in Swedish or switch from Finnish into Swedish in, say, topics relevant to Swedish-speakers or bilinguals. (I have many subsets of such data, but these will be dealt with elsewhere.) The situated uses of

written Swedish – mostly Standard but occasionally (and certainly potentially) colloquial, dialectal, etc. – create a micro-context where the competence to deal with the usages varies enormously from one reader to another, from one *Futisforum* member to another (see Article 4). For some of those who follow the Finnish forums, usages of Swedish do not create problems of understanding. Perhaps these members, or casual readers, the 'lurkers' whom we do not discuss here in detail (Baym 2000: 144–147; Nonnecke & Preece 2001; Rutter & Smith 2005; Sanders 2005; cf. 'simple readers' in Marcoccia 2004), live in genuinely bilingual Finnish-Swedish neighbourhoods, or perhaps they acquired a fluent competence in Swedish at school, in Sweden, etc. For others, however, Swedish *is* a problem that hampers the flow of interaction and disrupts understanding. Perhaps these participants never had a motivation to acquire Swedish during their school years, or perhaps they have forgotten what they learnt a long time ago. Some members might have learnt other languages (genres, registers and features) 'at the expense' of their Swedish (although there is arguably 'room in the brain' for many languages). Perhaps increasingly in the 21st century, participant frameworks in Finnish or Finland-based web forums include immigrants to Finland (a small glimpse of that is documented in Article 5), who may have struggled enough with Finnish (and possibly English, and possibly with their first and second languages)[64] and hence do not study any Swedish at all. Thinking of all the possible 'intermediate' competences in Swedish, we see a high diversity of abilities to cope with discourse in Swedish. This, inevitably, results in instances of metapragmatic reflexivity and expressions of attitudes towards Swedish; in the data used for Article 4, the fans of Jari Litmanen are found adopting positions and stances in relation to a mass of Swedish media quotes (e.g. TV, radio and online newspapers) about Litmanen's emergent career turns.

Paunonen (2009) is an overview (in Finnish) of the sociolinguistic topics treated in the history of Finnish sociolinguistics. He suggests that sociolinguistics in Finland mainly followed Labovian paradigms in its first two decades; the variationist paradigm was the dominant one, and age, gender and geographical location were taken as primary variables for research. The precious few early topics on multilingualism in Finnish sociolinguistics excluded the use of English for a long time. I do not have much hard evidence on this, but it seems in retrospect that compartmentalization within Finland-based sociolinguistics was perhaps too rigid[65]: influential early Finnish applied sociolinguists on the topic of English (Takala & Havola 1983; Sajavaara 1983),

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[64] This is of course not to suggest that the linguistic or communicative repertoires of immigrants to Finland should be by default any worse or lesser than those of native Finns. On the contrary, my personal experience suggests that many immigrants to Finland are actually highly multilingual when they arrive, but their repertoires might just not include Finnish, Swedish or English upon arrival; they might include highly developed resources from big and small languages which are just not valued as much as 'European' languages in Finnish society (e.g. Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Russian, or Thai) (cf. Blommaert et al. 2005).

[65] This impression becomes fortified by anecdotal evidence received from informal talk with senior and junior linguists in Finland.

for instance, are ignored in Paunonen's (2009) historical overview, which is admittedly biased towards the Finnish language but appears otherwise somewhat inclusive, taking into account important advances on minority languages and the Finnish language outside Finland as well as some of the 21st century orientations. Urban multilingualism was added to the agenda in the late 1980s, but it was not until very recently that qualitative sociolinguistics began to accompany quantitative sociolinguistics in Finland (Paunonen 2009: 558–559). Similarly, the researcher's role in Finnish sociolinguistics has begun to change from one of being a distant descriptivist to that of a more engaged participant. The latter roles involve, for instance, ethnographic participant observation (see Lehtonen 2011) and revitalization activism. The 'international' contacts and research foci that Paunonen highlights include the Nordic and Baltic contexts as well as important work on historically related Fenno-Ugric languages, but exclude totally one of the key topics of the recent decades, English in Finland (and Finns' English). Finally, Paunonen (2009: 566–567) suggests "Finland as a language community" as a future macro-level research topic for Finnish sociolinguistics, without linking the discussion at all to recent developments on English in Finland (e.g. Leppänen & Nikula 2007) on the one hand, or to Northern multilingualism (e.g. Pietikäinen et al. 2008) on the other. Moreover, while the close documentation, description and, in a more applied vein, the preservation of the Finnish language is arguably important, compartmentalization does not provide a very truthful picture of the sociolinguistic realities in Finland, where pure 'speech communities' have for a long time been outgrown by more fluid and dynamic 'communities of practice'. These can be very locally defined, but they can also be more transnationally, globally motivated. Sociolinguistics becomes more complex with such developments; a case in point is the increasing use of English by what used to be conceptualized as 'monolingual' native Finnish speakers in Finland (see below). This is even further complicated if we add issues such as genre, style, mediation and multimodality to the agenda.

As suggested above, recent years have seen the emergence of research into the multilingualism of Finland from perspectives and with notions offered by the critical rethinking of sociolinguistics in the context of globalization (Coupland 2003b; Blommaert 2003, 2010; see Section 4.11 below). Pietikäinen (2010) and Pietikäinen et al. (2008, 2011) provide rich, ethnographically grounded descriptions of Northern and 'peripheral' multilingualism, using the globalized and arguably multilingual realities of the tourist centres and borderlands of Lapland as illustrative examples. Simultaneously, similarly framed work has emerged on urban multilingualism in Helsinki, the only *metropolis* in Finland (Kalliokoski 2006, 2011; Nuolijärvi 2006; Lehtonen 2006, 2011). These are developments that can be aligned with recent sociolinguistic research on English in Finland, and it is to these that I turn next.

Powerful discourses about the threat that English poses to the domestic languages, particularly Finnish, circulate in the influential 'Fennists'' work

(Hiidenmaa 2003; Hakulinen et al. 2009).[66] This work is politically charged in that it explicitly defends the position of the Finnish language and sees societal diglossia as a real danger; the most commonly quoted concrete example is the victory of English in scientific research conducted in Finland by Finns. Other domains where English is – accurately enough – perceived to be strong in Finland include advertising, popular culture created and performed by Finns, and communication technologies. I wish in no way to critique their work as mistaken or insignificant; on the contrary, I have a deep personal infatuation with my first and only heritage language, Finnish, and I would rather see it thrive in all domains of life in Finland (and if possible, why not even outside Finland). However, I do not completely agree with Hakulinen et al. (2009) or Hiidenmaa (2003) that English is solely a threat, or that Finnish is in danger of being taken over by English, domain by domain. Leppänen & Pahta (2012) give a detailed account of this debate where extreme opinions at both ends have been the loudest, while Leppänen et al. (2011: 16) suggest that

> Debates of this kind often recycle protectionist value judgements, adopting arguments from more general discourses related to English as a global language. On the other hand, English has also been seen in public discussions as a positive force – regarded as an agent of progress and empowerment that is absolutely indispensable for Finns if they are to interact in a credible way with the world outside Finland's borders.[67]

Indeed, this large survey by Leppänen et al. (2009a; 2011), conducted in an effort to elicit an overview of Finns' attitudes towards English, suggests that the majority of Finnish people *do not* perceive English as a threat to Finnish. Rather, English is (accurately) perceived to be a threat to other languages in the world.

English is, however, arguably a set of linguistic resources that can be taken as part of the shared, collective knowledge of Finnish; particularly given the participant framework of the *Futisforums*, on which I gave a loose demographic description in Sections 2.14–2.18. Finnish and English are arguably part of shared knowledge and competence, while Swedish is more problematic despite the fact that almost all people above the age of 13 who can read Finnish have also studied Swedish at school. This tripartite constellation, however, lies above other languages and renders them such that only a minority of Finns know them. Considering Finns' schooling and education backgrounds together with the choice of languages that schools and institutions offer, and adjusting the picture by accounting for mobility and the international life-trajectories[68] of

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[66] Latomaa & Nuolijärvi (2005) belong loosely to the same constellation of researchers, but their work cited here (2005) adopts a more neutral perspective.

[67] Page numberings here for Leppänen et al. (2011) are only relevant for the pdf version, which is available in the journal. The default electronic format of the monograph, however, is html without page numbering.

[68] Cf. Hymes (1996: 44) who argues for analyses that address "the place of the speaker's languages in his biography and mode of life", and Blommaert (2010: 102–106) on 'truncated repertoires' due to biographical factors.

some of Finns, this is the case for German, French, Russian, Spanish, Italian and other languages 'foreign' to Finland or Finns.[69]

One body of recent work[70] has focused on the uses and functions of English in Finland and by Finns and on attitudes and meta-discussions concerning English in Finland (Leppänen 2007, 2009, 2012; Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Leppänen & Pahta 2012; Leppänen et al. 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011; Kytölä 2008; Toriseva 2008; Laitinen 2010; Copp Jinkerson 2012; Räisänen 2012). This line of inquiry builds on older pioneer work on English in Finland (Sajavaara 1983; Takala & Havola 1983; Takala 1993), but departs from it in one important respect: it investigates English in Finland as a local, situated social practice (Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Leppänen 2007; Heller 2007a). For instance, Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 335) call for nuanced analyses of the ways in which language choice and use is made locally meaningful, how they matter both in the immediate discourse and in relation to the broader socio-cultural situation. According to that plea, it is central to

> examine various social, institutional, cultural and discursive practices in order to understand how English is put to use in different situations, and also to understand the possible broader social and cultural implications of the way it is used (Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 341–342)

Furthermore, reviewing the first years of their research project, Leppänen & Nikula suggest that

> the interplay between English and Finnish can take many different forms across different contexts, and secondly, that the functions for which English is used, the motivations underlying its use and the meanings attached to it vary a great deal, depending on the type of contact situation in question. (2007: 342).

Sociolinguistic research aligned with these aims is exemplified, for instance, in Leppänen et al. (2008, 2009b, 2011), Peuronen (2011) and Leppänen (2012) as well as in the present dissertation, the rationale of which starts from very similar premises, adding the issues of (digital) mediation and a 'more multilingual' reality than just the coexistence of English and Finnish (see Articles 4 and 5 in particular). As suggested above, similar work is being done in the context of multilingual Lapland (Pietikäinen 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2011) and Helsinki (e.g. Lehtonen 2011). Concerning English in Finland, and on the

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[69] I exclude here discussion of competence or language knowledge on the basis of language-historical relatedness. Applying the basic tenets of mutual relatedness of different languages, a Finnish person may of course readily understand some Estonian (because of her/his Finnish), some Norwegian and Danish (because of his/her Swedish), or even some Dutch or Frisian (because of her/his English).

[70] This work was conducted to a large extent 2006–2011 under the *Centre of Excellence for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English* (*VARIENG*), as well as the *Finland Distinguished Professor* (*FiDiPro*) project entitled 'Multilingualism as a problematic resource'. Both projects were funded by the Academy of Finland, and the present author was a core member in both projects as a (junior) researcher.

basis of the qualitative studies conducted by the members of the project, we (Leppänen et al. 2011: 24–25) further suggested that

> the spread of English is not a one-directional process of English taking over Finnish society, but rather a process in which English is taken up and made use of by Finns in a variety of ways, in order to serve their own discursive, social, and cultural purposes. […] it appears that Finns are becoming increasingly aware of the roles and functions of more than one language in their lives. […] Finns will be able to select, switch between, and make use of the languages and their variant styles in ways appropriate to the situations, settings, and discourses at hand.

And finally, in the discussion of the same extensive survey, which went hand in hand with each researcher's and research group's smaller projects (including parts of this thesis), Leppänen et al. (2011: 169) reflected on the validity and reliability of the survey, pointing out how surveys are always partial representations of people's perceptions and attitudes. In reality, these perceptions and attitudes, captured in this thesis under the notion of 'metapragmatic reflexivity' may be "much more ambiguous, multiple, changeable, and situated than any survey can show them to be" (ibid.: 169). This epistemological claim, however, does not nullify the 'big picture' insights accrued from the rich and versatile survey results, since

> knowledge of the general picture makes it possible to pinpoint ways in which individual uses and understandings of English are, in fact, indexical – drawing on, reproducing, or challenging more general notions of English. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 169).

These general insights accrued from the survey are not an explicitly pronounced framework for this qualitatively, interpretatively proceeding thesis, but the main tenets of the survey were outlined above for two reasons. First, they serve to give a better general backdrop for the micro-level language use explored here in detail, and the diverse uses of English therein in particular. Second, while I do not make direct references or comparisons here to the survey results, the years our research group spent together analysing and discussing them (particularly 2007–2011) have brought an accumulation of tacit knowledge and made the frames for qualitative interpretations more accurate.

Some of the studies and smaller research projects conducted under this large project broadened the topic of inquiry and the scope of analysis to other languages and varieties than Finnish and English (Leppänen 2009, 2012; Leppänen et al. 2009b, forthcoming). This strand of 'multilingualism as a problematic resource' (inspired by Blommaert 2005, 2007b, 2007c; Blommaert et al. 2005) set the scene for the present research project and changed the course from an exploration of bipartite English-Finnish alternation to a larger constellation of multilingualism. Such empirical work is not in abundance in Finland; however, the empirical cases that were ultimately filtered into this dissertation mainly contain qualitative analyses of data where linguistic

resources of English, Finnish and Swedish alternate. Article 5 is the most notable exception with its analysis of polylingual 'framing devices'.

As suggested above, English in Finland is not just one English language, and this should be evident from all the articles contained in this thesis. Article 3 has the overt aim of incorporating the diversity *within English(es)* into the analysis (see the emergent mock-varieties of 'mock-Altanese' and 'mock-Lädi'), while Article 4 was selected for inclusion partly due to the empirical weight on nuances of Swedish negotiated *in situ*, and partly due to the co-construction of nuanced expertise in English. Article 3 discusses resources from other 'foreign' languages in the *Futisforums*, but many interesting usages and metapragmatic, evaluative discussions on them were left for future research. Nevertheless, Article 5 illustrates situated, specialized usages of, for instance, Spanish, German, Italian, Swedish, Russian, Polish, Greek, Portuguese, Catalan, and Mandarin Chinese in the two *Futisforums.* For the sake of comparison, French, Italian, Spanish and Japanese have also been used in Finnish fan fiction online (Leppänen 2009), while the use of Spanish (and Portuguese) for an entextualization and reformulation of an Afro-Caribbean pop song in the Finnish hip hop scene will be documented in Leppänen et al. (forthcoming)[71]. So, indeed there are already signs in the air amidst the ubiquity of English that

> with a possible wider dissemination of the Anglo-Finnish hybridity as a variety of its own, it may lose some of its distinctiveness and potential for cultural identification and communality. If that happens, it may well be that Finnish youngsters may start looking elsewhere and for entirely different kinds of language resource for their cultural and identity expression (Leppänen 2007: 167).

In sum, Finnish sociolinguistics relevant to this study have recently delved into the versatile uses and functions of English and attitudes to English in Finland (e.g. Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Leppänen et al. 2011), English as a 'threat' to the domestic languages and Finnish society (Leppänen & Pahta 2012; Hakulinen et al. 2009) as well as multilingual processes, discourses and practices in the North (Pietikäinen 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2011) and in the capital Helsinki (Lehtonen 2011). Moreover, alongside the present author, Peuronen (2011), Leppänen (2009, 2012) and Leppänen & Häkkinen (forthcoming) have brought Finns' digital communication on to this agenda. All these issues are contextualized in the wider frame of Finnish macro-sociolinguistics (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005; Pöyhönen 2009; Leppänen et al. 2009a, 2011), where Finnish, Swedish and English are currently the big stakeholders, other languages struggling for popularity and space.

Having looked at the key sociolinguistic concepts as well as the Finland-related side of the background context in which this study was conducted, let us now move to review key issues from the realms of computer-mediated communication (CMC) and computer-mediated discourse (CMD).

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[71] Elina Westinen has the main responsibility for the 'Spanish example' in that co-authored article of ours.

4.10 The sociolinguistics of computer-mediated communication

This section reviews some of the concerns of the broad field of computer-mediated communication (CMC) and computer-mediated discourse (CMD), with a particular focus on multilingualism online and the relevance of some earlier research to this study. In particular, I draw on Jannis Androutsopoulos's work on the sociolinguistics of multilingual CMC, which I regard as the methodologically and empirically closest predecessors to this dissertation. All the articles contained in this dissertation are inspired by Androutsopoulos's work on aspects of multilingual language use in CMC and CMD; moreover, Article 2 is co-authored with him. However, each article attempts to expand and take further issues raised in earlier work by Androutsopoulos, while at the same time adding the comparative aspects of my two major contexts of Finland and football.

Whilst CMC is a relatively new field of inquiry that began[72] in the 1980s and saw its first monograph (Herring 1996b) and first dedicated journal (*Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*) in the mid-1990s, the field has since expanded to such spheres that a comprehensive literature review is no longer possible. The early preoccupation of CMC researchers was mainly with everything that was new, the pragmatics of communication such as politeness or turn-taking, or playful aspects of CMC (Danet 2001), and was very heavily biased towards English-speaking (or, more accurately, *English-writing*) contexts. Admittedly, what was linguistically oriented in the 1990s CMC research was not particularly *sociolinguistically* oriented (Georgakopoulou 2006: 548). Androutsopoulos (2006a: 420) offers a useful retrospective review of the early years of CMC scholarship. He critiques 'the first wave' of linguistically oriented CMC studies, pointing out how the linguistic description was largely based on the pivotal points of different formats, broadly divided into synchronous (instant messaging, chat) and asynchronous (newsgroups, mailing lists) ones. Early CMC research, Androutsopoulos rightly suggests, established tentative descriptions of 'electronic language' or 'computer-mediated register' and identified some key features of which these general classes consisted; at the same time, this 'first wave' of CMC scholarship did not pay enough attention to the socio-cultural situatedness in which these features occurred (volumes published along those lines include Herring (1996b)[73] and Crystal (2006; particularly the first edition which was published 2001).

Many non-CMC scholars in the formative years of CMC sought parallels between internet writing and spoken conversation (see, for instance, Montgomery 2008: 135–140 and the revised discussion in Crystal 2006: 26–65).

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[72] Scollon & Scollon (2004) offer a corrective and important early documentation.
[73] However, Herring herself (1996a) outlined a useful distinction of the research rationale of CMC already in Herring (1996b). For her, key issues included the interplay of technological, social and contextual factors as well as the role of linguistic diversity in the formation of interaction and identities (cf. the retrospective critique in Androutsopoulos 2006b: 420–421).

Later CMC researchers have voiced major reservations against such simplified comparisons across modes that ignore the dimensions of genre, register, style, and so forth. Moreover, while spoken language may be primary to written (in that it existed before), this is not always the most fruitful point of departure. Instead, we should take *mediation* (Scollon & Scollon 2004 on *mediational means*; Norris & Jones 2005; Georgakopoulou 2006: 550) as one fundamental factor and acknowledge how components of meaningful social action are achieved through visual, graphic means of writing and semiotic layout (and all possible affordances of each specific format and mode). In sum, Georgakopoulou (2006: 549) reviews the 'first wave' of CMC as "an initial process of taming" and "an age of innocence", while "learning the hard way" that things are not as clear-cut and simple as they first seemed. Instead, echoing Androutsopoulos (2006a), a more nuanced and multi-faceted approach would be necessary for advancing this young field.

What Androutsopoulos (ibid.), then, identifies as 'the second wave' of linguistically oriented CMC studies was an important advance on the 1990s CMC scholarship, as it entailed a conceptual and epistemological move away from technological determinism[74] towards a new level of relativism. In that 'second wave' (exemplified by works such as Herring 2001, 2004; Thurlow et al. 2004; Thorne 2003), due attention was beginning to be directed at the ways in which digital technologies are "locally appropriated to enact a variety of discourse genres" (Androutsopoulos 2006a: 421). With that corrective in mind, no particular format of CMC is 'a genre', or even 'a register' as such; rather, they should be seen as "resources that particular (groups of) users might draw on in the construction of discourse styles in particular contexts" (Androutsopoulos 2006a: 421). In a similar vein (and in the same thematic issue), Georgakopoulou (2006: 549) proposes that "things are much messier and more complicated than was previously thought of"; for her, this complexity is constituted of, for example, complex chains of (not only digital or technological) mediatedness and intertwining and intersection of several contextual variables across time and place (ibid.: 548–550). It is with these correctives to the more technological-deterministic early CMC scholarship in mind, complemented with similarly positioned reflection on the 'equivocal, messy' (Blommaert 2005: 14–16) linguistic-discursive complexities of our present stage of 'globalization' (Coupland 2003b; Blommaert 2003), that I anchor and locate the present study. In so doing, I do not take the manifestations of multilingualism in this particular CMC format of the web forum as solely technologically determined, but neither do I intend to deny the influence of the technology completely; Article 1 contains a discussion which purposefully 'isolates' the format of web forum from the rest of CMC, while Article 5 researches polylingualism in affordances that are in-built characteristics of the web forums in question. Yet,

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[74]   Crystal (2006) is an often-cited semi-popularized work on the language of the internet; his essentialism concerning new modes and formats has been subject to critique. That critique aside, there is also a wealth of insights in Crystal's work on CMC.

the way in which multilingual language use happens in the *Futisforums* should be seen is as a *nexus* (cf. Scollon & Scollon 2004) of earlier skills, competences, capacities and literacies, and an emerging technological format, and new adaptions and appropriations for new emergent genres, styles and registers. This social constructivist, layered and scaled perspective is highlighted in each of the five articles, and some parallels to comparable non-web forum, even non-digital, discourses are drawn. For me, however, the most important problem is not the early CMC mainstay questions of 'whether they *also talk like that* face-to-face', often asked in conferences and seminars, as if there were two or three possible registers or styles available in the world (for critiques of the spoken-written dichotomy, see Tannen 1982; Georgakopoulou 2006: 549; Sebba 2012).

In short, the second wave of CMC entailed much less technological determinism, certainly more openness to hybridity, fluidity and complexity of boundaries and categories (Androutsopoulos 2006a, Georgakopoulou 2006), and, significantly for the purposes of this dissertation, also a fresh body of linguistically oriented studies from non-English-writing contexts (notably Danet & Herring 2003, 2007; Paolillo 1996; Georgakopoulou 1997; Durham 2003; Warschauer et al. 2002; Sperlich 2005; Androutsopoulos 2004, 2006b, 2007b, Leppänen 2009). Around the same years, Herring (2001: 612; 2004, 2007) proposed a conceptual shift in language-oriented research on digital contexts from computer-mediated *communication* (CMC) towards an understanding of computer-mediated *discourse* (CMD). This shift moves the focus from the process to the product; however, Herring's notion of CMD still acknowledges the dynamic and dialogic features of digital communication, while functioning as a conceptual bridge to discourse-analytically framed scholarship (see also 'digital discourse' in Thurlow & Mroczek 2011b).

As a move toward an approach to CMC or CMD that does more justice to emic categories and social meanings – a 'third wave' that would more solidly integrate offline research findings with the online ones – Androutsopoulos (2008) proposes the integration of *discourse-centred online ethnography* (DCOE) to CMC/CMD research (see also Article 2 and Section 4.13). Androutsopoulos suggests that

> research based exclusively on log data is not ideally positioned to examine participants' discourse practices and perspectives or to relate these practices and perspectives to observable patterns of language use (Androutsopoulos 2008; no page numbering).

For him, going beyond observations from the screen and establishing 'offline' contact with the social actors online is a necessary step for the sociolinguistics of CMC to move into a more valid and reliable terrain and a greater degree of triangulation. That line of inquiry would entail interviews and other types of structured, semi-structured, and open-ended contact with the 'real' people behind online personae and discourses. Questions asked during such established contact would address "motivations for the use of particular linguistic resources online and the meanings they attach to those resources […]

people's awareness and evaluation of linguistic diversity online […] their knowledge about the origin and circulation of linguistic innovations in CMC [and] the relationship between participants' and researchers' interpretations (Androutsopoulos 2008).

The 'third wave' of CMC scholarship, to paraphrase Androutsopoulos (ibid.), would seem to be presently underway. In addition to seeking connections between individuals' and communities' online and offline activities, the current wave shows more alliance with diversity and heteroglossia, and incorporates as typical research data more interactive, and more multimodal social media (participatory formats of 'Web 2.0' such as *Myspace*, *Facebook, Twitter* or *YouTube;* Thurlow & Mroczek 2011a, 2011b; Androutsopoulos 2011; Peuronen 2011; Leppänen et al. forthcoming). These approaches value both the detailed, often interactional-sociolinguistic analysis of 'log data' and participant perspectives and discourse community dynamics. Indeed, it appears that the totality of discourse that can be accessed and observed in digitally mediated environments is characterized by growing complexity and rhizomaticity. The present study, conducted for the most part between 2006 and 2009, is positioned between the second and third waves as conceived of by Androutsopoulos: I reject to a great extent the technological determinism and Anglo-American biases of some of the earliest CMC research; moreover, the format of the web forum is also a step towards more multimodal from the (even) more text-based CMC formats characteristic of the 1980s and the 1990s. However, within the confines and practicalities of this dissertation I rarely take steps towards the currently popular formats that combine, integrate and embed features from several earlier formats ('Web 2.0', also labelled 'the social media', although I do not see why earlier interactive formats and forms of communication should not be regarded as 'social'; see Leppänen et al. forthcoming).

As pointed out above, research on CMC established at an early stage that some CMC formats are 'synchronous', as interaction happens simultaneously (e.g. chat, *Messenger*), while others are 'asynchronous' as interaction occurs non-simultaneously, with hiatuses (e.g. web forums, blogs) (Herring 1996b; Thurlow et al. 2004: 32). This fundamental format-based typology has guided CMC research since its beginnings, and it is also part of Herring's more nuanced classification scheme for computer-mediated communication, where she draws upon Hymes's ethnography of speaking (Herring 2007). However, this technology-based division lacks the notion of appropriation, the idea that online social actors, the agentive users, actually adopt the formats and technologies to uses and functions that they need them for in changing and fluid instances of situated usages. Participants both appropriate and recreate online 'tools' by drawing from their historically developed patterns of use and sensibilities, while also agentively, individually and collectively, transform the functionality of these tools through their on-going use (Thorne 2003). This is seen in much of the *Futisforum* data that I researched. On the one hand, in some 'live following' topics the pace of message exchange can well surpass that of the

technically synchronous formats; for instance, see the 'hot' moments of Litmanen's comeback described in Article 4 and the latter mockery sequence, 'mock-Lädi', in Article 3. On the other hand, some subgenres and styles within the same forums may adopt the formula of a long essay or a quality sports journal article. A prime example of the long essay is the key *Futisforum* meme called 'Suomesta jalkapalloyhteiskunta', 'Towards a Finnish football society' (see Section 2.4), while the latter are exemplified by the typical opening of the season topics of the most eagerly followed clubs, or the opening of single match topics for long-awaited derbies or rivalries. These long ruminations may not even fit within the technical constraints of a single web forum message; instead, two or three messages are needed for one 'unit' of writing. Such subgenres may follow carefully constructed rhetorical lines and may be as far from synchronous 'chatting' as possible. For the purposes of the present study, where most of the interactional data proceeds more or less asynchronously with hiatuses of varying lengths, I will mainly follow established assumptions concerning asynchronous CMC, but I point out specifically the more intense 'hot' moments when the change of pace is observable either live *in situ* (my following of some of the 'altan' and 'mock-altan' topics documented in Article 3) or retrospectively, with the help of the forums' statistics and meta-information such as message posting times (as was the case for some of the Litmanen discourse documented in Article 4 and the entire 'mock-Lädi' discourse in Article 3). Article 2 discusses the epistemological and practical differences of researching CMD followed in real time by the researcher *vis-à-vis* CMD that is discovered retrospectively.

Multilingualism has not really been a mainstream part of CMC scholarship despite the advances made in the past decade or so (Danet & Herring 2003, 2007; Wright 2004; Androutsopoulos 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b, 2009; Hinrichs 2006; Leppänen 2009; Paolillo 1996 and Georgakopoulou 1997 are early predecessors). For example, the otherwise broad coverage in edited volumes by Herring (1996), Sudweeks et al. (1998) and Gauntlett & Horsley (2000), or monographs by Danet (2001) and D. Bell (2001) hardly touch upon the issues of language choice or multilingualism at all. The bias towards the English language and the Anglo-American internet sphere was indeed rather strong until the early 2000s; and studies pertaining to the now self-evident multilingual nature of the web began to appear in 2003–2007. Danet & Herring (2003, 2007) are explicitly framed openings in that direction, while Androutsopoulos (2006a) and Georgakopoulou (2006) begin to bridge the gap between CMC and sociolinguistics. The sociolinguistics of the multilingual internet are represented in Danet & Herring (2007), which comprises sections on macro-level linguistic diversity on the internet (e.g. Paolillo 2007), gender issues (e.g. Oliveira 2007), linguistic features of CMC formats (e.g. C. Lee 2007) and writing systems (e.g. Tseliga 2007). The most relevant section in that volume for the purposes of the present study, however, is the one dealing with language choice and code-switching, comprising revised versions of Warschauer et al. (2002) and Durham (2003) as well as Androutsopoulos

(2007b). While Warschauer et al. (2002) established by the methods of survey and interviews Egyptian professionals' preferences to English (*vis-à-vis* Romanized Egyptian Arabic), Durham used a 'naturalistic' log email corpus (mailing lists) to quantitatively explore language choice in a Pan-Swiss participant framework. Her quantitative findings, supported by a few illustrative, qualitative picks from the emails, suggest that a Pan-Swiss English usage emerged during her data collection (especially during the year 2000) to supersede the use of the national languages German, French, and especially Italian, the least commonly understood language in Switzerland out of the three.

Despite my rejection of technological determinism, and subsequent view of the openness for human appropriation of technologies (cf. Thorne 2003; Androutsopoulos 2006a; Georgakopoulou 2006), I briefly review here studies of multilingualism in the format of the web discussion forum 'proper'. The methodologically oriented Article 1 (Kytölä 2012a) reviews the monographs by McLellan (2005) and Hinrichs (2006) and one paper by Androutsopoulos in particular (Androutsopoulos 2007b) in some detail. McLellan focused on Malay-English alternation in two Brunei-based forums, suggesting that they were the only ones in Brunei at the time (2001). His methodology was greatly informed by corpus linguistics and Myers-Scotton's (1993) sociolinguistic work on code-switching. Working his way during the first five years of the millennium, McLellan proceeded without the insights developed and accrued in later scholarship and subsequent work on the language of the new media. Instead, he relied on the combination of code-switching methodology and quantitative overviews of language distributions in different forums and under different topics. His epistemological goal was to achieve greater representativeness and reduce the possibility of idiosyncrasy in the data. He also aimed at better triangulation and generalizability with the a survey questionnaire to a target group *outside* the researched web forums (McLellan 2005: 146–155), so that *other* bilingual (Malay-English) Bruneians were elicited to evaluate Malay texts, English texts and Malay-English mixed texts with allegedly 'identical' information content. For McLellan, it was this experimental part of his work, rather than the discourse-analytic work on his web forum data, that ultimately incorporated 'the views of Bruneians' in his work (2005: 80–82). However, while surveys or interviewing can reveal interesting perspectives on multilingual language use, it has to be pointed out that very often people *display* very different language use than they *report* doing (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 14–16; Leppänen et al. 2011; Blommaert & Dong 2010: 2–3, drawing on Dell Hymes). With regard to language attitudes, multilingualism or code-switching, observable 'naturalistic' *in situ* behaviour – whether talk or text, or any multisemiotic mixed-mode situation – is of a different order, different scale, than survey or interview responses (see Article 1 for further elaboration). This critique aside, McLellan's study is a valuable opening and documentation on language alternation in a then new format of CMC; moreover, contributions from, or dealing with, South-East Asia are particularly welcome as they are relatively few so far within the sociolinguistics of CMC (unlike in World

Englishes or Second Language Acquisition research where South-East Asia is a major context of scholarship). A step closer to my present approach is Hinrichs's (2006) monograph on the alternation between Jamaican Creole (Patois) and Standard English in Jamaican students' emails and discussion forum messages. Hinrichs (2006: 25–28) juxtaposed two Jamaican web forums with his email corpus (he also frames his analysis as a corpus-analytic one): in this qualitative analysis he validly emphasizes the aspects of *performance* and *stylization* related to the use of Patois by Jamaicans as an important act of identity (Hinrichs 2006: 107–127; cf. LePage & Tabouret-Kellet 1985; Lee & Barton 2011). One advantage in Hinrichs's work is that, along with Androutsopoulos (2004, 2006b, 2007b), he was among the first to pay serious attention to the applicability of canonical spoken code-switching and code-mixing frameworks (Gumperz 1982; Heller 1988; Myers-Scotton 1993; Auer 1995, 1999) to the written modality in digital discourse. Hinrichs points out that, while spoken code-switching behaviour is considered largely unconscious, written language alternation is more likely to be planned, stylized, or rhetorical (see Article 1 for more). Hinrichs does not go further in that volume in developing a more nuanced sensitivity to genres, registers or styles; that task has been addressed in subsequent years by, for instance, Androutsopoulos (2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2011), Peuronen (2011) and Leppänen (2012; Leppänen & Häkkinen forthcoming; Leppänen et al. 2009b, forthcoming).

Finally, Ifukor (2011) is a very recent attempt to map the linguistic diversity in 'the Nigerian virtual linguistic landscape', where English is dominant but Nigerian 'netizens' display a preference for Nigerian Pidgin as it is "ethnically more neutral and the best code for discursively constructing Nigerian net nationalism" (Ifukor 2011: 137). Ifukor interprets the uses of other Nigerian languages as 'promotional' or 'existential negotiation', pointing out that "French appears to be competing with indigenous languages in terms of stylistic uses online" (ibid.: 137). Like the South-East Asian context discussed above and the football-linguistic research project by Adetunji (2010) (see Section 4.2), I take this as a very positive sign in its contesting of the Anglo-American and, more generally, 'Western' dominance in the sociolinguistics of CMC by relevant work. Indeed, Nigeria is one of the more genuinely multilingual nation-states in the world; and researching Nigerian CMC can provide essential correctives to the West-biased field of inquiry.

In sum, the central tenets from the sociolinguistics of CMC (and CMD) for the purposes of the present project are the following:

a) To move away from essentialistically and deterministically framed research rationales in order to cover more terrain and more fluid usages of multilingualism (Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2006b, Georgakopoulou 2006). In this regard, the present thesis is neither a study on 'Anglicisms' or 'foreign loans' in Finnish online football discourse, nor a study on 'the language of web forums'. In other words, the linguistic-anthropologically framed analysis framed in this

way needs to go beyond the levels of lexicon and syntax to account for the social histories of discourse (cf. Silverstein & Urban 1996 on the 'natural history of discourse').

b) To give a broader picture of the social indexicalities of the linguistic diversity of the *Futisforums'* discourse practice than would be possible within the paradigms of language choice and code-switching. This involves the investigation of multilingual language use through notions of *crossing*, linguistic *appropriation* and *entextualization* (see Sections 4.6 and 4.7). Despite the advances in the past few years reviewed above, these notions continue to feature in a relatively small role even in state-of-the-art sociolinguistic work on CMD, and thus, I attempt here to bridge these lines.

c) To pay due attention to aspects of *community of practice* that influence language use. As pointed out by Georgakopoulou (2006: 550–553) and Androutsopoulos (2008), the epistemology embedded in ethnography is well equipped for this (see also Sections 4.11–4.13 below). This is part of the move from a 'mode-centered' to a 'user and community-centered' approach to the sociolinguistics of CMD (Androutsopoulos 2006a: 419–421, 430).

d) To research multilingualism online simultaneously in its situated context and in the sociolinguistic context of globalization, i.e. how CMC (or CMD) research is and should be interfaced with contemporary sociolinguistic theories. Most of the work done within the sociolinguistics of CMC does not go far in addressing the issues raised by the sociolinguistics of globalization (e.g. mobility, flow, scales, indexicality, and inequality), while few of the sociolinguists working explicitly within a globalization framework actually show any intricate and nuanced understanding of the currently pervasive digital communication formats (because their empirical experience and expertise has lain elsewhere). Key work that has so far attempted to bridge these two domains are Block (2004), Androutsopoulos (2006b, 2007b, 2008, 2010b, 2010c, 2011, 2013, forthcoming), Georgakopoulou (2006), Leppänen (2009, 2012), Lee & Barton (2011), Thurlow & Mroczek (2011a), and Blommaert (2010: 106–136); and it is in this emergent tradition that I also wish to locate this study.

In the next section, then, let us move to the fourth theoretical and empirical main building block of this dissertation, the sociolinguistics of globalization.

4.11 The sociolinguistics of globalization

Recent years, since around the turn of the millennium, have seen some radical reworking and reorientation of the scope, rationale, aims and methods of sociolinguistics (cf. Section 4.3 above), captured under headings such as 'language *and* globalization' (Fairclough 2006; Coupland 2010b; Androutsopoulos 2010c), language *in* globalization (Blommaert 2010: 14, 41, 59, 152, 182), 'sociolinguistics of globalization' (Blommaert 2003, 2010; Coupland 2003b), and, most recently 'sociolinguistics and superdiversity' (Creese & Blackledge 2010; Blommaert & Rampton 2011). For the purposes of this study, I draw mostly on Blommaert's work (2003, 2005, 2007b, 2007c, 2010; Blommaert et al. 2005; Blommaert & Rampton 2011), but I will also briefly review the relevance of a few other key works within similar paradigms (Coupland 2003b, 2007, 2010a; Heller 2007a; Jørgensen 2008a, 2008b; Pennycook 2003, 2007; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Otsuji & Pennycook 2010; Rampton 2006, 2011; Creese & Blackledge 2010) *vis-à-vis* the present research rationale. While many researchers on globalization adopt a more critical 'nothing new' approach (some of them are reviewed in Coupland 2003b, 2010a), there are also several arguments for regarding the current phase of globalization as indeed 'something new'. The current phase involves (adapted from Coupland 2010a: 2–3) "an increasing mediation of culture and greater cultural reflexivity", "the proliferation and speeding up of communication technologies", a reduction of some of the grosser (gender) inequalities, the development of ethnic pluralism, "increasingly familiar cultural landscapes" and "massive increasing demographic mobility". Coupland (2010a) lists many more aspects of the current phase of globalization that distinguishes it from the earlier ones, but the ones listed above are the most relevant contextual factors for the present study on online multilingualism.

I will here introduce the key tenets from the body of work cited above from the point of view of my *Futisforum* research, a dataset of a contemporary type of 'equivocal' and 'messy' (Blommaert 2005: 15) discourse epitomized by and illustrative of several points that have to with globalization, localization and transidiomaticity (cf. Jacquemet 2005). The most central tenet of this line of work is *mobility*: the mobility of people, of goods, of capital, of cultural forms, and, most importantly here, mobility of discourse(s). The point of departure for a revised sociolinguistic toolkit for the 21st century, late modern world of various kinds of mobilities, Blommaert proposes, is that the current phase of globalization

> forces us to think about phenomena as located in and distributed across different scales, from the global to the local, and to examine the connections between these various levels in ways that do not reduce phenomena and events to their strict context of occurrence. (Blommaert 2010: 1)

Moreover, he argues that

> mobility is the great challenge: it is the dislocation of language and language events from the fixed position in time and space attributed to them by a more traditional linguistics and sociolinguistics […] that will cause the paradigm shift we are currently witnessing to achieve success. (Blommaert 2010: 21)

Blommaert further argues that, when we add mobility to the theoretical and empirical agenda, classic sociolinguistic topics have to be reoriented and reformulated: locality, resources, competence and inequality become "transformed into theoretical territory for which we have as yet no sound and detailed map" (Blommaert 2010: 26). This point of departure is fruitful for the study of fluid, contemporary online communities of practice, which are inextricably linked with the global flows of football culture (e.g. fandom and supportership of Liverpool FC, or FC Barcelona, or the mass following of a gigantic football event such as World Cup 2006 in Germany). Football-cultural, mobile linguistic and semiotic resources circulate rapidly via the affordances offered by the World Wide Web: football websites, blogs, discussion forums, *Twitter*, *YouTube, Wikipedia*, and other social media constituted by the possibilities of communication and social action via multisemiotic affordances (hyperlinks, emoticons, images, video, 'keystroke text'). Indeed, Blommaert legitimately reminds us that the framework with which to address linguistic phenomena in the present day can no longer be solely a linguistic one. Instead, it needs to take the world system seriously; in other words, we should be critical of the essentialist pairing 'language *and* globalization' and engage in the investigation of language use "as part of the larger package: as the sociolinguistic side of a larger social system" (Blommaert 2010: 2; see also Hymes 1974: 75)[75]. And since the world as we know it today is epitomized by movements and flows (of people, capital, cultural features, fashions, of discourses and of mediated experience), today's critical study of language should account for the "*sociolinguistics of mobility* [focusing] not on language-in-place but on language-in-motion, with various spatiotemporal frames interacting with one another" (Blommaert 2010: 5). Blommaert's arguments are echoed in recent, similarly sensitive work by scholars such as Coupland (2003b, 2010a), Heller (2007a), Pennycook (2007) and Rampton (2006). One major contribution from Heller to the field lies in the incorporation of economic factors, the value and social capital of linguistic resources (2006, 2007a) on the agenda, while Rampton (1999, 2006) highlights what close investigation of linguistic practice in classroom, and education in general, can reveal about the hybrid and fluid identities in late modern conditions. Pennycook (2003, 2007, 2010) discusses cultural appropriation (for instance, of hip hop), linguistic

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[75] Blommaert (e.g. 2005: 49, 218; 2010: 13, 34, 153) suggests an application of macro-level frameworks such as Wallerstein's (2004) 'World-Systems' to analyses in the sociolinguistics of globalization; alternatively, Scollon and Scollon's (2004) 'Nexus Analysis' advocates an ethnographic analysis of discourses in a 'nexus' of larger, up to global scale discourses.

appropriation (for instance, of English) and the construction of local aspects of identities under the influence of transcultural, global flows, while Coupland adds to the pot nuanced theorizations on style, performance, authenticity, and the tension between 'Standard' and 'non-Standard' (Coupland 2007, 2009).[76]

'Speech community' is another central classic sociolinguistic tenet that deserves attention here. Originally the notion was based on relatively stable, relatively homogeneous communities, where membership was more or less fixed, and more or less every member spoke the same varieties with similar functions in a similar way (cf. e.g. Fishman 1970: 28–35, Hymes 1996: 30–34). Much of the Labovian (starting from Labov 1966), variationist tradition has been based on distinct communities who have a distinct geographical location and, who speak a distinct dialect. Of course, even earliest sociolinguistics (and dialectology before sociolinguistics) acknowledged variation and diversity within dialects: this variation was explained on the lines of multiple variables such as social class, gender and age. And early sociolinguistics was no stranger to mobility, either, for there has always been global, inter-continental and smaller-scale mobility of people. The notion of 'speech community' persists and still has validity, although it has been widely contested (Rampton 2000, 2006; Blommaert 2010). Indeed, one can still delineate (and research) a speech community, but most sociolinguists now agree that, if used as a unit for analysis, it has to be relatively small and bounded. In the late modern urban (Rampton 2005, 2006; Heller 2006, 2007a, Blommaert 2010, Blommaert & Rampton 2011; Pennycook 2007) contexts characterized by increasing mobility, fluidity and hybridity, the notion seems highly contestable. Attempts have been made to replace it with the idea of 'community of practice' (Lave & Wenger 1991; Androutsopoulos 2006: 422–423; Blommaert 2005: 214–221; Georgakopoulou 2007: 10–11; see also the critique in Rampton 2000); this is an epistemological turn towards a more activity-based, empirical and practical approach to groups of people doing things together with language and other semiotic means to attain their goals. Indeed, communities of practice in late modernity, as we now understand them, do not necessarily reflect or correspond to traditional speech communities (Blommaert 2012: 1–3). This can be particularly true with online communities, where geographical location and distance may or may not be as salient as in physically delimited communities (Rheingold 1993; Gauntlett & Horsley 2000: 16–21, 84–85; D. Bell 2001: 92–112; Thurlow et al. 2004: 107–117; Hinrichs 2006; Androutsopoulos 2006b, 2007b, 2010c). The 'community of practice' approach is preferable for my present purposes, and the *Futisforums* can be interpreted as communities of practice with good reason (see Section 2 in its entirety and Section 2.1 in particular). This notion provides for mobility, fluidity and 'semiotic agility' (Prior 2010; Thorne & Fischer 2012) across online and offline sites, the lived everyday experience that members of *Futisforum* appear to have.

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[76] This review is by no means exhaustive; yet more current approaches to language in globalization can be found in Coupland (2003b, 2010b).

From Blommaert's reconceptualization of the late modern sociolinguistics of globalization, I further adopt the notion of *scale* (Blommaert et al. 2005; Blommaert 2007c, 2010: 32–37). For him[77], 'scale' works as a spatial metaphor for the movement of people (language users), their competences, repertoires, discourse-in-use and concrete communicative resources in and across time and space. When moving across scales, language users and the language they use (discourse, text, talk) encounter changing codes, norms and expectations. Scales are, in short, dimensions along which these normativities are organized (Blommaert 2010: 32–37). Scales are useful metaphors when critically examining the movement of discourses (which I conceptualize in this thesis as *entextualization*) in the cases analysed in Articles 2, 3 and 4, in particular. A central empirical concern in this thesis is analyses of the 'bad-English' memes that circulate from one context to another. For instance (Articles 2 and 3), the Turk screen persona 'altan' (my pseudonym for him) performs a scale-jump as he 'leaves his comfort zone', the Turkish forum where he acts as the moderator for Nordic football, for the Finnish *Futisforum* in order to conduct important inquiries about Finnish football. In doing so, 'altan's' patchy repertoire of English faces an ordeal that is bound to fail due to the Finnish forumists' playfulness and reluctance to collaborate with him. 'Altan's' repertoire of English, or more precisely, English features, resources, items integrated with the *ways of writing* he displays on the Finnish forum, appears incomplete[78] in ways that severely inhibit his participation in *Futisforum* discussions. The football vocabulary is perfectly idiomatic in English, 'altan' has the requisite basic knowledge of the Finnish league football system, but in addition to his non-Standard English – which several Finnish members metapragmatically frame as 'bad', 'funny' and 'inferior' in the course of the related discussion topics – his interests and biases, particularly betting and suspicions of betting fraud render him a target of exclusion, mockery and discrimination, i.e. a *persona non grata*. This happens in spite of 'altan's' good intentions of information exchange and socializing with Finnish enthusiasts. The resources that 'altan' had at hand, basic but markedly non-Standard English, coupled with the ways of writing he brings with him from his Turkish 'homebase' forum(s), do not 'travel well' (Blommaert 2005: 78–83); in the new situated context of the Finnish *Futisforum* they call forth a malevolent display of mockery and suspicion. Idiosyncratically non-Standard English resources from 'altan's' repertoire of English elicit a response different from that he presupposed, owing to their perceived non-Standardness ('funniness'). In that sense, both the screen persona 'altan' and his repertoire of English-language resources have to perform a scale-jump that is beyond their ability and turns to their disadvantage. The concrete resources (phrases and clauses) from 'altan's' repertoire later become part of the *Futisforumists'* repertoire of intentionally bad

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[77] Note that Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck have culled the term 'scale' from social sciences such as history and geography (Blommaert et al. 2005: 201; Blommaert 2010: 32).

[78] Blommaert (2010: 103–106) would call it 'truncated' whether or not the repertoire has grown or diminished.

English: this in turn is a further scale-jump for those bits and pieces of language. And yet a further scale-jump occurs when this 'mock-Altanese' is circulated by *Futisforumists* across the internet to other, non-football or non-Finnish web forums, where the same (or similar) items again acquire another response as 'bad' or 'flawed' English. The online persona 'altan' himself exits *Futisforum* and nevertheless (may I hope) retains his status as an expert on Nordic football on his Turkish forum.

Similarly, 'Anfield_mate' (Article 3) is a Finnish *Futisforum* member whose social action triggers malevolent responses among the Finnish forumists who prefer to promote and support Finnish football in favour of 'foreign' football (see Section 2.4). Within the emic categorization of 'man whores', 'Anfield_mate's' activity with his fellow supporters on an English site are discovered and used as a tool of linguistic-discursive bullying and discrimination. The resources that are valuable in one set of scales (the English fans' forum and the use of vernacular Scouse and colloquial, non-Standard English) acquire low status in the Finnish *Futisforums'* tangle of discussions: various kinds of indexical links are evoked to mock and disregard the particular locality in England, its inhabitants and the fans of one of its major football clubs. As a resource for that social activity, a mock-version of the 'Lad' ('Lädi') way of writing, markedly non-Standard, colloquial form of English emerges and gains rapid popularity. These mock-uses and the 'enregisterment' of this 'bad' English as a valuable group resource for identification and disidentification emerge *in situ*: they are created in interaction, but they have roots in the *Futisforums'* discourse practice and the values and indexicalities that had developed in the early history of the formation of these communities of practice (see Section 2; and Section 2.4 in particular). Like Blommaert (2005, 2010, 2011, 2012), I am here interested in idiosyncrasies even at the expense of the big generalizations, the transidiomatic practices (Jacquemet 2005) that occur in the form of linguistic-semiotic interaction, "the stuff that is mobile and travels across different localities" (Blommaert 2010: 21).

Alternatively, in a very different case study (the benevolent negotiation of multilingual expertise documented in Article 4), the Swedish source texts and the internet radio commentary in Swedish gain enhanced salience for a community of practice comprising Finnish football fans, and at least one English fan, at a point in time when the Finnish superstar Jari Litmanen had made a comeback from a long injury period in the ranks of the Swedish club Malmö FF. In the same discussion sequence, resources from English, integrated with several uses of graphic ('quasi-universal') emoticons and pictures, are drawn upon to benevolently include the English member 'billie' (pseudonym changed) in the interaction – while simultaneously constructing and negotiating the ambiguous discourse of suspicion about her identity. Thus, concrete linguistic and semiotic resources are in use in a situated online context where geographical boundaries and distances are, to some extent, blurred and diminished. However, each contributor to online sites writes from some position, an amalgam of a geographical location and other aspects of identity, in

other words, 'as a fan', 'as a neutral reporter', 'as a provocative troll', 'as an expert', 'as a male', and so forth. In the analysis of these cases, there is not one bounded Swedish (or one competence in it) or one bounded English (or one competence in it), but rather, the demands and needs are targeted for particular situations where collective digital literacy and co-interpretation of salient bits of text are needed to achieve common and individual goals (see 'billie' and the Swedish excerpts in Article 4; see 'altan's' and 'Anfield_mate's' idiosyncratic mobility across sites in Articles 2 and 3; see the celebrity's unfortunate tattoo in Article 2, or the double-voicing of the Finnish sports reporter Porttila in several of the articles).

As can be seen in the cases summarized above (and discussed in more detail in Articles 2–4), what happens in these chains of discourse events is far more complex than can be conceptualized with the traditional toolkits of sociolinguistics. These heavily mediated discourse chains can only have occurred within the 'rules' (or the 'rulelessness') of the current phase of globalization, and they can only be modelled with the help of the toolkit introduced and refined within the sociolinguistics of globalization paradigm, for instance, with the concepts of mobility and scales.

Further in this paradigm, while the *Futisforums* arguably can still be conceived of as 'communities of practice' (Lave & Wenger 1991; Androutsopoulos 2006: 422–423; Blommaert 2005: 214–221; Georgakopoulou 2007: 10–11), this conceptualization becomes more nuanced as

> deterritorialized and transidiomatic communities […] nonetheless, appear to create a solid and normative sociolinguistic system [… which] can be seen as the outcome of complex processes of […] globally circulating affordances that always and inevitably get taken up within the possibilities and constraints of local sociolinguistic economies. (Blommaert 2012: 1)

Blommaert proceeds to argue that it is one of globalization's 'superdiverse'[79] outcomes that older, classic sociolinguistic concepts become inaccurate and inadequate as the phenomena that we observe and attempt to interpret become progressively more and more 'messy and incomplete' (2012: 3). These serve to illustrate, like Blommaert suggests, a "sociolinguistic world […] made up of dynamic, mobile, unstable, yet ordered processes and phenomena, messy and unpredictable at the surface but understandable at a deeper level" (2012: 2). What we have in the *Futisforum* cases analysed here are deeply rooted but organically developing kinds of normativity, where the norms originate not from a 'traditional' type of authority such as teachers, parents, school textbooks or language academies, but rather, peer-to-peer, on the grassroots levels of mundane, everyday interaction that operates as an arena of language policing (see Blommaert 2005, 2010: 39–41 on the 'polycentricity' of norms). For these

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[79] Adapted from Vertovec (2007); but Vertovec's original approach to superdiversity is considerably more macro-sociological, e.g. the type of diversity that occurs as different generations of immigrants become dispersed and interact with each other in and across London's boroughs.

peers, language policing each other, even when the 'on-topic' interaction and social activity is likely to have goals other than language purification, still often orients towards authorities. Language ideologies and normativities of course do not come out of nowhere: how could 'altan's' or 'Anfield_mate's' (Article 3), or the tattoo celebrity's (Article 2) or 'billie's' (Article 4) English be judged as 'wrong', 'bad', 'inferior' or 'ungrammatical' if there had not been any previous centres of normativity to which to orient at such moments of evaluation? Arguably, then, these football forums partly fulfil the criteria of Sebba's 'unregulated spaces', since the regulation and evaluation of writing comes from peers and "writers may ignore the conventions if they please" (Sebba 2003: 155).

The loose set of resources that I regard as idiosyncratic and specific to the two *Futisforums* is called 'Forumese' in this thesis (and the single items can be labelled 'forumisms', following the emic category) for the purpose of the description, documentation and classification of items or features when this is needed (e.g. Article 3). While 'Forumese' has its foundation in Standard Finnish or colloquial variation of Finnish, it arguably incorporates items and features from other origins, too, including English(es) (as we see in Articles 2 and 3 in particular) and the relatively 'universal' diversity of CMD such as graphic emoticons (see Articles 3 and 4) and acronyms or abbreviations (e.g. Article 5). In addition, the vulnerability of CMC items to be transmitted and distributed 'virally' (as internet 'memes'; Shifman & Thelwall 2009) is particularly well featured in Article 2 (the 'bad English' tattoo) and Article 5 (the two polylingual 'Forumese' dialects that I label 'mock-Altanese' and 'mock-Lädi'). As Blommaert suggests in his discussion of 'supervernaculars', these can be conceived of as "specific local and regional realizations of English, tied to and embedded in local and regional sociolinguistic economies and emerged out of processes that bear all the features of dialects" (2011: 5). Indeed, the 'English' that actually occurs in situated contexts of language use is

> always *a little bit* of English […that bears] the traces of its sociolinguistic deployment: it will always be accented, and always targeted at a particular audience, a function, a possible uptake; and it will always occur within the affordances and constraints offered by the local sociolinguistic economies in and across which it circulates (Blommaert 2011: 5).

And importantly, while these items from the set of resources labelled generally as 'English' are globalized as far as their origin, distribution and potential for dissemination are concerned, they are essentially deglobalized or localized in situated usages in communities of practice (such as the *Futisforums)* or individual idiosyncratic moments (cf. Blommaert 2012: 6–11). Importantly, Blommaert argues that we cannot observe the totality of 'globalization', but rather, it is with the observation and analysis of real, naturally occurring 'stuff' that we can observe how globalization is indexically being enacted, taken up, performed, and recreated: "the actual semiotic forms we observe are the outcome of an interplay between global circulation – englobalization – and local deployment – deglobalization (Blommaert 2011: 6). And in the dense, situated

uses of discourse-in-interaction we can observe, as Blommaert suggests, "the logic of the supervernacular as well as its language ideology: the fact that 'heterographic' writing can (and does) operate as an effective instrument […] and created rich indexicalities" (2011: 13). In Blommaert's argument, the focus is on fun and irony, while fun and irony also entail mockery and degradation in some of my case studies, see Articles 2 and 3). Indeed, as Blommaert proposes (cf. Fishman 1965; Hymes 1996),

> ethnographically we will always see complex blending, mixing and reallocation processes, in which […] the differences between 'languages' are altogether just one factor. Inequality has to do with *modes of language use*, including judgments passed on such use, not with languages, and if we intend to do something about it, we need to develop an awareness that it is not necessarily the language you speak, but *how* you speak it, *when* you speak it, and *to whom* that matters […] It is a matter of *voice,* not language (Blommaert 2010: 196).

This is aptly illustrated by the most ethnographically inclined Articles 2, 4 and 5, where a fuller (if never complete) understanding of the dynamics of inequality and mockery, but also the emergence of solidarity and affiliation, required close ethnographic observation and situated knowledge of the communities' participant frameworks. From the perspective of the sociolinguistics of globalization, the mobile linguistic resources that are documented and analysed in the five articles travel across different sociolinguistic scales, "from the individual to the collective, the temporally situated to the trans-temporal, the unique to the common, the token to the type, the specific to the general" (Blommaert 2010: 33). Moreover, situated, particular values and appreciations of different linguistic resources vary enormously between their contextual scale-jumps. The emergence and evolvement of the styles and ways of writing in the *Futisforums* (forumisms; Forumese) can be conceptualized as 'enregisterment', Agha's (2005) notion of "processes whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users" (Agha 2005: 38), or as paraphrased by Johnstone (2010: 1), as a "process in which particular linguistic forms and sets of forms come to index particular meanings and social identities" (see also Dong 2010).

Finally, some recent work within the sociolinguistics of globalization (Creese & Blackledge 2010; Blommaert 2012; Blommaert & Backus 2011, Blommaert & Rampton 2011; Varis & Wang 2011; Jørgensen et al. 2011; Møller & Jørgensen 2012; Leppänen et al. forthcoming, Leppänen & Häkkinen forthcoming) is conceptualizing all of the above mentioned tenets in the framework of *superdiversity* (as first outlined by Vertovec 2007). Superdiversity can be seen as the contemporary state of affairs where the formerly known diversity of people, peoples, communities of practice, cultures and languages is further enhanced and complexified due to the most recent flows of migration that have created hierarchies and constellations more complicated and less neatly categorisable than seen hitherto (although there has, for centuries, been

diversity and mobility, i.e. 'globalization'). Another key observation in the context of superdiversity is that the variables governing diversity have become progressively more equivocal and unpredictable. As pointed out above, while the concept was originally drafted by Vertovec (2007) for political reasons to help give voice to and promote justice towards the diversity of 'older' and 'newer' immigrant communities in the UK, and to enable decision makers to better understand the contemporary forms of cultural complexity, it has given an impetus to a cluster of interdisciplinary work in several Western European universities. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will mostly omit the recent discussion of 'superdiversity', as the entire concept and its theoretical and empirical assets seem tentatively most applicable to urban centres (such as Vertovec's London) and places of heavy migration. However, I acknowledge that valid work is underway to apply some of the central concepts of superdiversity to online contexts (Varis & Wang 2011; Blommaert 2012; Leppänen et al. forthcoming; see also Jacquemet 2005 for an insightful earlier treatment of mainly TV-mediated discourses in a context of 21st century late modern diversity), and future work should certainly continue to test its validity in differently mediated contexts.

In the above, I have reviewed some of the key tenets in the recent work on the sociolinguistics of globalization, with a special focus on how I have deployed them in this dissertation. My approach here is not as radical as Pennycook (2010), Makoni & Pennycook (2007) or Blommaert (2010), who largely reject the discreteness of 'languages' as analytical units; critical caveats can be picked up from their work along with 'heteroglossia' (Androutsopoulos 2011; Leppänen 2012), 'transglossia' (García 2009) and such, but 'languages' still remain usable categories for both macro- and micro-level description. In addition to their concrete resources (a very useful analytical unit and concept), I see the usefulness of discrete languages as *emically* motivated, organically developed and thus phenomenologically defendable analytical categories. Also, Jørgensen's 'features' in 'polylingual languaging' and Pennycook's 'metrolingualism' belong to the radical wing, which I appreciate as theoretical openings but cannot totally take on board in the light of the emic, naturalistic data I work with. For instance, Article 4 operates on relatively clear-cut but at times fuzzy divisions of labour between the relatively bounded languages of Finnish, Swedish and English.

In sum, when discussing the sociolinguistics of globalization, I have drawn extensively from Blommaert (2003, 2005, 2007b, 2007c, 2010, 2011, 2012; Blommaert et al. 2005; Blommaert & Rampton 2011). However, his approaches to CMD are not always entirely satisfactory, when cross-compared with the concurrent advances made within CMD scholarship, which are mostly ignored by him (for a fine-grained theorization and typology of CMC genres, see Herring 2004, 2007; see also Georgakopoulou 2006; Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b, 2010c, 2011; Leppänen 2012). In fact, in many of his most recent works, Blommaert calls for more empirical work on linguistic-semiotic idioms and idiosyncrasies created and developed within digital discourse

(CMC/CMD) in the context of superdiversity and in the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert & Rampton 2011; Blommaert & Backus 2011; Blommaert 2012). [80] Admittedly, Blommaert (2010: 106–136) offers an exploration of aspects of the 'Nigerian' email fraud genre; and elsewhere (Blommaert 2011, 2012) he discusses ostensibly universal 'supervernacular' features in text messaging, but the cutting-edge work done within CMC/CMD is not integrated into his works, or that of the other seminal sociolinguistics volumes dealing with globalization (Heller 2007b; Rampton 2006; Pennycook 2007, 2010). As this late modern canon of work lacks extended micro-sociolinguistic analyses of CMC contexts, this is another gap that the present study helps to bridge; and there appears to be a much welcomed wave of new work forthcoming in the 2010s. In addition, the linguistic focus of Androutsopoulos (my major point of reference from the CMC side) has recently converged with the current approaches in global sociolinguistics (Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2010b, 2011, forthcoming).

As a crucial link between older sociolinguistics and the more contemporary approaches and the markedly 21st century empirical data at hand, it has to be noted that much of what was credited above to Jan Blommaert actually derives from, is adopted from, or reapplied from the works of Dell Hymes[81]. I will now turn to review some key insights from linguistic anthropology and ethnography that I have drawn upon, with a particular reference to Hymes.

4.12 Ethnography as a perspective to sociolinguistic study

In this section, I briefly outline the tenets of ethnographic inquiry that have been followed in this research project (Hymes 1996; Hammersley & Atkinson 1983; Jessor 1996; Shweder 1996; H. Becker 1996; Fabian 2008; Gobo 2008; Blommaert 2005, 2007a, 2010, Blommaert & Dong 2010; van der Aa 2012; for online ethnography specifically, see next section). This part of the exercise will involve the integration of some of Dell Hymes's key insights into sociolinguistics (*ways of writing* or *communicative styles*), which have been largely ignored, or called by other names, in studies within CMC (but see Herring 2007).

There are several reasons why an ethnographic perspective benefits a discourse-centred sociolinguistic analysis such as this study (Androutsopoulos 2008; Georgakopoulou 2006). First, my aim has been an "insistence on grasping the perspective of the actor, on seeing the world as it appears to someone else,

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[80] See also the recent paper on the superdiversity of the internet in China by Varis & Wang (2011).

[81] Blommaert himself makes that connection overtly clear throughout his work referred to here (2003, 2005, 2007a, 2010). I also wish to thank Jan Blommaert for several occasions of personal communication where he incessantly and patiently pointed out the applicability of Hymesian 20st century thinking to our 21st century sociolinguistic inquiry.

on understanding the subjectivity of the Other" (Jessor 1996: 7). As pointed out above (Sections 2 and 3), the community of practice embedded in *Futisforum* was, already at the outset, not completely 'Other' to me, but rather 'partly my own', and I gradually became more closely identified with the community and its preoccupations during this project. Following some of my main sources of inspiration (Rampton 2005; Hine 2000; Scollon & Scollon 2004; Heller 2006; Hill 2008), I fully subscribe to ethnography's "interactionist perspective and its commitment to social constructivism" (Jessor 1996: 7) in explaining "how things happen, and some sense of why they happen the way they do" (Heller 2006: 222). Moreover, I advocate the combinability of quantitative with qualitative insights (Shweder 1996; Androutsopoulos 2007b; Hinrichs 2006) with respect to linguistic diversity: in spite of the epistemology of 'uncountability' proposed in works such as Makoni & Pennycook (2007) or Jørgensen's *polylingual languaging* (2008a, 2008b), certain distributions and percentages regarding linguistic diversity can indeed be tentatively calculated and compared in quantitative terms. Through qualitative, interactional-sociolinguistic methodologies with an ethnographic perspective and epistemology (e.g. Rampton 1999, 2005; Blommaert 2005: 224–232; Hill 2008; Bucholtz 1999, 2011), we can get into "dense, detailed descriptions of social life" (H. Becker 1996: 69), producing "work that is based on careful, close-up observation of a wide variety of matters that bear on the question under investigation" (ibid.: 69).

In the sociolinguistic tradition, Dell Hymes was an ardent advocate of the ways in which ethnographic epistemology can significantly benefit the study of language – the study of language *in society*, in particular. Exemplary discussions can be found in Hymes (1971, 1974, 1996)[82], but also in Blommaert (2005: 13–16, 64–67; 2007a; 2010: 180–198). Indeed, Hymes's position in the 1960s–1970s was one that had to be explicitly defended against the hegemony of structuralist linguistics, on the one hand, and the quantitatively oriented sociolinguistics epitomized by Labov (1966), on the other. Certain tenets from Hymes's work from over the decades, originating particularly from the early 1970s, are arguably insightful for 21st century computer-mediated discourses such as the *Futisforums* discussed here, yet unjustly ignored in the scholarship on CMC. Despite the several powerful and lasting contributions that Hymes's work has made to many subfields of academic inquiry (e.g. sociolinguistics, linguistic ethnography and anthropology, language education, oral communication, oral narrative), not many studies within CMC have applied Hymes's insights to a technological and empirical domain that he was unable to cover in his lifetime. Herring (2007) is a welcome and adaptive reappropriation of Hymes's perhaps most famous and most eagerly adopted framework, the ethnography of speaking[83] to computer-mediated domains, but there is a wealth of other insights in Hymes's writings that would deserve the attention of CMC

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[82] A note on the page numbers in the references: Hymes (1996) is actually a retrospective collection of papers, the original contents of which date from 1972 to 1996; see Hymes 1996: xiii).

[83] With its mnemonic 'S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G' (Hymes 1971, 1974).

scholars[84]. While this dissertation is only a tentative attempt to 'scratch the tip of the iceberg' in that sense, I will here briefly review the insights from Hymes that I have deployed during this project.

Hymes was always an ardent defender of (linguistic) ethnography[85], and one of his key starting points – often with regard to education in minority Native American languages – was that ethnography "has generally the quality of being systematic in the sense of being comprehensive […] an interest in documenting and interpreting a wide range of a way of life" (1996: 4). In Hymes's typology of ethnographies, the present project would be closest to *topic-oriented ethnography* with its focus on the multilingual language use of the *Futisforumists* at the expense of other interesting or salient characteristics (in Hymes 1996: 7–9, "a seeking of specific information"). This is, in Hymes's view, distinguishable from *comprehensive ethnography* (about a people, a tribe, etc.; in the present case, this would entail an entire, discrete online community of practice). In accordance with that tenet, Hymes was a strong advocate for the inclusion of *emic* categories and world-views: "our familiar categories of […] modes of communication […] are an indispensable starting point […] but are never to be equated with an analysis of the organization of a local way of life" (Hymes 1996: 9). With the long observation period and an acquaintance with the emic categories and labels within the *Futisforums*, I hope to have done at least partial justice to the richness of the 'local way of life' in the online football community (or communities) at hand. In Hymes's words (1996: 13), "much of what we seek to find out in ethnography is knowledge that others already have […] the meanings, norms, patterns of a way of life", and "since partiality cannot be avoided, the only solution is to face up to it, to compensate for it as much as possible, to allow for it in interpretation" (ibid.).

I fully admit that the present study falls partly in the category of non-participatory, non-ethnographic observation, as does a large proportion of online ethnographies. For example, the works I consulted for this research (Hine 2000; Markham 2005; Thomsen et al. 1998; Androutsopoulos 2008) included informative strands of participation but are perhaps not full-blown ethnographies (if such a thing ever exists). Hymes (1996: 14) critiques non-participatory methodology by stating that there is "work which consists essentially of recurrent observations according to a pre-established system of coding. Such work violates the principle of being open to discovering meanings and patterns of behavior not foreseen." I have attempted to avoid this problem at least partially in two ways: first, by adapting and changing the research design in several ways at relatively early stages of the project. While at first, after a short-lasting preliminary online observation, I set out to identify and categorize 'uses and functions of English', I decided to change the research question from 'English' to 'registers, genres, styles, features and items

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originating or drawn from English(es)', from English at large to multilingual language use, and from an allegedly closed or finite categorization of functions to the acknowledgment of an open-ended, fluid compilation of types, categories and idiosyncratic usages. Secondly, in another layer, I had pre-established linguistic categories to look for on different levels of the overall discourse ('framing devices' in the case of Article 5; Finnish-English code-switching and 'appropriated mock-varieties' in the cases of Articles 2 and 3; 'code alternation and switching between three major languages' in the case of Article 4), but I consistently accepted and admitted new categories and types as I became more and more familiar with the interaction sequences in the course of hours and hours of interpretation, discussions with colleagues in seminars, and so on.

One persisting and consistent theme in Hymes's writing is *inequality*, and the connections between language and inequality, in particular. For him, diversity is a resource and an opportunity both "for scholars to understand the potentialities of language" and "for speakers to develop the potentialities of forms of life and identities" (Hymes 1996: 59). The former statement has, may I hope, been widely taken up by scholars by now; however, diversity in human history has often been regarded as a problem, a target of intolerance, an obstacle to homogeneity, uniformity and, ultimately, to social control**.** To enhance understanding of diversity, Hymes proposes a key research problem, "a conception of how we encounter and use language in the world, a notion of […] *ways of speaking*" (1996: 26; italics original) with a focus on actual, concrete inequalities in communicative situations involving people with different communicative repertoires. This call for focus on actual, concrete language-related inequalities has of course, since the early 1970s, been heeded to some extent by the critical strands of language-related discourse analysis exemplified by, for instance, van Dijk (1987) and van Dijk et al. (1997) (racism and ethnic prejudice), Hill (2008) (slurs, gaffes and covert racist discourse in White American parlance) and García 2009 (on translanguaging in multiethnic classroom discourse), to name just a few lines of inquiry. However, like Blommaert (2005: 21–38; 2010: 153–179), Heller (2007a), or Blommaert & Rampton (2011), I see a persistent need for such linguistic-ethnographic work in different contexts and on different modes and media of communication. For one, Finnish contexts have rarely been researched with this perspective in mind, and neither have CMC scholars so far found it necessary to connect 'Hymesian' insights on inequality to their work on contemporary forms, modes and formats of technological mediation. Herring (2007) again is a welcome analytical step in that direction, while Sperlich (2005) focuses on the online maintenance and revitalization of Niuean, and Hinrichs (2006) on the emancipation and destigmatization of Jamaican Creole in ways of online writing. A call has recently been voiced call by Thurlow & Mroczek (2011a: xxvi–xxix) to place inequalities more visibly on the agenda of CMC sociolinguistics.

Hymes also paid due attention to the medium of language: he discusses orality and writing in relation to each other, but for my present purposes and

research questions, the application of Hymes's key insights to writing mediated by computers is highly feasible.

> Is use of one medium of communication rather than another simply transfer of an underlying competence that remains constant? Or is there more to it than that? Is the communicative medium itself partly constitutive of meaning, even of reality, even perhaps of language itself? (Hymes 1996: 34–35)

These seem extremely relevant questions for contemporary CMC research, too, and can be related to the problematics of technological determinism (Androutsopoulos 2006a) or Sebba's (2012) reflection on the relationships between written and spoken-mode code-switching. Indeed, Hymes himself states that technological determinism should not guide our interpretation of communicative styles (and this has been revisited by CMC scholars such as Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2006b; Georgakopoulou 2006), noting that "sometimes to speak is to read aloud, sometimes to write is to transcribe. Such cases of close equivalence are special cases, interesting just because of that." (Hymes 1996: 38.) There is scope for arguing, however, that those are not special cases, indeed it seems rather common to have formal speaking styles on the one hand, and informal writing styles on the other (Tannen 1982; Georgakopoulou 2006; Sebba 2012). Empirically sound research into CMC should, in my view, highlight this, particularly for the case for informal writing (as most CMD is still realized in the written mode). In Hymes's argument, there is no

> universal, absolute contrast between styles of speaking and styles of writing. We need instead to broach the more general topic of *communicative styles*. The organization of communicative means may follow lines dictated by modalities, but need not. A style may integrate features from different components of structure, so that a style of graphic English might select and group together features of orthography, morphology, syntax, diction, discourse. With regard to any one component, it may select some and not other features (e.g., one spelling, alternate, or construction rather than another); may have features uniquely its own (as in a specialized typography); may integrate features from more than one medium (Hymes 1996: 38)

Furthermore, Hymes validly links these insights to issues of identities and identifications, which are also a central concern in contemporary CMC research (Georgakopoulou 2006; Androutsopoulos 2006a; Lee & Barton 2011; Leppänen & Häkkinen forthcoming; Leppänen et al. forthcoming). Moreover, just like this strand of sociolinguistic research into digital discourse, Hymes ardently defends ethnography as the best suitable epistemology, perspective and methodology for the linguistic study of these communicative styles (this is echoed in Coupland 2007: 24–28).

While we should note that Hymes often wrote from a particular vantage point: the US education system, in particular Native American children in school, and Native American speech communities, especially their sociolinguistic affordances and constraints. However, his central tenets; ways of

speaking, ways of writing, communicative styles, linguistic repertoires, concrete linguistic inequalities – and his commitment to detailed ethnography for our understanding of those inequalities and advancing of linguistic equality – hold absolutely true in the 21st century late modern world of increased globalization and mobility of language and language users ('languagers'). Just as, in Hymes's work, Blommaert (2003; 2007a; 2005: 13–16, 61–62, 237–238) see a rich theoretical framework and vocabulary for the exploration of 21st century sociolinguistic realities and materialities, I propose here a potential but so far unmapped terrain for their application to contemporary computer-mediated discourse.

In the next section, I review the key tenets of discourse-centred online ethnography (Androutsopoulos 2008) that were followed in this thesis.

