CODE-SWITCHING IN FINLAND AND ESTONIA:
University students' attitudes towards Finglish and Estinglish

Anttu Immonen
Bachelor's Thesis
English
Department of Language and
Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä
Spring 2024

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta – Faculty	Laitos – Department
Humanistis-yhteiskuntatieteellinen tiedekunta	Kieli- ja viestintätieteiden laitos

Tekijä – Author
Anttu Immonen

Työn nimi – Title
Code-switching in Finland and Estonia: University students' attitudes towards Finglish and Estinglish

Oppiaine – Subject	Työn laji – Level
Englannin kieli	Kandidaatintutkielma

Aika – Month and year	Sivumäärä – Number of pages
Huhtikuu 2024	23

Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Suomea pidetään konservatiivisena ja varsin hitaasti muuttuvana kielenä siinä missä viro on paljon alttiimpi muutokselle. Suomalaisten ja virolaisten kieliasenteita englantia kohtaan on tutkittu ennenkin, kun taas koodinvaihtoa on tarkasteltu varsin vähän, eikä koskaan aiemmin kielen konservatiivisuuden näkökulmasta. Tutkimuksessani haluttiinkin kartoittaa, millaisia asenteita suomalaisilla ja virolaisilla yliopisto-opiskelijoilla on koodinvaihdosta englannin ja äidinkielensä välillä, ja onko äidinkielen konservatiivisuudella mahdollinen vaikutus osallistujien asenteisiin. Tutkimus mittasi myös sitä, kuinka usein suomalaiset ja virolaiset käyttävät koodinvaihtoa ja millaisia asenteita, positiivisia näkymiä ja huolia heillä on englannin kielen alati lisääntyvää käyttöä kohtaan.

Tutkimus toteutettiin vertailevana kyselytutkimuksena, johon saatiin yhteensä 42 vastaajaa Jyväskylän ja Tallinnan yliopistoista. Vastaukset analysoitiin tilastollisin menetelmin sekä temaattisen sisällönanalyysin avulla.

Kyselyiden vastauksista kävi ilmi, ettei kielen konservatiivisuutta voida ainakaan tämän tutkimuksen tulosten valossa linkittää koodinvaihtoon liittyviin asenteisiin. Suomalaisten ja virolaisten vastaajien asenteet osoittautuivat yleisellä tasolla pitkälti samanlaisiksi ja ryhmien sisällä oli suhteellisen paljon yksilöiden välistä erimielisyyttä. Lisäksi huomattiin, että vastaajaryhmät käyttävät koodinvaihtoa varsin samoissa määrin erilaisissa tilanteissa. Kiinnostavaa oli se, että virolaiset suhtautuivat englannin kieleen keskimäärin huomattavasti negatiivisemmin kuin suomalaiset, mikä poikkeaa aiemmista tutkimustuloksista. Tutkimuksen tuloksista voisivat hyötyä niin muut tutkijat, kääntäjät kuin markkinoinnin ammattilaisetkin, jotka haluavat ymmärtää ilmiötä kattavammin tai räätälöidä kieltään kohderyhmiensä mieltymysten ja asenteiden mukaiseksi.

Asiasanat – Keywords   code-switching, Estinglish, Finglish, language attitudes, questionnaire

Säilytyspaikka – Depository JYX

Muita tietoja – Additional information

TABLES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1   INTRODUCTION

Finnish is generally considered a more conservative language than Estonian. Estonian is more prone to change and sensitive to the effects of external linguistic pressure, while Finnish changes very slowly. This can, for instance, be seen in the case system, roots, and phonology of Finnish, which are very similar to their counterparts in Proto-Uralic, while Estonian has undergone several changes.

The purpose of this bachelor's thesis is to discover what kinds of language attitudes the speakers of these two closely related languages hold. The research focuses on the language attitudes of Finnish and Estonian university students, and whether the intrinsic differences of Finnish and Estonian possibly have an effect on how their speakers perceive code-switching with English amidst their mother tongue (i.e. Finglish and Estinglish). The thesis focuses on examining how frequently they use Finglish and Estinglish in different environments and what kinds of attitudes they have towards these kinds of hybrid language forms. Additionally, the thesis measures their attitudes towards the increasing use of English in daily life and whether they perceive it as a threat to their native language.

Some research has been done in the field of Finnish people's language attitudes and especially attitudes towards English (Kristiansen, 2005; Valppu, 2013; Pentikäinen, 2023), but the role of the language's degree of conservativeness has not been researched yet. Furthermore, there is minimal research done on Estonians' attitudes towards the English language, and Estonian people's attitudes towards Estinglish have not been studied at all. The present study complements its previous framework by comparing Estonian and Finnish participants and by examining the possible impact of the conservativeness factor behind their language attitudes.

The study aims to provide explicit information on their attitudes that can be tied to existing knowledge on language attitudes.

