

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

"BUZZIA, BUDIA JA HYVÄÄ GHETTOBOOTYA"

-

**THE CONSTRUCTION OF HIP HOP IDENTITIES
IN FINNISH RAP LYRICS THROUGH ENGLISH
AND LANGUAGE MIXING**

A Pro Gradu Thesis in English

by

Elina Westinen

Department of Languages

2007

Elina Westinen

**"BUZZIA, BUDIA JA HYVÄÄ GHETTOBOOTYA" -
THE CONSTRUCTION OF HIP HOP IDENTITIES
IN FINNISH RAP LYRICS THROUGH ENGLISH
AND LANGUAGE MIXING**

Pro gradu -tutkielma
Englannin kieli
Joulukuu 2007

141 sivua

Englannin kielen rooli ja asema maailmankielenä on kiistaton, ja Suomessakin englannin kieltä käytetään monilla eri aloilla. Juuriltaan amerikkalaisesta hip hop -kulttuuristakin on viime vuosina kasvanut globaali nuorisokulttuuri, joka on saavuttanut pysyvän aseman Suomessa. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, miten hip hop -identiteetti rakentuu suomalaisissa rap-lyriikoissa. Pää tavoitteena on tutkia, millainen hip hop -identiteetti muodostuu lyriikoiden englannin kielen ja kielten sekoittumisen (suomi ja englantia) kautta.

Tutkimuksen aineistona käytetään kolmen eri hip hop -artistin ja -ryhmän (*Cheek, Sere & SP* ja *Kemmuru*) lyriikoita 2000-luvulta. Niiden pääkieli on suomi, mutta kaikissa kappaleissa on myös englanninkielisiä elementtejä. Sanojen tarkkojen alkuperien sekä muun tiedon selvittämiseksi olen tarvittaessa konsultoinut itse artisteja. Analyysissä identiteetin käsitetään rakentuvan osaltaan kielen avulla. Identiteetti rakentuu diskursseissa, ja se on muuttuva ja monitahoinen. Aineiston analyysissä kielenvaihtelu ymmärretään joko a) kielten sekoittumisena, josta syntyy kokonaan uusi kieli/kielellinen tyyli tai b) koodinvaihtona, joka on merkityksellistä diskurssin paikallisella tasolla.

Tulokset osoittavat, että rap-lyriikoissa pikemminkin sekoitetaan suomen ja englannin kieltä (language mixing) kuin vaihdetaan koodia. Näin ollen muodostuu uusi, suomalaisille rap-lyriikoille ominainen kieli ja tyyli. Usein hip hop -englannin sanoja ja fraaseja taivutetaan suomen ortografian, morfologian tai molempien mukaan. Joskus lyriikoissa esiintyy myös ns. hybridimuotoja, jotka yhdistävät englannin ja suomen kielen sanat yhteen muotoon. Tämä osoittaa, että lyriikoissa rakentuva hip hop -identiteetti nojaa vahvasti alakulttuurin yhteiseen ja jaettuun terminologiaan, mutta sanat ja fraasit ovat saaneet uuden, suomenkielisen asun. Identiteetin voi käsittää olevan siis yhtä aikaa globaali ja lokaali eli glokaali. Myös muut alan tutkijat ovat saaneet samankaltaisia tuloksia tutkiessaan eurooppalaisia ja aasialaisia hip hop -kulttuureita ja rap-lyriikoita.

Tutkimus tukee käsitystä englannin kielen merkittävästä roolista Suomessa ja erityisesti rap-lyriikoissa, joissa se on selkeästi yksi identiteetin rakennusosista. Suomen kieli ei kuitenkaan ole uhattuna. Lisää laaja-alaisempaa tutkimusta tarvitaan sekä suomalaisesta hip hop -kulttuurista että englannin kielen roolista suomalaisten elämässä.

Asiasanat: rap lyrics, hip hop identity, bilingualism, English as a global language

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Finnish Cultural Foundation provided a grant for this study in February 2007 from the fund of Taru, Ilmari ja Pentti Manninen. *The Centre of Excellence for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English, VARIENG*, provided a grant for this study in November 2007. I would like to express my gratitude to the Finnish Cultural Foundation and the Centre of Excellence for their financial support. I also wish to thank the artists themselves who gave their lyrics as well as expert guidance for the study.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS	4
1 INTRODUCTION	6
2 ENGLISH IN FINLAND	10
3 FINNISH HIP HOP - PAST AND PRESENT	15
3.1 The origins of hip hop culture – Bronx and its ghettos	15
3.2 Arrival of hip hop to Finland and creation of the local scene	19
3.3 Hip hop posses and artists in Finland.....	23
3.4 Themes in Finnish hip hop and questions of authenticity	29
3.5 Hip hop research	34
3.5.1 Hip hop research abroad.....	34
3.5.2 Hip hop research in Finland	41
3.6 Doing hip hop identities via language mixing	44
3.6.1 About identity in general.....	44
3.6.2 Hip hop identities and the view of multilingualism.....	48
4 RESEARCH DESIGN	55
4.1 Aims and research questions.....	55
4.2 Data collection and selection	56
4.3 Analytic methodology	59
5 ANALYZING THE LYRICS	66
5.1 Cultural terminology	67
5.1.1 ‘Master of ceremonies’	67
5.1.2 ‘Rap’	73
5.1.3 Hip hop nouns	80
5.1.4 Hip hop proper nouns / cultural references.....	89
5.1.5 Hip hop verbs and adjectives	97
5.2 Slang items	101
5.3 Discourse markers.....	106
5.4 Formulaic expressions and patterns.....	109
5.5 Code-switching on verse / utterance level	115
5.6 Code-switching over large stretches of text	117

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	119
6.1 Findings of the present study	119
6.2 Evaluation	125
6.3 Implications and conclusion.....	128
7 BIBLIOGRAPHY	132

1 INTRODUCTION

The role of English is undeniable in today's world. In Finland, English has a significant role in the everyday life of people, and youth and young adults, in particular. In addition to the school activities, young people are actively engaged in different kinds of activities outside school, e.g. media, hobbies, lifestyle activities that include the use of English, or specific items of English. The role and use of English in global youth (sub)cultures can also be seen in the Finnish context in, for example, skateboarding (Toriseva forthcoming), fan fiction, video games, hip hop and weblogs (Leppänen 2007), and even in Christian youth magazines (Jousmäki 2006). The research on English in Finland is not yet fairly extensive but more and more research is conducted on the field all the time. (see Leppänen and Nikula 2007).

In addition to the spread of English, another interesting global phenomenon is hip hop culture. The culture has its roots in the United States, amongst the African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans, and in the African American oral culture. However, it has spread from Bronx, New York, to become a significant youth culture across the globe, frontiers, races and classes. The voice that it echoes is no more that of a young African American only but, rather, it has become both a global and local voice. In studying European hip hop, Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 30) argue that rap is not fascinating for youth across the globe simply because of an interesting discourse of a remote culture but rather because "it offers a platform for the enactment of artistic creativity and for the verbal expression of identities".

Rap can indeed be considered a forum and a medium through which the youth can express themselves and articulate their identities. Rap lyrics are generally considered to be about one's experiences and feelings that are often tied to specific time and place. Thus, the rap lyrics are highly indexical in that

they form “a dialectical process” in which the meaning is concluded of the use and vice versa (Silverstein 1996, as quoted by Woolard 2004: 88). Some of this indexicality is part of the subcultural knowledge of the hip hop culture. The hip hop community makes up ‘a community of practice’ that shares knowledge and learns ‘cultural practices’ together in a group. They also define the norms of the group as well as the appropriate language, routines and styles. (Wenger 2000, as quoted by Lüdtkke 2007: 1.) The hip hop identity that is constructed in the lyrics, therefore, seems to be connected to places and people around the rapper, and it is expressed in and through the specific language uses. The present focus on rap lyrics from the point of view of identity is, thus, justified. Also Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 469) argue that “lyrics form a substantial and distinctive component of rap music”.