4.13 Discourse-centred online ethnography

As Georgakopoulou (2006: 550–553) points out, ethnography is well suited to explore the richness of the situated meanings and indexicalities that moments and sequences of digital communication may involve. This is the epistemology that I have followed; it has involved systematic 'guerilla-ethnographic' (Yang 2003: 471) observation spanning years, combined with a few intentional and unintentional points of direct contact with the social actors in question. Although the present study is mainly occupied with the discourse itself, focusing slightly more on the product ('artefact') than the process, interaction (cf. Hine 2000), I have held a long-standing preference for the ethnographic ethos. This is not reflected as much in the degree of my direct participation as in the phenomenological and ontological perspective that I share with ethnography (see Section 4.12 above), particularly its extension referred to here as 'online ethnography'. Central to most online ethnography[86] is long-term observation, while the degree of participation by the researcher has varied from project to project (e.g. Hine 2000; Markham 2005; 'nebulous setting' in Thomsen et al. 1998). Gobo argues that virtual or online ethnography is only "on the border of ethnography" (2008: 109) in that it "resembles conversation analysis, discourse analysis, or more generally, text analysis" (2008: 110). While I firmly disagree here, Gobo has a point: following an online community of practice 'from a distance', with several mediating means and geographical distance separating the stakeholders, has epistemological and practical consequences that arguably distinguish it from 'being present' in a physically delineated community. However, the crux of virtual communities is precisely the fact that the practice *happens online*, mediated by the (internet) connection, a desktop or laptop computer (or, nowadays, mobile digital devices), hardware (screen, keyboard) and software (such as web forums). An ethnography of an online

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[86] Terms as variable as 'virtual ethnography', 'netnography', 'webnography' or 'cyber-ethnography' illustrate the youngness of the enterprise as well as the respective researchers' desire to create terminology that 'sticks'; see also Androutsopoulos (2008).

community could also follow some of the members in the flesh-and-body action of consuming and contributing online. But this would be a totally different exercise; and, most of the time, only one embodied member could be followed at any one time, provided that the members normally log in on their own and not together. Even if able to follow several community members at the same time, the ethnographer would also have to follow the forum (or such) online in order to keep up with what is happening in that social world. Indeed, we must start with the premise that online life is one type of social reality, and ethnography should be extended so that it can be harnessed and deployed to understand *any* type of social reality. Moreover, ethnography as an epistemology can comprise much more than being in the same physical space with the target of research. More than that, ethnography is a set of methods and *a perspective* (see my discussion of Hymes in Section 4.12 above) with the aim of understanding certain facets of social life (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, Hymes 1996: 3–62; Heller 2006; Blommaert & Dong 2010). Traditionally, if we consider the history of anthropology, this 'social life' we want to understand better has been that of 'others', but ethnography can equally well be targeted at a cultural or social group that also includes the researcher. Gobo's (2008: 109–110) very blunt critique of online ethnographies can be rebutted by holistic, comprehensive and theoretically well-grounded work such as Hine (2000, 2005) or Markham (2005), or Androutsopoulos's (2008) article on 'discourse-centred online ethnography' (DCOE).

While this study is certainly not a full, holistic ethnography of the discourse practice of *Futisforums,* or the communities of practice in and around them, I have applied certain key tenets of ethnographic inquiry to the topic. To some extent, I was a peripheral semi-member at the beginning of the project as I had been a participant in the local (Jyväskylä) football and futsal[87] scenes already for a decade at that point. During the research project I certainly grew closer to the community of practice in several aspects: I became more interested in the central concerns of the most prominent concern of the *Futisforum* communities, *viz.* the Finnish national team, Finnish professional players in overseas leagues, and in particular, the Finnish football league and the lower divisions. Moreover, I occasionally participated in the *Futisforums'* debates and discussions on World Cups and European Championships, the lower divisions in the district of Central Finland, and futsal at large. However, I have certainly not become a core member in either of the *Futisforums*, as that would require yet considerably more activity on the forums, and preferably more socializing with the forum members in offline contexts (such as watching matches live on the spot, or socializing at the weekend). I have considered such a research design frequently during this project, but I eventually decided to delimit this study more strictly to the study of online discourse for reasons of time and space. However, I argue that all the informal encounters and talks (without interview

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[87]   Futsal is the official 5-a-side game endorsed by FIFA and continental associations for international competitions. At top level, futsal is played indoors. The international name is derived from *fútebol de salão* (Portuguese) or *fútbol de salón* (Spanish).

structures or field notebooks) with the *Futisforumists* that I have had during these years have gradually enhanced my ethnographic understanding of them. At the same time, this contact has helped me to assess the extent to which the *Futisforum* communities of practice overlap with the offline football and fan communities in Finland, with the city of Jyväskylä as my closest example. While Androutsopoulos (2008) offers a valid critique of the exclusive reliance of 'first and second wave' CMC linguistics scholars on log data, I would suggest that even those log data, if approached systematically in an ethnographic frame of mind, can yield rich ethnographic insights. Article 2 builds on Androutsopoulos's (2008) discourse-centred online ethnography (DCOE), suggesting several themes for an ethnographic investigation of digital discourse. These can include the emergence of multilingual practices, their local and situated character, the social meanings of multilingual language use, the norms governing multilingual usage in various genres, and holistic description of multilingual communities (see also Androutsopoulos 2008: 3). With an ethnographic perspective (cf. Agar 2006; Blommaert & Dong 2010: 5–15), multilingualism entails a range of situated, contingent uses of different language styles by different social actors for multiple and highly specific purposes of communication and identification. Even without directly asking the informants to answer questions about these situated uses and styles, such an ethnography of text (ways of writing) can be defended, if enough attention and time is focused on familiarization and immersion in the discourse world of the participants in an online community of practice.

For the purposes of this thesis, direct structured contact with *Futisforumists* was excluded from the research design (see Section 5 below), but unstructured, informal contact was established and maintained with a few members of the community of practice. These included people I knew from one or other context (often football) before the research project, but also new acquaintances – online and offline. The general response by the forumists towards this research ranged from very positive to neutral. One step that was included in the original research plan, but finally omitted, was opening a new meta-discussion thread in *Futisforum* (or later, *Futisforum2.org*) about this study. This could have yielded research material and emic insights from yet another metadiscursive layer. The realization of that idea was rendered more complex due to the transition period during which *Futisforum* increasingly lost popularity and more people started contributing to (and reading) *Futisforum2.org* instead, and the participants' attention was divided between two rival forums. In retrospect, my momentum for a more structured contact with the original *Futisforum's* part has now (regrettably) gone, but a promising future step would be engaging in a more public metapragmatic reflexivity with the community of practice in *Futisforum2.org* about their language use and, *meta-meta-pragmatically*, about such research as this (cf. Androutsopoulos 2008). There are short threads, or short sequences within longer threads, about my research in both forums, but none of them seems to have aroused long-lasting interest. In both *Futisforums*, and in the younger *FF2.org* in particular, there are other 'undergraduate-

initiated' threads where the forum members' help is sought for various research purposes. These are mostly Master's theses or diploma work in polytechnics in various disciplines (sports sciences, sociology, cultural studies, etc.). Some of them have received a critical, even hostile (and often jocular) response from the forum, while others of these undergraduates who have approached the forum with a list of questions have been advised rather to explore the texts written in the forum. This can be seen as emic contestation of the validity of direct questions or surveys. Yet despite some antagonistic responses, some undergraduate research projects deploying the *Futisforums* seem to have succeeded[88].

Article 2, in particular, illustrates how systematic observation of online discourse events and ethnographic inquiry on text trajectories can be helpful for the interpretation of online events and textual fragments which may at first glance seem messy, equivocal or inexplicable. The article builds and expands on Androutsopoulos (2008), who argues that ethnographically informed approaches to computer-mediated discourse analysis enable researchers to develop insights that are crucial when interpreting situated discourse styles and language uses. While systematic long-term observation of large online discourse communities with their masses of posted discourse (writings, etc.) is often impossible for practical reasons, a focused observation of selected subspaces or areas of such sites over a period of time allows researchers to acquire some of the 'tacit knowledge' underlying the semiotic practices of key regular contributors. This is the line that I have followed.

Central tenets within the ethnographic tradition that were followed *to a lesser extent* in the articles contained in this dissertation were face-to-face contacts and all types of pre-structured interviews. In line with holistic attempts at online ethnographies (e.g. Hine 2000; Markham 2005; Androutsopoulos 2008) I acknowledge the importance of combining screen-based observations, lines of interpretation and direct contact to social actors with offline, physically *in situ* ethnographic inquiry as a potentially fruitful enterprise. However, limitations of time and space as well as opting for a tighter focus dictated that this promising methodological line was excluded from the research design.

As outlined above, in this dissertation I draw upon insights and knowledge that has been ethnographically accumulated during many years of observation and archive searches within the football forums and related websites, without necessarily crediting any specific insight or detail to a particular forum thread or member. However, I did not follow *Futisforum* at all in its early years (from the early bulletin board 'Palsta' starting in October 1996 to my first encounter in April or May 2004), and it has been necessary to acquire information pertaining to this 'prehistory' retrospectively from various sources. Informal talk with older forumists has been informative, but for the purposes of this research project I have not organized any structured interview events for a 'prehistory' review. While I acknowledge the added value that it might bring to

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88   For reasons of privacy, I have decided not to link these theses or diploma projects, or forum discussions on them, here.

interpreting the multilingual language uses and styles in focus, for practical reasons deliberate researcher contact with the forumists was kept limited (see Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012; Androutsopoulos 2008). I had early informal contacts with some key members of *Futisforum* in 2005 and 2006; after the transition from *Futisforum to Futisforum2.org* I wrote to two of the main moderators of the younger forum in 2008 and established contact with a few key members between 2006 and 2009. As the focus in this study is the multilingual discourse and metapragmatic reflexivity observable in the forums' discourse, this orientation pays only secondary attention to the screen personae (the '*who* says what'). Moreover, for ethical and practical reasons, I have not plunged very deep into the member profiles and screen personae in question. A fuller understanding of the social meanings explored in the analyses could arguably be obtained by a more persona-centred approach. Clarifications of how each discourse event relates to the micro-histories of the *Futisforums* are found in the articles.

At times it has been impossible to keep my researcher identity, football enthusiast identity (fan, follower, spectator), and football actor identity (player, coach, manager, parent) separate; for instance, I quite often informally discuss the *Futisforums'* styles, memes and discourse events with my peer players, coaches or enthusiasts. Admittedly, my own writings and talk on these occasions contain 'forumisms' or ways of writing typical of the forums, perhaps on diachronic reflection even increasingly so. I have used the nickname 'Smaug' for contacting other members for research purposes (mainly forthcoming research proposals omitted from this thesis) and an older pseudonym that I wish to keep undisclosed (although many of my football contacts know that nickname, too). However, I have not written extensively on the forums with either nickname, and in the actual analyses I do not include any discussion threads where I have been a writing participant myself, deliberately seeking to influence the ways in which the discussion progresses. Such a research design would be possible and doable, but it was not followed for the purposes of this thesis.[89]

For the early history of *Futisforum*, as well as its connections to other forms of Finnish football fandom, I draw on several online sources, mainly old existing *Futisforum* discussion threads[90] but also 'nostalgic' recollection threads that emerge every now and then in both *Futisforum* and *FF2.org*. One function of these seems to be the 'education' of the newcomers who do not know the histories of the forums as thoroughly as the old members do; indeed, these 'educational' threads frequently turn into 'edutainment' as recollections often

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[89] I trust that all (or most) of the manifestations of multilingualism and metapragmatic reflexivity analysed in this dissertation emerged without awareness that they would be researched (by the present author). However, so many forumists know about this research project that a small likelihood exists that some of them have set up deliberate practical jokes in the forums to see if I take the bait.

[90] Some of them have been retrieved 'posthumously' with the help of *Google's* cache function (usable for web data that have disappeared relatively recently) or *Internet Archive Wayback Machine*, which is useful for ancient online data dating from 1996.

resort to old forum 'classics'. Another function they have appears to be the maintenance of rapport and affiliation between old members, along with (the often gentle and benevolent) exclusion and teasing of 'newbies'[91]. There are two historical threads in *Futisforum* that should be credited as proper references here. Both were initiated by pseudonym 'ex_deBoer', and while many other *Futisforumists* contributed to this writing of forum history, I credit the pieces of information that I gained from those threads to ex_deBoer et al. (2000, 2002; see bibliography). Moreover, for *Futisforum*, the forums' members have written and regularly updated the *Wikipedia* page[92]; this page is largely based upon the early history of *Futisforum* found in ex_deBoer et al. (2000, 2002) but it has been updated to cover the later hegemony of *Futisforum2.org* as well.

In sum, I have established a few contacts with *Futisforumists* whom I did not otherwise know personally in order to base a future research project on a more holistic ethnographically grounded participant sample. Furthermore, I use some of the insights into the Finnish football enthusiasts' communities (both virtual and offline) that I gained from informal talk with *Futisforumists,* both those whom I knew before my project and the new ones I have met during it. These insights are arguably more numerous than can be listed directly as they are interwoven in the fine fabric of the overall ethnographic understanding that I have accumulated, but a brief listing is in place here.

1) Early contacts (2005–2006) with certain *Futisforumists* guided me to consider the older *Futisforum's* non-football subforum 'Free discussion / Bulletin board'[93] a legitimate source of study. Previously I had judged that the free discussion subforum would be somehow boring, irrelevant or peripheral, and that on-topic football discussions would be 'the real thing' to explore. This prejudice turned out to be unwarranted as, on the advice of forumists encountered offline, I

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[91] These newbies seem to be currently (January 2013) called 'jonne(t)' (Jonne is a Finnish male name that has recently acquired the connotational meaning of a 'very young man').

[92] I regard this one *Wikipedia* page as a legitimate source in this case, although it is relatively incoherent and incohesive even by the usual standard of Finnish *Wikipedia* pages, since it appears in all respects to be written and peer-reviewed by several hard-core key members of the two forums. Much of the content on that page concerning the years 1996–2002 echoes ex_deBoer (2000, 2002), and the content concerning years from 2004 onwards seems accurate and in accord with my observations. However, the weightings and foci in the wiki article seem rather idiosyncratic at times. I have browsed through the editing history of the *Wikipedia* page in order to learn that it has indeed been co-authored by multiple authors. The older versions of the page reveal an early discussion on whether it should be included in *Wikipedia* at all: finally *Futisforum* appears to be accepted as integral enough to recent cultural history to warrant a *Wikipedia* entry of its own. Moreover, the editing history reveals that the page has been subject to vandalism and 'jocular attacks' where several insider jokes and *Futisforum* memes have been embedded within the matter-of-fact informational content, only to be soon deleted. For more, see http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/FutisForum (last accessed 1 February 2013).

[93] 'Vapaa keskustelu / Ilmoitustaulu' ('Free discussion / Bulletin board'); i.e. the subforum for miscellaneous off-topic discussion that should not be included in any of the more strictly predetermined thematic subforums.

began to realize how much of the essential discourse actually went on in the off-topic subspaces that I had mistaken as uninteresting. With some grasp of these, I developed a better understanding of the dynamics of the forums as communities of practice.

2) I have tried to observe in various offline and online contexts to what extent language use and styles I presumed to be *Futisforum*-specific ('Forumese') are actually used outside the forums. This is a research question which especially preoccupied the 'first wave' (Androutsopoulos 2006a; Georgakopoulou 2006) of CMC scholars: '*Do they speak like they write online?*' has been a question that non-CMC scholars continue to ask when they hear or read about online genres, styles and practices. For me comparison with 'spoken language' (which itself comprises a range of registers, genres and styles, i.e. practically infinite variation) is not the most central research problem, but it has nonetheless been interesting and illuminating to observe the scope and usability of forum-specific linguistic and semiotic features and usages in different contexts. While few 'Forumisms' have made their way into more nationwide Finnish usage, they have certainly not stayed firmly within the confines of the *Futisforums* either; instead, some of them have shown their capacity and propensity to become recycled, entextualized, adopted and appropriated in new contexts.

3) The early history of *Futisforum.* This is difficult to reconstruct as a newcomer to the field, which I was in 2004 (as a casual interested football enthusiast) and from late 2005 on (as an aspiring researcher). Reconstructing some of the salient aspects of the early history has been possible with the help of the remains of the older *Futisforum* topics still online, with the help of several 'nostalgic' retrospective topics initiated by the forumists years later, with the help of retrospective online tools such as *Internet Archive Wayback Machine or* the search engine *Google's* cache function, and with the help of contact with older members. The last option has not been utilized in this research to its full potential (see Androutsopoulos 2008), although I have exchanged thoughts on it in many informal encounters.

In these three sections, I have reviewed how ethnographic perspectives have guided the realization of the present study of the *Futisforums*' multilingualism. Prior to that, I outlined the most central sociolinguistic concepts and frameworks utilized in this research. In the final subsection of Section 4 below, I briefly discuss my approach to issues of multimodality relevant to the present research rationale.

4.14 Multimodality and resemiotization

Sociolinguistics, in line with most branches of linguistics, has traditionally taken speech as the primary, and writing as a secondary, modality of communication. This is a central epistemological point in the study of language, but it should not draw our attention away from writing and its central role in the information societies of the past centuries. Writing has been a feature of 'speech communities' and 'languages', if never all of them, for several millennia and it continues to play a central role in the present and future of language (Hymes 1996: 34–41; Blommaert 2008). Hymes argued for studies of 'ways of speaking' (1996: 25–62) to complement the mainstream linguistics of languages as bounded 'systems', but less attention has been paid to Hymes's and his contemporaries' call for research on ways of writing (Hymes 1974, 1996). The domain of writing was long dominated by studies of manuscripts and books, with a bias towards standard literal languages; and while exemplary studies on informal writing through the ages exist (for personal letters, see Nurmi & Palander-Collin 2008), informal, non-Standard writing practices really became a part of sociolinguistic inquiry relatively late (Sebba 2003, 2007; Blommaert 2008; Hinrichs 2006). This study (in line with Sebba 2003, 2007; Blommaert 2005, 2008, 2010; Androutsopoulos 2007b, 2009, 2010a; Hinrichs 2006) proposes that non-Standard, informal, 'grassroots' writing practices are central to our being in the 21st century society (emphatically so in the West), and they are thus a crucial research topic for several intertwined domains: linguistics, sociolinguistics, anthropology, new literacies, language acquisition, and critical discourse analysis, to name a few.

A central socio-historical event in world history from the point of view of this study is the development of computers and communication technologies, particularly the internet. Arguably, informal non-Standard written language was far less visible in public before the age of the internet, although it thrived in personal letters, counterculture publications such as fanzines, or 'peripheral' writing such as advertisement and physical bulletin boards. In contrast, nowadays most web users meet non-Standard, informal written language on a regular basis while navigating between the websites and social media of the day. Mediated by the technology of the internet, and especially the so called social media, non-Standard, informal language is now ubiquitous in multiple written languages and varieties of the world. *Ways of writing*, thus, is a legitimate topic of inquiry for linguistics and sociolinguistics, and here I engage in the discussions opened within the sociolinguistics of writing (Hymes 1974, 1996; Blommaert 2008, 2010) and sociolinguistics of CMC (Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2006b, Georgakopoulou 2006; Hinrichs 2006), pointing to territory for further research. This study is thus fuelled by these contemporary 'ways of writing', arguably mundane from many macro-sociological perspectives, but certainly meaningful and part of lived experience for the people concerned, whether through their creation of that discourse by writing, or (more often)

through reading, consuming, enjoying the discourses as part of their living in a 21st late modern (here: 'Western') society.

While multimodality has been acknowledged as a key approach in CMC studies, the main focus in sociolinguistic studies on digital discourse has been language. Georgakopoulou (2006: 553–554) argues that linguistic diversity in CMC (language choice, code-switching, etc.) should ideally be explored in a wider frame of multimodality and affordances of several semiotic resources, while Androutsopoulos's (2010b) article on language and space in media discourse goes some way towards introducing multimodality to the agenda. Scollon and Scollon (2003) develop a holistic language-in-place approach – which has received significant uptake in the 'linguistic landscape' line of research – but their discussion mostly excludes computer-mediated discourse (but see Scollon & Scollon 2003: 27–28). My approaches in the final version of the articles contained in this thesis do not develop the notion of multimodality very far. However, multimodality has been an important backdrop (especially Kress & van Leeuwen 1996, Scollon & Scollon 2003, Iedema 2003, Androutsopoulos 2011a, forthcoming), guiding my interpretative analyses.[94] Influenced to a great extent by the advances made by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) in the grammar of visual signs, the turn of the millennium saw fruitful attempts at developing a line of discourse analysis that still has its roots in the language-oriented view of 'discourse' but takes as potentially equal all semiotic modes and mediating means.

In addition to the avenues opened by Kress & van Leeuwen (1996), the holistically oriented line of discourse analysis developed by the Scollons (Scollon 2001; Scollon & Scollon 2003, 2004) has influenced the orientation taken in this study perhaps more than is overtly visible in the five research articles. Together with Iedema (2003) on resemiotization, these are the most central approaches to multisemiotic discourse that have informed this project. In particular, their extremely useful notion of 'nexus of practice' merits a much more central place in contemporary sociolinguistic-semiotic inquiry than has been the case so far. A good way of conceptualizing and modelling the essence of the two *Futisforums* is, indeed, in terms of a 'nexus of practice' where several histories and life-trajectories meet in time and (mostly virtual) space.

These lines of argument are contained within three differently named but closely interrelated sets: Scollon & Scollon's 'Mediated Discourse Analysis' (MDA) (Scollon 2001), Nexus Analysis (Scollon & Scollon 2004) and geosemiotics (2003), where the emphasis is on where and how exactly language happens materially, what forms it takes in different material circumstances, and what prerequisites and consequences these materially realized language uses have. Continuing the Scollons' work, Norris & Jones (2005) offers state-of-the-art qualitative analyses of various contexts and circumstances where semiotic

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[94]   Further attempts to incorporate the visual aspects of the web forum discourse in the analysis, particularly from the point of view of resemiotization (Iedema 2003) and entextualization (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Blommaert 2005) are included in Leppänen et al. forthcoming (where I am a co-author).

modes other than language are prominent and salient for mediation and meaning-making in social interaction. Furthermore, Iedema's work on resemiotization has informed this project in that it highlights the "increasing representational complexities" and the "multi-semiotic nature of meaning making" (Iedema 2003: 40) inherent in the concept of multimodality (multisemioticity), while enhancing the analytical framework with "the choice of material realization of meaning (and the resources required for such materialization), or the social dynamics that shape our multimodal meanings as they emerge" (ibid.: 40). Iedema proceeds to propose that the "objective-analytical intent of multimodality" should be balanced with one "that favours socio-historical exploration and understanding of the complex processes which constitute and surround that which is our focus" (ibid.: 48). Hence, an integrated approach of multimodality (in-product) and resemiotization (in-process) gives

> proper recognition to semiotics other than language […] focuses on the relationships between these different semiotics, and on the 'division of labour' between them in particular representations [and] links the potential of the different semiotics deployed to how they affect (enable and constrain) interaction and the formation of subjectivity." (Iedema 2003: 48)

This promising line of inquiry is manifest to some extent in all of the articles contained herein. The qualitative and quantitative analyses of the cases contained in Articles 2–5 have a focus on language ('language choice', 'language alternation', 'polylingual framing', etc.), but an overall background assumption and perspective embedded in them has been the principle of visuality. This is seen, for instance, in the analysis of 'framing devices' in Article 5, as they occur in visually determined subspaces of the totality of the web forums' discourse. Moreover, whenever the data sequences under investigation contain semiotic means other than written (typed) language, this is highlighted in the analyses. Article 2 discusses the 'mill' pictures and the ways in which the celebrity's unfortunate tattoo travels via gossip magazine to the web forums' sphere, and becomes intertwined with another social meaning of 'mill' ('myll'). In Articles 3 and 4, emoticons and pictures are embedded in the flow of the discussion threads to create subtle social meanings. The methodologically focused Article 1, moreover, takes a visual perspective on the data, partly because of the context in which it was published (Sebba et al. 2012). This multisemiotic view of discourse is also highlighted in another cluster of recent literature that I draw upon in the analyses, that of Jan Blommaert (2003, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2010, 2012; Blommaert et al. 2005, Blommaert & Backus 2011; Blommaert & Rampton 2011).

With the relevant tools, concepts and frameworks reviewed in this section, I will next outline the research design employed in this study, including issues of observation, saving and storing, data collection, data selection and omission (Section 5 below). The structure of these framing chapters means a degree of unavoidable overlap with Sections 2, 3, and 4, but my decisions here have been

informed by principles of clarity and transparency, rather than the absolute avoidance of repetition.

5   RESEARCH DESIGN

This section provides a description of the research design of this study. The description is divided into accounts of the observation (Section 5.1), data collection (Section 5.2) and data selection (Section 5.3) procedure, along with the most important omissions that I finally had to make (Section 5.4). This section should be read in relation to the social history of the *Futisforums* that I sketched out in Section 2, and the description of the ways in which I utilized key insights from online ethnography (Sections 4.12 and 4.13).

5.1   Observation

This section outlines the epistemological and practical issues pertaining to a long-term observation of an online community of practice, with particular reference to my long-standing following and 'semi-passive' participation in the two *Futisforums.* I had started following *Futisforum* in the spring (April or May) of 2004 out of personal interest and curiosity as a long-time football enthusiast, and I registered a nickname in early 2005 but did not write much[95]. At this time, I was relatively unacquainted with the communication technology of the web forum, although I had earlier been an active writer on a mailing list of my favourite Finnish rock band. My first budding research intentions began in August 2005 in the form of ideas, sketches, and rough proposals, and the research project started in earnest in January 2006. I observed and collected discussion threads from *Futisforum* during[96] 2006 and 2007 with the original

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[95] Later, I registered another pseudonym, 'Smaug', on both *Futisforums* to be used as my researcher's identity. I wish to leave my first pseudonym undisclosed here; to my best knowledge and my best intentions, my earlier nickname has not affected the research design or research cases reported in this thesis. All in all, I have not contributed very extensively to either forum with any of these nicknames.

[96] My original purpose was to quit data collection and systematic observation on 31 December 2006. However, topics with and about the use of English (and interestingly, other languages) were being actively debated in early 2007, which led me to continue

main focus on uses of English, and soon later, uses of features from any other languages, Swedish in particular. Language attitudes and other metapragmatic reflection on language use were added to the list of specific foci of observation in late 2006. Due to bad administration and malfunctioning of the forum software, there were very few forum discussions left online from years 1999–2002 (see Section 2 above); therefore, most of the data that I collected 'retrospectively' dated from 2003–2005, whereas I observed and collected some of my data on the same days that it actually unfolded in 2006–2007. As the project progressed and I became more acquainted with the forums' practices, I oriented the observation in a more systematic and focused direction, while keeping an open and inclusive approach for broader issues, too (cf. Androutsopoulos 2008).

Even within the genre of the doctoral dissertation, this study was based on a relatively long period of observation and data collection. The core periods when my observation and data collection was at its most active were during the years 2006 and 2007, which also saw the major transition in the community of practice, the mass migration from *Futisforum* to *Futisforum2.org* and the emergence of new practices in the younger forum. This was not at all anticipated in the original research design. Most of the actual data analysed in Articles 1–4 are still drawn from the older *Futisforum*, but given the overall time frame during which parts of this thesis were written, it would have been unfair not to include a selection of data from *Futisforum2.org* as well. In addition to the core period 2006–2007, I had made fieldnotes early on and conducted a pilot data collection in 2005, and I continued follow the older *Futisforum* in 2008 and 2009. In the later years, activities in *Futisforum* had declined to a fraction of what they had been in the forum's heyday. As far as my personal experience is concerned, the original forum was at its zenith in 2004–2006, while many older forumists also report the years 1999–2003 as an earlier 'golden age'. I continued taking fieldnotes on interesting topics out of a general interest and for future research purposes.

Futisforum2.org was established on 21 March 2006 when this research had just begun; due to its in many respects close connection with the original *Futisforum*, I included it in my constellation of the followed sites, although my main focus remained on the still very active *Futisforum*. I followed *FF2.org* 2006–2007 with the aim of collecting possible primary data, and, as outlined above in relation to the withering first *Futisforum*, I continued a less intensive, sporadic monitoring in 2008–2009, with the aim of obtaining possible auxiliary or supportive data. 2008 was the year of drafting the qualitative analyses based mainly on data from 2005–2007, but I still accepted relevant auxiliary data pertaining to the core research foci from both forums during 2008 and 2009, while simultaneously keeping an eye on other football sites than these two *Futisforums*. From 2010 onwards I continued sporadically to follow *Futisforum2.org* and, more

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the data collection until early March 2007. In 2007, I was on parental leave for several months, and put the entire project in abeyance. In late 2007, I began to refamiliarise myself with the concurrent topics and participation frameworks of and the competition between *Futisforum* and *Futisforum2.org*.

seldom, the nearly derelict *Futisforum* as well as other Finnish online football sites, but no further data were included for the purposes of this thesis. The sole exception to this concerns the items in the quantitative analysis in Article 5 (framing devices), where the final samples for quantitative purposes were actually conducted in 2012. With regard to the persistent observation and the epistemology of ethnography followed for this research project (see Sections 4.12 and 4.13), my fieldnotes from observation periods amounted to approximately 100 pages (A4, both handwritten and word-processed).

By around 2008, it had become impossible to keep an eye on all the sociolinguistically interesting practices and discussions: *Futisforum2.org* had irrevocably grown too large and diversified for one person to keep track of all the relevant or interesting issues. In that sense, this dissertation has to be read as a selective and partial account; and it does not claim to give a balanced account of multilingual practices in *FF2.org* in the 2010s. However, despite the definite end point in the actual data collection, many of the insights and observational, semi-structured findings accumulated during those later years have informed the final version of this dissertation. Moreover, as the final samples for the quantitative parts were made in 2012, the *FF2.org* samples of 'Favourite teams' and 'Signatures', in particular, are bound to include items that actually emerged between 2010 and 2012.

In the same years, I followed other Finland-based online football media, notably the discussion forums at *Futismaailma.com* and *Paitsio.com* (see Section 2.19) with a large-scale cross-forum comparison in mind. Moreover, during the first 15 months, I followed, observed and collected Finnish edited football sites, personal websites, blogs and fan sites. One of the longer-lasting blogs that I have followed was called *Football in Finland,* kept by an Englishman living in Tampere. That blog has the embedded affordance of interactive commentary; certain interesting usages of English and Finnish emerged both on the blog and in *Futisforum2.org* between the blogger and *Futisforumists*.[97] In 2010–2012, I also devoted some time to researching the then very popular communication formats of *Twitter* and *Facebook*, but these are excluded from this study.

5.2   Data collection

As pointed out in Article 1, web forums have the practical advantage of multimodal discourse (language and other semiotic resources) being readily available in 'naturally occurring' form. The researcher thus avoids some of the data collection problems that accompany spoken interactional data, Usenet groups (Paolillo 1996), private emails (Hinrichs 2006), or synchronous online data

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[97]   This blog has continued in English as *Nordic Football News* since January 2009; it is now co-authored by three people. There is sporadic cross-reference (mainly in English) between the blog and *Futisforum2.org*. Typical of our period, the same group of three authors has also kept *Twitter* and *Facebook* accounts under the same moniker since 2009.

(C. Lee 2007; Paolillo 2011). These benefits aside, web forums can be notoriously ephemeral and disappear from the World Wide Web – temporarily or permanently. A researcher should never assume that today's web forum data will be online tomorrow; the same goes, of course, for most sites on the Web. Thus, even web forum data have to be collected and stored in some way or other; below a brief review of the different possibilities is given (see also Article 1).

'Web spiders' are software designed for saving websites. Many such programs can easily be purchased or downloaded for free on the Internet. They are ideal for downloading entire websites that have a logical hierarchy and design, if all the subpages are found under the same URL, in more or less logically branched sub-directories. Most programs allow the user a choice of the number of sub-directories to be downloaded as well as the exclusion of site-external links. I tried and assessed some of the available spider software in the early years of this project (2006–2007) and finally settled on *HTTrack*. While *HTTrack* functioned well for downloads of smaller football sites, I found three major problems in using it to save *Futisforum* data. First, the software does not 'intelligently' name the files that it stores on a hard drive. As a consequence, every automatically saved file still has to be opened and manually renamed for easier reference. Second, the hierarchy between different parts of the forums does not always match the hierarchy of actual navigation: not all the subpages of the same discussion thread can be accessed with the same number of clicks. Third, with very large forums (such as the *Futisforums* here), the spider programs seem unable to operate the whole.[98]

Manual saving and storing is an option utilized by some researchers of web forums, even the corpus-oriented ones with a need for a larger selection. The most common web browsers (during this project, *Internet Explorer* and *Mozilla Firefox*) offer the options of saving single webpages as .htm files ('entire webpage'), .mht files ('web archive'), or .txt files (text only). Creating .pdf files is also possible, although this usually renders the look of the forum data slightly different. McLellan (2005) copied all the discussion entries into a word processor file to facilitate his use of corpus tools. This is an option for a language-based study, while it may not be compatible with more multisemiotic approaches as the transfer to a word processor may distort or destroy certain multimodal aspects of the layout of web forums. Finally, printing can be useful, particularly for reasonably small amounts of discussion threads (or excerpts from memberlists, topic lists, etc.). Hard paper copies may facilitate tagging, mark-up and other notes by the researcher. Using software (such as *Atlas-Ti*) for open-purpose qualitative sociolinguistic analyses of multimodal data has frequently been discussed in conferences and workshops, but to the best of my knowledge no one has yet tried it for purposes similar to those of the present study.

As suggested above, the data collection for this study was closely intertwined with ethnographically oriented observation. Once I had

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[98]   Admittedly, I gave up the idea of finding more about web spiders and how they could be applied to saving big forums in a waterproof way. Reflection on this, however, is outside the scope of this study.

familiarized myself with the general order of things on the Finnish online football scene, and *Futisforum* in particular, with specific attention to the use of English, I started making fieldnotes and saving the data as different types of computer files and paper printouts. Observation continued until the end of the actual data collection period and even after it (see Section 5.1 above); in that sense I never really 'left the field', a transitional moment of paramount importance in much anthropological study offline.

To give an idea of the overall size of the two *Futisforums*, here is a numerical overview (the numbers are as per 1 February 2013. Only the numbers which are readily available by combining the forums' internal statistics[99] are exact; others are my estimates rounded to the nearest hundred. These estimates are based on my fieldnotes during the project, my accrued knowledge of the forums, and message exchanges with two of *Futisforum2.org's* moderators. (*Futisforum's* administrators never replied to my queries.) In the case of the original *Futisforum* – run by the private company *Makra* in close collaboration with the Football Association of Finland – estimation is more difficult, since so much evidence has got lost due to careless administration, and spam robots have invaded parts of the forum. With *Futisforum2.org* – run by volunteer football enthusiasts – the administrators and moderators have done a much more careful job; and it has been relatively easy to acquire this type of numerical data at the different stages of this study. Moreover, the forum's internal statistics are more accessible with *FF2.org* than with *Futisforum*; this may be a choice on the administrators' side rather than 'innate' characteristics of the software that are employed (see Section 2). Table 5 below gives statistical information on the size of the two *Futisforums* (these numbers were updated on 1 February 2013). The estimates are based on the URL addresses of threads and messages as well as the statistics available on the forums.

TABLE 5   Statistical information on the two *Futisforums* (as per February 2013).

Forum	*Futisforum*	*Futisforum2.org*
Age as per 1 February 2013	15 years and 10 months[100]	6 years and 10 months
Number of registered members in total	46,268	45,098 in the entire history (40,998 left on the forum + 4,100 deleted accounts)
Number of registered members who have posted	12,100	24,300
Number of topics in the entire history of the forum	75,000	151,500 (including the moderators' own topics)
Number of topics left on the forum	37,800	35,300
Number of posts in total	2,389,300	7,440,100
Number of posts left on the forum	1,671,400	5,370,700

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[99]   http://futisforum2.org/index.php?action=stats (requires registration; last accessed 1 February 2013).

[100]   Excluding *Soccernet's* 'Palsta' (1996–1997; see Chapter 2.2).

For the sake of comparison, Table 6 contains my estimates on the situation in March 2007, when *Futisforum* was 10 years old and *Futisforum2.org* had been online for just one year. March 2007 was chosen as the date for this comparison for two reasons. I had a long hiatus in data collection after that month; most of my qualitative data here come from before that date (although I returned to persistent observation and data collection in September 2007). The numbers in Table 6 thus give an idea of how large datasets I was observing, collecting and familiarizing myself with were at the time. The estimates are based on the URL addresses of threads and messages, my fieldnotes and the statistics available on the forums. They also help in understanding the growth of *FF2.org* and the transitional phase when the newer forum was outgrowing the original one. Moreover, Articles 1 and 2 (Kytölä 2012a: 116–124; Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012: 182–184) contain estimates from around 2010–2011 for comparison.

TABLE 6   Statistical information on the two *Futisforums* (as per March 2007).

Forum	*Futisforum*	*Futisforum2.org*
Age as per March 2007	10 years	1 year
Number of registered members in total	42,300	5,400
Number of registered members who have posted	11,300	3,000
Number of topics by March 2007	68,900	11,500
Number of topics left on the forum	32,000	11,100
Number of posts in total	2,228,000	870,000
Number of posts left on the forum	1,600,000	627,400

5.3   Data selection

It can be seen above that the total amount of potential data is very large, further inflated by the collection of auxiliary data from other football forums, from football blogs and from edited football websites, which I observed and compiled in addition to these two *Futisforums* (the main data sources). For instance, the third largest Finland-based forum at *Paitsio.com* has approximately 5,300 registered members, 5,400 topics and 221,500 posts (as per 1 February 2013). The total volume of that forum is thus less than a tenth of *Futisforum2.org.* The same figures for the discussion forum of *Futismaailma.com* are ca. 1,000 registered members, 1,400 topics and 62,800 posts[101] (see Section 2.19). For all of the above reasons, the selection process for the data that finally made it to any more detailed qualitative analyses had to be stringent.

From the large collection of football-related discourses (writings, discussions, chat) that I investigated, made fieldnotes on and researched at a tentative level, particular case studies were selected for article-length analyses in order to illustrate the different facets of multilingual language use. From the

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[101]   Numbers are as per 1 February 2013; this excludes the previous versions of the forum which were of about the same calibre.

perspective of my specific points of interest, it was the 'transcultural' cases, 'altan' and 'billie', that were the most prominent as far as Finns' uses of English were concerned. Both cases seemed, however, idiosyncratic in the larger picture, and at an early point I was preoccupied with how to acquire as 'representative' a dataset as possible. (The issue of representativeness is highlighted in McLellan (2005) and, to some extent, in Hinrichs (2006) too). However, I rejected that aim at a later stage, when I adjusted the research plan to focus on equivocal idiosyncrasies and 'communicative mutations' (Jacquemet 2005; Blommaert 2005) as very valid and legitimate targets of study within the framework of the sociolinguistics of globalization (see Section 4.11).

Upon realization of the sheer abundance of research material, the decision was made to delimit this project mostly to discussion forums. This interactional-sociolinguistic analysis may, however, go beyond the delimited dataset whenever other websites or discourses are made salient in the course of the primary discussion threads by reference, quotes or hyperlinking. Indeed, when tracing the scope of 'the mill tattoo' meme (Article 2), the 'mock-Altanese' style (Article 3) or the 'mock-Lädi' style (Article 3), for example, it was necessary to access and browse many other forums and sites than just the two *Futisforums.* This is part of my research orientation and paradigm, where high importance is attributed in the analysis to the mobility of texts, entextualization, and double-voicing (see Sections 4.7 and 4.11). For instance, the circulation and scope of the 'mill tattoo' meme cannot be fully understood or assessed without researching other websites and print media, while a fuller understanding of the 'mock-Altan' style of deliberately 'bad' English required following the traces of usages to other websites, including Polish, diasporic Polish, Estonian and international interactive football sites. These traces were found mostly via explicit reference in the two *Futisforums* or through purposeful searches with search engines (such as *Google*). In sum, I retained openness to a degree of rhizomaticity and transgression of boundaries with respect to the selected sites of research, while trying to keep the main focus on *Futisforum*-based usages and practices.

At a point towards the end of 2008, it seemed that whilst new fascinating multilingual usages kept surfacing all the time, a certain saturation point had been reached in the data collection and observation. At that stage, it was time to critically assess the harvest and consider what all the data subsets observed, collected and tentatively categorized might possibly offer to the projected sociolinguistic analysis. Some data subsets were left to rest, others were deployed to illustrate points in seminar and conference presentations, but a narrow selection was finally made for final inclusion in this dissertation. In the spirit and epistemology of ethnographic research, this final selection is, in my informed reading, constituted of particularly rich and dense points from the overall data. I now turn to a review of the qualitative cases and explain how and why they made it to the final selection.

1. Case 'altan', alleged match rigging, and the emergence of 'mock-Altanese' style (Articles 3 and 2). These *Futisforum* discussions occurred mostly in 2005–2006, but the spread of the related memes as a stylized part of 'Forumese' continued in 2007 and later also in *FF2.org's* topics. These examples are included here because they aptly illustrate how nuances and details in uses of English matter to the Finnish participants, how non-Standard English becomes a target of humour and mockery, and how the features of this new style emerge and are appropriated *in situ*. Moreover, the case deserves special attention due to the dense indexical links to the recent social history of football, such as betting fraud, match rigging suspicions, and dismissals of managers.

2. Case 'billie' and Jari Litmanen fandom (Article 4) is drawn wholly from *Futisforum*, although a parallel thread on the same topic, Jari Litmanen in Malmö FF, actually emerged later in *Futisforum2.org*. These *Futisforum* discussion threads date from the period between summer 2005 and summer 2006. Their inclusion here is motivated by four factors. First, I had a desire to portray multilingual language use of *Futisforum* (and later, *FF2.org*) not only as a problem and a source of mockery (cf. Articles 2 and 3) but also in a more positive and benevolent light. Second, the detailed analysis of this thread aptly illustrates the 'expertise vs. nativeness' issue that frequently surfaces in metapragmatic discussion on the acceptability and ownership of languages in the middle of 'on-topic' football discussions. Third, I wanted to discuss usages of and attitudes to Swedish, which is clearly the third largest language from which *Futisforumists* draw their communicative resources and thus deserves a place here, even if the main focus is on English(es). Fourth, Jari Litmanen, the ultimate Finnish football superstar, has been one of the truly long-lasting, 'hot' discussion topics in the entire history[102] of the two *Futisforums*. While such a narrow selection of cases as can be included here can never be totally representative of the totality of *Futisforum* text and talk, it seems justified to include one prominent topic where many of the desires, passions and expectations, and disappointments, joys and sorrows of the community of practice are at work. Finally, the participation of nickname 'billie' makes this subset of data 'intercultural' or 'interethnic' in a more traditional, essentialist sense. However, as is suggested by the analysis, which pays close attention to the rich and dense fabrics of sequential interaction, there is more to language alternation in that sequence than merely equating all uses of English with the presence of a non-Finnish interlocutor.

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[102] Note that the very first posting on the *Soccernet.fi* guestbook board ('Palsta'; see Section 2.2) was very aptly: "Litmanen on kone" (literally, 'Litmanen is a machine').

3. Case 'Anfield_mate' and the 'mock-Lädi' stylization (Article 3). This is a skein of discourse events dating mainly from 2004–2007, occurring in both two *Futisforums*, while the background factors and influences of the case, such as the emic 'man whore' discourse go many years further back in the history of *Futisforum*. This case was included as a point of comparison to case 'altan' (Article 3): where one involved a prolific forum member, the other involved a newcomer, one involved a Finnish member and the other involved a Turkish member, one involved sophisticated nuances of dialectal and sociolectal English usage, while the other included syntactically non-Standard English (often modelled as 'learner' or 'non-native'). Yet another motivation for the inclusion of this case – in spite of certain serious ethical caveats – is to illustrate the adoption and appropriation of non-Standard, dialectal and possibly even sociolectal English features (Scouse, mock-Scouse) for a discourse of degradation and mockery. As in case 'altan', one key insight here is that 'English matters' to the Finnish participants. In the run of the discussions, heavy indexical loads are placed on non-Standard features and colloquial (dialectal, vernacular) ways of writing. In the process, the 'mock-Lädi' way of writing emerged – although I only encountered it retrospectively when it caught my researcher's gaze as idiosyncratic use of English.

4. Case 'mill tattoo' and mock-ice-hockey discourse in deliberately pejorative language (Article 2). These were collected in the transitional period 2006–2007, when the two forums were competing for popularity and users, and appropriate data had to be drawn from both forums. However, the 'mill tattoo' case originally emerged in the summer of 2005, prior to my research. The case of older 'mock-Arab' voices (Article 2) in deliberately non-Standard 'bad' Finnish was included, because it is compatible with the later 'altan' case. Article 2 illustrates the benefits of the cross-comparison of those two datasets in that respect. The mock-Arab part is among my oldest primary data from 2004; it also illustrates the difficulty of etically interpreting old discourse events that preceded my core observation and acquaintance with the forums. 'The mill tattoo' case is included here, since it illustrates the ways in which 'bad' English can become a forumism (part of 'Forumese'). Moreover, the case includes a complex chain of mediation from an embodied 'language-in-place' (tattoo; cf. Scollon & Scollon 2003) via a print magazine to a mock discourse in interactive social media of the time (2005–2007). The ice-hockey 'mill' case (Article 2) was included as a related usage of the insider joke 'mill', and thus as an illustration of how memes become intertwined in a larger scheme of group affiliation and disaffiliation (from ice-hockey, from celebrities, from 'bad' English, and so on).

The inclusion of this cluster of cases is motivated by the language attitudes that become manifest in these threads, the forumists' creative language play with resources from English, and their appropriation of the 'mill' meme for purposes of mockery and humour. The ice-hockey-related parallel in that mock discourse has the Finnish element ('mylly' denotes both 'a fist fight, especially in ice-hockey' and 'wind mill'); its mixing with the 'mill and road' mock discourse originating from the misconceived tattoo in English is an idiosyncratic but illustrative case of the unpredictability of the ways in which linguistic resources can be creatively mixed and deployed for functions of identification.

5. Polylingual language use in framing positions (Article 5). The multilingualism of these *Futisforum* practices caught my researcher's gaze at an early stage, and I made several tentative samplings and analyses of them for purposes of seminars and data sessions. The 'framing devices' (pseudonyms, 'Locations', 'Favourite teams' and 'Signatures') analysed in Article 5 originate from 1999–2012, as the earliest member profiles intact in *Futisforum* date from 1999 and the final sample was conducted in 2012 (see Article 5 for details). *Futisforum* had at that time remained more or less unchanged since 2008. There were several motivations to include these uses in the analytical agenda: first, it felt necessary to draw attention to the visual organization of web forum discourse with its contextualization cues supported by aspects of layout and spatial organization. Second, the choice of the pseudonyms and editing the member profile with the affordances of 'Locations', 'Favourite teams' and 'Signatures' seems one salient part of the overall linguistic-semiotic social action that the members engage in. It turned out that the hard-core members took more advantage of these affordances, while many less active ('peripheral') members only have the obligatory pseudonym but fewer optional items (or none at all) in the member profile. Third, the framing devices included resources from several distinct languages; they therefore serve as an excellent example of polylingual languaging, albeit varieties of Finnish and English were, expectably enough, dominant in quantitative terms.

This selection of cases reflects my original purpose, which was to research the range of uses of English as well as attitudes towards it in the older *Futisforum*. Case 'Litmanen'/'billie' and case 'altan'/'mock-altan' made it through the filter because they aptly illustrated different aspects of these phenomena. Both cases included an allegedly non-Finnish participant, but the responses and dynamics of the discussions were different: 'altan' was ridiculed more, while 'billie' met with a friendlier reception. By inclusion of both, I have been able to shed light on the ambivalence of the broad *Futisforum* community of practice, its 'Yin and

Yang'. Indeed, the *Futisforums* are simultaneously matter-of-fact and carnivalistic, aggressive and laid-back, hostile and benevolent; and this ambiguity is certainly part of their wide appeal and entertainment value.

One case from the emic pool of 'bad English' is intertwined with all of the four qualitatively analysed cases above, namely that of the sports reporter Jari Porttila and his utterance from the European Championship qualification match between Finland and Turkey on 5 June 1999. That utterance,

"What do you think the next happen now?"

had become a ubiquitous meme in *Futisforum* by 2005. The emergence of this idiosyncratic utterance as a meme probably started already in 1999, but it is hard to find hard evidence of the use of that meme looking back over the years 1999–2004. During 2005–2007, my intensive observation periods, the Porttila utterance in one of its variations was, however, nearly always elicited when any extensive stretch of English was used in one of the *Futisforums,* and almost certainly cited if any of that English was markedly non-Standard (or, in the emic categorization, 'ungrammatical', 'bad'). I use the memetic Porttila quote here as an auxiliary meta-case that was not locatable to one or two discussion threads, but rather kept occurring as an overarching meta-text about the allegedly 'bad' English.

On the one hand, the final selection is arguably idiosyncratic: I deliberately chose to research 'mutations', idiosyncratic memes which are hard to explain and account for in the older paradigms of sociolinguistics. Indeed, these selections accord well with current concerns in the sociolinguistics of globalization: hybridity, stylization, appropriation, crossing (e.g. Blommaert 2003, 2005; Coupland 2003a, 2003b; Jacquemet 2005; Rampton 2006; Pennycook 2007; see Section 4.11). On the other hand, the selection is simultaneously also representative, as I came across many similar cases during the years in both forums. There have been frequent – if never overwhelmingly many – non-Finnish registered members in search of information, like-minded company or to vent antagonism, some of whom are likely to be real-life Finns who keep a fake profile or act as 'trolls' for fun. These sequences occurred in some forms of English most of the time, and the responses of *Futisforumists* continued to range from benevolent to aggressive, from serious to carnivalistic (cf. cases 'altan' and 'billie'). Online encounters between alleged Finns also continued to show similar phenomena throughout my systematic and, later, more sporadic observation: jocular uses of English and other languages, deliberately non-Standard, 'bad' English (and Swedish, German, etc.) – these were frequently followed and accompanied by sequences of metapragmatic reflexivity. Many other discussion threads, memes and uses of polylingual resources were observed, collected, cross-compared and even tentatively taken up for analysis, but they are excluded from this dissertation.[103] The number of qualitative cases

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[103] I have, however, used some of that data in conference presentations, with due sensitivity to ethical and privacy issues.

that could be included here is limited for practical reasons of time and space management.

In conclusion, even if the final selection here reflects the early data collection stages of the entire project (years 2005–2007), very similar qualitative phenomena continued to occur in the years that followed, and similar phenomena were found later in the forums' archives of older discussions.

5.4 Key omissions

I do not intend to include here a comprehensive list of the multilingual language uses, functions and topics that I observed and researched in some depth during the project, but a brief selection of my key omissions will serve to illustrate the breadth and scope of the topic as well as to outline suggestions for possible future research.

In addition to the empirical parts that made it to the final version of this thesis, I pursued the following case studies in more detail during this project. First, I began work on a fuller compilation of 'Forumese', the loose set of resources constituted of idiosyncratic 'forumisms' typical of this community of practice and based mainly on features and resources drawn from Finnish and English. However, a compilation of a satisfactory 'dictionary and grammar' of this idiosyncratic variety turned out to deviate from the general approach and rationale of this thesis too much, and that plan was postponed. Such a project could be fruitfully carried out in closer collaboration with voluntary key forumists with emic knowledge. Second, while my focus in data collection and selection leaned towards English and multilingualism in a broad sense, I also paid close attention to various mock-varieties of Finnish. These can be indexically linked to ice-hockey discussions, or immigrants in Finland, or to particular forum members who use non-Standard Finnish features. The brief analyses of cases 'bulent' and 'Jah Aliydah', and of the 'mill' meme contained in Article 2 are my openings on the topic, but mock-Finnish would deserve more attention.[104] Third, the usages of Swedish that I explored were to a great extent omitted from this thesis. These uses range from 'genuinely' bilingual discussion threads concerning the Swedish-speaking football world, 'utility Swedish' when, for example, the latest information concerning Finnish football professionals in Sweden is needed (see Article 4), 'carnivalesque' Swedish when members deploy Swedish resources and features for purposes of jocularity, mockery, and disaffiliation, often ironically indexing their own limited knowledge (in spite of all the compulsory classes in their school years), and overt metapragmatic discussions about the contested position of Swedish in the Finnish political, educational and cultural system. This overall contradictory

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[104]   Lehtonen (2011) has discussed stylized 'bad' Finnish in face-to-face peer youth interaction, which would be the closest point of comparison here.

topic of Swedish certainly deserves closer attention; and the domain of football seems a rich one for its analysis.

Fourth, as pointed out in Article 5, uses of multilingualism in discussion topic headings as 'framing devices' and contextualization cues was identified as a promising topic and made progress during the project, but was omitted from the final version. This seems, however, a potential sequel for Article 5, with direct implications for appropriation and crossing (adapting bits and pieces of a language for specific, local purposes). Fifth, apart from Article 5, this thesis did not tap fully into other relatively specialized usages of other 'major football languages' such as German, Spanish, Italian and even Dutch, along with the evaluative metapragmatic reflexivity that arises when these 'rarer' resources are used more extensively than merely as framing devices. These meta-discussions appear to contain elements of insider humour and jocularity as well as disregard and disrespect regarding the unintelligibility of the more foreign languages for many readers. Finally, a sixth line of research that I followed during this overall project was *Twitter*[105] and the *Futisforumists'* metapragmatic reflexivity on professional footballers' polylingual *Twitter* accounts. In particular, Finnish players' use of non-Standard 'Gangsta' style English appears to be a target of criticism and mockery among *Futisforum2.org* discussants, some of whom adopt the role of 'language police' in relation to 'Gangsta' usages. Also language and variety alternation in *Twitter* messages (updates, 'tweets') on football would deserve more attention. Some of the transnational Finnish football professionals have been active writers on *Twitter*, aligning their language choice and language alternation with the multiple, transnational orientations that reflect their life trajectories in the multicultural football world of the 1990s and the 21st century.

However, I finally decided to exclude these lines of analysis from this dissertation and illustrate the different facets of *Futisforums'* multilingualism with the selection of five differently framed articles, each of which serves to illustrate a slightly different facet of the overall target of inquiry.

All in all, as the online-ethnographically motivated observation and data collection periods were spread over so many years (2006–2009), I was able to acquaint myself relatively well with the emic football enthusiasts' perspective. To this I have attempted to add the underlying aim of integrating the emic with the descriptive sociolinguist's etic perspectives, and with the advantage of identifying possible minor diachronic changes. These were perhaps accelerated as the 'hub' *Futisforum* relatively rapidly transferred to *FF2.org,* partially a new community of practice. Thus, the end result turned out to be not quite such synchronic 'snapshots' as I had originally intended. In particular, the

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[105]   *Twitter* is a microblogging platform introduced online in 2006–2007. The crux of *Twitter* is that all entries ('tweets') by the author (the holder of the account) must fit in the space of 140 characters, making it a particularly interesting target for a sociolinguistic study of language choice and alternation and mixing between codes, styles, registers and scripts. To further connect the topic of *Twitter* to the themes in this thesis, sports reporter Jari Porttila's *Twitter* account has been a target of fun and criticism in *Futisforum2.org* (at least) since October 2012.

emergence and possible withering away of multilingual memes has a certain micro-diachronic epistemology to it: for instance, there is evidence to suggest that the Jari Porttila meme ("What do you think the next happen now?") has retained much of its virality and vitality for more than 13 years, and the 'mock-celebrity tattoo' meme ("there were is a mill", etc.) is still alive and kicking seven years since it began, whereas the 'mock-altan' meme ("i think this match rigging", etc.) has clearly been on the decrease since its heyday (2006–2007). In comparison, the 'mock-Lädi' meme ("boss topic, mate", etc.) is still in circulation but perhaps not so widely used. Verifying these tentative observations on the persistence of memes, would require a totally new research design.

Having outlined aspects of the social history of the *Futisforums* (Section 2), ethical considerations (Section 3), my theoretical and methodological premises (Section 4) and the research design (Section 5), the next section (6) summarizes the key themes and findings of each article.

6   SUMMARY AND KEY FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH ARTICLES

The purpose of this section is to give an overview of the five independently published (or submitted) research articles that constitute the main empirical part of this thesis. In addition to the thick empirical descriptions contained in Articles 2–5, all of them illustrate theoretical points as well. Articles 1 and 2, in particular, have a methodological focus. Article 2 was co-authored by Samu Kytölä and Dr. Jannis Androutsopoulos. Samu Kytölä is the first author, and the division of labour between the authors is an equal split. All the other articles were authored by Samu Kytölä alone[106].

As elaborated in Section 5 above, the final selection of cases aims at offering a versatile, multi-faceted picture of the phenomenology of the *Futisforums*' multilingualism, and metapragmatic reflexivity pertaining to language use. Each of the five articles offers a different perspective to the topic of inquiry. Article 1 is primarily concerned with methodology: despite certain recent convergences of previously separate CMC formats, it purposefully 'isolates' the web discussion forum as a distinctive format of computer-mediated discourse for investigation, and suggests guidelines and signposts for how to deal with multilingual language use in different subspaces of web forums. The harvest of co-authored Article 2 is partly methodological, partly empirical. The methodological part (building from Androutsopoulos 2008) highlights the advantages that ethnographic perspectives to multilingual computer-mediated discourse can bring, while the empirical strand illustrates it with the help of two telling case studies from Finnish *Futisforums*. Moreover, the empirical part discusses the emergence of two mock-English styles and one mock-Finnish style conceptualized as 'bad immigrant Finnish'. Article 3 plunges into the 'darker side' of multilingual language use by examining two contrasting cases of multilingualism as a problematic resource (Blommaert 2005: 13–15; Hymes 1996: 25–62). In these two tangles of *Futisforum* discussion

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[106]   See the footnotes to each article as well as the present section 'Acknowledgements' for individual credits and acknowledgements.

threads, the linguistic outputs by two individual authors become the target of mockery and degradation due to their non-Standard English, albeit in two very different ways. Article 4, in contrast, discusses a 'benevolent' case of negotiating multilingualism in collective literacy events for multilingual language use, involving mainly Finnish, Swedish and varieties of English. At the core of that interactional-sociolinguistic case study is the collective fandom of one great player, Jari Litmanen, shared by football enthusiasts across ethno-linguistic or national borders, involving a community of Finnish-speaking fans, one ardent English fan and the mediation of Swedish source texts across the Web. Article 5 examines subspaces within web forum discourse that seem particularly prone to multilingual language use, *framing*: it discusses the *Futisforums'* affordances of the pseudonym, 'Signature', 'Location' and 'Favourite team' as well as their prominence both from visual and discourse-organizational points of view. The main goal of that article is to document and analyse the polylingual range and diversity of languages as sets of resources for identification and affiliation as well as to illustrate the ways in which the entextualization of these short 'texts' works.

Below is a more elaborate summary of each article, with a focus on how each piece contributes to the whole dissertation.

6.1   Article 1 – Multilingual web discussion forums

Kytölä, Samu (2012a). Multilingual web discussion forums: theoretical, practical and methodological issues. In Sebba, Mark, Shahrzad Mahootian & Carla Jonsson (eds.) (2012), *Language mixing and code-switching in writing: approaches to mixed-language written discourse.* Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism 2. New York, NY: Routledge, 106–127.

Computer-mediated communication has, in recent decades, become accessible and available to a growing number of people around the globe; compared to the early years of the internet and the World Wide Web, computer-mediated discourse has grown increasingly multisemiotic and multilingual. In visual, multimodal digital discourse, 'multilingualism' at large is often located and embedded across different layers and dimensions of the overall discourse. The purpose of this article is to outline researchable problems and methodological issues within the domain of the multilingualism of the CMC sub-format of web forums. The discussion is based on my experience with Finland-based online football forums, which can be analytically conceptualized as layered contact zones for several 'codes': languages, varieties, styles and genres. The literature section maps the research terrain of the multilingual internet in general, and then focuses on the study of the web discussion forum in particular. The article argues for a set of versatile, tailorable methodologies for the identification, documentation, measurement and interpretation of the layered, often stratified multilingualism of web forums.

Such a set may include, 1) a quantitative investigation of random and non-random data selections to find out *how much* of *which languages or varieties* can be distinguished and located *on which discourse layers or positions*, 2) a systematic, persistent observation period with the perspectives and insights drawn from 'online ethnography' (Androutsopoulos 2008; Hine 2000; Markham 2005), 3) ethnographically inclined exploration for potential *communities of practice* behind the available texts and discourses, and investigation of their sociolinguistic and sociocultural backgrounds within the boundaries of ethnographically informed ethical considerations, and 4) selective, discourse-analytically oriented analyses of what communicative, social and discourse functions, different varieties and languages or their mixes and hybridity fulfil in the different discourse layers. With regard to such versatile methodology, I review the earlier literature pertaining to web forums and the most closely related CMC formats (Androutsopoulos 2006b, 2007b, 2008, forthcoming; Hinrichs 2006, Sperlich 2005, McLellan 2005, Paolillo 1996, Peuronen 2011) as well as my own practice and experience, primarily with the Finnish football forums.

The web forum as a distinctive and (so far) highly durable format of CMC has been around since 1994–1996; web forums were originally based upon the older, 'linear' bulletin boards, but the emergence of the currently prevalent software and appearances occurred around the turn of the millennium (Ternisien 2011). Indeed, many popular and long-lasting web forums were launched around 1999–2000. Due to its publication in a volume (Sebba et al. 2012) with the aim of establishing guidelines, theoretical frameworks and empirical signposts for the linguistic study of *written-mode* code-switching and code-mixing, this article highlights the visual and written-mode affordances and constraints of the web forum. While some researchers (mostly outside CMC scholarship) have discussed the apparent similarities between interactive, multi-authored web writing and oral conversation, I argue for an analytically layered position where language use in web forums is most accurately seen as a distinctive *form of writing* combined with several *visual* means. This position that I adopt is in contrast to the exaggerated 'hype' around 'Netspeak' (Crystal 2006) and the like epitomized by the 'first wave' of CMC studies (for a more detailed critique, see Androutsopoulos 2006; Georgakopoulou 2006, Hinrichs 2006: 19–21).

Furthermore, Article 1 comprises a brief overview of ethical considerations pertaining to the study of semi-open, semi-public web forums as well as some technically oriented guidelines on saving and storing web forum data. I also discuss the suitability of quantitative and corpus-analytic methods to the study of language distribution in web forums, with the caveat that the affordance labelled as 'copy-pasteability' (the intertextual, entextualized 'repeatability' of earlier messages, the option of embedding quotes from other online sources in different languages), can skew corpora compiled directly from web forum discourse. It is the responsibility of each researcher, then, to make informed decisions on whether quoting or double-voicing earlier discourse should be

regarded as part of the corpora, or whether to include only 'original', 'authentic' postings for studies on language choice or multilingualism. This poses an important epistemological question on the nature of communication in a larger scale than web forums in that *all text and talk* is to some extent intertextual (Bakhtin 1984), borrowing from earlier sources of text and talk, entextualizing (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Blommaert 2005) and resemiotizing them (Iedema 2003; Scollon & Scollon 2004; Norris & Jones 2005) in new contexts for new situated purposes and functions.

Article 1 also discusses the potentials and perils that can accrue from ethnographically informed approaches to web forum discourse. These include systematic, persistent observation of the researched forums, versatile types of contact with key actors in the field (for instance, administrators, moderators, heavy posters, key members and opinion leaders, or members with prototypical linguistic preferences, or alternatively, members with idiosyncratic linguistic patterns). The issues of direct contact with key actors is discussed critically: on the one hand, it can help amass insights that are difficult or, indeed, downright impossible to gain from observation and etic interpretation of 'log data' only (Androutsopoulos 2008), but on the other, humans are prone to report language usages, attitudes and opinions that can differ drastically from their actual linguistic behaviour (Gardner-Chloros 2009, 14–16; Blommaert & Dong 2010: 2–3, drawing on Dell Hymes). I also argue that 'off-topic' meta-discussion on the authenticity, acceptability or correctness of varieties and their situated uses embedded in the actual 'on-topic'[107] web forum discussions can be key to understanding the attitudes and preferences of forum members and communities of practice, as they have the advantage of occurring 'naturalistically', in a non-elicited way (in contrast to interviews or direct questions with the aim of eliciting opinions and attitudes). However, insights gained from direct interviews with online actors, as reported in Androutsopoulos (2008) or Hinrichs (2006), are appreciated as a potentially rich path towards triangulation and balanced, unbiased findings.

Forms of multilingualism that we may expect to encounter in digitally mediated environments such as web forums are stratified and layered in different textual and discoursal positions of the overall forum 'text', as 1) pseudonyms ('nicknames', 'screen names') adopted by users (a potentially salient identity marker), 2) other self-ascribed 'slogans', 'signatures' or virtual 'locations' which can be created and edited within the constraints of individual member profiles, 3) discussion topic headings and sub-headings (a 'framing device'), 4) quotations from other (often online) media as well as interlocutors' reactions to them, and 5) language and variety alternation of different types in the actual interactive, multi-authored discussion sequences. These layers may

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[107] If the actual main topic of a given web forum is languages or language choice, then these meta-discussions are of course not 'off-topic'. However, so far, the web forums researched from the point of view of sociolinguistics or multilingualism have not been language forums per se (but see Sperlich 2005 and his cause of preserving Niuean).

contain a multi-faceted range of multilingual practices and bits and pieces of language, which an eclectic, versatile toolkit helps to document and categorize.

6.2 Article 2 – Ethnographic perspectives on multilingual computer-mediated discourse

Kytölä, Samu & Jannis Androutsopoulos (2012). Ethnographic perspectives on multilingual computer-mediated discourse: insights from Finnish football forums on the Web. In Gardner, Sheena & Marilyn Martin-Jones (eds.) (2012), *Multilingualism, discourse and ethnography.* Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism 3. New York, NY: Routledge, 179–196.

The harvest yielded by Article 2 can be divided into two key points. From a methodological and epistemological point of view, we discuss here the advantages that ethnographically grounded approaches can bring to sociolinguistically and discourse-analytically oriented research on computer-mediated communication, particularly the exploration of multilingual language use. We argue that systematic real-time observation of online 'discourse events' combined with retrospective archive ethnography of text trajectories can provide a useful hermeneutic spiral for the interpretation of linguistic patterns and idiosyncratic, equivocal textual fragments.

In the case of web discussion forums, and the possible communities of practice that can be distinguished or located in and around them, ethnographically framed approaches to online discourse analysis, captured in Androutsopoulos's (2008) framework of discourse-centred online ethnography, 'DCOE', enable researchers to develop a grip on the 'rhythm' of their practices and patterns. This level of insights can be used as a backdrop against which to interpret particular micro-level uses of language as well as broader discourse styles and subgenres. We use four paired examples to illustrate how Kytölä was advantageously positioned to understand particular usages when actually seeing them emerge *in situ*, rather than retrospectively finding them in 'archive' (which is nonetheless a key method in sociolinguistic DCOE). While large and extremely active multi-authored fora such as *Futisforum* (especially until 2008) and *Futisforum2.org* (since 2006) have proved practically impossible to keep track on in a more holistic way, a systematic and focused observation of a range of selected subspaces of such forums over a period of time can help the researcher acquire some of the 'tacit knowledge' underlying the semiotic practices of the community, or of key regular contributors.

Ethnographic strategies such as tracing text trajectories (ways of writing) and systematically contacting online actors online and offline (cf. Androutsopoulos 2008) may be beneficial when focusing on linguistic-semiotic practices, styles and patterns whose 'momentum' falls outside the limited period of systematic observation or which are, in one way or another, located in

the 'margins' of the explored virtual spaces. Androutsopoulos (2008) argues that direct researcher contact with discourse participants can enhance the emic understanding of language practices online, when integrated with an analysis of screen data. We conclude that direct interviews or inquiries about people's language use may also provide ambivalent results, since individuals' prompted self-reflection may appear contradictory to their observed behaviour; humans cannot be 'catalogues' or 'encyclopaedias' of their own, partly unconscious behaviour (cf. Blommaert & Dong 2010: 2–3). Nevertheless, we maintain that a combination of 'log data' (observable screen discourse) to data obtained by direct contact such as interviews may be particularly fruitful as it allows researchers to confront people with their own language use (or that of their community), and juxtapose etic interpretations against the emic ones by online actors, not to mention other benefits that increasing engagement with the researched communities can bring to research projects.

Empirically, this article highlights how the equivocal uses of English in the Finnish football forums go way beyond the traditional loanwords or borrowings paradigm deep into the domains of crossing, appropriation, highly stylized usage of Standard, non-Standard, colloquial and Mock English (or potentially other languages than English). On the basis of the English data discussed in the article, we suggest that key *Futisforum* members seem to share a co-constructed resource pool of 'bad English' from which phrases and constructions are intertextually revised, recycled and entextualized to new spaces for varying identificatory and disidentificatory purposes. We demonstrate that one important function of such idiosyncratic uses of 'weird' English could well be to reinforce the boundaries between forum regulars (who are co-constructed as 'savvy', who appreciate football, who can play around with nuances of English) and various kinds of 'Other' (who are ignorant, who may prefer ice-hockey, who use 'bad' English).

6.3 Article 3 – Peer normativity and sanctioning of non-Standard Englishes

Kytölä, Samu (2012b). Peer normativity and sanctioning of linguistic resources-in-use: on non-Standard Englishes in Finnish football forums online. In Blommaert, Jan, Sirpa Leppänen, Päivi Pahta & Tiina Räisänen (eds.) (2012), *Dangerous multilingualism: northern perspectives on order, purity and normality.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 228–260.

The internet, particularly the most recent interactive developments captured under the labels 'social media' or 'Web 2.0' (see e.g. Androutsopoulos 2011), has often been perceived to promote democracy, as more people and communities, especially in the privileged 'West' and other affluent parts of the world, have increased opportunities for agency and voice online. Social media can thus play

a role in enabling the emergence of discourse spaces where hybridity and diversity is welcomed (Leppänen 2012; Androutsopoulos 2011). Indeed, the cultural, linguistic and sociolinguistic diversity of the internet – although it is increasingly contestable whether it can discussed in totalising terms at all – has grown considerably: in addition to more traditional, monolingually framed websites in some of world's linguistic varieties, there are also many interactive, multi-authored websites that encourage the use of several varieties in juxtaposition. This is, in theory, a welcome and democratic development, considering the Anglo-biased early history of the computer-mediated communication. The increased sociolinguistic diversity online has inevitable consequences: on the one hand, there is more misunderstanding, lack of understanding and potential conflict online, and on the other, there is more use of non-Standard (often 'low prestige' and stigmatized) varieties and linguistic features online.

This article documents and interprets two cases where the use of particular linguistic (and semiotic) resources by social actors in the discourse space (and here, community of practice) of the Finnish *Futisforums* becomes severely sanctioned through a process of negotiation, regulation and peer 'grassroots' normativity (cf. Leppänen 2009) that is markedly different from the institutionally stratified processes of normativity. I illustrate how individual (more or less) multilingual subjects operate in multilingual spaces where their specific, idiosyncratic multilingual action becomes one (but not the only) hindrance to certain desired social trajectories as well as a cause of mockery and degradation. Asynchronous web forums with the affordance of archived discussions and partial traceability of text trajectories enable a chronological, sequential analysis of how particular language-ideological discourses unfold and emerge; however, for a semi-insider observer with only a partial knowledge of the communities' social history, the interpretation is bound to remain partial, no matter how deep the ethnographic investments made in the project. The practical methodology of this article is, therefore, informed by interactional (micro)-sociolinguistics, albeit with important caveats spelled out by Blommaert (2005: 50–67): interlocutors enter interactional exchanges with personal life histories and socio-cultural loads that readily affect the constellation of the exchange before it even begins.

The cases selected for this article include idiosyncratic uses of markedly non-Standard English(es) that acquire social meaning loaded with connotations and evaluation. Postings written in two very different types of non-Standard English become targets of extended meta-linguistic, language-ideological discourse, both explicit and implicit. The two cases stand in contrast to each other: in the first sequence of events, a new aspiring member is considered by some of the older members to lack resources for participation in equal terms, while in the other, a displayed excess of an established member's repertoire is negotiated and co-constructed as unacceptable by a 'language policing' group of mockers. The differences notwithstanding, both chains of events analysed here lead to discriminative discourse targeted at the non-conforming 'freak' and,

more or less, to their exclusion from the broader community. Drawing on Hymes (1996: 25–62) and Blommaert (2005, 2010), I argue that an imbalance of linguistic-semiotic resources as well as persistent language ideologies pertaining to the 'inferiority' of colloquial, or non-Standard language, create an imbalance of power, agency and voice between the participants, one consequence of which can become downright discrimination. The analysis echoes Hymes's (1996: 213) suggestion that "it is a fallacy to equate the resources of a language with the resources of (all) users. English is rich in vocabulary, but knowing it may still leave a user inferior".

The uses of different features – not entire 'languages', or even their 'whole' varieties, but heavily emblematic, 'bits and pieces' that acquire indexical links (cf. Blommaert 2005, 2010) – become discussed, regulated and sanctioned, developing into a means of 'off-topic' demarcation, embedded within the overall 'on-topic' discourse on mostly football-related multi-authored writing. The first case represents a situation where an individual (I rename him 'altan'), attempting to be an acceptable social actor within the selected discourse space, lacks some of the required or acceptable language resources to succeed. It is made salient in the course of the discussion sequences that a non-Finn ('Other', 'Them') is entering an online space framed for Finns ('Us'). 'altan's' observed deficiency in written English (together with his insufficient knowledge of the factual topics of discussion and meta-knowledge of the forum's practices) causes a considerable wave of mockery and, subsequently, screen persona 'altan' out of the community. In the second case, the mockery of member 'Anfield_mate' (nickname changed) is part of an online trajectory of this Finnish fan of a prolific English football club who builds a considerable reputation as such a fan on the Finnish Futisforum – a site where the promotion and supportership of Finnish football is advocated by many influential key members at the expense of international football. 'Anfield_mate's' prolific contributions are read, discussed, debated and mostly tolerated, even appreciated for years, but it is his activity in a British fan forum (connected to other biographical factors not discussed here in detail) that triggers a wave of ruthless disapproval and mockery. The demolition of 'Anfield_mate's' online reputation is partially motivated by his 'over-use' of a dialectal/sociolectal variety of English, working-class Scouse, which is judged 'fake', unauthentic and unacceptable for an allegedly middle-class well-off young Finn. While 'altan's' non-Standard English is stigmatized as 'bad' and emblematic of absolute 'Otherness' (cf. Leppänen & Häkkinen forthcoming), 'Anfield_mate's' working-class vernacular Scouse becomes dislodged from its 'natural habitat' and emblematic of the *Futisforums*' emic category of 'the man whore'. The Scouse 'accent' takes place here in mediated representation that contains deviations from written Standard English; for instance, 'me' as a possessive, 'boss' as an adjective, or the exclamation 'ta'. It is very good, desirable cultural capital (in the sense of Bourdieu 1977) in the virtual space framed for English Liverpool fans, but on a similar Finnish site, where the use of multilingual resources may be differently appreciated, Scouse becomes loaded with low,

negative connotations. However, is not only the 'written accent' or the variety of English itself that is devalued, but rather its detachment and usage by a Finnish online actor perceived to lead a middle class high lifestyle incompatible with the lower class Scouse identification.