Including the introduction, the thesis is divided into five different sections, some of which are divided further into smaller sub-sections. The thesis begins with examination of previous findings and the research-based theoretical framework of the topics at hand. Then, the research questions and methods of data collection and analysis are presented. After that, the data are analysed in close detail. Finally, the last section focuses on discussing the differences between the data collected from the Finnish and Estonian participants and presents the implications of the study. Additionally, the limitations and strengths of the study are explained.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section presents the relevant conceptual framework the thesis is tied to and connects the present study to former research and its theoretical background. The section is divided into three sub-sections. First, attitudes are examined, with a more specific focus on language attitudes and attitudes towards English in Finland and Estonia. In the second sub-section, the relatedness and historical and linguistic backgrounds of Finnish and Estonian are discussed, focusing on the degree of conservativeness and stability of the languages. Finally, in the third sub-section, code-switching and hybrid language forms are explored.

2.1 Attitudes

For the purpose of the present study, former research on attitudes is going to be discussed through the standpoint of social psychology, according to which attitudes can be defined as "relatively enduring organisations of beliefs around an object or situation" (Rokeach, 1968, as cited by Maze, 1973, p. 187). The object of an individual's attitudes may be, for instance, a certain person, behaviour, a social group, or even a language, which will be discussed later. Some researchers have found that attitudes are highly influential and clearly and directly impact one's behaviour and actions towards their attitude objects (Stouffer et al., 1949; DeFleur & Westie, 1958; Brannon et al., 1973, as cited by Schuman & Johnson, 1976, pp. 166-167). These relationships between attitudes and behaviour will hereafter be referred to as A-B relationships.

In contrast to the clear A-B relationships found by some, questions about the validity of such consistencies can be raised. Schuman and Johnson (1976, p. 164) highlight two central issues that should be taken into consideration when studying attitudes and behaviour and establishing A-B relationships. Firstly, they emphasise that the researcher should be able to distinguish between their own expectations and the empirical findings on which attitudes and behaviours go hand in hand. Secondly, they argue that researchers sometimes fail to make a distinction between literal and correlational A-B relationships. It should be noted that a correlation between a specific attitude and action does not necessarily mean that there is a causal connection. These are both factors worth to be considered in the present study.

Attitudes have an important role in forming self-images, which are individuals' perceptions about themselves. Every human has a myriad of attitudes, which guide them on what they consider good and desirable or bad and undesirable. Attitudes are formed in many different manners, of which perhaps the most common is developing attitudes due to evaluative conditioning, through positive or negative stimuli received from experiences involving the object of attitude (De Houwer et al., 2001, p. 866). Some attitudes have also been found to be at least somewhat heritable from one's parents, such as in the study of Olson et al. (2001, p. 852), in which they found that attitudes towards athleticism, equality, and preservation of life were highly genetic. Other examples of possible ways for attitudes to form could be social learning from others, subliminal influences, and learning via media.

Next, the focus will be more precisely on language attitudes, which is a very multidisciplinary field of research with an extensive research tradition, as is described by Cargile et al. (1994, p. 211). Still citing Cargile et al., language attitudes have been researched quite thoroughly from the viewpoints of social psychology, sociology, sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, communication, and discourse analysis. Some studies have been done on language attitudes towards the English language in the context of Finland and Estonia, but the research is by no means extensive. Former research ranges from attitudes towards English in general to attitudes towards different English accents and dialects.

From the Finnish perspective, it has, for instance, been found that Finnish people are more reluctant towards the idea of using English as a global mother tongue and using English words instead of national words (e.g. e-mail - sähköposti) than other Nordics, including the Swedish-speaking population in Finland (Kristiansen, 2005, pp. 163, 166). However, the same study

also indicates that Finnish people's attitudes towards English are overall quite positive, especially towards English as a language of national enterprises (Kristiansen, 2005, p. 163). This attitudinal positivity is seconded by the master's thesis study of Valppu (2013, pp. 66-67), in which students' attitudes towards using English on Facebook were studied and it was found that using English is overall viewed positively and English is not seen as a threat to Finnish. In addition, Finnish people's language attitudes have been studied from the perspective of English accents, showing that Finnish people are more positive towards accents that they perceive to sound native than those that they do not, regardless of whether they actually are native or not (Pentikäinen, 2023, p. 51).

As compared to the Finnish perspective discussed above, attitudes towards English have been studied somewhat less from the Estonian perspective. Young Estonians' attitudes towards English have been shown to be mainly positive and a high number hold English in high instrumental value and would like to educate their children in English (Ehala & Niglas, 2006, pp. 221-223). The younger generations' positive attitudes towards English could at least partially be explained by the country's Westernisation and willingness to connect with the west after the relatively isolative years as a part of the Soviet Union. While the Estonian youth mainly views English and its effects on Estonian positively, a good number of scholars and the older generations have a more pessimistic view towards the language (Liiv & Laasi, 2006). Those who view English more negatively are primarily worried about the integrity of the Estonian language and the existence of the Estonian nation (Liiv & Laasi, 2006, p. 483). It is, however, worthwhile to note that these data and views are based on the first 15 years since Estonia gained its independence from the USSR, and the very few articles on Estonians' attitudes towards English that have been released since then back the notion of positive attitudes (e.g. Mastrolilli, 2017).

2.2   The conservativeness of Finnish and Estonian

To form a foundation for basic understanding of the subject and for the sake of comparison between the two languages, it is worthwhile to briefly discuss Finnish and Estonian, as well as the history, relationship, and features of the two. In this sub-section, the history and current status of the languages are discussed first, followed by discussion and comparisons of the conservativeness of the two.