In Finland, hip hop culture (that consists of rap music, breakdancing and graffiti) is a fairly recent phenomenon and it has only become popular in the so-called mainstream in the 21st century. Similarly to other European countries, Finland has its own unique hip hop culture with its own special characteristics. However, it has not yet been studied to a great extent and many of the existing studies have focused on the pioneering hip hop group *Fintelligens*. The language in Finnish hip hop is Finnish in most cases, although some rappers perform in English, too. Rapping in the native language, is, according to Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2003: 469), “a starting point for the genre’s reterritorialization”, i.e. a process in which a cultural pattern is integrated into a new society” (ibid.: 467, see also Lull 1995: 159-164). A related concept is ‘recontextualization’ by Clarke (1975, as quoted by Lüdtkke 2007: 1) that signifies the stage in which cultural objects have been inserted into a new context in which they will receive new meanings. Thus, the local Finnish appropriation of a global cultural model, the US hip hop, can be seen as recontextualization in which a completely new style is born. This new style can, however, sometimes choose to use both

English and Finnish, to varying degrees. As was already suggested by the title of the present study *Buuzzia, budia ja hyöää ghettobootya*, which is a quotation from a song called *Ota ne pois* ('Take them off') by a Finnish hip hop group *Kapasiteettiyksikkö*, English elements are in fact fairly frequent in Finnish rap lyrics. Finnish normally functions as the matrix language, i.e. the main language, of the lyrics and English items are embedded into it and often modified according to the Finnish rules. The language element brings yet another issue to consider whilst studying hip hop identities in rap lyrics.

The present study, then, relates to the following current themes: English in Finland, global and local hip hop cultures, identities in subcultures and more specifically, in hip hop culture. The aim of the thesis is to study the construction of hip hop identities in Finnish rap lyrics through the use of English and language mixing. The present qualitative study on rap lyrics is situated in the area of *discourse analysis* that is rooted in constructivist thinking. Discourse analysis studies language in use: how people use language to do things and how people produce and interpret meanings in social life (Pietikäinen 2006). The present study is also linked to *sociolinguistics* in that it studies language use in society by a specific group of people, in this case, the Finnish rappers. Furthermore, the study connects with hip hop culture that is nowadays a global youth culture that has different indigenized varieties as well as global *hip hop research* that has grown and become more versatile in recent years. Pennycook (2007: 9) has conveniently used the neologism *socioblinguistics*, a term that "captures the interrelationship between the global spread of hip-hop and the study of languages in context". This interrelationship characterizes also the present study.

The present study aims at filling a gap in, first of all, in the research of the role and functions of English in Finland. It is a current question in the Finnish sociolinguistic arena nowadays whether the role of English should

still be characterized as a foreign language, or whether it should already be considered a second language, at least to many Finns. In addition, it is interesting to investigate this topic in relation identity. Secondly, the present study aims to offer more knowledge about Finnish hip hop and the lyrics with special reference to the use of English and language mixing in them. Finally, it aims at looking at the use of English and language mixing in relation to the construction of Finnish hip hop identities in rap lyrics. So far, only few studies have explored this topic and the present one aims at filling a small gap in the research in this area.

The organization of the thesis is as follows. In chapter two, I will present the theoretical framework of the thesis, namely the role and functions of English in Finland as well as discuss some research on the area. In chapter three, I will present some aspects of the Finnish hip hop culture with its connections to the original hip hop culture, its artists and themes as well as discuss relevant hip hop research both globally and in Finland, and finally connect the issue of identity with hip hop culture and rap music. Chapter four will introduce the research design with the aims of the study, lyrics as data and methodological framework as suggested by Androutsopoulos (2004) and Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002). In chapter five, I will analyze the data, i.e. Finnish rap lyrics in careful detail from the point of view of English, language mixing and identities. Finally in chapter six, I will discuss the findings of the study, evaluate the present study, as well as give implications after which conclusions are drawn.

2 ENGLISH IN FINLAND

The chapter will outline the role of English in Finland and discuss its status, uses and domains. In addition, research on the topic will be discussed. It will also show that English has become a daily communicative tool for at least some Finnish people, the youth in particular.

There is no denying of the role of English as the world's most influential language. It can be a person's mother tongue, L1, or a second language, L2, or a foreign language, FL. The distinctions between these categories are more and more blurry today, like the chapter will suggest below. The English language is spoken in the former colonies of Great Britain as an L2, where it may or may not have an official status. Secondly, it is used in native - non-native communication. Finally, it is a lingua franca, a shared language between non-native people. (Crystal 2003: 3-6.) The success of the English language is ever-increasing in the modern world. As globalization continues, and people come into contact in many ways, they need a shared language in order to communicate. Very often in such situations, English is their means for achieving mutual understanding. Naturally, Finland has also been affected by the globalization processes, and the role and meaning of English is growing in different walks of life.

Although the English language is not the biggest language in the world in terms of numbers of its speakers, it is the most popular one. Crystal (2002: 10) estimates that there are around 1.5 billion users of English language in the world, which in 2000 meant a quarter of the world's population. Particularly after the Second World War, American English became more significant than ever before (McArthur 2003: 55). Crystal (2002: 280-1) claims that at present the English language is the only language that can adopt the role of the world's number one language, because of its position as the language of the United States which has economic superiority in today's world.

'Americanization' of culture can be practically seen all over the world as advertising U.S. popular culture: films, music, television and also food and drink (Crystal 2002: 271). In recent years, however, many people have started to resent the United States, resulting in the so-called anti-Americanism (Graddol 2006: 112). Still, the role of English is also undeniable in areas such as the sciences, education, business, travel, international maritime traffic, air traffic control, and media, as well as in organizations such as NATO, and the European Union (McArthur 2003: 55; Crystal 2002: 280-4).

There has, however, been some criticism towards the prevalent status of English as the 'sole' global language. For example, Graddol (2000, 2006) has suggested that in the future Chinese and Spanish will challenge the dominance of English in some countries, and the English spoken in India as an L2 will affect the global English. Furthermore, Graddol (2006: 11) argues that, in any case the English dominant in the world will no longer be the English as we know it and have learned it; rather it is English in its new global form. He (2006: 14) also predicts that the native-speaker norms will not be as significant in the future, because the English language enters basic education in several countries, no longer as a foreign language but as "a component of basic education". In Graddol's (2006: 117) opinion, global speakers of English are able to express their nationality, and also other aspects of their identity, through English. Thus, a native-speaker accent need not be the norm any longer.

According to Seidlhofer (2001: 138), English as a lingua franca "is being spread, developed independently, with a great deal of variation but enough stability to be viable for lingua franca communication". English has indeed this kind of lingua franca status in Europe, too. In fact, according to Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 3, emphasis original), *Euro-English* is "a more recent concept with the focus on people from different language backgrounds in Europe using English as the *lingua franca* of communication".

Also McArthur (2003: 57) suggests that 'Euro-English' is by now already an established term, for better or for worse, or both. McArthur's (2003: 56) 'English language complex' allows the use of terms such as 'Euro-English', 'Nordic English' and maybe even 'Finnish English'. For example, in McArthur's (2003: 58) view, English has become very much an everyday reality in the Netherlands and Scandinavia, but also in Finland and Germany, and he points out the language policies of groups like Royal Dutch Shell, ABB, and Nokia. (See also Latomaa and Nuolijärvi 2005: 216.)