To conclude these two cases and what lessons we can learn from them, I anchor them to the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2003, 2010; Rampton 2006), and the theme of 'endangered individuals' proposed in the edited volume in which the article was published. 'Altan', who is discursively constructed as a non-Finn, an outsider, an ascription fortified by his alleged real-life location in Turkey, displayed a lack of specific linguistic resources, and becomes embedded in discourses of 'bad English' and more general discourses of Otherness and 'the freak'. 'Anfield_mate', the scorned 'man whore', who is discursively constructed as a Finn with an international life trajectory, displayed an excess of particular linguistic resources (Scouse) in the wrong place and time. **'**Altan' entered *Futisforum* with an apparently benevolent intention, with his personal history and communicative repertoire as affordances. It is his well-intended 'broken' English that draws more attention than the informational or phatic facets of his writing. In contrast, a dominantly malevolent, exclusive discourse emerges where the Turk's identity, intentions and expertise are mistrusted by Finns, who adopt and appropriate the Turk's idiosyncratic use of English into a style of 'mock-Altanese' for purposes of humour, mockery, discrimination and identity work. 'Anfield_mate's' activities accumulated malevolent uptake and response, which further emerge in the form of a 'mock-Lädi' discourse about all things that this prolific screen persona embodied and represented. Both sequences in and across the online spaces reviewed here lead to highly normative peer evaluation, cruel humour, mockery, discrimination, and exclusion. While it is likely that both of these social actors found other spaces and other communities of practice to replace their activity on the two *Futisforums*, their cultural and social capital (Bourdieu 1977) and their reputation on these major Finland-based arenas of social exchange about football were regrettably more or less demolished – and their linguistic output and performance in a particular micro-context played a major role in that procedure.

6.4   Article 4 – Negotiating multilingual discourse and expertise online

Kytölä, Samu (submitted b). Negotiating multilingual discourse in a Finland-based online football forum: metapragmatic reflexivity on intelligibility, expertise and 'nativeness'. Submitted for review to *Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism*.

This article illustrates how multilingual individual and shared repertoires are dynamically regulated and assessed in one long discussion thread on the Finnish superstar Jari Litmanen. While articles 2 and 3 highlight the facets of multilingual resources-in-use that are intertwined with mockery, exclusion and even discrimination, this paper investigates a case where inclusive and benevolent multilingual discourses develop around one *Futisforum* subcommunity of practice: fans of a particular football player embedded within a larger community of Finland-based football enthusiasts online. The core multi-authored, asynchronous data discussed in this article date from 2005–2006 when the Finnish football superstar Jari Litmanen had a contract in Malmö, Sweden. That particular historical and cultural moment – integrated with the then recent powerful emergence of a new form of Finnish football fandom online most clearly manifest in *Futisforum* – gave impetus to a particular kind of multilingual discourse on that forum, where contents and details of Swedish, English and Finnish excerpts of 'primary' information sources were discussed mainly in varieties of Finnish, between Finnish-speaking Finns. An aspiring participant enters an already multilingual discussion, identifying herself as an English fan of Litmanen and posting inquiries about him in English. Whilst *Futisforum's* software and meta-functions at the time were in English, it was framed by the administrators, moderators and contributors in Finnish, as a Finnish forum for Finnish-speakers. Yet like all fandoms of international football superstars, this ostensibly local Litmanen fandom is by no means restricted to the confines of Finland, or to speakers of Finnish; for instance, the English Litmanen enthusiast looks for an online space where potential hard-core experts on the topic might be found. As the participant framework is renegotiated and resettled to potentially include the English fan 'billie' (pseudonym changed here), the sequence that follows is the main focus of this article. Importantly, the discussion so far largely based upon the shared fandom of Litmanen and the following of his ups-and-downs career in Sweden (mainly staying 'on-topic') turns into an arena for the negotiation of linguistic resources ('off-topic').

The on-topic discussion on Litmanen's season and the off-topic metapragmatic language debates are conducted via peer interpretation between Finnish, English and Swedish to varying extents. The multilingual resources appear to be regulated by a core group of active Finnish contributors to an overall ethos of benevolence, inclusion and equality; however, some of the non-Standard features of the alleged native speaker's English also become the subject of humour, mockery and sarcastic meta-talk, to the point that the entire concept of 'nativeness' becomes at stake. While nativeness has traditionally been regarded a 'primary' or 'superior' type of competence in a language both within branches of linguistics and in 'folk linguistics' (in a non-pejorative, everyday sense), this empirical evidence suggests that expertise of ('good') language and grammaticality can be claimed, denied, adopted or appropriated by what are traditionally seen as non-natives. In other words, the issue of linguistic ownership becomes foregrounded on the grassroots level of the

everyday fabric of text and talk (cf. Bucholtz 2011; Rampton 2006; Hill 2008). Overall, this article documents and interprets some of the micro-level dynamics of an asynchronous, heteroglossic interaction sequence from the point of view of language alternation, language choice, linguistic hybridity and indexical meanings attached to particular language usages.

Regarding the uses of Swedish, this article attempts to take an intermediary position between the extremes that are hegemonic in public and lay discourse about Swedish in Finland. On the one hand, one camp defends Swedish as an esteemed language of long tradition, culture and heritage in Finland that should be cultivated to the highest extent, including its obligatory special status in virtually all levels of Finnish education (with a select few exceptions). On the other, another camp stands ardently opposed to Swedish, voicing frustration, protest and mockery, often indisputably turning to hate-talk. However, when exploring real-life discourses, such as these data, from an ethnographic perspective, a more nuanced and intermediate position emerges. Particular situated uses and items of Swedish – media quotes about Litmanen's condition, or online radio coverage of Malmö FF's matches – can prove salient in situated contexts of social activity; and particular features or items from Swedish can prove useful resources in the performance of the shared fandom, even among a group of Finnish speakers. Moreover, this article highlights the nature of contemporary, mediated discourses: they often require collaborative literacy and shared meaning-making and interpretation. The entire 'Litmanen in Malmö' discussion thread can be regarded as a collective literacy event spread over several months, where different degrees of expertise are claimed and performed by the participants based upon their linguistic, communicative and semiotic competences and their expertise in the history and present of (Finnish and Swedish) football. In this way, the co-constructed fandom of Litmanen, the ultimate emblem of rare Finnish success in world football, develops organically into a nexus of practice (Scollon & Scollon 2004) where all these phenomena can be investigated, yielding fruitful insights.

6.5   Article 5 – Polylingual language use, framing and entextualization in digital discourse

Kytölä, Samu (submitted a). Polylingual language use, framing and entextualization in digital discourse: Pseudonyms, 'Locations', 'Favourite teams' and 'Signatures' on two Finnish online football forums. Submitted for review to: Tyrkkö, Jukka & Sirpa Leppänen (eds.) (forthcoming), *Linguistic and textual innovation in new media contexts*. Thematic issue in *Studies in Variation, Contacts, and Change in English*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

This article addresses three interrelated positions of polylingual language use as a 'framing device' in Finnish internet football forums: 1) discussants' self-

appointed pseudonyms ('nicknames', 'nicks'), identified as their key loci of history, reputation and identification, 2) virtual 'Locations' (*Futisforum*) and 'Favourite teams' (*Futisforum2.org*) as a part of tailorable public member profiles, and 3) 'Signatures' (*FF2.org*) as a framing device that closes each contribution by an individual member to the forum. Moreover, headings and sub-headings of discussion topics were identified as a fourth type of framing device and as an important affordance for multilingual language use, but they were omitted from the present analysis. These *Futisforums'* affordances were found to contain both patterned and idiosyncratic polylingual language use during my core observation period, when the main goal was to map multilingual discussion threads for interactional-sociolinguistic analysis. Drawing on Androutsopoulos (forthcoming), I conceptualize this discourse-organizational phenomenon with the help of Goffman's (1986) 'frames', previously identified in face-to-face interactions and encounters as well as key tenets of visual grammar and multimodality research (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; Iedema 2003). Furthermore, as the linguistic features employed in these positions are often traceable to earlier sources, I integrate the analysis of their *entextualization* (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Blommaert 2005: 47) into the discussion. Deploying quantitative analyses and selective discourse-analytic, interpretative excursions to those multilingual features and items, I outline the distribution and visibility of different languages and their varieties in these discourse positions, discussing the challenges arising from essentialist attempts at classification. Brief ethical considerations of such excursions to member profiles are included.

One key finding from this overall exercise is that Finnish and English are by far the most frequently used sets of resources for these 'framing devices' in the *Futisforums*, and these two are also the 'big languages' within which there is most variability. In particular, features of colloquial, non-Standard Finnish and English are common in these framing devices; furthermore, it seems a legitimate option to use the emically motivated category 'Forumese' – a mixed-code that utilized Standard and non-Standard Finnish features along with features from other 'big languages', where phrases and utterances can be (fully) understandable only to the community insiders.

Each sample contained a share of items that were not analysable in terms of discrete languages: they were either linguistically 'universal', or unidentifiable as belonging to any language, or acronyms or abbreviations. The most important European football languages are represented in all the different discourse positions, although their frequency is never very high among the proliferation of Finnish, English, universal and unidentifiable items, acronyms and abbreviations. Spanish and German rank relatively high in most categories, while Italian is also prominent. Other languages that were found in more than single idiosyncratic occurrences include Swedish, Portuguese (with indexicalities to Brazil and Portugal), Russian, Polish, and Mandarin Chinese. Of other salient 'football languages' that I observed several times elsewhere in specific, situated interactional uses, Dutch and French featured relatively seldom in these framing device samples.

Moreover, this article shows that the degree of appropriation of the framing device affordances for purposes other than 'intended' was rather high: for instance, the subspace 'Location' in *Futisforum* was used by many (a narrow majority) to indicate a geographical location (whether true or false), but also various 'virtual locations' and other kinds of stances, slogans and phrases which would not be traditionally understood as 'locations'. The same goes for 'Favourite teams' (in the default Finnish member profile: 'Suosikkijoukkue'), where only a proportion of the items (approx. 39 %) were actually distinguishable references to any teams or clubs. Instead, this affordance of 'Favourite team' was used by approximately 62 % of the selection for various other kinds of self-expressions of affiliation, identification, mockery or joking. This can be seen as a sign of the individual users' agency: empirical evidence suggests that any space for self-expression can be used in creative and even idiosyncratic ways, possibly, but seldom exclusively, to contest the original, ostensible purpose. These sub-spaces give expression to a wide range of linguistic and discursive choices for identity work and performance. Finally, with 'Signatures', in addition to the distribution of linguistic varieties, one key finding was that quoting an earlier utterance or phrase verbatim was a popular choice. This might actually be very common across the entire sphere of web forums (and similar asynchronous CMC formats), but what seems idiosyncratic to the members of *FF2.org* is that they actually quote each other most of the time in their signatures, often even giving an exact hyperlink to the thread where the cited phrase or utterance first occurred. These double-voiced signatures seem to induce insider merriment to a high degree: some of the quotes seem to recycle an apt, dead-on point, while others recycle ridiculous, 'silly' statements written by other members. Most of these, however, seem gentle teasing and approved of by the community members.

Another question this part of the analysis arouses is to what extent this linguistic behaviour can actually be conceived of as 'language choice' or 'code-switching'. Selecting or crafting a pseudonym, 'Location', and so forth, does not necessarily require more than minimal competence in 'a language'; yet this seems a very common way of creating aspects of identity, affiliation or loyalty, which is not without parallels in other kinds of communication, whether or not mediated by internet or computers. On the one hand, it seems fair to assume that an emblematic choice, such as the ones discussed in this article, involves understanding and acceptance of 'the language' used in the choice: for example, a Spanish 'Favourite team' involves at least a little bit of Spanish, even if only a proper name that can basically be 'learnt' by anyone in a short moment. On the other hand, these selections and craftings may be primarily football-cultural and sociological, with little emic weight on 'the language'. For example, not all fans of a single German club necessarily identify strongly with Germany, the German football culture at large, or the German language. Choosing emblematic identification markers such as the ones discussed here are not 'classic' linguistic competence; they are rather, in essence, manifestations of

highly situated, stylized communicative competences, new literacies or 'semiotic agility' (Prior 2010).

In concordance with the type of discourse and primary data that are explored, this article also explores the affordances of the electronic publication format. The purpose is that data samples are displayed as close as possible to their original form, layout and colours; moreover, the embedding of various types of hyperlinks should be enabled where appropriate.

7   DISCUSSION

The main purpose of this dissertation was to open up new perspectives on the sociolinguistic study of multilingual language use within the technology of the web forum by connecting the analyses to three domains of our late modern phase of globalization that had been so far under-addressed in the respective fields (football, Finland and digital communication). Within this general research purpose, the more specific topics of closer discussion ranged from the Finnish discussants' adoption and appropriation of deliberately and markedly non-Standard, 'ungrammatical' English styles to the affordances and constraints of ethnographically grounded observation of multilingual interaction sequences, from attitudes towards different usages of Swedish by Finnish discussants to creative 'polylingual languaging' in the choices and coinages of emblematic individual markers such as forum pseudonyms, personal signatures, or self-ascribed 'locations'. In my own way, I have deployed the Finnish *Futisforums* as conceptual windows on the 'sociolinguistics of globalization', with an epistemological focus on linguistic resources, 'features' and 'items' drawn from a multiplicity of sources, rather than the ideological construct of bounded languages-as-systems. I have, however, attempted to remain open to contrary conceptualizations, particularly when these emerge emically, in the run of the primary data, in metapragmatic evaluative debates by the *Futisforumists*. Many points in the (purposefully) selected case studies suggest that the way resources drawn from languages (mostly different 'Finnishes' and 'Englishes' but also other distinguishable languages) are organised in individual online actors' repertoires and utilised visually in multilingual, multi-semiotic constellations.

   The most direct influences and anchoring points of this study have been Jannis Androutsopoulos's pioneering work on the sociolinguistics of computer-mediated discourse and Jan Blommaert's advances in the sociolinguistics of globalization. With these ingredients and insights, we can begin a selective journey into the particular forms and manifestations that multilingualism takes in the Finnish football forums on the Web. In short, the main focus of this research project is on the empirical task of documentation and description of a largely unmapped terrain, as well as its linkage to the theoretical advances in

interrelated fields, such as the sociolinguistics of globalization, the sociolinguistics of Finland (particularly the 'English in Finland' question; Leppänen et al. 2011) and the sociolinguistics of CMC. However, I also suggest certain practical applications, mainly to do with raising language awareness in public and increasing diversity in language education policy; these will be spelled out in more detail in the final discussion.

The final discussion that follows covers several themes, evaluating the ways in which, and the degree to which, this study has succeeded to address them. I start by briefly revisiting (Section 7.1) the aims and rationale spelled out at the beginning (Sections 1 and 1.1), moving on to key findings that can be extracted from the analyses (Section 7.2). After that, I proceed to reflect the relevance of these findings and insights for the larger research community interested in similar phenomena (Section 7.3). Section 7.4 evaluates this study *vis-à-vis* the sociolinguistics of Finland, while Section 7.5 evaluates the implications of this study for the sociolinguistics of CMC. Section 7.6 argues how this thesis contributes to the sociolinguistics of globalization, while Section 7.7 evaluates some of its apparent shortcomings and limitations. I then move on to anticipate further avenues of research by first suggesting how the case studies contained in this thesis could be expanded (Section 7.8). After that, I suggest some guidelines for comparative studies (Section 7.9) as well as possible implications for practical application (Section 7.10). Finally, Section 7.11 concludes this study with a few closing remarks.

7.1   Aims and rationale revisited

In all of the above, including the independently published (or submitted) research articles described above and appended to this thesis, I have characterized recurrent patterns of language use that render the *Futisforum* communities of practice distinctive, while at the same time providing indexical links to larger-scale developments in the context of 21st century globalization. Using sociolinguistics as an umbrella science, this study is anchored to the contexts of the sociolinguistics of globalization (e.g. Blommaert 2003, 2010; Coupland 2003b, 2010a; Heller 2007a; Pennycook 2007), the sociolinguistics of Finland (e.g. Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Leppänen et al. 2009a, 2011, Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005; Pöyhönen 2009) and the sociolinguistics of computer-mediated communication (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2006b, 2007b, 2011, forthcoming; Georgakopoulou 2006; Leppänen 2012; Leppänen & Peuronen 2012). The various parts of this thesis have explored multilingualism in Finnish football web forum discourses, attempting to tap into the sociolinguistic indexical links between the multilingual *Futisforum* discussions and larger societal patterns, including forms of football fandom and supportership, and collective language repertoires. As a major theme of this dissertation, I have discussed forms of metapragmatic reflexivity that are indexically revealing of attitudes towards different languages, their varieties, and their (alleged) users.

As described in Section 2 and Articles 2–5, the overall point of departure for the existence of the *Futisforums*, and the communities of practice they have helped evolve, has been a monolingually Finnish one. There are overt and covert signs of this monolingual norm and normativity, including some that one can recognise in even a quick browsing session. We cannot be precise about how many people with little or no knowledge of Finnish actually visit the forums, but there is not an overwhelming number of non-Finnish writing members who contribute frequently. Thus, full membership, legitimacy and participation arguably require a working knowledge of Finnish. However, a deeper investigation of the community of practice and the discourse practices in *Futisforum*, and later *Futisforum2.org*, reveals the presence of multilingualism in many interesting ways. The key research questions I sought to address in the five research articles as well as in these framing sections were as follows.

1. What kind of multilingual resources are deployed in the multi-authored communication on two Finnish online football forums (*Futisforum* and *Futisforum2.org*)?
2. From which languages and varieties do these originate?
3. How, and in which discourse positions, are these multilingual resources deployed, and, possibly, by what kind of screen personae?
4. What kind of metapragmatic reflexivity is manifest in connection with the use of multilingual resources?
5. In that metapragmatically reflexive emic discourse, what kind of overt and covert attitudes are voiced towards different languages and varieties as well as their usages?

In the sections below, I will assess the extent to which I found answers to these questions.

7.2 Key findings

Here, I will briefly sum up what broad answers were found to my research questions, along with some ancillary findings, leaving their implications for various parties for later subsections. Despite the monolingually Finnish framing of the original *Futisforum*, it proved to have many manifestations of multilingual language use; these occur in postings organized in threads, in the headings of these threads ('topics'), in pseudonyms, in 'Signatures' and in other affordances of member profile construction. Within the posts, the core discourse, multilingual language use is present as various kinds of quotes from elsewhere in the Web, and as part of formulations by the members themselves. Resources drawn from English are plentiful; they occur in all discourse positions and they display remarkable diversity in terms of variation within English. Swedish is used to some extent, but certainly less than the Swedish-speaking proportion of Finnish football followers would suggest. More detailed analyses of the uses of

Swedish were finally omitted from this thesis, although Article 4 discusses some of them. The big football languages German, Spanish and Italian are visible but seldom take a very prominent position, probably mainly due to the low percentage of *Futisforumists* (and Finns in general) that are able to write or read them fluently. Other languages are used on rarer occasions, but importantly, their symbolic or emblematic value in situated meanings can nevertheless be high; these include Turkish, Portuguese, Dutch, Russian, Catalan and Greek. Article 5 analyses the visibility and indexicality issues of these languages as 'framing devices' in different discourse positions; indeed, these framing positions seem to be the key space for linguistic resources from outside the 'big three' (Finnish, English, Swedish). In the *Futisforums,* there is stylistic, dialectal and sociolectal variation within Finnish and English and, to a small extent, within Swedish, but within the other distinguishable languages it is rare (see, however, the examples of Bavarian and Lombard or Piedmontese in Article 5).

Metapragmatic reflexivity directed at multilingual language use is very common in the two *Futisforums*: virtually any single usage that deviates from Standard written Finnish was observed to become a target of meta-commentary. However, Standard written English appears to go unnoticed and without comment most of the time. Deviations from Standard Finnish or English were observed to be an extremely frequent target of metapragmatic evaluation; as also did the use of Swedish in general, whether Standard or non-Standard. Only a small proportion of the examples I collected made it between the covers of this thesis; I hope to include some of the cases of metapragmatic reflexivity concerning, for example, Swedish, Russian, Dutch and Spanish in later work. The framing devices using multiple languages and varieties seem to elicit less metapragmatic reflexivity than multilingual language use in the actual 'core' posts; moreover, because of the highly asynchronous nature of the framing devices, it is more challenging to search for metapragmatic reflexivity directed at them. Metapragmatic reflexivity in the *Futisforums* can be overt or covert: in overt cases direct statements are made about the language used by an earlier participant, while covert responses appear in the forms of parody, stylization, appropriation and mockery that are heavily entextualized and heavily indexical of some of the values and meanings held by the writers. Most instances included in Articles 2–5 are covert metapragmatic reflexivity; one of the most telling examples is the circulating Jari Porttila quote "What do you think the next happen now?" as a frequent response to various kinds of non-Standard English items. Overt metapragmatic reflexivity would, in contrast, make direct statements about the language used by an earlier interlocutor; such overt statements constitute the smaller part of the metapragmatic reflexivity in the cases analysed here. Finally, attitudes towards multilingual language use seemed very open at the first investigation: many languages and varieties are allowed and visible in many subspaces of the forums. It is apparent that competence in languages and multilingual performance (cf. Bell & Gibson 2011) are appreciated as they make the forums a more entertaining, more educative

and more colourful place. Also interpreters of languages other than Finnish and English (which are generally used without interpretation) are appreciated, since they bring added value to the community as 'ambassadors' of less accessible, 'foreign' football cultures. However, deeper exploration showed that attitudes towards different languages and linguistic diversity are also in many ways hostile in the *Futisforums.* Non-Standard spellings and syntax in Finnish or English writing elicit various kinds of negatively framed meta-commentary; some of these are found in the examples discussed in Articles 2 and 3. Also the use of Swedish *per se* and particular usages of Swedish receive negative metapragmatic reflections, although the ones funnelled down into Article 4 are more on the positive side. A more holistic analysis of the use of Swedish in the *Futisforums* and other Finland-based online football discourse would be desirable in the future. At their most negative, the attitudes voiced towards foreign languages and non-Standard varieties reach the level of ruthless mockery, degradation and downright racism. However, it should be stressed that this hostility is not a totally representative picture of the *Futisforums* or the communities of practice behind them. As regards multilingualism, the *Futisforums* are also in many ways inclusive, open-minded, non-discriminative, entertaining and educative sites of online social action.

Some key subthemes that were not defined at the outset of the research design emerged during the project. One of these was the ways in which football connoisseurs claim expertise in 'languages', varieties and registers. Most notably in the cases included in this thesis, these had to do with varieties of English, but also Swedish and other languages. These claims to expertise are intertwined with expertise in football culture and the emergent, developing forum communities' practices ('altan' and 'Anfield_mate' in Article 3 are exemplary). Another theme that strongly emerged during the research was the ways in which idiosyncratic multilingual expressions lead to the emergence of in-group memes, practices and styles, drawing from a 'pool' of multilingual resources for functions of solidarity and mockery (see the mock-English varieties and styles in Articles 2 and 3 in particular). While one of my earliest interests was to analyse the 'dangerous', discriminating and mockery aspects of the polylingual language use, I also developed, at an early stage, a degree of respect towards the creativity, humour, entertaining quality and criticalness of the two *Futisforums.* Accordingly, I wished to include here also the more celebratory sides of the *Futisforums'* polylingualism (especially Articles 4 and 5). While each facet is highlighted in different articles, it is important to note that, in concrete linguistic-semiotically mediated social realities, these two facets go hand in hand and cannot be fully separated. Empirically and ethnographically, we see that the cases documented in Articles 2 and 3 also contain creative humour and celebratory features amidst the mockery, while the creative polylingual language use described in Articles 4 and 5 also contains aspects of mockery and negatively framed reflexivity on peers' language use.

One distinctive manifestation of multilingualism in the *Futisforums* is in the social exchange between Finnish forumists and non-Finnish visitors, some

of whom become long-term members. The articles contain two examples of this type: one is the Turkish 'altan', who initiates threads on Finnish league football in highly non-Standard English, while the other is 'billie', the allegedly English fan of Jari Litmanen. These discourse events could tentatively be labelled 'intercultural' encounters with English as a *lingua franca*, but as we saw in Articles 2, 3 and 4, appropriation, crossing, double-voicing and entextualization made these exchanges far more complex than just 'intercultural'. The sequences where alleged non-Finnish participants join the *Futisforums'* discussion are not typical 'English as a *lingua franca*' situations with the aim of mutual understanding and with an undercurrent of tolerance of imperfection [108]. Instead, these sequences on football-related topics turn into sequences of metapragmatic reflexivity on the correctness and acceptability of language use, particularly English. However, it should be noted that most of the multilingual language use that occurs in these football forums is not at all motivated by non-Finnish members in the participant framework; rather, such multilingual languaging occurs for other reasons such as performance, aesthetics, identification, affiliation and mockery.

Having summarized the most central research findings in relation to the research questions posed, I shall now elaborate on and contextualize some of the fruits of this project, along with an appraisal of its particular strengths and inevitable shortcomings. Finally, I will outline possible implications raised by this thesis and suggestions for future research.

7.3   Implications to the scholarly community

This thesis contributes to a variety of contemporary questions on multilingual communication, late modern digitally mediated communities of practice, and the methodological issues pertaining to this kind of research. Although notable advances have been made in this during the early 21st century, multilingual language use in digitally mediated contexts remains a relatively new line of research far from ready or completed. Similarly, Finnish sociolinguistics is at the stage of aligning itself with the new concepts and contexts of language use in the late modern world. While much insightful sociolinguistic work is being done on the sociolinguistics of Finnish, and that of English in Finland, I saw a clear gap in the Finnish sociolinguistics scene for studies that address aspects of globalization and digital communication in general.

As reviewed in Section 3 above, football research in the social sciences and humanities has mainly been carried out within sociology and to some extent the

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[108]   To be accurate, if we take 'billie' as an English native speaker, the linguistic exchanges with her are not English as a *lingua franca* in a traditional sense. However, in this case, the dynamics of language choice, metapragmatic reflexivity and claims to English expertise resemble those where English is a *lingua franca* proper, i.e. verifiably no one's heritage language. See House (2003) for a thorough argument for the positive aspects of English as a *lingua franca*.

broad 'cultural studies' paradigm. Lately, linguistics of football (Lavric et al. 2008; Adetunji 2010; Krøvel & Roksvold 2012) has emerged, but that recent work has paid less attention to the sociolinguistic aspects of football text and talk. This study seeks to contribute to filling that gap by opening new directions for sociolinguistic studies on football text and talk. This research line is only just beginning to emerge, and the already fertile fields of football sociology and football culture studies will benefit from work opening up the rich sociolinguistic side of the sport.

Football as cultural form is highly polycentric (possibly more than any other sport, and arguably more than most forms of cultural activity), and it has centres and targets of interest within and across many nation-states on different continents. This entails various manifestations and scales of multiculturality and multilingualism, making football discourse a suitable target for sociolinguistic studies. As the interests of football fans and enthusiasts reach out to most corners of the world, and as the media used by Finnish enthusiasts for reference involve dozens of languages, a considerable part of the larger 'football-cultural multilingualism' becomes filtered into the *Futisforums'* discussions threads (and headings, member profiles, etc.). While the Finland-based football forums researched here are relatively mono-ethnic as regards their participation format and framework, several multi- and polylingual manifestations are found, stemming from polycentric ('international') topics of discussion, embedding of 'media quotes' from elsewhere in the World Wide Web (see Articles 4, 3 and 2), changes in the participant framework (Articles 4 and 3) and the particular use of 'framing devices' (Articles 5 and 1).

Moreover, football (and sports in general) was an under-represented domain of inquiry in the other three branches of sociolinguistics that I wished to anchor this study in. It is an impossible task to link the discussion of this rich and dense multilingual football discourse to all the relevant macro-level scales; instead, I will focus here on some of the insights that the sociolinguistics of Finland, sociolinguistics of globalization and sociolinguistics of CMC can usefully gain from the analyses contained here.

It should be noted that these main anchoring points, through the researchers working on them (including myself), have actually been in mutual exchange and have fed into each other, even if they may originally have emerged from the work of individual scholars. This is the academic atmosphere and context in which the present study was conducted between 2006 and 2012, and this should be readily apparent on its pages. With my selection of foci and primary data, and with an eclectic combination of currently relevant approaches, this thesis has begun to bridge gaps, cover new ground and initiate new avenues of research in each of these strands.

7.4   The *Futisforums* in the sociolinguistics of Finland

By mooring this study in the sociolinguistics of the nation-state of Finland (Leppänen et al. 2011), I have sought to contribute to the emerging body of work that departs from the traditionally stable notion of speech community and defines itself in terms of global flows, hybridity and complexity (Leppänen et al. 2009b, Leppänen 2012; Pietikäinen 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2011; Leppänen & Häkkinen forthcoming).   Finnish research includes up-to-date macro-sociolinguistic policy and education studies (e.g. Pöyhönen 2009; Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005; Hall 2007), holistic, nexus-analytically and discourse-analytically oriented work on the North (Pietikäinen et al. 2011) and a recent wave of work on the uses of and attitudes to English in Finland (Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Leppänen et al. 2011, Leppänen & Pahta 2012). Much of that work shows from different perspectives the ways in which the role of English, on the one hand, and that of Swedish, on the other, receive loud and heated treatment both in academic debate and 'lay' talk and writing. Yet studies of situated language use, e.g. *what Finnish people really do* with their English (or with their Swedish, etc.) are in the minority, and they are particularly few in the realm of computer-mediated communication. One of the aims of this study, and indeed the entire large collaborative project I was part of during this research, was to bridge that gap for the case of 'English in Finland'. However, in my data-driven approach, with due ethnographically grounded appreciation of phenomena that become salient during long periods of observation, it felt more and more necessary to incorporate Swedish and also the larger constellation of multilingual language use into the study domain. While it is evident that the proportion of resources drawn from the pool of other languages than Finnish, Swedish or English is relatively low even in the polycentric, multicultural, polylingual domain of football discourse, the spontaneous and rhetorical usages of languages such as Spanish, German, Italian or Russian proved an extremely fascinating target of study, one that is certain to provide the future with more research questions and materials. Uses of these languages in Finland or Finnish contexts have not been studied extensively, and even less in digital environments. In the Finnish context, in sum, this thesis sheds new light on the situated multilingual language uses that Finnish people can engage in through digital media. The main focus has been on ways of appropriation of, and claims to expertise on, English that have not been described in the Finland-based literature before (but for initiatives, see Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Leppänen et al. 2009b; Peuronen 2011). This thesis has tapped into the diversity of English resources used by Finnish actors online and metapragmatic reflexivity towards it in a way that serves as a corrective to earlier research, and a signpost for future research. Finally, I have also shown how multilingual resources from other languages than Finnish and English are mobilized for local and situated uses in ways previously undocumented in Finnish sociolinguistics.

7.5   The *Futisforums* in the sociolinguistics of CMC

From the point of view of scholarship on computer-mediated communication (CMC), often concerned with the particularities of different CMC technologies, this study documents some of the 'early years' of the format of the web forum (mainly 2004–2007 but also to some extent 1997–2003 and 2008–2012), and the process in which it was accommodated to the purposes of non-Anglophone users, and appropriated for various usages, with several manifestations of multilingualism. While the main focus of CMC scholarship at the moment (in 2012), particularly the strand preoccupied with language use, appears to be directed to more recent digital communication formats such as *Facebook, YouTube, Twitter* or file hosting and sharing sites (Lee & Barton 2011), web forums seem to have longevity and retain a strong presence as sites of social action, and are thus likely to remain a legitimate target of sociolinguistic inquiry well into the future.

The sociolinguistics of computer-mediated communication can be regarded as a young branch of inquiry, combining two older branches. Within that branch, the present thesis has responded to Georgakopoulou's (2006: 554) plea for detailed analyses of social meanings and identities expressed by linguistic variation, placing that "object of inquiry in some kind of a social and cultural reality". While the research reported here was by no means a 'full-blown', holistic online ethnography (see the critique in Hymes 1996: 3–16; Gobo 2008: 109–110), I have attempted to highlight the ethnographic aspect and its benefits for discourse-centred sociolinguistics of CMC study (Androutsopoulos 2008). With that aim, I presented interactionally emerging 'small stories' (Bamberg 2004; Georgakopoulou 2007) as legitimate and valid data for CMC study to complement and contest aspirations to corpus-analytic or otherwise quantitative generalizability (e.g. Hinrichs 2006; McLellan 2005; Sperlich 2005). Even the foremost scholar in the field, Jannis Androutsopoulos, has mainly provided very short selected snapshots from the data (2006b, 2007b, 2008) in his otherwise broad and versatile work on the sociolinguistics of CMC, without providing a fuller description of the emergence and trajectories of the writing styles he describes.[109] Finally, as pointed out in studies on the more general strand of 'the multilingual internet' (Danet & Herring 2003, 2007; Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2006b, 2007b), more research from different cultural, historical, sociolinguistic and technological strands is needed to bring more vigour and substance to this emerging field. I have contributed to this overall line of inquiry with the global topic of football, and Finland-based (but not Finland-bound) cases with rich empirical material.

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[109]   It seems perhaps that a certain length is needed for such an approach to be feasible; and while a doctoral dissertation certainly allows for some length, it has to be admitted that all the cases documented in this dissertation perforce had to be heavily abridged and summarized.

7.6 The *Futisforums* in the sociolinguistics of globalization

From the point of view of the sociolinguistics of globalization, I have responded to the calls voiced by Coupland (2003b, 2010a), Blommaert (2003, 2010), Creese & Blackledge (2010) and Blommaert & Rampton (2011) by adding a relevant empirical contribution to an emergent framework within which little work as yet has focused on computer-mediated communication.[110] I have shown how linguistic resources are mobile and 'travel' on their trajectories from context to another, jumping from one sociolinguistic scale to another, causing significant reversals in how they are evaluated and appreciated (e.g. 'mock-Altanese, 'mock-Lädi'). In these analyses, the concepts of repertoire (individual and collective; as outlined in e.g. Blommaert 2010: 102–106, 171–198) and normativity (e.g. Blommaert 2010: 37–41, 60–61) took on a key role. Moreover, I foregrounded the issue of metapragmatic reflexivity, agreeing with Blommaert and Rampton (2011: 8–10) that the phenomenon is indeed observable everywhere but has been under-researched, even within the broad umbrella of sociolinguistics of globalization.

Moreover, I have applied other key tenets of the sociolinguistics of globalization to provide a nuanced understanding of local sociolinguistic constellation in the flows of global discourses and cultural forms. One of them is the question of linguistic appropriation, especially appropriation of bits and pieces of different languages and their various mock-varieties. Another central sociolinguistic issue I have given prominence to here is the entextualization of texts and discourses that 'travel' from place to place, from context to context, and change their social and indexical meanings and values in the process[111]. Comparing this study to the insightful research strand into crossing in highly urban, multiethnic environments (Rampton 2005, 2006), I see scope for research from a crossing perspective in less multiethnic, less superdiverse contexts, and yet in the very same sense as Rampton's original notion, "code-alternation by people who aren't accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ […] switching into languages that aren't generally thought to belong to you" (2005: 270–271). Or, one might add, online communities and contexts such as the ones documented in this study can be 'superdiverse', but in a remarkably different way than outlined in Vertovec (2007), Jørgensen et al. (2011) or Blommaert & Rampton (2011). I hope to have covered some terrain in this line of inquiry.

How does this all relate to the grand scheme of things? It need not necessarily be pointed out that what happens in the *Futisforums* (and a little bit beyond them) is not exactly what happens elsewhere in the world. A critical response would indeed be: is this sociolinguistic behaviour (multilingual

language use and metapragmatic reflexivity) *representative* of how football enthusiasts write? Is it representative of how Finns write? Or even of how young Finnish males write? Is it representative of how people in general write online? Is it even representative of how people write, format-specifically, in web forums? No ethnographies or online ethnographies can ever be fully representative, and neither, ultimately, can any qualitative study. Instead, good ethnographies are *valid* in that they give a thick description of one or more persons and how they act and interact in a more or less social world. The same applies, in theory, to interactional-sociolinguistic and discourse-analytic online ethnographies. This thesis, with the help of its overall online-ethnographic epistemology, analysed an overlapping set of rich descriptions of the *Futisforums* as a discourse community 'in globalization', one with a 'monoculturally' Finnish core but one which also reflects, and in its own way also contributes to, larger, globalized (and *globalizing*) discourses. Moreover, there are enough rich points in the thick descriptions found between these covers to provide a defence of the validity of this sociolinguistic online ethnography. They tell a rather detailed 'small story' (Bamberg 2004; Georgakopoulou 2007), or in fact, a few 'small stories' that are revealing of what language use means to the users under scrutiny. Article 2, for instance, on the 'mocking Arab voices' and 'the Mill tattoo' tell a story of metapragmatic reflexivity concerning emically understood 'bad Finnish' and 'bad English' with complex mediational relations. Such a rich story would not be provided by any 'representative' sample of web forum discussions, on the one hand, or a quantitative exercise such as conducted in Articles 5 and 1, on the other. *Futisforums,* with their thousands of active writers and tens of thousands of registered members – plus possibly some hundreds of thousands of readers, 'lurkers' – arguably represent a relatively narrow or 'vertical' community not directly comparable to larger subgroups such as 'football fans', 'young Finns', 'Finnish males' or 'online writers'. Yet the numbers above show that they are large and diverse enough for us to argue that the sociolinguistic behaviour analysed here illustrates (potentially) universal aspects of the human condition. Humans 'language', they do it in several languages and varieties, in several styles and genres – and style and genre largely dictate just how far multilingualism (Jørgensen's 'polylingualism') is controlled and suffocated or allowed and encouraged. In addition to 'languaging' (polylingual or not), humans have attitudes towards language usages (metapragmatic awareness) and, when the time and place are right, they produce overt and covert statements that display their metapragmatic reflexivity. In theory, metapragmatic reflexivity on language is everywhere; in practice, it happens often but not always observably in discourse. In these particular analyses of the *Futisforums,* we saw the co-construction of language attitudes *vis-à-vis* the establishment and defence of the norms of the community of practice. What I witnessed – part of which was funnelled down into this dissertation – was an everyday life activity for the *Futisforum* participants, most of the time unspectacular and routine. That behaviour, manifest in multi-authored,

asynchronous digital discourse and seen through the etic lens of the sociolinguist, contained a multitude of crossing, appropriation, double-voicing, performance, mockery, humour, and language play. With the careful exposition of the participant-relative, or emic, perspectives of regular contributors, we are able to reveal broader aspects of the human condition. This epistemological argument of ethnography matches the concerns of anthropology, and it can be equally compatible with the concerns of sociolinguistics (Hymes 1996; Rampton 2005, 2006; Heller 2006, 2007a; Blommaert 2003, 2010).

A very recent theoretical development that has attempted to capture the growing complexity of social relations and discourse is the notion of *superdiversity* (Vertovec 2007), the diversification of previously existing diversities. In Vertovec's (2007) coinage, this was a socio-political concept that was coined and defined in order to better understand population movements and communities, particularly in today's big urban conglomerations. However, online contexts can be superdiverse in very different ways from those in big cities. Sociolinguistic work under the epistemological and theoretical concerns of superdiversity has only begun (Creese & Blackledge 2010; Blommaert & Rampton 2011). Although the premises and rationale for this study were laid some years before the concept of superdiversity really entered sociolinguistic inquiry, at least parts of this thesis can be regarded and read as early sociolinguistic work on digital superdiversity.

7.7   Shortcomings and limitations

Although this thesis has, all in all, covered a considerable amount of empirical and theoretical ground, various shortcomings on its different layers are bound to remain. First, there were several points in the selected cases that would have deserved a closer analysis but were excluded or abridged here. The emergence of the 'mock-Altan' discourse analysed in Article 3 would have deserved a more detailed exploration, including the spread of 'mock-Altanese' over the Web way beyond Finnish forums. Similarly, it seems to me in hindsight that the 'mock-Lädi' stylization has received too superficial a treatment in Article 3, lacking essential details and discourse trajectories that would help contextualize the stylizations in a fuller way. The situated uses of and attitudes to Swedish within the *Futisforums*, a theme that was introduced in Article 4, is clearly a topic that should be explored in more detail. There would be plenty of football-related online discourse for that; one aspect of the use of Swedish that is under-represented in Article 4 but common elsewhere in the *Futisforums* is the 'carnivalized', jocular use that draws on obscenities, sexually explicit vocabulary, deliberate or non-deliberate use of non-Standard Swedish grammar, and cultural 'camp' references to old school textbooks (as a part of collective memory of learning a language that has perhaps had limited usefulness outside school).

Also in hindsight, certain theoretical frameworks that were not fully employed in this thesis would appear to be productive of further research. For instance, I used the framework of 'sociolinguistic style' (Coupland 2007) only as an auxiliary model for the ways of writing particular to the two *Futisforums* (see my discussions on 'forumisms' and 'Forumese'), where it seems to fit particularly well. However, a deeper engagement between recent scholarship on style and stylization (Eckert & Rickford 2001; A. Bell 2007a, 2007b; Bucholtz 2011) would open up the way to a fuller theorization and understanding of the interfaces between style and multilingualism. Moreover, a path that regrettably remains under-explored in this dissertation is the connection between style and rhetoric (Johnstone 2010). Yet another notion that remained rather undeveloped is that of sociolinguistic scales (Blommaert et al. 2005; Blommaert 2007c, 2010: 32–37). While the concept was developed to serve as a more accurate model for the mobility of language users, their competences, repertoires, discourse-in-use and concrete communicative resources across time and space, it fits the characteristics of today's digital communication particularly well, and should thus be further employed in CMC studies. Furthermore, the concepts of heteroglossia and double-voicing (multi-voicing), drawn by sociolinguists from the oeuvre of Bakhtin, while included in this study, could be further developed rather than merely referred to in passing. It would require a much fuller theorization and a deeper discussion to fully integrate the potential of a multi-voicing perspective to the manifestations of multilingualism in the *Futisforums.*

Another critical reflection concerns the representativity and generalization of the findings (see Section 7.6 above). Ultimately, an ethnographic, qualitative, discourse-analytical, interactional-sociolinguistic study such as this cannot claim very broad representativity or allow over-generalization. This study does not claim to describe how humans nowadays write on the internet, or make statements on the 'language of web forums', not even the language of football web forums. Indeed, that kind of generalization about CMD was largely rebutted and abandoned already some time ago (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2006a; Georgakopoulou 2006). Rather, we should emphasise that digital mediation offers affordances and scope for an open-ended diversity of language use, diverse genres, registers and an indefinite range of styles. Neither is this study a definite statement about 'the language of football', which is still a very new line of inquiry, but the few studies so far (Lavric et al. 2008; Adetunji 2010; Krøvel & Roksvold 2012) suggest that there is, should we say rather expected to be, considerable variation within the domain of football discourse. As regards the explicitly defined Finnish context of this study, I do not make directly generalizable statements about Finns' multilingual language use, either – not even on Finns' online language use at large. Much comparative evidence would be necessary in that respect for further degrees of generalization. Ultimately, even if we restrict the analysis to one nation-state (Finland), one sociocultural domain (football), one format of digital communication (web forum), or even one or two particular sites of engagement (the two *Futisforums*), we can still observe and acknowledge a great variety of ways of writing; this variety is at

work on continua such as language choice, genre and subgenre, register and formality, the use of semiotic affordances, and so forth. In short, the two *Futisforums* do not evidence any one language (or style).

However, the relevance of interactional sociolinguistics, or ethnography, or qualitative inquiry in general, does not lie in broad generalization. Instead, it lies in validity. With persistent observation, cumulative expertise in the history and sociology of football culture, cumulative understanding of the ways in which digital communication and digital discourse works, aligned with a rooting in key sociolinguistic concerns, we can obtain valid and reliable research results, yet they will always remain partly open to dialectics, reinterpretation, or contestation. My deep (yet always partial) acquaintance with the phenomena and domains listed above, coupled with a critical, ethnographically grounded assessment of how frequent, infrequent or idiosyncratic these language uses actually were (or are), provides the analysis with a degree of validity and reliability. I have attempted to make my description of the stages of this research as transparent to the reader as possible (yet acknowledging certain ethical caveats), so that my epistemology and my 'path to knowledge' regarding the multilingualism of the *Futisforums* become clear. Such a study as this, however, could never be fully replicated by another researcher, since multilingual language use involves so many situated, contextual, time-and-place-bound social meanings that retrospective reconstruction or interpretation is extremely difficult. However, any researcher would probably agree that in the *Futisforums'* discourse practice a) multilingualism is present, and b) metapragmatic reflexivity concerning multilingual language use is present. These two phenomena, I argue, are pervasive in these communities of practice, and judging from research evidence from several other contexts (see Section 4), they are indeed generalizable to a degree as part of the collective experience of being human, especially being human in the late modern world of increased mediation and globalization.

7.8   Avenues to pursue – expanding the case studies

The final selection of case studies was limited to the 'tip of the iceberg' if compared to the entire range of multilingualism in the *Futisforums* that I noted and observed, not to mention the range that went unnoticed due to the practical impossibility of being 'everywhere' in a nebulous setting (cf. Rutter & Smith 2005). Nevertheless, even the analyses that are contained in this thesis are bound to remain partial; I was only able to include some of the rich points that could be extracted from them. In Section 5.4, I listed some of the omissions made during the data and case selections; here I elaborate further on how they could be fruitfully expanded.

As regards Article 5, the polylingual framing that I observed early on in the discourse position of headings was excluded from the quantitative analysis. An exploration of the polylingual heading practices, preferably *vis-à-vis* their

initiators as well as the discussion topics they frame, would certainly be one avenue to pursue; this would advance our understanding of framing in visual discourse, and our understanding of how entextualization, double-voicing and discourse-functional connectivity work in digital discourse.

Despite the research questions, and even the title of this thesis, I have mainly focused on several usages of English, both due to the original research rationale in the larger context of the 'English in Finland' line of inquiry (Leppänen 2007; Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Leppänen et al. 2011) and due to the abundance of English-related data discovered in the course of the systematic observation. Another legitimate sociolinguistic focus concerning the *Futisforums*, and other Finnish football discourse online, would be the uses of and variation within Finnish; for instance, the set of features captured here under my tentative label 'Forumese' seems a rich source for investigation from a similar framework utilized here for the study of 'multilingualism' (indeed, a heteroglossic approach to multilingualism would emphasise style and other kids of 'intra-variety' variation). Moreover, while the uses and features from other 'foreign' languages such as German, Spanish, Italian, French, Dutch or Russian are relatively rare in purely quantitative terms (and would undoubtedly be found to be next to non-existent in many other Finnish online contexts and communities), a comparative exploration of these uses within the frameworks of crossing and appropriation would provide extremely illuminating case studies. My tentative analyses on these usages would imply that when used in interactional discourse positions (rather than as framing devices, as documented in Article 5), they appear to trigger negatively laden metapragmatic reflexivity and normativity from irritated members who do not know the languages in question so well. However, these usages are often elicited by copy-pasted media quotes from the Web, and they frequently initiate collective literacy events where translation technologies (such as *Google Translate* or *Babelfish*), along with expert members of the community, are drawn upon in order to collectively negotiate meaning-making and all possible linguistic nuances.

7.9   Avenues to pursue – comparative studies

As pointed out above in Section 7.7, close ethnographic case studies that are well-contextualized are valid for addressing qualitative phenomena in the social (and sociolinguistic) world of communities. Accumulation of ethnographic knowledge and comparison across contexts, genres, and communities can further expand the validity and applicability of research findings. Indeed, more comparative research on similar and related ways of writing in 21st century contexts would be needed within the loose framework of the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2003, 2010; Coupland 2003b) or, even more recently, superdiversity (Vertovec 2007; Creese & Blackledge 2010; Blommaert & Rampton 2011). The findings of this dissertation could be

compared with findings from and across different scales. First, comparison with usages of multilingual resources by other Finland-based communities of practice would be necessary to determine how far those investigated here may occur in non-football contexts, across communities, topics and formats and participant frameworks (Leppänen 2007, Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Leppänen et al. 2008). While English in Finland has received some attention in the recent years in research covering a range of contexts (Leppänen et al. 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011, forthcoming), as also has 'Northern' multilingualism (Pietikäinen 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2008, 2011), few accounts have discussed crossing into, or appropriation of, other 'foreign languages' [112] or Swedish. Second, comparison with non-Finnish football sites across diverse social media would seem a promising research path to follow in the 2010s. As pointed out in Section 4.1, the work on the sociology of football has a strong hold, particularly in the UK (e.g. Giulianotti 1999; Giulianotti & Robertson 2009), but work on the *sociolinguistics of football* is only beginning (see Lavric et al. 2008; Krøvel & Roksvold 2012). Moreover, sport in general is an under-represented empirical topic within sociolinguistics, which may be partly due to the general lack of interest by scholars in linguistics towards sports. Third, comparisons across technological formats might be beneficial in determining how large a proportion of the multilingual language use documented here might be affected by the communication format of asynchronous forums. While generally I have adopted a highly critical stance towards technological determinism throughout this project, it has to be acknowledged that some of the practices and usages might indeed be technology-specific. Formats worth studying from the point of view of multilingual language use could include email[113], edited websites, instant messaging, chat, *Facebook, YouTube, Twitter* and file-sharing social media (see Lee & Barton 2011), not to mention all the new formats and websites that will become popular in the future. However, the complexity, connectivity and situatedness of digitally mediated discourse make the isolation of single influencing factors in the research design very challenging, if not impossible. While generalization might never be complete, this in no way undermines the importance of ethnographic case study research; on the contrary, the communicative mutations (Jacquemet 2005) and equivocalities of the present-era multisemiotic, mediated discourses can only be understood and validly interpreted with significant ethnographic input (Hymes 1996: 3–15; Jessor 1996; Blommaert 2007a, Blommaert & Dong 2010: 4–15; van der Aa 2012: 13–40). Fourth, comparisons across different participant frameworks are needed. While the case studies analysed here have relied on default participant frameworks of Finnish-speaking Finns (plus a couple of non-Finns made salient in the dynamic of the interaction), this default notion has been contested in many ways. Indeed, the Web enables participant frameworks that are truly intercultural and

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[112]   See, however, Lehtonen (2011) for in-school and out-of-school peer interaction, Leppänen (2009) for language alternation fan fiction, and Frick (2010) for Finnish-Estonian code-switching on *Facebook*).

[113]   Email is age-old but seems to have some longevity despite a generational shift (Thorne 2003) away from its usage.

transcultural in many ways, reaching new heights of sociolinguistic complexity and further potential for both growing understanding and conflict.

7.10 Avenues of application

After these empirical and theoretical remarks, it is time to briefly consider if this type of ethnographically grounded, qualitative, descriptive case study can have practical applications, and if yes, how and for whom. What implications do these findings and their connection to larger frames have for the broader social community? This study does not attempt to offer direct applications or implications for a larger community; rather, its virtues lie in accurate and ethnographically grounded sociolinguistic documentation as well as opening several avenues to future research, some of which can be much more applied in nature. Due to my descriptive and analytical aims (rather than applied ones), these implications for application are not extensive; however, there is always scope for some reflection.

Certainly the findings here can support a more general plea for increased language awareness and tolerance of diversity (Hymes 1996; Rampton 2006; Hill 2008; van der Aa 2012) on the societal level. On the basis of the observations and indexical links that are made time and time again in the football discourses explored for this study, it seems to me that there would be a need for more language awareness on all levels of education and discourse. The idea is nothing new, as it features in the early sociolinguistic literature (see e.g. essays in Hymes 1996, and Fishman 1970), which was itself greatly influenced by advances in early 20th century anthropology (e.g. Hymes cites Boas as an important predecessor). As Hymes notes, "students may come to a class in sociolinguistics, believing their normal speech intrinsically inferior, and leave with that sense of stigma never having become known" (Hymes 1996: 209), and I certainly share the same experience from university-level classes that I have taken as a student and given as a teacher. Even high-quality 'lay' sociolinguistic programs have been developed to remedy this ignorance and the persistence of discriminative, normative and inequitable language attitudes; an exemplary case from the US is Dennis Preston's persistent work (see e.g. Preston 2000; Niedzielski & Preston 2000). Elsewhere, scholars such as van der Aa (2012) have responded to Hymes's call for 'ethnographic monitoring', bringing knowledge back to the people that were researched, and even beyond that. I do not offer direct suggestions for language teaching, classroom or education in general, but it seems that football enthusiasts actually do something with their competences (repertoires) that is usually not done in schools. One suggestion is, then, that football-oriented pupils and students could be encouraged to find multilingualism and enhance their communicative skills online, although I would not explicitly wish to harness the *Futisforums* for such a purpose.

I have no direct implications for the *Futisforum* communities of practice, either, but certainly many of the forumists that I have met during these years

have shown interest towards this study. A slight increase in language awareness might be possible if, via awareness of this study, the community of practice developed an interest in anthropologically inclined sociolinguistics. The representation of the *Futisforums* in other media and contexts has been a topic of interest for the forumists for a long time, and the feedback I have received (although not yet in a structured, elicited way) has ranged from neutral to very positive. The next step would definitely be to integrate the (voluntary) forumists themselves in the game; language awareness and tolerance are issues that can be disseminated, but they would not perhaps always reach their target group. Indeed, preaching to an online community on a forum does not always guarantee good results; on the contrary, one would probably need to first build a reputation as a respected writer and member before preaching in favour of a particular cause. And in any case, aesthetic opinions and taste are hard to change; even the descriptively oriented sociolinguist or linguistic anthropologist has her own aesthetic preferences, even if scholars in our trade should be cautious about declaring them. Alternatively, perhaps clear-cut cases of discrimination or racism could be something to intervene in, within online communities of practice such as the ones found in the *Futisforums*. Or simultaneously or alternatively, as the internet seems a rather hopeless battleground on race and ethnicity issues[114], such work could actually be carried out in the offline grassroots activities of the football community at large. Good work for diversity, tolerance and respect is already being done on all levels in football circles; but as football is a domain of life that is very sensitive and vulnerable to several kinds of ethnic, political, cultural and even linguistic confrontation, much work will continue to be needed in the future.

7.11 Final remarks

The increasing complexity and diversity of the internet (CMC, social media, 'Web 2.0', etc.) in the second decade of the 21st century disallows valid generalizations about formats, modes, or worse, the 'language of the internet' (Crystal 2006). Prime examples from the current years include interaction via *Facebook* or *Twitter*. Accordingly, there is practically no 'multilingualism of the internet' (this is reviewed in Leppänen & Peuronen 2012); instead, infinitely variable CMC formats and different sociolinguistic and sociocultural digital contexts entail very different research problems, which can be approached from various perspectives by researchers with differing preoccupations. There is also increasing convergence, connectivity and interlinkability between modes and formats which were formerly regarded as separate and distinguishable. This

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[114] At the time of finishing this thesis, race and ethnicity issues, and the hardened attitudes towards immigration to Finland in particular, were gaining remarkably much media coverage in Finnish society.

may lead to yet increased linguistic diversity and heteroglossia (Androutsopoulos 2011), and ethnographically informed qualitative research is well equipped to tap into these complexities and anomalies as CMC technologies transform more rapidly than research can keep pace with. Trends captured under labels such as 'social media' and 'Web 2.0' or 'participatory internet' make participation and discourse production, 'prosumer culture' (Burgess 2008; Burgess & Green, 2009; Ritzer 2010; Leppänen et al. forthcoming), gradually more accessible and at least potentially democratic; it remains to be seen what changes will come along when the masses from the currently poorer nations of the world become wired up. This may be reflected in increasing affordances to use more and more languages online compared with the present, and compared to the English-dominated prehistory of the internet. As we saw, however (especially in Articles 2, 3 and 4), normativity and evaluation concerning languages and language use is ubiquitous; it is the polycentric nature (Blommaert 2010: 39–41) of such normativity, earlier under-represented, that should now be included on the agenda for sociolinguistic research. To put it in the classic sociolinguistic terms (paraphrasing Fishman 1965), we should continue, in the complex and equivocal contexts of the present day, to research 'who speaks/writes in what variety with whom, how, and under what circumstances', and importantly, what attitudes and stances these speakers/writers give off when writing/speaking. Metapragmatic reflexivity precisely on the acceptability and usability of languages and their varieties seems to offer key contextualization cues for our interpretation of attitudes and ideological stances with rich indexical connections.

Taken together, this research has been a detailed, time-consuming effort to advance our understanding of the lived-reality aspects of multilingualism and metapragmatic reflexivity concerning multilingualism. Along the way, I have suggested additions, correctives and new initiatives regarding four interrelated research strands: the sociolinguistics of football (culture), the sociolinguistics of globalization and mobility, the multilingualism of digital communication with specific attention to its various situated 'Englishes', and the sociolinguistic debates on English (and Swedish) in Finland. If any part of the work contained in this dissertation is deemed accurate, innovative or insightful, I will take pride in it, while acknowledging a great debt to the scholars quoted in these pages for paving the way. If, however, any of the interpretations or theorizations in this work become outdated, or judged inaccurate or flawed in any respect, I trust that at least my carefully contextualized and transparent descriptions of some aspects of the *Futisforums'* language use will hold documentation value for scholars in the future.

Finally, I would like to make a small but important remark. As I have emphasised on many occasions on these pages (and the appended articles), it would perhaps still be too technologically deterministic to ascribe an ethos of fundamental 'newness' to the phenomena and discourse usages that I have here documented, described and analysed. In the sense that *exactly similar* language and discourse usages have never perhaps occurred before in human history, we

are indeed witnessing something new. Moreover, there is clearly an ethos of sociolinguistic revelation in the air with regard to all the new things that are happening in digitally mediated social worlds. But language use between humans has probably always served very similar basic functions: sharing information, demarcation of social relationships, identification, disidentification, affiliation, disaffiliation, membership, inclusion, exclusion, humour, mockery, discrimination, bullying, creativity and social change. I have here described how functions of this fundamental calibre, essential to our being human with other humans in community, society and the world, have been realized in a specific context of mediation, participants, topics, time, space and *scales* – a Scollonian 'nexus of practice'. With this dissertation, I hope to have done at least partial justice to this human richness.

YHTEENVETO

Monikielisyyttä ja metapragmaattista refleksiivisyyttä internetin suomalaisilla jalkapallokeskustelufoorumeilla. Globalisaatiososiolingvistinen näkökulma.

Jalkapallo on alkuajoistaan saakka ollut "globalisoitunut" ja polysentrinen urheilulaji. Nykyään se kuuluu maapallomme monikulttuurisimpiin ja globaaleimpiin kulttuurimuotoihin; jalkapalloa pelataan ja seurataan jossain muodossa kaikilla mantereilla, kaikissa maissa ja lähes kaikilla kielialueilla. Tämä näkyy myös *jalkapallodiskurssin* eri ilmenemismuodoissa: jalkapallopuhe ja -kirjoitukset heijastavat paikallisissakin konteksteissa usein monilla tavoin jalkapallon kansainvälisyyttä ja monimuotoisuutta. Tätä jalkapallon monimuotoisuutta ja siihen kuuluvaa monikielisyyttä ei kielitieteen, saatikka sosiolingvistiikan piirissä ole aiemmin tutkittu paljoa (Lavric et al. 2008). Jalkapallon globalisoituminen on kiihtynyt viime vuosikymmeninä, kun uudet viestintäteknologiat ovat tuoneet jalkapallon ylirajaisia virtauksia alati useampien ihmisten ulottuville yhä pienemmin kustannuksin ja vaivoin. Etenkin internetin käytön huomattavan yleistymisen myötä erilaiset jalkapallodiskurssit leviävät tehokkaasti eri puolilla maailmaa olevien paikallisyhteisöjen käyttöön. Internetin uusimpien kehityskulkujen myötä jalkapallodiskurssit ovat toisalta yhä useammin interaktiivisia, käyttäjien muokattavia: juuri sellaisesta moniäänisestä diskurssista on kyse myös tässä tutkimuksessa.

Tässä väitöskirjassa käsitellään internetin suomalaisilla jalkapallofoorumeilla ilmenevää monikielistä kielenkäyttöä. Pääasiallisina tutkimuskohteina ovat olleet internetin suurimmat suomalaiset jalkapallofoorumit, *Futisforum* ja *Futisforum2*, jotka ovat kaikkien luettavissa ja joille kuka tahansa voi vapaasti rekisteröidä nimimerkin ja kirjoittaa. Vaikka näillä *futisfoorumeilla* on selkeästi lokeroitunut, enimmäkseen yhteen elämän osa-alueeseen keskittyvä, "vinoutunut" käyttäjäyhteisö, ei kyse ole suomalaisittain pienestä tai mitättömästä marginaali-ilmiöstä. *Futisforumilla* oli parhaimmillaan tuhansia kirjoittajia ja kymmeniätuhansia keskusteluketjuja ja *Futisforum2* on muutamassa vuodessa kasvanut vielä sitäkin suuremmaksi.

Erityisesti tutkimukseni keskiössä on monikieliseen kielenkäyttöön liittyvä metapragmaattinen refleksiivisyys eli sellainen metatason keskustelu, jota varsinaisten jalkapallokeskustelujen ohessa käydään eri kielten käytöstä ja erikielisten ilmaisujen sosiaalisista merkityksistä, hyväksyttävyydestä tai oikeaoppisuudesta. Suurin osa tässä väitöskirjassa käsiteltävistä monikielisyysilmiöistä on englannin- ja suomenkielisten resurssien (*linguistic resources*) käyttöä, mutta *futisfoorumien* monikielisyyden koko kirjo sisältää myös muiden kielten (etenkin ruotsin) käyttöä sekä monimodaalisia ja hybridejä elementtejä, joiden ei voi yksiselitteisesti lukea kuuluvan tiettyyn kieleen. Ankkuroin tämän väitöskirjan neljään, osittain päällekkäiseen viitekehykseen, jotka ovat "globalisaation sosiolingvistiikka" (Blommaert 2003, 2010), kansainvälinen ja polysentrinen jalkapallokulttuuri (Giulianotti 1999), tietokone-

välitteisen viestinnän (*CMC*, *CMD*) sosiolingvistiikka (Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2011) sekä Suomen sosiolingvistinen tilanne, etenkin suomalaisten englannin kielen käytöstä tehty viimeaikainen tutkimus (Leppänen et al. 2008, 2009a).

Metodologisesti tämä monimenetelmäinen väitöskirja nojautuu diskurssianalyyttisesti suuntautuneeseen vuorovaikutuksen sosiolingvistiikkaan, tietokonevälitteisen viestinnän tutkimukseen sekä sosiokonstruktiiviseen monikielisyyden kuvaukseen (Heller 2007b; Pennycook 2007; Blommaert 2010). Lisäksi tutkimuksen epistemologiaan on kuulunut etnografinen tutkimusote, jossa monikielisten kirjoitustyylien ja diskurssien synnyn ja kiertokulun analyysia tukee pitkä, systemaattinen havainnointi ja tutkijan osittainen, joskin melko sivullinen jäsenyys tutkittavassa käytäntöyhteisössä. Tähän artikkeliväitöskirjaan suodattuneiden tapausanalyysien osalta strukturoidut, systemaattiset kontaktit tutkittuun yhteisöön olivat rajalliset, joten tutkimus on lähempänä diskurssikeskeistä virtuaalietnografiaa (Androutsopoulos 2008; Hine 2000) kuin kieliantropologian perinteen mukaista osallistuvaa etnografiaa. Tutkijan osallisuus – yhteydenpito joidenkin *futisfoorumien* jäsenten kanssa ja toiminta ruohonjuuritason jalkapallotapahtumissa – olivat kuitenkin osa tutkimusasetelmaa ja kerryttivät runsaasti "hiljaista tietoa" suomalaisista jalkapallon harrastajista ja faneista sekä heidän kielikäytänteistään. Väitöskirjan keskiössä on tutkimuskysymyksiä, joiden selvittämiseen havainnoiva ja etnografinen tutkimusote sopii hyvin: Ketkä kirjoittavat millä kielillä tai kielten varieteeteilla ja keille? Mistä aiheista ja missä yhteyksissä? Mitä mieltä näistä kielistä ja varieteeteista sekä niiden konkreettisista käyttötavoista ollaan? Millaisia julkikirjoitettuja asenteita niihin liitetään? Vaikka välitön tutkimus- ja tulkintakehikkoni tulee uudemmasta globalisaation (Blommaert 2003, 2010) sekä digitaalisen (Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2011) kielen tutkimuksesta, pohjimmaiset kysymykset ovat lähellä sosiolingvistiikan alkuperäisiä kysymyksenasetteluja (Fishman 1965, 1970; Hymes 1971, 1974; Gumperz & Hymes 1986).

Väitöskirja koostuu viidestä itsenäisestä tutkimusartikkelista ja kokoavasta yhteenveto-osasta. Kokoomaosan johdantoluvussa 1 käydään läpi koko väitöskirjatyölle yhteiset tavoitteet, tutkimuskysymykset, teoreettiset viitekehykset ja metodologiset valinnat. Luku 2 on kulttuurihistoriallinen katsaus *Futisforumin* syntyyn (1996–1997), sen osittain hämärän peitossa oleviin alkuvuosiin (1997–2000) ja sen ympärille kasvaneeseen käytäntöyhteisöön (*community of practice*). Luvussa 2 kuvaan myös lyhyesti *Futisforum2:n* nousua (2006–2007) ja alkuperäisen *Futisforumin* "autioitumista". Samassa luvussa tarkastelen, miltä käyttämäni tutkimusaineisto näyttäytyy visuaalisuuden ja monimodaalisuuden (*multimodality, multisemiotic(ity)*) näkökulmasta. Luvussa 3 erittelen tämäntyyppisten verkkokeskustelujen sosiolingvistiseen ja etnografiseen tutkimukseen liittyviä eettisiä kysymyksiä. Internet ja verkossa tapahtuva kielellinen, sosiaalinen toiminta ovat olleet akateemisen tutkimuksen kohteena jo pari vuosikymmentä, mutta yksiselitteisiä eettisiä ohjenuoria internetin "harmaille" vyöhykkeille, julkisten ja yksityisten tekstien rajamaille

on mahdoton laatia. Luvussa 3 perustelen omia eettisiä rajanvetojani *futisfoorumien* havainnointiin, varsinaisen tutkimusaineiston keruuseen sekä käyttäjien anonymiteettiin, yksityisyydensuojaan ja tekijänoikeuksiin liittyen. Lisäksi kuvailen luvussa 3 henkilökohtaisia motiivejani tehdä jalkapalloon ja jalkapallodiskursseihin liittyvään tutkimusta: asemoin itseni eräänlaiseksi viestinviejäksi ja tulkiksi kielentutkijoiden ja jalkapalloyhteisöjen välille.

Luku 4 sisältää katsauksen käyttämääni lähdekirjallisuuteen sekä johdantolukua syvällisemmän pohdinnan tutkimuksessa hyödynnetyistä teoreettisista viitekehyksistä. Alaluvuissa 4.1–4.2 käyn läpi sosiologisen ja kulttuurintutkimuksen kentillä tehtyä jalkapalloaiheista tutkimusta ja pohdin, mitä annettavaa lingvistisellä, etenkin sosiolingvistisellä tutkimuksella on globaalin jalkapallon tutkimuksen laajalle kentälle. Seuraavaksi (alaluvussa 4.3) ankkuroin väitöskirjan kysymyksenasettelut sosiolingvistiikan juurille pohtien tieteenalan alkuperäisten tutkimusongelmien ajankohtaisuutta jälkimodernissa, nopeasti muuttuvassa ajassamme. Tämän jälkeen (alaluvuissa 4.4–4.7) määrittelen tutkimuksessa käytetyt keskeisimmät käsitteet vertaillen eri koulukuntien ja aiempien tutkijoiden tekemiä rajanvetoja. Keskeisimpiä tässä väitöskirjassa pyörittelemiäni käsitteitä ovat eri kielten ja varieteettien rinnakkaiseen esiintymiseen liittyvät käsitteet monikielisyys, heteroglossia (Bahtin; Leppänen 2012), kielelliset resurssit (Hymes 1996; Blommaert 2003; Jørgensen 2008b), yksilöiden ja yhteisöjen kielirepertoaarit, kommunikatiivinen kompetenssi (Hymes 1996), koodinvaihtelu ja 'kielenylitys'. Suomalaisessa kielentutkimuksen kentässä näistä uusin käsite lienee kielenylitys (*crossing*; Rampton 2005; Lehtonen 2006, 2011) eli sellaisten "vieraiden" kielellisten resurssien käyttö, joiden ei perinteisesti katsota "kuuluvan" niiden käyttäjälle. Lisäksi pohdin luvussa 4 kielten, kielten varieteettien ja kielellisten resurssien kierrätykseen ja luovaan käyttöön liittyviä käsitteitä, joita ovat appropriaatio eli "omakseen ottaminen" (Hill 2008; Bucholtz 2011), moniäänisyyttä (Bahtin; lähdeluettelossa angl. translitt. Bakhtin 1984), entekstuaalisaatiota (Bauman & Briggs 1990) sekä sosiolingvististä tyyliä ja tyylittelyä (Coupland 2007; Rampton 2006). Perustelen katsauksessani, miten näitä käsitteitä voi hyödyntää 2000-luvun tietokonevälitteisten diskurssien kiertokulun ja internetissä toimivien yhteisöjen kielikäytäntöjen analyysiin. Luvussa 4.8 käsittelen tarkemmin tutkimukseni keskeistä käsitettä "metapragmaattinen refleksiivisyys", joka viittaa siihen varsin yleiseen ilmiöön, että kielenkäyttötilanne siirtyy varsinaisesta keskustelunaiheesta metatason keskusteluksi itse kielestä (Blommaert & Rampton 2011; Verschueren 2012). Tutkimukseni eräänä keskeisenä tuloksena on, että suuressa osassa *futisfoorumien* monikielisestä kielenkäytöstä onkin kyse juuri metapragmatiikasta. Luvussa 4.9 teen katsauksen Suomen kansallisvaltion tason makrososiolingvistiseen tilanteeseen erityisesti suomen, ruotsin ja englannin suhteen, minkä jälkeen asemoin tutkimukseni suhteessa muuhun viimeaikaiseen tutkimukseen suomalaisten englannin kielen käytöstä ja asenteista englantia kohtaan (Leppänen et al. 2008, 2009a). Luvussa 4.10 käyn läpi tietokonevälitteisen viestinnän (CMC) ja digitaalisen diskurssin (CMD) tutkimuksen keskeisiä rajanvetoja ja erittelen, kuinka tämä väitöskirja tuo alalle

uutta, relevanttia tietoa. Luvussa 4.11 esittelen globalisaation sosiolingvistii-kan (Blommaert 2003, 2010) linjanvetoja ja tutkimuskysymyksiä, joista tämän-kin tutkimuksen kannalta keskeisimmäksi nousevat liikkuvuus (*mobility*) ja skalaarisuus (*scales; scalar processes*). Eräs näiden käsitteiden mallisovellus in-ternetin tekstimaailmojen (ml. tutkimuksen kohteena olleiden *futisfoorumien*) suhteen on se ilmiö, että kielten tai niiden varieteettien konkreettiset ilmenty-mät (resurssit) siirtyvät ajasta ja paikasta toiseen; kun käyttö- ja ilmenemis-kontekstit vaihtuvat, myös näihin konkreettisiin resursseihin ja niiden laa-jemmin edustamiin varieteetteihin liitetyt arvot ja arvotukset muuttuvat. Lu-vun 4 loppuosassa kuvailen tämän tutkimuksen etnografista puolta, jota pei-laan erityisesti Dell Hymesin (1971, 1974, 1996) aikanaan esittämien avainar-gumenttien kautta. Virtuaalietnografian puolelta tärkein käyttämäni viiteke-hys on Androutsopouloksen (2008) diskurssi- ja tekstikeskeinen verkkoetno-grafia (*DCOE*), jota sovellan yhdessä Androutsopouloksen itsensä kanssa tä-män väitöskirjan artikkelissa 2.

Luvussa 5 käsittelen tutkimusasetelman ja tutkimuksen vaiheita havain-noinnista ja aineiston keruusta aineiston seulontaan ja valintaan sekä ana-lyysien kriteereihin. Luku esittelee, kuinka juuri tähän väitöskirjaan seuloutu-neet tapaustutkimukset englannin kielen käytöstä, monikielisyydestä ja meta-pragmaattisesta refleksiivisyydestä muodostavat monipuolisen kokonaisuu-den. Luvun lopuksi erittelen yksityiskohtaisempien analyysien valikoimasta poisjääneitä *futisfoorumien* monikielisyysilmiöitä rakentaen samalla pohjaa relevantille jatkotutkimukselle. Luvussa 6 on kaikkien viiden tutkimusartikke-lin yhteenvedot englanniksi. Päätäntöluku 7 palaa takaisin kysymyksenasette-luihin ja esittelee pähkinänkuoressa väitöskirjatutkimuksen keskeisimmät tu-lokset sekä implikaatioita niille sosiolingvistiikan osa-alueille, joihin tutkimus pääasiassa kiinnittyi (jalkapallon, Suomen, tietokonevälitteisen viestinnän se-kä globalisaation sosiolingvistiikka). Päätännön lopuksi reflektoin lyhyesti tämän tutkimuksen rajoitteita ja puutteita sekä mahdollisia sovelluksia ja jat-kojalostuspolkuja.

Tämän artikkeliväitöskirjan itsenäisistä artikkeleista kolme on julkaistu vuonna 2012 kansainvälisissä kokoomateoksissa ja kaksi on lähetetty alku-vuodesta 2013 aikakausjulkaisuihin arvioitaviksi. Artikkeli 1 (Kytölä 2012a) on metodologisesti painottunut katsaukseni internetin keskustelufoorumien mo-nikielisyyteen. Artikkeli ilmestyi kokoomateoksessa (Sebba et al. 2012), jonka yhtenäisteemana on kirjoitetun diskurssin koodinvaihto ja kieltensekoitus (*co-de-switching, language mixing*). Artikkelin rajauksessa eristän tarkoituksellisesti keskustelufoorumit tietokonevälitteisen viestinnän muista sukulaisformaateis-ta ja erittelen *Futisforum*-tutkimuksieni pohjalta, miten keskustelufoorumien monikielisyyttä voi tutkia ja jäsentää. Monikielisyysilmiöitä voi tarkastella keskustelufoorumin eri diskurssitasoilla tai diskurssifunktioissa kuten keskus-telualueiden tai alafoorumien otsikoinneissa, keskusteluketjujen (*thread, topic*) otsikoinnissa, käyttäjänimissä (*nickname, nick*), allekirjoituksissa (*signature, sig*), itse keskusteluun lähetetyissä viesteissä (*post*) tai muualta kopioiduissa, inter-tekstuaalisissa tekstipaloissa (*copy-pasteability*). Kvantitatiivinen analyysi kes-

kustelufoorumien eri tasojen kielenvalinnasta antaa tietoa, kuinka paljon eri kieliä tai varieetteja kokonaistekstiotoksesta on erotettavissa ja millä eri diskurssin tasoilla niitä esiintyy. Kvalitatiivinen analyysi voi perustua systemaattiseen havainnointiin ja keskustelufoorumiin mahdollisesti nivoutuvan yhteisöllisyyden tai sosiaalisen verkoston kartoitukseen. Monikielisyysilmiöiden analyysissa voi hyödyntää vuorovaikutuksen sosiolingvistiikan välineitä kuten koodinvaihdon, kielenvalinnan ja indeksaalisuuden (*indexicality*) käsitteitä, jotta monikielisyyden sosiaalisiin merkityksiin pääsee laadullisella analyysilla käsiksi. Artikkelissa sivutaan myös internetin tekstien kiertokulkua, intertekstuaalisuutta ja entekstualisaatiota (*entextualization*; Bauman & Briggs 1990). Niin määrällisen kuin laadullisen nettifoorumeita käsittelevän tutkimuksen on otettava kantaa siihen, missä määrin lainattua, "toisten suulla lausuttua" ja moniäänistä tekstiä otetaan analyysiin mukaan, sillä muiden tekstien lainaaminen ja muokkaaminen on nettifoorumien kielenkäytössä ja tyyleissä erittäin yleinen viestintästrategia.