Finnish and Estonian are closely related languages, deriving from the same Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric language family. They originate from the same proto-language, Proto-Finnic, which was spoken around the Baltic region until about 2000 years ago (Laakso, 2001, p. 180). The dialects of the Finnic proto-language continued to be mutually intelligible even after that, and hence inventions could spread between them (Laakso, 2001, p. 182). As is stated by Laakso (2001, pp. 180, 237), Finnic languages have since developed further in contact with Sami languages, Baltic and Germanic languages, and their South-Eastern relatives, which are hypothesised to be Uralic languages that are extinct this day. The language contacts were different between Finnish and Estonian, with heavier Swedish influence on Finnish and German influence on Estonian, resulting in unalike developments in the two languages.

Looking at the status quo, Finnish and Estonian are both vital languages, which have official statuses and institutional language policies in their representative countries, a high number of speakers and ongoing intergenerational language transmission. Finnish is spoken by roughly 5 million people mainly in Finland and Sweden's Norrland, as well as by emigrant groups in Norway, Russia, Australia, and the United States (Laakso, 2001, pp. 180-181). Estonian, in turn, has approximately 1 million speakers in Estonia and is also spoken by emigrant groups in Russia, Sweden, Australia, and the United States (Laakso, 2001, p. 181).

Languages' degree of conservativeness, or reluctance to change, is a phenomenon that has not been studied broadly and has not been linked to language attitudes before. Finnish and Estonian are suitable sister languages for examining the phenomenon, as they are great examples of languages representing a single sub-group (Finnic languages), yet still differing from each other in their rate of change (Piechnik, 2014, p. 396). Estonian, as a language with faster erosion, can be used as a point of reference to Finnish, which has slower rates of change and is considered especially phonologically conservative (Piechnik, 2014, p. 395; Laakso, 2001, p. 182). This distinction makes it possible to examine the results of the present study's questionnaire in the light of this profound difference between the languages.

According to the study of Dediu and Cysouw (2013), there is at least to some degree a universal tendency for some features of a language to be more stable and resistant to change than others. Especially features related to word order and certain phonological features have shown to be more stable across language families, which is proposed to be caused by intrinsic tendency (Dediu & Cysouw, 2013, p. 16). Similar observations have been made by Parkvall (2008, pp.

238-239) on the level of genealogical stability, meaning that some features are intrinsic qualities of a language that are acquired as the language is born and cannot be changed considerably by contact with or pressure from other languages. It could, however, be argued that Parkvall is measuring a language's resistance to borrowing, rather than resistance to internal or external change.

In Finnish, the conservativeness, even archaism to an extent, of the language can be seen especially in its phonological features. For instance, Finnish has preserved many words from its Uralic ancestors and loanwords from Proto-Germanic (Proto-Germanic: *kuningaz* – Finnish: *kuningas*) nearly identically to their original forms, a phenomenon often called '*the Finnish refrigerator*' (Piechnik, 2014, p. 400). Other examples that argue in favour of the conservativeness of the Finnish language would be retaining vowel harmony and maintaining most Proto-Finnic case endings, while in Estonian vowel harmony has been lost and the original Proto-Finnic case endings are either shortened or have disappeared altogether (Laakso, 2001, pp. 183, 195-198).

2.3 Code-switching

Code-switching is the act of alternating between the use of two or more codes, which essentially are whatever different language varieties, within one conversational episode (Auer, 1998, p. 1). The process of code-switching has shown to be, in most cases, highly subconscious instead of conscious behaviour, and people who do code-switch are not always aware of the way they speak (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 121). Thus, it can be difficult, if not impossible, to measure why it is that people code-switch, as there may not be any goals that people try to achieve by code-switching. This is also taken into account in the present study, as the data collection focuses on determining how code-switching is perceived rather than why it is used. In this thesis, code-switching between Finnish and English is hereafter referred to as Finglish and code-switching between Estonian and English in turn as Estinglish. Code-switching is also referred to as language mixing and hybrid language forms. The same terminology is used in the questionnaires for collecting data for the present study.

To build a bridge between code-switching and language attitudes, which were discussed earlier, it is worthwhile to review what is known about attitudes towards mixing languages. In the case

of Estonia and Estinglish, there is no research on the topic yet, but some studies and articles have scratched the surface of attitudes towards Finglish in both older and younger population groups. First, it has been found that students generally view Finglish as a natural way to use language on Facebook and other social media, and have positive views towards using it, pointing out that the humour or accuracy of some expressions may get lost in the translation without Finglish. (Valppu, 2013, p. 65). The same study, however, also found that some students have negative attitudes towards Finglish if it is used solely for expression purposes and not to facilitate communication with non-native friends (Valppu, 2013, p. 66). In the older population, ages 50 to 76, attitudes towards Finglish are more negative, although there is a lot of variation between individuals (Laukkanen, 2021, p. 50). Many consider Finglish annoying and are afraid of Finnish losing its vitality, while Finglish is also often associated with young age, international careers, impressing others, and joking (Laukkanen, 2021, p. 50).

3   THE PRESENT STUDY

The purpose of this section is to introduce the present study and discuss how it was conducted. First, the research questions of the study are presented. Second, the methods of data collection are explained. Lastly, the methods of analysis used in the present study are discussed. The subsections also present the motives for using the chosen methods.