The role of English in Finland is significant in daily life. Leppänen (2007: 150) argues that particularly after the Second World War, Finland wanted to identify with the West and the role of English in that process became greater than before (see also Takala and Havola 1984). Also the educational system in Finland has encouraged the studying of foreign languages. Most children start learning their first foreign language at the age of nine, in their third year of the primary school. In 2000, this meant learning English for 87.6 per cent (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 6). The same year, altogether 98 per cent of secondary school pupils were learning English (ibid.). In 2006, of the students finishing high school 99.5 per cent had learned English (*Keskisuomalainen*, Dec 13, 2006). Although other languages are studied too, such as German (35.4 % of high school graduates), French (19.7 %) and Spanish (10 %), English is by far the most popular language at school. (ibid.) According to the Eurobarometer (2005) data, 60 % of Finnish people claim to be able to hold a conversation in English, 38% in Swedish and 17% in German. These numbers are yet another marker of the high status of English in Finland.

Not only in education, but also in areas such as media and entertainment, English has a significant role. English can be encountered daily on the streets in e.g. advertisements and in the names of shops, in television commercials, and also the business world makes use of English in the company names and

branding. What is most visible is, however, its role in youth culture. The post-WW2 period showed a huge increase in the popularity of English-speaking popular music, films and TV shows, reflecting the fact that lifestyles have become translocal in nature – they are no longer simply local and national (Leppänen 2007: 167; see also Latomaa and Nuolijärvi 2005: 216). Thus, English can be seen as one means for the construction of youth identity with its own “allegiances, values and lifestyles” (Leppänen 2007: 150).

In today’s Finland, English is officially a foreign language. Swedish has been recognized as the other national language in Finland since 1919 (Takala and Havola 1984: 6) and it has been generally acknowledged as a second language. Some scholars (see e.g. Leppänen 2007, Leppänen and Nikula 2007), however, question this and suggest we could now instead talk about English as a second language to many Finns. More and more support has been reported on the favor of the latter view. A second language is defined by Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 4) as a language which is widely used in the surrounding society and “forms a part of the speaker’s identity repertoire”. Graddol (2000: 11) claims that Norway, Sweden and Denmark belong to the list of countries that are in transition from EFL to L2 status, that is, where English is used for *intranational* communication, that is, for communication inside one country. Currently, the use of English in Finland, too, could be seen as having the characteristics of an L2 status. According to Graddol (2000: 16), among principles present in language change *are young people as leaders of change*, and this can clearly be seen in Finland, too, in the popularity of English among the youth and in its presence in their everyday lives. Recent research in Finland includes Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003) who focused on domains of education, research and business. According to them (2003: 5), code-switching between Finnish and English is common in Finnish youth language, and also many professionals of different domains use code-switched English terms frequently. Another sign of language change

according to Graddol (2006: 16) is *social networks*, and these new discourse communities have been born recently particularly through the Internet, where people find each other and share common ideologies and subcultures, like hip hop (ibid.)

As can be seen from the discussion above, English has gained a strong foothold in Finland and in the lives of Finnish people. More research, however, is needed to get a better understanding of the exact ways Finnish people use English and of the purposes they do so. VARIENG, *the Centre of Excellence for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English*, functions at Jyväskylä and Helsinki Universities and has taken up the challenge (VARIENG 2007). Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 368) investigated the uses of English in Finnish media, education and professional life concluding, among other things, that “on many occasions, the use of English is connected to some kind of identity work: speakers either index their expertise through their choice of English or indicate their membership of particular social groups, or both.” In their (2007: 369) opinion, “there is no real danger of English replacing or marginalizing the Finnish language” because people sometimes use English not instead of Finnish but alongside it, in different kind of combinations “without any sense of the native language being lost”. Leppänen (2007) studied different kinds of youthsapes including a video game session, rap lyrics, a fan fiction story and a weblog. In these contexts, English is an important resource, and the participants in them can also show their expertise with it. VARIENG researchers, in general, are looking at various societal contexts such as football discussion forums, skateboarding magazine discourse, fan fiction, and classroom usage of English in CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) environments (VARIENG 2007). The present study will make its own contribution to this ongoing research effort, aiming at shedding light into Finnish rap lyrics and forms and functions of English and language mixing in them.

3 FINNISH HIP HOP - PAST AND PRESENT

This chapter will outline the context of the Finnish hip hop culture. Firstly, there is an introduction to the origins of hip hop culture. Secondly, I will discuss the arrival of hip hop culture to Finland and the scene here as well as introduce some artists and groups. Thirdly, I will introduce some themes in Finnish hip hop as well as discuss issues of authenticity. Fourthly, I will give an outline of hip hop studies both abroad and in Finland. Finally, I will discuss the issue of identity in connection to the hip hop culture.

3.1 The origins of hip hop culture - Bronx and its ghettos

Hip hop is a multi-faceted phenomenon and it has no single history. Its histories depend on the viewpoint taken and they are told and produced in their contexts of use (Bozza 2004: 178-180). However, for the purposes of the present study, it is not necessary to dig deep into the history of hip hop culture and rap music. Instead, I will give a brief overview of how hip hop came into being and introduce some of its key characteristics. This is by no means an exhaustive history, but describes some of the key events, people and themes in the history of hip hop. (For further reading, I suggest e.g. Rose 1994, Light 1999).

According to Rose (1994: 2), "rap music is a form of rhymed storytelling accompanied by highly rhythmic, electronically based music". The history of rap is not easy to define. If one considers it on a very general level, one can trace its development all the way back to African griots, that is, West African poets, praise singers and wandering musicians who keep the oral tradition alive (Bozza 2003: 179). However, the history of the rap music as we know it can be tracked down to New York City and South Bronx in the mid-1970s

(Rose 1994: 2). The 1970s and early 1980s is now reminisced as the period of 'old school'. Artists associated with that period include *Grandmaster Flash*, *Afrika Bambaataa*, *Sugar Hill Gang*, *Kurtis Blow* and *Run-DMC*. Before people even knew the term "hip hop"¹, there were street parties where the DJ would play records, people would dance, rhyme over the beats and paint graffiti. (Fernando 1999: 14.) Hip hop culture was originally an African-American, Afro-Caribbean and Puerto Rican youth culture and it consisted of either three (or four) elements: break dancing, graffiti and rap music (Rose 1994: 2, 34). The last element can be further divided into DJs, disc jockeys, and MCs, Master of Ceremonies. Although the term hip hop is most often used of the entire culture, whereas rap refers to the music, these concepts tend to overlap. Also scholars (see e.g. Berns and Schlobinski 2003: 199) and artists acknowledge the interchangeable use of the terms. Therefore, in the present study, hip hop can also refer to the music.

Rose (1994: 51) argues that rap music is the most prominent aspect of the hip hop culture. In the earlier days, DJs were the most significant figures in hip hop since they provided the background beats both for the graffiti groups as well as for the breakdancers. Later on, rappers were added to the DJs' shows. (Rose 1994: 51, 54.) The act of talk and verbal skill is very much appreciated in the African American tradition. The rappers have to possess verbal and performance skills, i.e. control the language, "win" their rivalries, master the rhythm and get the crowd's attention. Their rapping style is often connected to the act of boasting, a form of oral storytelling, whether political, aggressive, violent or sexist. (Rose 1994: 55.)