Artikkelin 2 (Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012) keskeisin metodologinen pohdinta kohdistuu diskurssikeskeisen virtuaalietnografian (*DCOE*; Androutsopoulos 2008) sovellukseen sosiaalisen median monikielisyyden tutkimuksessa. Artikkelissa erittelemme, kuinka pitkäaikainen havainnointi ja "hiljaisen tiedon" kertyminen voi hyödyttää diskurssianalyyttisesti suuntautunutta verkkoyhteisön kielenkäyttötapojen sosiaalisten merkitysten tulkintaa. Pohdimme artikkelissa myös tutkijan ja tutkittavien suoran kontaktin sekä tutkittavien kielenkäyttöön liittyvän haastattelun hyötyjä ja ongelmakohtia. Artikkelissa esiteltyjen, *futisfoorumeilta* otettujen tapausten avulla havainnollistamme, kuinka reaaliaikainen diskurssitapahtuman seuranta *in situ* voi auttaa tutkijaa tekemään tarkempia tulkintoja monikielisyyden sosiaalisista merkityksistä kuin keskustelufoorumin arkistoista jälkikäteen löytyvien monikielisyystapausten suhteen. Tätä tekstietnografian epistemologista jännitettä kuvaamme kahden esimerkkiparin avulla. Ensimmäisessä esimerkissä pilkan ja huumorin kohteeksi päätyy turkkilaiseksi esittäytyvän jäsenen idiosynkraattinen, epäkieliopilliseksi katsottu englanti, joka saa *Futisforumilla* huvittuneen ja epäluuloisen vastaanoton. Eräässä kohden tätä diskurssitapahtumien ketjua turkkilaisen käyttämät, englannin yleiskielen vastaiset lauseet ja fraasit päätyvät *futisfoorumistien* keskinäiseksi pilailutyyliksi, joka leviää ympäri suomalaisia ja muunkinkielisiä nettifoorumeita. Eräs osaselitys turkkilaisen saamaan epäluuloiseen vastaanottoon löytyi kuitenkin vasta jälkikäteen *Futisforumin* vanhemmista keskusteluista, joissa esiintyneen "pilailusuomen" kohteina olivat yksi turkkilainen ja yksi arabinimimerkki. Näiden nimimerkkien kirjoitukset imitoivat yliampuvasti stereotyyppisen maahanmuuttajan puhe- tai kirjoitustapaa (vrt. Rampton 2005; Lehtonen 2006, 2011), mutta molemmat paljastuivat suomenkielisten konstruoimiksi pilailunimimerkeiksi. Näiden aiempien diskurssitapahtumien valossa havainnoimani turkkilaistapaus ja *futisforumistien* turkkilaista kohtaan ilmaisema epäily asettui uuteen valoon. Toisessa esimerkkiparissa on kohteena suomenkielisiä ja englanninkielisiä ilmaisuja yhdistelevä hupailudiskurssi, joka liittyy eräänlaiseen *Futisforum2:n* jäsenten

harrastamaan virtuaalijääkiekkopeliin. Tämän "arkistosta" jälkikäteen löytämäni diskurssiketjun ominaiseen tyyliin kuuluvat esimerkiksi jääkiekkotermien, -ilmiöiden ja -kliseiden pilkkaaminen, suomen yhdyssanojen ja välimerkkien ilmeisen tahallinen väärin kirjoittaminen ja versaalikirjaimilla "huutaminen". Keskeisenä sanastollisena resurssina tässä huumoridiskurssissa on *myll*, joka viittaa useiden jalkapallofanien halveksumiin jääkiekkotappeluihin eli "myllyihin". Toisaalta suomea ja englantia sekoittavalla hybridivariantilla *myll* rakennetaan samassa huumoridiskurssissa myös viittausta erään julkisuuden henkilön vatsaan tatuoituun ja juorulehden palstalla esiteltyyn tatuointiin, jonka englanninkielisen idiomin epäkieliopillisuus ja kirjoitusasu aiheuttivat runsaasti halveksuvaa metapragmaattista keskustelua *futisfoorumeilla* ja monilla muilla internetin interaktiivisilla sivustoilla. Tässäkin tapauksessa aiemman havainnointini ulkopuolelle jäänyt, jääkiekkoa parodioiva mutta sekava ja vaikeasti jäsennettävä *myll*-diskurssi näyttäytyi tarkemmassa valossa vasta kun sitä peilattiin aiempaan, laajemmalle levinneeseen ja tunnetumpaan "huonon englannin" pilkkatyyliin. Artikkeli 2 on Samu Kytölän ja Dr. Jannis Androutsopouloksen yhdessä kirjoittama ja se julkaistaan osana tätä väitöskirjaa Androutsopouloksen luvalla.

Artikkeli 3 (Kytölä 2012b) dokumentoi ja vertailee kahta tapausta, joissa tietynlaisen, ei-yleiskielisen englannin käyttö saa *futisfoorumeilla* aikaan pilkan ja huumorin aallon, jossa keskeisenä resurssina on juuri tahallisen "epäkieliopillinen" englanti. Ensimmäinen tapaus koskee myös artikkelissa 2 käsiteltyä turkkilaistapausta, jossa turkkilaiseksi esittäytyvän jäsenen käyttämä englanti päätyy suomalaisten *futisfoorumistien* huumorin välineeksi. Itse tulkitsen turkkilaisen jäsenen yksiselitteisesti "oikeaksi" turkkilaiseksi, jonka aloitteet ja keskustelunavaukset koskevat suomalaiseen jalkapalloon liittyviä uutisia, pelaajasiirtoja ja liigaotteluiden kokoonpanoja. *Futisforumilla* turkkilaisen kirjoituksiin kohdistuu alusta alkaen epäilyksiä, sillä jo tapahtumavyyhdin alkaessa foorumilla oli pitkät kielellisen hassuttelun ja hupailun perinteet. Joka tapauksessa tietyssä kohtaa tapahtumaketjua suomalaiset *futisfoorumistit* ottavat turkkilaisen englannin omakseen (*appropriation*) alkaen käyttää sitä sisäpiirin huumorin resurssina. Toinen tapaus koskee Liverpoolin murretta (*Scouse*), jota erään arvostetun mutta ristiriitaisia mielipiteitä herättävän suomalaisfoorumistin havaitaan käyttävän englantilaisella keskustelufoorumilla. Tämä laukaisee molemmilla *futisfoorumeilla* voimakkaan pilkka-aallon, jossa kiusan, ivan ja huumorin kohteena ovat suomalaisen virtuaalipersoonan lisäksi Liverpoolin murre (tai sosiolekti) sekä ylipäätään liverpoolilaisuus, johon pilkkadiskurssissa liitetään lukutaidottomuutta, hörökorvaisuutta, liimanhaistelua, autojen varastelua ja muita erittäin negatiivisesti värittyneitä ominaisuuksia. Pilkan ja sisäpiirin huumorin välineinä ovat enimmäkseen muutamat Liverpoolin murteesta napatut piirteet kuten *me* possessiivipronominina (*my*-pronominin sijaan), *boss* adjektiivina, *ta* kiitoksena tai huudahduksena sekä *mate* toistuvana deiktisenä diskurssipartikkelina. Tässä artikkelissa keskeiseksi käsitteeksi nousee kielellinen appropriaatio eli omaksi ottaminen; suomalaiset *futisfoorumistit* omaksuvat turkkilaisen ja Liverpool-fanin englanninkielisistä

kirjoituksista tiettyjä piirteitä, joilla luodaan humoristisia sisäpiirin merkityksiä sekä rajanvetoa eri ryhmien välille. Globalisaation sosiolingvistiikan viitekehyksessä tarkastelen, kuinka kieliin, varieteetteihin ja yksittäisiin konkreettisiin piirteisiin liittyvät asenteet ja arvolataukset voivat vaihdella suuresti. Esimerkiksi Liverpoolin englanti – tai paremminkin hyvin rajallinen määrä sen piirteitä – joutuvat *futisfoorumeilla* aluksi pilkan kohteeksi eli stigmatisoiduksi varieteetiksi, minkä jälkeen niistä pian kehittyy ironinen, haluttu sisäpiirin viestintätyyli. Tällöin nämä kielelliset piirteet ovat "matkustaneet" ajassa ja paikassa kontekstista toiseen skalaarisesti: kielten ja niiden yksittäisten piirteiden arvotukset ja arvostukset muuttuvat (vrt. kulttuurinen ja sosiaalinen "pääoma"; Bourdieu 1977). Artikkeli dokumentoi näiden "huonon englannin" sisäpiirityylien syntyä ja leviämistä osaksi suuremman joukon repertoaaria ja internetin muillekin sivustoille.

Siinä missä artikkeli 3 kuvailee englannin kielen piirteisiin ja variaatioon liittyvää syrjivää ja ajoittain julmaakin huumoria, artikkeli 4 voidaan lukea esimerkkinä *Futisforumin* hyväntahtoisemmasta monikielisyydestä. Artikkelissa kuvataan, kuinka keskustelu suomalaisen jalkapallon kaikkien aikojen suurimman supertähden, Jari Litmasen uran vaiheista Malmössä ajautuu monikieliseksi osallistujaroolien ja asiantuntijuuden neuvotteluksi. Analyysin kohteena on vain yksi pitkä keskusteluketju, joka koskee Ruotsin jalkapallokauden 2005 loppuosaa ja kauden 2006 alkuosaa. Kielenvalintaan ja -vaihteluun tässä keskustelussa vaikuttavat ruotsinkielisistä alkuperäislähteistä poimitut tekstinpätkät, joiden merkityksiä ja vivahteita enimmäkseen suomenkielisiksi asemoituvat osallistujat tulkitsevat yhdessä. Myöhemmin keskusteluun liittyy englantilaiseksi "Litti"-faniksi itsensä asemoiva uusi jäsen, jonka pyyntöjen ja kyselyiden johdosta viestiketjussa aletaan käyttää huomattavan paljon englantia. Suomenkielinen keskustelu ja ruotsinkielisten lähteiden puiminen jatkuu tämän uudelleenorientoitumisen lomassa. Samoin kuin artikkelissa 3, eisuomalaisen osallistujan identiteettiä ja motiiveja epäillään, ja merkittävä osa keskustelusta käydään suomeksi hänen ohitsensa. Englantilaiseksi esittäytyvä osallistuja saa osakseen myös jossain määrin kielellistä kiusaa ja vitsailua, mutta tämä on selvästi hyväntahtoisempaa kuin verrokkitapauksissa; kieli- ja kansallisuusrajoja vahvemmin osallistujia yhdistävä identiteetti on "Litti"-fanius, Litmasen urakäänteiden toiveikas seuranta. Asiakeskustelu kääntyy kuitenkin useassa kohden metapragmaattiseksi kielikeskusteluksi; erityisesti englantilaisen kirjoittajan syntyperäisyys ja kielitaito asetetaan kyseenalaiseksi monilla tavoin, ja suomenkielisistä *Futisforumin* sisäpiirijutuista käännettyjä englanninkielisiä kommentteja viljellään. Juuri suomenkielisinä esiintyvät keskustelijat ottavat viestiketjussa englannin kielen asiantuntijan roolin syntyperäiseksi esittäytyvältä kirjoittajalta; lisäksi osa keskustelijoista ottaa ruotsin kielen asiantuntijan roolin kääntämällä ja tulkkaamalla ruotsinkielisiä uutisia sekä englantilaiselle tulokkaalle että toisille suomalaisille. Ruotsin käyttö ei rajoitu viestiketjussa pelkästään medialainauksiin, vaan sitä esiintyy myös muilla tavoin suomalaisten kirjoittajien viesteissä, useimmiten metakeskustelun kohteena. Monikielisessä ketjussa esiintyy myös viroa ja arabiaa yksittäis-

ten viestien tasolla. Tärkeä osa analysoidun viestiketjun ja sen heijastaman "Litti"-faniuden mikrokosmosta on monimodaalisuus, erityisesti kuvien ja tunneikoneiden (hymiöiden) käyttö viestintäresursseina. Kokonaisuudessaan tämä "Litti Malmössä" -aineisto voidaan nähdä kymmenen kuukauden mittaisena diskurssitapahtumana, jonka keskiössä on yhdessä koettu, rajoja ylittävä fanius suurta pelaajaa kohtaan, kollektiivinen tiedonhankinta ja tiedonsirujen monikielinen yhteistulkinta.

Artikkelin 5 kohteena ei ole niinkään *futisfoorumien* viestiketjuja vaan foorumien "kehystyskeinojen" monikielisyys ja niihin liittyvä entekstualisaatio (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Blommaert 2005). Kehystyskeinoilla (*framing device*) tarkoitetaan tässä nettifoorumin kokonaisdiskurssin muita kielellisesti rakentuvia osia kuin itse keskustelut: analyysin kohteena ovat käyttäjänimet ("nickit") sekä julkisten käyttäjäprofiilien räätälöitävät osat *Location* ('sijainti'), "Suosikkijoukkue" ja allekirjoitus. Jäsennän nämä kokonaisdiskurssin osat foorumien "affordansseiksi" (*affordances*) eli mahdollisiksi toiminnoiksi, joilla jäsenet voivat ilmaista kannattajaidentiteettejään, mielipiteitään, haluamiaan parametreja itsestään tai luomastaan virtuaalipersoonasta – tai vain harrastaa luovaa kielellä leikittelyä. *Location* on *Futisforumin* käyttäjäprofiilin affordanssi, kun taas "Suosikkijoukkue" ja allekirjoitus ovat *Futisforum2:n* affordansseja. Aineistonkeruujaksojen aikana havaitsin näiden kehystyskeinojen sisältävän runsaasti eri kieliä ja monikielisiä, hybridejäkin kielellisiä elementtejä. Käytän artikkelissa kielten jakauman kuvaamiseen määrällistä analyysia, jonka aineistona ovat satunnaisotannan sijasta aktiivisimpien kirjoittajien käyttäjänimet ja käyttäjäprofiilien julkiset osat. Aktiivisuuden ainoana objektiivisena mittarina on siis tässä käytetty kirjoitettujen viestien määrää, vaikka pelkkä viestimäärä ei toki kerro koko totuutta käyttäjien liikehdinnästä tai sosiaalisesta toiminnasta foorumeilla. Jokaisesta neljästä analysoitavasta luokasta otettiin foorumien viestimäärän mukaan järjestettyjen jäsenlistojen 200 ensimmäistä jäsentä, joilla kulloinenkin analyysiluokka esiintyi: 200 ensimmäistä käyttäjänimeä, 200 ensimmäistä havaittua *Locationia*, 200 ensimmäistä "Suosikkijoukkuetta" ja 200 ensimmäistä allekirjoitusta. Näin ollen otannoissa oli tarkoituksellisesti päällekkäisyyttä; osatutkimuksen tarkoitus ei ollut tutkia "keskivertofoorumistin" kielellisiä valintoja vaan pureutua *futisfoorumien* kovimman ytimen, aktiivikirjoittajien valintoihin. Käyttäjänimien määrällinen analyysi tehtiin molemmista foorumeista siten, että *Futisforum2:lle* sellaisenaan siirtyneet *Futisforum*-käyttäjänimet poistettiin manuaalisesti otannasta. Suomi ja englanti olivat jokaisessa analysoidussa luokassa yleisimmät kielivalinnat ja niiden sisällä oli varieteettien vaihtelua; erityisesti ei-yleiskielistä suomea ilmeni verrattain paljon. Selviksi aineistolähtöisiksi kategorioiksi nousivat "foorumismit", universaalit nimet ja fraasit, joita ei voinut luokitella tiettyyn kieleen kuuluvaksi sekä "ei-kieliset" ilmaisut kuten akronyymit, kirjainyhdistelmät, numerot tai näppäimistön erikoismerkit. Suurimmat jalkapallokielet (saksa, espanja, italia, portugali, venäjä) olivat edustettuna jokaisessa analyysiluokassa; niin ikään Suomessa laajasti osattua ruotsia käytettiin jonkin verran kaikissa kehystysfunktioissa. Myös monia suomalaisille hieman harvinaisempia kieliä (esim.

katalaania, hollantia, puolaa, mandariinikiinaa) esiintyi muutamissa tapauksissa. Olennaisena osana artikkelin 5 kuvaamaa *futisfoorumien* monikielisyyden osa-aluetta oli kuitenkin se, että vaikka näiden käyttäjäprofiilien osien puitteissa oli selvästi havaittavissa moniäänisyyttä ja monikielisyyttä, eivät jäsenten tekemät valinnat selvästikään tunnu kohdistuvan aina juuri tiettyyn kieleen; päinvastoin voisi olettaa että valintojen ja luovien ilmaisujen taustalla on usein sosiaalisia tai kulttuurisia tekijöitä, joita ei voi palauttaa yksiselitteisesti kielenvalintaan. Osalla aktiivikäyttäjistä *Location* on kirjaimellisesti "sijainti", joko käyttäjän todellinen asuinpaikka, muu samaistumisen kohde tai "virtuaalinen sijainti". Samoin "Suosikkijoukkue" on monella aktiivifoorumistilla kirjaimellisesti suosikkijoukkue tai useampia joukkueita. Mielenkiintoisena sivujuonteena havaitsin kuitenkin, että moni aktiivikäyttäjä käytti näitä käyttäjäprofiilin kohtia aivan muunlaisiin luoviin tarkoituksiin kuin mihin ne oli kirjaimellisesti tarkoitettu. Näiden affordanssien ajoittaisesta "eikielisyydestä" huolimatta kahdensadan alkion otannoista saa kielenvalinnankin kannalta mielenkiintoisia tuloksia, jotka kertovat toisaalta suomalaisten jalkapallofanaatikkojen kansainvälisyydestä ja transnationaalisesta suuntautumisesta, toisaalta vankasta kiinnittymisestä suomalaiseen jalkapalloon, suomalaisuuteen ja suomen kieleen ilmaisuresurssina.

Kaiken kaikkiaan tämä tutkimus valotti sitä, kuinka suomalaiseksi ja suomenkieliseksi lajifoorumiksi perustettu virtuaalinen tila voi rakentua käyttäjien toiminnassa omalla tavallaan monikieliseksi yhteisöksi. Suurin osa molempien tässä tutkittujen *futisfoorumien* keskusteluista käydään toki odotuksenmukaisesti suomeksi – tai tarkemmin suomen kielestä ammentavilla eri tyyleillä, sisäpiirin "foorumismeilla" ja monimodaalisin keinoin – mutta etenkin englannin kielestä ammennettavilla resursseilla on merkittävä rooli foorumien sosiaalisen todellisuuden luomisessa. Englannin kieltä käytetään *futisfoorumeilla* useissa diskurssifunktioissa ja useilla tavoilla; englannin kielen nyansseilla ja merkitysvivahteilla luodaan hienoisista sisäpiirin huumoria. Tämän tutkimuksen keskiöön nousi etenkin se ilmiö, että aikaisemmista teksti- ja puhelähteistä ammennettua "huonoa" englantia omaksutaan ja muokataan osaksi foorumien kirjoitustyylien kirjoa. Näitä tahallisen huonon englannin lähteitä voivat olla vaikkapa kulttiasemaan nousseen urheilutoimittajan kangerteleva ilmaisu suoran tv-lähetyksen kiperässä haastattelutilanteessa, jalkapallovalmentajan televisiodokumentissa puhuma epäsujuva "rallienglanti", juorulehdestä poimitun englanninkielisen tatuoinnin kielivirheet, turkkilaisen keskustelijan omintakeinen, epäkieliopilliseksi katsottu englanti tai Liverpoolin murteella tai sosiolektillä kirjoitettu "fanitusenglanti". Kaikkiin näihin ilmiöihin liittyvä metapragmaattinen keskustelu paljastaa, että monilla kirjoitteluun osallistuvilla *futisfoorumisteilla* on hyvin kehittynyt englannin nyanssien taju. Tutkimusmenetelmä ei kuitenkaan valota sitä, miten hiljaiset lukijat tähän englannin kielen kirjoon reagoivat, sillä tutkimusaineistona olivat vain foorumeilla konkreettisesti näkyvä kirjoitettu kieli ja kielenkäyttöä koskevat reaktiot. Myös muita kieliä kuin suomea ja englantia käytetään *futisfoorumeilla*; varsinaisissa jäsentenvälisissä keskusteluissa niitä on vähemmän, mutta ke-

hystysfunktioissa näkyvämmin ja runsaammin. Kehystysfunktioissa (viestiketjujen otsikoinnissa, käyttäjänimissä, allekirjoituksissa ja käyttäjäprofiilien muissa muokattavissa osissa) esiintyy muun muassa espanjaa, saksaa, ja italiaa – kaikkia jalkapallokulttuurin suurempia ja hieman pienempiäkin kieliä. Oma lukunsa on Suomessa laajasti osatun ruotsin kielen käyttö *futisfoorumeilla*, jonka koko kirjoa ei tässä väitöskirjassa mahduttu käsittelemään. Artikkelissa 4 ruotsin kieli näyttäytyy hyödyllisenä osana yksilöiden ja foorumiyhteisön repertuaaria, sillä ruotsin taidon avulla pääsi käsiksi Jari Litmasen uran tuoreimpiin käänteisiin hänen ollessaan Malmössä. Artikkelissa analysoidussa keskusteluketjussa nousevat esiin myös ruotsin osaamattomuus ja sitä kohtaan tunnetut turhautumat. Kaikkiaan ruotsin asema ja osuus suomalaisissa jalkapallokeskusteluissa jää kuitenkin jatkotutkimuksen aiheeksi, sillä tämän väitöskirjan empiirinen osio käsitteli enemmän englannin käyttöön liittyviä ilmiöitä.

Pitkän, etnografisesti virittyneen havainnointi- ja aineistonkeruujakson perusteella tutkimuksen aineistolähtöiseksi pääteemaksi nousi metapragmaattinen refleksiivisyys eli se ilmiö, että varsinainen asiakeskustelu muuttuu keskusteluksi siitä, mitä kieliä käytetään, millaisia nämä kielet ovat ja miten niitä tulisi käyttää oikein. Suuri osa aineistossa ilmenevästä metapragmaattisesta reflektiosta on kuitenkin epäsuoraa, implisiittistä; sen sijaan että kirjoitettaisiin suoria mielipiteitä keskustelussa olevasta kielenvalinnasta tai kielenkäytöstä, keskusteluun osallistutaan implisiittisillä, usein humoristisilla kommenteilla. Tyypillinen esimerkki *Futisforum*-aineistossani on se, kun englannin kielen ”epäkieliopilliseen” käyttöön – tai jopa englannin kielen käyttöön ylipäätään – usein reagoidaan urheilutoimittaja Jari Porttilalta lainatulla lentävällä lauseella *"What do you think the next happen now?"* tai muilla suosituilla ”huonoa englantia” symboloivilla vastauksilla.

Monikielisyys ja siihen liittyvä metapragmaattinen refleksiivisyys ovat yleisiä ja arkipäiväisiä eivätkä sinänsä lainkaan uusia ilmiöitä, mutta niiden dynamiikkaa *futisfoorumien* kaltaisissa viestintäympäristöissä on tutkittu aiemmin varsin vähän. Jalkapallon ja jalkapallokulttuurin tutkimukseen tämä tutkimus tuo sieltä aiemmin puuttuneita sosiolingvistiikan kysymyksenasetteluja. Suomen sosiolingvistiikkaan tutkimukseni tuo arvokasta lisätietoa suomalaisten todellisesta monikielisyydestä 2000-luvun alkuvuosina, etenkin englannin kielen luovasta ja monipuolisesta käytöstä sekä aiemmin vähemmän tutkitusta ”kielenylityksestä” (*crossing*) suomalaisittain harvinaisempiin kieliin. Tietokonevälitteisen viestinnän (*CMC, CMD*) tutkimukseen tämän väitöskirjan pääkontribuution voi jäsentää kahteen osaan. Empiiriseltä kannalta tutkimukseni dokumentoi 2000-luvun alun merkittävän digitaalisen viestintäformaatin, nettifoorumin monikielisyyttä yksityiskohtaisemmin ja monipuolisemmin kuin ennen; teoreettiselta kannalta tuon kentälle siellä aiemmin niukasti sovellettuja entekstuaalisaation, appropriaation, heteroglossian ja metapragmaattisen refleksiivisyyden näkökulmia. Globalisaation sosiolingvistiikkaan ja *superdiversiteetin* (Creese & Blackledge 2010; Blommaert & Rampton 2011) tutkimukseen tämä tutkimus tuo vahvan empiirisen panoksen globaa-

leissa virtauksissa operoivien yhteisöjen digitaalisten diskurssikäytäntöjen lainalaisuuksista ja erikoisuuksista. Viestintäteknologiat, niiden väliset välittyneisyyssuhteet (*mediation*) sekä kielten ja tyylien rinnakkaiselo ovat jälkimodernissa maailmassamme yhä monimutkaisempia ja hybridisempiä, mutta ihmisten välisen viestinnän perusfunktioissa (tiedonjako, sosiaalisten suhteiden neuvottelu, identifikaatio, affiliaatio, ryhmäytyminen ja erottautuminen, huumori, pilkka ja luovuus) on paljon universaalia ja pysyvää.

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

I

MULTILINGUAL WEB DISCUSSION FORUMS: THEORETICAL, PRACTICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

by

Samu Kytölä (2012a)

Sebba, Mark, Shahrzad Mahootian & Carla Jonsson (eds.) (2012). *Language mixing and code-switching in writing: approaches to mixed-language written discourse.* Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism 2. New York, NY: Routledge, 106–127.

6 Multilingual Web Discussion Forums
Theoretical, Practical and Methodological Issues

Samu Kytölä

Since the 1990s, the rapid development and spread of computer-mediated communication (CMC) has altered the linguistic and discursive 'landscape' in which a considerable proportion of people—especially in the affluent parts of the world—operate their daily lives. Thus, CMC encompasses important and influential means of mediation of present and future multilingual practices. Paolillo observed as early as 1996 that 'we witness the evolution of a language contact situation of an unprecedented scale' as the Internet 'links millions of people with hundreds of different native languages', bringing with them 'highly varying language backgrounds'.[1] Since then, work on the (mostly written-form) multilingualism of the Internet has expanded, covering a broad range of sociolinguistic contexts and online communication formats, both asynchronous (online press, mailing lists) and synchronous (instant messaging, chat rooms). Researchable issues have ranged from macro-level online diversity (Paolillo, 2007) and adaptations of writing systems to language choice in CMC, gender dynamics and code-switching (Androutsopoulos, 2007, forthcoming). Yet these directions have hardly been integrated into the mainstream of code-switching research: for instance, in her otherwise well-informed, comprehensive monograph, Gardner-Chloros (2009) hardly mentions CMC at all (21).

Sociolinguistically, the Internet is becoming more complex and more diversified, making it more difficult for researchers to make valid generalizations about its nature. One can no longer discuss '*the* multilingualism of *the Internet*'; rather, immensely different CMC formats and extremely varying sociolinguistic or cultural contexts entail very different research problems, approached from various perspectives by respective scholars (see Leppänen and Peuronen in press for an overview). The range of CMC technologies is continuously in transformation; recent examples include the rapid growth of blogs and 'social web' applications such as *YouTube, MySpace, Facebook* or *Flickr* (see Lee and Barton, this volume), in which we witness growing convergence, interlinkability and inter-embeddedness of the formerly separate formats, resulting in increased linguistic diversity and heteroglossia (Leppänen, this volume; Androutsopoulos, 2011). This

development is, furthermore, progressively more multimodal as human interaction with and through hyperlinks, graphics, images, picture galleries, videos, sound files, music and playlists is increasing. These trends have made online content production more accessible for ever more people and arguably more democratic, also in terms of language choice and use. Yet normativity and prescriptive attitudes towards language use have not disappeared in the process: they just no longer come only from 'traditional' authorities or gatekeepers (such as journalists, teachers or grown-ups) but also from within peers (regular members of online communities with their intricate hierarchies; participants acting as 'the language police').

The purpose of this chapter[2] is to outline researchable problems and methodological issues pertaining to the multilingualism of the distinctive interaction format of web discussion forums. The discussion is based on my research with Finland-based online football forums,[3] where Finnish members, most of whom have Finnish as the first language, display various multilingual practices, even in their apparently 'intracultural' communication. In each section, I review notable previous work (Androutsopoulos, 2006, 2007; Hinrichs, 2006; McLellan, 2005; Sperlich, 2005) as well as my own practice. The scholars reviewed hold a sociolinguistic and discourse-pragmatic orientation to their data, which is also reflected in this chapter. With the exception of McLellan (2005, 96–145), structurally or grammatically oriented analysis (in the tradition of Myers-Scotton, 1993a) of web forum multilingualism so far remains subordinated to a discourse-pragmatic perspective.

Sociolinguistic investigation of spaces of CMC, or computer-mediated discourse (CMD),[4] such as web forums, opens up a window to the multilingual practices of diverse online communities. As Androutsopoulos (accepted, forthcoming) argues, manifestations of multilingualism in web discussion forums are located and embedded across different layers of the totality of discourse, each calling for appropriate contextualization. Moreover, versatile, triangulation-based methodologies are necessary to capture such layeredness, encompassing prolonged observation periods in the spirit of 'virtual ethnography' (Hine, 2000; Markham, 2005; Androutsopoulos, 2008), quantitative study ('how much of what is found at what layers'), as well as selective, discourse-analytically and interactional-sociolinguistically-oriented analyses of the use and alternation of different 'codes' in interaction. At the end, interpretation and reflection may again entail ethnographically informed contact with online writers.

ON DIVERSITY WITHIN CMD

Recent work within the linguistics of CMD aptly points out that there is no one 'language of emails' (Hinrichs 2006, 16–9), 'language of blogs' or 'language of web forums' (cf. Danet 2001, 91–2). It has become as impossible

to generalize about 'the language of the Internet' (a polyphonic entity) as about the totality of printed language (which no one attempts anymore). This can be interpreted as a counter-reaction to three points: the overt generalization tendencies by writers such as Crystal (2001), the monolingual/English-bias of the early history of the field (for correctives, see Danet and Herring, 2003, 2007) and the ubiquitous 'lay sociolinguistic' normative debate on language and the Internet, which makes popular assertions such as that people are writing 'worse' online than 'before'. Based upon support from a body of empirical work within virtual ethnography (e.g. Hine, 2000; Markham, 2005) and human-computer interaction (e.g. Dix, 2007; Scollon and Scollon, 2004), it is justified to start from the notion that language users, social actors, *appropriate* any technological innovations or new communication formats to whatever usages they prefer. Technologies may be designed for certain purposes, but the enormous potential of the users' agency, in essence, is decisive in which applications become successes and how they are (or are not) used. This has a direct connection to multilingualism, too: even monolingual (e.g. English) online applications or interfaces have often been extensively appropriated and modified by different (ethno)linguistic communities for their particular communicative needs.

With these caveats in mind, particular CMC formats obviously *do* have distinctive characteristics. For instance, the well-established divisions of CMC formats into synchronous/asynchronous, single-authored/multiauthored, public/private, one-way/interactive, still hold well for most analytic purposes (for a more nuanced review, see Herring, 2007). This chapter focuses on the distinguishable, relatively established format of interactive, multiauthored, asynchronous web discussion forums, henceforth shorter 'web forums'.[5] I rely on the stability that the overall discourse and semiotic substance in most web forums are organized in a fairly similar, distinguishable way.

From a research-ethical point of view, the (sociolinguistic) study of web forums—often considered 'semi-public' but this depends heavily on the forum—is likely to fall into a grey area where no explicit ethical or moral guidelines exist. Even the most quantitatively-oriented study of multilingualism of web forums involves certain background investigations on the forums studied: in what sociocultural context does it exist? To what other websites is it connected? Is there an observable community (or subcommunities) behind it? Who can become contributors? Who are the actual contributors (and readers)? What language choices (and other affordances) seem available, or allowed, to members and readers? This is necessary for the contextualization of the findings even in the most 'dispersonified' study. Even if the research focus is on the phenomena rather than people, we have, by definition, human interaction under scrutiny, and the researcher should be cautious about using sensitive material that can arise in web forums—even in cases where they can technically be read by anyone surfing the web. Ethnographic work that attempts to affiliate with the researched communities at least to some extent helps to make informed decisions about the usability of particular web discussions for research purposes. For my part, I mostly use data from

the *Futisforums* as such, but as some of it has to do with sensitive issues (exclusion, discrimination, bullying, personal hate talk), I make some effort to respect the members' privacy or further anonymization at critical points (see also Androutsopoulos 2008, 9; Hinrichs 2006, 26).

THE WEB DISCUSSION FORUM

The invention of web forums, based upon the older, 'linear' bulletin boards, dates from around 1994–1996, but the rise of the currently prevalent formats[6] can be located around the turn of the millennium, as many of the most popular and (so far) durable ones were launched in 1999/2000 (Ternisien, 2010, is a helpful documentation). Concordant with the tenets of this volume, I frame the (socio)linguistic study of web forums as study of *written language use*: although many researchers of web discourse point out the apparent similarities between interactive web writing and oral conversation, language use in web forums is most accurately seen as a distinctive *form of writing* combined with several *visual* means.[7] The aural modality is by default absent in this communication mode (although online audio files can, at times, become relevant in web forum discussions); therefore, web forum language *is not spoken language*. Oral communication can be spontaneous, unplanned and unconscious with regard to multilingualism, but it can equally well be planned, 'performed' and consciously stylized. This seems a matter of genre, register, situation and participants rather than a matter of modality. The same applies for web forum data: it is written (=modality) and asynchronous (=mediation), yet it can range from spontaneous, unplanned or unconscious to highly stylized, carefully constructed, even rhetorical essays. Users appropriate web forums for their specific, local needs of social alignment and information sharing; and we should not make essentialist claims on entire modalities—or even formats of communication.

One affordance of this asynchronous format is that writers can resort to online sources, such as *Wikipedia*, dictionaries or friends, when they construct messages. Alternatively, one can write fast 'in the flow', without resorting to sources of help. These production patterns may result in radically different multilingual outputs, regarding language choice, word choices, spelling, 'correctness', etc. particularly if one uses a 'non-native' language. All these points strongly raise the issue of the applicability (Sebba, this volume; Androutsopoulos, 2007, 2008) of canonical code-switching frameworks (Auer 1999; Gumperz 1982; Myers-Scotton 1993a, 1993b) to the multilingualism in web forum data.

Some CMC formats are related to web forums: e.g. wikis and mailing lists are also multiauthored and asynchronous. The objective of wikis is to modify, edit and improve a *shared* 'text' in contrast to web forums, where authors write and edit *only their own* messages and user profiles. The content of mailing lists, in contrast, is received in one's private email inbox, although many lists have open archives online and can be accessed on the

web, too. Message exchange at the formerly popular *Usenet* (Paolillo, 1996, forthcoming) worked in a similar way,[8] although specific software was required for access and writing. Another online format that merits mention here is the ubiquitous online 'comments sections' of websites,[9] which allow asynchronous commenting on edited web content by users often opting for anonymity. These sections often have more limited affordances than 'proper' web forums, e.g. no accumulative member profiles, no thematic subforums or no other modality than plain text.

Linguistic data from web forums is, technically, relatively easy to access, save and archive for research purposes. However, important methodological decisions are made at an initial stage regarding the degree of familiarization and contextualization. It is useful to emphasize the ethnographic dimension of the task: in order to understand local, often very specific and nuanced meanings and values, the researcher has to get acquainted with the community (if any), the favored topics, values, beliefs and the ways of writing (Androutsopoulos, 2008). Most web forums have a specific purpose and a specific target audience; even if the researcher limits herself to multilingualism, the descriptions, analyses and interpretations (of 'text') are enriched with the help of understanding the community aspects of the forum. Moreover, an accumulated ethnographic understanding of the forums studied helps in making well-informed ethical decisions on the usability and anonymization of the data.

Hinrichs's (2006, 25–8) and Androutsopoulos's (2007; forthcoming) data came from relatively broad forums defined by ethnic affiliation (Jamaicans and Jamaican expatriates; Indians, Iranians or Greek in Germany, respectively) rather than subject matter. However, many forums are established and maintained with the interest in a demarcated subject, such as musicianship, handicraft, parenthood or football. These may again be defined by language or nationality/ethnicity. For example, the members of Finnish football forums appear to form loose, fluid communities with definable and emergent linguistic, discursive and symbolic practices, which are accessible as discourse 'occurring in real time' during the data collection as well as 'in hindsight' from the forum archives (see a nuanced discussion in Kytölä and Androutsopoulos, 2011). The layeredness of such discourse is found in different textual and discoursal positions of the overall forum 'text', as pseudonyms ('nicknames', 'screennames'); other self-ascribed slogans, mottos, aphorisms, signatures or virtual 'locations'; discussion topic headings and sub-headings; quotations from other online media; and finally, code alternation of different types in the actual interactive 'one-to-many' discussion threads.

Saving and Storing Web Forums

Web forums have the practical advantage of the discourse being readily available in its 'naturally occurring' form, however stylistic, rhetorical or self-aware it may be.[10] The researcher thus eschews some of the trouble of data

collection that we have with spoken interactional data, chatroom data or emails (Hinrichs 2006, 21–5): the equivalent of the transcript is readily there. Yet even web forum data has to be collected and stored in some way. One option is the web 'spiders', software designed for saving websites. These are ideal for downloading entire websites that have a logical hierarchy and design. However, with web forums, the hierarchy between topic pages, threads and subpages of threads does not match the hierarchy of actual navigation as not all the subpages of a particular discussion thread can be accessed from the same level. This, in my experience, causes problems for spider software. The researchers of multilingualism in web forums have instead opted to save their data manually, even for corpus-linguistic purposes. The most common web browsers[11] can save single webpages as .mht files;[12] this is a relatively efficient way of organizing web forum data for research, subpage by subpage, naming them aptly to indicate the topic and the sequential position of the subpages. McLellan (2005, 67) argued for copying the discussion entries into a text-only file[13] to facilitate the use of corpus tools. This may, however, distort or destroy salient multimodal aspects of the layout of web forums. Another alternative, particularly for reasonably small amounts of web forum data, is to have print copies to facilitate tagging, mark-up and notes. Also software for such open-purpose qualitative analyses exists,[14] yet waiting for utilization for multilingual web forum data.

Layers of Web Forums

The totality of web forum discourse is layered in several, intertwined levels. The most essential hierarchy of layers is tripartite (cf. Androutsopoulos 2007, 341–7): 1) the main page with a listing of subforums,[15] 2) the subforum with a listing of discussions ('topics') and 3) the actual discussion threads.

Navigation (clicking) one step from the main page leads to a (typically thematic) subforum, where a list of the most recently active discussion threads (usually referred to as 'topics') is given. As the number of topic headings shown at one time can vary from e.g. 10 to 100, this second layer of subforums can often be dispersed on several *de facto* pages.

From this level, one can access the actual level of threads ('topics'), the multiple-authored interaction or discussion. Within the thread, messages are normally displayed on the screen in the sequential order. This is comparable, on the one hand, to turns in oral conversation, or on the other, correspondence in print newspapers' letters to the editor. Again, one single thread can be actually divided into several subpages; e.g. *Futisforum2* allows 25 messages at a time to be displayed, causing a thread with 5,000 replies to be distributed onto 200 subpages. Most current web forums have notable multimodal affordances in their different sub-spaces: the actual postings as well as user profiles may contain hyperlinks, font variation, typographic emphasis, quoting (previous posts or external sources), emoticons ('smileys'), tables, images or moving images.

Figure 6.1   Part of the main page of Futisforum, with a listing of thematic subforums.

Figure 6.2   Subforum 'International football', list of recently active topics.

Portugal 09/10
Goto page Previous 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 Next

(newtopic) (postreply)   FutisForum Forum Index -> Kansainvälinen jalkapallo

	View previous topic :: View next topic
Author	**Message**
kalza Joined: 09 Aug 2001 Posts: 998 Location: Turku	Posted: Sun Sep 20, 2009 12:55 pm Post subject: (quote)
	Lopez wrote: Tänään sitten vaihtuu sarjakärki 😃 ??? 😃
Back to top	(profile) (pm) (msnm)
Lopez Joined: 01 Oct 2002 Posts: 14401 Location: wherever	Posted: Sun Sep 20, 2009 2:27 pm Post subject: (quote)
	kalza wrote: **Lopez wrote:** Tänään sitten vaihtuu sarjakärki 😃 ??? 😃 Oli väärin ennustettu 😃
Back to top	(profile) (pm)
kalza Joined: 09 Aug 2001 Posts: 998 Location: Turku	Posted: Mon Sep 28, 2009 8:58 am Post subject: (quote)
	Why Braga every game win 😃 Portollekin sentään parin miehen yli voimalla kotivoitto Sportingista 1-0 👍
Back to top	(profile) (pm) (msnm)
Lopez Joined: 01 Oct 2002 Posts: 14401 Location: wherever	Posted: Mon Sep 28, 2009 9:08 am Post subject: (quote)
	LIGA SAGRES Braga 18 Benfica 16 (EL) FC Porto 13 (CL) Sporting C.P. 10 (EL) Rio Ave 10 Pacos Ferreira 7 Uniao Leiria 6 Olhanense 6 Nacional 5 (EL) Maritimo 5 Leixoes 5 Vitoria Guimaraes 5 Belenenses 5 Naval 4 Vitoria Setubal 4 Academica 3 TOP SCORERS: Cardozo (Benfica) 7 Falcao (FC Porto) 5 Ramires (Benfica) 4 Alan (Braga) 3 Meyong (Braga) 3 14/with 2 goals
Back to top	(profile) (pm)

Figure 6.3   An excerpt from a discussion thread on Primeira Liga, including Finnish, English, Portuguese, graphic emoticons and embedded quoting.

Besides this tripartite organization, current web forums often offer useful statistics, private messaging and search options. One of these is the 'memberlist', allowing one to browse other members' preferences, message histories and statistics.[16] Single web forum members, or perceived groups of

them, can prove fruitful foci of linguistic research: for example, analyses of multilingual discussion threads may reveal an interesting online persona, whose (perhaps idiosyncratic) language alternation patterns deserve more attention (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2008, 8). Such writers' activities across the forum (or across the web) can then be followed more closely. Research paths dealing more explicitly with single persons' online trajectories are perhaps prone to more critical ethical caveats; e.g. informed consent of the studied individuals may be more clearly necessary than in the study of interaction patterns where less attention is paid to individual social actors.

TRIANGULATION OF METHODS

Research on the multilingualism of web forums draws on a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods (Androutsopoulos, 2006, 2007; McLellan, 2005; Hinrichs, 2006; another similar study on a Swiss mailing list is Durham, 2003), including attempts to contact the writers (or readers) of the multilingual forum discourse (Androutsopoulos, 2008). Sperlich (2005, 70–2) even launched one (language-related) forum himself. The organization of web forums lends itself relatively well to a quantitative analysis of the overall distribution of codes in different layers and discourse positions, or of the correlations between topic and code, writers and codes, etc. The quantitative analysis can serve as a backdrop or a 'signpost' for qualitative analyses of the interaction in the forums. The challenge remains to distinguish between codes and languages used (cf. Blommaert 2010, 12), and also striking the balance between emic and etic views regarding the borders between codes. The qualitative studies of web forum interactions have been informed by interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz, 1982) or conversation-analytical study of code-switching (e.g. Auer, 1999) (see also Sebba's introduction to this volume).

The first study of multilingualism of proper web forums was McLellan (2005), where the focus was on Malay-English alternation in two Brunei-based forums, the only ones in Brunei at the time (2001). His approach was informed by corpus linguistics, Myers-Scotton's grammatically (1993a) and sociolinguistically (1993b) oriented work. McLellan rightly contextualizes his analyses, mirroring the empirical findings against the macro-sociolinguistic situation of Southeast Asia and language debates concerning Malay and English. He opted for a non-random selection of similar topics from each forum. With a total of 211 messages, deliberately covering various topics, and the application of the corpus-analytic tool *WordSmith*, McLellan sought to reduce the possibility of idiosyncrasy and achieve greater representativity. The research format (PhD dissertation) allowed for a prolonged (up to five years) period of online observation, an asset also utilized by Hinrichs (2006, 21–8), Kytölä (forthcoming) and Peuronen (2011). Hinrichs's monograph focuses on Patois and English in private emails, but he deployed

a 'secondary corpus' (2006, 25–8) of web forums to supplement the analysis. He critiques the application of the canonical spoken code-switching research frameworks (Gumperz, Myers-Scotton, Auer) to written domains, proposing that while spoken code-switching behavior is considered largely unconscious, written code-switching is more likely to be planned, stylized or rhetorical.

Most of Androutsopoulos's numerous publications on multilingual CMC/CMD deploy insights accrued from web forum data at least to some extent. Androutsopoulos (2006, 2007) discusses Germany's diasporic (Germany-based Iranian and Greek) forums, outlining dual methodology and sample findings. In his seminal paper (2008), he promotes the combination of ethnographic insights with quantitative and qualitative findings from multilingual web forums. In a line of inquiry he labels 'discourse-centred online ethnography' (DCOE), Androutsopoulos outlines the epistemological tenets of the systematic ethnographic observation of CMC and discusses the added value gained by the contact with actors, whether 'supplementary' evidence or even 'correctives' to the researcher's findings. A similar path is taken by Kytölä and Androutsopoulos (2011), who argue for the advantages of long-time immersion, and particularly real-time observation of web forum discourse events as they unfold, for gaining insights into emergent multilingual practices.

While other researchers have chosen to look at the emerging multilingual practices with a view to understanding the general principles and patterns underlying them, I have (like Blommaert 2010, 6–12) also chosen to focus on the idiosyncrasies, an illuminating example being Finnish forum writers' appropriation and circulation of *deliberately* non-Standard English styles that originate from various sources (Kytölä, forthcoming). In a purely quantitative analysis these may be marginal in comparison to the totality of the uses of Standard English in the *Futisforums*, but the situated dynamics of appropriation and tensions in the discussion threads where these highly 'stylized' codes are used are 'telling cases' that deserve to be made.

Quantitative and Corpus-analytic Methods

Web forum data are suitable to several quantitatively-oriented lines of analysis, which can provide us with an overall view of the distribution of 'codes' (whether separate languages, distinctive varieties, scripts, etc.) within or across particular forums. This can be the main objective of the study or provide a backdrop for qualitatively focused analyses of web discussions. While the overall distribution gives an overview of the constellation of languages/codes used, researchers on the topic have investigated the message histories of a single user to distinguish between forum members with a monolingual preference and those with multilingual (e.g. code-switching or crossing) behaviour. This may indicate loose or tight linguistically defined communities behind the forum discourse. The distribution of languages/varieties and

their correlation with topic domains, subforums or certain individuals can help to clarify who are behind the discourse (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2007, who found topic-related language preferences among diasporic Persians online). It is often useful to deploy the available technical functions of the web forums for the quantitative part of one's research (cf. Androutsopoulos 2008, 6–7).

Quantitative findings can provide signposts for qualitative interactional analyses of forum discussions. For instance, a thematic forum domain that contains quantitatively more 'minority language' usage might point to an interactional study of what is actually being done in that 'code' (cf. Androutsopoulos 2007, 353; Sperlich, 2005). Alternatively, if certain individuals appear to be initiators of discussions in a particular language, this may lead to an interesting study of preference-related code-switching/mixing in the qualitative part. For instance, the use of other languages than Finnish in the *Futisforums* led me to select some of 'the most multilingual' discussions for a more detailed analysis (Kytölä, forthcoming). I also identified alleged non-Finns writing on the forums and followed Finnish members' response patterns to them, as well as members who displayed a preference for using Swedish (often as a native language).

The web at large is suitable for a corpus-linguistic approach; McLellan (2005, 64–8) used *Microsoft Word* and the corpus tool *WordSmith* for the corpus-linguistic study of his web forum data, and partly also Hinrichs (2006) flags his approach a 'corpus' one, finding, for instance, that there were significantly more code-switched Patois passages in his forum corpus than in his email corpus. Three phenomena merit a mention here: multimodality, the copy-pasteability of online content and quoting. The latter is commonplace in current web forums, allowing writers of posts to include quotes from previous writers' contributions. The quotes are separated from the main message by means such as font, color, indentation or explicit framing (e.g. the word 'quote'). Copy-pasteability here refers to the practice where readily available material from elsewhere on the web is embedded in one's discussion entries. This appears to be a common practice, even though netiquettes at many forums may prefer hyperlinking instead. These features multiply the amount of raw text on web forums, representing challenges to the corpus-linguistic study of multilingualism: should they count as 'authentic' or 'actual' language use at all? Moreover, images or video embedded within discussion entries, too, can include substance in one or more languages. Corpus linguists working on web forums have to acknowledge the inherent multimodality and encode the layered, repetitive raw material into reasonably quantifiable formats.

'Framing' in Web Forums

An important subspace within web forum discourse for multilingual practices is *framing*, both in the visual and the discourse-organizational sense. Androutsopoulos (2007, accepted) draws upon some characteristics of online communication and the visual design of web (and non-web)

Example 6.1   A Web Forum Message Demonstrating 'Heading, Bracketing and Naming'

nickname [*English + numerals*]	the **heading** of the topic [*Catalan*]
current status [*Finnish or English*; defined by software settings]	date and time of posting [*Finnish or English*; defined by software settings]
self-ascribed favourite team, slogan or position [*Spanish + Finnish*]	Greeting or initiation [*Spanish* **bracketing**]
	the actual message [probably *Finnish* unless it includes quotations]
	Ending or exclamation [*Catalan* **bracketing**]
	automatic signature [*Spanish + English* **bracketing**] containing a motto or an aphorism

discourse as he suggests the division of framing practices into *heading, bracketing* and *naming*. Above is an example (6.1) of a constructed web forum message that contains all of them.

Self-appointed usernames ('screennames', 'nicknames') are an integral part of communication via web forums: it is often one's nickname rather than one's 'real identity'[17] that becomes the locus of a certain representation, reputation and respect. Naming is—at least potentially for many online actors if not universally—a salient act of identity. Code-mixing in nicknames can be analytically separated from the rest of web forum discourse for quantitative analyses. My analysis of the distribution of codes among the nicknames of Finnish football forums (Kytölä, forthcoming) includes a subset of the 1,000 most active writers for the larger forums,[18] and a subset of 300 for the smaller ones. I classified the nicknames according to their language/variety, and whether there was internal mixing in them. A general result was that, expectably, Finnish and English screennames were most frequent, but Spanish, German, Swedish and Italian scores were also significant. Other typological features that had to be accounted for in a data-driven approach included:

(1) Linguistically ambiguous or 'universal' names, e.g. Apollo, Andreas;
(2) Proper names vs. others (they are all *now* proper names, but there are also names that were proper names *before* their adaptation for forum nickname usage; e.g. Boris Pugo, Baresi);
(3) Orthographic play, e.g. Sawo Mobster (Savo with a 'v' is a province in Finland); Kraiffi (a Finnishized two-syllabled variation of the Dutch name Cruyff);
(4) Play with punctuation, e.g. el_Diablo; -Spede-; and
(5) Use of numerals; e.g. leeremick26, Kimi # 62

I conducted a similar analysis of the self-appointed 'locations' that are part of the public user profiles. Below is a sample of 24 names from the

#		Username	E-mail	Location	Joined	Posts	Website
41	pm	Blaugrana		Kummittelemassa ykkösellä	24 Jun 2001	10465	
42	pm	JJO		Munkkiniemi Westside, Helsinki	14 Aug 2002	10433	
43	pm	Baresi		ff2	27 Apr 2001	9968	www
44	pm	Hombre		;-)	06 Jun 2002	9889	
45	pm	Boris Godunov		Helsinki / Underground	20 Feb 2001	9768	www
46	pm	Naamis		Stockholm	28 Feb 2003	9740	
47	pm	Juhana	email	"Además de ganar hay que dar espectáculo."	11 Jul 2000	9714	www
48	pm	IDA		Kymi	15 Sep 2000	9471	
49	pm	Oasis-Vieri		FF:n Pormestari 2005-	17 May 2002	9394	
50	pm	Ben		Tampere	01 Jan 1970	9041	www
51	pm	Thierry Henry		k	15 Apr 2000	9003	www
52	pm	Nakata		uuh	03 Sep 2000	8833	
53	pm	J.P		Tampere	22 Nov 1999	8678	
54	pm	D mies	email	Salo	17 Jun 1999	8500	www
55	pm	1x2			10 Jan 2000	8473	
56	pm	Wecce	email	A3 Thunderbirds	27 Aug 2002	8379	www
57	pm	Kansio			17 Mar 1999	8212	
58	pm	Traveller			08 Oct 1999	8079	
59	pm	ex_deBoer	email	Helsinki	21 Apr 1999	8014	www
60	pm	Perusveijo	email	R.I.P.	12 Jun 2003	7797	
61	pm	Edgar D		Mt. Monk	14 Dec 2000	7667	
62	pm	Hadji	email	Nelinkertainen Veikkaus Cup-mestari.	02 Mar 2001	7324	
63	pm	jaanu$		Jalkaranta til I die!	08 May 2001	7266	
64	pm	Hucle		Breezy City/South of Venus, East of Yyteri Beach/Firma Inc.:n™ aariliike.	17 Feb 2000	7102	

Figure 6.4   Futisforum memberlist sample.

Futisforum memberlist along with their 'locations': several different languages (Finnish, English, Spanish) are drawn upon in the members' 'profile construction'.

It can be seen that not all the 'locations' in this sample are strictly speaking 'locations'. Instead, the members appear to use that conspicuous subspace (see also Example 6.1 above) for many kinds of identity work: here member 43 (Baresi) flags *Futisforum2* ('ff2') instead of *Futisforum*, member 60 (Perusveijo) implies that he is 'dead', member 47 (Juhana) has a Spanish quote saying 'in addition to winning you have to put up a show' (my translation). On *Futisforum2.org*, the sub-space 'Location' is replaced with 'Favorite team'; again, despite such 'guidance' toward a unified usage, that space often contains other kinds of slogan or stance. These serve as reminders of the individual users' agency and appropriation: any space for self-expression can be used creatively, even against its 'original purpose', and in this case these sub-spaces give expression to a wide range of language choices for identity work.

Qualitative Analysis: Pragmatics and Interactional Sociolinguistics

The qualitative dimension of the analysis of web forum multilingualism typically involves a selection of discussion threads with multilingual language use (code-switching, code-mixing, crossing, etc.) based on a period of observation and a preliminary quantification of the distribution of

codes. An important precursor to the linguistic study of web forums was Paolillo (1996) on the alternation between English and Punjabi in a newsgroup, where he identified functional categories for the use of Punjabi in a context that was English by default. These included quoting, display of personal stance or emotion, formulae and framing of messages—functions very similar to Kytölä's (forthcoming) and Androutsopoulos's (accepted) findings. Androutsopoulos's sequential analysis of code-switching in a Germany-based Greek forum (2007, 353–57) shows how the functions of German-Greek code-switching are both discourse-related and participant-related; the concise interactional-sociolinguistic analysis of three discussion excerpts also contains negotiation of the language of the interaction. Hinrichs (2006, 25–8) used two Jamaican web forums as a point of comparison to his email corpus: in this qualitative analysis he rightly stresses the *performance* and *stylization* aspects of the use of Patois by Jamaicans as an important act of identity (107–27; cf. Lee and Barton, 2011). McLellan's choice of threads (2005, 64–7) for qualitative analysis was deliberately inclusive of a range of subjects and his analysis was organized by the degree and type of Malay-English alternation in them (84–145). Sperlich (2005) documents the use of the endangered minority language Niuean in Niuean web forums. He summarizes the character of 17 different Nieuan forums and cites rather isolated excerpts from them with regard to his applied purpose of promoting the revitalization of Niuean.

I (Kytölä forthcoming) begin with documenting the 'spectrum' of multilingualism in the Finnish Futisforums: what codes (and their mixes) are used and in what functions or positions? Compared to the actual discussion threads, the spectrum of multilingual writing is remarkably wider where it is used for framing purposes; e.g. languages such as German, Spanish and Italian and even Russian, which is also visually prominent due to Cyrillic script,19 are used more frequently in framing than in 'core interaction' (cf. Androutsopoulos, accepted; Paolillo, 1996). Many contextualization cues in my data support the pattern that, along with Finnish, only English can be plausibly assumed to be understood in these Futisforums. Swedish is relatively frequent and by default known (at least a little) by the majority,20 but any other language (German, Spanish) is likely to be known only by a minority of members, and they evoke opposition when used extensively. I move from the quantitative 'inventory' of this linguistic diversity into the sequentially unfolding patterns of opposition and negative metacommentary on the extensive use of these 'less-known' languages on Futisforums.

While every researcher seeks a degree of generalization on patterns of multilingualism in their data, 'thick' description and interpretation of idiosyncratic 'telling cases' can also be of relevance (Kytölä, forthcoming; Kytölä and Androutsopoulos, 2011). In the following, I briefly outline the qualitative strands that my research on the Finnish football web forums has pursued. I originally set out to research code-switching between Finnish and English

only, with the tentative assumption that English is used mainly in discussions with non-Finns and in relation to British football. With time and accumulated ethnographic understanding of the football forum communities and their linguistic practices, the focus changed as I discovered a prominent cluster of (deliberately) *non-Standard* English ways of writing as a group resource. During my most intense observation and data collection period, I witnessed the 'real-time' emergence of two different non-Standard English styles in interaction (see Kytölä and Androutsopoulos, 2011). It turned out that playful use of non-Standard English, or more precisely, particular formulaic patterns that were circulated and rephrased within and across the forums, also had a discriminative effect: those who used any 'bad English' unintentionally were ridiculed, and eventually, many of the nicknames that were the target of fun stopped writing in the forums. With an in-depth, ethnographically informed analysis of the skeins of non-Standard Englishes and their interrelations, a much more nuanced picture of their functions was reached than with just quantitative classification. An accurate typology of different Englishes was indeed difficult to accomplish as they have such specific morphological, syntactical and discoursal *local* features that are negotiated in interaction across time and different sub-spaces across the web forums.

After discovering the interface of humour and discrimination on the basis of the use of 'bad' English that Finnish members widely appropriated for in-group communication, I went through the most prominent materials that contained other languages than Finnish or English. In those datasets, the dynamics turned out slightly different, as these languages were generally tolerated even in extensive 'framing' positions (see above) but discouraged in the more information-carrying positions by way of negative metacommentary. A major part of the longer passages in these 'other languages' were copy-pasted from elsewhere, but also hundreds of 'naturally occurring' contributions in German, Spanish, Norwegian, Dutch, etc. appear in my dataset. Swedish is a special case: the distinctive character of Swedish use, and particularly the attitudes that are voiced against (and for) it, are largely due to its contested position in the sociolinguistics of Finland and in the repertoires of Finns. In particular, the negative attitudes arguably stem from the fact that Swedish is an obligatory, widely disliked subject in Finnish-language schools. Nonetheless, the analysis reveals that many football forum members respect the knowledge of Swedish and the benefit it can bring to following the Swedish-speaking football world, such as Finnish players' careers in the Swedish professional leagues, the bilingual clubs in Finland or the national team of Sweden (see Kytölä, forthcoming, for more details).

Ethnographically Informed Approaches

Researchers agree that ethnographically grounded approaches can enrich the understanding of multilingualism in web forums. The tenets of virtual ethnography are outlined in Hine (2000) and Markham (2005), and

further applied adaptively[21] to sociolinguistic study by Androutsopoulos (2008; 2011) and Kytölä and Androutsopoulos (2011) under the term 'discourse-centred online ethnography' (DCOE). In brief, DCOE comprises 1) systematic observation of unfolding communicative activities and semiotic production and is 2) guided by the accumulated knowledge accrued during the observation, versatile forms of contact with key social actors. Moreover, 'ethnography of text' (based on Blommaert, 2010) is useful; with this I refer to epistemologically and theoretically motivated, systematic study of text trajectories and connections that can be traced both by following web forum activities in real time (making fieldnotes) or in web forums' archives, which often allow one to access discussions from many years back. Ethnographic insights are vital at least as an auxiliary methodology, if not the overarching epistemological line (Blommaert and Dong 2010, 4–14) in the linguistic study of web forums.

Still within this ethnographic dimension, one has the choice of contacting online actors for potential triangulation, testing of findings and enhanced understanding of the multilingual discourse. Direct contact with actors— and whether it should be made before or after interpretative analyses—is a debated research problem within multilingualism. Hinrichs (2006, 23–4) gained benefits from direct contact with the informants of his email corpus, but did not seek contact with his 'secondary' web forum members. Contact with actors can be offline, face-to-face contact or computer-mediated only, as this is the modality and 'domain' researched and naturalized by the users (more detailed discussion in Androutsopoulos, 2008; Kytölä and Androutsopoulos, 2011).

Questionnaire Surveying

While Androutsopoulos (2008) reports on the insights accrued from direct interviews with web forum members who display multilingual behaviour, and outlines (p. 6–10) a set of guidelines on how to establish contact with online actors, McLellan (2005, 146–55) sought further triangulation and generalizability with the use of a survey questionnaire administered to a target group *outside* the researched web forums, so that *other* bilingual (Malay-English) Bruneians were asked to give their preferences to monolingually Malay, monolingually English and Malay-English mixed texts with identical informational contents. For McLellan, it was this experimental part of his work that 'incorporat[ed] the views of Bruneians' (2005, 80–2) in the ultimate analysis. Arguably, surveys can cast additional light on the multilingualism, but very often people *display* very different language use than they *report* doing (cf. Gardner-Chloros 2009, 14–6 with Blommaert and Dong 2010, 2–3, drawing on Hymes). Similarly with attitudes to languages, multilingualism or code-switching, the actual behaviour is different from interview or survey answers. Not many informants would report being hateful towards a language variety

in an interview, some more might admit it in a survey, but very many produce extreme and direct hate-talk in web forums, often with a pseud-onym. Indeed, the web forum researchers reviewed here have rightly relied on the frequent cues that can be found through qualitative analyses of the discussions. The *metadiscussion* about the use and acceptability of languages/varieties offers us essential contextualization cues and lines of interpretation, leading us to learn about the forum members' attitudes and ideological stances regarding languages.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Based on work from the past decade, I have outlined researchable issues per-taining to the multilingualism of web discussion forums, as well as meth-odological triangulation that can be helpful for its holistic understanding and interpretation. Researchers on the topic have promoted different combi-nations of quantitative, qualitative and ethnographic methods; each strand sheds light on the complex multilingual outcomes. In sum, as the strands and facets outlined above suggest, web forums are not simply spaces for sequen-tial message interchanges where different languages or codes can be outright itemized and counted. Instead, their multilingualism can be manifest in mul-tiple forms; among the ones discussed here are naming (one's screen per-sona), heading (discussion topics), bracketing (a message with a greeting or a punch-line), slogans, aphorisms, signatures and the 'core' interaction. These form complex constellations of multilingualism where different languages and codes can assume and be ascribed different roles over time. Properly con-textualized, often ethnographically framed qualitative investigation is best equipped to describe and interpret such constellations. One should pay due attention to the sociolinguistic background of the participants as well as their interrelations, the history (however short) of the forum, and its connections to, convergences with and divergences from other online spaces.

Finally, let us move the focus to the multilingual Internet at large. While communication over the Internet has so far been mainly visual, with text and images the prominent modalities, and layout and design connecting them, the future of CMC is partly unpredictable. Current trends (early 2010s) include the rise of 'social web', with relatively speaking more applications and formats allowing easy-to-access user-generated content, which circulates between people for socializing, entertaining and infor-mative purposes (see also Leppänen et al. 2009; Leppänen and Peuronen in press). Another issue worth discussion is whether the web will retain its predominantly visual bias; already numerous applications exist that allow the transmission of sound (video clips, audio clips, voice call soft-ware such as Skype), making the web ever more multimodal, in contrast to its early-stage, text-based character (cf. Androutsopoulos, accepted).

Yet from the point of view of multilingualism—be it linguistic diversity, language choice, code-switching/mixing or metalinguistic debates—researchers may be primarily interested in 'texts' of diverse kinds, which are easy and practical to access. We should be able, however, to adapt new frameworks for the study of multilingualism that can accommodate the features by now inextricable from the web: multimodality, layout, the co-organization of the written/visual multilingualism, spoken/auditory multilingualism and other semiotic means. Moreover, the communities and social actors whose language we come across online are likely to prove ever more dynamic, fluid or 'globalized', manifesting in still more unpredictable combinations (Blommaert 2010, 187–98). The web will probably continue to expand and encompass writing in hundreds of different languages and their varieties, combined with other semiotic resources and modalities. And for better or worse, as the strand outlined in Sperlich (2005) suggests, the Internet is likely to play a decisive role in the future prospects of the appreciation of languages and people's attitudes towards them, as well as hierarchies of languages.

NOTES

1. No page numbering.
2. My research has been undertaken at the University of Jyväskylä as part of the Research Unit for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English (VARIENG), as well as the Finland Distinguished Professor (FiDiPro) project entitled *Multilingualism as a problematic resource*. Both projects have been funded by the Academy of Finland. I am grateful to Sirpa Leppänen and the editors of this volume for their valuable and insightful comments. I also wish to thank Ari Häkkinen, University of Jyväskylä, for editing the images.
3. Primarily *Futisforum*, http://suomifutisnet.adv1.nebula.fi/phpBB2/, and *Futisforum2.org*, http://futisforum2.org/ (accessed 22 April 2011).
4. In early CMC research (late 1980s is quoted in Herring 2001, 613; but see also Scollon and Scollon 2004, xi–xii, as an important corrective), the emphasis was on the interactional features specific to the new modes of *communication*. Later researchers (e.g. Herring, 2001) have used the term Computer-Mediated *Discourse* (CMD), shifting the focus from the process to the product, yet acknowledging its dynamic and processual characteristics. Thus, CMC is the first and more frequent umbrella term which calls attention to the process and interactive features, while the term CMD is a useful conceptual bridge builder to discourse-analytically oriented research (cf. Herring 2001, 612–3).
5. Although I acknowledge the etymology of the word 'forum' (and its alternative plural 'fora'), I do not use this term here for 'public place, place of assembly, any place of discussion', but rather, for this one particular technologically definable format, as in popular Internet vocabulary. Web forums are also called 'message boards' or 'bulletin boards' (hence the common abbreviation 'BB' in e.g. the software *phpBB*), and it is illuminating to note the metaphors evoked by the parallel terms. The term 'bulletin board' evokes the *metaphor of writing* by suggesting an extension from a physical bulletin board where hand-written

or printed notices are put on display for deliberate or incidental passers-by to read, a 'technology' still widely in use. The term 'forum' suggests any place where people can assemble and (orally) exchange opinions; when premodified as 'discussion forum', probably both speaking and writing are evoked. One can compare these metaphors to other CMC formats: 'email' is an extension of *written* mail, online 'chat' of *spoken* chatting. Yet one of the most popular chat providers is Windows *Messenger*, i.e. a mediator bringing either a written or a spoken message from one person to another.

6. The dominant programming languages for web forums include php and ASP; the currently popular free software include e.g. *phpBB2* and *Simple Machines Forum*. For the uninitiated end-user, these hardly appear radically different from each other.

7. McLellan (2005, 40) rejects perhaps too sharply the interactional, conversation-like features of web forums in favor of a 'text' view; for a more accurate and nuanced discussion on register variation in a strictly written modality, see Hinrichs 2006, 19–21.

8. Text-based newsgroups (available first to personal computers by a specific software, then through the web) preceded web forums by many years; they too allow asynchronous, interactive Internet-mediated discussion, but lack the more complex (and perhaps more user-friendly) topical and multimodal organization of web forums.

9. See e.g. *The Guardian's* 'Comment is free' site, http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree (accessed 15 April 2011).

10. A relativist counter-argument would be to consider *all discourse* 'naturally occurring', just in differently organized and regulated genres/registers. However, a useful distinction can be drawn between 'prompted' language use (e.g. in explicit testing circumstances) and discourse produced more spontaneously in interaction, as mostly in web forums.

11. Currently *Internet Explorer* and *Mozilla Firefox*.

12. .mht is a 'Web page archive [. . .] formatted using MIME HTML [. . .] which saves HTML, images and other media files into a single file; encoded with .MIME encoding'. (http://www.fileinfo.com/extension/mht, accessed 19 April 2011). I regard the .mht format (archiving each subpage in a single file) in this respect superior to other file formats, because .mht files are easier to manage in large numbers. Creating .pdf files of web forum pages is also possible, although this may change the appearance of the data slightly.

13. For use with a word processor such as *Microsoft Word*.

14. Such as *Atlas-Ti*.

15. Forums differ in whether they allow a limited view of subforums at a time or an all-inclusive list. One of my primary data sources, *Futisforum2.org*, displays only 28 subforums for non-registered web users, and 34 subforums for registered users (accessed 21 April).

16. This may depend heavily on the affordances and constraints offered by the software, administrators or moderators.

17. It is, of course, debatable how much we can claim anything fixed about offline identities.

18. Their total number of registered members is ca. 40,000 (*Futisforum*) and 32,000 (*Futisforum2.org*). The smaller forums have 1,000–4,000 members. Thus, my samples contain 3–30 per cent of the totality of screennames. The criterion for 'active' was simply the number of messages posted. Another possibility is completely random samples, but this can bring along a great number of passive 'non-posters' or 'semi-members'. Androutsopoulos (2006, 2007) worked on diasporic forums where the number of registered users ranged from 600 to 370,000.

19. This happens, for example, when football forumists write 'Алексей Ерёменко' about the Finnish international, who was born to a Russian family in Soviet Union. While he uses the transcribed form 'Alexei Eremenko' in Finland and the rest of Western Europe, many other transcriptions can still be found.

20. Swedish is the first language for ca. 300,000 (ca. 5.5 per cent) Finns, but is a compulsory—and much contested—school subject for all Finnish-speaking school pupils and students in Finland. Thus, almost every Finnish speaker in even the more monolingual parts of Finland will at least have sat through hours of Swedish instruction, and have some knowledge of it.

21. In my view, inasmuch as the cultural form and semiotic production develop mainly online—thus being 'as real as the real' from the emic perspective—it makes sense to ethnographically (holistically) *research* it online, too. Further debate on whether virtual ethnography can be 'real', 'valid' or 'legitimized' ethnography remains outside my scope here (but see Hine, 2000; Markham, 2005).

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II

ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVES ON MULTILINGUAL COMPUTER-MEDIATED DISCOURSE: INSIGHTS FROM FINNISH FOOTBALL FORUMS ON THE WEB

by

Samu Kytölä & Jannis Androutsopoulos (2012)

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11 Ethnographic Perspectives on Multilingual Computer-Mediated Discourse

Insights from Finnish Football Forums on the Web

Samu Kytölä and Jannis Androutsopoulos

Computer-mediated communication (CMC) is steadily becoming more multilingual. This development has caught the attention of researchers who have an increasing interest in adapting the traditions of research in sociolinguistics and bilingualism to new emergent socio-cultural domains, communicative contexts and technological formats (Androutsopoulos, 2007; Danet and Herring, 2007). This chapter[1] is an attempt at methodological reflection on pivotal issues in sociolinguistically and discourse-analytically oriented CMC research, and our main focus lies on the benefits that *ethnographically grounded* approaches can bring to such research. The empirical context deployed to illustrate our points here is the Finnish online football discussion forums *Futisforum* and *Futisforum2.org*, and the data we draw on is from ongoing research by Kytölä.

MULTILINGUALISM ONLINE: DISCOURSE-ANALYTIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACHES

Research on online multilingualism so far has mainly drawn on canonical methodologies within linguistics. For instance, frameworks for bilingual spoken interaction (such as Auer, 1999) have been applied to study patterns of code-switching on the web (e.g. Hinrichs, 2006; Androutsopoulos, 2006, 2007). However, methodological reflection has recently emerged on the transferability of earlier frameworks into the forms and formats of CMC contexts (Hinrichs, 2006: 28–31; Sebba, 2008; Androutsopoulos and Beisswenger, 2008; Kytölä, 2012). Research into 'the multilingual internet' (Danet and Herring, 2007; Leppänen and

Peuronen, forthcoming) has opened up interesting avenues of investigation, including measurement of linguistic diversity online (Paolillo, 2007), English as an online *lingua franca* (Durham, 2007), language and script choice online (Warschauer, Said and Zohry, 2002; Lam and Rosario-Ramos, 2009; Lee, 2007), and code-switching within specific communities of practice (Siebenhaar, 2006; Hinrichs, 2006; Androutsopoulos, 2007; Leppänen et al., 2009).

For CMC research, a corpus-analytic or otherwise quantitative inventory can unearth overall distributions of linguistic varieties and generate very useful occurrence statistics of different types. However, corpus-analytic and quantitative approaches may overlook the pragmatics of language use in micro-level interaction and even leave it unexplained or under-contextualised. We, too, use quantitative approaches to provide overviews, inventories or backdrops of the contexts that we are researching, but the primary research approach in our respective projects has been a *qualitative*—discourse-analytic, pragmatic and interactional-sociolinguistic—one, because our common aim has been to gain insights into the rich and contextualised patterns of code choice and the sequentially unfolding code alternation in different online spaces.

The study of the multilingual internet by linguists in late 1990s to early 2000s relied on quantitative inventories and qualitative analyses of log data, with less respect to social actors' self-perceptions or the (multilingual) social action itself (Androutsopoulos, 2008). Meanwhile, largely outside linguistics, systematic virtual ethnographies were already being conducted with the aim of examining social actors' points of view. We build on this tradition of 'virtual' or 'online' ethnography (Thomsen, Straubhaar and Bolyard, 1998; Hine, 2000; Rutter and Smith, 2005) and link it to the sociolinguistic study of multilingual practices (Heller, 2007; Pennycook, 2007). For us, key areas of discourse-analytic-ethnographic internet research include the *emergence* of multilingual practices and communities, their *local and situated* character, the *social meanings* of multilingual language use, the *norms* governing multilingual usage in various genres, and holistic *description* of multilingual communities (see also Androutsopoulos, 2008: 3). The incorporation of an ethnographic perspective has further epistemological consequences (cf. Agar, 2006; Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 5–15): we set out to study a range of *situated, contingent uses of different language styles* by different social actors for *multiple and highly specific purposes of communication*, including identity work and social structure. Moreover, ethnography can provide a 'conceptual and methodological bridge' to other fields (Androutsopoulos, 2008: 3), while it also contributes to the 'broadening the scope of interpretation' (ibid.) and to enabling the researcher's better access to emic meanings, views and categories.