3.1   Research questions

The language attitudes of Finnish and Estonian people have previously been studied from the perspective of English, but there is very little research on attitudes towards Finglish and Estinglish. The aim of the present study is to fill this research gap and, by comparing Finnish and Estonian speakers, investigate whether the conservativeness of one's mother tongue impacts their attitudes towards code-switching. The present study also aims to form a better understanding of attitudes towards English and how Finglish and Estinglish are used.

The present study's research questions are as follows:

1. What kinds of attitudes do the speakers of Finnish and Estonian have towards Finglish and Estinglish, and could language conservativeness influence them?
2. How frequently are Finglish and Estinglish used in different environments and with different people?
3. What kinds of attitudes do the speakers of Finnish and Estonian have towards the increasing use of English and is English seen as a threat?

3.2 Data collection

The data collected for this study are partially quantitative and partially qualitative. The methods used allow collecting data that are numerically categorisable, as well as data based on open-ended questions. The emphasis is on quantitative data and the observations and conclusions that can be drawn from them.

The data for the study are collected via comparative surveys carried out for Finnish and Estonian respondents. Based on former research and consensus in the field, questionnaires are considered to be a suitable method for data gathering when looking into participants' attitudes on the matter at hand (Dörnyei, 2003; p. 5). The surveys are conducted for the students in two universities, in the University of Jyväskylä and Tallinn University. The survey questions are the same for both groups of respondents with only the distinction that Finnish respondents answer questions regarding Finglish and Estonian respondents regarding Estinglish. The surveys are completely anonymous and no identifiable information is collected from the respondents, and the respondents read and agreed to the survey's privacy notice. The surveys consist of questions regarding all three of the study's main research topics: language attitudes, frequency of using hybrid language forms, and attitudes towards the increasing use of English. The datasets collected from the surveys consist of the answers of 42 respondents, of which 25 are Finnish and 17 are Estonian.

Each survey consists of a total of 16 questions. The first question clarifies the respondents' language backgrounds and whether they have other native languages than Finnish or Estonian. Questions two to six examine how often the respondents use Finglish or Estinglish. Questions seven to fifteen present claims regarding hybrid language forms and the respondents get to choose whether they agree or disagree with the claims by using Likert scales. The last question is open-ended and measures whether the respondents see the increasing use of English as a threat to their native language.

Since the topic requires advanced understanding of language use and language forms, as well as introspection and examination of one's own views and opinions, the study is conducted with adult participants. This way, it can be ensured that the participants are mature enough and can carry on through the survey, which requires concentration and reflection.

3.3 Methods of analysis

The questions two to fifteen are analysed with statistical measures suitable for the analysis of Likert scale questions. Although it is argued that Likert scale data can be interpreted based on both parametric and non-parametric measures (Norman, 2010), the data are analysed based on non-parametric measures, since they are the most suitable for ordinal data. For the purpose of this bachelor's thesis and its limited extent, the interpretation and analyses are going to focus on describing the central tendency and dispersion of the datasets. Central tendency is measured using medians, which are the middle points in datasets, half of the data points being smaller and half being bigger than the median value. Dispersion is measured with interquartile ranges (IQRs), which are values that indicate the spread of the data points and show what the range is for the middle 50% of them. Although it would be interesting for the sake of closer inspection of the results, the data are not going to be analysed further with other analysis methods.

For the last, open-ended question regarding the participants' attitudes towards the increasing use of English, the means of qualitative content analysis are used to analyse the answers. What is looked for in the answers is whether the participants view English as a threat to their native language or not, and what kinds of reasonings they present for their views. The reasonings that arise from the answers are categorised and thematically presented. The goal is to find the relevant themes that arise from the answers relating to the study's research questions (Eskola & Suoranta, 2008, pp. 174–180). The identified themes are then analysed further by inspecting their recurrence in the answers (Neuendorf, 2017).

The results of both the statistical analysis for the Likert scale questions and the qualitative thematic analysis for the open-ended question are then compared between the Finnish and Estonian respondent groups. This way, it can be examined if there are clear differences or similarities between the groups, which helps in answering the research questions and builds a better understanding of whether the degree of a language's conservativeness has an effect on its speakers' attitudes on such hybrid language forms as Finglish or Estinglish.

4   FINDINGS

In this section, the results of the surveys conducted for the Finnish and Estonian respondent groups will be examined. In the first sub-section, the focus of analysis will be on how often the respondents mix English with their native languages when communicating with different groups of people, such as their parents, friends, or other academics. The second sub-section analyses the attitudes the respondents have towards language mixing. Finally, the third sub-section analyses the respondents' general attitudes towards the increasing use of English and whether they see it as a threat to their native language.

4.1   Frequency of mixing languages

This sub-section is going to delve into the results regarding how often the respondents code-switch between English and their native language in different settings and with different conversation partners. The respondents' frequency of using Finglish and Estinglish was measured in the surveys with five Likert scale questions. In this sub-section, the answers suggest somewhat strong consensus within the Finnish and Estonian respondent groups, as can be seen from the rather low interquartile ranges in Table 1. Apart from two slightly elevated incidences of 1,5, the IQR values are mostly 1 or under, which indicates a fairly low level of dispersion. Thus, the focus may be on the medians drawn from the data.