Before rap was the name of the specific kind of music form, it referred to a speech form in African-American and Jamaican oral culture (Hebdige 1987,

¹ There are different stories as to who originally coined and used the term "hip hop" in its musical sense, but it is claimed that the rapper *Keith Cowboy*, rapper with *Grandmaster Flash*, coined it and *Afrika Bambaataa* first used it of the subculture the hip hop music belongs to (Wikipedia 2007).

as quoted by Lüdtke 2007: 3). Rap originally meant “a fluent and lively way of talking” and it was particularly associated with the sexually explicit talk by men, sometimes called ‘pimps’, to women with whom they want to have sex. (Kochman 1972: 242-243.) The origins of rap music are in the wordplays that the black slaves invented in the fields in the American South. Later on, they developed into ‘playing the dozens’, a play of black children (see also Labov 1976; Morgan 2002: 58). Other associated verbal routines in African American culture are i) boasting, ii) bragging (Lüdtke 2007: 3), iii) signifying, “a tactic employed in verbal dueling” or “a way of encoding” indirect messages (Mitchell-Kernan 1972: 315), and iv) sounding, a verbal insult routine associated with playing the dozens (Kochman 1972: 258; see also Labov 1976: 297-353). The next ones to be using the wordplays were the radio DJs since the 1950s. In the 1960s, one of the most noted wordsmiths was Muhammad Ali as well as the radical black politicians, such as Malcolm X and the Black Panthers. At the same time, people were already talking about “soul rap” by e.g. Isaac Hayes and Irma Thomas, which meant slow speaking that preceded the climax of the album. (Hilamaa and Varjus 2000: 145-146; Rose 1994: 55.) In addition, the “Blaxploitation” films and other “pimp narratives”, which described the life in the ghetto red-light districts, are considered important for the rap music (Rose 1994: 55).

Before the year 1979, the only documentation of hip hop music was cassette tapes (Toop 2000: 78). The first commercial hit of hip hop music was *Rapper's Delight* by the *Sugarhill Gang* in 1979. Its success began a series of events in the world of hip hop. (Toop 2000: ix.) During the period that followed, rap music was “discovered” by the record companies, the fashion and film industries, and each of them wanted to have their own share of the success which was expected to be short-lived (Rose 1994: 3). Despite pessimistic predictions, hip hop did not fade away and pass as a phase or a fad. It was something the music industry had never experienced before and it affected everything from the way of dressing to painting and to a new language of

musical speech. It also crossed racial boundaries and musical genres and mixed the genres as well. In hip hop culture, it was possible for the young and new talents to show what they can do. (Toop 2000: xii-xiii.) According to Rose (1994: 2), rap music “prioritizes black voices from the margins of urban America”. Since its beginning, however, rap has become a global expression of youth experiences, as we will see below in the following chapters.

What is particularly interesting in rap music is its ‘performance nature’. The fact that the music and the songs are meant to be performed, either in studios or to live-audiences is bound to have an effect on how they are made. Therefore, flow and speech-like features are characteristic of the rapping style. This is why, amongst other things, rap language(s) differ from the standard ones. Furthermore, the heavy use of vernacular speech in rap lyrics emphasizes the subversiveness of hip hop with respect to mainstream culture and its harmony with vernacular cultural values. (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2003: 473). According to Potter (1995: 57), rap took a traditionally disempowering language variety, African-American vernacular English, and turned it into a “resistance vernacular”, i.e., a positively valued linguistic code.

There are a range of hip hop styles including *old school*, *hard core*, *gangsta* (gangster), *gospel*, *social* and *political consciousness* [i.e. *message rap*] and others. The choice of style is related to the way the artist constructs him or herself or the type of message in the rap. Each artist can have a variety of styles, though some rappers are associated with a certain style. (Morgan 2002: 114.) Hustler stories as well as the pimp narratives mentioned above, can be seen relating to a certain subgenre of rap music, (Hudson 1972; Smithson 1972, as quoted by Lüdtkke 2007: 3) namely *gangsta rap*. The traditional black church, however, connects with the common call-and-response patterns between the rappers and the audience in that they resemble those between the preacher and the congregation. The political rhetorics in rap music seem to have

evolved from the Black Power movement and the speeches of Malcolm X and the Black Panthers. (Mitchell 2001a: 4.)

3.2 Arrival of hip hop to Finland and creation of the local scene

Similarly to other European countries, hip hop culture came to Finland from the United States. In Finland, it was possible to hear US rap music on the radio but it did not gain much popularity or attention in the early days, that is, in the 1980s. In the beginning, our hip hop culture consisted mainly of graffiti paintings. (Hilamaa and Varjus 2004: 194-195.) Mikkonen (2004: 29), however, argues that small groups of Finnish adolescents in Helsinki and other bigger towns found breakdancing, graffiti and hip hop music around the same time in the early 1980s. Amongst the most significant media in this respect were the films through which the youth could see the US street culture and its various aspects. (ibid.) The first Finnish “rap” song is considered to be *General Njassa’s I’m young, beautiful and natural* from 1983. This song was more like an experiment by nature and it did not raise any particular hip hop fever in Finland. (Hilamaa and Varjus 2004: 194-195.)

According to Hilamaa and Varjus (2004: 195), the first significant Finnish hip hop wave came around 1989, and it continued about two years. However, the Finnish hip hop music of the time included mainly humorous elements and it cannot be said to have created a whole hip hop culture. Because of the distance to the black US hip hop culture, some rappers of the first hip hop generation in Finland did not even try to make hip hop seriously. The culture was too difficult to adopt as they did not have much in common with black culture. This is one of the reasons for Finnish hip hop becoming first more like a joke. The first Finnish “rappers” are generally considered to be *Bat & Ryyd* and *Pääkköset*. Also *Raptori* gained popularity with pop-like humor “hip hop” and their first two albums got the audience’s attention. At that time, Finnish language in rapping was considered to be very inflexible compared

to English language. (Hilamaa and Varjus 2004: 195-196.) But although *Pääkköset* released their debut album of humor hip hop in 1989, it is still not considered *the* first hip hop album in Finland. *Damn The Band* released their debut album in English in 1990 and their hip hop is to be taken more seriously: they had been doing it for years. Despite the fact that *Pääkköset*, *Bat & Ryyd* and *Raptori* sold well and gained popularity, they can hardly be considered as real hip hop groups. (Mikkonen 2004: 50-51.) After the period of humor hip hop, Finnish hip hop was “doomed” to stay in margins for years (Mikkonen 2004: 52).

However, in the beginning of the 1990s, people could hear rap music more often in Finland: it was spreading from the youth clubs to clubs. At that time, rappers cared for street credibility² only and they did not even want to reach for big audiences. (Hilamaa and Varjus 2004: 196-197.) The first club devoted to hip hop music was club Berlin which was organized for the first time in 1992 in Helsinki. Later on, more events were organized, for example club Huuma in different places around Helsinki and club Worldwide also in Helsinki. (Mikkonen 2004: 54, 56.) CD-R-format (‘R’ stands for ‘recordable’), that is, compact disks on which one can record music him-/herself, offered new chances for rappers and new-comers. In addition, the internet gave rappers the possibility to distribute the music widely. (Hilamaa and Varjus 2004: 197-198.)

As a kind of an ironic echo from the past, the big commercial boom of the second Finnish hip hop wave started indeed with humor hip hop. In 2000 *Petri Nygård* (whose real identity remains a mystery) released his debut single *Vitun Suomirokki!* (‘Fucking Finnrock!’). The lyrics were harsh and mocked Finnish singers and bands. (Mikkonen 2004: 70.) Humor hip hop in

² A term, often abbreviated “street cred”, that refers to having credibility or acceptability in the street and among (young and fashionable) inner-city residents (Wikipedia 2007). It is often associated to rappers who have succeeded, despite poor life and/or childhood (Urban Dictionary 2007).

Helsinki was represented by *Raimo, Kehäkettu ja Setä Koponen*, and *Mc Davo Ukki*. The last three of these later formed a group called *MC Taakibörsta*. These rappers, however, were not commercially popular. (Mikkonen 2004: 70-72.)