Highlighting our concern with language use, we also use the term 'computer-mediated discourse' (CMD) here.[2] Moreover, we link discourse analysis with ethnography in a combined approach, discourse-centred online ethnography (DCOE), which aims at a holistic understanding of (multilingual) processes online. Outlined in Androutsopoulos (2008), DCOE encompasses three ways of examining computer-mediated discourse practices from an ethnographic viewpoint: (1) systematic observation of online activities, (2) reconstruction of text trajectories, and (3) engagement with online social actors. In this chapter we discuss how these techniques may be used in order to gain insights into multilingual practices in a specific site of computer-mediated discourse, i.e. Finnish football communities. In particular, we focus on the first two ethnographic elements of DCOE. Like Rutter and Smith (2005), we suggest that systematic observation leads to an enhanced understanding of a computer-mediated discourse community, including its discussion topics, its regular and peripheral members and their interrelations, the emergence of sub-communities, and so on. The study of text trajectories involves tracing the history of interrelated posts and threads as well as conducting tailored searches and using forums' statistics in order to trace the history of particular language practices. Taken together, DCOE emphasises the benefit of 'being there' as computer-mediated discourse events unfold.

NATIONAL LANGUAGE AND 'VERSATILE ENGLISH' IN CMD

The type of online multilingualism investigated here is the combination of English and a dominant 'national' language (Finnish) in web environments that are clearly confined to a particular nation-state in terms of their discourse production and consumption practices.[3] Our research emphasises the considerable fluidity and variability in the uses and functions of English. Traditionally, research on the use of English in Finnish and German media discourse has focused on 'Anglicisms', i.e. words and expressions 'borrowed' from English into the respective 'recipient language'. However, researchers from discourse studies and interactional sociolinguistics have recently emphasised that English assumes a broad range of communicative functions in the discourse and linguistic repertoires of online communities in both Finland and Germany (cf. Leppänen et al., 2009; Androutsopoulos, 2007). In Finland, in particular, the importance of English has grown rapidly in various domains of life since the 1950s, first as a language of international contact and imported cultural productions, later as a desirable communicative resource in different contexts, including the internet.[4] English in Finnish CMD comes in a range of registers and styles, which partly depend on (and are indexical of) the subcultures relevant to each

virtual space (e.g. fan fiction), and partly respond to specific communicative events (such as gaming). Moreover, English has currency in specific functions and positions within online discourse spaces: for example, as a base language motivated by topic or participant framework, as formulaic chunks, as slogans and routines for flagging groupness, and as personal or group emblems (usernames, signatures, slogans).

Because neither 'English' nor its uses by non-native speakers are monolithic, homogenous units, the notion of English/national language bilingualism can only be a point of entry into a highly versatile field of language use. We therefore emphasise the importance of adequate *contextualisation* for building an understanding of that language use in its historical, socio-cultural and technological context (Blommaert, 2005; contributions in Heller, 2007). Whereas much earlier scholarship on English drew upon apparently obvious, binary distinctions such as between 'native' and 'non-native', 'second' and 'foreign language', 'pure Finnish' and 'Anglicisms', we find it useful to align with constructivist approaches to language in social life and employ notions such as appropriation, entextualisation, stylisation and performance (see Pennycook, 2007; Rampton, 2006) against an ethnographic backdrop in order to tap into complex, multilingual mediascapes, such as the *Futisforums* discussed here.

THE TWO FINNISH *FUTISFORUMS*: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Futisforum, part of the commercial website *Soccernet*, was the first Finland-based web discussion forum for football; its earliest version dates from 1996, but the current format was established in 1999. *Futisforum2. org* (henceforth *FF2.org*) was launched in 2006 independently by one activist to complement the badly managed original *Futisforum*.[5] A new space with constantly emerging new practices, *FF2.org* still carries on much of the discursive heritage from the original *Futisforum*. The *Futisforums* have developed into spaces for Finnish football enthusiasts to exchange information and opinions, form community, to negotiate and co-construct their individual and shared fan identities. The number of members is around 20,000 (*Futisforum*) and 30,000 (*FF2.org*),[6] of which approximately 15 per cent have 100 or more postings. The number of topics (discussion threads) amounts to about 40,000 (*Futisforum*) and 50,000 (*FF2.org*). Due to this sheer volume, any qualitative or ethnographic study of the forums is bound to be highly selective and based on a particular period of focussed observation.

The multilingual practices evident on the *Futisforums* must be seen within the nexus of three major socio-historical developments: the current increase of English in the macro-sociolinguistics of Finland (e.g.

Leppänen and Nikula, 2007), the rapid explosion of Finns' internet usage over the last fifteen years, and the transformation of football fandom in Finland (very much driven by the *Futisforums* themselves). The forums are, from the outset, clearly targeted at Finnish speakers. This is evident in the thematic division into sub-forums that are labelled only in Finnish, the general run of topics in all sub-forums, and the predominance of Finnish in the actual discussions. However, some of Kytölä's richest data originate from settings where the use of Finnish is contested and challenged by non-Finns, Swedish speakers, or '*aficionados*' using a football-wise language less widely known among Finns. (Standard) English is also a communicative resource that has considerable currency and a wide range of uses. Whereas languages other than Finnish and English are also used, they mostly occupy specialized niches (for example, German mostly occurs in discussions on German football) and are often explicitly discouraged. Many members self-identify as Swedish-speakers, yet the actual use of Swedish remains mostly limited to topics about the Sweden or Swedish speaking Finland. Standard English is often used without meta-commentary (apologies, translations) and thus appears to be an assumedly shared code. However, frequent meta-talk of the forums about the use of English includes a good deal of criticism too. The uses of English in the forums include:

   a. simple or complex lexical items (e.g. *pre-match pint*),
   b. constituents in Finnish/English compounds (e.g. *jänkhäderby*, a compound that denotes a match, 'derby', between any two of the major, top-level Lapland clubs),
   c. formulaic phrases (e.g. *Let's puuhast*, where *puuhast* is a mock-Anglicized abbreviation of the pejorative [in this context] Finnish verb *puuhastella*, 'to manage something in an amateurish way')
   d. extended stretches of discourse (e.g. the messages in the *myll* example in this chapter).
   e. the base language of some discussion threads (including the mock-Altan topics described below).

Drawing on the search facilities of web discussion forums, some of these categories lend themselves to a quantitative analysis of their frequency or to an analysis of individual usage patterns with regard to particular (clusters of) (Kytölä 2012) participants. However, what is important is to reconstruct how these categories of English resources integrate into the distinctive discourse styles that can be observed in the forums. *Futisforum* and *FF2.org* are replete with their own 'forumisms',[7] which draw on many language varieties; also the uses of English depicted above are part of the discourse styles developed over time. Understanding them might be challenging even for native speakers of Finnish who are not familiar with these forums.[8]

RESEARCHING MULTILINGUALISM ON THE *FUTISFORUMS*

Data Gathering

The data for Kytölä's project was collected in five different phases, each one characterised by different degrees of ethnographic grounding. Taken together, the data collection spanned four years, yielding data from almost a decade. Whereas Kytölä was not able to trace the origins of some of the multilingual practices that 'were already there' upon his first visits to the forum, he has managed to document other practices during their very emergence and spread. His roles in this project thus include both that of an 'archive researcher' and that of an 'eye-witness' (cf. Rutter and Smith, 2005).

The four research phases entailed different analytical stances and methods, particularly with respect to ethnography. *Phase 1* (2004–5) initially involved getting acquainted with the community as a casual visitor, so that when conscious research began (*Phase 2*), Kytölä was already a (marginal) member in *Futisforum*. *Phase 3* (2006) involved systematic observation (with a minor degree of active participation), but in 2007 it become clear that a broader ethnographic approach was needed in order to better understand the multilingualism in the data. *Phase 4* (2008–9) involved tracing several text trajectories and unearthing connections between discourse events. The close ethnographic observation of *Phase 3* enabled Kytölä to capture the temporal structure and 'rhythm' of communicative activities in the forums. In both *Futisforum* (especially until 2007) and in *FF2.org*, several sub-forums are active all the time, and hundreds of users are contributing day and night.[9] Participating for a long time in the hectic 'rhythm' of such a community is difficult even for the devoted researcher, but doing it systematically for a focussed period enables insights that could not be gained without 'being there'. Presenting two examples from Kytölä's study, we will now illustrate that advantage of 'being there'. In line with our shared research interest outlined previously, the examples mainly involve uses of English and Finnish, standard and non-standard.

Advantages Accruing from Discourse-Centred Online Ethnography

The first example illustrates how ethnographic knowledge of the unfolding of an online discourse event is beneficial to the interpretation of language use that departs from the conventional usage patterns of an online community. Key to that example is the presence on *Futisforum* of a member calling himself by a Turkish male name, Altan (changed here due to ethical considerations). Altan first appeared on *Futisforum* in early 2005, when Kytölä was already familiar with that forum (but had

not planned any research into it). Altan made several friendly requests for information, expressing willingness to be included in the forum community. However, Altan's attempts were met by regular contributors with responses ranging from benevolent and helpful to malevolent and utterly racist. Many of these responses focused on Altan's distinctive English which was framed as 'bad' or 'funny'. Indeed, his English was arguably 'ungrammatical' and 'truncated', yet it was 'football-wise' entirely appropriate English (involving the use of terms such as 'transfers', 'squad', 'livescore', 'lineup', 'derby', or 'rigging'). In 2006 Altan, who had presented an interest in betting on Finnish football matches, initiated a discussion topic about an unusual match result in the Finnish League, Veikkausliiga[10] (see example 11.1).

This short message contains several features of non-Standard English. Whereas the lack of capitalization ('i') can be relatively common in CMD (also *Futisforums*), the lack of punctuation does stand out here as less usual. Moreover, ellipticity and the subject-complement relationships here, although comprehensible, become immediately framed as non-standard (for many: 'ungrammatical') in the eyes of a person who knows Standard English well. Then, this message triggered a substantial wave of imitations: within a few weeks, dozens of 'mock-Altan' messages were posted, mostly initiating new mock-topics. Kytölä managed to document a total of around fifty instances, although some more disappeared from the forum. A sample of mock-Altan headings is shown below to give an idea of the variation and the non-standard features that were deployed (see Example 11.2).

The topic of the first 'mock-Altan' posts was 'a surprisingly big defeat' (a–e); later they could be about any match scores (h), attendance figures in ice-hockey (j), or even about not sport-related topics (k). *Futisforum* members also spread the 'innovation' onto the newly launched *FF2.org* (e) and non-Finnish forums (h). Similar non-standard phrases, along with other mock-Altan formulations, re-occurred with slight variations. It was clear that this formulaic recycling was deliberate and that its major function was in-group humour. If Kytölä had not been an observer

Example 11.1

a.   Why Tps 5–0 lose ?
b.   Why Inter lose 5–0?
c.   Why Serbia-Montenegro 6–0 lose
d.   why san marino 0–13 lose?
e.   why Østerbr 0–7 and Sorø IF Freja 0–8 loose *(FF2.org)*
f.   Why England again penalty shoot out lose
g.   why switzerland 0 goals penalty shootout?
h.   Why Poland 1–3 lose ? *(at a Polish football forum)*
i.   Why Honka announse ouver 3000 spektators?
j.   why kalpa 2754 spektators?
k.   why russia no human rights?

Example 11.2

in this forum for a focussed period, it would probably have been more difficult to afterwards interpret these exchanges and to capture the tenor of the contributions (i.e. the mocking) and the implicit positioning of Altan (a real or imaginary participant) within this online community. One could argue that the textual trace of the case alone still 'speaks for itself' even years after, but it would be difficult to later reconstruct, for instance, the participation framework in the 'Altan' topics (2005–6). Direct observation of discourse events such as these, accompanied by helpful field notes, puts the researcher in a good position to interpret actors' interpersonal stances or nuances of social meaning in such a complex chain of events.

However, one particular aspect of Altan's case kept puzzling Kytölä for some time: Despite the fact that Altan presented himself quite convincingly as a native speaker of Turkish and a member of Turkish football forums, many participants seemed to distrust him in that respect. Instead, there were ample references to Altan as 'fake', 'troll', 'provo[cateur]', someone else's 'side nick[name]', or a betting criminal (Finland had seen a football betting scandal the previous year). For Kytölä, however, Altan presented in a convincing manner as a 'real Turk', judging also from his use of features of Turkish orthography[11] and due to the authentic-looking output in non-Standard English. Altan even gave a couple of cues to his activity in a Turkish forum. Yet others' suspicions continued for a long time, implicitly and explicitly. However, the main issue here is neither Altan's offline identity nor other participants' perceptions, but rather the way in which his 'othering', by echoing his 'voice', was co-constructed by the alternation between varieties of (mock)-English and Finnish, and the pejorative discourse in relation to it.

Kytölä's reading of that aspect of the case of Altan changed several months later, when he discovered earlier cases of 'fake foreigner' *Futisforum* members. One 2004 case went by the equally Turkish name

of Bulent, together with the Arabic name of Aliydah. Whereas at first sight these may have appeared to be screen names by immigrants joining the forum, a closer examination of their content and language style revealed they had been created by Finnish contributors with the purpose of articulating racist discourse on Turks, and more generally on 'the hairy arms' (*sic*; frequent emic formulation) immigrants from the Middle East, South-East Europe or even North Africa. The primary resources of that discourse were (at all levels) non-Standard 'bad' *Finnish* together with a range of non-football topics such as pizzeria ownership (a stereotypical immigrant occupation), Finnish women, Turkey, or—ironically—racism. For example:

The use of such 'bad' Finnish in the representations of Bulent and Aliydah prompts the interpretation of them as racist fake members. In fact, Aliydah's message history revealed a sudden shift overnight from 'bad' mock-Finnish into standard written Finnish. This supports the interpretation that a fake immigrant identity was being constructed. It was also confirmed in one metalinguistic comment on Aliydah's proficiency in Finnish. This background knowledge enhanced Kytölä's understanding of the suspicions about the authenticity of the core case of Altan—several months after the real-time observations on that case. To paraphrase Blommaert (2005: 56–67), participants enter communication situations which can have a considerable amount of historical baggage. Altan *unknowingly* carried the load of the fake-Turk, entering a space that had earlier developed into a semi-racist one where suspicions about 'Turks' were articulated. This later insight about discourse events that far preceded Kytölä's observation and data collection periods makes it somewhat easier to account for the fact that there were far more comments that were suspicious of the unfortunate Altan than responses that were helpful to him. So, this is an example on how an ethnography of digital text trajectories can inform a discourse-analytic interpretation of the data.

Whereas this second case differs from the first in that Kytölä did not observe it as it happened, it too illustrates the benefits of tracing text trajectories and connections. The following discourse chain occurred during

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Posted: Tue Mar 30, 2004 9:32 am   Post subject: feel the beet!! friiheten, bum-bum, friiiheten!!!1   quote

Ala sina suomipoika sure mina bulent voida opetta sinule huva iskuvinki jos sina tahto usi vaale naine. Sina püuta kanis naine muuta sinu kansa Türki. 😳

Example 11.3
Translation: Don't you Finnish boy regret I bulent can teach you good ways to pick up women if you want a new blond. You ask beautiful woman move with you to Türkey.

Kytölä's period of participant observation (2006–7), but evaded his gaze simply because so much was going on all the time on the two *Futisforums*. The 'Myll' case at *FF2.org* caught Kytölä's eye as he was, now purposefully, searching for deliberate uses of non-Standard English, following the case of Altan. It started as is shown in Example 11.4.

This chaotic-looking thread was located under the sub-forum 'Games' (i.e. computer games, internet gaming, etc.), which Kytölä originally intended to exclude from his data collection. The participants in this thread were playing some kind of virtual ice-hockey game on another website, a joint online activity that required team cooperation and strategic planning. Most of their messages resembled casual, synchronous chat (in terms of both style and the quick exchange pace of messages) and were relatively hard to follow, even for a researcher who was familiar with *FF2.org*. Patterns of non-Standard English were mixed throughout the thread with colloquial 'Forumese', involving extensive use of graphic emoticons. For as is seen in Example 11.5.

Having missed the original emergence of this topic, even Kytölä could only make sense of parts of it. Previous experience suggested that:

- 'Kendo' is an established pejorative term for the much hated ice-hockey among the online football community, with a reference to 'sticks' used for 'fighting'. Accordingly, 'HC' must stand for 'Hockey Club'.
- 'Sweitsi' is a minimally modified spelling of *Sveitsi* 'Switzerland', another joke dating from the older forum, where one active member openly identified as a supporter of Switzerland's national team in the 2006 World Cup.

Example 11.4
Translation: Heading changed because we didn't get to Hoky Fyght Liiga and most likely Hockey club Dynamo will.

- As for 'the myll ideology', standard Finnish *mylly* means '(wind) mill', whereas a specialized usage in colloquial Finnish is 'fist fight in ice-hockey', further shifted (at least in *Futisforum* usage) into 'any fist fight' or 'any fight'. Here, we see another reference to the football fans' conception of ice-hockey as an inferior violent game with fights. The spelling 'myll' appears cunningly to create an English-like lexical item while, at the same time, 'Finnishizing' the vowel's orthography, thus making the reference to *mylly* more explicit.

However, a major part of the social meaning here (cruel humour and representation of in-group superiority) would be missed without knowledge of the intertextuality around the 'mill tattoo'. This had emerged as a mock-topic in a sub-forum of the older *Futisforum*. Brief background information is needed here: in 2005, the Finnish evening papers had covered a story about a Finnish celebrity's tattoo that had got an English idiom wrong. Whereas slight variants exist, the idiom is most commonly known in the form:

"Where there's a will, there's a way."

According to the published pictures,[12] the tattoo, however, read as follows:

"There **were** is will, there is a **road**." (our emphases)

Below is a schematic reworking[13] of the tattoo (see Picture 11.1).

In the tattoo, the word 'will' looked rather like 'mill'. Moreover, the intended cross indeed resembled a wind mill, resulting in added mockery and joking in *Futisforum* about the relationship between a wind mill and the road leading past it. Image manipulations were made with a mill and a road replacing the original cross in the tattoo. Below is our schematic version of one Futisforumist's image manipulation (see Picture 11.2).

With the help of deliberate searches for trajectories of these 'myll'-related memes, Kytölä discovered that mockery and humour related to the tattoo, the 'mill' and the 'road' continued with considerable intensity. These semiotic resources were posted in both *Futisforums*, incorporated in the already

Miehekäs päätös. 👍

FAR RIGHT STRICT DISCLIPTINE AND POWERFUL LEADERSHIP BACK TO HC SWITZERLAND JANYARY 2007 - NEVER FORGET 🍺 🍺 🍺
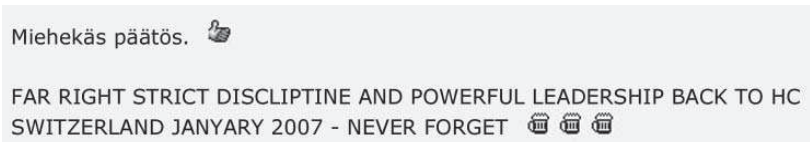
Example 11.5
Translation: Miehekäs päätös = a manly decision

existing 'pool of bad English', and used for joking and mocking purposes in later discussions. Deliberately 'bad' usage of 'will/mill', and the pejorative reference to a disliked sport, thus served as meaning-making resources for constructing a 'myll' discourse for solidarity and boundary marking with regard to excluded 'others' (e.g. fans of ice-hockey or fighting, 'ignorant' models, or, importantly with regard to multilingualism, users of 'bad' English). This has many similarities with the 'othering' of Turks and Arabs presented in Example 11.1.

The mocking case of Altan (2005–6) came up at the time when Kytölä was most actively engaged in participant observation of the discussion forums, experiencing the discourse as it unfolded. He was thus in an ideal position to interpret these processes of in-group interaction and online joking. Understanding the 'Bulent-Aliydah' case was more challenging, because they had come up in an earlier period and therefore were difficult to reconstruct—these were by now 'distant' discourse events. Yet their later discovery enhanced Kytölä's understanding of the

Picture 11.1   The celebrity's tattoo.

Altan case. Moreover, Kytölä had, at first, totally missed this particular source of 'bad English' as a communicative group resource, but the discovery of the cases 'HC Kendo of Sweitsi' and the related 'mill tattoo' helped him reconstruct it. This also served as a lesson that key linguistic practices can even emerge in unexpected sub-spaces, as Kytölä had—to a too great extent—ignored these 'off-topic' non-football-related discussions due to their marginal positions in the virtual spaces of *FF2.org* and *Futisforum*.
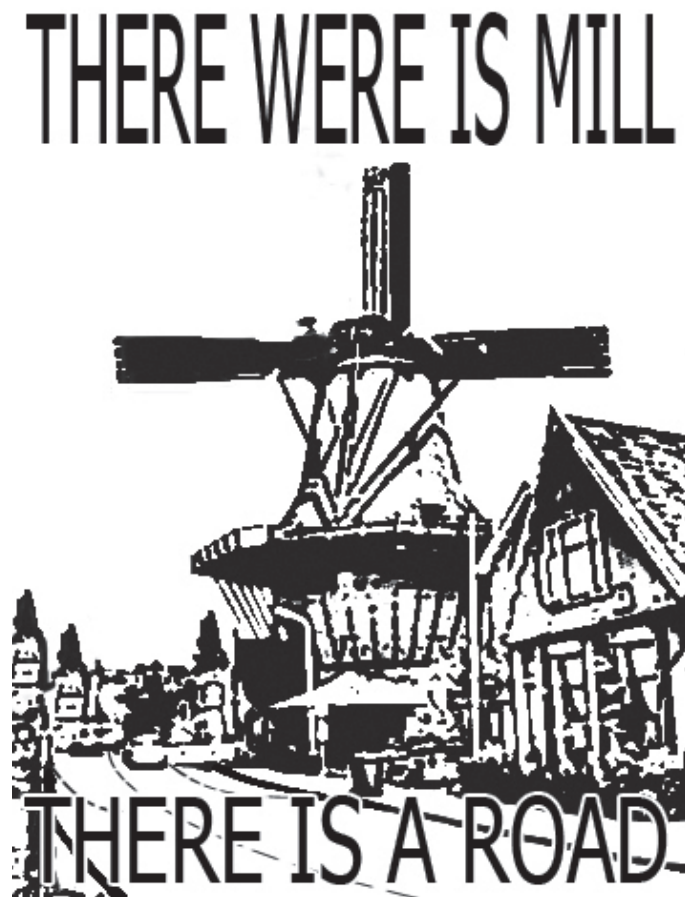
Picture 11.2   The mill and the road.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

In conclusion, the main points of this chapter are both empirical and methodological in nature. Empirically, we find that the uses of English in these Finnish forums extend beyond conventional loanwords or borrowings and into the deliberate, highly stylized usage of non-Standard English. The English contributions to the *Futisforums* discussed above suggest that regular contributors share a co-constructed resource pool of 'bad English' from which phrases and constructions can be continuously and intertextually recycled, revised, and spread to new spaces (cf. 'entextualisation', Blommaert, 2005: 47–48) for jocular and exclusionary purposes. We demonstrated that one main function of such idiosyncratic uses of English can be to reinforce boundaries between forum regulars (who are savvy, appreciate football, know nuances of English) and various kinds of outsiders (who are ignorant, appreciate ice-hockey, use English 'wrongly').

Secondly, we suggest that systematic observation of online discourse activities and ethnography of text trajectories provide a useful hermeneutic spiral for the interpretation of online events and textual fragments which, at first sight, seem to be chaotic or inexplicable. More generally, ethnographically informed approaches to computer-mediated discourse analysis enable researchers to develop a grip on the 'rhythm' of discussion forums as a backdrop against which to interpret particular uses of language and discourse styles. Researchers are advantageously positioned to understand particular usages when they see them emerge, as they participate in the rhythm of the online forum. This is particularly useful with large and active forums such as the *Futisforums* whose all-embracing documentation is practically impossible. However, a systematic and focused observation of selected 'areas' of such forums over a period of time allows researchers to acquire some of the 'tacit knowledge' underlying the semiotic practices of key regular contributors.

Other ethnographic strategies such as tracing text trajectories and systematically contacting online actors (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2008) may be more useful when focussing on usages whose 'momentum' falls outside the necessarily limited period of systematic observation or which are located on the 'margins' of the examined virtual space(s). In addition, Androutsopoulos (2008) argues that direct contact to discourse participants can contribute to an emic understanding of language practices online, to the extent it is combined with an analysis of screen data. Yet direct inquiries about people's language use may well be misleading, because people's on-prompt reflection may turn out to be contradictory to their observed behaviour (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 3). By contrast, combining screen data to data obtained by direct contact, such as interviews, may be particularly fruitful as it allows researchers to confront people with their own lan-

guage use (or that of their community), and at the same time to check their interpretations against those by participants.

A further issue left largely outside the scope of this chapter is that of 'overhearers' or 'lurkers'. These are ubiquitous members in the overall participant framework who only read (the forums) but do not actively contribute to online content. They remain a methodological challenge for research, because they are by and large invisible, although web forum statistics may readily give information, for instance, on how many registered members have made zero postings. From the point of view of investigating multilingualism, we only get the active authors' multilingual outcomes, the visible discourse, but can only speculate on how the numerous non-writing 'lurkers' understand, like, or 'silently' react to them (cf. Rutter and Smith, 2005). A totally different (albeit arguably ethnographic) methodological combination would be needed for such an investigation.

The methodological considerations spelled out above are most directly applicable to the multi-authored, asynchronous format of web discussion forums (Kytola 2012). Other CMD modes may be subject to different orders of linguistic normativity, resulting in different manifestations of multilingualism, or embed a different principle for archiving old discourse. Moreover, new formats of CMD emerge frequently, often combining features from older ones. These are, therefore, likely to require different research designs and different strategies for linking discourse analysis with ethnography.

NOTES

1. We are grateful to Sirpa Leppänen and the editors of this volume for their valuable comments.
2. In early research into CMC, the emphasis was on the interactional features that were specific to the new modes of communication. Later researchers (among the very first Susan Herring) used the term Computer-Mediated Discourse (CMD), shifting the focus from the process to the product, yet acknowledging the dynamic and dialogic features in concordance with developments in discourse analysis. 'CMC' is the first—and more frequent—umbrella term calling attention to the process of interaction, whereas 'CMD' is a useful conceptual bridge to discourse-analytically oriented research (see also Herring: 2001: 612)
3. Kytölä's doctoral research is investigating the use of multilingual communicative resources within Finland-based online football communities. It is being undertaken at the University of Jyväskylä as part of the Research Unit for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English (VARIENG), as well as the Finland Distinguished Professor (FiDiPro) project entitled *Multilingualism as a Problematic Resource*. Both projects have been funded by the Academy of Finland.
4. See Leppänen and Nikula (2007) for an overview; Leppänen et al. (2009) for CMD; Kytölä (2008) for football forums.
5. The URL of *Futisforum* is http://suomifutisnet.adv1.nebula.fi/phpBB2. *Futisforum2* is at http://futisforum2.org.

6. 1 January 2011. These estimates by Kytölä attempt to exclude multiple nicknames by the same user.
7. The Finnish term used in the forums themselves is foorumismi; Kytölä's translation.
8. This has been testified by Kytölä in seminars and data sessions where his data have been discussed.
9. Average number of postings per day according to *FF2.org*'s statistics is 3013; average number of new topics per day is twenty-six (4 January 2011).
10. In this particular match, played on 1 June 2006, TPS (Turun Palloseura from the city of Turku) defeated FC KooTeePee (from Kotka). The final score was 7–0.
11. E.g. 'FİNNİSH', 'gençlerbirliği'.
12. The gossip magazine *7 päivää* in early July 2005.
13. We thank Ari Häkkinen, University of Jyväskylä, for editing all the images.

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III

**PEER NORMATIVITY AND SANCTIONING OF LINGUISTIC
RESOURCES-IN-USE: ON NON-STANDARD ENGLISHES IN
FINNISH FOOTBALL FORUMS ONLINE**

by

Samu Kytölä (2012b)

11

Peer Normativity and Sanctioning of Linguistic Resources-in-Use – on Non-Standard Englishes in Finnish Football Forums Online[1]

Samu Kytölä

Introduction

While the previous chapters in this volume have dealt with more institutionally constructed language-ideological discourses, this chapter shifts the lens to language ideologies at play on a markedly 'grassroots' level of language use. The sociocultural and technological context of this chapter is interactive, multi-authored discussion forums of the web that allow participants an extent of anonymity. Web forums are a distinctive format of computer-mediated discourse (CMD), most often a discourse domain with little institutional control, and thus relatively free of high-modernist constraints and demands for 'purity' of language use. Instead, late-modern hybridity, freedom of stylized expression, and identity play enable a different order of *peer regulation and normativity*, on which this chapter aims at opening a conceptual and empirical window.

The internet, especially recent, increasingly interactive developments of 'web 2.0' (see Androutsopoulos, 2011), has often been praised as a mediator of enhanced democracy as considerably larger numbers of people or communities have increased opportunities for agency and voice online. In the Western world, indeed, the internet has activated participation; even globally many pro-democratic, pro-equality projects and enterprises blossom through the mediating means of the web, and the specific communication formats such as web forums, wikis, blogs, Twitter or Facebook. While institutional language-ideological discourses can have power in the 'structural denial' of hybridity and diversity (see other chapters in this volume) and in the stratification of the 'unmanageable', informal 'grassroots' domains such as much of web 2.0 can, in theory, enable the formation of discourse spaces where hybridity and diversity are welcomed (Leppänen, 2012; Androutsopoulos, 2011).

This chapter, however, documents and analyses two cases where the use of particular linguistic (and semiotic) resources by a particular social

actor entering or occupying the discourse space (community) is severely sanctioned through a process of *negotiation, regulation* and *peer normativity* (cf. Leppänen, 2009 on *policing*) that is markedly different from the institutionally stratified processes of normativity. These cases illustrate individual, (more or less) multilingual subjects operating on multilingual spaces, where their specific, idiosyncratic multilingualism becomes an obstacle to particular, desired social trajectories as well as a cause of *abnormalization* (the shared theme of this section). The communication format researched – asynchronous web forums with the affordance of archived discussions and traceability of text trajectories – enables a chronological, sequential analysis of how particular language-ideological discourses unfold and emerge *in situ*. The practical methodology of this chapter is therefore informed by interactional sociolinguistics, albeit with important caveats spelled out by Blommaert (2005, pp. 50–67): interlocutors enter interactional exchanges with personal histories and sociocultural loads that *readily affect* the constellation of the exchange – before it even begins.

The data selection for this chapter includes abundant mixing of Finnish and idiosyncratic uses of markedly non-Standard[2] English(es) that acquire social meaning loaded with connotations and evaluation. In contrast to the 'neat order' of high modernity (see Blommart et al., this volume), late modernity is characterized by increasing hybridity, ambiguity and 'chaos' of recycling and revolving discourses. Even if the default audience of the web-based Finnish football communities is – explicitly and implicitly – framed as Finnish-speaking Finns, they have developed explicitly multilingual, mixed and hybrid discursive practices (cf. the pioneering works by Androutsopoulos, 2006, 2007; Hinrichs, 2006). Due to its specific trajectory as a world language that has spread to Finnish society through various channels (see Leppänen et al., 2011), English has a very distinctive role in these practices. The two football forums researched here (*Futisforum* and *Futisforum2*) can be seen as stratified discourse spaces with several languages, their varieties, semiotic means (e.g. affordances offered by the use of emoticons or pictures), registers, genres and styles (Kytölä, 2012, forthcoming). The notion of *super-diversity* coined by Vertovec (2006) and developed further in Blommaert (2010) lends itself well to describe the communicative 'mutations' (Jacquemet, 2005) that emerge in the form of 'memes' (e.g. Shifman and Thelwall, 2009), 'fads' and innovations in computer-mediated settings. However, these important works contain little in the way of actual analyses of computer-mediated chains of interactive communicative events (but see Blommaert, 2010, pp. 54–6). This gap is duly noted and theoretically discussed in Blommaert and Rampton (2011), and here I offer a detailed case study that can shed more light on ways in which super-diversity can be manifest and ways how transidiomatic practices may evolve.

Linguistic resources-in-use in online performance – from shortage to excess

This chapter illustrates the sociolinguistic dimension of the dynamics of 'abnormalization' with two cases where messages written in non-Standard English within the discourse space become targets of extended meta-linguistic, language-ideological discourse, both explicit and implicit. The two cases stand in contrast to each other: in the first sequence of events, an online actor is considered to *lack* resources to acceptably participate on equal terms, while in the other, a displayed *excess* of an individual's repertoire is deemed unacceptable by a 'gatekeeper' majority of interlocutors. Both chains of events lead to an overload of discriminative discourse targeted at the abnormal 'freak' and, more or less, to the exclusion of these users of 'the wrong codes'. Drawing from Hymes (1996) and Blommaert (2005), I suggest that an imbalance of linguistic-semiotic resources in these interactions in 'language' brings about an imbalance of power between the participants. In the 'endangering' cases here the imbalance becomes manifest in the lack of *voice*, and downright discrimination. While these cases are delimited by factors such as register/genre (informal football discourse), locality (Finland-based), or discourse format (interactive web forum), they are 'telling cases' with a great degree of indexicality, where the micro-level dynamics of the emergence of meta-talk points us to plausible interpretation lines about the larger scheme of language ideology at work in our time frame of late modernity.

In the cases studied here, uses of different 'codes' (i.e. not pure 'languages', or even their 'whole' varieties, but rather very emblematic, strongly indexical 'bits and pieces', cf. Blommaert, 2005, 2010) become discussed, regulated and sanctioned, a means of demarcation, embedded within the overall discourse on mostly football-related topics. The two cases are contrasting, each casting a different light on the dynamics of normativity as negotiated, co-constructed and *performed* (cf. Rampton, 1999; Pennycook, 2007; Danet and Herring, 2007, pp. 8–13; Leppänen, 2009) on a level of informal, peer-regulated 'grassroots' context. The first case represents a situation where an individual (I rename him **Altan**), attempting to be an acceptable social actor within the selected discourse space, *lacks* some of the required or acceptable resources to succeed. It is made salient that a non-Finn ('other', 'them') is entering a virtual space framed for Finns ('us'), which becomes an issue in its own right (cf. the review of mainly pre-web 'text and talk about "them"' by van Dijk et al., 1997, pp. 164–5). **Altan**'s observed deficiency in written English (together with an insufficient knowledge of the factual topics of discussion and meta-knowledge of the forum's practices) causes a considerable wave of mockery and, subsequently, screen persona **Altan**'s exit from the community. **Anfield_mate** (nickname changed), in contrast, is a case where the performance/display of particular multilingual repertoires in an

'inappropriate' space or manner forms obstacles to full participation and approval within the discourse (sub)space. It is part of the story of a Finnish fan of Liverpool FC[3] who builds a remarkable reputation as such a fan on the Finnish *Futisforum* (a site where *Finnish* football has had louder and more influential advocates than international football). **Anfield_mate**'s prolific contributions are largely read, discussed, debated and mostly tolerated, even appreciated for years, but it is his activity in a British LFC fan forum (connected to the discovery of his offline identity) that triggers a wave of ruthless disapproval and mockery. Closely tied to the demolition of **Anfield_mate**'s online reputation is the overuse of a dialectal/sociolectal variety of English, working-class Scouse, deemed 'fake' and unacceptable for a middle-class well-off young Finn. While **Altan**'s non-Standard English is stigmatized as 'bad' and emblematic of absolute 'otherness' (cf. van Dijk et al., 1997; Leppänen and Häkkinen, forthcoming), **Anfield_mate**'s working-class vernacular Scouse becomes dislodged from its 'natural habitat' and emblematic of 'the man whore' [*sic*; a distinguish emic category within the *Futisforums*].

Methodological considerations on discourse-centred online ethnography

As Blommaert and Rampton (2011) aptly argue, linguistic ethnography is well equipped for the study of such sociolinguistic diversity that is becoming accumulatively less stable, less binary and less predictable. My research into Finland-based online football forums[4] has involved a considerable period of observation and data collection informed by sociolinguistics, linguistic ethnography (Hymes, 1996) and 'discourse-centred online ethnography' (Androutsopoulos, 2008; Kytölä and Androutsopoulos, 2012). The cases that here illustrate the potentially 'dangerous' aspects in the multilingual contact space of the forums are selected from a much larger database. In the *Futisforums* that have been under investigation, multilingualism as a positive *resource*, rather than as a *problem*, is often more manifest, though the two facets often co-occur (e.g. when a specific constellation of multilingualism is a useful resource for *some*, but a problem for *others*; cf. Hymes, 1996; Blommaert, 2010).

The long period I was involved in data collection on the Finland-based football web forums (and often in websites beyond them) has led me to important insights into such research data that have theoretical and methodological value. They are discussed in more detail elsewhere (Kytölä and Androutsopoulos, 2012; Kytölä, forthcoming); here a brief summary is in order. Locating research data for my study of multilingualism involved long observation within the selected spaces: getting acquainted with the different subsections, getting 'inside the general spirit' of the communities, getting to know 'who is who', and getting to understand the idiosyncratic slang of the forums (an absolutely crucial acquisition process for writing

a thesis on any linguistically oriented topic; see Androutsopoulos, 2008). Yet another important insight gained was that the discussions and topics that had emerged right during my core fieldwork period gave me a different, more 'insider' perspective than the data I found some months (or even years) after the discussions actually occurred. With the former, I felt I 'was there' as the stories unfolded (cf. being present in a sequence of oral conversations); with the latter, I felt that I lacked a degree of 'literacy' needed to understand the stories (cf. discovering heated correspondence in newspapers from two or three years ago). Case **Altan** mainly co-occurred with my most active observation period, offering me a relatively good position to understand and interpret the discourse, whereas I came across most episodes of case **Anfield_mate** only later through archives (for epistemological and practical discussion, see Androutsopoulos, 2008; Kytölä and Androutsopoulos, 2012; Kytölä, forthcoming).

Moreover, ethical considerations regarding the use of web forum data are more fully discussed elsewhere (Kytölä, forthcoming; Sixsmith and Murray, 2001; Brownlow and O'Dell, 2002). This chapter follows the plausible assumption that most *Futisforum* authors have gone online voluntarily, fully realizing that their contributions are more or less permanently traceable on the web. Regardless of the features of the communication format, however, the line between public and private exchanges is not straightforward, especially in cases where individual online actors (and by extension, the real human beings behind the online personae) are scolded or discriminated against. As online life and reputation are potentially 'as real as the real' for many, I have here decided to change all screen names (although it could be argued that the 'real' screen personae would deserve credit both for their innovations and for their immoral or questionable behaviour).[5]

Case 1 – 'Altan' and 'broken English'

The default participant on Futisforum is a Finn and/or understands Finnish: this can be verified by even a short period of observation at multiple layers of the overall discourse. The *Futisforums* have – since their early stages – developed into Finnish virtual spaces, occupied mostly by Finns, for discussion of Finnish and international football – *in Finnish*. This sets the frame of expectation that participants who do not show a command of Finnish in their contributions, are 'outsiders', 'guests', 'foreigners', and so on. Many such cases surfaced during my observation periods, and with a few exceptions (Finnish–Swedish speakers who opt for Swedish) the code chosen for interaction is, rather expectably, English. While most of such participants are 'guests' with only a few retraceable postings on the forums on a limited number of topics, some participants stay(ed) on one of the *Futisforums* for a longer time, contributing to a number of topics. An outstanding example is **Altan**, who identifies himself as a Turk and expresses a persistent interest in Finnish national football.

The screen name **Altan**[6] registers in the forum[6] in early 2005, identifies himself[7] as Turkish and opens a new topic in the sub-forum 'Muut Suomen sarjat' ('Other Finnish competitions [than *Veikkausliiga*]'). The topic opening is titled 'welcome I am from turkey':
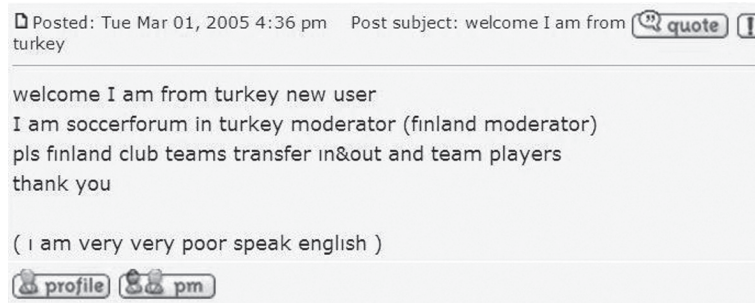
This first message is in distinctly non-Standard English:

- there are no punctuation marks at all,
- the only capitalized word is the personal pronoun 'I' (twice),
- there are unexpected pragmatic choices and lexical combinations ('welcome', 'club teams'),
- the word order is deviant,
- and the clause formation is highly elliptical.

Yet the message is fully understandable to one who knows English, and it constitutes a logical conversational turn comprising:

- introducing oneself,
- requesting information,
- excusing the self-evaluated low proficiency in English.

It is notable that the message contains several explicit politeness phrases ('welcome', 'pls', 'thank you'). Of these non-Standard features, lack of punctuation, lack of capitalization, and ellipsis are frequent phenomena in many genres of computer-mediated communication, and also found much in Futisforum. Thus, more salient distinctive factors in **Altan**'s idiosyncratic English here – in its very first manifestation – are lexical choices, word order and clause formation, for instance, the redundant word 'am' in the clause, 'ı am very very poor speak englısh'.

We begin to see that the pragmatic purpose of the message is hardly to 'welcome' anyone from the Finnish forum to the Turkish one mentioned, 'soccerforum in turkey'. Instead, the message is a markedly polite introduction and a tentative inquiry about a subject matter related to Finnish

football, in other words about player transfers during the pre-season of 2005.[8] Furthermore, and rather significantly for what happens later, **Altan** *already here* excuses himself for his 'very very poor' English skills.

The first reply comes in a minute:

> Posted: Tue Mar 01, 2005 4:37 pm   Post subject: quote ❗
>
> Pelasti päivän 🙂
>
> profile   pm   www
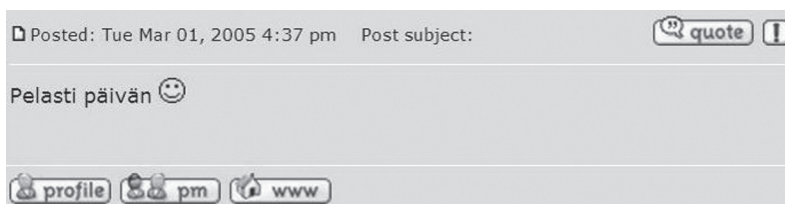
['saved my day'[9]]

The phrase in Finnish combined with a happy-looking emoticon ('smiley'), may suggest that **Altan**'s opening is taken as humour. **Altan** immediately replies,

> ⌐ Iam not speak finnish
>
> ☹
> profile   pm
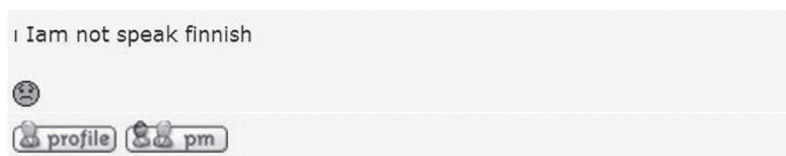
and requests up-to-date information on the transfers of Finnish players (in advance of the Finnish 2005 season). Even though he explicitly identifies himself as the moderator of a Turkish football forum responsible for Finnish football, the informational aspect of the topic becomes overwhelmed by 'meta-topics' that permeate the discussion: negotiation of **Altan**'s real identity, humour and play with non-Standard English, Turkishness and soon even more generically 'otherness' (cf. Leppänen and Häkkinen, forthcoming). The expectations of the Turk drastically differ from the responses and reactions by Finnish forumists.

This thread, as well as others with **Altan**, frequently drifts off-topic, in many cases implicitly or explicitly to deal with the idiosyncratic English used. The Finnish majority of the discussants regulate the conversation by frequent switching and mixing[10] between Finnish, English and emoticons, and, to a lesser extent, other linguistic and semiotic resources. There appears to be a shared understanding of the Turk's idiosyncratic English as 'funny' and 'amusing'. One common-sense explanation is that in Turkey, the exposure to English language teaching is simply much less than in Finland (cf. Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998 or Doğançay-Aktuna and Kiziltepe, 2005 with Leppänen et al., 2011). **Altan** is likely to have had very different processes of encounter and acquisition of English than his Finnish interlocutors here

(cf. Blommaert, 2010, pp. 102–36). In other words, the histories of the (mainly English) resources that **Altan** brings to the encounter are drastically different from those that are brought by the Finnish members (at least those who bother to write here). However, among the range of different responses that **Altan** receives to his entrée is a collective negotiation of the 'real' identity of this supposed Turk: is it a real Turkish person or just an inventive joke, possibly by some well-established, savvy Finnish forum member?

But **Altan** did not enter an idealized *tabula rasa*. While my research on case **Altan** was well underway, I came across trajectories of earlier Turkey discourses in the local history of *Futisforum*, which pointed towards a better understanding of the suspicion of the Turk. In early 2004 at least one mock-Turkish nickname and a related mock-Arabic nickname had been operating on the forum, using deliberately 'bad' Finnish in their contributions (cf. mock-Spanish in Hill, 2008, pp. 128–57). One of these mock personae actually switched from 'bad' into native-like Finnish overnight at the end of his life span as a writer at *Futisforum*. Hence the suspicion of 'another Turk' trying to join the community becomes even more understandable in the light of salient previous events – and only to those readers who were aware of them (cf. Kytölä and Androutsopoulos, 2012).

To summarize, between spring 2005 and summer 2006, **Altan** participated in circa 25 discussion topics, most of which dealt with Finnish national football, especially the Veikkausliiga, the highest level of Finnish club football. The reception of **Altan** by Finns ranged from helpful, benevolent and informative to suspicious, jocular and, at times, downright rude and racist. Parallel to that, 'off-topic' commentary in 'bad English' and on Turkey, Turks and the Middle East more generally, frequently surfaced. **Altan**'s English along with, for instance, another Turk's personal homepage became the target of fun, abnormalization and stigmatization as 'freak'. However, it was not until summer 2006 that **Altan**'s idiosyncratic English became a 'classic' known to a larger mass of active *Futisforum* readers. On that day, he posted a single message that launched an enormous wave of imitations, recycling and performative play of idiosyncratic 'Altanese', still not entirely stopped years later. With that message, **Altan** actually opened a new topic:
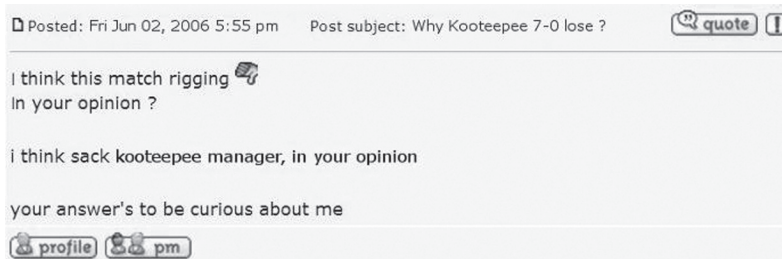
A brief look at the linguistic facet of this message reveals very similar features as the ones reviewed above: non-Standard punctuation, almost total lack of capital letters, deviant word order, elliptical clauses and unusual pragmatic and lexical combinations. Yet the message is – again – pragmatically and interactionally valid, since it explicitly includes interlocutors through the means of address, and invites comment. Shifting the focus to the informational facet, an explanation of the immediate context is in place in order to even partially understand this 'messy' slice of discourse and its follow-up. **Altan** is here referring to the Veikkausliiga match TPS vs FC KooTeePee, the result of which was an exceptionally big 7–0 home win. Even if the most likely explanation of such an overwhelming score was probably the simple fact that TPS were in better form that day, **Altan**'s suspicions about betting fraud ('match rigging') are not entirely without warrant. A betting fraud scandal had indeed deeply touched Finnish football in the summer of 2005, which was still far from forgotten by Finnish football fans a year later.[11] In fact, the mere presence of **Altan** had been connected – in jocular *and* serious ways – by other forumists with 'suspicious' Asian businessmen allegedly responsible for the most severe frauds. However, when we look at how Finnish forumists respond to **Altan**, his suspicions are regarded as nonsensical. Only eight minutes later **greaves** replies:

> ◻ Posted: Fri Jun 02, 2006 6:03 pm   Post subject: (🔍 quote) (𝕀)
>
> What you think the next happen now?
>
> (👤 profile) (👥 pm)

This is a quote from the already large 'pool of bad English' deployed by the members for in-group humour purposes such as imitation, double-voicing and mockery. The target of mockery here is an utterance by the Finnish sports reporter Jari Porttila on a live TV broadcast of the match Finland vs Turkey in 1999, which had circulated as a 'meme' (Shifman and Thelwall, 2009) in the forums for a long time. The 'pool of bad English' contained, at this point, 'funny' quotes from celebrities, models, sports coaches, rally or Formula 1 drivers, most of them Finnish in contrast to **Altan**. The same Porttila quote had come up in at least three previous discussions with **Altan** as a participant. In the *Futisforum* emic conception of the discursive reality, **Altan**'s idiosyncratic form of communicating himself seems closely associated with Porttila's renowned utterance in 'bad' English. This is arguably due to the non-Standardness of the exact items of English at hand, but is perhaps further emphasized by the Turkey connection.

The humorous citation is quickly followed by **Altan**'s quick, slightly apologetic response (note the beginning with the conjunction 'but'):

> Posted: Fri Jun 02, 2006 6:18 pm   Post subject: (quote)
>
> but 7-0 lose, crushing defeat
>
> i am from turkey for example, galatasaray :7 fenerbahce: 0
> fenerbahce fans to rebel and fans said that; go home manager and sack manager
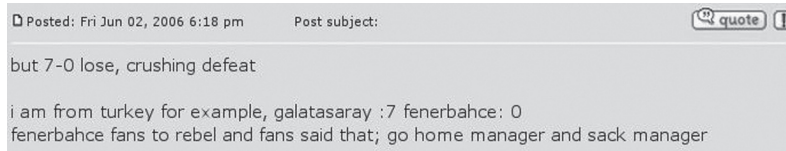
While **Altan** tries to dodge the first mocking comments by some further arguments and speculations on the possible consequences of such a big defeat ('sack manager' of the losing side), the Finnish forumists are inextricably and ruthlessly carrying the discussion in other directions. Few interlocutors who post on this topic (and we do not know about the far more numerous lurkers, those who just read) seem to take **Altan**'s turns seriously at all.

The responses, in sum, fall into one of three main categories:

1. Earlier inside jokes of *Futisforum* translated literally into 'funny' English; for instance

> Posted: Fri Jun 02, 2006 6:27 pm   Post subject: (quote)
>
> some fucking hadji has got a king idea
>
> (profile) (pm)

[Originally in Finnish 'joku vitun hadji on taas saanut kuningasidean'.]

2. Messages that explicitly dismiss **Altan** (or Turkey, Turkishness in general); for example

> Posted: Fri Jun 02, 2006 7:56 pm   Post subject: (quote)
>
> "i am from turkey for example, galatasaray :7 fenerbahce: 0
> fenerbahce fans to rebeland fans said that; go home manager and sack manager"
>
> Yeah, but Turkey fucking sucks ●
>
> Apart from kebab of course
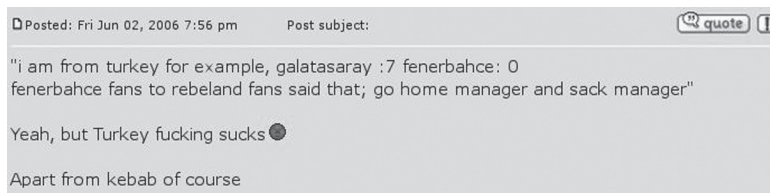
3. Meta-linguistic commentary on the language choice or the 'badness' of English used; for instance

> And now I'm sick´n tired of talking this ameerika vittu!
> (profile) (pm)
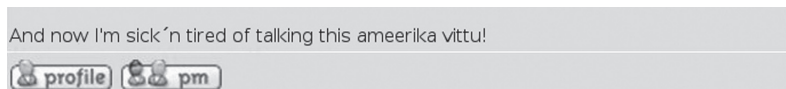
['ameerika' = 'amerikka' = 'America(n)'; misspelled probably intentionally 'vittu' = the closest Finnish equivalent of the exclamation 'Fuck!'.]

The appropriation of stylized 'Altanese-English'

Two days after **Altan**'s new topic opening, the nickname **Sivu Nikki**[12] (a clearly Finnish screen persona, judging from both the nickname and a glance at its message history) recycles **Altan**'s posting, applying the same idiosyncratic forms and patterns to another match, played on 4 June 2006, in which FF Jaro beat TPS 5–0 in the town of Pietarsaari (Jakobstad). This mock topic was titled in concordance with **Altan**'s non-Standard English.

> Posted: Sun Jun 04, 2006 8:19 pm   Post subject: Why Tps 5-0 lose ?   ⟨quote⟩ ⟨I⟩
>
> i think this match rigging
> in your opinion ?
>
> i think sack tps manager, in your opinion
>
> your answer's to be curious about me
>
> ⟨profile⟩ ⟨pm⟩

The opening message of the new topic repeats **Altan**'s earlier message almost word for word: only the name of the defeated team in the heading has been substituted. Ironically, the same team (TPS) that was the winning side of the extraordinary game noted by **Altan** had become the losing side three days later. It only takes approximately two minutes until the other 'classic', emblematic meme of non-Standard English within the community, the reporter Jari Porttila, is quoted again:

> Posted: Sun Jun 04, 2006 8:21 pm   Post subject: ⟨quote⟩ ⟨I⟩
>
> What you think the next happen now?
>
> ⟨profile⟩ ⟨pm⟩

In turn, the discussants draw upon several sources of what is perceived as 'bad' non-Standard English. This shared, mutual humour is somewhat harsh on any of its targets but particularly cruel to **Altan** himself; as **Altan** had regularly (if not weekly) participated in the Veikkausliiga discussions, he would be a potential reader of this topic, too. The initiator of the thread goes one step further by deploying another idiosyncratic turn of **Altan**:

> Posted: Sun Jun 04, 2006 8:38 pm   Post subject: ⟨quote⟩ ⟨I⟩
>
> but 5-0 lose, crushing defeat
>
> i am from pori for example, jazz-j :13 eurajoki: 0
> eurajoki fans to rebel and fans said that; go home manager and sack manager
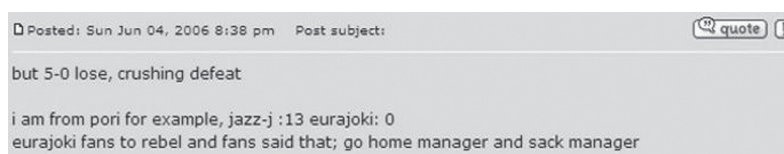
The irony (and fun[13]) of the message comes mainly from replacing **Altan**'s Turkish context of rioting fans in Istanbul (a true European football metropole) by a peripheral Finnish context, Eurajoki. The concept of rioting football fans in Eurajoki after a lost match is plainly absurd. This juxtaposition combined with the 'inherently' humorous forms of 'Altanese' creates in-group humour; at the same time, however, **Altan** is being severely ridiculed. This topic – and other mock-Altan topics – is evidently regarded as good humour by the forumists themselves: the amount of positive emoticons (such as 'thumb up' or 'LOL') in responses posted to this topic (5 out of 12 responses), as well as the quick spread of the 'mock-Altan' discourse on the forum, suggest that the jocular function of this 'innovation' is arguably very salient from an emic point of view, not just in my interpretation. The beginning of this topic is framed in mock-English, the broadly defined 'variety' that is used most in the entire topic. Only 15 postings occur in total, two of which are **Sivu Nikki**'s mock-Altan initiations. Three postings contain Finnish; for instance:
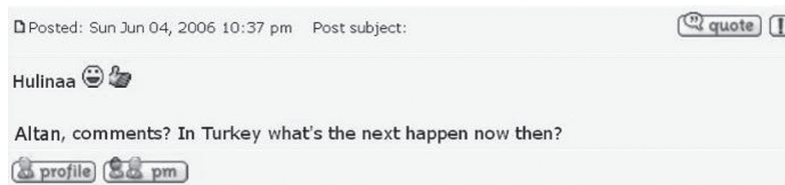
This posting, with switches from Finnish to emoticons and to English, contains a direct addressing of **Altan** and an explicit request for his comments. A modification of the 'classic' utterance by the reporter Jari Porttila is deployed once again, this time to address directly another user of unintentionally 'bad' English. It is here that **Altan** finally becomes the *explicit* target of mockery, although that has probably been clear from the start for most readers who had read **Altan**'s originals prior to the first imitations. The primary means of mockery is 'deliberately bad' English, while the exclusive purpose of the posting is emphasized by the use of a Finnish in-group favourite term 'hulinaa' ('hullabaloo') and the deployment of in-group humour (the Porttila variation) when talking to an outsider who obviously is not equally aware of the practices.

The remaining postings contain forms of mock-English not drawn directly from **Altan** but presumably elicited by 'Altanese' and the first round of recycling it for jocular purposes:

> Posted: Wed Jun 07, 2006 1:39 pm   Post subject:
>
> Thö piörded stiivdoorer jne…
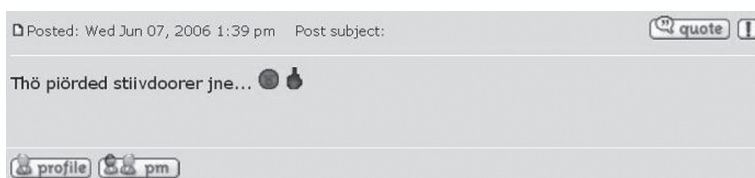
['The bearded stevedore, etc…'.]

The very last posting is a response by **Altan** himself: he participates in this first 'mock' topic approximately three days later. His posting is an explicit expression of confusion and sadness:

> Posted: Wed Jun 07, 2006 7:42 pm   Post subject: Re: Why Tps 5-0 lose ?
>
> **Sivu Nikki wrote:**
> i think this match rigging
> in your opinion ?
>
> i think sack tps manager, in your opinion
>
> your answer's to be curious about me
>
> ???
> bad joke and my heart broken
>
> however i like finnish human
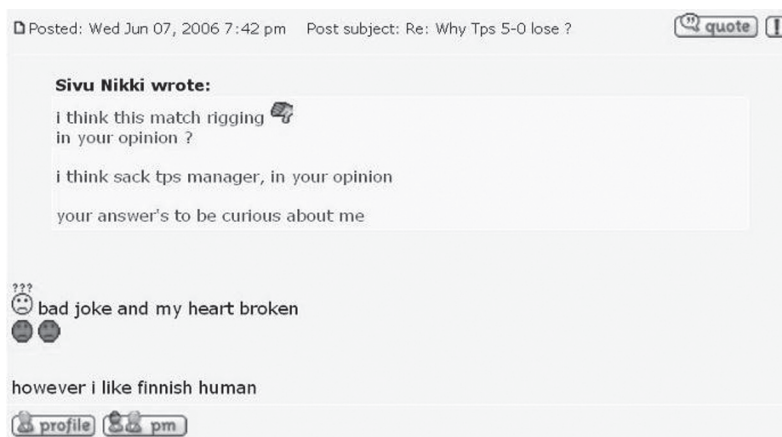
Ironically, and crudely enough, even this response by **Altan** becomes recycled in a later mock topic. This particular thread never (until 2 July 2011) received any more replies; possibly **Altan**'s honestly expressed, face-value disappointment had the effect of keeping away subsequent mockers – but only from this topic. Since then, the nickname **Altan** has not participated in any discussion in the *Futisforum* with the exception of one very brief '1–0' comment in a topic concerning a single match. On the basis of my extensive research on the subject it seems unlikely that the same person has, since the time of the topics discussed above, posted any more replies or opened new topics. (The same nickname, however, resurfaced at FF2 for a short while in 2007 in a brief friendly Turkey-related exchange.) Nothing remotely similar to the 'real' **Altan**'s idiolect has been found – except for the abundant 'mock-Altan' topics by Finns. I shall turn to review them now.

Case **Altan** and its aftermath (that I call here 'mock-Altan' and 'Altanese'; cf. mock-Spanish in Hill, 2008) challenge straightforward, typological distinctions rooted in (high) modernist thinking, such as *native/non-native*,

second language/foreign language or *correct/incorrect*. The concept of English as a positive lingua franca for intercultural communication (as advocated by e.g. Seidlhofer, 2001 or House, 2003) is complicated and challenged by the Finns' appropriation of distinct 'bits and pieces' of *deliberately non-Standard* English. This subset of my multilingual *Futisforum* data is strongly characterized by the *appropriation* of **Altan**'s idiosyncratic, highly non-Standard English by Finnish forum members for purposes such as in-group humour, demarcation and discrimination. The first such 'mock topic' (or possibly the first few ones) still appear to have a lingua franca function (of including or inviting **Altan** into the discussion) to a certain degree, whereas later, the idiosyncratic mock-English becomes embedded in the forumists' communicative repertoires (in a way, their 'mixed code'), and the lingua franca function is greatly diminished as **Altan** fades out of the conversations with the Finnish forumists. A chronological, sequential and ethnographically grounded analysis of that data subset reveals the emergence of a new sub-genre of *Futisforum* writing, and a new way of hybridized English-based talk that I here call 'Altanese'.

It remains still, in theory, unsolved for certain whether there is a real Turkish person in the flesh behind the screen name **Altan** or if it is a virtual fake identity. To me, **Altan** is without doubt a real Turk performing in the *Futisforum* at face value (but on virtual identities, see Thurlow et al., 2004, pp. 99–105), albeit within the constraints set by his limited repertoire of English expression. This is supported, first of all, by the orthography of **Altan**'s messages, which regularly contain characters from the Turkish alphabet ('gençlerbirliği', 'denızlıspor', 'allıansa', 'FİNNİSH'). Second, while a false Turkish virtual identity would be relatively easy to develop and even to maintain for a while, and while characters from the Turkish alphabet are readily available online and in standard word processors (e.g. Microsoft Word), **Altan**'s language use has several features of non-native, 'truncated' English that seem naturally occurring rather than invented. For instance, he appears to have a very good command of football terminology and vocabulary in English ('bits and pieces', 'truncated repertoire', Blommaert, 2005, 2010), but the syntactic level shows remarkable ellipticity and deficiency by any standards, even in the context of informal computer-mediated genres. Creating such a realistic idiosyncracy would indeed take a considerable amount of time, energy and creativity. Furthermore, the cohesion and pragmatic dimension (e.g. punctuation, phatic communion) of **Altan**'s postings are credible and logical, yet unlikely to have been invented for the prolonged maintenance of a false identity.

In the end, **Altan**'s 'real' identity is irrelevant to this study, although it needs to be pointed out that it would surely have been important for **Altan** himself for his voice to be 'heard' and accepted in the forum. Here we have a *representation* of a Turk *mediated* in a multiply complicated way – not least

through the non-Standard English used by **Altan** and subsequently, by the Finnish interlocutors. It is against this representation that all discussions *with and about* **Altan** are more or less judged and negotiated. Language use, language choice and code alternation are being adjusted and negotiated as the participation framework of the interaction *possibly* involves a non-Finnish, non-Finnish-speaking Turkish discussant. Finnish members deploy their in-group power position (awareness of the history, practices and (n)etiquettes of *Futisforum*, knowledge of Finnish, expertise in English, the sheer fact that they are 'many against one', etc.) to discriminate against the Turkish screen name.

Mock-Altan discourse and beyond

After the first proper mock-Altan topic and the subsequent fade-out of the screen name **Altan** from the community, there emerged a large wave of topics initiated and written in 'Altanese' mixed intertextually with other older sources and innovations of 'bad' non-Standard English. Below is a sample of the topic headings (in total, 50 or so) written in Altanese from summer to autumn 2006:

- Why Serbia-Montenegro 6–0 lose
- Why England again penalty shoot out lose
- Why switzerland 0 goals penalty shootout?
- Why san marino 0–13 lose?
- Why lahti 5–0 lose?
- Why inter 6–0 lose?

These all repeat and parody ('double-voice' according to Bakhtin, 1984) the original formula, including the 'ungrammatical' direct interrogative clause, lack of capital letters, and an allegedly unexpected result from the point of view of the losing side. After the highly formulaic headings, the actual postings deploy and recycle the syntactic and pragmatic features originally found in **Altan**'s postings:

- 'funny' punctuation (e.g. 'fans said that; go home manager')
- capitalization (e.g. 'i think sack tps manager' pro 'I' or 'TPS')
- the word order (e.g. 'what's the next happen now then?')
- clause formation (e.g. 'eurajoki fans to rebel')
- pragmatic choices and lexical combinations (e.g. 'your answer's to be curious about me')

In addition to the Finnish Veikkausliiga matches, the matches of World Cup 2006 (held in Germany from 9 June to 9 July 2006) became topics particularly prone to the deployment of Altanese. Most, but not all, of the topics

framed by a mock-Altanese heading recycled the original opening message more or less verbatim:

> Posted: Sun Jul 16, 2006 8:56 pm   Post subject: why inter 6-0 lose?   quote
>
> i think this match rigging Razz
> in your opinion ?
>
> i think sack inter manager, in your opinion
>
> your answer's to be curious about me
>
> profile   pm

In the 'second wave' of mock-Altanese some months later, attendance figures[14] as well as ice-hockey matches from autumn 2006 were included in this new genre of humorous mock discourse; e.g.

- Why Honka announse ouver 3000 spektators?
- Why KalPa 2725 spektators?
- Why HIFK 10–1 lose?

The variation in this stylized way of writing also encompasses rather clearly 'Finnishized' items, mainly in the form of spelling ('announse', 'spektators'), which further complicates the picture and draws attention perhaps a notch away from the allegedly Turkish origin of the meme. In addition, even more serious, political issues would be discussed in this emergent style (in the spirit of carnivalization, Bakhtin, 1984). The opening message of the thread 'why russia no human rights' is as follows:

> Posted: Wed Oct 18, 2006 7:49 pm   Post subject: why russia no human rights?   quote
>
> i think this land rigging
> in your opinion ?
>
> i think sack russia president, in your opinion
>
> your answer's to be curious about me
>
> profile   pm
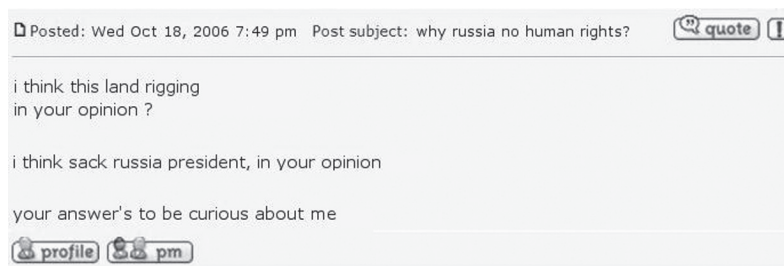
At the heart of this type of appropriation of English for 'deliberately bad' style of communication is the underlying sociolinguistic context: those engaging in such mock-English talk – drawing from however many sources – are de facto rather proficient in English, which seems one of the prerequisites of such mock usages to occur in the first place. This is aptly put by one discussant in one of the Altanese humour threads; the first

interlocutor asks in Swedish 'why one does not write bad Swedish', and the second gives an explanation:

Posted: Tue Jul 25, 2006 10:12 am   Post subject:

why all write bad english?
varför skriver man inte dålig svenska?

Posted: Tue Jul 25, 2006 12:20 pm   Post subject:

Becasue the you must know to who write good engrish,
to for writing in bad english. In finland we are having
this stuff called "forced-swedish", no people knows how
say good sweden, no wants to know can, so no people
can't bad sweden write, in your opinion?

[Cf. Salo, this volume.]

The spread and recycling of the mock-Altanese style was not limited to *Futisforum* or even its then emergent sister forum Futisforum2.org (henceforth *FF2*).[15] Perhaps typical of many textual/discursive events of our time, particularly those referred to as 'internet memes' (Shifman and Thelwall, 2009), the style was actively distributed by a number of Futisforumists to other sites on the internet, including Estonian, Portuguese, Polish and diasporic Polish football forums, but also to many interactive websites that have little to do with football, for example the popular Finnish teenage and adolescent girls' magazine *Demi*. Since **Altan** was more or less excluded or driven away at this point on the grounds of his 'abnormal', 'freak', activity on the forum, I conclude by summarizing the relevant aspects of his trajectory within the community.

Altan's English was already from the very beginning of this trajectory framed by other discussants as 'deficient', 'bad' and particularly 'funny' (cf. Räisänen, this volume). Several aspects of discourse and practice were simultaneously at play as **Altan**'s contribution and attempts were peer-evaluated: his alleged ethno-cultural background (Turkey), general negative discourse about 'the other' (Turks, people from the Middle East, 'sand niggers'), the prior suspicious and potentially hostile spirit within *Futisforum* towards fake non-Finns, Altan's insufficient knowledge of in-group practices and, finally, the perhaps unwarranted claims of new betting frauds. Together with such macro- and micro-level sociocultural

factors, it is particularly **Altan**'s idiosyncratic linguistic output that is at stake; it is more or less a target of fun and mockery for a longer time but triggers an enhanced wave of imitation at a certain point. Ironically, when exactly the same forms ('bits and pieces') of non-Standard English become *imitated, appropriated and recycled* by Finnish in-group social actors, the value of that way of writing changes totally from 'bad'/'novice'/'freak' to 'ironic'/'savvy'/'expert'. Moreover, with the spread of that idiosyncratic style outside Finnish contexts, the very same linguistic forms acquire a different value on the Polish or Portuguese forums, partly similar to Finns' judgements on **Altan**'s original 'deficiency', but with an added complexity: Finnish forum members are actually having a parallel discussion topic on the reception of 'Altanese' in other forums (cf. Bauman and Briggs,1990, on entextualization; Blommaert, 2010 on the mobility of texts; Jacquemet, 2005 on transidiomatic practices).

Case 2 – 'Anfield_mate' and mocking the Scouse

In contrast to **Altan**'s perceived deficiency in Standard English, I will now turn to a case where a significant cause for the exclusion and discrimination of an actor from a virtual space is an *excessive*, 'too authentic' display of multilingual resources. Screen name **Anfield_mate** was a Finnish fan of Liverpool FC whose use of Scouse-accented, stylized writing in a UK-based online Liverpool fan forum, particularly the morphemes and pragmatic features that distinguish Scouse from more Standard British English, trigger negative peer evaluation on the Finnish *Futisforum* and *FF2*. When interpreting this case, it is again crucial to understand that it is not only the display of linguistic and semiotic resources ('the wrong language') that is at stake. Instead, the entire sequence of events has to be understood as a complex skein of sociocultural factors and participants' micro-histories that have overlapping trajectories in space and time. The actual linguistic–semiotic outcomes that became the target of fun and mockery here were heavily indexical of things unwanted of a proper Finnish football fan.

    Anfield_mate was a prolific member of *Futisforum* and *FF2* between approximately 2000 and 2006 (contributing several hundreds of posts). In this analysis, it can be plausibly assumed that writers who had been active members for some time were very familiar with **Anfield_mate**'s forum history and activities as a football fan, and as a Liverpool FC fan in particular. While it has been customary for both *Futisforums* to allow a great degree of anonymity in the sense that a screen name ('nick') and the most fundamental facets of offline identity (real name, face) should not be connected, **Anfield_mate** had, at one point of the forum's history, exceptionally acquired a status where his 'real life identity' was revealed – very much against the community etiquette:

For reasons of privacy and space, I shall not go into close detail of that part of the history here. A brief summary is in order, however. Why the disclosure of **Anfield_mate**'s offline identity was accepted to a greater extent than would be expected, and why **Anfield_mate** was a particularly 'likely' target of agitated hate talk can be crystallized in two points.

1. *Futisforum* was during its formative years overtly framed as a community and a space for fans of *Finnish* football, whether the Finland national team, Finnish clubs in different divisions and competitions, or Finnish professional players abroad. There is certainly a patriotic undercurrent in the overall discourse, despite the fact that football hooliganism or other negative side effects of nationalism are very rare in the history of Finnish football. Whilst there was an early emergence of very active, even heated debates on international (especially British, German, Italian and Spanish) football, the dominant status quo was always favourable to the fandom of Finnish football, above all. This created a powerful discourse of the 'man whore' (an emic term; 'mieshuora' in Finnish),[16] which referred to Finns' fandom of non-Finnish clubs (also, to a lesser extent, foreign national squads). Although many members have openly supported non-Finnish clubs more passionately than anything Finnish, the general spirit, advocated loudest, was pro Finland and Finnish players. In contrast, **Anfield_mate** had developed a reputation within the community that was seen as the extreme archetype of 'man whore': he was a fervent supporter of an English club and often openly disparaged Finnish football, a cause of numerous 'flamed' (cf. Thurlow et al., 2004, pp. 70–5) discussion threads.

2. There was a perceived discrepancy between **Anfield_mate**'s 'real' identity as an upper-middle-class 'gold toothed boy' and his aspired 'fake' identity as a 'wannabe' Scouser.

Some members of Futisforum tracked down **Anfield_mate**'s online activity on an England-based Liverpool fans' forum (I leave it anonymous here), where he socialized with other Liverpool fans, mostly English ones. This became an issue of open disgust and deprecation on the *Futisforums*.[17] It is when a member of *FF2* spots one of **Anfield_mate**'s contributions from that English forum and posts it on *FF2* that a big wave of imitation and mockery starts:

['mutta, kaikkein paras' = 'but, the best of all']

This initial posting was partly edited the following day,[18] but even the remaining, unedited part clearly frames **Anfield_mate**'s decontextualized contributions about his Liverpool-related tattoo as 'ridiculous' (supported by the exaggerated string of 'laughing out loud', 'LOL', emoticons). This is a case in point of how linguistic and visual resources – even when relatively unchanging at the surface level of lexis and syntax – can move quickly through different orders of indexicality and acquire very different sets of indexical potential (Blommaert, 2010, pp. 29–33). The Scouse 'accent' (here in *mediated* representation that contains deviations from written Standard English: e.g. 'me' as a possessive, the exclamation 'ta', 'boss' as an adjective) is very good capital (in the sense of Bourdieu, 1977) in the virtual space for English Liverpool fans, but on a relatively similar Finnish site (where the use of multilingual resources can also be appreciated) it becomes loaded with *very low and negative connotations*. But it is not solely the accent or the variety of English itself that is despised: it is particularly its detachment and deployment by an online actor whose identity is discovered to be Finnish, and what is even worse, upper (middle) class.