TABLE 1   How often the respondents use Finglish or Estinglish with different people. Likert scale range: never, rarely, sometimes, often, always.

Finglish/ Estinglish with...	Group	1 Never	2	3	4	5 Always	Total	Median	IQR
Parents	Finnish	2	10	9	3	1	25	**3,0**	1,0
	Estonian	2	8	3	2	2	17	**2,0**	1,5
Friends	Finnish	0	1	4	10	10	25	**4,0**	1,0
	Estonian	0	0	3	10	4	17	**4,0**	0,5
People online	Finnish	2	0	4	13	6	25	**4,0**	1,0
	Estonian	0	1	2	7	7	17	**4,0**	1,0
Strangers	Finnish	4	17	4	0	0	25	**2,0**	0,0
	Estonian	2	8	6	1	0	17	**2,0**	1,0
Academics	Finnish	3	8	11	2	1	25	**3,0**	1,0
	Estonian	5	8	3	1	0	17	**2,0**	1,5

According to the data, the Finnish respondent group uses Finglish with their parents sometimes, the median of the answers being 3. Most of the respondents use Finglish with their parents rarely (N=10) or sometimes (N=9). Only two people report to never use Finglish with their parents, and only one respondent always does so. The median of 2 in the Estonian group suggests that the Estonian respondents use English with their parents more rarely than the Finnish respondents do. However, it is worth to note that the answers are slightly more dispersed (IQR=1,5), although a great number of the respondents did answer that they use Estinglish rarely with their parents (N=8).

Another question where the answers of the Finnish and Estonian groups differ is whether they use Finglish or Estinglish with other academics, such as peers and teachers. The median of the Finnish respondent group is 3, which translates to 'sometimes', while the Estonian group's median is 2, translating to 'rarely'. In the Estonian group, the dispersion is again slightly higher (IQR=1,5) than in the Finnish group (IQR=1,0). However, the trend is clear, with most Finnish respondents answering sometimes (N=11) or rarely (N=8) and the Estonian group in turn rarely (N=8) or never (N=5).

In the rest of the questions, the results are rather similar between both respondent groups. With a median of 4 and most of the answers being often or always (both N=10), the Finnish group uses Finglish with their friends often. Similarly, the median of the Estonian group is 4 and their answers are even more centred around that value (N=10, IQR=0,5). In the Finnish group, the

incidence of using Finglish when speaking or chatting with people online is quite similar to speaking with their friends (Mdn=4). There is minor dispersion with 2 people answering 'never', while most responded 'often' (N=13) or always (N=6). The results are similar in the Estonian group with a median of 4, although no respondent claimed to never use Estinglish online. Finglish and Estinglish are also used equally rarely with strangers, as is suggested by the median of 2 in both groups. The Finnish group is quite unanimous with their answers and 17 respondents answered 'rarely' (IQR=0). In the Estonian group, 'rarely' is also the most popular answer (N=8).

Overall, by comparing the two datasets, it can be concluded that the Finnish and Estonian respondent groups' frequencies of using Finglish and Estinglish in different settings and with different people are quite similar with some minor differences. Both groups often mix English with their native language when speaking with their friends or chatting online, which is in the case of the Finnish group in line with earlier studies (Valppu, 2013). Finglish and Estinglish are used equally rarely with strangers, but the frequency of using Finglish is slightly higher when talking with parents or other academics as compared to the Estonian group.

4.2 Attitudes towards language mixing

This sub-section is going to analyse the results from the surveys' questions regarding the respondents' attitudes towards using Finglish and Estinglish. The interpretation and analysis of this sub-section have been divided into two smaller parts. First, the data on the respondents' attitudes towards observing other people code-switch are going to be examined. Then, the analysis is going to focus more on their attitudes on code-switching in their own communication. In this sub-section, there is more variability inside the Finnish and Estonian respondent groups than in the first sub-section regarding frequency of code-switching, which can be observed from the IQR values of 2 and higher in multiple items. Thus, the high dispersion is taken into account in the analysis of these items.

TABLE 2   Attitudes towards hearing Finglish or Estinglish. Likert scale range: agree, somewhat agree, neutral, somewhat disagree, disagree.

Finglish/ Estinglish...	Group	1 Agree	2	3	4	5 Disagree	Total	Median	IQR
Sounds pretty	Finnish	0	5	5	12	3	25	**4,0**	1,0
	Estonian	0	2	3	7	5	17	**4,0**	2,0
Sounds cool	Finnish	2	4	10	7	2	25	**3,0**	1,5
	Estonian	0	3	3	6	5	17	**4,0**	2,0
Sounds prestigious	Finnish	2	2	3	7	11	25	**4,0**	2,0
	Estonian	1	0	1	6	9	17	**5,0**	1,0
Bothers me	Finnish	0	8	5	8	4	25	**3,0**	2,0
	Estonian	3	1	2	7	4	17	**4,0**	2,0
Is easy to understand	Finnish	8	9	5	3	0	25	**2,0**	2,0
	Estonian	8	4	1	2	2	17	**2,0**	2,5

Starting again with the items where the medians differ between Finnish and Estonian respondents, the Finnish group places in the neutral category when it comes to Finglish sounding cool (Mdn=3, see Table 2). The answers are spread quite evenly and there is some dispersion with 2 respondents agreeing and 2 disagreeing, and 4 somewhat agreeing and 7 somewhat disagreeing. Although the Estonian group has a slightly higher dispersion (IQR=2), it is leaning slightly more to disagreeing with a median of 4 and 65% of the respondents either disagreeing or somewhat disagreeing with the statement.