However, Finnish hip hop really became into existence and gained wide popularity with the duo *Fintelligens* from Helsinki. *Fintelligens'* debut single *Voittamaton*, released in 1999, was something unheard of. Two rappers rapped in Finnish and they showed a great deal of self-confidence. The beats were also remarkably good. It seemed weird at the time to translate the boasting style of U.S. hip hop into a Finnish version. The other rapper of the duo, *Iso H*, wondered about the criticism by the Finnish public against their music that was both Finnish and highly self-confident. "They tried to put us down because we rhymed in Finnish and we talked positively about ourselves, that is, boasted in our songs. It was a format we had learned from the U.S. We did not ape (imitate), but this was hip hop for us." (Mikkonen 2004: 63.) *Fintelligens* had to fight hard against the attitudes and prejudice. It might have been the case that, at that time, it was still difficult to fight the "trauma" caused by the humor hip hop groups *Raptori* and *Pääkköset* who had rapped in Finnish. (Mikkonen 2004: 63.) *Elastinen* and *Iso H* got more inspiration to make their lyrics in Finnish from France where rappers rapped in their mother tongue (Mikkonen 2004: 65).

The first rap album in Finnish was *Seremoniamestari's* (later known as *Sere*) *Omin sanoin* ('In my own words') if the humor rap albums of *Raptori* and *Bat & Ryyd* are not counted (Mikkonen 2004: 68). Also the debut albums of *Fintelligens* and *Petri Nygård* brought Finnish-language hip hop from the single charts into album charts (Mikkonen 2004: 77). As suggested by Nieminen (2003: 169), it was only at the end of the 1990s that hip hop music really started to compete with other genres of popular music in Finland. According to Nieminen (2003: 172-173), the years 1999-2001 showed a huge

increase in the sales of Finnish hip hop. The sudden popularity of hip hop music was caused, for example, by the fact that the youth had been growing in an atmosphere where hip hop was a part of the popular culture. In addition, thanks to the Internet as well as Music Television the youth had easy access to it. As Nieminen (2003: 169) points out, a program called *Yo Raps!* on Music Television helped to spread hip hop music outside the United States.

The first Finnish championship in rapping took place in 2000. These kinds of competitions were ideal places for the record companies to find new talents. In fact, it turned into an annual competition and for example *Ceebrolistics*, *Redrama* and *MC Tidjân* from *Kwan* got some publicity from them. (Mikkonen 2004: 78.) In 2001, more than a dozen hip hop or hip hop influenced albums were released in Finland: for example *Kapasiteettiyksikkö*, *Paleface*, *Kwan*, *Ezkimo*, *Tulenkantajat*, *Flegmaatikot* and *Ritarikunta* released their debut albums. In public, people started to talk about the boom and “over-heating” of Finnish hip hop. Record companies wanted to publish hip hop, even if the records were not entirely ready yet. Some people also started to divide hip hop into commercial and real hip hop. (Mikkonen 2004: 80.)

In the beginning of the 2000s, Nieminen (2003: 186) argued that after the sudden boom in Finnish hip hop, we had reached a stage where we should think about where we are and where we are going. Clearly, Finnish hip hop had established its role in popular culture. Now it is a question of finding its own path, or paths, different from the U.S. model. Today, heterogeneity is common in Finnish hip hop: there is no one way to make music. Mikkonen (2004: 83) argues that finding one’s own style in hip hop is essential in Finnish hip hop. According to Nieminen (2003: 187), there are many different and original rappers and posses in Finland who make different kinds of hip hop and combine it with other music genres as well. Nieminen (2003: 187-188) argues that, in the future, Finnish hip hop scene will be more clearly

divided into two: big record companies and mainstream hip hop which resembles U.S. hip hop and marginal and original hip hop, published by small record companies or as the author's editions. In this respect, a significant event took place in 2003 when *Rähinä* posse from Helsinki (includes e.g. members of *Fintelligens*) decided to start up their own record company to compete with the bigger record companies (Mikkonen 2004: 105).

For many Finns nowadays, hip hop culture tends to be most of all about music, due to its mainstream popularity. Of course, there are still people that practice breakdancing, graffiti and DJing, but it seems that only the MCs have become widely known. At the same time, rapping styles have become more and more unique. (Mikkonen 2004: 187.) According to Mikkonen (2004: 192), in 2004 it seemed that although Finnish hip hop music has partly become mainstream popular culture, this does not by any means threaten its authenticity. In addition, it appears that Finnish hip hop music has risen to be part of Finnish pop music mainstream for good. (ibid.)

3.3 Hip hop posses and artists in Finland

All in all, in recent years more and more rappers have become known in Finland. Although many of them come from the Helsinki metropolitan area, also other towns and places are being represented. Rappers tend to form a group of their own, and these groups are normally called posses³. In the US, the posses are a kind of a relic of the gangs in New York that functioned till 1970s. In hip hop, the word posse stayed to mean a peaceful group or gang of friends. Sometimes, the posses can also be formed around a record company. (Mikkonen 2004: 99.) In this chapter, I will first present some bigger posses from different cities as well as their individual artists and, then, concentrate

³ There are also such hip hop groups which have the term posse in their name, such as the Finnish *Memmy Posse* and the Greenlandic *Nuuk Posse*.

on other Finnish artists or groups. The list of artists is by no means a complete one. Rather, I have tried to make it as versatile as possible. For the purposes of the study, however, it needs to be fairly compact. (For a thorough presentation on Finnish hip hop poses and artists, see Mikkonen 2004). The hip hop artists and groups of the present study (*Cheek*, *Sere & SP* and *Kemmuru*) will not be dealt with in detail here (see chapter 4.3) because the purpose of this chapter is to give an outline of the Finnish scene in all of its versatility and to see and understand how the artists of the present study are situated in it.

Rähinä, 'row', 'racket', posse is from Helsinki and altogether it consists of 16 rappers and 2 DJs. It has been formed around *Fintelligens* (*Elastinen* and *Iso H*) and *Kapasiteettiyksikkö* (*Andu*, *Tasis* and *Uniikki*). Later on, MCs like *Asa*, *Jurassikki*, *Jussi Valuutta*, *Ii*, *C-mies*, *Gabriel* joined this group. *Trilogia* (*Aspekti*, *KT* and *Wretch*) was formed in 1999-2000 and it joined *Rähinä* posse as well. MCs *Vokaali* and *Jay* from *EMP* became part of the group as well. The two DJs of the group are *DJ K2* and *DJ Ewok*. As mentioned above, in 2003 the core group of *Fintelligens* and *Kapasiteettiyksikkö* established their own record company *Rähinä Records*. The first release of the company was *Kapasiteettiyksikkö's Itsenäisyyspäivä* ('Independence Day'). (Mikkonen 2004: 103-105.)

According to Hilamaa and Varjus (2004: 199), *Fintelligens'* albums *Renesanssi* (2000), *Tän tahtiin* ('To this beat') (2001) and *Kokemusten summa* ('The sum of experiences') (2002) are the best-selling Finnish hip hop albums. The models for *Fintelligens* mostly came from the United States, but also from France and Sweden. (ibid.) Their themes varied from bragging and boasting, which are very common in hip hop (see theory 3.1), to partying and having fun to mild criticism against society. According to Hilamaa and Varjus (ibid.), the language and vocabulary of *Fintelligens* is entirely "their own" and it differed a great deal from the language of the first Finnish hip hop wave. Hilamaa

and Varjus (ibid.) claim that the language in the lyrics is not Finnish standard language and that *Fintelligens* often comes up with their own new words which are not easily understandable. However, the main thing seems to be that the words fit the rhythm (ibid.)

MC *Asa* is the first rapper in Finland to rap directly about social problems in Finnish (Mikkonen 2004: 83). He takes a firm stand on social problems and disadvantages in his lyrics. His album *Punainen tiili* ('Red brick') (2001) represents a leftist view on issues such as poverty, government decision-making and drug abuse. (Hilamaa and Varjus 2004: 199.) He left his record company, Warner, after only one album because he felt they did not understand anything about hip hop and were only in it for the money (Mikkonen 2004: 105). His rap style is best described as *conscious rap*, the kind that describes what is wrong in society (Mikkonen 2004: 162). Later on, *Asa* has changed his style into a more poetic one that in part resembles folktales.