There is a burst of replies (28) the same night, nearly all framed similarly to the opening, none showing any mercy for, or defence of, **Anfield_mate**. Explicit mock discourse on Scouse emerges (cf. mock-Altan above, or mock-Spanish analysed in Hill, 2008), and it is given the emic label *lädi* ('lad' in a pejorative sense). Example:
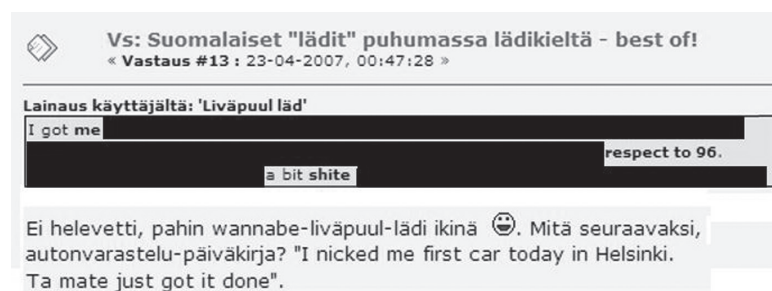
This participant explicitly highlights (by using boldface font as a communicative modality) the features from **Anfield_mate**'s original contribution that are being despised:

- the possessive pronoun 'me' instead of the Standard English form 'my' occurs five times (this is a lexico-grammatical feature)
- the dialectal form 'shite' instead of the more standard 'shit' (which would be part of colloquial register anyway; this is a lexico-pragmatic feature)
- references to Liverpool fandom: the ascribed mock pseudonym 'Liväpuul läd', 'liver bird', the emblematic LFC figure, and 'respect to 96' [people who died because of the Hillsborough disaster of 1989] (these are cultural–historical, emblematic features)

Furthermore, this reply No. 13 overtly states the reason for contempt: 'pahin wannabe-liväpuul- lädi ikinä 😁' ('the worst wannabe Liverpool lad ever'; here I take the spelling 'liväpuul' as pejorative).

The same reply continues with a stylized utterance where **Anfield_mate**'s *imagined* line is framed with quotation marks and includes the indexical cues, possessive 'me' and exclamation 'ta' (instead of 'thanks' or 'thank you') that richly point to 'fake-wannabe-Scouser' identity (cf. 'double-voic-ing' originally in Bakhtin, 1984).

This discussion thread lasts for approximately two days and nights, approach-ing the genre of (synchronous) *chat*, and accumulating 383 messages – a relatively great number even by the standards of the now popular and lively *FF2*. The main point in this thread is stylized mock-Scouse talk, where crossing (in the sense of Rampton, 1995, 1999) from Finnish or Standard English into 'the others" way of speaking carries much more scorn and deprecation than loyalty or admiration (cf. Rampton, 1995, 1999; Pennycook, 2007; Blommaert, 2010, pp. 187–8).

After two days, one of the moderators finally locks the topic, and the reasons he states for doing it are 'jarring' and 'editing the picture of the vic-tim's dog'. Still, the moderator leaves the thread untouched and unremoved from the board.[19] By far the majority of the nearly 400 replies are framed as *humour*, most of which centres around the

1. Scouse features of **Anfield_mate**'s postings on the England-based forum,
2. Scouse features contributed by Finnish forum members,
3. Mock/fake-Scouse (emblematically: *any* colloquial/vernacular/dialectal) features contributed by Finnish forum members, who cannot necessarily tell Scouse features from other English dialects.

The rich indexical cues that the 'discussion' reveals frequently point to a number of extra-linguistic features, which are indeed often more embodied than discursive. To summarize such recurrent features that were explicitly

ascribed by the nocturnal mockers to the imagined 'Scouser' identity (both as a community and as a language variety) by means of mock phrases and even explicit hate talk (cf. Billig, 2001), they are as follows:

- [they are] incestuous/inbreeding
- [they have] donkey face, big ears (in Finnish, *pallokorvat*)
- [they are] trash people, metal workers
- [they do] car stealing and sneaker dealing
- [they are] illiterate
- [they do] glue abuse
- [they are] stagnated in the eighteenth century (in particular regard to the exclamation 'Ta mate!')
- [they are] (ab)normal (cf. Foucault, 2003); e.g.

['A normal person would rather use the word excellent [than boss]'.]

['A normal person does not write on a Liverpool fan forum'.]

The linguistic forms that are the target of the ruthless discrimination and disapproval include examples from phonology (h-dropping as in 'ere, 'ave; note that 'phonology', of course, is here mediated through written forms), syntax (the possessive 'me' or 'yer'), lexis (mainly masculine or pejorative nouns such as 'mate', 'lad', 'shite', 'scum', 'twat', 'cunts', 'wanker'; even the adjectival usage of 'boss'), and exclamations and discourse markers ('ta', 'cheers (mate)', 'oi'). Moreover, Liverpool FC related slogans are recycled in the sense of mockery ('YNWA', 'Justice [to Hillsborough victims]', 'Five times' [winning the European Cup]). There is surprisingly little defence on behalf of **Anfield_mate** in this humour/hatred topic; only about 12 postings out of 383 (albeit hard to judge at times) seem to take some kind of stance *against the mockers*.[20]

The irony here is that Scouse, as any dialect, would be far more clearly distinctive in the *spoken* modality, and writing is bound to miss much of the variation of the 'primary' spoken mode. Yet *even* the written mode (syntactic variation such as the possessive *me* and lexical items such as *lad*, *mate*), stripped of much of the characteristics of first-hand spoken Scouse, is enough to trigger such a wave of web-mediated hatred. The **Anfield_mate** case is rich with indexical cues to larger patterns in society, the way in which those involved organize their worlds. In order for English dialectal/sociolectal features to make such a big difference, of course, there has to be a fairly developed knowledge of English within the community (cf. case mock-Altan: 'Becasue the you must know to who write good engrish, to for writing in bad English'). Such hate talk directed towards the use of a dialectal ('inferior') form of English by a Finn can only be understood if there is a shared understanding of what is 'Standard written' ('superior'). This interpretation is further supported by disparaging comments on certain Finnish dialects (e.g. Savo, Pori and Kotka dialects).

What I have demonstrated here makes evident that this is a brutal and archetypical case of exclusion and discrimination, comparable to school or workplace bullying. It can be argued that **Anfield_mate** is, after some five years of prolific, often controversial but usually appropriate, activities within the communities, finally driven out of them. True, this nickname was often responsible for very provocative arguments and opinions on the forum, but so was the general spirit of the community in the first place – a very broad range of flaming, trolling and provocation was always allowed on the two Futisforums to the extremes. The defence of the discriminative side rings clear here: *he always begged for it*. This is explicitly mentioned multiple times in the 'mock-Lädi' hate topic:

mutta ███ saa juuri sitä mitä tilaa

['but [A] gets just what he asks for'.]

But given the broad range of multilingual and multisemiotic resources that are deployed and tolerated (though often critically discussed; see Kytölä, forthcoming), it appears somewhat ironic and absurd that a rather skilled display of a sociolect/dialect of English should be judged any worse, any more a 'forbidden' code than other codes. We are obliged to think in terms of *trajectories* again. It is crucial to understand **Anfield_mate**'s social action here as a flurry of trajectories, where he displays multiple identities through the mediating means of the (social) web (several discussion forums, some edited content sites, IRC-Galleria,[21] etc.). For tech-savvy

actors shuttling in and between such virtual spaces, it is not a difficult task to find and track such identities through a range of such spaces by some 'detective work':
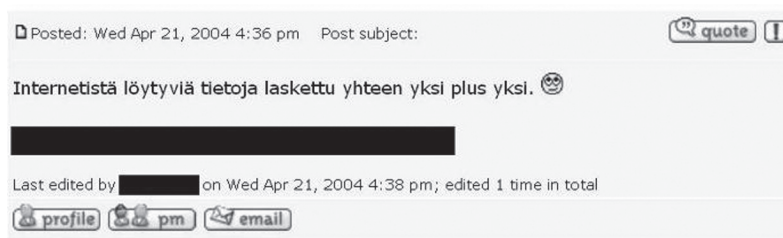
['Pieces of information from the internet calculated one plus one'; a sample from the earlier 2004 revelation thread.]

Anfield_mate does little to conceal the fact that he is from a wealthy family living in one of the wealthier parts of metropolitan Helsinki. Neither does he make attempts to hide his real age, educational history or general whereabouts. He claims he can afford to engage in hobbies and activities that are highly indexical of the wealthy, and to travel to Liverpool to see his favourite club play a few times a year. This can be seen as a source of both envy and deprecation by other community members. While we can see that the wide, quite unanimous (and very loud) discrimination clearly has its roots in such trajectories that had, in the course of years, become deeply embedded in the forum history and folklore, its 'tacit knowledge' (e.g. Polanyi, 1967), the actual 'weapons' for such discriminative activity are exactly those tiny ingredients of language that can 'give you away' (Blommaert, 2010, p. 6): single words, morphological variants, pronuncia-tion of single phonemes or lexemes, albeit essentially mediated through a written/visual form of communication, 'text' on the screen. But it is largely after the disclosure of **Anfield_mate**'s offline identity and the connection to upper (middle) class wealthy lifestyle that his Liverpool fandom comes under more critical scrutiny and disapproval. The Liverpool fandom and association with working-class supporters speaking (or, here, *writing*) working-class sociodialect obtain a new indexical connection here. The subsequent postings by **Anfield_mate** are now inextricably indexical of a 'double' identity of a 'wannabe Scouser lad' (the archetypical 'man whore') and a 'gold toothed boy' and this double identity is regarded by many as 'fake', as one can judge from the abundance and quality of the negatively flavoured postings about **Anfield_mate**. A critical note on such judgement of double or false identity would, of course, suggest that we all carry multiple, dynamic identities on us all the time (e.g. Blommaert, 2005, pp. 203–7; Omoniyi and White, 2006). Identity negotiation,

co-construction and identity play are, at any rate, always at the very heart of such online-based communities as the *Futisforums*. And are people's lives in this late modernity not *by default* characterized by dynamic, fluid, (to some extent) changeable and overlapping identities? Even *Futisforums* appear(ed) to allow a great degree of identity play, particularly anonymization and provocative participant roles driven to the extreme – so why expect something 'more honest' or 'more real' from this prolific Liverpool fan?

There is some evidence to suggest that in the negotiation of values and acceptability of different codes at the *Futisforums*, the Liverpudlian dialect/sociolect is judged inferior or negative per se (in addition to gaining negative connotations because it is being used by someone who is considered irritating on other dimensions).

> **Vs:** Suomalaiset "lädit" puhumassa lädikieltä - boss topic, mate!
> « Vastaus # 280 : 24-04-2007, 03:09:13 »
>
> Niin ja liverpoolin murteelle vielä erityinen 👎
> Heti saksan jälkeen maailman vastenmielisen kieli.

['And to Liverpool dialect yet another 👎
Right after German, the most disgusting language in the world.']

But more than that, it is the trajectory of single occurrences of that 'foreign' code that is at stake here, a code much more 'other' or 'freak' than Standard English. **Anfield_mate** never used Scouse vernacular to a great extent on the *Futisforums*, but the web, with particularly its early twenty-first-century 'social' applications ('web 2.0'), allows extremely efficient and quick moves of pieces of discourse. The Scouse variety was (and is) probably the most appropriate code on the English Liverpool fans' forum, where it enjoys a considerable degree of prestige (relevant social capital; Bourdieu, 1977), perhaps even compared to any more Standard (non-dialect, non-sociolect) form of English. It can be argued that the traces of **Anfield_mate**'s activity on that Liverpool-friendly inclusive space are dragged out of context, detextualized and entextualized again (Bauman and Briggs, 1990; Blommaert, 2005). Yet this recontextualization is not completely new, since that particular personal obsession, the Liverpool fandom, was essentially an ingredient of **Anfield_mate**'s activity, and a topic of debate, also on the Finnish forums.

Emblematic of the highly 'rhizomatic' (adopted from Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) nature of the web discussions, while the 'Finnish Läds' topic was very active for only two days, the discourse that emerged under that topic was rapidly transported and spread under other topics within the two *Futisforums* (cf. the distribution of 'Altanese' earlier). Under

Liverpool FC's season topic 2006/2007, on the same day, the following sequence appears:

> **Vs: Liverpool FC 2006/2007: Challenge For The Title?**
> « **Vastaus #6790** : 23. Huhtikuuta 2007 klo 15:16:06 »
>
> If Liverpool wins ta Cup pocal this year I am going to get a five stars tattooed on my chest.

['Trophy' = 'pokaali' in Finnish, in German also 'Pokal': hence 'pocal', whether intentional or not.]

> **Vs: Liverpool FC 2006/2007: Challenge For The Title?**
> « **Vastaus #6791** : 23. Huhtikuuta 2007 klo 15:20:44 »
>
> Lainaus käyttäjältä:⬛⬛⬛⬛⬛ - 23. Huhtikuuta 2007 klo 15:16:06
> If Liverpool wins ta Cup pocal this year I am going to get a five stars tattooed on **me** chest.
>
> I fixed yer post mate, learn to write proper scouser mate.

> **Vs: Liverpool FC 2006/2007: Challenge For The Title?**
> « **Vastaus #6792** : 23. Huhtikuuta 2007 klo 15:24:03 »
>
> Lainaus käyttäjältä:⬛⬛⬛⬛ - 23. Huhtikuuta 2007 klo 15:20:44
> I fixed yer post mate, learn to write proper **scouse** mate.

These authors apply the emically popular jocular practice of 'post fixing' (in Finnish usually: 'korjasin viestisi') to repair 'problems' in writing proper Liverpudlian, now already a valued in-group commodity with an ironic usage. Exactly the same forms (such as the possessive *me*) that were a problem for their earlier user **Anfield_mate** become valuable in-group resources, emblematic for knowledge of forum history and practices.

A central notion to the cases documented is that a particular variety of a language (**Altan**'s 'bad' English, **Anfield_mate**'s Scouse) triggers a wave of imitation, and in that second-hand phase of the code's existence ('mock-Altanese', 'mock-Scouser') it has acquired a persistently ironic meaning. When we add to that the abundant use of emoticons and attached pictures that 'animate' the mock talk, we have an interesting parallel to *stylized* talk documented in language-crossing literature (Rampton, 1999, 2006; Pennycook, 2007):

> **Vs:** Suomalaiset "lädit" puhumassa lädikieltä - boss topic, mate!
> « **Vastaus # 86** :   23-04-2007, 13:37:53 »
>
> YNWA lads!!!! 😃😃

> **Vs:** Suomalaiset "lädit" puhumassa lädikieltä – boss topic, mate!
> « Vastaus # 272 : 24-04-2007, 00:59:58 »
>
> Boss topic, mate 😄👍
>
> Anfield_mate on me shoulder, LFC in me heart 🗑️😄🗑️
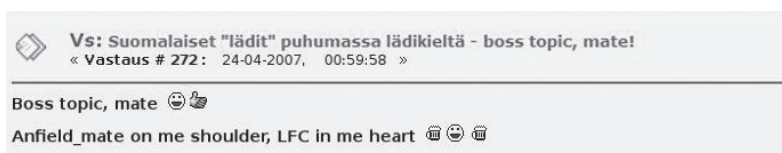
For ethical considerations and reasons of space, I have here mainly focused on one aspect of anti-**Anfield_mate** activities, the mock discussions based on the stylized version of Scouse, 'Lädi'. This is in line with the sociolinguistic focus of this volume, but importantly, this is only a part of the entire skein of activities and discourses that revolved around this web persona. Wrapping up case **Anfield_mate** with these caveats in mind, we see how several salient phenomena overlap in space and time to create a space for such 'mock-Scouse' discourse as depicted above. Finnish football fandom – and here especially the online dimension manifested in markedly twenty-first-century activities in the two Futisforums – has certainly looked outward to the football world for models of success and expertise, yet it has a nationalist–patriotic facet that runs counter to the likes of **Anfield_mate**, whose offline and online performance, ways of being and (importantly) *ways of writing* emphasize the superiority of the 'foreign' football cultures, in this case English and Liverpool FC.

Conclusion

In an era of accelerated 'globalization', rapid movement of ideas, sociocultural flows and translocal activities are customary (Jacquemet, 2005; Blommaert, 2010). Even virtual spaces explicitly framed as 'Finnish' (primarily by means of the 'code' used, also by means of topics discussed), and thus, relatively 'peripheral' from the point of view of the world system, can attract aspiring participants from theoretically anywhere. Due to its history, spread and immense popularity throughout the globe, the discourse domain of football is probably more likely to elicit 'intercultural' (international, inter-ethnic, etc.) contacts, to arouse interest by 'outsiders' in the 'periphery', than many other Finland/Finnish-based discourses distributed over the internet. In the contemporary 'order of things', therefore, it can no longer be *presupposed* that Finnish-based football spaces on the web can stay 'purely' Finnish (Blommaert, 2010).

To sum up the two cases and what lessons we can learn from them, I anchor them to the sociolinguistics of late modernity and globalization (Blommaert, 2003, 2005, 2010; Rampton, 2006), and the idea of 'endangered individuals' proposed in this section of this volume. **Altan** (regardless of his embodied origin, discursively constructed as non-Finn, *outsider*) displayed a *lack* of particular linguistic resources, and became embedded in discourses of 'bad English', and more general discourses of otherness

(cf. the racist stance towards 'them' in text and talk, van Dijk et al., 1997), 'the abnormal' (Foucault, 2003) and 'the freak'. **Anfield_mate**, the scorned 'man whore' (discursively constructed as a Finn with an international life trajectory), displayed an *excess* of particular linguistic resources (Scouse) in the wrong place and time. **Altan** entered Futisforum benevolently, with his personal history and communicative repertoire as affordances. His Turkish or other linguistic skills notwithstanding, it was his well-intended 'broken' English that drew most attention, not the informational or phatic facets of his writing. **Anfield_mate**'s activities accumulated malevolent uptake and response, which eventually burst into flames in the form of a 'mock-Scouse' or 'mock-Lädi' discourse about all things that this prolific screen name embodied and represented. Both sequences in and across the virtual spaces reviewed led to highly normative peer evaluation, harsh humour, mockery, discrimination and exclusion. Yet it should be acknowledged that these are two very different 'victims' – one because of racial stereotyping (vis-à-vis betting fraud), and the other because of class resentment (vis-à-vis fan behaviour). These constitute complex reasons for respondents' reactions and attacks. While it is likely that both social actors found other, more benevolent spaces to replace their activity on the two *Futisforums*, their social capital and reputation on these major Finland-based arenas of social exchange about football were more or less demolished. And a major role in that procedure was played by their linguistic output/performance in a particular micro-context.

'Dangerous multilingualism', as defined in this volume, is essentially about *inequality* between individuals or communities. It is thus worth asking what we can do (if anything) to mitigate such occurrences of inequality, and to what extent can that be done? Inequality (see Blommaert et al., this volume) is very much inscribed in the most ephemeral acts of communication as it is in the 'big picture' of global history; but adjusting our focus to instances where *the display of particular multilingual resources is a cause of inequality*, can we do nothing more about it than raise the general level of awareness? Above I have provided documentation and interpretation of two interaction sequences from the same domain, and presented claims of real individuals who end up missing social opportunities due to their particular (and highly personal, idiosyncratic) kind of multilingualism. Without being too programmatic, and in the hope of not sounding too hypocritical, I'd like to conclude the chapter with an exercise of ethical consideration.

Most of the interaction that goes on in the world is highly ephemeral: it comes and goes and pushes the interlocutors onwards to new events and tasks, and often very little can be done later to impair the possible wrongs caused or triggered by it. A speaker with a non-Standard (or non-native) accent becomes scolded by a native speaker on the street,[22] a fully deaf person proficient in a sign language faces misunderstanding in an interaction with non-signers (cf. Tapio and Takkinen, this volume), and so

on. But it is part of the nature of certain web-mediated discourses such as illustrated here that they may leave traces, and these traces may be more or less lasting. Even if few people (apart from the researcher) actually bother to trace the trajectories of such entangled 'messy stuff', it can remain archived and open to reference for years. It may sometimes be that few people care, not even those originally involved. But given that humans' 'online life' is *potentially* 'as real as the real', or better, *very real itself and deeply embedded in other realizations of the real*, it frequently *does matter* to real humans what one's screen reputation contains, what connotations one's screen name and screen activities (part of one's social capital) evoke – in short, '*who one is*' on the internet.

I have illustrated how **Altan** and **Anfield_mate** were rather unfairly excluded if not from the entire Finnish online football fandom, at least from the specific subcommunity with which they might have wished to identify. **Altan**'s one main disadvantage was his 'broken' English, **Anfield_mate** became a victim largely due to his quest for 'authenticity' in Scouse (both language and other ways of being). Both the 'hairy-arm kebab' and 'the ultimate man whore' were stigmatized as 'freaks', *abnormalized* by peers on the basis of their skeins of activities, which were to a large extent linguistic and discursive (but with **Anfield_mate**, as discussed above, also offline, embodied in the intricacies of class issues). Their activities, aims and motives on the football forums were apparently too different from the majority, too *abnormal* to be accepted and included. This documentation, I hope, points us to a more general level of the dynamics of how the ubiquitous (and very old) phenomenon of discrimination on the grounds of the display of multilingual resources can be realized in a relatively recent online format of social interaction. In our twenty-first-century late-modern world, mediation through different technologies, older and newer, is likely to be ever more ubiquitous and more complex. Lives mediated through interactions on the screen are and will be deeply embedded *in and with* lives mediated in more embodied ways. The consequences of social and cultural discursive activity, regardless of the mediating means, potentially make a difference in real people's lives. Therefore, I would like to conclude this chapter by wishing a good and reputable (online *and* offline) life to the persons referred to here as **Altan** and **Anfield_mate**.

Notes

1. Despite ambiguity, I have chosen to consistently use the British/European word 'football' to refer to the sport called 'soccer' in North America and some other parts of the globe. My most sincere thanks are due to the four editors of this volume for their invaluable comments on many earlier drafts of this chapter. Furthermore, Jan Blommaert deserves credit for coinage of the fitting term 'Altanese' that I deploy here. I would also like to thank Ari Häkkinen and Saara Leskinen for technical help with the data samples.

2. I am highly aware of the problematics of such a broad umbrella term as 'non-Standard', which can have infinitely different and varying manifestations in real speech and writing (see e.g. Blommaert, 2010, pp. 133–4). However, in the absence of a more accurate one, I use it here to cover both cases represented. Moreover, on the basis of my linguistic–ethnographic immersion, I see the term as *emically* relevant, since the entire sequences of events described here are heavily based on the participants' conception of the ways of writing as non-Standard (and therefore 'funny', 'ridiculous', 'wrong', or 'worth mockery').

3. Liverpool is a very famous and successful English football club with a fan base all over the world. The hub of LFC fan activity lies in Liverpool, but there is a global following, further accentuated by the late-modern developments of e.g. satellite television and the internet.

4. Most notably, and for purposes of this chapter, the interrelated *Futisforum* and *Futisforum2*, currently (16 July 2011) located at <http://suomifutisnet.adv1.nebula.fi/phpBB2> and <http://futisforum2.org>, respectively.

5. However, I have decided not to manipulate or edit the data samples to hinder web searches for those interested in finding the original primary sources (of which some can still be left in the forums' archives).

6. A new nickname at *Futisforum* can routinely be identified as 'new', since the registration date and the total number of posts by that user are automatically visible to other users below the username.

7. Informed by my long-time observation, I use the masculine third person pronoun for all 'alleged male' screen names and the feminine pronoun for those members who are identified as females. This may occasionally not match the member's gender (transgender issues aside).

8. The message was sent in early 2005, and there were still some weeks left until the beginning of the Finnish competitive football summer season of that year (April 2005).

9. As the focus of this chapter is pragmatic and sociolinguistic, I will not provide detailed syntactical glosses of the non-English data excerpts, but instead, rather liberal pragmatic translations.

10. For the application of these canonical yet contested terms in computer-mediated discourse, see Hinrichs (2006) and Androutsopoulos (2007, 2011, forthcoming).

11. Another similar scandal surfaced in spring 2011, before this volume went to print.

12. Although the nicknames have been changed, I have deliberately retained a degree of non-Standard, idiosyncratic, stylized spellings.

13. While I personally find/found this particular joke amusing at times, I disclaim myself from the discriminative aspect of this cruel humour on **Altan**. Humour, therefore, is an emically motivated analytical category here rather than my personal judgement (cf. Billig, 2001).

14. Attendance figures are a perpetually popular topic within the Futisforum communities, with a particular emphasis on how desperately small audiences Finnish football manages to mobilize (in comparison to football elsewhere, or even ice hockey in Finland).

15. *Futisforum* was outgrown by *FF2* relatively quickly: by late 2007, the younger *FF2* was already the far more active forum by all standards (see Kytölä, forthcoming).

16. Note that, especially in Futisforum, there was a general belief that nearly all of the members were male. This has changed somewhat with the emergence of *FF2*, where clearly more members identify themselves overtly as females, and where gender is not made such a big issue as it always was in Futisforum.

17. *Futisforum* is (and always was) moderated very little. In fact, it is one of the least moderated web forums I have encountered during my research, allowing a great degree of freedom of speech. This, of course, has multiple effects, negative and positive. I have frequently experienced disbelief and astonishment at the tone of writing found in *Futisforum* (and to a lesser extent, *FF2*) when I have discussed my research in personal communication with my colleagues and friends. To be fair, however, it should be remembered that this analysis of 'discriminatory' cases in the *Futisforums* is only one facet of the versatile and creative discourse community. Elsewhere I also attempt to do justice to the creative, celebratory and overall positive sides of the Futisforumists' multilingual language uses and practices (see Kytölä, forthcoming).

18. One can see routinely when a message has been later edited, as this is part of the meta-information generated by the forum software.

19. The topic remained for more than two years on one of those *FF2* subforums that only registered members can read. Although any internet user in the world can register, ethical considerations are, in my view, necessary when deploying such data for research purposes.

20. Although it is impossible to make an accurate gender analysis within a communication format such as anonymous web forums, it has to be noted that 6 of these 12 postings rising against the grain here are by 4 publicly female members, one of them an active fellow Liverpool fan (at times also mocked as 'partner in crime'). Together with my ethnographically accrued knowledge of the aggression, antagonism and mockery by predominantly male members of the Futisforums, this might tentatively suggest that female peers are more sympathetic in this respect. However, a more fine-grained gender-based analysis remains outside this chapter.

21. IRC-Galleria is a popular social networking site that originated in Finland and preceded the big success of Facebook.

22. For a fictional yet very realistic and apt parallel, see the scene from the film by Andersson (2000), or its synopsis in Weman (2000, p. 1):

An immigrant goes looking for a job at an enterprise but becomes rejected. He is totally ignored by the (Swedish) natives. Once he gets on the street and asks something, he becomes beaten by the two native interlocutors explicitly on the grounds of his non-native accent – while passers-by are just watching.

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IV

NEGOTIATING MULTILINGUAL DISCOURSE IN A FINLAND-BASED ONLINE FOOTBALL FORUM: METAPRAGMATIC REFLEXIVITY ON INTELLIGIBILITY, EXPERTISE AND 'NATIVENESS'

by

Samu Kytölä

IV

Negotiating multilingual discourse in a Finland-based online football forum: metapragmatic reflexivity on intelligibility, expertise and 'nativeness'

by

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Introduction

Football is a highly globalized and polycentric cultural form, with significant centres in many nation-states on different continents. This is reflected in its highly transnational and multicultural nature; and one integral part of that transnationality and multiculturality is the multilingualism of *football discourse* – text and talk *about* football. This makes football discourse a legitimate, yet so far almost completely neglected, target for sociolinguistic studies on multilingualism. An important role in the mobility and transnationality of football discourse is played by mediation through various mediational means; and in the recent decades, the internet has taken a key role in that mediation.

The linguistic-semiotic richness and complexity of computer-mediated communication (CMC) have, justifiably, gained increasing attention in sociolinguistic research (Androutsopoulos 2006, 2007, 2011, 2013; Danet & Herring 2003, 2007; Leppänen & Peuronen 2012; Leppänen et al. forthcoming). New types of digital discourse formats, genres, and communities have developed in the past twenty years or so, as the required technologies have become available to a growing number of users. New kinds of sociolinguistic computer-mediated environments and contexts have emerged; they are often multisemiotic, multilingual, and heteroglossic.

Within the broader domain of CMC and digital discourse (Thurlow & Mroczek 2011a, 2011b), this paper delves into a discourse event in an asynchronous, multi-authored web forum. The study of web forums can offer us a window to the language use of various groups and communities of practice with multilingual, heteroglossic practices. Web forums became a very popular CMC format around the turn of the century (Ternisien 2011; Androutsopoulos 2007; Kytölä 2012a); however, sociolinguistic studies of web forums are still relatively scarce (Androutsopoulos 2007; Sperlich 2005; Hinrichs 2006; McLellan 2005; Peuronen 2011; cf. Paolillo 2011), and by now (early 2013), they are also overwhelmed by research that focuses on more recent CMC formats such as *YouTube* or *Facebook* (Seargeant & Tagg forthcoming;

Androutsopoulos 2010, 2011). Web forums have, however, retained their popularity in the rapid change and hard competition of the field. I have elsewhere (Kytölä 2012b, 2013) analysed multilingual language use in the *Futisforums*, the two largest Finland-based internet football forums. While some of those works (Kytölä 2012b; Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012) focus on the discriminative, exclusive and 'endangering' aspects of multilingual language use, particularly the circulating, mimicking use of non-Standard English for purposes of mockery and disparagement (cf. Hill 2008), here I want to turn from such 'dangerous' (Blommaert et al. 2012) multilingualism to a 'benevolent' one by documenting and analysing one *Futisforum* discussion thread on the superstar Jari Litmanen's career turn in Malmö, Sweden. In that respect, this can be read as a 'sister paper' to the two other ones; reviewed together, these case studies portray an image of the *Futisforum* communities' 'yin and yang' (see Kytölä 2013).

Finland-based internet football forums[1] constitute a community of practice[2] which, on the one hand, is framed by default in relatively monoethnic, even monolingual terms ('Finnish'), but on the other, involves various types of multilingualism (Kytölä 2013). This constellation of multilingualism can be affected by factors ranging from participant frameworks, polycentric topics of discussion, embedding of 'media quotes' from elsewhere in the World Wide Web as well as framing the writings and discussions for purposes of identification, disidentification, joking and making fun, mockery, affiliation, and (socio)linguistic performance (Bell & Gibson 2011). The goal of this paper is to illustrate the ways in which multilingual individual and shared repertoires are negotiated, regulated and assessed in *Futisforum*. More specifically, I explore a discourse event where a constellation of multilingualism develops around one fandom 'niche': fans of the ultimate Finnish football superstar Jari Litmanen embedded within a larger community of practice of Finland-based football enthusiasts in the online *Futisforum*. Most

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[1]   For the purposes of this paper, I mainly explore *Futisforum*, located at http://suomifutisnet.adv1.nebula.fi/phpBB2/. The original *Futisforum*, by far the largest Finnish football forum of its time, has, since 2006, been superseded by *Futisforum2*, located at http://futisforum2.org/ (both URL addresses last accessed 1 Feb 2013). My research on this topic (Kytölä 2008, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, submitted; Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012) deals with both of these forums as well as some other football websites.

[2]   By this elusive concept I refer concisely to 'a group of people who maintain regular interaction, sharing an interest or a passion for a particular set of phenomena' (drawn from Lave & Wenger 1991; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992; Bucholtz 1999). The *Futisforums* clearly fulfil these criteria: the members maintain regular (often daily or almost non-stop) interaction, they share an interest (even passion) in football, and do things (share discourse) for their purposes (see Kytölä 2013, Section 2.1). Communities of practice typically have a crafted, idiolectal discourse style, based on standard language varieties but modified with variation (e.g. lexical) that is often exclusive to the community (Androutsopoulos 2006, 2007; Bucholtz 1999). *Futisforum* is replete with 'forumisms' that draw from Finnish, other varieties and visual means; understanding them might be hard for outsider native speakers of Finnish (as testified in many seminars or data sessions).

of this discourse event alternates between uses of Finnish, Swedish, English, graphic emoticons and images.

Theoretical anchoring points

The theoretical anchoring points of this analysis lie in the social-constructivist study of language as social action (Rampton 2006; Heller 2007; Jørgensen 2008) as well as the sociolinguistic study of code-switching (Gumperz 1982; Heller 1988; Myers-Scotton 1993; Auer 1995; Gardner-Chloros 2009)[3]. In these data, multilingual language use and variety alternation have the common functions of *situational* discourse organization, identifying between 'we' and 'they' and other acts of identification[4] as well as metaphorically evoking connotations of 'the other', as for instance in Rampton's (2005) notion of *crossing,* or Sebba's (1993: 137) *animating.* In the 'Litmanen in Malmö' discussion thread analysed here, all these functions can be noticed, although the interactional dynamics of asynchronous digital writing differ from language alternation in spoken language (see Hinrichs 2006; Androutsopoulos 2006, 2007, 2011; Kytölä 2012a).

Employing the paradigm of code-switching presupposes, to some extent, the existence of discrete 'codes' that can be 'switched' from and to. However, some of the recent developments in sociolinguistics radically contest the *a priori* separability and discreteness of 'codes' (languages or their varieties) in favour of heteroglossia, hybridity and polylingualism (Pennycook 2007, 2010; Heller 2007; Jørgensen 2008; Blommaert 2010; Androutsopoulos 2011; Leppänen 2012). There are two particular ways in which written code alternation differs from spoken code-switching: first, it is a cognitively different process to alternate between languages or varieties in speech than in writing. Importantly, not all speech should be regarded as spontaneous, nor is all writing careful or rhetorical. Quite the contrary, spoken word can be prewritten with great rhetorical care, while written language can be very spontaneous, hasty. These are complicated matters of genre and register, not exclusively of mode or modality (Hymes 1996: 25–46). However, it seems warranted to start from the tentative observation that web forum discourse (such as the *Futisforum* excerpts discussed here) can come about in rhetorically conceived, revised, asynchronously produced chunks – very different from everyday speech. Second, a different variety of affordances are available, for instance, copy-pasting, self-help language websites, *Wikipedia*, or machine translation; and due to the asynchronous nature of the format, time lapse between posts (turns) can be anything from a second to a very long hiatus in the discussion. For the purpose of this article, I resort to code-switching terminology to some extent where directly applicable, but the overall perspective I adopt here is on the

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[3]   It is outside the scope of this paper to engage deeper in the rhizomatic code-switching terminology debate; for my more detailed take, see Kytölä (2013); for a yet more detailed account of code-switching in CMC see Androutsopoulos (2007, 2013).

[4]   See Auer (1995) on preference related code choices; see also Lee & Barton (2011) for 'identity' in multilingual CMC.

negotiation of language choice, negotiation of meaning in multilingual language use, as well as attitudes voiced towards particular uses of language. This view has been informed by recent discussions by Rampton (2005) on *crossing*, Coupland (2007) on *stylization*, Bell & Gibson (2011) on *performance,* Blommaert (2010) on *resources* and *repertoires*, Heller (2007) on 'bilingualism as social practice', Pennycook (2010) on 'language as a local practice' and Jørgensen (2008) on *polylingual languaging*.

For the purposes of the sociolinguistic analysis of computer-mediated discourse (CMD), Androutsopoulos has adopted and further applied this theoretical-methodological discussion; I draw here from his (Androutsopoulos 2007) idea of combining quantitative takes on language distribution and choice in web forum discourses with micro-level sequential dynamics of the actual discussions. Here the main focus is on the latter, but see Kytölä (submitted) for a more quantitatively configured analysis. Androutsopoulos (2013) further suggests a number of discourse functions for code alternation in CMD, of which applicable to the present analysis are: a) formulaic discourse purposes, b) performance of culturally specific genres, c) conveying reported speech (here: via writing), d) marking jocularity or seriousness, and, importantly, e) switching to address a particular interlocutor (here, especially nickname 'billie'). Another development Androutsopoulos (2013) suggests is the analytical separation of multilingual online language use from online code-switching, reserving the latter to cover only dialogical, sequential formats. This is a legitimate argument in that canonical code-switching epistemology and terminology arguably fits dialogical, 'conversation-like' communication best; however, web forums offer many kinds of possibilities for language use that are non-sequential, or sequential in a very different way from the canonical view of 'conversations'.

Online football writing in *Futisforum* as sociolinguistic data

The primary data for this article are taken from *Futisforum*, the largest Finnish football forum on the web of its time (ca. 1997–2006)[5]. *Futisforum* was the first Finland-based web discussion forum for football; its earliest version dates from 1997 (Kytölä 2013, Section 2). In the course of years, it became a space[6] for football enthusiasts to negotiate and co-construct their individual and shared fandoms, both discursively across the internet and in embodied ways (football events and get-togethers). In March 2007 – my closest checkpoint for the present stretch of data – the number of registered members in *Futisforum* was 42,300, the number of topics was 32,000 and the number of postings was 1.6 million. These

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[5]   Currently (1 Feb 2013) located at http://suomifutisnet.adv1.nebula.fi/phpBB2/.

[6]   *Futisforum2* (*FF2*) was launched independently by one activist in 2006 to complement and, later, to largely replace the badly managed and badly functioning original *Futisforum*. A distinctive new community in its own right, *FF2* currently carries on much of the functional, practical, discursive and linguistic heritage from the original *Futisforum*.

numbers have been even outgrown by *Futisforum2* in the subsequent years. Due to this sheer volume, any quantitative, qualitative or ethnographic study of such forums is bound to be highly selective, and based on a period of orientating observation. Indeed, this paper analyses in more detail just one discussion thread (approx. 530 posts), which I have selected from a much larger mass of online football discussions.

The format of the web forum is technically public and freely available to any web user, although many forums require registration or other preliminaries for advanced use. From the ethical point of view, researching and reporting on web forum discourse is a grey area; despite the technical and practical openness, many communities and users actually appropriate forum discussions for very personal matters, and this can raise ethical caveats (for more, see Sixsmith & Murray 2001, Brownlow & O'Dell 2002, Kralik et al. 2005, Hinrichs 2006, Kytölä 2013). Here I follow the overarching principle that everything I use as 'data' is, or was, openly available online, and the authors on the topic wrote their contributions openly, aware of the public nature of the forum. However, I have changed some of the nicknames (such as 'billie') for caution's sake, in absence of a more informed view from how the thousands of forumists themselves would like to be researched (a topic for further research). As pointed out in Kytölä (2013), most feedback I have received from the forumists on my research topic has been positive. Moreover, I have been careful not to discuss very personal issues; the analysis mainly stays on the level of the multilingual product and performance. This does not, however, mean a complete avoidance of the analysis of personal conflict; such a strict refraining would arguably be superfluous.

The multilingual practices and outcomes on the Finnish *Futisforums* can be located in the nexus of three major socio-historical developments: the transformation of football fandom in Finland, the current trends in the macro-sociolinguistics of Finland, particularly the increase of English (Leppänen et al. 2009, 2011; Leppänen 2007; Leppänen & Nikula 2007), as well as the rapid explosion of internet use in less than a decade's time. The *Futisforums* are clearly targeted to Finnish-speaking Finns (cf. Androutsopoulos 2007; Peuronen 2011); this shows in the thematic division into Finnish-only named sub-forums, the general run of topics in any sub-forum, and the predominance of Finnish in the actual discussions. While many members self-portray as Swedish-speakers or bilinguals[7], the actual use of Swedish outside the framing elements (headings, usernames, slogans, signatures; Kytölä submitted) is relatively rare, mainly occurring in topics about the Swedish-speaking world. Furthermore, permanent non-Finnish writers who do not know Finnish are rather few, although there have been many temporary ones, triggering discussion threads that have actually become some of my richest data. In addition to the explicitly and

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[7] My persistent observation also suggests in the *Futisforums* an increase of members with immigrant background, mostly second-generation, writing in appropriate Finnish generally approved of by the peer members. Yet I have not come across a single reciprocal usage of many of Finland's most common immigrant languages, Somali, Kurdish, Persian, Thai or Vietnamese.

implicitly flagged default Finnish, Standard written English appears to be more or less accepted and understood by all contributing members[8], making it a communicative resource that has much currency and a range of possible uses. While there is certainly visible use of other codes than Finnish and English, they mostly occupy specialized niches (e.g. German in discussion about German football) and are often discouraged in discussions by negative metapragmatic reflexivity (Kytölä 2013). Standard English, in contrast, is mostly taken for granted, although based on the frequent meta-talk about its use, also criticism is targeted at it. Forms of 'appropriated' English (Kytölä 2013) range from smallest ingredients of language (morphemes in mixed lexemes, single lexemes, formulaic phrases) to extended pieces of discourse and the issue of language choice (e.g. English as the dominant language of discourse events).

Before I turn to the actual data analysis, a short note on my positioning *vis-à-vis Futisforum*, and the Finnish online football community at large, is in place. Although I have later found contacts among the football fans and online writers in addition to my previously existing networks in grassroots football activities (clubs, teams, juniors, fans), my own perspective at the time of collecting these particular data was not as much ethnographically grounded (cf. Thomsen et al. 1998; Hine 2000; Rutter & Smith 2005; Markham 2005; Androutsopoulos 2008) as in my later work (Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012; Kytölä 2013). In late 2005 and early 2006, I still considered that it was essential not to participate or interfere with the discussions in order to obtain 'more naturalistic' data; I was only partly an insider, as I had followed the forum from a non-researcher's perspective for a year or two. During the observation period (for this data excerpt: approx. 10 months), my role transformed from a casual follower to that of a tentative researcher on the topic (for more, see Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012; Kytölä 2013).[9]

Themes and motives

There are several motives for selecting this particular 'mundane' discourse event for a more detailed analysis from the massive body of online football sites I have observed and researched from a sociolinguistic point of view. First, I aim

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[8] Most users of social media platforms on the internet are 'lurkers'; i.e. they only read the online content but do not actively contribute to the discourse. While the development of the more interactive era of 'Web 2.0' is demonstrably underway (Androutsopoulos 2010, 2011), 'lurkers' remain a big methodological challenge for research, since they are by and large invisible. For instance, if we study multilingualism, we only get the active authors' multilingual outcomes but can only guess how non-writing 'lurkers' understand, like, or silently react to them.

[9] I did have a username on the forum at the time that the thread surfaced, but I mainly used it for discussing limited topics (e.g. Finnish lower divisions in my district). Thus, I was not a participant in the analysed texts myself; actually I only began to have the first budding research interests towards the topic when the present Litmanen thread was already in full swing. Towards the latter half of the thread, I was following the thread more 'in real time' (daily), already considering it a potential research topic.

to balance the overall picture drawn in my entire research project on these football forums, where, at an early stage, I became interested precisely in the discriminative and mockery aspects of the use of multilingual writing resources online. I thus hope that this article fulfils its role in doing justice to the creative, 'benevolent' and collaborative aspects of the Finnish *Futisforumists'* linguistic-semiotic performance, as I value them as highly as I regret the discrimination cases of the same forums and communities (see Kytölä 2012b). While it has been at times striking and devastating to go through discussion topics where use of linguistic (or other) resources are the target or rude ridicule and exclusion, I have here been able to join the celebration of a magnificent player's successes. I have shared the same supporter's joy several times when following Litmanen, other Finnish players or Finland's national team through this forum or other social media.

Second, these data include a fair share of Swedish, clearly the third largest language from which *Futisforumists* draw communicative resources. Swedish deserves a place here, even when the main empirical focus is on uses of English. It is illuminating to show alternatives to the polarized public debates on Swedish; indeed, Swedish in Finland is often ascribed two contrasting positions (see Salo 2012; cf. also Leppänen & Pahta 2012 for English in Finland). It is either the esteemed language of long tradition, culture and heritage that should be cherished and cultivated, to the extent that it should be an obligatory object of study to everyone in the country. Or, at the other extreme, it is the cause of frustration and source of loud protests and much hate talk. Unjustly, views and discourses falling between (or often, totally outside) these two poles have been unnoticed or even neglected, but investigating them in different contexts and domains would give a much more nuanced and truthful picture of the holistic phenomenology of the Swedish language for Finns. Indeed, as suggested by what the Litmanen fans make out of bits of texts in Swedish in the particular 'microcosm' depicted here, Swedish can be a tool of instrumental value in achieving shared or individual goals, keeping 'the story going', a language of utility in the pursue of everyday interests, a language of creative joking and mockery – while it can simultaneously be a language of frustration, bitterness and bad feelings.

Third, I wish to document and draw attention to recent manifestations and realizations of collaborative literacy events and collective meaning-making online within a distinctive format that has been around roughly since the turn of the millennium. These tendencies are prone to relatively rapid changes as readily available machine translation online improves over time, but so far (by early 2013) the available online translation sites are arguably insufficient for nuanced meaning making. Thus, collaborative work for informational purposes is still highly valued.

Fourth, I want to illustrate how Finnish writers make *in situ* expertise claims on the acceptability and authenticity of English and Swedish which, in a more traditional applied linguistic view, would be regarded as 'foreign language' or 'L2' to the majority of them. This thread aptly illustrates the

'expertise vs. nativeness' issue that frequently surfaces in the metapragmatic discussion on the correctness and ownership of languages in the middle of 'on-topic' football discussions. This type of self-ascription and appropriation seems to me relatively common not only in the football forums examined for this research project, but also across Finnish participatory media. While the notions of 'native' and 'non-native' speakers still prevail strong among language users – partly justifiably since the notions indeed still have purchase – they seem by no means to constrain or prevent various kinds of language expertise claims. The 'nativeness' of the allegedly English participant is here contested in a way that deserves attention (cf. Rampton 1990, 1999, 2006, 2005: 320–326)[10]. The participation of nickname 'billie' makes this subset of data 'intercultural' in a more traditional, essentialist sense. However, the analysis suggests that as we pay close attention to the rich and dense fabrics of sequential interaction, there is more to the language alternation there than simply equating all uses of English with the presence of a non-Finnish interlocutor.

Finally, Jari Litmanen, the ultimate Finnish football superstar, has been one of the truly long-lasting, 'hot' discussion topics in the entire history of the two *Futisforums*. It seems justified to devote one piece of analysis to a prominent topic where so many of the passions and expectations, disappointments, joys and sorrows of this community of practice can be observed.

This discussion is based upon a micro-level interactional analysis of one discussion thread where several 'life-worlds' come to meet in a nexus (Scollon & Scollon 2004): Jari Litmanen's international superstardom (impeded by injuries), Finnish and international fandom of Litmanen, Swedish interest in and coverage of Litmanen's turns in Malmö, and the Finnish *Futisforum* as a nexus for the practice (Scollon & Scollon 2004) of performing and living the shared fandom. The discussion thread can be regarded in a more traditional perspective as 'trilingual', the discussion alternating between Finnish, Swedish and English, with rare switches into other languages. However, since the recent, more social-constructivist positioning to multilingualism has been central to my research, I emphatically wish to place a caveat on the utilization of terminology such as 'trilingual' or 'code-switching' (with the implication that there are always discrete 'codes' to switch from or into; see Gardner-Chloros 2009, Heller 1988, Sebba et al. 2012, Blommaert 2010, Rampton 2005). One can argue for a rough tentative overview that features from three languages – Finnish, English and Swedish – are utilised, but they are mixed, switched into, and crossed into in particular, situated ways (both patterned and idiosyncratic, both predictable and unpredictable). Yet, adopting an *emic* view based on my long-term observations of the *Futisforums*, it is valid to assume that the three separate languages make sense to the participants as three separate *sets of resources* that appear to have distinctive and discernible functions *most of the time*. These main functions can become blurred, fluid and contested in the course of the interaction chain. Moreover, perhaps unpredictable linguistic resources outside

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[10]   While Rampton's volume was first published in 1995, the page numbers in Rampton (2005) refer here to the second, slightly revised 2005 edition by St. Jerome.

the three 'main languages' of interaction, as well as semiotic resources such as pictures or moving pictures, are drawn upon in meaning-making in the overall sequence, as will be shown in some of the examples below.

"Litti Malmön riveihin"[11] – a topic of interest in *Futisforum*

The core data discussed here, the discussion topic[12] devoted to Litmanen's time in Sweden, date from 2005–2006 when Jari Litmanen had a contract with Malmö FF. Parallel discussions were going on in *Futisforum* (and later, *Futisforum2.org*) about Jari Litmanen in the national team, but this discussion is mainly about his career turns in Malmö. That particular historical and sociocultural moment – combined with the concurrent strong emergence of new forms of Finnish football fandom online – gave rise to a particular realization of multilingual discourse on the Finnish *Futisforum*, where nuances of largely (Standard) Swedish and English chunks of 'primary' information from various sources were discussed mainly in Standard and colloquial Finnish, between Finnish-speaking Finns. Like fandoms of all international superstars, this Litmanen fandom is by no means restricted to the confines of Finland, or speakers of Finnish. When an aspiring, allegedly non-Finnish discussant enters the discussion with inquiries in English about Litmanen, the micro-sociolinguistics of that discussion thread is transformed. The subsequent part of the discourse skein is the main focus of this paper: the interaction so far based largely upon the shared fandom of Litmanen and following his ups-and-downs career in Sweden (i.e. mainly staying 'on-topic') evolves into an arena of negotiation of linguistic resources (i.e. it starts to go 'off-topic'). The fandom of the most prominent Finnish football hero Jari Litmanen is shared by one non-Finnish participant, 'billie' (pseudonym changed here), along with news on Litmanen mediated through Swedish and Finnish media quotations, creating a benevolent spirit throughout the discourse event. Peer interpretation between Finnish, Swedish and English is provided – first upon 'billie's' request and later also without it. The multilingual resources-in-use appear to be regulated by certain Finnish forum members to an overall ethos of benevolence, inclusion and equality; however, particularly the non-Standard orthographic features of the alleged native speaker's English also become the subject of humour, mockery and sarcastic meta-talk, to the point that the entire concept of 'nativeness' is at stake. The allegedly English discussant 'billie' is rather warmly (yet jokingly) welcomed in the collective fandom of the Finnish superstar Jari Litmanen. This is a 'benevolent' case of negotiating multilingualism in a long (approx. 10 months), collective discourse and literacy event. In the core of that interactional-sociolinguistic case study is the collective fandom of one great player, Jari Litmanen, shared by football enthusiasts across ethno-linguistic or

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[11] "Litti" is Litmanen's common nickname; "Malmön riveihin" means literally "to the ranks of Malmö".
[12] Appendix 1 contains meta-information on the thread.

national borders, involving a community of Finnish-speaking fans, one ardent non-Finnish fan and the mediation of Swedish source texts across the Web.

Nickname 'billie', an allegedly English fan of Jari Litmanen, is one key participant in this *Futisforum* thread. Before her arrival (first posting), the topic went on for roughly 10 weeks (380 messages). As Litmanen was playing for Malmö FF, Sweden, the topic had already at that point been framed as multilingual, containing abundant information mediated through Swedish, mainly in the form of copy-pasted news items and articles, but also negotiations and speculations about the diverse nuances of the Swedish source texts. The topic had developed into collaborative work of making sense of the Swedish sources[13].

Part of this language alternation can be modelled in the overall framework of code-switching. First, the alternation of Swedish and Finnish is mainly motivated by the mediation, where source texts written by Swedish reporters are mediated through the technique of copy-pasting – often only a matter of a few seconds for the writer – to the forum. The Swedish elements that occur in the Finnish-writing discussants' posts are mainly drawn from the copy-pasted excerpts. This can be interpreted as an instance of situational code-switching; the Swedish source text travels from its earlier context and 'participates' in the discussion through mediation. Alternatively, we can view this phenomenon (which is, of course, very common in many types and formats of digital communication) through the concept of *entextualization* (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Blommaert 2005: 47; Kytölä 2013; Leppänen et al. forthcoming), which describes the travelling of chunks of discourse from a context to another, or the concept of *double-voicing* (or *multi-voicing*; Bakhtin 1984). Second, 'billie's' inclusion in the scene is a relatively clear-cut case of situational code-switching, where a distinct change in the participant framework is the main motivating factor for uses of English. However, at this point metapragmatic reflexivity within the discourse event is progressively heightened: issues that become at stake include different interpretation options, expertise debates in relation to expertise in English, and 'billie's' legitimacy and credibility as a participant. While these data operate on relatively clear-cut divisions of labour between the relatively bounded languages Finnish, Swedish and English, at certain points they become fuzzy and blurred. The entire range of heteroglossia and hybridity in this discourse sequence cannot, however, be interpreted through more traditional code-switching categories.

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13   This (2005) was a time when free online machine translation was used less frequently and less routinely, which also affects the negotiation of meaning of texts by members with varying competences and backgrounds. My observations and notes at the time (2005–2007) as well as purposeful retrospective searches show that *Babel Fish* was among the most used online translation software (it was used to translate from Dutch, Japanese, Russian and several other languages into the mediating language English, as Finnish was not available), while my more recent observations, notes and searches in *FF2.org* imply the popularity of *Google Translate*.

"Litti Malmön riveihin" – a chronological overview of the thread

Below (Table 1) is a chronological overview of the node points in the thread analysed here.

TABLE 1.   Chronological overview of the topic "Litti Malmön riveihin"

Date	Event
7 July 2005	The topic is started with a copy-pasted news item from the online version of the Swedish newspaper *Sydsvenskan*; a flood of responses
6 August 2005	Litmanen makes his debut in Malmö FF; only a few responses; quotes from Swedish media texts
23 August 2005	Malmö FF are relegated from UEFA Champions League qualification; Litmanen is injured and does not play
19 September 2005	'billie' enters the discussion, asking help in English (with smiley emoticons); English becomes the third main language of the thread
17 October 2005	First metapragmatic evaluation of the Finns' helpful translations for 'billie'
8 November 2005	First rude critiques of the helpful translations for 'billie'
9 November 2005	Overtly expressed suspicions about 'billie's' identity
10 November 2005	News about Litmanen's first child hit the forum
14 November 2005	Estonian is used for the first time: 'billie' asks for translation from Estonian into English
22 November 2005	Metapragmatic talk on the understandability of Swedish emerges again
2 December 2005	When directly asked, 'billie' states that she is from England
3 December 2005	Contestation of English people's English writing ability
16 December 2005	Mock-English is used as implicit metapragmatic commentary
20 January 2006	'billie' received a sarcastic, slightly malevolent reply to a translation request
8 March 2006	A friendly forumist offers 'billie' a Litmanen mouse mat, which arouses benevolently framed envy
20 March 2006	Metapragmatic discussion on the understandability of Swedish emerges again
3 May 2006	Litmanen makes a comeback from the injured list; the topic is on fire
8 May 2006	Malmö FF's match broadcast on TV; the topic turns into a live following; forumists try to make sense of the commentators' Swedish
10 May 2006	A link to an interview with Litmanen in Swedish; metacommentary on Litmanen's Swedish skills
11 May 2006	Litmanen shines in a league match; very intense live following
12 May 2006	Interlocutors rejoice over Litmanen's success; Arabic text is copy-pasted in a jocular manner (along with an alleged Finnish paraphrase)
12 May 2006	Metapragmatic discussion on Litmanen's language skills
23 May 2006	'billie' posts an inquiry about Litmanen in the Finnish national team
[…]	[…]
26 June 2006	By this date the thread had disappeared due to the malfunctioning of *Futisforum*

These node points were selected for the timeline to illustrate the overall anatomy of this thread; a closer sequential analysis of such a discourse event can help us understand the organization of online discourse events. In these turning points, something significant happened that caused major changes in the tone or the pace of the discussion. Key points that were related to language alternation were specifically included in this timeline.

"Litti Malmön riveihin" – a quantitative breakdown of the languages

In this quantitative overview, I will only deal with the messages in the thread between 'billie's' arrival (19 September 2005) and the last message (24 May 2006) that I managed to retrieve, when saving observed *Futisforum* data on 5 June 2006. I was able to retrieve earlier parts of this thread posthumously through *Google's* cache function once the thread had disappeared from the forum. However, I will exclude the messages posted prior to 19 September 2005, since the collaboration and negotiation sequences that are the most interesting with our present foci in mind begin upon 'billie's' arrival. Prior to that, most of the language alternation was between Finnish and Swedish, and Swedish occurred mainly in copy-pasted excerpts and their paraphrasing. All messages posted to this thread in that period are counted in the figures, with the exception of cases where the same message was accidentally posted two or more times.

Table 2 is another chronological overview of the discussion thread, showing that the amount of activity varied considerably, being particularly busy in May 2006 upon Litmanen's comeback from the injury list. Despite Litmanen's immense popularity, this thread is not particularly active in *Futisforum's* standards; I would argue that this is mostly due to Litmanen's persistent injury at the time and the fact that he was simultaneously being discussed under other topics.

TABLE 2.   The number of posts per month

Month	The number of posts	To note
19–30 Sep 2005	16	Litmanen injured
Oct 2005	11	Litmanen injured
Nov 2005	44	end of season 2005 in Sweden
Dec 2005	31	off-season
Jan 2006	26	off-season
Feb 2006	11	off-season
Mar 2006	76	off-season
Apr 2006	34	beginning of season 2006 in Sweden; Litmanen injured
1–24 May 2006	281	Litmanen's comeback
total	**530**	(divided into 14 subpages (max. 40 postings per subpage)

Table 3 below, in turn, shows a general quantitative breakdown of the languages used in the thread "Litti Malmön riveihin". One post is one unit of analysis here; and the code-switched posts are categorised according to the language combination therein. Graphic emoticons (see Appendix 2) and pictures are analysed as categories of their own only when they occur on their own, without an accompanying text in some 'language'. For the purposes of this rough analysis, pictures and graphic emoticons within otherwise 'languaged' messages are ignored.

TABLE 3.   The languages used in the 530 posts in the thread "Litti Malmön riveihin"

Language(s)	The number of posts	% of the posts in the entire sequence
Finnish	277	52.3 %
English	103	19.4 %
Finnish + English	44	8.3 %
Finnish + Swedish	55	10.4 %
Swedish	16	3.0 %
Finnish + English + Swedish	2	0.4 %
English + Estonian	2	0.4 %
Finnish + Arabic	2	0.4 %
'Forumese'	3	0.6 %
pictures only	4	0.8 %
graphic emoticons only	18	3.4 %
URL hyperlink without a distinguishable language	3	0.6 %
letters but no language	1	0.2 %
total	530	100 %

This table shows the general distribution of languages in this microcosm of Finland-based, transnational online Litmanen fandom within a particular time frame. During this time, the allegedly English member 'billie' posted 61 messages, of which the majority are contained in the 103 English-only posts. In some of her messages, there was Finnish as well, as she often posted Finnish quotes, asking for their English translations. These are included in the 'Finnish + English' category. Finnish is the dominant language of the thread, but for a Finnish forum, the percentage 52 % is relatively low. In addition, Finnish is found in 103 code-switched posts (19.4 % of all). Most of the English usages (also 19.4 % of all) are by 'billie' or in response to her, but there are also English posts motivated by other factors. 28.5 % of the posts contain some form of English. Swedish only is found in 3 % of the posts, but Swedish combined with Finnish (and English) occurs in a further 10.8 %. The posts in no particular language (pictures, emoticons, hyperlinks) constitute 4.9 % of the posts.

   This breakdown should be read as a rough, tentative overview, which used one post as one unit of analysis. In the social reality of the lived experience (or retrospective reading of the thread), different posts are uneven in their

length, informational value or impressiveness. Moreover, in discourse such as this, the categories are imprecise and do not give a nuanced picture of the items that were counted in them. Nevertheless, this quantitative breakdown helps us appreciate that the online discussion in focus is, in fact, highly multilingual, even if allegedly every participant except 'billie' is a native or proficient speaker of Finnish, and even if *Futisforum* is in many ways framed as Finnish.

Next, let us have a look at eight different examples from the same thread; each of them illustrates different facets of the negotiation of multilingual resources and expertise.

"Litti Malmön riveihin" – qualitative analyses of node points

Nickname 'billie' had actually made her entry earlier in *Futisforum*, joining in a discussion on Litmanen's time in his previous club, Hansa Rostock (2005). That earlier Litmanen topic, however, runs dry and is collectively discontinued in June 2005 as Litmanen's contract in Rostock ends. On 7 July 2005, the new topic is opened, titled "Litti Malmön riveihin", as indicated in the headings of these subsections. This is done by the very prolific forum member 'shots' (this nickname not changed), who posts a verbatim quote from the online edition of the Swedish daily *Sydsvenskan*, stating in standard written Swedish that Jari Litmanen is moving from Hansa Rostock to Malmö, Sweden (the contract eventually lasted from July 2005 to August 2007). There are no further comments by the poster, neither a summary in Finnish, nor any opinion or response related to the news. The first message thus 'sets the scene' for the new thread about Jari Litmanen's career in Malmö (see Example 1).

Litti Malmön riveihin
Goto page 1, 2, 3 ... 14, 15, 16 Next

[newtopic] [postreply]   FutisForum Forum Index -> Suomalaiset pelaajat sekä joukkueet ulkomailla

View previous topic :: View next topic

Author	Message
Shots Joined: 30 Nov 2003 Posts: 4691 Location: Pääkaupunkiseutu	Posted: Thu Jul 07, 2005 1:42 pm Post subject: Litti Malmön riveihin [quote] [!] Finsk fotbollsstjärna klar för MFF Av Kent Jönsson Senast uppdaterad 7 juli 2005 12:35 Finlands första internationella fotbollsstjärna ska hjälpa Malmö FF ut i Europa. Enligt vad Sydsvenskan erfar är Jari Litmanen klar för klubben. 34-åringen och MFF är överens om ett kontrakt på sex månader. MALMÖ. Jari Litmanen har tonvis med internationell rutin. Han har spelat cirka 70 landskamper för Finland. Moderklubben är Lathi. 1992 tog han steget över till Ajax och utvecklades snabbt till en betydelsefull spelare för Amsterdamklubben. 1999 skrev han på för Barcelona. Därefter har han även haft kortare nedslag i Liverpool, Ajax igen, och Lathis. I vintras flyttade han till Hansa Rostock. Kontraktet med den tyska klubben gick ut i juni. Jari Litmanen är användbar både som mittfältare och anfallare - men framförallt: han har rutin från stora sammanhang och kan hjälpa MFF i kvalet till Champions League. http://sydsvenskan.se/sport/article111445.ece
Back to top	[profile] [pm]

EXAMPLE 1.   The opening message of the topic "Litti Malmön riveihin".

In the quoted news, Litmanen's Finnish home city, Lahti (in Finnish Swedish 'Lahtis') is misspelled ('Lathi'), which becomes a target of meta-commentary. A dialogue emerges between the Swedish news items that continue to be posted in this topic and the forum's 'base language' Finnish. Together, the interlocutors try to make sense of what is going on with Litmanen in Malmö. Also metapragmatic reflexivity about the use of Swedish, and certain forumists' knowledge of it, begins early in this thread. For the purposes of the present analysis, however, let us move to 19 September 2005, the point where the nickname 'billie' enters the participant framework (Herring 2007). This is approximately ten weeks and 380 messages into the discussion thread. While 'billie' had registered on the forum earlier (perhaps already in 2002), it is here that she makes her 'big debut' to the others. Her first message is, as with most entrés to the two *Futisforums* by non-Finns, a request for information on a Finland-related topic. 'billie' does not introduce herself explicitly, but she frames her message with a greeting, a polite ending and two positively oriented emoticons (smiling faces, 'smileys').

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EXAMPLE 2.   Nickname 'billie's' arrival in the discussion thread (nicknames are cut off from screenshots from this point onwards).

In the next couple of weeks, 'billie's' frequent interest in this discussion appears to be what Swedish first-hand sources write about Litmanen's career start in Sweden; her[14] numerous explicit requests to forumists to interpret for her are often spiced up by positive, laughing emoticons. The other forumists provide translations, both at request and without request. 'billie' is thus introduced to the fan community in a relatively friendly way (although much of the discussion continues to go on in Finnish). There is occasional suspicion and contestation of 'billie's' identity as well as metapragmatic reflexivity (see Blommaert & Rampton 2011: 7–9; Kytölä 2013) on the acceptability of the Finns' English translations.

On 9 November 2005, 'billie' phatically states "People are so kind here.", which triggers further suspicion about her online identity. There are allegations of the heavy user forumists of keeping six 'side nicks', multiple pseudonyms by the same real-life person; 'billie' is indeed regarded by some forumists to be one more jocular 'side nick'. Both the common practice of 'side nicks' and these allegations can be regarded as humorous, playful performance. Such jocular performance can be seen in Example 3 below, with the added allegation of "Mr. Ye", the Chinese businessman who was accused of a big tangle of betting fraud in Finland and elsewhere in 2005.

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[14]   Due to her real forum pseudonym, I take 'billie' as a female, and she certainly creates a female impression in many ways; however, this becomes an issue only sporadically. Strangely enough, 'billie's' gender does not appear to be a salient factor for the participants who actively discuss Jari Litmanen. This is in stark contrast with other *Futisforum* writers identified as female: their gender is frequently made a 'big issue' even under serious topics. It could even be that a major part of the discussants in these Jari Litmanen related topics do not realize that 'billie's' real (nick)name has a strong female connotation (even for me, this was ambiguous in the beginning due to the surrounding context, where most writers are and are assumed to be males). For the purposes of this article, where it is practical to distinguish between 'billie' and the Finnish participants, I use the generic 'he/him/his' for all other discussants that are referred to, although some of them might also be female.

EXAMPLE 3.   Discussion and suspicion about 'billie's identity'.

Nickname 'billie' takes a playful, totally unoffended stance towards the accusations and suspicions voiced towards her identity, attempting to answer the 'shibboleth' questions addressed to her (Example 3). Moreover, she specifies – for the first time in this thread – her home country, England. Four days later, the tripartite constellation of Finnish, Swedish and English in this topic becomes, if only temporarily, more complicated as 'billie' quotes an Estonian piece of news about the birth of Litmanen's first son and requests for a translation (see Example 4).

EXAMPLE 4. Member 'billie' asks for translation from Estonian (into English).

Like many Swedish and Finnish quotes earlier, even this Estonian one is benevolently translated into Standard English by one member, although he omits and heavily paraphrases the details of the Estonian quote. In the overall activity here, the main pursue of which is to follow Litmanen's career turns, even less likely and less well-known linguistic resources can thus become mobilized, and collaborative meaning-making can rely on a range of interpreters: native speakers, near-natives, second language speakers, and also 'competence' based on related languages (e.g. Finnish and Estonian; Swedish and Norwegian). In this example, Estonian can be temporarily salient for an (allegedly) English member of the forum, for whom Estonian and Finnish source texts are equally incomprehensible. However, due to the local social history of Litmanen fandom, she can more easily find collaborative partners on this Finland-based forum than an Estonian one. Moreover, as Litmanen's wife is an Estonian model, the Estonian news concerning Litmanen perhaps tend to be more filtered through his wife's life-story than that of himself.

 After a week's hiatus in the thread (a very rare case of temporary inactivity in a *Futisforum* discussion about Litmanen), another member quotes a 300-word news item from the Swedish evening paper, *Expressen*, with the heading "Litmanen stannar i Malmö FF" ("Litmanen stays in Malmö FF"). This triggers a sequence of seven messages that comment both the 'on-topic' of Litmanen's future and the intelligibility of Swedish. For a while, 'billie' is absent from that sequence, but she reactivates the thread nine days later by inquiring whether there have been more news about Jari lately. Member 'billie' becomes a salient factor again in the participant framework; the discussion goes on about her identity and nuances of Finnish and English. There are no news from Litmanen's recovery (or family), and no contributions framed in Finnish or Swedish contributions appear in that month. This is another node point in the anatomy of the thread, and this phase is characterized by an increased suspicion about 'billie's' identity and 'Englishness' (see Example 5).

EXAMPLE 5.   Contestation of 'billie's' Englishness.

This part of the sequence, as well as my observations and analyses on other *Futisforum* threads (cf. Kytölä 2012b; Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012) clearly suggest that newcomers or outsiders to the forum community are 'tested' and teased to create inside, in-group humour. In 'billie's' case, if compared to many other new nicknames, the teasing is rather moderate and well-intended, but at the phase depicted in Example 5 it develops in a slightly more face-threatening direction, with an almost explicit statement about 'English people's' literacy. A point of sociolinguistic interest in that post is the ascription of the ownership (cf. Rampton 1990, 1999, 2005; Hill 2008) of English for the native speakers, in

this case people from England. If one reviews 'billie's' contributions to the thread until this point, the claims of her inability to write English can be interpreted to stem from her non-Standard punctuation, particularly her idiosyncrasy of substituting the comma for the apostrophe, but perhaps also for the lack of commas or the empty space after the full stop in sentences. Otherwise 'billie's' contributions seem perfectly appropriate and 'correctly' spelled English, albeit colloquial and slightly 'chatty' in terms of style and register. Apart from the lack of apostrophes, there is hardly anything in her ways of writing that deviates from 'average' writing in web forums in English (a rough generalization, since styles and practices differ greatly across sites).

The next micro-sequence of this discussion surfaces a couple of weeks later, once again initiated by 'billie' (as there was still not much to discuss concerning Litmanen's persistent injury at the time). This time she inquires if anyone knows the name of Litmanen's new-born son; once again she receives both two jocular and two more serious replies. We move to the fifth reply here (Example 6).

Message

Posted: Fri Dec 16, 2005 12:24 pm   Post subject: (quote) (!)

_____ old mate, I'll have to ask you wheather or not you no a certain bloke who goes by the name Jari Porttila? Or do English people in general know who Jari P. is? It would be great if you could make a poll, like ask 5 of your friends (thatt is of course if you have 5 friendiitos), do they know who the man is, and then you can count the percentage of people in England who know the man.

(profile) (pm)

Posted: Fri Dec 16, 2005 12:45 pm   Post subject: (quote) (!)

mii wrait veri guud inglish.

(profile) (pm)

EXAMPLE 6.   Playing fun with mock-English and 'billie's' English identity.

This is one more goof by a Finnish member directed at 'billie' and making fun of her alleged non-Finnishness. The Finnish sports reporter Jari Porttila's appearances on TV had already at that time become a ubiquitous source of shared 'bad English humour', and it is no surprise that the use of English here triggers the mention of Porttila here as well (for the sources of shared 'bad' English, see also Kytölä 2012b, 2013; Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012). While 'billie's' gender has hardly become an issue at all so far, here one can note the rather masculine way of addressing 'billie', 'old mate'. The tone of this message is jocular: on the discourse level, the overall idea of creating a statistically valid poll with five answers giving a reliable result for 'people in England' is of

course absurd, and so is the contestation whether 'billie' even has as many as five friends; this jocularity is further enhanced by the syntax, non-Standard spelling and word choices of the message. The entire message is more or less in English, although 'friendiitos' can be interpreted as a code-switch into 'mock-Spanish' (Hill 2008, cf. mock-English in Kytölä 2012b) spiced up with the Finnishized spelling of the long vowel /-ii-/. As was the case earlier with the name-dropping of Finnish sportspersons (Example 3), Jari Porttila is used here as a shibboleth of a sort, a test for 'billie' on whether she is a legitimate insider or not (as most Finnish people who follow any sports would know reporter Porttila from some context). This message invokes a quick comment in a rather hybrid code, non-Standard English with highly Finnishized orthographic choices: "mii wrait veri guud inglish." The metapragmatic reflexivity in this very short reply works at four levels: each of the five words includes a Finnishized modification of the corresponding Standard English word, the personal pronoun subject ('mii' ~ 'me' ~ 'I') is in the object form, the initial letter of the sentence is not capitalized, and finally, the referential meaning of the sentence is meant to be ironically reversed ("veri guud" ~ 'not good at all'). All of these nuanced resources drawn from English(es) and Finnish(es) appear thus to be available to some of the *Futisforumists*.

After that turn in the event, as the year 2005 turns into 2006, there is a hiatus in the activity of this thread. Most other participants (who are not only interested in Litmanen but in other topics too) write more or less actively under the numerous other topics in *Futisforum*, but 'billie' is absent for a while. Litmanen returns to Malmö FF's training as well as to the national team of Finland. The next node point in the thread occurs when a Finnish member makes an initiative to send 'billie' a mouse mat with an image of Litmanen; this triggers a meta-discussion on the mouse mat and the question who are eligible to get one for free (like 'billie'). Another topic of discussion is Litmanen's hair style, his haircut often being close to a mullet. On May 2, 2006, one particularly prolific writer quotes Malmö FF's website, listing the squad that the coach has chosen for the upcoming match[15]. After a long injury, Litmanen's name is included, which elicits a quick happy comment from 'billie', too. As can be seen from Tables 1 and 2, this is a node point where the action gets in full swing as Litti fans rejoice over his long-awaited comeback. Example 7 shows some of the hybridity and heteroglossia of expression in that wave of rejoice; some of the participants were, at the same time, following a live television broadcast with Swedish commentary.

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[15]   At this point (March 2006) *Futisforum2* is founded by an activist with the aim of replacing the badly functioning *Futisforum*. There is a rapid 'mass migration' to *FF2*, although many forumists are doubtful about the new forum and remain faithful to the original one. A discussion topic for Jari Litmanen in Malmö FF is started on 30 April 2006 in *FF2*, and it is likely that some of the active participants of the corresponding *Futisforum* thread moved there at the point. 'billie' does not seem to jump the forum; this paper concentrates on the last stages of the original, still more active, *Futisforum* thread (although the newer one is also very interesting in its alternation between resources and nuances drawn from Swedish, Finnish and English.

EXAMPLE 7.   Litmanen is back in business and his fans rejoice.

The message at 6:32 pm employs English (without capitalization) and a positive emoticon. The next one is in colloquial Finnish[16], a prototype keyboard smiley (?) and a graphic emoticon. The third one (8:09 pm) has an exclamation in Swedish and a mini-preview of the match in Finnish[17], and the last one in this screenshot uses a 'Forumism', an acronym which would not be intelligible to a Finnish non-Forumist[18]. All in all, this example shows the switches and turns between linguistic resources which are not only identifiable as 'Finnish',

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[16]   The noun 'avaus' means 'opening', here 'starting lineup'. "Avaukses!" is a colloquial inessive form, indicating that Litmanen is in the starting lineup.

[17]   The Swedish part: "The King is back!". The Finnish part: "Attacking midfielder number 10. Ingenious passes to be expected".

[18]   'EOM' is an acronym for "Eteenpäin on menty", which translates roughly into "We/you/they have gone forward".

'English' and 'Swedish', as small resources drawn from these 'big languages' carry tacit social meanings.

And for the purposes of this analysis, the last node point in the thread, before it disappears in May or June 2006 from the malfunctioning *Futisforum*, has to do with a specific usage of Arabic. It comes from the same wave of joy over Litmanen's resurgence. Indeed, even more unexpected multilingual resources are drawn upon: in praise of Litmanen's recent shape, one discussant copy-pastes (in all likelihood from somewhere in the Web) a text in Arabic and gives a jocular short translation of it in Finnish. The writer frames his message with a Finnish paraphrase, which is ostensibly summarizing the content of the Arabic excerpt.[19]

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[19]   In reality, the excerpt is a copy-pasted piece of news about the Palestinian conflict. Here is a rough English translation of the Finnish paraphrase: "Now Litti's greatness has caused a sensation in Saudi Arabia! Terrific! For those who don't understand the language, let me say that the text summarizes Jarza's career so far and acclaims Finns as an honest and hard-working people."

24

Posted: Fri May 12, 2006 11:15 am   Post subject: quote

Nyt on Litin suuruus herättänyt kohua jo Saudi-Arabiassakin asti! Hurjaa!

Kieltä ymmärtämättömille suomennettakoon sen verran, että tekstissä hahmotellaan Jarzan ura pääpiirteittäin ja ylistetään muutenkin suomalaisia rehellisenä ja työtätekevänä kansana.