According to the data, Finnish respondents somewhat disagree with Finglish sounding prestigious (Mdn=4). Although the dispersion is again slightly elevated (IQR=2), a great majority of respondents (72%) either disagree or somewhat disagree, while only 16% agree or somewhat agree. Even more than the Finnish group, Estonians heavily disagree with Estonian sounding prestigious (Mdn=5) with a decent consensus (IQR=1) and 88% disagreeing or somewhat disagreeing.

The Finnish respondents are somewhat neutral, slightly leaning towards disagreeing with Finglish bothering them. While the median is 3, the dispersion is quite high again, as 32% of the respondents somewhat agree, while 20% are neutral and 48% either disagree or somewhat disagree (IQR=2). The Estonian group leans slightly more towards disagreeing with a median of 4 and 65% of respondents disagreeing or somewhat disagreeing as compared to 24% agreeing or somewhat agreeing.

When it comes to Finglish and Estinglish sounding pretty and being easy to understand, the medians are similar in both respondent groups. 60% of the Finnish group and 71% of the Estonian group disagree or somewhat disagree with Finglish or Estinglish sounding pretty (Mdn=4). 68% of the Finnish group and 71% of the Estonian group agree or somewhat agree that Finglish or Estinglish is easy to understand (Mdn=2). However, in the Estonian group, a significant slice of 24% of participants also disagree or somewhat disagree with the statement, which can be seen in the high IQR of 2,5.

TABLE 3   Attitudes towards using Finglish or Estinglish in the respondents' own communication. Likert scale range: agree, somewhat agree, neutral, somewhat disagree, disagree.

Statement on Finglish/ Estinglish:	Group	1 Agree	2	3	4	5 Disagree	Total	Median	IQR
I enjoy using it in my communi-cation	Finnish	2	10	7	4	2	25	**3,0**	1,5
	Estonian	3	1	10	2	1	17	**3,0**	0,5
It helps me communicate better	Finnish	5	13	4	3	0	25	**2,0**	1,0
	Estonian	6	5	1	3	2	17	**2,0**	3,0
It helps me connect better with my friends	Finnish	2	10	8	3	2	25	**3,0**	1,0
	Estonian	3	6	3	4	1	17	**2,0**	2,0
It makes self-expression more interesting	Finnish	4	9	5	5	2	25	**2,0**	2,0
	Estonian	4	5	6	1	1	17	**2,0**	1,5

As can be observed from Table 3, the Finnish respondents are on average somewhat neutral, slightly slanted towards agreeing, when it comes to code-switching helping them connect with their friends (Mdn=3). 32% of the respondents are neutral, while 48% either somewhat agree or agree. The Estonian group, on average, agrees slightly more with the statement with a median of 2 and 52% of the respondents agreeing or somewhat agreeing. However, the consensus is slightly stronger in the Finnish group, as in the Estonian group a good share of 29% disagree or somewhat disagree (IQR=2).

With medians of 3, both the Finnish and Estonian group are somewhat neutral when it comes to enjoying using code-switching in their communication. The Finnish group has a slightly higher dispersion and is somewhat inclined towards agreeing with 48% agreeing or somewhat

agreeing and 24% disagreeing or somewhat disagreeing. On average, the Finnish and Estonian groups both somewhat agree with code-switching helping them communicate better (Mdn=2), although the Estonian group's internal consensus is weaker, with 65% agreeing or somewhat agreeing and 29% disagreeing or somewhat disagreeing. In comparison, in the Finnish group 72% agree or somewhat agree and 12% somewhat disagree, with no one wholly disagreeing. Both groups also somewhat agree with code-switching making self-expression more interesting (Mdn=2). The dispersion is higher in the Finnish group (IQR=2), where 52% agree or somewhat agree and 28% disagree or somewhat disagree. In the Estonian group, 53% agree or somewhat agree and only 12% disagree or somewhat disagree.

In conclusion, by looking at the data, it can be said that Finnish and Estonian respondents' attitudes towards Finglish and Estinglish, both hearing and using them, are largely similar with some minor differences. Estonians disagree slightly more with Estinglish sounding cool or prestigious, while using it also helps them connect slightly better with their friends and bothers them slightly less than Finglish does the Finnish respondents. It has been previously concluded that Finnish students think that using Finglish helps them communicate better, with which the results of the present study are in line (Valppu, 2013). What is important to notice is that there is a much higher dispersion in the respondent groups' attitudes than there is in their frequency of mixing languages, and there is no clear consensus on many of the statements. This goes to show that university students' attitudes towards Finglish and Estinglish vary a lot from person to person, regardless of mother tongue.

4.3   Attitudes towards English in general

Finally, the last sub-section is going to focus on analysing the respondents' attitudes on English and whether or not it is seen as a threat to their native language. The sub-section has been split in two smaller parts, categorisation of stances and conceptualisation of positive views and concerns based on the respondents' open-ended answers. The former will first be briefly discussed with the help of Table 4 and then the concepts that arose from the latter will be presented and analysed.