Rockin Da North is a loose posse formed around a German-born *Yor123*, *Ezkimo* and *Skandaali*. *Yor123* started to organize *Rockin Da North* concerts in Helsinki at the beginning of the 21st century. On the first *Rockin Da North* album one can hear, in addition to *Yor123*, *Ezkimo* and *Skandaali*, members of *Fintelligens*, *Kapasiteettiyksikkö* as well as female rapper *Yavis*, *Redrama* and the 15-year-old *Pikku G*. The languages on the album vary from German, Finnish and English to French. Also *Yor123* wanted to establish his own record company, King Size. (Mikkonen 2004: 107.) Of the loose group of *Rockin Da North*, a posse of *Royal Family* was formed. *Rockin Da North* is more like a project that organized parties and collaboration between artists whereas *Royal Family* is a real posse of artists (Royal Family 2006): *Yor123*, *Ezkimo*, *Skandaali*, *Helpus*, *Pikku G*, *Sophie*, *Toinen Kanava* and *Urbaanilegenda*, two latter of which later announced they will leave the group (Mikkonen 2004: 108). The posse of *Royal Family* is history now and each of them concentrates on their solo careers (Wikipedia 2006). *Pikku G* rose to public from this posse

and became, quite surprisingly, the biggest young star in Finnish hip hop for a moment. His debut album *Räjähdyksvaara* ('Danger of explosion') (2003) was unbelievably popular. (Hilamaa and Varjus 2004: 199, 202.) A great deal of stories was written about him in the newspapers and younger and younger children became interested in hip hop. *Pikku G* offered them an easy way to familiarize themselves with hip hop because he himself was very young and rapped about things that concern younger people, such as school life.

Liepo or *Lietsu Posse* comes from Tampere and their history is the same as the history of a record company called *Open Records* (nowadays *Turnin' Records*). Originally it was formed around *Sport* and *Nuera* (MCs *Dream* and *Skem*). All of *Nuera's* lyrics were in English because they considered it to be the one and only original hip hop language. *Open Records* published the first English-language *Finnish hip hop compilation* album in 1998. They also published the first DVD called *Syvällä pelissä* ('Deep in the game') about Finnish hip hop with live performances and interviews in 2003. (Mikkonen 2004: 109.) In the same year, they published the debut album of *Raimssi*, a 15-year-old rapper. *Maajoukkue*, also from Tampere, is formed around the group of *Flegmaatit* (*Tiedemies*, *Spesialisti*, and *Leijonamieli*). Later on also *Timsi*, *Idän Ihme* and *Supersankari/Tupla S* joined *Maajoukkue*. *Flegmaatit* were a part of the second wave of Finnish hip hop but have since quit and concentrated on their solo projects. *Maajoukkue* has continued to publish material. (Mikkonen 2004: 112-113.)

The posse *5th Element* from Lahti has promoted the albums of its members on their internet site since 2000 and they have published two collection albums (Mikkonen 2004: 180). The posse has also focused on organizing events and parties in Lahti and, thus, on promoting the hip hop culture there. The most well-known of its members is *MC Cheek*. Other members include e.g. *MCs Brad Spitt* and *TS*. (*5th element* 2007.) The female rapper *Yavis* left the group

as she started to hang out more in Helsinki and joined *Femcees Finland* (Mikkonen 2004: 180).

During the second wave of hip hop in Finland, a new phenomenon took place. Female rappers became famous and this was uncommon in the earlier Finnish hip hop. A group was born around gender, not based on a geographical location. (Hilamaa and Varjus 2004: 199.) *Femcees Finland* is a very loose collective of female artists. They want to improve the lot of female rappers in both publishing and performing and are not a group in the traditional sense. *Yavis*, *Sirius*, *Afrodite*, *Miss J* formed the “group” in 2000 and later on *Mariska* and *Kana* joined them. The most well-known of them is *Mariska* who has published three albums so far. (Mikkonen 2004: 115-116.)

Other Finnish rappers and posses are, for example, *Bomfunk MC's* from Helsinki who also gained popularity abroad with their hit single *Freestyler* that combines rap with electronic dance music and *Kwan* from Helsinki which presented a female rapper *MC Mariko* and *MC Tidjan*, who raps in Finnish, English and French. Some groups which combine rap music with other music genres, such as jazz or electric music are *Don Johnson Big Band* and *Giant Robot*, both from Helsinki. Voices from other towns are *Ritarikunta* from Turku who have been active since the late 1990s and have published several albums, the last one of them in 2005, and *Tulenkantajat* from Rovaniemi who had real instruments on their gigs. Their distinctive style was also due to their funky soul sound and the Northern dialect in their rapping. (Mikkonen 2004: 83, 160-2, 165, 185.) Later on, the posse split and the MCs of *Tulenkantajat*, *Soppa* and *Hannibal* released an album together.

Some Finnish rappers have also gained international attention, notably *Redrama* and *Paleface*. Both of them rap in English. *Redrama* made an exceptional debut to the scene because he made a record deal directly with Virgin, a big British record company (Hilamaa and Varjus 2004: 202). For a

short while, *Paleface* from Helsinki became known as the “face of Finnish hip hop” (p.198) as his debut album *The Pale Ontologist* also got recognition abroad. (Hilamaa and Varjus 2004: 198-199.) Mitchell (2004: 120) argues that *The Pale Ontologist* was the best global hip hop release of 2001. Because of the limited distribution, however, it did not reach a global audience. He (ibid.) compliments on *Paleface's* verbal skills, critical delivery, quickly-flowing wordplays as well as the choice of the artist name.

Finnish hip hop scene also nowadays includes numerous underground artists who are not particularly interested in attracting large audiences. Underground rappers do not necessarily aim at making money, making it to the radio play lists and attracting the mainstream. Many rappers, particularly the young ones, also publish their demo songs in Suomihiphop.com and Mikseri.net, and hope to get some credit inside the local scene. (Mikkonen 2004: 173.) Examples of Finnish underground groups and artists are *Ceebrolistics* from Helsinki who have a distinctive style of their own and the group *Kapteeni Ä-ni*, which later became a solo project of *Jukka-poika*, who have introduced reggae music and Jamaican-style singing to Finnish rap music. (Hilamaa and Varjus 2004: 203.) For example MCs *Notkea Rotta*, *Taagibörsta*, *Steen1*, *Memmy Posse*, *Juhani*, *Ruudolf*, *Raimo* represent the underground rap from Helsinki. *Vapaapudotus* from Vaasa, *Kemmuru* from Joensuu and Jyväskylä, *Kylmä Rinki* from Kokkola and *Kaucas* from Lappeenranta represent the underground scenes in other Finnish towns. (Mikkonen 2004: 173, 175, 176, 178, 179.)

Other particularly interesting and different rappers compared to the above mentioned are *Amoc* and *Signmark*. *Amoc* (*Aanar Master of Ceremonies*) raps in Inari Sami, an endangered indigenous language. He is Finnish-Sami bilingual but he has chosen to use Inari Sami in his lyrics. Both Finnish and foreign media have taken an interest in him. (Leppänen and Pietikäinen forthcoming). *Signmark* is deaf and his mother tongue is sign language. He

has been interested in hip hop culture and rap music since he was a teenager. He released his debut album in 2007. His lyrics deal with his own experiences and through them he is trying to explain about the deaf culture, its history and rights. (Haapsamo 2007: 34-35.)