عضو اللجنة التنفيذية لمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية الخميس، أن الجامعة العربية أبلغت السلطة الفلسطينية بعدم قدرتها على تحويل الأموال التي لديها.

وقال عميرة في تصريحات خاصة لوكالة الأنباء الألمانية "اتصل الأمين العام للجامعة العربية عمرو موسى "..." مع رئيس السلطة الفلسطينية محمود عباس، وأبلغه ان الجامعة غير قادرة على تحويل الأموال التي تم جمعها من دول عربية الى السلطة الفلسطينية.

وأضاف "ان عدم القدرة على تحويل الأموال بسبب عدم قدرة البنوك على تحويلها بسبب الضغوط الامريكية والدولية".

وأوضح عميرة "أن عمرو موسى قال للرئيس ابو مازن إننا بانتظار الآلية التي اقرتها اللجنة الرباعية الدولية من اجل تحويل الأموال وفق الآلية الدولية التي ستقر من قبل خبراء الرباعية".

وفي سياق متصل، قال فاروق القدومي رئيس الدائرة السياسية في منظمة التحرير أمس الخميس إن المنظمة سبق أن اعترفت بإسرائيل فلماذا يطالبون اليوم الحكومة الفلسطينية بالاعتراف، مضيفا أن المسألة الأهم اليوم بالنسبة للمنظمة هو الانسحاب الاسرائيلي الشامل.

وقال القدومي عقب لقاء مطول مع وزير الخارجية السورية وليد المعلم إن "المسألة الأولى التي تشغلنا هي الانسحاب"، مضيفا "لا نريد أن يشغلونا في مسائل أخرى وإن كانت هامة".

وأضاف إذا كان المجتمع الدولي "صادقا فليضغط على إسرائيل فمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية هي التي اعترفت بالدولة العبرية، لماذا إذا يطالبون الحكومة الفلسطينية الحالية بالاعتراف بإسرائيل في وقت لم تنفذ إسرائيل كل اتفاقاتها المعقودة مع الجانب الفلسطيني".

وقال القدومي "نحن جمدنا حتى في المنظمة الاعتراف بإسرائيل لأنها لم تنفذ جميع ما التزمت به فهي تريد أن نقدم لها شيئا في وقت لا نستطيع أن نقدم لها هذه الورقة بدون مقابل وهو الانسحاب الشامل الأمر الذي شرحناه للأوروبيين".

وعن محادثاته مع المعلم قال القدومي "أخبرنا من زرناهم بصحة الحديث عن مجاعة في فلسطين ولكن الشعب الفلسطيني يصر على الانسحاب لأن الأسباب التي أدت إلى نقص الدعم المادي وغيره هي إسرائيل التي وضعت الحصار والإغلاق ودمرت جميع وسائل العيش لذلك إذا أردنا أن نعالج هذه المشكلة فيكون الأمر بالانسحاب الإسرائيلي أولا".

profile   pm

Posted: Fri May 12, 2006 11:39 am   Post subject: quote

Quote:

وأضاف "ان عدم القدرة على تحويل الأموال بسبب عدم قدرة البنوك على تحويلها بسبب الضغوط الامريكية والدولية". وأوضح عميرة "أن عمرو موسى قال للرئيس ابو مازن إننا بانتظار الآلية التي اقرتها اللجنة الرباعية الدولية من اجل تحويل الأموال وفق الآلية الدولية التي ستقر من قبل خبراء الرباعية".

Ei mennyt kulmalipulle suojaamaan palloa, haista vittu Febi Marjamaa phethethethethet

profile   pm   email   www

EXAMPLE 8.   Jocular Arabic, a Finnish paraphrase and a humorous reply.

The jocularity of this turn is further enhanced with more in-group humour in one quick response. Plausibly assuming that this commenter does not know Arabic or run the text through any automatic translator (there were not so many available in 2006 as there are in early 2013), he takes an apparently random extract and gives it a jocular Finnish equivalent, referring to two inside jokes[20]

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20   One of them is the noun "kulmalipulle", which means 'to the corner flag', while Timo 'Febi' Marjamaa was a Finnish cult player of that time. "Haista vittu", in turn, is the Finnish equivalent of the exclamation 'Fuck you'.

within the forum. However, the third part in this comment is taken from *The Fast Show*, where the recurring sketch Chanel 9 utilized a corresponding string of sounds ('phethethe…') to index 'foreign', unintelligible language. Here a parallel is drawn to the unpredictable use of Arabic; in *Futisforum* (the original one), off-topic messages such as this were almost never deleted or moderated. Thus, the Arabic joke was tolerated and remained in the forum until the lifespan of the thread. After this Arabic piece, moreover, to take the metapragmatically reflexive discourse a step further, the linguistic and communicative abilities of Jari Litmanen himself are discussed again. It is in these jocular, positive and benevolent terms – characteristic of this entire discussion sequence despite some ambiguous and face-threatening turns – that I conclude the sequential, micro-level analysis of this thread and turn to my concluding points.

Discussion

Part of the multilingualism in this ten-month discourse event is clearly due to the embedding of 'media quotes' from elsewhere in the World Wide Web; and another part is clearly due to changes in the participant framework. Uses of Swedish create a context where the competence to deal with the usages varies enormously from reader to another, from one *Futisforum* member to another. Between the fluent reader of Swedish and the one who does not know it, there are various possible 'intermediate' competences in Swedish: we see diversity in the ability to cope with discourse in Swedish. This, in turn, results in instances of metapragmatic reflexivity and expressions of attitudes towards Swedish. There is neither one bounded Swedish or English nor one competence in them, but rather, the demands and needs arise in particular situations where collective digital literacy and co-interpretation of salient texts are needed to achieve common and individual goals. Resources from English, integrated with uses of graphic ('quasi-universal') emoticons and pictures, are deployed to benevolently include 'billie' in the fandom interaction – while simultaneously constructing and negotiating the ambiguous discourse of suspicion about her identity. Concrete linguistic and semiotic resources are in use in a situated online context where geographical boundaries and distances are blurred and diminished. Indeed, each contributor to online social media always writes from some position, an amalgam of a geographical location and other aspects of identity; as male, as a fan, a neutral reporter, a provocative troll, an expert, and so forth. All in all, this dataset shows the more celebratory sides of the *Futisforums'* multilingualism, but the creative language use here also contains aspects of mockery and negatively framed reflexivity on the peers' language use. These facets often seem to go hand in hand, not completely separate ways.

One way of looking at this kind of digital discourse is through the lens of *heteroglossia* (Bakhtin 1981; Androutsopoulos 2011; Lähteenmäki et al. 2011; Leppänen 2012). This notion refers to the ways in which linguistic forms and

features (either from different languages or from within 'one language') are combined and mixed (Kytölä 2013, Section 4.4), and it also includes the co-presence of several styles, registers and voices. This seems suitable for capturing the hybrid nature of contemporary communication and discourse, and indeed, in the Litmanen thread analysed here, there are several heteroglossic elements (see Examples 6 and 8, in particular).

The Swedish input is mainly drawn from online text sources, while 'billie's' arrival from her native England arguably makes the immediate context 'intercultural'. However, football culture in general, and the fandom of a specific idol, is shared by all participants, lowering (if not totally erasing) intercultural differences and challenges stemming from language barriers and nationalities. Due to the visual-discursive framing of *Futisforum*, Finnish can plausibly be regarded as the base language of the discussion, which is frequently and abundantly reworked with media quotes (in code-switching terminology, 'reported speech') in Standard Swedish, along with their translations, interpretations, paraphrasings, and contestations. It is the new user 'billie's' arrival in the thread that triggers abundant use of English, as 'billie' identifies herself as English (which becomes contested too). Reactions range from suspicious to jocular, even at times mildly threatening, but there is a gradual acceptance, affiliation and inclusion of 'billie' in the subcommunity of Litmanen fans.

Despite the recent advances in our understanding of language as more heteroglossic and hybrid than in the code-switching paradigm at large, we can argue that discreteness of 'codes' seems to fit this particular dataset relatively well (see the discussions in Gardner-Chloros 2009: 165–177 and Sebba et al. 2012). Resources from Finnish, Swedish and English alternate in relatively patterned ways, often distinct from each other. All of these three languages play their roles (comparable to functions established in code-switching research, e.g. Androutsopoulos 2013, but also fuzzy and contested as seen above) in the dynamics of this discussion thread that lasts about ten months, accumulating approx. 910 messages. Varieties, particularly specific Standard and non-Standard features and nuances of those three languages, alternate along with single occurrences of Estonian (informative, 'human interest' function) and Arabic (completely jocular, emblematic function). In contrast, German, a significant ingredient in the earlier discussion topic about Litmanen's time in Hansa Rostock (see above), does not surface at all during the sequence analysed here. This comparative finding points to the strong aspect of situational, context-bound language alternation.

In sum, the major themes in the thread analysed here from the point of view of multilingual resources were the following: 1) Swedish source texts, reactions to them, whether and when they become translated or paraphrased, 2) English translations for 'billie', upon request or without request, and the ways in which they are accomplished and negotiated on the axes of correct – incorrect, Standard – non-Standard, 3) the negotiation, assessment and evaluation of English used by 'billie' and by the Finnish forumists, 4) the

contestation of the nativeness and expertise in a language, and 5) The jocular functions of multilingualism (word-play, puns, performance, etc.), which surface very frequently. In this thread, such jocular functions are linked to all the three 'main languages' used, but briefly also to a burst of (copy-pasted) Arabic.

'Authentic' Swedish is regarded here as a shared but contested resource. At times Swedish text extracts are translated, at other times they are not. Swedish, like Finnish, is clearly not part of 'billie's' repertoire, but unlike Finnish most of the time, Swedish requires collaborative translation work also between the Finnish participants. And there is a big motivating factor for such voluntary meaning-making work: Litmanen's career is an extremely legitimate topic on the forum and Swedish sources of information (particularly Malmö FF's website and Swedish newspapers) seemed to be first-hand, better positioned to report on Litmanen than the then-existing Finnish (or English) ones. Apart from spreading information, another motivating factor could be the forumists' willingness to build rapport, social network and good reputation among each other (although as discussed in Kytölä (2012b), the Finnish *Futisforums* can sometimes also be very antagonistic and hostile in spirit).

It is by no means spectacular or exceptional *per se* that Finnish participants in a setting framed as Finnish should alternate between Finnish, Swedish and English, or that a non-Finnish enthusiast joins a discussion framed as Finnish, or that language choice and nuances related to the use of different languages are discussed or negotiated (*metapragmatic reflexivity*; e.g. Blommaert & Rampton 2011: 8–10; Kytölä 2013). On the contrary, these are of course extremely common phenomena, to date documented and analysed in sociolinguistic literature on other genres of mainly spoken language (e.g. Gardner-Chloros 2009; Androutsopoulos 2007). However, there were several reasons for carrying out a detailed, micro-sociolinguistic analysis of this long thread. First, I wished to do justice to the creative, celebratory sides of the *Futisforumists'* multilingualism (as opposed to the discriminative cases of mockery documented in Kytölä 2012b). Second, I felt that this case study was ideal for focusing on the multilingualism of the *Futisforums* from the point of view of collaborative literacy, i.e. how linguistic and textual resources are collectively translated and interpreted for purposes of common good[21], as it had the salient 'Swedish connection' as well as an allegedly English participant. Third, my aim was to present a nuanced alternative to the highly polarized discussions about attitudes to Swedish, Finland's official second domestic language as well as the main language of Finland's perhaps most important neighbour nation. Several phases in the analysis point indexically to a multi-faceted and controversial position of Swedish as a useful but problematic resource. Finally, I wished to illustrate how Finnish football enthusiasts make *in situ* expertise claims regarding authenticity and acceptability of not only

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[21] This is not to suggest that collaborativity involving translation or interpretation of languages would decrease or disappear as computer translation develops; rather, its nature might change towards different layers and scales of meaning-making.

specific usages of Finnish but also of English and Swedish; i.e. they adopt and appropriate the (partial) ownership (cf. Rampton 1999, 2006; Pennycook 2007; Blommaert 2010) of these languages in a context they feel 'at home', the world of football culture(s).

Indeed, the world of football is highly polycentric (cf. Giulianotti 1999; Kytölä 2013), perhaps more so than any other sport or (sub)cultural activity, with targets of interest in many continents and countries, which makes football discourses potentially (and actually) highly multilingual. Since the interests of football fans reach most corners of the world, and the websites (and many other kinds of media) that Finnish fans use for reference contain dozens of languages and varieties, elements of that broader constellation of multilingualism 'leak into' spaces such as the *Futisforum* discussion threads. In this case, Finnish football fans eagerly utilize first-hand sources in Standard Swedish, partly because Jari Litmanen's career development is such a salient topic for the community that first-hand news 'from the spot' are not to be missed. The same happened with German with Litmanen's time in Hansa Rostock, Germany, preceding the discourse event analysed here, and the same happens with other loci of interest and other languages.

The history of speakers (and here, importantly, writers) of Finnish is inextricably tied up with the history of speakers of Swedish, and the English language, and so is the present and the future. It is important that we understand the mosaic, the multi-faceted aspects related to the friction and symbiosis between and across the languages and their users in a fuller way. It is not only the non-Finnish Litmanen fan, 'billie', here who is navigating across sites, semiotic and social environments involving different ('non-native') languages; it is also the Finnish *Futisforumists* who resort to Swedish and English media sources, mainly websites, as they navigate between and across sites and nexuses of practice, performing their fandom, supportership and special interest in their big football superstar.[22] And the discourses that circulate via the affordances brought by advances in technology will presumably be ever more multilingual and transcultural for some decades to come, not least so with such highly globalized domains of life as football.

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[22] At another vantage point in time and space, the micro-sociolinguistic constellation of such fandom would have been different. In the 1990s Litmanen played in the Netherlands (Ajax) and Spain/Catalunya (Barcelona), in the first decade of the 2000s he played in England (Liverpool, Fulham), Germany (Hansa Rostock), Sweden (Malmö), and Finland (Lahti, Helsinki). Moreover, as an international point of interest, his ups and downs were constantly covered in different media in different languages, in different countries, e.g. Estonia, Russia, or Germany. The fandom of a superstar can thus take very different sociolinguistic forms; for instance, Dutch media sources stemming from Litmanen's time in Ajax (particularly 1992–1999) become frequently quoted, circulated, and re-echoed in discussions about Litmanen in Finnish/Finland.

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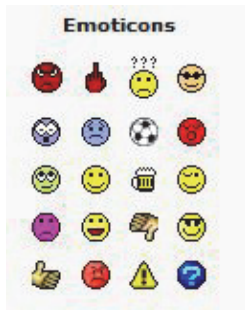
Appendices

Appendix 1: The primary data

The primary data used for this paper was the discussion thread "Litti Malmön riveihin". The URL of this topic was http://home.suomifutis.net/phpBB2/viewtopic.php?t=53304. The last time I accessed it online was August 2006, via the search engine *Google's* cache function that had saved versions from several points in the year 2006. The thread has not been online since the summer of 2006 due to malfunctions and insufficient backup copying and administration of the forum. It probably never will again.

Appendix 2: The emoticons

The emoticons available for use in *Futisforum* in February 2007 are seen in the image below. It is uncertain whether this selection completely matches the selection available at the time 2005–2006, as I did not make exact fieldnotes about the emoticons then. However, judging from their occurrence in discussions that were carried out in those years and are still more or less intact in the forum, this selection seems to match the actual uses in 2005–2006.

V

POLYLINGUAL LANGUAGE USE, FRAMING AND ENTEXTUALIZATION IN DIGITAL DISCOURSE: PSEUDONYMS, 'LOCATIONS', 'FAVOURITE TEAMS' AND 'SIGNATURES' ON TWO FINNISH ONLINE FOOTBALL FORUMS

by

Samu Kytölä

V

Polylingual language use, framing and entextualization in digital discourse: Pseudonyms, 'Locations', 'Favourite teams' and 'Signatures' on two Finnish online football forums

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1.   Introduction

The kinds of multi-authored sub-formats of digital discourse (below referred to as 'CMC', computer-mediated communication) that emerged around the turn of the millennium, such as web discussion forums ('bulletin boards', 'message boards'), may often involve notable manifestations of multilingualism. Such is indeed the case for the largest Finnish football discussion forums on the Web[1], *Futisforum* and *Futisforum2.org* (abbreviated below *FF2.org*), which can be analytically conceived of as stratified contact zones for several languages, varieties, styles and genres (Kytölä 2012a, 2012b, 2013; Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012). This article seeks to address three interrelated layers of polylingual (Jørgensen 2008; Jørgensen et al. 2011) language use in a 'framing position' (cf. Androutsopoulos forthcoming) identified in two major Finland-based football[2] forums during my long observation and data collection periods. First, I explore forum members' self-appointed pseudonyms ('nicks'), and then I move on to analyse the affordance of accompanying one's postings with 'Location' or, optionally, 'Favourite team' in a distinctive subspace within the member profile design. Finally, I explore the affordance of optional 'Signatures' ('sigs') that can be made conspicuous below a member's actual forum messages.

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[1]   Currently   located   at   <u>http://suomifutisnet.adv1.nebula.fi/phpBB2/</u>   and <u>http://futisforum2.org/</u>, respectively. The edited football website where *Futisforum* was formerly embedded announced its closure in March 2011, but the actual forum remains still online (as per 1 Febuary 2013). Two other major Finnish football sites with multi-authored, pseudonym-based forums are *Paitsio.com* and *Futismaailma.com*; this analysis excludes them for reasons of space.

[2]   Despite ambiguity, I have chosen to use the British and European word 'football' consistently throughout my current work to refer to association football, i.e. the sport most North Americans, among others, unambiguously call 'soccer'.

With the help of tentative categorization and quantitative analyses of language (variety) distributions in these 'framing' subspaces and selective discourse-analytic, interpretative 'excursions' behind those polylingual items, I outline a 'road map' for the visibility and positions of different languages and varieties *vis-à-vis* the forums' subspaces (cf. the analyses of interactive forum discussions in Kytölä 2012a, 2012b, 2013). A brief ethical consideration of such excursions into public or semi-public forum member profiles will be included.

This paper argues that language choice and polylingual language use in 'bits and pieces' of these forums' subspaces can have an important local social meaning: manifestations of languages or their varieties (whether drawn from readily available source texts or innovatively crafted by forum members) align the members and the subsequent interactive discourse with global and local flows of football culture. As we shall see, resources from the Finnish language or intertextuality between Finland-based sources are also part of that global-local constellation. I argue that these 'framing devices', allegedly marginal and mostly ignored in the sociolinguistics of digital discourse so far (but see Androutsopoulos forthcoming), can be seen as affordances for (almost) public self-representation, performance and construction of virtual reputation, and that locally salient social positioning and (dis)identification are achieved through them.

The epistemology behind the relatively recent term 'polylingual' (Jørgensen 2008; Jørgensen et al. 2011) seeks to eschew the problematic *a priori* assumption of the inherent countability of languages[3], suggesting in its stead analysing speech (or here, *ways of writing*) with the unit of 'features', not bounded 'languages'. This approach is particularly suited to the type of language use explored in this paper, which consists of short phrases, 'bits-and-pieces' of linguistic resources for the purposes of sociability and identification. Closely related to this, the implications of this type of digital discourse for Rampton's (1995/2005) theory of (language) *crossing* are discussed in the concluding section. However, I will at times also use the more general and widespread term 'multilingual(ism)' here, both to refer to the source literature and, as it is part of the present exercise, also to measure the number of items in each variety (see my reflection and critique on these issues below).

On the basis of ethnographically accrued knowledge (Kytölä 2012a, 2012b, 2013; Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012), I conceptualize the *Futisforums* for the purposes of this article as a loose conglomeration of intertwined 'communities of practice', groups of people who are in regular interaction and who share an interest or a passion for a particular set of phenomena (cf. Lave & Wenger 1991;

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[3] It has to be noted that the meaning of the Greek-based prefix 'poly-' does not, at the end of the day, differ much from the Latin-based suffix 'multi-', both of which refer to 'many'. However, it is the epistemology, critical thinking and the general line of inquiry around Jørgensen et al.'s work that I intend to align with here; hence my preference for 'poly-' in this piece. It could be argued that 'translingual(ism)' (e.g. Pennycook 2007: 36–57) might capture the essence of these phenomena equally well. The current (ca. 2006–2013) terminology debate among scholars over 'multi-', 'poly-' 'trans-' or 'metro-' -lingualism remains, however, outside my focus here (see Kytölä 2013).

Wenger 1998). The concept, although first coined with collective learning processes in mind, has gained increasing applicability with the rise of online communities, whether or not their main function is collaborative learning. The polylingual language use within the loose community here (see also Kytölä 2012b, 2013) can, then, be seen as one of its broad practices, within which polylingual language use as a 'framing device' (of which more below) is a prominent and distinctive subpractice. It is this subpractice within the broad *Futisforums'* community of practice that this article seeks to explore.

While it is evident, even at a short glance, that 'Finnish-speaking Finns' constitute the default target audience of the two *Futisforums*, the discussants have, during the forums' life spans, developed various polylingual and polyphonic (Bakhtin 1984) practices. I argue that polylingual language use is layered in different textual and discoursal positions of the overall forum discourse, such as pseudonyms, subspaces within members profiles, such as virtual 'locations', discussion topic headings and sub-headings, quotations from other online media, or code alternation of different types in the actual interactive 'one-to-many' discussion threads (Kytölä 2012a, 2012b, 2013). These layers display a wide and multi-faceted range of multilingual practices in tandem with the arguably 'Finnish-by-default' informational and interpersonal discourse (see also Androutsopoulos 2011, forthcoming). This paper discusses the extent to which one can measure the visibility and distribution of different languages or varieties in the discourse positions of key forum members' pseudonyms, 'Locations', 'Favourite teams' and 'Signatures'. Language (variety) choice and visibility are discussed *vis-à-vis* issues of socio-cultural identification and performance in this online context.

I have elsewhere discussed some of the theoretical and methodological preliminaries pertaining to the study of multilingualism in web forums (Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012; Kytölä 2012a; Kytölä 2012b). In this strand of research, in alignment with Androutsopoulos (2007, 2008, 2011, forthcoming), I argue that multilingualism in digital discourse, and in the ubiquitous web forums more specifically, requires a combination of discourse-analytical, micro-sociolinguistic, virtual-ethnographic and quantitative approaches measuring the frequencies and distributions of identifiable languages or varieties, whether predetermined *etically* by the researcher, or extracted in a more *emic*, data-driven way, or, ideally, both. Moreover, I have conducted detailed qualitative explorations of a number of discussion threads from the two *Futisforums* in order to document and establish how linguistic diversity and language alternation takes shape *in situ*, and what types of metalinguistic, attitudinal and ideological indexicalities become attached to usages of different languages (and their possible mixes) (Kytölä 2012b, 2013).

In contrast to those qualitatively grounded works, this paper takes a more quantitative approach by tapping into a somewhat ignored, peripheral and marginalized subspace of multilingual online language use. Androutsopoulos (forthcoming) points out that, both offline and online, there are various ways in which English is organized 'on top' of the core discourse at hand, as a

"discourse strategy, a way of using semiotic resources in discourse" (ibid.: 6). With the prepositional phrase 'on top', Androutsopoulos simultaneously evokes the connotations 'additionally' and 'above or in a visually prominent position'. Like the present author, Androutsopoulos diverges in his epistemological stance and point of departure from the 'Anglicisms' approach long hegemonic in linguistics – not least in Germany, the nation state he uses as an example, but also in Finland (Sajavaara 1983; Leppänen et al. 2011). Drawing from Goffman's (1986) influential concept of 'frames', about which more below, Androutsopoulos conceptualizes these multilingual usages as 'framing devices', organizing them into 'heading', 'bracketing', and 'naming' and proposing for them the general designation '(English) on top'.

For purposes of conciseness and due to the total size of the categorizable data samples, I mostly exclude the issue of 'heading' here and will discuss it elsewhere; see, however, the screenshots from the forums in the Appendices, which serve to show that multilingual practices pertaining to discussion topic headings abound in the Finnish *Futisforums.* I will first explore the practice of 'naming' oneself in a community of practice online, such as the two *Futisforums*, from the point of view of polylingualism. Language choice in such a practice cannot be viewed separately from socio-cultural factors and other dimensions of identification, as we shall see later. Then I will move on to the types of framing devices afforded for visible member profiles by these online forums, discussing self-ascribed 'Locations' in *Futisforum* in comparison with 'Favourite teams' in *Futisforum2.org* with regard to polylingual language use and language choice. Finally, I will discuss another framing device, which seems salient in the format of the web forum in general – while perhaps slightly more peripheral to my *Futisforum* data – the use of 'Signatures' (often called 'sigs' in CMC). This comes closest to Androutsopoulos's 'bracketing', although perhaps different from the most typical communicative 'bracketings' due to the usual time elapse compared to the actual posting (as with 'Locations' and 'Favourites'). *Futisforum* always disallowed signatures completely, while *Futisforum2.org* allows a 'modest', restricted text signature to be displayed under each message posted by a member. Unlike the other three affordances discussed here, signatures are visible only to registered members and only after a deliberate 'opt-in' change of one's personal settings; I regard them therefore in this empirical case slightly as more peripheral than the other items discussed. However, their specific types of polylingualism are no less interesting or illustrative, as we will see later.

To give readers an idea how the discoursal subspaces in focus here appear in the forums' context, Appendices 4 and 5 contain screenshot examples from both forums with polylingual language use. The appendices illustrate how the different affordances of pseudonym, 'Location', 'Favourite team' and 'Signature' look when embedded in the messages (for the flow of the discussion threads, see the forums online). To complement the experiential phenomenology in this respect, Appendix 3 shows how they appear to other members in member profiles, whilst Appendix 2 illustrates the user's personal interface, i.e. how they can be managed. Below are two schematic charts

showing the language choices and affordances within the 'El Clásico' message and the 'Hellas' message screenshots of Appendices 4 and 5, respectively (cf. the models in Androutsopoulos 2007, 2011, forthcoming). These charts demonstrate heading, bracketing and naming 'in action'. The former model comes from *Futisforum*, which uses *phpBB* software, while the latter comes from *Futisforum2.org*, which uses the *Simple Machines Forum* software. These software predetermine a major part of the design; see also Appendices 4 and 5 for the differences between the two forums in focus. Tables 1 and 2 are schematic diagrams that illustrate the division of a posting into parts (subspaces; cf. Appendices 4 and 5).

TABLE 1.   The functions of the subspaces within one message on *Futisforum*

Pseudonym *(Finnish)*	meta-info: date and time; Subject:	meta-tools
(meta-info)		
Location: *(Spanish)*	*Colloquial Finnish [Spanish in quotes]* *Colloquial Finnish [emoticon]*	
	meta-info on editing the message	
meta-info	meta-info: links to elements in the profile	

TABLE 2.   The functions of the subspaces within one message on *Futisforum2.org*

Pseudonym *(Greek)*	Title: *English – Greek (Latin script) – numeral*	meta-tool
(meta-info)	meta-info: quote from [English pseudonym]	
Favourite team: (Greek)	Finnish… Finnish… Greek (Latin script)	
	reply in Finnish	meta-tools
	Signature in Greek (Greek script)	

2. Framing, heading, naming and bracketing: polylingualism in web forums' sub-spaces

The origin of the socio-psychological concept of *frame* is often credited to Gregory Bateson (1972: 177–193), who established that frames are metacommunicative cognitive states that define the level of abstraction of the ongoing social action (e.g. degree of seriousness; whether a given action is 'real' or 'play'). Goffman's reiteration[4] of 'frame' has since gained even more cross-disciplinary influence in scholarship. For him, frames are abstractions that help actors in the social world to effectively organize their experience, make plausible interpretations of others' social action, and further act accordingly (Goffman 1986: 1–39). While much of what goes on in the social world of encounters is, for Goffman, based on tacit knowledge and the general reliability

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[4]   Goffman himself (1986: 7) acknowledges the influence of several other scholars, particularly Gregory Bateson, for the concepts 'frame' and 'bracketing', and credits himself only with their application to situational, face-to-face conversational discourse.

of more or less familiar frames, they can also be broken, shifted, modified and made incongruent *in situ*, resulting in important and everyday communicative functions that we might call 'misinterpretation', 'mockery', 'humour', 'play', 'irony' and such – which are themselves types of *frames* for humans with experience of interaction; this was a point made already by Bateson (1972; originally published 1955).

Bateson's and Goffman's insightful notions of framing have since accumulated decades of influence and reference in linguistics, sociology, media studies and other fields of research (Tannen 1993; Benford & Snow 2000); all lines of inquiry, and individual researchers, have found their own ways to apply Goffman's coinages (Tannen 1993; Scheufele 1999; Benford & Snow 2000). I will exclude this discussion here, and turn instead to a later application of *framing* that is the most relevant for my present purposes, namely, Kress & van Leeuwen's (1996) 'visual grammar' and the related field of multimodal discourse analysis (Iedema 2003; Scollon & Scollon 2003; Levine & Scollon 2004; Norris & Jones 2005; Baldry & Thibault 2006), which take issues of visuality, prominence, layout, graphics, and design seriously for our understanding of situated, multisemiotic discourses. In this field of inquiry, *framing* can retain its 'Goffmanian' function as a cognitively understood conception that helps in the organization of experience, while acquiring an additional dimension from the organization and layout of visual discourse (cf. frames of windows, mirrors, paintings, etc.). A heading on a website, for instance, can work simultaneously as a visually motivated framing device (often positioned above a 'core text') and as a contextualization cue to organize experience (reading a heading can 'tune' the reader to the topic, register and key of the core text to follow). Alternatively, seeing an online pseudonym 'X' in the left-hand margin of an interactive discussion forum can discourse-structurally frame the message in the middle as 'written and submitted by X'; at the same time, readers' possible knowledge about previous events connected to that 'X' may tune them to read and interpret the message in one way rather than another. Along these lines, I see the notion of frame, derived from Bateson and Goffman (and Tannen 1993), as compatible with the visual grammar and multimodal discourse analysis of Kress & van Leeuwen, the Scollons and the like (see also Androutsopoulos forthcoming). In contemporary forms of digital discourse, it can be argued that 'framing devices' visually occur in margins, edges, tops and bottoms to frame any given core 'texts' on a discourse-structural level *as well as* function as Goffmanian frames, aids with which to organize experience (writing, reading, producing and consuming digital discourse). The latter, particularly with regard to polylingual language use, is closely related to Gumperz's (1982) 'contextualization cues', which can be potentially given and taken up with the act of language choice or a socio-cultural reference (of which more later).

In the end, the salience of frames in this conceptualization may not be marginal at all; for example, think of websites' headings or denotations of authors in interactive digital discourses. For many readers and participants, headings give important cues as to whether to continue reading or not, or guide

how to read the rest; similarly, the interpretation of interactive digital discourse is frequently and mundanely affected by who is writing what, after whom, in response to whom, and so on. Indeed, in an attempt for a holistic enterprise of mediated discourse analysis (MDA), Levine & Scollon (2004) and Norris & Jones (2005) have legitimately highlighted the *a priori* theoretical and epistemological equality and potential salience of all modalities, modes, and mediating means[5]. It is with these insights in mind that I explore the relative discourse positions of the *Futisforums*' pseudonyms, 'Locations', 'Favourite teams' and signatures, visually aside or below the core contributions in forum messages. In other words, they are in visually prominent subspaces, yet they can be regarded as somewhat marginalized ('in the margin') and peripheral ("on spatially peripheral, yet pragmatically important elements of complex textual units"; Androutsopoulos forthcoming: 20) in comparison to the actual messages and discussion threads (and their headings). Thus, the application of 'frames' in this paper extends to two overlapping planes: that of 'surrounding' and organizing the visual discourse structure, and that of conveying social meaning, giving contextualization cues and points of (dis)identification within the multi-faceted football (sub)cultures at play in the community of practice. With the help of their visual positioning and layout, I propose that the four different framing devices analysed below filter the core interaction towards certain plausible interpretations about the interlocutors' stances and away from others.

A major theoretical and empirical anchoring point for this paper is the CMC research by Androutsopoulos (2011, forthcoming; personal communication), who proposes the deliberately ambiguous term 'on top' to cover several kinds of (mainly written and visual) multilingual language use both offline and online. Driven by empirical observations and data sampling in mostly Germany-based contexts, Androutsopoulos's discussion is delimited to 'English on top'; however, I suggest that a similar framework can be fruitfully applied to other varieties in similar textual and visual discourse positions. Androutsopoulos argues that

> […] rather than serving referential demands only, English 'on top' indexes familiarity with transnational lifestyles, cultures and audience communities, and is part of stylized identity performances. This is reflected in a number of usage patterns which are common across media types and genres. In particular, English on European mediascapes is the preferred code for emblematic, headlining and framing purposes; it relies heavily on chunks/formulae rather than freely formulated material; it is shaped by intertextuality and interdiscursivity; and it draws on vernacular resources. (Androutsopoulos forthcoming: 1)

Similarly, by no means limited to online or even written language use, Heller (2007) has proposed an understanding of language as *resources* "organized in ways that make sense under specific social conditions" and circulating "in

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[5]   See also Blommaert (2005: 1–4) for a further justification of this approach. Coupland (2009) is highly recommended as a rare, ambitious and intriguing attempt at an integrated analysis of sociolinguistic style, performance, frames and multimodality in mass media contexts; however, in that paper, digital discourse remains a side issue.

unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces". Within this view, it is not bounded or whole languages (ideological idealizations) but concrete linguistic resources (cf. 'features' in Jørgensen 2008) that have meaning and value that "are socially constructed within the constraints of social organizational processes, under specific historical conditions" (Heller 2007: 1–2). Androutsopoulos adopts this important insight in an exploration on how social actors in various media "use English resources in specific contexts […] not as a fixed variety or register, but as a discourse strategy, a way of using semiotic resources in discourse" (forthcoming: 6). These dispositions by Heller and Androutsopoulos (cf. also Blommaert 2010: 39–47) are in accord with my present approach; moreover, they are also compatible with the particular kinds of visually and discourse-organizationally motivated language use in the practices of naming and bracketing (framing) in the primary data of this article.

To serve his line of inquiry, Androutsopoulos makes a tentative typology of this family of discourse functions into 'heading, bracketing and naming', arguing that while occasionally acknowledged in the literature on advertising (Martin 2007; Kelly-Holmes 2005, Piller 2001) or headlining in print media, these remain overlooked and under-researched. Yet, when taken in aggregate, they can constitute a considerable proportion of a given instance of media discourse (Androutsopoulos forthcoming: 7). In the case of web forum discourse, how much weight is emically given to naming and bracketing probably depends on the individual forum or community of practice; in the case of the *Futisforums* here, I would suggest on the basis of my persistent observations that they are relatively salient discourse functions with clear affordances for polylingual language use, and thus well worth exploring from a sociolinguistic standpoint. As Androutsopoulos (ibid.: 12) points out with regard to language alternation, "the introductory and concluding chunks surrounding a contribution such as an email or forum post have been found to use a different code than the main text (Hinrichs 2006: 92-101; Androutsopoulos 2004, 2006)". Reviewing a sample of written discourses across genres, Androutsopoulos regards 'heading' as the most researched function of these framing devices, with the warranted notion that different types of 'heading' are usually "set apart from their body text by multimodal means, including typeface, size, colour and combinations thereof" (ibid.: 7). Of the three framing devices, Androutsopoulos credits 'bracketing' mainly with the canonical work of Goffman (1986: 251–252), who distinguished conventional 'opening and closing temporal brackets' and 'bounding spatial brackets' for face-to-face spoken interaction. As suggested above, the closest equivalents to bracketing in the digital discourse format of the web forum are distinguishable openings and endings of message threads or single messages, along with the potential affordance of 'Signatures' (but see my caveat on the time lapse above). Finally, the third discourse function Androutsopoulos includes in his argument on the multilingualism of framing devices is 'naming':

> Names serve to identify an actor, organisation or a media product, and while they of course also occur integrated in the copy text, I am primarily interested here in their

function as emblems, in which they are set off their surrounding discourse by virtue of their position and typography (e.g on a newspaper masthead or the top of a periodical cover). Names are similar to headlines in terms of their textual placement and multimodal treatment, but differ from these in that they designate social and institutional identities instead of heading textual units (forthcoming: 16).

Delimiting his discussion to usages of English, Androutsopoulos suggests that his selection of 'English on top' items are frequently "*intertextual*, i.e. quotations from other texts; *formulaic*, i.e. routine expressions with a specific communicative function; and originate in *specific varieties and styles of English* (ibid.: 18, italics original)". To some extent these chime with the data in focus here: particularly in the case of resources drawn from Finnish and English, the intra-variety variation of style becomes evident in the analysis. For other 'major languages', the Standard is adhered to most of the time, but variety and style switching also occur. The formulaic aspect of the language use in these framing devices is also apparent: the members need to understand only short extracts, a limited number of features from 'a language' in order to display the competence needed in their profiles. Inferences from 'real' competences cannot be easily drawn, as chunks and formulae can be culled from the internet in a rather open-ended manner. The intertextuality feature, then, is also very prominent in the categories analysed here. However, in lieu of the term 'intertextuality', by now ambiguous in its notoriously rhizomatic histories of usage, I prefer to align with the less trodden research path of *entextualization* (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Blommaert 2005, 46–48). According to Bauman & Briggs, briefly, entextualization is

> the process of rendering discourse extractable, of making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit – a *text* – that can be lifted out of its interactional setting […] such that the resultant text carries elements of its history of use within it. (Bauman & Briggs 1990: 73; italics in the original)

That entextualization (and resemiotization[6]) factor is at its most salient in my discussion of 'Signatures', where entextualization from earlier text sources and origins is made prominent; however, the phenomenon is arguably also manifest in pseudonyms, 'Locations' and 'Favourite teams'. 'Locations' and 'Favourite teams' (visually in the left-hand column in forum messages; see images in Appendices 3, 4 and 5) can arguably be regarded as 'framing devices' in the same way as pseudonyms and signatures; however, they do not directly fit into Androutsopoulos's classification. They are not headings, for they may not be directly discursively related to all (or any) of the same member's messages. The function of the heading is indeed more prominent elsewhere in the web discussion forums' tripartite hierarchical organization (subforums' names; topic/thread headings). 'Locations' and 'Favourite teams' here come slightly

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[6]   Entextualization is very closely related to the notion of resemiotization, the process of "how meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of a practice to the next" (Iedema 2003: 41). For a discussion on their differences and similarities as well as how they can be integrated, see Leppänen et al. (forthcoming). The term 'resemiotization', although fully potential here, holds more appeal for me when the multisemiotic aspects of the researched discourses are more prominent than in the rather text-based data at hand.

closer to 'bracketing', but that function would be more typically realized in web forums by message openings and closings, and to some extent signatures. 'Locations' and 'Favourite teams' are related to names (Androutsopoulos's 'naming'), as they are spatially and discourse-structurally attached to one's pseudonyms and member profiles. But they are not an output of the typical 'naming' function, which is mainly reserved for the names of web personae (and their micro-communities across or within forums). Let us then be content with the observation that 'Locations' or 'Favourite teams' are clearly salient and visible parts of member profiles that become repeated time after time in their particular position as the active members produce new discourse by posting messages. They are thus 'framing devices' that provide more or less important 'contextualization cues' for the reading and interpretation of the overall 'small stories' in the discussion threads.

Scholars preoccupied with multilingual written discourse (Hinrichs 2006; Leppänen 2007; Leppänen & Peuronen 2012; Sebba 2012; chapters in Sebba et al. 2012) have occasionally attempted to apply the theoretical grids of code-switching research; I, too, use some of its central tenets for some of my interactional *Futisforum* data (Kytölä 2012b; Kytölä submitted). In this respect Androutsopoulos (2007, 2011, forthcoming) suggests a epistemological and methodological breakdown of types of CMC discourse: for him the code-switching toolkit is best applied only to interactionally organized CMC[7], while other types of multilingual CMC benefit from other theoretical and descriptive frameworks (such as visual grammar or multisemiotic discourse analysis). I agree with him in that

> the reason is not just the mere difference between spoken and written discourse, but rather the textual and discursive discontinuity between 'on top' elements and the textual backdrop to which they relate and against which they gain their pragmatic meaning. From the three discourse functions considered here, only bracketing has obvious functional similarities to classic conversational code-switching. (Androutsopoulos forthcoming: 21)

This article, then, is positioned as an expansion and a modification of Androutsopoulos's initiative. On the one hand, I narrow down my analysis from Androutsopoulos's discussion spanning several media and genres to focus solely – and in a more detailed way – on the format of web discussion forums (the two *Futisforums* with which I am relatively well conversant). Moreover, I leave the discussion of headings mostly for another occasion (but see the visual samples in Appendix 5 to illustrate topic headings 'at work' in connection with topic messages). My extension, on the other hand, from Androutsopoulos's opening operates on two planes. First, I work with larger samples to be able to suggest quantitatively determined patterns in the polylingualism of the

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7   Many non-CMC linguistics scholars in the formative years of CMC have sought parallels between internet writing and spoken conversation (see, for instance, Montgomery 2008: 135–140 and the revised and improved discussion in Crystal 2006: 26–65), although both Androutsopoulos and I have major reservations against such simplified comparisons across modes that mostly ignore the dimensions of genre and register.

'framing devices'; and second, I venture to combine ethnographically accrued insight (cf. Androutsopoulos 2008; Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012) in the interpretation of polylingual language use in pseudonyms and the three other affordances. Furthermore, despite the hegemony of English as a world language appropriated for a myriad of uses across the globe, and certainly *the* foreign language most prominent in many Finnish contexts such as these *Futisforums*, I have no *a priori* reason to limit the discussion to English. We will, however, inevitably locate the significance of English(es) as a pool of versatile resources in the quantitative findings.[8]

3.   Ethical considerations

I discuss the ethical preliminaries of the sociolinguistic study of web forums elsewhere in more detail (Kytölä 2013), and hence offer just a brief synopsis here. As the dominating approach in this paper is quantitative, and the masses of items in each analysable category 'tell their story', the ethical caveats are somewhat less restrictive than I would consider them to be in qualitatively oriented studies of interaction threads (Androutsopoulos & Kytölä 2012; Kytölä 2012b, Kytölä 2013; Kytölä submitted). Pseudonyms *per se* I regard as fully public information accessible to anyone, and they have (at least at a certain point) been chosen by their bearers as a locus of *public self-representation*. Technically, *Futisforum2.org* requires registration before one can browse the full memberlist, but registration is open and free to all, and a similar dataset of pseudonyms could be easily obtained by browsing openly available discussion topics from multiple subforums. *Futisforum's* 'Locations' are equally open for any web user to browse; and from my several years of familiarization with the forums from an ethnographically framed perspective, I see no problem in researching them in either a qualitative or quantitative way. The same applies to *Futisforum2.org's* 'Favourite teams': like the older forum's 'Locations', these seem exactly the very acts of identity that the members appear to be willing to highlight, perform, and share further – loci of public performance. Unlike many other web forums I have browsed during my research projects, 'Signatures' (here only on *FF2.org*) are found a little bit 'deeper' in the discourse, slightly more peripheral, as they are wholly invisible to non-registered web navigators, and only visible to members as an 'opt-in' choice in their personal settings. Slightly less than half of hard-core members seem to display a signature, let alone more casual writers, among whom it demanded time and effort to find any signatures manually. What seems specific to the signatures manifest in *FF2.org* is that they are often direct quotes from *within the same forum*, highlighting and recycling either a dead-on point, or alternatively a ridiculous,

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[8]   In fact, my entire research project had 'uses and functions of English' in (Finland-based) football discourse as a point of departure, while my later move to include a larger constellation of multilingualism in the project was motivated both empirically (especially the two *Futisforums*) and theoretically (e.g. Heller 2007; Jørgensen 2008, Blommaert et al. 2005; Makoni & Pennycook 2007).

'silly' statement that another member has written. I hesitated a little while over whether signatures from the latter category (i.e., ridiculing other members) should be included in the analysis, but at the end, my decision was firm: these are examples of public, semi-open discourse created for display and publicity, and it is legitimate to rephrase and recontextualise them in a research project that generally respects and appreciates the communities of practice in question.[9] I have been in computer-mediated contact with two moderators of *FF2.org* and in face-to-face contact with several members of the two forums about my research. In this paper, I do not probe more deeply into individual members' profiles or message histories, although after several years of immersion in the forums, I cannot help having knowledge about some part of them. I will deploy this ethnographically accrued background knowledge whenever the interpretation of a certain multilingual usage or feature might be enhanced by it. There is no space here for conducting correlational studies or juxtapositions between or across the features analysed, although as the sampling criteria show, most members whose 'Locations' are in the analysable sample are also contained in the pseudonyms sample (*Futisforum*), and the same also goes for 'Favourites' and, to some extent, 'Signatures' (*FF2.org*).

It has to be acknowledged here that I have two nicknames (a common practice encouraged in the older forum and not strongly discouraged in *FF2.org* either) in each of the two forums, one I registered for *Futisforum* around 2004–2005 as a football enthusiast without any research intention, and another one I registered for a researcher's identity. I used my researcher pseudonym 'Smaug' for the data collection; moreover, I use it for accessing the non-football sub-forums hidden from non-members as well as for writing to the forum. Neither of these nicknames is anywhere near the top 200 samples used for this paper. Nor are my precious few, relatively matter-of-fact forum writings quoted even once in the signatures: that honour seems to be justifiably left for the more prolific, better-known, funnier, more entertaining members than the present author.

4. The primary data: cluster samples and 'purposeful' selections

Tables 3 and 4 below show a numerical breakdown of the raw data used for this analysis; the tables are followed by a description of the data sampling processes in order to make them more transparent for the reader. In theory, with the help of this description, the research design could be replicable with the same web forums by any researcher to yield possibly changed samples and in many ways different results; however, without familiarizing oneself with the communities

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[9]   I do not, however, refrain completely from critique or research into the more malevolent sides of the forums' trajectories and discourses. A critical investigation into two cases of bullying and discrimination, for instance, is contained in Kytölä (2012b).

of practice in question, and more generally, the history and the present of football, it would be more difficult to integrate the ethnographically accrued knowledge of and insight into the forums' experiential life-worlds with such a replicated analysis.

TABLE 3.   The primary cluster samples of 200 items from each category/forum subspace

	pseudonyms	'Locations'	'Favourite teams'	Signatures
Futisforum	200	200	-	-
Futisforum2.org	200	-	200	200

TABLE 4.   The auxiliary 'purposeful' selections from each category/forum subspace

	pseudonyms	'Locations'	'Favourite teams'	Signatures
Futisforum	30	25	-	-
Futisforum2.org	30	-	35	10

The criterion I decided to apply to the sample was always to include the 200 most active writers, as I regard these as the 'hard core' of the overall forum membership (community of practice). Although I had agreed on samples of 200 items at an early stage of designing this paper, I had several options on how to obtain the 200 items. One option would have been to conduct a completely non-skewed, random sample, e.g. to take every 200th (or 210th, or 190th, depending on the exact quotient of the division) member from the entire memberlist (approx. 40,000 members per forum), listed alphabetically, or by date of registration (see Appendices 1 and 2 for further clarification), or by the number of messages posted. Another option would have been to pick 200 consecutively registered nicknames, which would have yielded, for instance, all new pseudonyms registered during a given two or three months. Such a 'cluster' selection would not have made sense in the alphabetical listing (e.g. from 'klaas-jan' to 'Koliotshik') since confining the selection to specific initial letters would have profoundly influenced the language distribution due to the different phonotactics and orthographies of different languages. For instance, an alphabetical sorting[10] illustrates that most 'Locations' beginning with the letter 'ö' are Swedish (Öja, Örebro, Österbotte, Övermark), and most beginning with 'ä' are Finnish (Ähtäri, Äänekoski), and such samples would inevitably be skewed for my purposes. In turn, selection of the key 'hard-core' members for an exploration of quantitative distributions and visuality has an additional advantage: combining the forums' general statistics and the memberlist statistics show that despite the far greater number of registered users (ca. 40,000), the 200 most active writers actually produce a major part of the overall forum discourse in each forum.

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[10]   Available at http://suomifutisnet.adv1.nebula.fi/phpBB2/memberlist.php?mode=location&order=DESC&start=0 (accessed 30 March 2012)

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One key aim in my overall research project (cf. Kytölä 2012a, 2012b, 2013) has been to document the range and extent of the (socio)linguistic diversity of Finnish football discourse. In order to more fully achieve this with regard to the discourse functions in focus here, I complemented the primary samples of 200 items with non-statistically motivated 'purposeful' selections of 30 pseudonyms (per forum), 25 'Locations', 35 'Favourite teams' and 10 'Signatures'. Tentative pilot samples were conducted during 2008–2012 for use in seminars and conference presentations, while the final samples were conducted in March–July 2012. Whenever I have observed or made a fieldnote that a user had edited these affordances of their profile between my earlier samplings and the final one, I have used the situation as per 6 July 2012.[11] For instance, the second 'Favourite team' on the list (in Italian) was added shortly before the sampling date, and even the addition of one more item can render the percentage of a relatively 'rare' language such as Italian larger than it would have been at another moment[12]. Of the most general statistical sampling methods, this is thus closest to cluster sampling, as I gave up the idea of conducting a random or systematic sample. Each analysable category relies on the notion of 'heavy users' or 'hard core' members of the communities of practice; consequently, the categories of 'Signatures', 'Locations' and 'Favourite teams' in the selection derive in part from the same members that are included in the pseudonym sample.

In regard to each category or forum subspace, I conducted a rough, tentative division of items into 'languages' (cf. the critique in Jørgensen 2008; Makoni & Pennycook 2007) and, whenever this was suggested by the data, more subtle varieties (particularly 'colloquial Finnish' and 'mock-English'). Each category yielded slightly different problems for straightforward classification. First, with pseudonyms, the nicknames chosen by the prolific Futisforums' members, were often 'existing proper names' (see Appendix 1). This, of course, suggests that the target of choice for a person registering first time is, first and foremost, an existing persona (most often an individual football player) rather than a particular language, variety, nationality, or 'culture'. For instance, choosing 'Thierry Henry' as one's pseudonym is arguably more of an identification with a particular football star than 'choosing French', let alone '*using* French'. Similarly, choosing 'Hidegkuti' is more of a homage to a great 1950s player than '*using* Hungarian'. But I do not consider this to be an obstacle to this enquiry; quite the contrary, it is in fact illuminating to reflect on these 'naming' choices and acknowledge the complexity of situated 'minimal' language use, *languaging*, as situated acts of social identification. Following Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985), 'acts of identity' are performed in every speech act by any individual, and in so doing, they give off facets of their

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[11] The older *Futisforum* was nearly derelict by 2012 apart from a handful of active discussion topics; the situation in 2012, therefore, closely resembles that of ca. 2008–2009.

[12] Another prominent member changed the language of his 'Favourite team' to colloquial Icelandic soon after I had conducted the final sample. The Icelandic utterance is as follows: "ég ríða þér í auga!" ('i fuck you in the eye!').

sense of social and ethnic solidarity or difference (see also Blommaert 2005: 203–211). So, after all, naming oneself 'Thierry Henry' or 'Hidegkuti' *remain* acts of identification with French and Hungarian (respectively) football 'cultures', if only secondarily. This particular kind of language-use-as-social-action, adopting a pseudonym, is a more or less meaningful activity: it is done with language (albeit 'bits-and-pieces'), and it is done with a conscious or unconscious language choice. It is different from many other subtypes of language use, but it is a fundamental prerequisite for this type of web forum communication and discourse in the first place. However, we should not necessarily presuppose a high degree of identification work in pseudonyms; this seems rather a matter for further investigation.

Second, with 'Locations' (see Appendices 1–4), a subspace afforded by *Futisforum,* it turned out that quite a significant proportion of the members had taken the slot (a cell in the profile editing page, Appendix 2) literally, indicating nothing else than their offline location, their place of residence, or alternatively, a virtual location, a website important to them. Even more than pseudonyms, these were challenging to classify in terms of language choice. Yet not even this makes the findings any less interesting, since, on the one hand, concrete places of residence could also be tentatively categorized into 'countries'/'cultures' and thus, with relative ease, 'languages' (e.g. often 'Finland', 'Finnish') despite my general (and justified) reluctance to make essentialist assumptions of this kind, while, on the other hand, the 'Location' slot was also appropriated by users for several other purposes than indicating any real location. These were roughly classifiable into languages and varieties, and once again, interesting data-driven categories emerged, too. One of them was 'Forumese', which here denotes loosely the way of writing typical of *Futisforum*, exemplified in particular lexemes, word choices, phrases and clause structures.

Third, with 'Favourite teams' (Appendix 5), a subspace afforded by *FF2.org* (in lieu of the older forum's 'Location'), it turned out again that many members had taken it at face value, just listing their favourite football clubs (often more than one). And once again, I consider this in no way an insufficient finding for the purposes of language choice: most of the time the names of clubs were classified according to the language used in the names, or the dominant language of the corresponding city. Here, too, many members appropriated this subspace for something other than indicating their favourites, and the expressions and phrases found in the sample yielded fully usable raw data for the exploration of language/variety alternation. As I suggested in my earlier work (Kytölä 2012a: 118),

> these serve as reminders of the individual users' agency and appropriation: any space for self-expression can be used creatively, even against its 'original purpose', and in this case these sub-spaces give expression to a wide range of language choices for identity work.

Finally, with 'Signatures' (Appendix 5), the investigation revealed that the majority of these were actually quotes of one type or another. In the Bakhtinian

terms of *double-voicing* (Bakhtin 1984), earlier phrases, clauses or utterances or other social actors are recycled, rephrased, *entextualized* (Bauman & Briggs 1990) to serve a new function in a new context of situated language use. In that sense, these members' signatures are not more language choice in its purest sense than the 'naming' discussed above. Yet this empirical observation should not be seen as a serious limitation of the present research design either; on the contrary, this research finding, too, sheds light on the nature of this kind of late modern 21st-century digital communication. Indeed, in the purest Bakhtinian terms (with which I fully agree), no instance of language use is ever idiosyncratic or new at all, but we always rephrase and recycle earlier utterances in a new context (Bakhtin 1984). However, for web forum signatures-as-quotes, this double-voicing effect is highly explicit and overt. I am still inclined to see it as 'language choice', 'language alternation' embedded within the larger framework of the web forum interaction. For instance, choosing a signature in Standard written Russian (with Cyrillic script),

> "Улыбайтесь, люди любят идиотов."[13],

or in Catalan,

> "Menja bé, caga fort i no tinguis por a la mort."[14],

does not necessarily presuppose high competence in Russian/Catalan these days as more or less anything can be readily copied from the infinity of online sources, but it does imply that Russian/Catalan are *in some respect meaningful resources* for these persons, these web personae, in this position, for this delimited discourse function.

Within each of the four categories, some items ended up as linguistically 'universal' or non-categorisable; hence data-driven categories such as 'universal', 'no identifiable variety' or 'acronyms and abbreviations' were crafted to account for these items. However, the samples of 200 items in each category turned out to be large enough to guarantee satisfactory reliability and generalizability[15]. It is not possible to give an exact estimate of the error margin for the results in the categories, since there was no predetermined or closed categorization. Instead, new data-driven categories were always allowed until the last (200th) item in the sample. The selection was, moreover, biased towards the 'heavy users', the core of the community. With each category, I followed the entire population (approx. 43,000 in *Futisforum*, 35,000 in *FF2.org*) of the member profiles further, going through 100–1200 additional items, depending on the category. These rounds yielded the qualitative observation that a satisfactory saturation point had already clearly been achieved at the 200th item, as the same categories (typically: Standard Finnish, colloquial Finnish, English, universal or unidentifiable) kept recurring in roughly the same ratios, as did

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[13]   'Smile, people love idiots.'
[14]   'Eat well, shit a lot and do not be afraid of death.'
[15]   I am grateful to statistician, PhD Kari Nissinen, University of Jyväskylä, for instances of personal communication and good advice (2009–2010) in the sampling options.

items distinguishable as other 'languages' that ended up in my 'purposeful' selections. The purpose of the latter was to unearth possible languages or more specific varieties that did not occur, or occurred only 1–2 times, in the 'top 200' samples. It is clear from the outset that we should not exaggerate or over-represent the frequencies of such 'rarer' languages. The purpose of this part of the exercise was, rather, to acknowledge and appreciate that these also are *potentially and factually relevant resources* that can be drawn upon by Finnish football enthusiasts in respective acts of identification.

In connection with each set of quantitative results, I will make a few selected 'dives' into the related/adjacent discourses, such as brief reviews of the individual members' topic preferences, expertise areas, or language uses I have encountered elsewhere during my immersion in the present communities of practice. However, the scope of this paper does not allow me to go any deeper into another interesting research design, that of following the message histories of individual members to identify web personae with multilingual preferences (e.g. code-switching or crossing behaviour), or whether certain pseudonyms are prolific initiators of discussions in a particular language or variety. The available technical functions of both forums (memberlisting, internal and external search engines) were deployed to some extent (cf. Kytölä 2012a; Androutsopoulos 2008: 6–7). Overall, with this research design it may remain difficult to tap into the reasons, reasonings, motivations or stages of consideration behind the name choices; instead, the large samples combined with the members' very useful metapragmatic reflexivity (self-reports) about their name choices, along with my ethnographically accrued knowledge and insights into the two *Futisforums*, yield relatively reliable quantitative overviews of the different naming patterns.

5.   Polylingualism in the *Futisforums*' framing positions

I will now turn to analysing my samples of 200 items in each subspace. Following the chronology from the point of the social action of the forum members themselves, I will start with the pseudonyms (as adopting one is the first action that a new aspiring member will take). A sample of 200 nicknames from each forum and smaller 'purposeful' samples will be tentatively classified as to their language or variety choice, along with the challenges to classification. Additional points will be made about the usage of 'already proper names' for pseudonyms, as well as orthographic play such as name-internal punctuation or numerals. Secondly, I will move to analyse self-appointed 'Locations' or 'Favourite teams', found in many but not all members' profiles. I have picked a sample of 200 locations or favourites complemented by 25 locations and 35 favourites in the 'purposeful' sample. Third, I explore the sample of 200 'Signatures' from *FF2.org*, complemented by 10 sociolinguistically interesting picks from (slightly less active) members.

All these framing devices allow affordances for representation and performance potentially broader and more detailed than just the nickname; this 'performance factor' in the pseudonyms can be salient too, but is perhaps contestable. As specified above in the introductory sections, these 'framing devices' work on two planes: first, they frame the discourse structure by means of layout and visual positioning; and second, they frame the organization of experience, i.e. the interpretation and plausible readings that one connects to the performance of certain pseudonyms (cf. Androutsopoulos forthcoming). To illustrate in more detail the range of such 'acts of identity' (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985; Blommaert 2005: 203–211) as well as the creative (almost) public performance that can be spotted in these 'marginal' but very potentially relevant subspaces of the *Futisforums*, selections are made out of the samples of 200 for a closer investigation.

5.1. Pseudonyms ('nicks')

Pseudonyms ('aliases', 'screen names', emically labelled 'nicks', also 'nicknames' in some CMC scholarship, such as Lawson 2003, Stommel 2007), are an essential part of communication via web forums: in the communities of practice thus co-constructed, pseudonyms become "the locus of a certain representation, reputation and respect" (Kytölä 2012a: 117). Indeed, "naming is – at least potentially for many online actors if not universally – a salient act of identity" (ibid.: 117). In that respect, the forum pseudonyms 'do framing' both in the discourse-structural sense and in the experience-organizational sense defined above. In her discussion of a forum for eating disorders, Stommel (2007) points out that CMC nicknames are emblematic and significant in that they represent or construct facets of identity. Moreover, Lawson (2003: 82) aptly concludes in her discussion on ethical issues that "one's online nickname is more than a simple identifier for the person behind the screen, it is a vital part of our 'cyberself'". An early quantitative study on the topic is Bechar-Israeli (1995), who formulated a fine-grained data-driven typology of 14 classes based on the denotational meaning of a large sample (n=260) of Internet Relay Chat (IRC) pseudonyms; however, in that study, language choice remains a side issue despite apparent language alternation between at least English and Hebrew (plus possibly Yiddish, although that is not explicitly mentioned). A number of discussion topics from the two *Futisforums* themselves were deployed as auxiliary qualitative data for this article. Common to all of them is that they explicitly deal with the choice of the nickname and the underlying reasons or motivations for it. None of the topics were opened by myself; in fact, I was not even aware of any of them bar one (it was opened by my colleague Riikka Turtiainen[16]) when I first began crafting this type of research design. Each of these topics is framed so that the forumists openly tell the stories

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[16] I also utilized the very helpful questionnaire survey by Turtiainen (2004). This was an insightful early work on her path to becoming a professional researcher.

behind their nicknames. However, it soon becomes evident that many such 'stories' are to be understood as completely non-serious, jocular, not to be taken at face-value. Here is a list of these auxiliary data, the discussion threads overtly dealing with the choice of the pseudonym (all last accessed 24 June 2012). I have made rough, literal English translations of these topic headings and also of other data samples appearing in the analysis in the case of languages such as Finnish, Swedish, Polish or Chinese.

> Nimimerkkienne tarina?
> *[The story of your pseudonyms?]*
> 179 messages between 30.12.2003 and 31.07.2005
>
> Edistäkää tutkimusta, kiitos!
> *[Please help this research!]*
> 79 messages between 28.01.2004 and 31.01.2004
>
> Nikkien merkitys käyttäytymiseesi
> *[The influence of the nicks on your behaviour (of reading their posts?)]*
> 42 messages between 16.03.2005 and 17.03.2005
>
> Nimimerkkisi tausta?
> *[The background of your pseudonym?]*
> 79 messages between 17.03.2005 and 20.03.2005
>
> Millä perustein valitsit nimimerkkisi?
> *[On what grounds did you choose your pseudonym?]*
> 461 messages between 26.02.2007 and 29.11.2010

Ironically, the last message in one of these topics ('The influence of the nicks') is as follows.
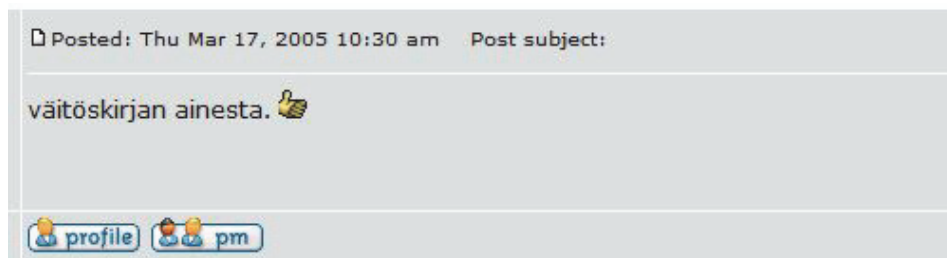
(The nominal phrase "väitöskirjan ainesta" translates into "potential for a PhD dissertation").

This was six months before I had any budding notion to do a PhD on the topic, and around four years before I saw its potential for the purpose of this particular line of enquiry. One of these topics, moreover, contains an illuminating debate between a few nicknames about the worthwhileness of the entire nickname research: one forumist argues that research about *Futisforum* users *per se* is acceptable and interesting, but that the nicknames do not have anything to do with it. Other users argue that some nicknames clearly seem to mean a lot to their bearers ('Liverbird', 'Le God'…) while others hardly so

('JJO', 'Tsei Tsei'…). What can be extracted from this emic insight is that pseudonyms can at least potentially be meaningful, but they can also be relatively insignificant. The discussion in one of these 'metapragmatically reflexive' (Blommaert & Rampton 2011: 8–10; Kytölä 2013) threads suggests that not all members even want to see the nicknames when routinely browsing the threads; this is an interesting point that I too have often pondered, although to verify it would require a completely new research design drawing from Human-Computer Interaction. Quite a few users argue that their choice of nickname is indeed meaningful (an act of identity) and well-considered. Let us, however, take it as a legitimate additional finding that nicknames might not always mean much to their bearers. This is another good reminder to us that meanings and functions should not be presupposed, but that they should be investigated (Blommaert & Rampton 2011; Hymes 1996: 3–16). It turned out that a large proportion of the top 200 authors in each selection had actually participated in these meta-discussions about the origins of their nicknames, and the majority of them in a relatively serious way. These emic insights provide illuminating information on a socioculturally interesting topic[17]. For the present purposes, quantitative in the first place, however, this is 'enough of a story', and we can focus on the language/variety distribution in more detail, placing less emphasis on the cognitive, experiential or motivational factors behind the choices.

5.1.1. *Futisforum*

The memberlist of *Futisforum* – online in its current format 1999–2013, but *de facto* largely defunct since 2009 or so – can be freely viewed online[18]. As the number of registered nicknames totals more than 44,000, the publicly browsable memberlist is divided into approx. 1,100 subpages, each displaying the information on 40 nicknames at a time. To obtain 200 pseudonyms from *Futisforum,* I cluster sampled 200 'heavy posters', i.e. 200 members with the greatest number of posts in total. Spam robots and doubles were manually excluded. Generally known 'side-nicks' of single offline persons were, however, not excluded, as side-nicks are an integral part of these communities of practice. The samples were conducted on 30 March 2012, although the top 200 list of *Futisforum* has stayed more or less unchanged since around 2008–2009, when activity in *Futisforum* had decreased drastically due to malfunctioning and the success of the younger *Futisforum2.org.* The updated numbers of posts by the members in the 'top 200' sample range between 2,800 – 29,400 (*Futisforum*) and 4,700 – 33,400 (*FF2.org*). Instead of a totally random sample from the entire population of screen names, these are the most active writers that, for me, represent the core of the forum community, rather than passive or non-writing members ('lurkers' in the CMC literature; e.g. Baym 2000: 144–147). The

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[17]   More information about these meta-discussions can be acquired from the present author, as it is not possible to attach the entire data set here as Appendices.

[18]   http://suomifutisnet.adv1.nebula.fi/phpBB2/memberlist.php (last accessed 30 June 2012).

rejection of a random sample or an alphabetical cluster sample was discussed above. A totally random alphabetical sample of 200 names would make sense, however; it should therefore divide the entire list of 40,000 names into clusters of 200 and sample every 200th name, then manually excluding spam robots and possibly other suspicious names, for instance, nicknames with no message posting history at all if so preferred. A sample of the 200 most active writers can be accrued with this procedure. From the memberlist main page, I selected "Select sort method: Total posts" and "Order: Descending". The returned top 11 at the time of the final sampling were distorted due to spam robots and thus manually excluded; I therefore start from the 12th item and close the sample with number 212 (Mestori). (One of the 201 was a double occurrence for some reason.) Alternative ways of viewing member listings can be seen in Appendix 1, but now we move to the tentative classification (Tables 5 and 6) of the conducted sample of 200 *Futisforum* nicknames by language or variety.

TABLE 5.   The sample of 200 pseudonyms from *Futisforum* classified by language or variety

Variety or category	Items	%
Standard Finnish	30	15 %
Colloquial or stylized Finnish	26	13 %
Finnish in total	**56** *(+7 in mixed names)*	**28 %**
English	47 *(+6 in mixed names)*	23.5 %
universal or no identifiable variety	21	10.5 %
acronyms and abbreviations	16	8 %
mixed-variety (I identified two main varieties in each one)	10	5 %
Spanish	10	5 %
Italian	8	4 %
French	6	3 %
Portuguese	5	2.5 %
German	3	1.5 %
Russian	3	1.5 %
Dutch	2	1 %
Japanese	2	1 %
Ukrainian	2	1 %
Basque	1	0.5 %
Bulgarian	1	0.5 %
Catalan	1	0.5 %
Croatian	1	0.5 %
Estonian	1	0.5 %
Georgian	1	0.5 %
Greek	1	0.5 %
Hungarian	1	0.5 %
Swedish	1	0.5 %
Total	**200**	**100 %**

TABLE 6.   Breakdown of the 'mixed-variety' category (10 items, in each of which 2 languages were identified

Variety	Occurrences in 10 mixed-variety pseudonyms
Finnish	7
English	6
German	1
Dutch	1
Italian	1
Romanian	1
Arabic	1
French	1
unidentified / acronym	1
Total	**20**

It can clearly be seen that Finnish, the native language to most (but not all) writers, as well as English, the foreign language most widely known to most Finns, dominate the choice of a nickname (52 % in total, 58.5 % if parts of mixed-variety names are included). Typical examples of Finnish pseudonyms are 'Jääpala' ('ice cube') and 'makkonen' (a surname); typical examples of the English ones include 'Gunner' and 'The Wolf'. Names not specific to any distinguishable variety (e.g. 'Jupiter', 'Ben') and all kinds of acronyms and abbreviations (e.g. '1x2', 'asd') comprise 23.5 % of the sample. This leaves a significant 24.5 % of the nicknames in other languages than English or Finnish, suggesting a range of polylingual language use far beyond conversational talk or most genres of web writing in Finland-based contexts. Indeed, it can be tentatively proposed that naming as a framing device is a practice highly prone to polylingualism.

However, most of the time, if a name is adopted from an identifiable other language than the dominant two (Finnish, English), they are already proper names *per se*, most frequently names of football players ('Xabi Alonso', 'Vavá', 'di Stefano', 'clichy', 'Shevchenko', 'Hidegkuti', 'Nakata'), or proper names denoting football clubs, such as 'Del Atletico', 'Lazio', or 'Blaugrana'. It should be noted that in cases like these, a member probably picks up a footballer he[19] likes, rather than choosing 'a language'. Yet we should acknowledge the heuristics where an admired, famous football player that a new football forum member allegedly identifies with or wants to be associated with *is already part of a local and global football culture*; therefore with a name, and an identification attached to that name, a forum member also potentially ascribes to himself a connoisseur's identity, along with possible expertise on a more specific football

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[19]   I use the masculine pronoun throughout the paper in order to eschew clumsy structures such as 'her-/himself' or '(s)he'. This is by no means to defend the use of masculine pronoun in a generic sense, which I do not support at all. Instead, my ethnographically informed perspective on the *Futisforum* community strongly suggests that the majority of the 200 or 1,000 most active authors are male, or identify their screen names as male. I duly acknowledge possible female authors, and I will do my best to refer to known or alleged female authors with feminine personal pronouns.

culture (represented by that particular name). This is by no means to suggest that one player first and foremost should represent an independent country or a nationality: quite the contrary, many football players and idols have attachments and affiliations to multiple countries, multiple ethnicities or multiple languages. However, rather than drawing direct equation marks, I will, for the sake of a feasible quantitative analysis, tentatively identify certain names with certain nationalities and certain languages (e.g. Italian–Italy; Portuguese–Brazil or Portugal; German–Germany (possibly Austria or Switzerland), etc.).

So, if a name from a particular nationality is chosen, it is at least potentially or partially an identification with (or at least towards) a particular nationality or country; for instance, picking 'Hidegkuti' cannot be presupposed to be a direct or explicit 'Hungarophile' act of identity, but it is at least a partial identification with the socio-historical era when Hungary was a great football country (i.e., the 1950s). Similarly, picking 'Nakata' is, if not a direct or explicit 'Japanophile' identification, at least a partial adherence to the socio-historical era when the best Japanese players (such as Hidekoshi Nakata) could make it in big European leagues (i.e., the late 1990s and the early 21st century). It might well be that the identification goes no deeper at all: the bearer of the name 'Hidegkuti' just likes Nándor Hidegkuti, or the bearer of the name 'Nakata' just adores Hidekoshi Nakata, while these admirations, fandoms or affiliations do not cover Hungarian or Japanese football at large. But there has been, at the point of picking the name, at least a loose affiliation, identification or adherence to the values these players represent. For this paper, interviewing the screen personae was excluded, but see the discussion of the helpful meta-threads within the forums on the choices of pseudonyms (see also Turtiainen 2004).

Swedish is perhaps surprisingly low in the quantitative analysis, given its position in Finland. Some *Futisforum* nicknames are explicitly framed as Swedish-minded, but they were not contained in the top 200 sample; due to their low number of posted messages. These include 'kalvholmsträske', 'Mackan', 'per-erik', and 'Danne'. I identified markedly more writers who wrote at times in Swedish or frequently quoted Swedish sources, but these members in turn do not have Swedish screen names. Yet other users simply seem to have a Swedish nickname, but little or no affiliation with Sweden or Swedish-speaking football culture. These include 'Vanda', 'Citronslemskivling', 'Lars-Peter' and 'Johan Näs'. In the abovementioned 'auxiliary' data, the forumists give explicit explanations to their choice of screen name in *Futisforum.* Below is an example concerning a prolific writer with a Bulgarian player's name.

M. Deianov Posted: Wed Mar 27, 2002 10:06 am   Post subject: Bulgaria - Tuo mainio maa

Juu, arvatkaa vaan mistä maasta tuo mun nikki on peräisin. Jep, Булгария. Varnasta ostin CSKA Sofian "tähtipelaajan" Metodi Deianovin pelipaidan.

[Yeah, just guess where my nick comes from. Yup, Булгария *(Bulgaria – SK). In Varna I bought the jersey of CSKA Sofia's "star player" Metodi Deianov.]*

Excerpt from topic "Bulgaria - Tuo mainio maa" (accessed 24 June 2012)

And below is another example documenting one of a Brazil enthusiast's first messages that soon became a popular meme for years, carried over to *Futisforum2.org* in 2006. (Vavá was a legendary Brazilian player.)

Vavá Posted: Fri May 24, 2002 10:08 pm   Post subject: but one thing was never discussed

[…]
Olen uusi tällä Forumilla, ja vakavasti futiksesta kiinnostunut ja kuten nickistä huomaa, en niele tosta vaan Pelé-vitsejä ja herjauksia.

[I am new in this Forum (actually it shows that he had registered the same day – SK) *and as you can tell from my nick, I don't tolerate Pelé jokes or blasphemies just like that.]*

Excerpt from topic "but one thing was never discussed" (accessed 24 June 2012)

Mixed-variety or code-switched pseudonyms form 5 % of the selection, including the author with the greatest number of posts, 'vili bin ali muhammad' (Finnish + pseudo-Arabic). Other examples are 'Le God'[20] (French + English), 'Jere=mies' (German + Finnish) and 'PetRescue' (English + Romanian); clearly humour seems to be one function for this intra-pseudonym code-switching. To document yet more variety in this polylingual practice of screen names, I compiled 30 more purposeful picks from *Futisforum's* top 1000 writers. The entire list is not included here, but interesting additions include 'Stig Tøfting' (Danish; note the highly iconic letter of the alphabet /ø/), 'Nisi optimum' (Latin; from the English club Everton FC's slogan) and 'Tukeem Abdullah Jafer' (first and foremost Arabic; I found no direct source for this pseudonym, but the member is a noteworthy expert on Italian football).