TABLE 4   Categorisations of the respondents' stances on whether English is seen as a threat to their native language.

Do you view the increasing use of English as a threat to your native language?						
Group	Yes	Somewhat	Not yet, maybe in the future	Not at all	Did not answer	Total
Finnish	1	6	5	12	1	25
	4.0%	24.0%	20.0%	48.0%	4.0%	100.0%
Estonian	6	2	2	7	0	17
	35.30%	11.75%	11.75%	41.20%	0.00%	100.00%

As can be observed from the categorisations of the respondents' answers in Table 4, the largest group of both Finnish and Estonian respondents do not view the increasing use of English as a threat to their native languages (48% of Finnish respondents, 41,20% of Estonians). What separates the Finnish and Estonian respondents is the number of respondents who unambiguously view English as a current threat (4% of Finnish respondents, 35,30% of Estonians). In the Finnish group, a slightly higher percentage of respondents view English somewhat as a threat (24% compared to 11,75% of Estonians), meaning that they believe the positives of English outweigh the negatives, although they do have some concerns. More Finnish respondents also think that English is not a threat yet but might be in the future (20% compared to 11,75% of Estonians).

In the Finnish respondent group, the most common positive viewpoints that arose regarding the increasing use of English and Finglish are that it is just a part of natural evolution of languages (N=6) that provides people with useful new terms or terms that are difficult to translate (N=6). It is also stated that loaning words has always happened (N=2). Some respondents point out that Finnish is a vital language (N=5) that is taught in schools (N=2) and has an official status in Finland (N=2), while it is additionally used more than English (N=3). Other points that are mentioned are that English is increasing only in informal use (N=2), it makes self-expression easier (N=2), and studies support that it is not a threat (N=1). The most common concerns are young people getting worse at Finnish (N=4) and forgetting Finnish vocabulary (N=4), as well as overall simplification of Finnish (N=3). Other concerns discuss the integrity of Finnish deteriorating (N=1), Finnish losing its official status (N=1), and the language dying entirely (N=1). One respondent gave no explanation. The following excerpt represents some of the most common insights highlighted in the Finnish group's answers:

> "No, I don't see English as being a threat to Finnish. It is normal for languages to change and develop over time, and I think that using English words is not out of the ordinary. Young people use the internet and social media every single day, so it's inevitable that some words or phrases are present in spoken communication as well. Also, not all words can be translated to Finnish, which tends to be the case with slang."

Similarly to the Finnish respondent group, the most common positive viewpoints in the Estonian group are that the increasing use of English is natural evolution (N=4) and that loaning words has always happened (N=3). The Estonian respondents also point out that Estonian is nevertheless used more (N=2), is taught in schools (N=1), and has an official status (N=1). Some also bring up that the increasing use of English enriches language (N=2), helps with conveying complex ideas (N=1), and gives useful new terms (N=1). Unlike in the Finnish group, the vitality of Estonian, informal use, and self-expression are not mentioned in the answers. The most common concerns are young people getting worse at Estonian (N=3), forgetting vocabulary (N=5), and forgetting grammar (N=4). Simplification of Estonian (N=2), people stopping using Estonian (N=1), and English being a general threat (N=1) are other concerns, while 2 respondents gave no explanation. The following excerpt represents some of the most common insights highlighted in the Estonian group's answers:

> "I have noticed that people make more grammatical mistakes and struggle to find words or form correct sentences in Estonian. I sometimes feel that the usage of English will make Estonian language too similar to English in the future. However, there are words that we do not have in Estonian so on the other hand it helps to enrich our language."

In conclusion, the interesting finding of this sub-section is that while a good number of respondents in both Finnish and Estonian group do not see the increasing use of English as a threat, in the Estonian group there is also a good portion of respondents that see it as a relevant and current threat. Although the sample size is rather small and 17 respondents is not that generalisable, the results go interestingly against former studies that have concluded that young Estonians and Estonian university students hold rather positive attitudes towards English (Ehala & Niglas, 2006; Liiv & Laasi, 2006; Mastrolilli, 2017). Although some respondents in the Finnish group see English as a potential threat in the future, the overall notion is that the positives outweigh the negatives and the attitudes are rather positive, which is in line with former research (Kristiansen, 2005; Valppu, 2013). The positive views and concerns that the respondents mention are mainly very similar between respondent groups.

5   DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The main reason for conducting the present study was to examine Finnish and Estonian people's attitudes towards Finglish and Estinglish and their frequency of using them. The aim was to find out whether there are differences between the groups' attitudes and if they could be explained by the degree of conservativeness of each language. Based on the results of the surveys conducted for the two respondent groups, it can be said that the gathered data do not support the idea that the degree of conservativeness of one's mother tongue would have an effect on their attitudes towards code-switching between English and the mother tongue. The Estonian respondents' answers are mainly either very close to the Finnish group or incline slightly more towards being negative. When it comes to the frequency of using Estinglish, Estonian respondents claim to use it slightly less in some situations than the Finnish respondents use Finglish (with parents and academics). Estonian respondents also disagree more with Estinglish sounding cool or prestigious. On the other hand, Estonians disagree slightly more with Estinglish bothering them and agree slightly more with Estinglish helping them connect better with their friends.