3.4 Themes in Finnish hip hop and questions of authenticity

Which themes occur most often in Finnish hip hop lyrics? What is considered essential? This chapter discusses some of the themes in Finnish hip hop. Although the list of themes is quite general, I believe it to represent fairly well the local scene. However, it is not possible to dwell on every single topic in this chapter. Secondly, I will discuss some questions of authenticity in the Finnish context that have to do with the relationship between authenticity vs. commercialism and the relationship between the US hip hop culture and the Finnish one.

Nieminen (2003: 179) comments on how attempts have been made to connect Finnish hip hop with political issues, especially with leftism in some issues of *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Nyt-liite*, 'Now-appendix', of *Helsingin Sanomat*. He noticed, however, that in a discussion forum about hip hop (in www.suomihiphop.com) he followed, this did not gain approval. While it is true that some lyrics for example by MC *Avain* (later MC *Asa*) are very explicitly criticizing conservative and capitalist values, it does not follow that all Finnish hip hop is taking a stand in social issues. In Finnish hip hop, *taking a stand* is highly individual. The message seems to relate to *individual freedom* and chances, taking care of oneself, thinking with your own head. It is about *life politics*, not about party politics. However, the lyrics do discuss some social problems, such as the lack of democracy, drug abuse and Finnish drug policy and legislation, as well as criticize the materialistic world. (Nieminen 2003: 179.) Also Mikkonen (2004: 187) argues that some Finnish hip hop takes a very critical stand on society, similarly to the punk music in

the 1980s. In addition to *MC Asa*, also *MCs Iso H* and *Steen1* have critiqued Finnish society very openly. (ibid.)

In Nieminen's view (2003: 180-181), *the community aspect* in Finnish hip hop music relates most often to friends and to the fact that society should leave them alone and not interfere with their lives as they want to express ourselves freely through hip hop. There is a clear connection to U.S. hip hop here in that the posses and loyal community membership are recurrent topics in rapping. Friendship is essential for the rappers. In addition, certain kinds of "survival stories" belong to hip hop music. One looks at the past life and decisions, both good and bad ones, and raps about personal growth and the current identity based on those experiences. One major theme in the U.S. hip hop has been "from rags to riches": surviving the ghetto life and becoming strong and independent because of the struggles and good and bad times. (ibid.) In Finland, the stories from the streets may not be similar to those of the US rappers, but most of them still describe the local life and experiences.

Furthermore, it is an essential part of hip hop music to *boast* about one's skills and performances. One has to present one's own ego and also 'dis', that is, to show disrespect to other rappers. (Nieminen 2003: 181.) Also Mikkonen (2004: 68) agrees that Finnish rappers want to include some self-respect in their songs. *Gangsta rap* (See chapter 3.1) that is particularly known for cruel and harsh lyrics that dis others is as such a very difficult genre to directly transfer to the Finnish context. Nieminen (2003: 182) thinks that in Finland, rappers realize what the context here is and do not try to mimic the US rappers in this respect, unless in the form of irony or even parody.

Nieminen (2003: 182-183, 188) argues that the most obvious theme of Finnish hip hop may be, however, about *having fun, partying and drinking*. This relates to the other big themes, namely *individual freedom* and *friendship*. The songs describe the nights out and getting totally drunk together with the group.

(ibid.) In addition, in some of the songs that describe partying, a recurrent theme is also the use of (mild) *drugs*, although according to Mikkonen (2004: 187) this can be seen as a theme more associated with some underground rappers.

Nieminen (2003: 183) suggests that it is not common in Finland that a rapper has only one issue that s/he discusses in his/her lyrics. Instead, many traditional hip hop themes are dealt with. Nieminen (ibid.) also acknowledges the fact that the presented themes above, such as social problems, friendship, everyday experiences, and having fun, do not represent the whole genre in Finland but still, those themes connect our hip hop to the U.S. hip hop, apart from the last theme of partying and drinking. I must say I disagree with the last statement by Nieminen. In my view, also US rappers may have songs which describe only the partying and drinking.

I would argue that since 2003, when Nieminen wrote about Finnish hip hop, the Finnish hip hop scene has grown to be even more versatile as to its themes. The basic idea is no longer related to only partying and having fun, but more and more “serious” lyrics appear about one’s own life experiences and those of one’s friends, too. Of course, party topics are still frequent, but they do not describe the whole genre. There are also raps about love, relationships and women that might overlap with the party rap. *Conscious rap* or *message rap* has also become better known nowadays and for example *Paleface* and *Sere* can be seen as representing this genre. In addition, also Christian issues have started to appear in some hip hop songs, such as those of *MC Ruudolf*. All in all, the versatility is great, although it would be desirable to encounter even more original and unique lyrics and topics in the songs that relate to the Finnish context particularly and to the rappers’ *own* personal experiences.

Authenticity seems to be a highly significant issue, as regards the context both inside the U.S. hip hop culture itself but also the relationship between the original U.S. hip hop culture and the localized forms of hip hop all around the world. Authenticity is seen relating to “originality, creativity, sincerity, uniqueness, musicianship, live performance and independent label operations” (Shuker 1998: 20, as quoted by Huq 2006: 113). In fact, rap music is often seen as embodying authenticity. (Huq 2006: 113).

In the U.S., the main theme in discussing hip hop seems to be the conflict between commercialization and authenticity. In Nieminen’s view (2003: 175-176), this question has attracted some attention in Finland, too. *Fintelligens*, in particular, has had its share of “sell out” accusations. With a big record company, they sold very well and because of this, their ‘street credibility’ was under question. This is a common phenomenon in popular music: the ‘real’ fans turn their backs on the band making it commercially. Big record companies search for bands in the margins in order to make them mainstream and make money. While it is true that hip hop artists want to make their voices heard, they do not want this to happen on someone else’s terms. *Fintelligens* defended themselves against the accusations in their songs *Taidetta/Liiketoimintaa* (‘Art/Business’) and *Sori* (‘Sorry’). According to them, it is a different thing to make hip hop for money and make money with hip hop. *Sori* offers an ironic apology for making it commercially. (ibid.) Also MC *Skem* of *Nuera* (Mikkonen 2004: 190) argues that ever since the big record companies became interested in hip hop music in Finland and made it more mainstream, more and more people became aware of it. In my opinion, this cannot and should not be seen only as a negative thing.

Another issue related to authenticity includes the discussion between US rap culture and the “equivalent” culture in Finland. According to Nieminen (2003: 177), no Finn can claim to be from the ghetto or an “original gangsta”. Nevertheless, we seem to have adopted some elements from “their” hip hop

culture. TV, internet, music videos etc. offer the youth a chance to see the rap 'life' in the U.S. We might get so-called "secondary experiences" (Harron 1990: 173-192, as quoted by Nieminen 2003: 177) of the life in Bronx and Compton and, in this way, make ourselves a part of the imagined community which waves their hands the same way, says "Yo!" in a credible way and, in general, knows the gestures, expressions, phrases and their meanings. (Nieminen 2003: 177.)

As Nieminen (2003: 185-186) rightly points out, the relationship between Finnish hip hop and the original hip hop culture from the U.S. is a troubled one. Mikkonen (2004: 190) argues that particularly in the beginning of the second boom of Finnish hip hop around 2000, the relationship to the US hip hop was much debated and it seemed as though some Finnish rappers merely copied the roughness of the street culture and bragging from the US hip hop. In Nieminen's (ibid.) view, Finnish hip hoppers have adopted the music but adopting the entire culture is another thing. Finns and Americans have some themes in common but not all. Finnish hip hoppers want to make different kind of hip hop than what the US ones have but still they compare and measure it against the US one. Finnish hip hop should try to be even more Finnish and different from the foreign models. (ibid.) Also in my opinion, Finnish rappers have a good chance to do local and special Finnish hip hop music that does not mimic the US model and they should strive for originality.