5.1.2. Futisforum2.org

The memberlist of *Futisforum2.org,* containing approx. 35,000 members, can be viewed by registered members only[21]. This usage of the memberlist for research purposes is ethically sound, since most of the entire forum content – along with the nicknames attached to the messages – is freely available. Screenshots to illustrate the memberlist view are found in Appendix 1. Now we move to the tentative classification of the sample of 200 *Futisforum2.org* nicknames by language or variety (Tables 7 and 8) . This sample was taken 30 March 2012, when the forum was 6 years and 9 days old. 48 nicknames were omitted from this *FF2.org* sample, since they were already part of the *Futisforum* sample of 200 names above. However, it is clear from the insights accumulated during

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20   The nickname of the great English player Matthew Le Tissier is 'Le God', allegedly derived from the surname and given to him by Southampton FC fans. The usage of the French definite article 'Le' is thus neither this *Futisforumist's* linguistic strategy nor code-mixing by the fans, but its origins can be traced to a real-life surname. Actually Le Tissier was born on Guernsey, which might partly explain the French surname.

21   Most of the forum can be viewed at http://futisforum2.org/; see Appendix 1.

ethnographic observation that not every prolific member has carried the same nickname across the two forums. I refrain here from digging deeper into the relationships between different pseudonyms.

TABLE 7. The sample of 200 pseudonyms from *Futisforum2.org* classified by language or variety

Variety or category	Items	%
Standard Finnish	32	16 %
Colloquial or stylized Finnish	33	16.5 %
Finnish in total	**65** *(+3 in mixed names)*	**32.5 %**
English	45 *(+2 in mixed names)*	22.5 %
universal or no identifiable variety	21	10.5 %
acronyms and abbreviations	16	8 %
mixed-variety (I identified two main varieties in each one)	4	2 %
Spanish	13	6.5 %
Italian	6	3 %
Portuguese	6	3 %
Swedish	6	3 %
German	4	2 %
Russian	3	1.5 %
Greek	2	1 %
Norwegian	2	1 %
Arabic	1	0.5 %
Catalan	1	0.5 %
Chinese	1	0.5 %
Croatian	1	0.5 %
French	1	0.5 %
Japanese	1	0.5 %
Latin	1	0.5 %
Total	**200**	**100 %**

TABLE 8. Breakdown of the 'mixed-variety' category; i.e. the pseudonyms where it was possible to identify two different languages (4 items, in each of which 2 languages were identified)

Variety	Occurrences in 4 mixed-variety pseudonyms
Finnish	3
English	2
Swedish	1
Portuguese	1
Albanian	1
Total	**8**

Taken together, the two samples of 200 pseudonyms are arguably sufficient to show the overall trends in self-naming. Finnish is by far the most popular

resource for naming, and while it was challenging to come up with explicit criteria for the division between Standard and non-Standard/stylized Finnish, it can be seen that the names containing Finnish fall roughly equally into these two categories. Finnish names include recycled, *entextualized* items such as 'Satupekka', which was the 'folk nickname' for the Summer Olympics 1952 hero Emil Zátopek, the Czech runner. 'Satu' ambiguously denotes both 'a fairy tale' and a girl's name, while 'Pekka' is a male name, a very common, even iconic one in Finnish. Hence, 'Satupekka' can evoke the impression of a 'female+male', or alternatively, 'tale-teller Pekka'. For those of us familiar with the history of sports, it primarily evokes the notion of the Czech (Czechoslovakia) runner and the particularly warm reception he was given by Finns in the only Olympics held in Finland.[22]

The proportion of English names (22.5 %) is notable and understandable, considering the position of English in the sociolinguistics of Finland, and indeed in the Finnish people's mindsets, competences, and leisure interests. The range of pseudonyms drawing on any kind of English is notable in that only few of the English names are readily available players' names or other proper names (this is in contrast to e.g. Italian, Spanish and Portuguese names). Instead, generic-looking names ('Lisbie', 'Joey', 'timmy') are ample, and so are common nouns ('ref', 'nubster') or non-nouns ('outdraw', 'Nasty', 'Royal'). Moreover, mock-English, pseudo-English and stylized English are used for naming in idiosyncratic, creative ways ('AllanMesörs' pro 'Allan Measures', 'Fenley Stastus' pro 'Stanley Festus', 'Coulijoe' pro 'Joe Cole', 'Thouni' pro 'Tony/Toni'). English is, I would argue, so versatile and ubiquitous, so well-known and mundane among these generations of Finns (cf. Leppänen et al. 2011) that its iconic or emblematic force has become debatable. Arguably some nicknames seem yet to draw heavily from rich sociocultural sources, whether football such as 'Fin_Gooner' (Arsenal) or 'Newton Heath' (Manchester), or popular music such as 'Vinnie Stigma' or 'Ricky Rocket', or the cultural domains of literature, cinema or television ('Horselover Fat', 'travis bickle'). Along with Finnish, English is a language that is used in many kinds of modifications, stylizations and jokes (see 'Fenley Stastus' and 'AllanMesörs' above). Resources drawn from these two languages, Finnish and English, are also the most frequent element in mixed and hybrid names, such as 'Tarkkatravis' ('tarkka' can mean e.g. 'exact', 'pedantic') or 'Kanuuna-Keen' (adopted from the Finnish translation of the football comic *Buster*).

The frequencies of the categories 'universal or no identifiable language' ('Samson', 'Orion') and 'abbreviations and acronyms' (e.g. 'V', '#10') were exactly the same across the two *Futisforums*, 10.5 % and 8 % respectively. Here,

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[22] Idiosyncratic names such as this can nowadays just be entered in a search engine such as the currently popular *Google*, which will probably return 'the right answer' in a second. It is a different question, however, whether many web users, or in this case Futisforum members, actually do that in case of others' nicknames. Overt meta-talk about nicknames has surfaced at times; particularly prevalent examples are Maakuntasatraappi ('province satrap') and Boris Pugo (Latvian communist leader in the Soviet era).

too, waterproof classification of every name was impossible, but the rough classification leaves us with figures that serve well to give a general picture of the phenomenology of naming: it seems a legitimate and frequently used strategy to choose abbreviations or 'universals' for one's screen name.

As in *Futisforum,* in *Futisforum2.org* Swedish continues to score relatively low in the quantitative analysis. Of the six items, only 'grönvit' and to some extent 'Hisingen' seem choices where the Swedish football culture is foregrounded, while the other four seem 'just names'. Some more nicknames are explicitly framed as Swedish-minded, but they were not contained in the top 200 sample. These include 'älskar_grönvitt', 'Saaben', 'Avspark', 'mjanders', and 'En observatör'. Some other users simply seem to have as Swedish nickname, but little or no affiliation with Sweden or Swedish-speaking football culture (these include e.g. 'Pelle_och_Kalle'). After Finnish, English and universal or non-identifiable (e.g. 'kluru', 'uuba', 'Kuku') names, Spanish was by far the most frequent resource for naming (13 items here). In addition to Spain, Spanish names can stem from Latin American sources, such as Argentina or even Honduras. Notably general Spanish phrases that, to my best knowledge, are not football-related were used several times, and more here than in the *Futisforum* sample (where screen names dating mostly from the period 1999–2005), perhaps reflecting both the recent rise of the popularity of the Spanish language (Hall 2007; Pöyhönen 2009) and that of Spanish, and even Latin American, football in Finland. Common names originating from Spanish in this sample include 'zulo', 'El_Cohete' and 'la bromista', whilst Catalan is represented by 'Caganer', the ethno-cultural figure. Italian and Portuguese continue to be the next most common resources, despite the facts that German football also has a large following and that German is the second most studied foreign language in Finnish schools. Italian and Portuguese nicknames are still mostly 'existing proper names' adopted by way of entextualization to the forumists' screen names. Exceptions are 'ForzaInter' (a slogan, a cheer) and 'Incrível' (an adjective). It should also be noted as that the Portuguese ending -*inho* seems productive and seems to match well the morpho-phonology of Finnish names (e.g. 'Samuldinho'). A similar hybrid effect can be created with -*eldo* (e.g. 'paveldo'), probably first and foremost an Italian or Spanish suffix to most users. Another frequently used suffix for apparently jocular purposes is the Finnishized -*naattori*, adopted from Latin-English words such as 'terminator'.

Germany continues to be a major football centre and a major source of interest for Finnish *Futisforumists,* but German nicknames are relatively rare. Of the four items in the sample, 'Dieter Bohlen' seems to me the most iconically and explicitly Germanophile choice; the name belongs to a pop singer (in the duo Modern Talking), not a football player. 'Jörg' is arguably another one, and familiarizing oneself with the German football topics in *Futisforum2.org* will unearth many more outside the top 200 sample. Also the auxiliary purposeful sample I collected contains two more German nicknames. French is more or less

absent from this sample[23], although 'Arpin Lusène' is adapted from Arsène Lupin, a character in French crime stories. Actually the adaptation and entextualization was first done by the artist Don Rosa in *Donald Duck,* where the contortion 'Arpin Lusène' first appeared.

Russian is contained in three names (1.5 %), one of which, 'Boris Pugo' (a Soviet minister from Latvia), can be interpreted as a Russophile choice. The same notable and prolific *Futisforumist* has used several nicknames, many of which are related to the Soviet Union or the Communism era in several countries. So in this case, a clear connection and indexical link can be made with Soviet (albeit also Latvian) history. This person also knows some Russian and overtly sympathizes with, for example, Russia and Serbia, often even provocatively. He also keeps a popular football blog in Finnish, which is often cross-referred to in *Futisforum2.org*. It is frequent that 'Boris Pugo' is called by one of his other nicknames in the history of the forums. Quite understandably and predictably, Russophiles are not a big group in the *Futisforums*, whilst Russian football has its active group of followers, and some users identify themselves as Finnish-Russian or foremost Russian. Croatian football, then, is mostly discussed and followed in the connection of well-known Croat players, or Croatia's national team in any of the big competitions. Here the sole Croatian name that made it to the sample is 'Viduka', and in fact even that denotes an Australian player with a Croat father. Overall, football from the Balkans or countries of former Yugoslavia is perhaps under-represented in *Futisforums* and certainly even more so in other Finnish media, considering that Croatia in particular has had a relatively successful recent history in football.

Among the Greek usages, the single pseudo-/mock-Greek item deserves brief attention. Anyone with rudimentary contact with Greek names can see that 'Khalervos Kendopoulos' is a pseudo-Greek name, with its suffices *-os* and *-poulos*. Here, 'Khalervos' is derived from the Finnish male name Kalervo, which denotes Kalervo Kummola, an influential ice-hockey association leader as well as a member of Tampere's city council. Kummola is both widely disliked and ridiculed in the *Futisforums* due to his influential character, his efforts to promote the enemy sport ice-hockey, and his arrogant public performance in general. 'Kendopoulos', furthermore, contains the insiders' derogatory term for ice-hockey, 'kendo' (with the implied reference to fighting with sticks). Hence, a mocking name such as this has two references to ice-hockey. I cannot interpret where the usage of Greek comes from, but for the purposes of this quantitatively inclined exercise, we can argue that Greek is a resource that one can potentially draw on in order to create a jocular effect. Greece's 2004 European championship in football seems little reflected in the forumists' naming practices, however, although there is continued interest in Greek football in the forums, too (see below for the discussion on signatures).

Turning to Finland's neighbouring countries, to and from which there is relatively much cultural and concrete mobility, there were two Norwegian

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23   At the time of finishing this article, a very active new nickname 'Le Garçon Formidable', apparently specialized in French football, had surfaced.

names in the sample. Of these, 'OGS' (Ole Gunnar Solskjær) could optionally have been classified as an abbreviation. As Solskjær was a prolific player in Manchester United (one of the top three English clubs in terms of its Finnish fan base), this name choice is probably better explained through Manchester United than any affiliation with Norway. However, 'Grorudil' is an almost overt reference to the club Grorud IL, also manifest in that member's activity in discussions about Norwegian football. Norway is relatively close to Finland, and to some extent a model for Finnish football (at least in the recent past); Norwegian football is discussed somewhat actively by a small group of forumists, particularly with respect to Finnish players earning their salaries in Norway, but there seems to be no 'Norwegophile' culture that would be reflected in naming[24].

The sample contains one Chinese name, and indeed this member 'peng.xuefeng' identifies himself as an expert on China and Chinese. His 'Favourite team' slot has the name of the film *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, spelled in traditional Chinese.[25] Some more members have a Chinese slogan or 'favourite' displayed on the forum profile. China is by no means one of the major global football hubs, but it is not surprising that this aspect of the current 21st-century wave of globalization also becomes entextualized in some way on a football forum. Indeed, many Finns live or work or travel in China, or study (Mandarin) Chinese, or do other things associated with China; and as *Futisforum2.org* is a decent-sized (albeit skewed) sample of Finns, the China connection becomes at least visible there, too, if never prominent.

To sample and document some more variety in the polylingual practice of screen names I compiled 30 purposeful picks from *Futisforum2.org's* top 1000 writers (but outside the actual sample of top 200 writers). The same categories reoccurred when going through the usernames between names listed between 250–1000: Finnish, 'stylized Finnish', English, 'stylized English', real footballers' names, and every now and then names derived from Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese (such as the suffix *-inho*). Abbreviations and acronyms kept reoccurring with about the same frequency as in the top 200 cluster samples. The entire list is not included here, but new categories include Turkish ('Iskender', 'yaman'), Estonian ('Kange kaitsja', 'tamme auto'[26]) and Sindarin, one of the Elven languages invented by the linguist and author J. R. R. Tolkien (pseudonym 'Arakorn' is stylized from 'Aragorn'). Furthermore, one stylized screen name deserves a mention here: the name of the Nigerian musician, Fela Kuti (to my best knowledge a Yoruba name), is stylized into the pseudonym 'Fela Hutikuti', where the latter part is a compound of two colloquial Finnish nouns, *huti* ('miss') and *kuti* ('shot), thus resulting in the meaning 'missed shot'.)

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[24]   Actually Norway also surfaces in the two Futisforums' humorously framed topics about winter sports and the cult sports reporter Jari Porttila, whose language use is referred to, mocked and made much fun of in the two *Futisforums*.

[25]   Nowadays relatively easy to tentatively verify with the help of automatic online translation, such as the currently popular *Google Translate*.

[26]   'Strong/stiff defender' and 'Tamme Car' (the name of a football club), respectively.

In the above, we have seen a rather nuanced picture of the sociolinguistic diversity of the practice of adopting screen names in a Finland-based online community of practice. We should not, however, presuppose any direct connection between 'language choice' for these nicknames and corresponding 'cultures' or nations of interest. Such connections should be investigated (Hymes 1996; Blommaert & Rampton 2011), not predefined. However, clear signs of such connections between languages and cultural spheres can be spotted: for example, the Finnish screen name 'suur-saksa' ('Großdeutschland', 'Greater Germany') actually does write mostly about German football, and 'Blaugrana' (denoting the blue-and-red colours of FC Barcelona) is a prolific writer on FC Barcelona, the world-famous Catalan club, who displays an ability to cite and interpret source texts in Catalan. Overall, even with the help of the qualitative data from the discussion topics that I used as auxiliary material and where the screen name choices were explicitly discussed, it remains a challenge to make absolute generalizations about the motivations for choosing particular nicknames from particular languages or origins. The main purpose, however, of this line of analysis was to map, document and interpret the variety and the diversity, which can arguably be seen both in the sample of the 200 heavy writers and complemented with the purposefully picked 30 additional nicknames. More or less, when extending the analysis to the more comprehensive memberlist of 1,000 names, the same patterns continued to reoccur.

Having looked at the language choice and alternation in the practice of naming, as well as its connections to larger socio-cultural flows such as the mediated representations of football players and their apparent significance to these (mainly) Finnish football enthusiasts, I will now turn to another textual-visual-discursive practice prone to polylingual language use, namely 'Locations' and 'Favourite teams', as these often contain interesting cultural references.

5.2. Polylingual framing in web forum discourse: 'Locations', 'Favourite teams' and 'Signatures' in the two *Futisforums*

Now I turn to an analysis of polylingual language use in the modifiable affordances of 'Location' (*Futisforum*), 'Favourite team' (*FF2.org*) and 'Signature' (*FF2.org*). The first section below discusses a cluster of top 200 'Locations' along with a qualitatively motivated 25 picks from the point of view of language choice. The second section explores a sample of top 200 'Favourite teams' along with 35 purposeful picks where yet more linguistic diversity was observed. Finally, the third section investigates the discourse position of 'Signatures' from the point of view of polylingual language use. The sample size is again 200 signatures for the quantitative analysis of frequencies; just 12 more signatures suffice here to portray the linguistic diversity of that framing (bracketing) device.

5.2.1. 'Locations' in *Futisforum*

This sample of 200 'Locations' was obtained from the 259 most active posters (in terms of the total number of posts). Out of the 259 'heavy users', 59 did not have any specified 'Location' at the time I obtained the final sample (30 March 2012, when the original *Futisforum* had already largely become obsolete). The criterion for the sample was the total number of posts; hence, these are partly from the same members whose nicknames are included in the nickname sample. The 'Location' subspace has a length limit of 100 characters. When one 'Location' clearly contained two or more varieties, I gave each variety a decimal fraction for the quantitative comparison (ranging from 0.2 to 0.5). Thus, even a long 'Location' consisting of multiple parts in several languages counts here as 1.0 in total (Table 9). The same procedure was applied to 'Favourite teams' and 'Signatures' in order to retain the practical advantages brought by the sample of 200.

TABLE 9.   Summary of language variation in the subspace 'Location' on *Futisforum*

Category	Number of items	% of items
'Paikka' (Finnish name of a city or a place)	101	50.5 %
Finnish (other than names of places)	40	20 %
colloquial Finnish	2	1 %
city + Finnish phrase	5	2.5
Finnish in total	**148**	**74 %**
'Forumese' (based mainly on Finnish)	6.5	3.3 %
English (including two place names)	12	6 %
city + English phrase	8	4 %
English in total	**20**	**10 %**
Spanish	4	2 %
Swedish	4	2 %
Russian	1.5	0.8 %
German	1	0.5 %
Portuguese (hyperlink)	1	0.5 %
Italian	0.5	0.3 %
'universal'	1	0.5 %
hyperlinks	4	2 %
numerals	3.5	1.8 %
symbols only	3	1.5 %
unidentifiable letter strings	2	1 %
Total	**200**	**100 %**

It appears that the narrow majority of members have used the affordance of 'Location' to literally indicate their locations, whether their place of residence (mostly within Finland), or 'virtual location', or possibly a locus of fandom. A more detailed analysis of the references and connotations evoked by the items in this 'Location' sample is beyond the scope of this article; instead I will focus once again on the distribution of languages and varieties used in the 'Location'

subspace of *Futisforum*. Finnish, the first language of most writers, as expected, is again dominant in this subspace and function (74 % is the sum of Finnish place names, Finnish phrases and their combinations). English only is found in 6 % of the items, and English combined with Finnish place names in a further 4 %. (see Table 10). Thus English totals just approximately 10 % of the sample, continuing to be a frequently used resource. Once again, internal variation within the broad label 'English' occurs, suggesting and illustrating Finns' advanced competence in English and willingness to play with nuances and varieties, if in a restricted and focused way.

TABLE 10. Examples of combining resources from Finnish and English for the purpose of indicating a 'Location'

'Location'	To note
Hellsinki Alppila - All Night Long	(Helsinki is spelled with one 'l' in Standard Finnish)
Mt. Monk	(Munkkivuori is a district in Helsinki; *munkki* can mean 'monk', and *vuori* is 'mountain')
kpo south	(kpo stands for the city of Kuopio)

'Forumese', the typical way of writing in *Futisforum* but which deviates enough from colloquial Finnish in order to justify a category of its own, occurs here in approx. 3 % of the sample (examples include insiders' phrases 'k', 'uuh' and 'FF2'). Spanish and Swedish score 2 % each (e.g. 'Tribuna Virtual', 'Berghäll'), whilst Russian, Italian, German and Portuguese score here under 1 % each (e.g. 'Proekt OGI', '…grazie Roma'). The number of items for each 'foreign' language apart from English, as well as the second domestic language Swedish, is rather low in the sample, but these findings are in line with findings in other parts of this article. In other words, Swedish, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, etc. are arguably visible, relevant and legitimate resources on which to draw, both because they are studied at all levels of education in Finland (Swedish in particular) and because they are the major languages of the football centres to which numbers of Finnish football enthusiasts orient. Language-wise, the rest of the 'Locations' in the sample are unidentified ('R.I.P.'), symbols from the keyboard ('<3', which is currently used to designate a heart; i.e. love), numerals ('33540', which denotes the postal code for a district in Tampere), or hyperlinks without an evident main language.

The research design included, in addition to the sample proper of the 'Locations' of the 200 'heavy users', my purposeful selections, with the goal of illustrating yet more linguistic diversity. These are occurrences of more languages/varieties or their combinations in the 'Locations' of the writers who rank between 200 and 1000 in their total number of posts. In addition to the picks summarized here, in going further down the memberlist, more or less the same language choices kept reoccurring. 'New' language categories include Romanian ('Bucuresti'), Slovene ('Puhova ulica'; this could in principle be any Western South Slavic language), Polish ('Warszawa'), Catalan ('el lluïment'; 'Son Moix') and J. R. R. Tolkien's Sindarin ('Barad-Dûr'). Moreover, single

instances were found of the following idiosyncracies: onomatopoeia ('zzzzz'; probably denotes sleeping), idiosyncratic German compound ('Schumacherdorf'), and ':center:', the bb (bulletin board) code letter string that stands for the graphic emoticon 'middle finger'.

In conclusion, all these sociolinguistic choices occurred within the affordance of 'Location' elicited by the forum platform; this seems likely to elicit real-life physical or virtual locations (hometowns, etc.) but also offers a subspace for creative language use and several types of acts of identity. A significant proportion of the hardcore members transgressed the first connotation of 'Location' with such creative language use; polylingual language use (including variation within Finnish) being clearly one resource for this creativity.

5.2.2. 'Favourite teams' in *Futisforum2.org*

Now I will move from the original *Futisforum's* member profiles to those of the newer *Futisforum2.org*. The sample of the 200 most prolific writers' 'Favourite teams' was obtained from the actual top 260 writers in terms of their total number of posts – partly from the same members whose nicknames are included in the *FF2.org* nickname sample. Of the top 260 writers, 200 (77 %) had a 'Favourite team' ('Suosikkijoukkue') listed in the profile at the time of sampling. 77 out of 200 members (39 %) in this sample had chosen to take the 'Favourite team' slot literally, at face value, by filling in their favourite team(s) and nothing more. However, 123 members (62 %) had done something else with this affordance, either complementing the listing of one or more favourite teams with something else, or opting to display something completely different in this subspace. In addition to sociolinguistic diversity, we can also observe how web forum users as social actors appropriate this affordance of 'Favourite Team' for various kinds of identity work, stances, slogans, mottos and humour. When one 'Favourite team' clearly contained two or more linguistic varieties, I gave each variety a decimal fraction for the quantitative comparison (ranging from 0.2 to 0.5). Thus, even a long 'Favourite team' consisting of multiple parts in several languages counts here as 1.0 in total (see Table 11). The same procedure was applied to 'Locations' and 'Signatures' in order to retain the benefits of having a round figure of 200.

TABLE 11. Summary of language variation in the subspace 'Favourite team' on *Futisforum2.org*

Language/variety	Number of items	%	To note
Finnish	113	56.5 %	2 items were clearly 'colloquial Finnish'
colloquial Finnish	2	1.0 %	
'Forumese'	2	1.0 %	
English	40	20 %	
German	6.8	3.4 %	1 out of 6.8 was an extended phrase

			in German
Swedish	3.8	1.9 %	1 out of 3.8 was a phrase in Swedish
Spanish	3.8	1.9 %	proper names only
Italian	3.3	1.7 %	1 out of 3.3 was an extended phrase in Italian
Dutch	3.3	1.7 %	clubs' names only
Russian	2.5	1.3 %	1 common name and 2 proper names; all in Cyrillic script
French	2	1 %	
Serbian	1.5	0.8 %	1 proper name + 1 ambiguously Western South Slavic phrase
Catalan	1.3	0.7 %	1 phrase in Catalan + 0.3 club names
Latin	1	0.5 %	one full main clause
Polish	1	0.5 %	one noun phrase
Mandarin Chinese	1	0.5 %	The name of a film in Traditional Chinese script
Estonian	0.5	0.3 %	a noun phrase
Portuguese	0.4	0.2 %	two team nicknames in an item of five sub-items
'any African name'[27]	2.8	1.4 %	All four items were players in Finnish leagues from Nigeria, the Gambia and Chad. One player's name was modified and stylized.
universal or unidentified language	3	1.5 %	
numerals only	3	1.5 %	
hyperlink only	2	1 %	
Total	**200**	**100 %**	

Finnish (57 %) and English (20 %) dominate in the discourse position of 'Favourite team' as well. 123 items (62 %) were something other than literally 'Favourite teams'. Finnish items that are not literally names or nicknames of clubs include: 'tavallaan asiakirjoittaja'[28], 'Luokkatietoiset työväenjoukkueet'[29], and 'Koirat haukkuu, mutta karavaani kulkee'[30]. Examples of English 'Favourite teams' that are actually not clubs or teams include: 'Hard Bass' (subgenre of dance music), 'Against modern football.',' Ilves Beerstand Hooligan Crew', and 'FF Poker Tour I Bracelets: Final, Main, Money'. Of other languages, German is the winner this time with a share of 3.4 % (e.g. 'Deutscher Meister der A-Jugend! Nur der S04', 'Waffen-SS', 'DFB'[31]), followed by other major European football languages such as Italian ('Vedrai la notte finirà';

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[27]   This is of course very inaccurate and ethnocentric as a linguistic category. However, there is no reason on the basis of my ethnographic observation to assume that the members choosing these screen names would be thinking in terms of Yoruba, Hausa, Mandinka, Wolof, etc.; hence the broad categorization.

[28]   'a serious writer in my own way'

[29]   'workers' teams with class awareness'

[30]   'dogs bark, but the caravan rolls on'

[31]   'DFB' denotes 'Deutscher Fußball-Bund', The German Football Association.

'Giallorossi') or Russian ('Чухна!'[32], 'Зенит', 'Анжи Махачкала'[33]), most often clubs' names. 'Favourite teams' in Swedish include 'svarta drönarna' ('Black Drones'), which is actually a unique translation from a Finnish nickname of the club FC Lahti. One item was in an unidentified Western South Slavic language ('Bijela ST.'), one in Latin ('Communis opinio doctorum.') and one in Catalan ('Caga tió, caga!'[34]) – from the same user whose pseudonym and signature were also in Catalan only). 'FC Barcelona' is also originally Catalan, but I classified it as 'universal' because of the linguistic form and its ubiquitous presence virtually everywhere in contemporary football culture. The sole Mandarin Chinese 'Favourite team' in the sample was the title of the film *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* in traditional Chinese script ('臥虎藏龍'). Numerals ('#17') and URL hyperlinks without a specific language emerged once again as minor categories.

In addition to the cluster sample of 200 'Favourite teams', I made purposeful picks outside the top 260 from members in rank positions 260–1100 (in the number of posts). The linguistic varieties that emerged in this selection included: Turkish (e.g. 'Ali Sami Yen'; the former stadium of Galatasaray SK), Polish (e.g. 'Piłka nożna dla kibiców'[35]), Portuguese (e.g. 'obrigado portugal!'), Bavarian ('Mia san mia'), and even Lombard or Piedmontese (Dialectal Italian; 'la Göba imbattuta e Campione d'Italia').

There are some 'Favourite teams' in this purposeful sample that can be read to contain several language varieties. These code-switched combinations include items from the languages shown in Table 12 below.

TABLE 12. Some languages found in 'Favourite teams' in *Futisforum2.org*

Language	'Favourite team' in the purposeful sample
Polish	Górnik Zabrze[36]
Croatian	Hrvatska
Norwegian	Tromsø IL
Frisian	Sportklub It Hearrenfean
French	Dans le labyrinthe
Turkish	Şampiyon Galatasaray
Mandarin	曼聯[37]
Japanese	日本[38]

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[32] 'Chukhna' (Anglo transliteration) is a rather old Russian pejorative for Finns (referring mainly to Finns' inability to pronounce the Russian sibilants).

[33] Zenit and Anzhi Makhachkala (Anglo transliteration) are among the biggest Russian football clubs.

[34] 'Shit log, shit!'

[35] 'Football for the fans'; the same user's profile is saturated with Polish: location 'Warszawa', the listed homepage leads to Czesław Niemen's song "Sen o Warszawie". It becomes evident in discussions about Poland and Polish football that although Polish is taught in only few places in Finland, it is actually known by more than one individual forum member (although, as might be expected, not by big numbers).

[36] The name of a Polish club based in the town of Zabrze; 'górnik' means 'miner'.

[37] 'Manchester United' in Mandarin

[38] 'Japan' in Japanese (Kanji script). This is the only item quoted here that I collected at a different time. During my actual sample this top 1000 member did not appear to have Japanese in his profile.

Russian (Latin transliteration)	Vityaz Chechov; Futbolnyi Klub Zenit Sankt-Peterburg; Andjusa Arshavin
Russian (Cyrillic script)	РОССИЯ; Финляндия ja Жесткий бас[39]

The Portuguese term 'joga' ('game', 'play') is found twice in combination with a Finnish phrase ('kolmen promillen joga bonito', 'joga perkele'[40]). Finally, two more creative code-mixed expressions here deserve attention. First, 'Jaromenko' cunningly combines the Finnish-Swedish club FF Jaro (itself a contraction of the Swedish phrase 'Jakobstads Rostfria', 'Jakobstad Stainless Steel') and Eremenko (Yeremenko/Jeremenko/Ерёменко), the famous Finnish-Russian football family who settled down in Jakobstad (Pietarsaari) and have achieved great success in Finnish football. Another interesting one is:

'TPS, Juho Lähde, El Toro. Pro Rapa, Pro Casa.'

where the latter part looks deceptively Latin, Spanish, Italian or some other Romance language. But instead of referring to 'turnip' (Italian or Latin 'rapa') or 'home/house' ('casa'), these are actually nicknames for people in the club TPS (city of Turku); a clear contextualization cue to this interpretation can be found in the first part of the expression ('TPS, Juho Lähde'.). 'El Toro' refers to one forward player in the same team (Aleksi Ristola), while 'Rapa' is their coach Marko Rajamäki, and 'Casa' is their executive manager Marco Casagrande[41]. This combination creates an arguably 'pseudo-Romance' look of the 'Favourite team' expression here, whether intentional or unintentional.

5.2.3. Signatures in *Futisforum2.org*

The final analysable framing device category in this paper is the affordance of 'Signatures'. Unlike *Futisforum* in my active observation period (2005–2008), signatures are allowed and visible in *Futisforum2.org;* even on this newer forum they are exclusively visible for registered users, and only if set as an 'opt-in' choice in one's personal preferences. Signatures can thus be taken as peripheral, not a central ingredient in the overall discourse, as they are not visible to all users; they seem not to convey 'obligatory' contextualization cues. Indeed, one metapragmatically reflexive sequence of discussion from 2007 suggests that there has been overt resistance in the older *Futisforum* to signatures and avatars (avatars are small pictures in one's member profile, another CMC framing device not found in either *Futisforum*).

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[39] 'Finlyandiya and Zhyostkiy bas' ('Hard Bass') (Anglo transliterations); however, there is no readily apparent focus on Russian football in this member's message history.

[40] 'Three per mil joga bonito'; 'perkele' is a common Finnish swearword derived from a name of the devil.

[41] The Italian name notwithstanding, Marco Casagrande is a former Finnish footballer. He is not the same person as the more famous architect Marco Casagrande, who is also Finnish, also from the city of Turku and even about the same age.

Posted: Thu May 10, 2007 4:01 pm   Post subject: Signature ja Avatar

Mikseivät toimi?

Voiko asialle tehdä jotain?

Kiitos.

[profile] [pm]
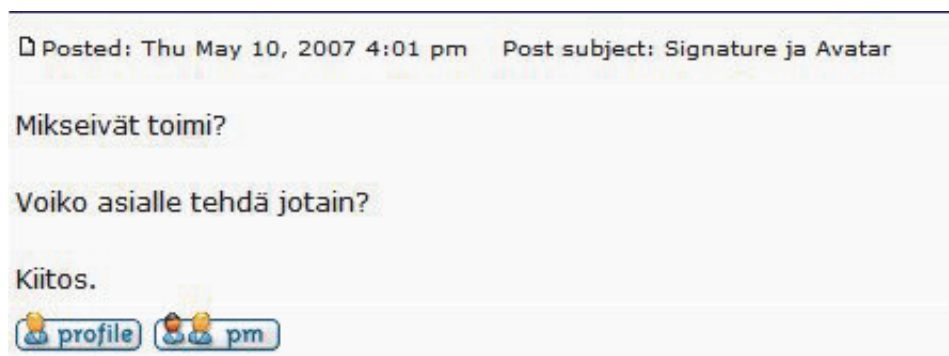
("Signature and Avatar. Why don't they work? Can something be done about it? Thanks.")

After this message, the more experienced members take a laconic stance against such 'follies' as avatars and signatures, suggesting that they disrupt the flow of forum discussions. One experienced member does this implicitly by posting an ironic short one-liner message, accompanied with what could be identified as a 'manually crafted avatar' (nothing less than an iconic picture of the Finnish superstar Jari Litmanen), and a manually crafted signature (the complete lyrics of John Lennon's *Imagine*, one of the most quoted pop songs in history). That posting clearly takes an ironic stance against avatars and signatures, ridiculing the 'worst kind of clichés' that can appear in those subspaces of the web forum. However, meanwhile (May 2007), signatures were already being supported by the now thriving *FF2.org*. Avatars have not been in use in either of these two major Finnish football forums (but they are allowed and eagerly deployed in *Paitsio.com,* the third largest forum).

The maximum length of the 'Signature' affordance in *Futisforum2.org* is 300 characters, which can apparently be divided into up to as many lines as one wishes. From an ethical point of view, and from my ethnographically accrued insight into the forum's practices, I regard them as public discourse that can safely be further entextualized here for new metapragmatic (research) purposes. I do not connect signatures to any detailed life-stories of the respective pseudonyms here, but I may comment on the profile of the user in cases where this is relevant to the topic of multilingualism (e.g. if a signature entirely in German was written by a Germanophile forumist).

Smaller tentative samples have been obtained for pilot and seminar purposes over the years, but this final sample of 200 signatures was obtained by going through the memberlist up to the 655th most active user; around 30 % of the core members had opted to display a signature (as per 29 June 2012). The 655 'heavy posters' from the total of approx. 36,000 members comprise around 2 % of the entire membership. The occurrence of signatures became notably less frequent as I went down the memberlist in the order of 'total number of posts'. This purely qualitative observation might suggest that it is the hardcore members, the most prolific writers, who are the most likely to have a signature

in the first place. A more exact sample would be needed to actually verify this tentative observation.

Table 13 shows a summary of *Futisforum2.org* 'sigs' from the point of view of language choice and distribution.

TABLE 13.   200 signatures from *Futisforum2.org* classified by language/variety

Variety	No of items	%
Finnish	94.5	47.3 %
Colloquial Finnish	52.5	26.3 %
'Forumese'	10	5 %
English	31.5	15.8 %
universal ('R.I.P.')	1	0.5 %
German	1.5	0.8 %
Swedish	1	0.5 %
Spanish	1	0.5 %
Catalan	1	0.5 %
Italian	0.5	0.25 %
Turkish	0.5	0.25 %
hyperlinks (URL)	3	1.5 %
numeral	1	0.5 %
onomatopoeia (Finnish?)	1	0.5 %
Total	**200**	**100 %**

Again, it was not self-evident how to draw the division between 'Finnish' and 'colloquial Finnish', but I have relied on four principles[42] as well as my (native speaker's) intuition. My final divisions; however, are still best taken as tentative. Moreover, there was again need for the idiosyncratic 'Forumese' category for items that were often Finnish, often colloquial Finnish, but clearly contained 'insider' words or phrases, and thus fully understandable by those familiar with the two *Futisforums*. When a signature contained a hyperlink, I included it in one of the language categories, as far as this could readily be read from the URL address. When this could not be detected from the words contained in the URL (e.g. *Youtube* links), I classified them as 'hyperlinks/URL only', without taking into account the contents of the hyperlink (although I did follow them all at least once). When one 'Signature' clearly contained two or more varieties, I gave each variety a decimal fraction for the quantitative comparison (ranging from 0.2 to 0.5). Thus, even a long, multi-part item counts here as 1.0. The same procedure was applied to 'Locations' and 'Favourite teams' in order to retain the advantages brought by the sample size of 200.

Of this sample of 200 Signatures, around 170 (depending on the criteria) were comprised of quotes from earlier sources. This is a prime example of

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[42]   The following features ensure an item's classification here as 'colloquial Finnish': a) obscenities such as 'vittu', 'paska', b) contracted word forms in all word classes, such as 'nii', 'ois', 'mun', 'tost', c) lexemes clearly at home in colloquial registers and styles such as 'saletisti', 'kundi', 'neekeri' (sic). Moreover, there were markedly non-Standard or colloquial sentence or clause formations – even in such Signatures where all the words contained were more or less Standard.

entextualization (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Blommaert 2005: 46–48) and double-voicing (Bakhtin 1984): earlier phrases, clauses or utterances from other social actors are recycled and rephrased, and the texts acquire new social meanings in new contexts of use. Most of the earlier sources were found *within* the same forum, *Futisforum2.org;* I would propose that this deviates from the practice in many other forums. Many of these were, in fact, overtly indicated so that a hyperlink leads from the signature to the earlier source within the forum. There seem to be two very common broad social meanings for quoting an earlier excerpt within *Futisforum2.org*: either a point made by someone else is so apt and on-target, or alternatively, so ridiculous or exuberant, that it deserves to be highlighted and recycled in a 'frozen' Signature.

Moving on to the sociolinguistic diversity of this 'Signature' affordance, by far the most common identifiable language variety is Standard Finnish (47 %). For instance:

> *Sohlo, hyvä nimi perinteiselle suomalaiselle kärkimiehelle, tai potkupalloilijalle ylipäätään.*[43]
> -Nahka_Tapsa

Colloquial Finnish is the second most common variety (26 %). An illustrative example is this:

> Sambit takasin, ne ei osannu hävitä näin rumilla luvuilla, vaikka siitä ois maksettukin. Vittu[44]

The items I classified here as 'Forumese' (5 %) contained one or more features that seem to me not directly comprehensible for a non-*Futisforumist* native speaker of Finnish. These included the ironic use of the common noun *homo* 'homosexual, gay' in a manner I interpret as specific to the *Futisforums'* parlance, for instance:

> 'Homo-homo-HJK' [45]

> 'HH kysyi onko Malinen homo'[46]

'Forumese' could in principle include other canonical languages than Finnish but in this sample they were identifiable as Forumese *and Finnish.* Moreover, the item I classified in the 'onomatopoeia' category ('MYÖÄÄÄÄÄÄÄÄÄRRRRGHHH!') was probably mostly recognizable as Finnish. Thus, in total, signatures identifiable as any variety based on Finnish totalled 79 %.

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[43] 'Sohlo, a good name for a traditional Finnish striker, or a football kicker in general. - Nahka_Tapsa'

[44] 'I want the Zambians back here, they couldn't lose so badly even if they were paid for it. Fuck'

[45] HJK from Helsinki was the biggest football club in Finland during the first decade of the 2000s.

[46] 'My girlfriend asked if Malinen is a gay'

Of languages other than Finnish, once again and predictably, English (16 %) was by far the most usual choice for the Signature. These could be divided into more fine-grained categories such as Standard English, non-Standard colloquial English, and mock-English (deliberately 'bad' English or 'Finnishized' English). Examples of Standard English are here (italics as in the original):

> *We are indeed drifting into the arena of the unwell.* [47]

> *Any society that would give up a little liberty to gain a little security will deserve neither and lose both.*[48]

Examples of Signatures in non-Standard English and perhaps mock-English are here:

> You realy crezy son of pech.

> Nou nou nevöö....

> Suck it that HJK!!![49]

2.5 % of the sample were not identifiable as any language: they were either hyperlinks, numerals ('**30**'), or universal abbreviations ('R.I.P.', an idiom which interestingly seems to be usable in several framing devices). The rest (here only 3 %) were identifiable as other major football languages. German comprised 0.8 %, 1 entire signature and half of another one:

> Fuck your local team. Support Schalke.

> Deutscher Meister der A-Jugend 2011/2012!

Swedish, Spanish and Catalan had 0.5 % (1 signature each) as follows:

> men så länge vi står här på läktarn
> kommer fotbollen aldrig att dö![50]

> "Illa illa illa......JUANITO MARAVILLA!!"[51]

> Menja bé, caga fort i no tinguis por a la mort.[52]

One signature, by a prolific Finnish-Turkish writer, was divided between Italian and Turkish and a hyperlink (emphasis original):

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[47]   From the film *Withnail and I.*
[48]   After Benjamin Franklin.
[49]   This is a quote from within the forum aimed at ridiculing the user of an unidiomatic English expression.
[50]   A slogan of the fans of Hammarby (a Stockholm-based club), roughly translatable as "but as long as we stand here on the stands, football will never die!"
[51]   A chant sung by Real Madrid fans in honour of Juanito, the player.
[52]   Catalan for "Eat well, shit a lot and do not be afraid of death".

No al Calcio Moderno

SAMİ YEN
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xylLYwSWSao

On the basis of this sample and distributions discussed above, it seems that Finnish and English are by far the most favoured varieties for *Futisforum2.org's* signature function, while the other major football languages occur here, too, but are not particularly large in numbers. When they occur, such usages are most often retraceable to a quote from elsewhere (my application of *double-voicing* from Bakhtin (1984), and *entextualization*, Bauman & Briggs (1990)) and to the other counterparts in the user's member profile: Favourite team, message history, public interests, and also at times the pseudonym. Thus, a prolific Germanophile or Italophile, for instance, may well display that cultural preference in the form of a language choice in all possible discourse spaces, or in many of them. This turned out to be true also with the abovementioned members who displayed profile items in Catalan and Polish.

I made 10 purposeful picks from the memberlist's top 200–1600 (June 2012) to document further linguistic diversity in this practice (Table 14). The number is lower than with the purposeful picks in the other categories, and I had to go through as many as 1600 members (approx. 4 % out of approx. 36,000 members in total) because signatures became increasingly less frequent when exploring the memberlist in the descending order of 'total number of posts'.

TABLE 14.   The auxiliary selection of ten signatures from *Futisforum2.org* (all italics and boldface as in the originals)

Signature	Language(s)
Manchmal ist auch die Armlänge entscheidend.	German
Moviola in campo!	Italian
Gör mål Jaro![53]	Swedish
Улыбайтесь, люди любят идиотов.[54]	Russian
ХАРД БАСС[55]	Russian
ΕΛΛΑΣ...ΕΥΡΩΠΗ...ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΚΟΣ!!! [56]	Greek
"El FC Barcelona no només és un club de futbol. De fet, és més que un club, és un club amb ànima..."	Catalan
Za Krst casni i slobodu zlatnu![57]	Serbian
Quod scripsi, scripsi. Minkä kirjoitin, sen kirjoitin.	Latin/Finnish
Nomina sunt odiosa. - Nöfn eru hvimleið.	Latin/Icelandic

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[53]   'Score goals, Jaro!'
[54]   'Smile, people love idiots.'
[55]   'Hard Bass', the dance music genre.
[56]   'Ellas…Europi…Panathinaikos'. This user's 'Favourite team' is in Greek script too: "ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΘΥΡΑ 13" (see Appendix 5).
[57]   'For the Honorable Cross and Golden Freedom'. Note that Serbian could optionally be written in Cyrillic script; that script choice might in itself have ideological or other indexical social meanings.

The languages that emerged as resources for 'Signatures' in this purposeful sample are Greek (see also Appendix 5), Serbian (in Latin script), Latin and Icelandic (the latter two even in the same signature). It is interesting to note that as many as 170 (85 %) signatures fulfilled the criteria of quotes. These were overt or covert, signalled and framed in various different ways: through the forum software's quoting function, with the help of double quotation marks, with a hyphen and the originator of the quote, or with italics. A very prominent subcategory of quotes here, perhaps even idiosyncratic to *FF2.org*, seems to be quoting another message from the same forum, whilst at the same time indicating and embedding the exact link to where the original occurred. This is a practice that I actually saw emerge during my observation periods; it has also elicited overt meta-commentary in multiple places around the forum. This raises the question: what kind of 'language choice' is it when one quotes another source? We can suggest that such recycling and echoing earlier sayings requires understanding the original, if not the communicative competence of creating similar sentences oneself. All this makes an intriguing case of entextualization, the process of "making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit—a *text*—that can be lifted out of its interactional setting […] such that the resultant text carries elements of its history of use within it (Bauman & Briggs 1990: 73). An alternative reading of this phenomenon can be done through the lens of *double-voicing* (Bakhtin 1984): existing and heard-before phrases and utterances of other social actors are constantly recycled and reformulated to the extent that no language use is ever completely innovative or idiosyncratic at all.

6.   Summary of quantitative findings

This section summarizes and cross-compares the quantitative analyses of the four subsets of different 'framing devices'. Finnish is clearly the first language for most *Futisforumists* and the two *Futisforums* are Finnish 'by default' in several ways. Even more importantly, and more verifiably here, judging from the impressive message posting histories, Finnish is the language used daily by the top 200 (or top 600) writers that comprised my samples here. In addition to the general flow of the multi-authored discussion threads, this is reflected in the dominant choice of Finnish for all the framing devices discussed here: 28 % in *Futisforum's* nicknames, 33 % in *FF2.org's* nicknames, 72 % in *Futisforum's* 'Locations', 57 % in *FF2.org's* 'Favourite teams', and 74 % in *FF2.org's* 'Signatures'. Tentatively, it would seem that, of the framing devices discussed here, pseudonyms, where the percentage of Finnish items was lowest, showed the tendency to occur in a non-native language. The emically grounded category 'Forumese' – mostly derived from resources of Finnish – occurred in each category except that of 'primary' pseudonyms: 3 % of 'Locations, 1 % of 'Favourite teams', and 5 % of 'Signatures' could be regarded as 'Forumese'. Moreover, many pseudonyms outside the two top 200 samples utilized were crafted from 'Forumese'.

In accord with the strong position of English in Finland in several domains (cf. Leppänen et al. 2011, Leppänen & Nikula 2007), the collective competence of (most) Finns in English, and the strong foothold of British (especially English) football in Finland since the 1950s or so (Heinonen 2005: 58–67), English is by far the most frequently used 'foreign' variety in these categories: approx. 25 % in *Futisforum's* nicknames, 25 % in *FF2.org's* nicknames, 10 % in *Futisforum's* 'Locations', 20 % in *FF2.org's* 'Favourite teams', and 16 % in *FF2.org's* 'Signatures are classifiable as English. 'Locations' is thus the only one of these framing positions where English is somewhat less prominent; this can be partly explained by the tendency to enter real-life physical locations in this profile subspace.

Other than the expectedly hegemonic winner Finnish and the 'runner-up' English, the biggest European languages were conspicuously present in all samples. After England, it is Spanish, Italian and German football that currently attract most followers in Finland, but judging from the social action in these *Futisforums,* countries such as Sweden, Norway, Russia, the Netherlands, France, Greece, Turkey, Portugal, Brazil, Argentina and Mexico are also followed with passion. These socio-cultural interests in the international, globalized 'football culture', coupled with Finns' level of knowledge of foreign[58] languages help to explain the regular occurrence of foreign languages in this visual-textual football discourse. Although the four categories (five quantitative exercises) are not directly cross-comparable or combinable, we can see that after English, Spanish was the most frequently used 'foreign' language resource: 6 % of the nicknames, 2 % of 'Locations' and 'Favourites' and 0.5 % of 'Signatures' are identifiable as Spanish. Also among the resources that occurred multiple times in the samples is Italian (a language almost solely connected with the football superpower Italy): 3.5 % of the nicknames, 1.7 % of the Favourites and single occurrences of the other categories were Italian. 'Purposeful' searches found plenty more, some of which are documented above; the rest remain in my archives, and also, it may be hoped, online for a long time to come. German is still a relatively prominent foreign language in Finnish institutions of education (Hall 2007; Pöyhönen 2009) and Germany is one of the major football cultural sources passionately discussed in the two *Futisforums*. Yet German is not shown very prominently as a framing device in the analysed sample: only 3.4 % of the 'Favourite teams' merit a mention here along with a handful of nicknames (< 2 %). Portuguese, another world language of the *joga bonito*, mainly shows here in nicknames, mostly derived from Brazilian or Portuguese players. The Russian language is notoriously weakly known among Finns, partly owing to our dark 20th-century history; the visibility of Russian among these framing devices is not zero, but consistently around 1 %. It is possible that the Cyrillic script – not readily available on Finnish keyboards – weakens the appeal of Russian as a usable language in these functions; then again, even the 1 % sticks out and can hardly be missed in the long run by a persistent reader. A few single occurrences were found for other languages such as Catalan

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58   Swedish is *de jure* a domestic language, but *de facto* foreign to most Finns.

(apparently mainly due to FC Barcelona), the major world language French, Greek, Latin, Serbian, Mandarin Chinese (in traditional Chinese script), Japanese, Arabic (in Latin transliteration only; but for a case of Arabic on *Futisforum* see Kytölä submitted), Turkish, Estonian, and the geographically close Norwegian, which is to some extent understandable to those Finns who know Swedish, and would otherwise perhaps be a contender as a potential framing device.

This was more or less the extent of the diversity as classified by languages and varieties (but see my caveats on classification by language in the introductory sections). Perhaps surprisingly, Dutch and French are almost non-existent in these samples, apart from a few players' and clubs' names, although as the Netherlands and France are major football countries globally, there are active discussions about them (especially Finnish players in the Netherlands) where Dutch or French are used to some extent – mostly as quotes or as framing devices. Finally, items not identifiable as 'language' in any traditional sense were found in each category. As such, this is a relevant supplementary finding and is well in line with earlier scholarship on stylization and creative language use in CMC (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2006, 2007, 2011; Leppänen et al. forthcoming).

I conclude the present analysis of sociolinguistic diversity with an example of observer bias related to the research design and method. In the pseudonyms and the other framing devices discussed above, there are numerous cultural references to television series, cinema, novels, rock groups, their albums and songs. I would suggest that the present author tended most easily to notice those that were familiar to him prior to the analysis of the samples. Some of the cultural allusions actually had to be found through a web search engine [59], while others caught my eye immediately due to their familiarity. The latter group certainly includes the references to the Finnish progressive rock group Wigwam, whose compositions had served as inspiration for two prolific pseudonyms, 'Cafffkaff' and 'Planetist', both part of my smaller purposeful sample of 30 pseudonyms. This relatively obscure Finnish group, who had their heyday in the 1970s, is definitely not the most prominent or obvious popular cultural origin to draw from for today's football enthusiasts. It just appeared prominent, appealing, and worth including here from my particular life experience, from my admittedly biased position. That bias acknowledged, I hope to have done justice to the topic of this inquiry with the large samples and hours of additional research, from the standpoints both of quantitative distribution and diversity and variety.

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[59] Most of the time I utilized the currently popular engine *Google*, in the knowledge of some of its biases such as search results tailored according to the user's habits with the help of 'cookies'.

7. Discussion

In this paper, I adopted a visual-functionally motivated sociolinguistic analysis of *framing* by combining the socio-psychological and communicative notion of frame (Goffman 1986; Tannen 1993) with the conceptualization of 'framing device' that has existed within multimodal discourse analysis since around 1996. On the one hand, we have Goffman's (1986) argument – developed in the first instance for face-to-face encounters and activities – that social actors establish interpretation frames in order to organize their experiences during communicative activities. On the other, we have the theoretical tenets of visual grammar – according to which layout, design and visual positioning matters – which involve looking, for instance, at the 'prominence of borders' (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; Scollon & Scollon 2003) as framing devices in the discourse structuring of visual discourses. Combining these two, we can argue, along with Androutsopoulos (2011, forthcoming), for the relevance of an applied frame analysis for the purposes of digital discourse and its participants (readers and writers; 'producers' and 'consumers'[60]). Framing can function in widely varying ways in different subformats of CMC; however, given the importance of visuality in the currently popular digital discourse formats, issues of layout and design are now more prominent than they were in the earlier (1980s and 1990s), more fundamentally text-based forms, owing to their greater potential and affordances for new types of framing devices-as-contextualization-cues. Moreover, I added the notion of *entextualization* (Bauman & Briggs 1990) to the agenda in order to model the movement of discourse from one context to another; with the 'end-texts' (the momentary snapshots of the pseudonyms, signatures, etc. in time) carrying elements of their histories of use within them, and so potentially signalling points of affiliation or identification.

I have restricted my analysis here to the format of web discussion forums, where the relevant framing devices include pseudonyms (nicknames, screen names), 'Signatures', and two tailorable slots for member profile information (registered member's self-appointed 'Location' in *Futisforum* or 'Favourite team' in *Futisforum2.org*). Excluded from this analysis were, for example, headings of forums, subforums and topics/threads, technical meta-data (such as time of posting, the number of replies/views, dates of registration, number of messages in personal message histories), avatars, as well as 'bracketing' within messages (such as greetings, cheerings, slogans, mottos, openings or endings). All of these positions and subspaces were first observed qualitatively and by means of virtual ethnography (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2008; Kytölä & Androutsopoulos 2012). As these were found to contain both patterned and idiosyncratic occurrences of juxtaposed polylingual language use, I subsequently analysed them in cluster samples of 200 items from each category to produce an overview of the polylingualism of framing devices. As Androutsopoulos points out (forthcoming: 22–23), I argue that these function as indexical of authors'

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[60] For a socio-historical overview of the convergence of these two 'roles' in the merged role of 'prosumer' or 'conducer', see Ritzer (2010).

identities, their interrelations and their imagined audiences and addressees, although we should be cautious about drawing overly straightforward, simplified links between them. The notion of *indexicality* (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2004, forthcoming; Blommaert 2005, 2010) seems key to understanding the type of polylingual language use I have documented here. As we saw, selection is often primarily targeted at other, more salient points of identification than 'language'. Yet we can tentatively propose that selecting a language serves as a pointer to "the linguistic practices of certain groups or places that are deemed important for the interpretation of the on-going discourse" (Androutsopoulos forthcoming: 24). The power of language choice or usage, then, "to cue frames of interpretation is therefore not just an outcome of conventional associations" (ibid.) of those languages, but "results from a link to specific social contexts and practices established" (ibid.) by particular styles derived from them. In this vein, by linking the polylingual language use in the raw data in the analysis to socio-cultural movements and trajectories within the global domain of football, I have attempted, in the hope of arriving at higher explanatory adequacy, to respond to Androutsopoulos's call to reconstruct "the social worlds, discourses and texts indexed by the specific bits" (ibid.) of the various languages occurring in the discourse rather than ascribing undifferentiated symbolic values for any of them. (Remember how an unmistakably Swedish pseudonym did not guarantee any affiliation with Sweden or the Swedish-language football cultures, or how a Cyrillic Russian phrase in the 'Favourite team' affordance did not coincide with any displayed interest in Russian football.)

While Androutsopoulos's discussion was solely based on usages of varieties of English(es) as a framing device, we saw here that there is no reason why other languages than English – whether 'world languages' or not – should not function as similar pools or sets of resources for framing digital discourse. This type of emblematic, heavily indexical 'bits-and-pieces' (cf. Blommaert 2005, 2010) usage of 'foreign languages' need not presuppose a high competence behind them – and neither should we, of course, automatically presuppose that English is the first and best foreign/second language for all participants in a given context, such as the Finnish fans depicted here. This notion of the limited use of 'bits-and-pieces' of language brings us to Rampton's (2005) influential notion of *crossing*, which was originally situated (at least partially) within the code-switching research strand (see Gardner-Chloros 2009). Crossing has several elements that seem to be of high relevance and applicability here as well. Certainly, the polylingual language use as a framing device and contextualization cues here is "code-alternation by people who aren't accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ" (Rampton 2005: 270), involving varieties that are not generally associated with their users, in turn raising "issues of social legitimacy that participants need to negotiate" (ibid.: 270–271). Moreover, there are clear signs here that such polylingual language usages contain a "disjunction between speaker and code that can't be readily accommodated as a normal part of ordinary social reality" (ibid.: 272–273). While Rampton's theory was based exclusively on face-to-face

spoken interaction data, CMC sites and spaces of digital discourse seem to offer fertile ground for renewed crossing research. Indeed, Blommaert and Rampton (2011) already suggest similar paths. As Androutsopoulos argues (2007, 2011, forthcoming), this type of polylingual language use does not necessarily sit easily in the tradition of research on code-switching, the occurrence of two or linguistic varieties within the same utterance or stretch of interaction (e.g. Gumperz 1982, Hinrichs 2006, Androutsopoulos 2007, Gardner-Chloros 2009). Indeed, as Sebba (2012) suggests, language alternation in the written mode, visual by default, requires a differently grounded approach from the study of spoken/auditory code-switching, ideally drawing on visual grammar, genre analysis and literacy research (cf. also the chapters in Sebba et al. 2012). Code-switching approaches need not be rejected completely, however.

In sum, with the help of the analysed framing devices as affordances for (almost) public self-representation, performance and reputation-building, it becomes evident that locally salient social positioning, (dis)affiliation and (dis)identification take place in the data; but importantly, nowhere near a one-to-one relationship should be directly inferred from the sociolinguistic choices made for the framing devices. Perhaps this type of heavily entextualized and multi-voiced (Bakhtin 1984) discourse is better seen as symptomatic of late modern multisemiotic literacy or 'semiotic agility' (Thorne & Fischer 2012; Prior 2010) than the more two-dimensional, traditional notion of 'competence'. This interpretation finds a historical echo and depth in Goffman's 'multiple footings' (Goffman 1981; Prior 2010) and Hymes's (1996: 25–62) notion of 'situated communicative competence'; indeed, the 'bits and pieces' of language documented in this paper, whether directly entextualized or multi-voiced from a 'more original' source or creatively crafted from earlier manifestations of language, *make perfect sense just the way they are* – at least for the initiated members of the community. From a sociolinguist's or applied linguist's viewpoint there is, of course, no reason to underrate these digitally mediated and socially meaningful language uses as 'truncated' (Blommaert 2010: 103–106), minimal or inferior to 'more holistic' manifestations of linguistic competence.

When putting these phenomena in perspective, an important point to remember is that our fascination with new modes and formats of communication and discourse notwithstanding, there is perhaps nothing that is inherently new here. True, web forum pseudonyms or the other categories analysed here could not, by definition, exist exactly as such prior to the invention and emergence of web forums, or indeed prior to the spread of the internet to people's daily use. It is perhaps challenging to think about equivalents or predecessors to our 'Location' or 'Favourite teams' here in pre-internet written discourses or in spoken/face-to-face discourse. Clothing is certainly one multisemiotic contender here: consider the various texts that can be found on caps or t-shirts, or cultural symbols that can be found in pins, buttons or patches. Or, to keep our discussion within the domain of football, we

can think about flags, emblems or *tifos* created, crafted and carried around by fans in embodied ways throughout the history of football supporting.

But finally, let us briefly consider the first category in this analysis, pseudonyms, from the point of view of the pre-internet era. It is evident that people have always had aliases for different purposes, in various spoken and written (and signed!) contexts. The needs and motivations for this may have varied from artistic and performative (e.g. having an aesthetically satisfying artistic name that 'sticks') to intertextual and emblematic (e.g. desire to identify with a point of identification in history and stand for it), and from affective (e.g. expression of social or familial belonging) to political or practical (e.g. deception, hiding from other people or institutions). All such functions arguably abound in the social history of pseudonyms, although there is no space for a deeper investigation here. To return once more – and finally – to the domain of football, a brief personal anecdote from my childhood offers an illuminating parallel. Around 1984–1986, my best friend and I were ardent football enthusiasts; and each of us had our favourite national teams, clubs and players – several of each to be sure. And we played in the yards, parking lots, grounds and fields around our hometown; we imagined ourselves superstars (seen on television), or sometimes Finnish or even local players. Yet each of us had *only one 'true' alias* out of the dozen or so favourite players. My friend supported the Soviet Union in every sport; hence he *was* 'Rinat Dasajev'[61], the superb goalkeeper of the Soviet national team and of FC Spartak Moscow. I admired the European champions France, and the ultimate superstar Michel Platini above all, but I felt that *being* 'Michel Platini' would have been 'too obvious' and too arrogant, so I *was* 'Luis Fernández', the less outstanding but equally solid and crucial player in the legendary French midfield formation, *le carré magique* (note his Spanish origin and name!). Since then, I have of course admired many football players of many generations, but I have reason to doubt if I have ever again truly *been* one, in the sense of a personal alias, a deeper point of identification.[62]

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[61]   Дасаев; thus Dasayev or Dasaev in Anglo transliteration.
[62]   The same friend aptly pointed out that over the same childhood years, only 2–3 years later, we became ardent Tolkien enthusiasts; in that zeal for fantasy, play and imagination, he was Aragorn (the Ranger and King), while I was Legolas (the Elven warrior in the Fellowship of the Ring). I owe a debt to Lauri Rikala for this insight.

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Appendices

The screen views included and URL addresses quoted here date from 30 March 2012 and 6 July 2012. The final samples for the quantitative analysis were conducted on 30 March 2012.

Appendix 1: Screen views of the two *Futisforum* memberlists

FIGURE 1. *Futisforum* memberlist[63] sorted by date of registration, starting from the earliest registration date (see the column 'Joined'). I omitted the first 104 items manually, as these had false dates due to malfunctioning of the forum. The pseudonyms are given in the column 'Username'. Note that *Futisforum* already existed already before 16 Feb 1999, but the format, and probably also the software, were upgraded frequently during those years, causing information to be lost. Many member profiles also went missing between 1999 and 2002, and even later. The first incarnation of *Futisforum* dates back to 27 March 1997, while an earlier interactive board called 'Palsta' ('column', 'board') was in use at the same website, *Soccernet.fi*[64], from 2 October 1996 to at least 6 May 1997.

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63   http://suomifutisnet.adv1.nebula.fi/phpBB2/
      memberlist.php?mode=joindate&order=ASC&start=104

64   Some snippets from these early periods have been archived by *Internet Archive Wayback Machine* at
      http://wayback.archive.org/web/19970815000000*/http://soccernet.fi (accessed 10 Jan, 2013)

FIGURE 2. *Futisforum* memberlist sorted by 'total posts'[65]. Note that positions 1–11 are occupied by spam robots, which tweaks the number of posts to over 16 million. However, on closer inspection, names 8–10 would appear to be, real member profiles that have been hacked by spammers.

65   http://suomifutisnet.adv1.nebula.fi/phpBB2/
       memberlist.php?mode=posts&order=DESC&start=0

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#		Username	E-mail	Location	Joined	Posts	Website
201	pm	Aivar Pohlak	email		08 Jul 2002	2957	
202	pm	Rebel		Helsinki	29 May 2001	2955	
203	pm	ex_ball			16 Feb 1999	2949	
204	pm	M. Deianov		Päijänteen Asunción	27 Oct 2001	2945	
205	pm	Benito		Tampere	11 Nov 2001	2936	www
206	pm	nakki		Helsinki 39	09 Aug 2001	2926	
207	pm	Pienis		Berghäll	03 Apr 2003	2921	
208	pm	Lazio		täl puol jokkee	12 Nov 1999	2894	www
209	pm	ex_pomppu		k	12 Mar 1999	2888	
210	pm	Kingstonian		Pohjosen porot	04 Jan 2005	2876	
211	pm	Mestori		Radioaktiivinen radanvarsilähiö	12 May 2004	2869	
212	pm	Leka Harkko	email	vantaa	21 Jun 2001	2865	
213	pm	Ajopuu		33540	16 Oct 2002	2838	
214	pm	BRN		Helsinki-Est-Po	01 Jan 1999	2813	
215	pm	PT	email	Helsinki	13 Jun 1999	2811	
216	pm	Sein Caledon			25 Oct 1999	2793	
217	pm	pebinho			09 Jun 2003	2780	
218	pm	Highburyn mies		espoo	22 Feb 2004	2768	
219	pm	Lado	email	Tampere	22 Jun 2002	2756	www
220	pm	Mulder		Tampere	24 Nov 2001	2748	
221	pm	TTV		englanti	27 Apr 2001	2726	www
222	pm	Picard		Birmingham, Villa Park	09 Sep 2002	2680	
223	pm	kastemato		00240 / FF2	09 Jun 2002	2672	www
224	pm	Hullu ääliö Italiasta		ob	04 Mar 2001	2665	

FIGURE 3. *Futisforum* memberlist sorted by the total number of posts[66] – view of members 201–224. Number 212 was in fact the 200th most active writer at the moment of sampling; therefore the last item that made it into my sample of pseudonyms was 'Leka Harkko'. The first 11 names on the list were spam robots; moreover, the same name 'IDA' occurs twice in the top 200 list (IDA had apparently managed to register twice with exactly the same username, although, in principle, this should not be possible).

66   http://suomifutisnet.adv1.nebula.fi/phpBB2/
      memberlist.php?mode=posts&order=DESC&start=200

FIGURE 4. A view of the first 25 registered members[67] on *Futisforum2.org* (each of whom registered on 21 March, 2006). 'Rekisteröitynyt' in Finnish means 'Registered', while 'viestiä' here means 'messages'.

67   http://futisforum2.org/index.php?action=mlist;sort=registered;start=0 (requires registration)

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Tila	Tunnus	Sähköposti	Kotisivu	ICQ	AIM	YIM	MSN	Asema	Rekisteröitynyt	viestiä ▼	
☐	Vastapallo		🌐						2006-11-13	33347	
☐	Maakuntasatraappi								2006-09-17	27686	
☐	ForzaInter								2006-06-30	24536	
☐	Elmo	✉							2006-03-22	24317	
☐	Fenley Stastus								2006-06-28	23603	
☐	Savon keisari								2007-02-26	23012	
☐	Tsei Tsei								2006-04-19	22890	
☐	V								2007-01-15	22583	
☐	Le God								2006-03-21	21735	
☐	Edmundo								2006-08-02	18713	
☐	Calumus								2006-04-18	18683	
☐	Coulijoe								2006-06-27	18449	
☐	Boris Pugo						♟		2006-12-03	18131	
☐	outdraw								2008-06-16	17987	
☐	Dieter Bohlen								2006-06-28	17652	
☐	erno								2006-04-02	17638	
☐	joks11								2006-03-22	17628	
☐	Gunner								2006-03-21	17418	
☐	Mystinen metsätyömies								2006-11-10	16955	
☐	Arpin Lusène								2007-07-26	16757	
☐	El Conejo								2006-04-18	16745	
☐	vili bin ali muhammad								2006-03-22	16654	
☐	asiantuntija								2006-09-22	16380	
☐	Lorenzo								2007-09-30	16082	
☐	Nice10								2006-06-26	16071	

FIGURE 5. A view of the 25 most active writers[68] on *Futisforum2.org*. For example, member 'Elmo' has posted 24,317 messages. According to my observations and tailored searches, these automatic counts include deleted messages or messages in deleted topics, even if these are no longer online. Thus, virtually all members have fewer posts left in their message histories than the numbers in the listing suggest.

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68   http://futisforum2.org/index.php?action=mlist;sort=posts;start=0 (requires registration)

FIGURE 6. *Futisforum2.org's* view of writers 226–250 in terms of the number of posts[69]. 'Kepes' was the last one included in my top 200 sample; 48 nicknames that had been carried over from *Futisforum* to *FF2.org* were omitted.

[69] http://futisforum2.org/index.php?action=mlist;sort=posts;start=225 (requires registration)

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Appendix 2: Screen views of the 'edit profile' dialogue window.

FIGURE 7. *Futisforum's* profile editing dialogue window[70]. Only 'Location' can be readily seen next to the actual messages in the threads, while the other features can be seen via linkable icons or when accessing others' member profiles. Judging from all the information I have managed to retrieve, signatures were disallowed over the entire lifespan of *Futisforum*.

[70] http://suomifutisnet.adv1.nebula.fi/phpBB2/profile.php?mode=editprofile (requires registration)

FIGURE 8. *Futisforum2.org's* profile editing dialogue window[71]. 'Suosikkijoukkue' means 'Favourite team', while 'Allekirjoitus' means 'Signature'. Only these two can be seen in connection with the actual messages in the threads, while the other features can be seen via linkable icons or when accessing others' member profiles.

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[71]   http://futisforum2.org/index.php?action=profile;sa=forumProfile (requires registration)

Appendix 3: Screen views of how member profiles appear to other members

FIGURE 9. A prolific member profile on *Futisforum*. Note the alternation and mixing between resources from Finnish and English in the subspaces.

FIGURE 10. A prolific member profile on *Futisforum*. Note the alternation and mixing between resources from Finnish and English in the subspaces.

FIGURE 11. A prolific member profile on *Futisforum*. Note that all the affordances are filled up with resources from Spanish.

FIGURE 12. A prolific member profile on *Futisforum2.org*. 'Kuva/Teksti' ('Picture/Text') on the right is actually titled 'Favourite team' when viewing one's own profile, or when message threads are being viewed. 'Allekirjoitus' on the bottom denotes 'Signature'. Note how the tailorable affordances are filled up with resources from German and English.

Yhteenveto - Boris Pugo		Kuva/Teksti
Nimi:	Boris Pugo	
Viestit:	18534 (9,068 viestiä per päivä)	
Asema:		
Rekisteröitynyt:	03-12-2006, 20:47:34	
Viimeksi paikalla:	**eilen** kello 23:47:09	
ICQ:		
AIM:		
MSN:	radiosvoboda@hotmail.com	
YIM:		
Sähköposti:	*piilotettu*	
Kotisivu:	rauhan ja sosialismin puolesta, pienen ihmisen asialla	Marko Jaksic & Bluefamily
Tila:	☐ *Poissa*	
Sukupuoli:	nainen	
Ikä:	75	
Asuinpaikka:	Keminmaa	
Paikallinen aika:	09-07-2012, 01:40:51	
Allekirjoitus:		
Lainaus käyttäjältä: Lounasseuralainen - 08-05-2012, 17:42:58 Ei bolivaarinen vallankumous ole mikään Arnoldsin donitsi johon voi valikoida itse täytteen. Nyt mennään kohti Kinkylandiaa tai liittovaltiota.		

FIGURE 13. A prolific member profile on *Futisforum2.org*. Note how the tailorable affordances are filled up with resources from Russian, Finnish, English and Serbian.

FIGURE 14. A prolific member profile on *Futisforum2.org*. Note how the tailorable affordances are filled up with resources from dialectal (South-Western) Finnish ("täl pual jokke"; 'this side of the river'), French and perhaps stylized Portuguese ('Tzagallo').

Appendix 4: Three messages from *Futisforum* illustrating different subspaces at work

This appendix includes views of *Futisforum* messages displaying both polylingual language use and the relative positions of the different subspaces to one another.
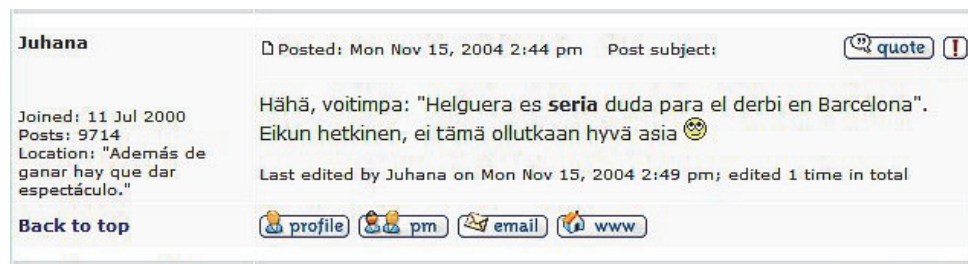
FIGURE 15. A polylingual message from *Futisforum*'s topic "El Clásico: FC Barcelona - Real Madrid C.F.". The non-changeable software meta-tools are in English, the relatively permanent pseudonym ('Juhana') in top left is in Finnish, and the tailorable 'Location' affordance in middle left is a sentence in Spanish metadiscursively framed by double quotation marks ("Además de ganar"…), while a similar item ("Helguera es seria"…) also occurs in the body text embedded within a colloquial Finnish 'base' text and an emoticon.

FIGURE 16. A polylingual message from *Futisforum*'s topic "Tsaiguli deadlock count". Note the colloquial, dialectal (primarily Geordie) and formulaic English usages alongside Finnish as well as a degree of stylization ('$').
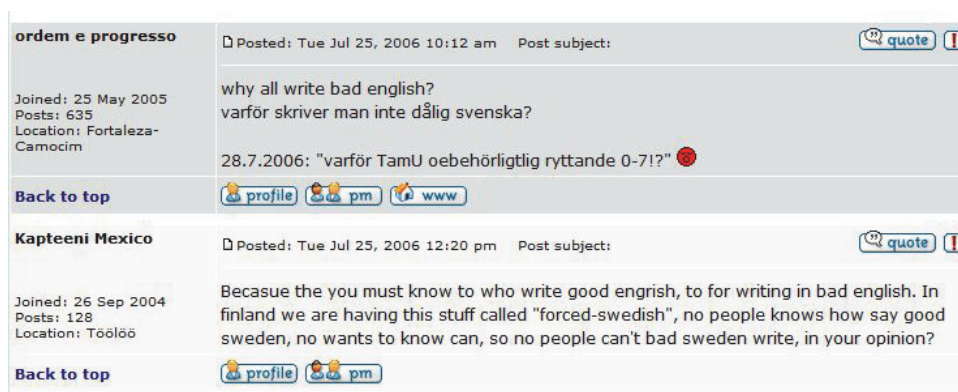
FIGURE 17.   Two polylingual messages from *Futisforum's* topic "why inter 6-0 lose?". Note the deliberately stylized 'mock English' and 'mock Swedish' along with an emoticon for purposes of sociocultural demarcation and humour.

Appendix 5: Three messages from *Futisforum2.org* illustrating different subspaces

This appendix includes views of *Futisforum2.org's* messages displaying both polylingual language use and the relative positions of the different subspaces to one another.The non-changeable software meta-tools are in Finnish, embedded quoting of a previous message is part of the layout (the darker-coloured rectangle), the relatively permanent pseudonym ('paofinlandia', 'uneek', 'Dieter Bohlen') is **in bold** in top left, the tailorable 'Favourite team' ('Suosikkijoukkue') in middle left, and the signature on the bottom, is separated by a horizontal line.

FIGURE 18.   A polylingual message from *Futisforum2.org*'s topic "Super League, Hellas 2006/07". Note how both the favourite team and the signature are in Greek, even in Greek script. The quote contains, in addition to Finnish, Greek in Latin transcription.

FIGURE 19. A polylingual message from *Futisforum2.org*'s topic "Venäjä 2011-2012". ('Venäjä' in Finnish means 'Russia'.) Note how this member's favourite team and signature are in Russian (in Cyrillic script), while there is a quote in English that is being commented on in Finnish along with an emoticon. Moreover, boldface is deployed for two different functions (emphasis and quote); the quote is also in italics and, moreover, in quotation marks.

FIGURE 20. A polylingual message from *Futisforum2.org*'s topic "Bundesliga: 23. Spieltag". Note the uses of German, English and the relatively universal French idiom 'a la' (sic).