Another aim of the study was to measure the attitudes Finnish and Estonian university students have towards the increasing use of English, and whether it is seen as a threat to their native language. The results suggest that Estonians view English as a threat more than the Finnish group does, with 47% of the respondents viewing it as at least somewhat of an immediate and current threat, as compared to the Finnish group's 28%. It is intriguing that the respondent groups' attitudes towards Finglish and Estinglish are very similar, while the differences in attitudes towards English are notable. This is especially interesting considering that former

research has shown that the Estonian youth and Estonian university students have highly positive attitudes towards English (Ehala & Niglas, 2006; Liiv & Laasi, 2006; Mastrolilli, 2017). This opens a possibility for further research with a larger sample size on whether the language attitudes of young Estonians are shifting towards a more negative stance, and if so, what is causing the shift.

Overall, although a link between attitudes towards code-switching and the conservativeness of one's native language could not be found, the present study provides us with interesting insights into Finglish and Estinglish, which have been studied very little thus far. In the case of Estinglish, public and peer-reviewed articles could not be found and the findings regarding Finglish are in line with former findings (Valppu, 2013). Additionally, the present study shows the aforementioned deviation in Estonians' attitudes towards English as compared to findings from earlier studies. On the other hand, it confirms earlier findings about Finnish people's generally positive attitudes towards English (Kristiansen, 2005; Valppu, 2013).

Despite its strengths, the main limitation of the present study is its generalisability. Most, if not all, of the respondents were English students at Finnish and Estonian universities, so attitudes regarding English could understandably differ from the general population. Furthermore, the surveys had a sufficient number of respondents for a bachelor's thesis, but for more in-depth data and understanding of the topic, a bigger sample size would be useful. These as well as the good range of positive viewpoints and concerns from the respondents could be used as a basis for further research.

In addition to language researchers, for example translators and marketing professionals could benefit from the findings of the present study. By understanding their target groups' language attitudes and preferences, translators can adapt their services accordingly (e.g. by using code-switching in online contexts) and businesses can make their marketing and advertising more appealing. The results are also fascinating and topical from the viewpoint of the ongoing societal discussion about language policies and the status of English in Finland.

REFERENCES

Auer, P. (1998). Introduction: Bilingual Conversation revisited. In Auer, P. (Ed.), *Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*. (pp. 1-24). London: Routledge

Cargile, A. C., Giles, H., Ryan, E. B., & Bradac, J. J. (1994). Language attitudes as a social process: A conceptual model and new directions. *Language & communication, 14(3)*, 211-236.

De Houwer, J., Thomas, S., & Baeyens, F. (2001). Association learning of likes and dislikes: A review of 25 years of research on human evaluative conditioning. *Psychological bulletin, 127(6)*, 853-869.

Dediu, D., & Cysouw, M. (2013). Some structural aspects of language are more stable than others: A comparison of seven methods. *PloS one, 8(1)*, e55009.

Dörnyei, Z. (2003) *Questionnaires in second language research*: *Construction, administration and processing*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Ehala, M., & Niglas, K. (2006). Language Attitudes of Estonian Secondary School Students. *Journal of language, identity, and education, 5(3),* 209-227.

Eskola, J. & J. Suoranta. (1998). *Johdatus laadulliseen tutkimukseen*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Gardner-Chloros, P. (2009). *Code-switching*. Cambridge University Press.

Kristiansen, T. (2005). The power of tradition: a study of attitudes towards English in seven nordic communities. *Acta linguistica hafniensia, 37(1)*, 155-169.

Laakso, J. (2001). The Finnic Languages. In Dahl, Ö., & Koptjevskaja-Tamm, M. (Eds.), *The Circum-Baltic Languages: Typology and Contact* (pp. 179-212). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Laukkanen, O. (2021). *"Knowing different languages is an advantage, but I wish the current supremacy of English would falter": Attitudes Toward Finnish-English Code-Switching* [Master's thesis, University of Helsinki].

Liiv, S., & Laasi, B. (2006). Attitudes Towards the Influence of the English Language on Estonian. *Journal of Baltic studies, 37(4)*, 482-487.

Mastrolilli, M. V. (2017). *The rise of English as a Lingua Franca in Estonia.* [Master's thesis, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia].

Maze, J. R. (1973). The concept of attitude. *Inquiry (Oslo), 16(1-4)*, 168-205.

Olson, J. M., Vernon, P. A., Harris, J. A., & Jang, K. L. (2001). The Heritability of Attitudes: A Study of Twins. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 80(6)*, 845-860.

Parkvall, M. (2008). Which parts of language are the most stable? S*prachtypologie und Universalienforschung, 61(3)*, 234-250.

Piechnik, I. (2014). Factors influencing conservatism and purism in languages of Northern Europe (Nordic, Baltic, Finnic). *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis, 131(4)*, 395-419.

Pentikäinen, K. (2023). *Attitudes towards English accents: a comparison of Finnish lower and upper secondary students*. [Master's thesis, University of Helsinki].

Schuman, H., & Johnson, M. P. (1976). Attitudes and Behavior. *Annual review of sociology, 2(1)*, 161-207.

Valppu, J. (2013). *Finnish students' uses of and attitudes towards English on Facebook.* [Master's thesis, University of Jyväskylä]