Mikkonen (2004: 190) suggests that as the Finnish hip hop culture has become more mature, for some rappers questions of being original and of authenticity do not matter much any longer. According to Raymond Ebanks (Mikkonen 2004: 190), the MC of *Bomfunk MC's*, street credibility is a very questionable value as such in a well-fare society like Finland. Thus, instead of trying to create rap that is emphasizingly authentic, he wishes to concentrate on creating music that relieves anxiety. (ibid.)

An interesting humorous and ironic comment about authenticity is represented by Nieminen (2003: 188) in his conclusion about the state of Finnish hip hop. He asked a hip hop enthusiast to tell him how difficult or easy it is to make Finnish hip hop music and at the same time respect its origins and authenticity. The answer was: "There are no ghettos, not even good streets here in Finland." In Nieminen's (ibid.) view, it shows an ironic stand on how Finnish hip hop cannot be, and it does not have to be, like its US model. The contexts of Finnish hip hop here in Finland might as well be the everyday life in the suburb of Vantaa or the melting of the ice in Tenojoki. In my opinion, these remarks nicely sum up the discussion of authenticity as they bring forward the fact that Finnish hip hop music does not need to be measured against the US model. Finnish hip hop is a unique creation of the different local artists that discuss various local themes.

3.5 Hip hop research

This chapter will outline research conducted on hip hop both globally and in Finland. In recent years, the topic has attracted many researchers around the globe because hip hop has become a more global phenomenon and hip hop cultures have emerged and developed across the world. Some studies have been made also in Finland, both on the US hip hop as well as on the local one.

3.5.1 Hip hop research abroad

Because hip hop culture originated in the United States, and the U.S. is still its biggest market, it is not surprising that most research on hip hop and rap have been conducted there. However, American researchers seemed to have neglected the issue of global hip hop almost entirely. Hip hop has spread from the States to other countries as well, in one form or another, but it is a

field which is not properly explored yet. Global hip hop has not been studied much in the academic field until fairly recently (Mitchell 2001a: 2). It seems now that hip hop culture and rap music attract researchers around the world and they are eager to study the local scenes of hip hop. It is interesting to see how the global hip hop turns into indigenized forms of different countries. As Mitchell (2001a: 1-2) has rightly pointed out: "Hip-hop and rap cannot be viewed simply as an expression of African American culture; it has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identity all over the world".

Next, I will discuss some of the studies about global hip hop from various corners of the world. Firstly, there are studies that have concentrated on presenting the hip hop scene of a particular country, and secondly, there are studies which, one way or another, highlight the ethnic identity and the resistance politics hip hop works with. Thirdly, there are studies that have concentrated on the language and identity issue and which come closest to the present study, either in their theoretical framework, methodology or data.

Firstly, many studies on global hip hop have been conducted on a very general level by reviewing the local hip hop scene as well as its history, development and the current situation. For example, Chamberland (2001) has studied the English- and French-speaking and multicultural rap scene of *Canada* in different cities. His study is a general overview and it does not focus on language or on identity issues particularly. According to him, rap in Canada has not yet got a chance to prosper partly because of the general negative attitude people and the media have of rap music and hip hop culture and partly because of the record companies' unwillingness to give support to young and practicing rappers. Canadian rappers have created their own hip hop subculture and they rhyme about everyday matters close

to their hearts – gang wars, guns and drugs that are often connected to some US rap seem remote. (ibid.)

Condry (2001) has conducted an ethnographic research in *Japan* and looked carefully into the history of Japanese hip hop scene, the local club scene as well as street dancing and pop market. According to him (2001: 223), there are some special characteristics in the scene such as: little violence, no guns or misogyny in the lyrics. Rap music offers a chance for the youth to “speak out” their minds. Mitchell (2001b) presents an overview of *Italian* hip hop and its history and posses. In Italy, like in many other countries as well, hip hop culture and rap music have become vehicles for attacking the social ills, political injustices and even the Mafia. A special characteristic of Italian hip hop is the wide use of local dialects in the lyrics. Some groups also combine the rap with other music genres, such as Jamaican ragga and traditional Italian music.

Continuing with the same theme of discussing the hip hop scene of a particular country, Wermuth (2001) has examined the hip hop history and culture in *the Netherlands* with a special view on dichotomies such as: authentic versus fake and wiggers (a contraction of the words “white” and “nigger”) versus homies (homeboys). He has interviewed artists and producers, participated in hip hop events and analyzed music videos and lyrics. He sees the growth in the scene and claims that now hip hop in the Netherlands is more independent but that there still is inevitable influence from the U.S. Maxwell (2001) has focused on *Australian* hip hop scene with special reference to Sydney and its outer suburbs and the “old school” of hip hop. He has tried to show how bodies and places are an essential part of understanding hip hop and how hip hop “there” can become hip hop “here” and mean the same thing. According to him (2001: 261), hip hop is something one feels in his/her body. Flores (1994) has examined closely the *Puerto Rican* rap scene and particularly its history. He wants to emphasize the fact how

Puerto Ricans have been involved in the birth of the hip hop culture from the beginning and how this role has often been dismissed in the literature. They want to be acknowledged in this respect and demand co-ownership of rap alongside Black people.

In the second category, studies have focused on views of ethnic identities and cultural resistance and politics in which hip hop and rap have been part of. Mitchell (2004, 2001c) has studied the *New Zealand* and *Pacific Islander* rap scene and, thus, the indigenization of rap music in a remote ethnic context. Maori rappers have used, and still do, rap music as a vehicle for militancy. The lyrics, part of them in *te reo Maori* ('Maori language'), discuss health and political issues, support for the Maori language and culture as well as advice to young Maori people to be guided by their ancestors. The Maori people, thus, use rap and hip hop in their struggle to maintain their language, identity and culture. Watkins (2004) has conducted research on hip hop in *South Africa*, its history, special characteristics and rappers. He has interviewed several artists and groups. Watkins (2004: 124) argues that rappers have always used hip hop in order to fight the apartheid regime and various other concerns specific to the country. Even today, rap is still the means to raise concerns of those who do not have power or voice and make them feel empowered. He makes remarks about the kind of language(s) the rappers in South Africa use, a blend of Afrikaans with prison and gangster languages, but he does not connect the language to the identity very clearly, or that is not his purpose in the essay. Rather, he focuses on the themes of struggling and survival.

Huq (2003) has explored the *French* hip hop scene and, in particular, how French rap reflects (trans-) European identities. Rap in France reflects its post-colonial present with youth originating from former French colonies at its centre. More and more white youth are participating in the rap scene. Rappers engage in political discussions in society and are willing to help the

youth in for example struggles against racism. By making rap local, rappers in France, as well as in other European countries, are moving away from the old “American dream” (Huq 2003: 203). In addition, the new musical styles, which often are hybridized, reflect “a duality or multiplicity of cultural points of identification for youth who are products of post-colonial diasporic flows [...]”. (Huq 2003: 204). Also Mitchell (2004) has studied the French hip hop scene. The origins of French hip hop are in the *banlieus*, outer suburbs, of the cities and they define the scene to a large extent. He points out how young rappers and North African immigrants use a variety of languages and dialects which contend the rules of standard French. Sarkar (2007) and Sarkar and Winer (2006) have studied the *Canadian* bilingual hip hop from the point of view of language policy. There is much criticism in Quebec towards the “French-only educational policies”. Through specific kind of language use, i.e. code-switching in and between various languages, the rappers are engaging in challenging the norms, celebrating multilingualism and forming new and hybrid identities. (ibid.)

Swedenburg (2001) has conducted research on an area which is not particularly studied or acknowledged, namely *Islamic* hip hop. His focus was on two British groups, *Fun-Da-Mental* and *Transglobal Underground* and one French group, *IAM*. Their music, the lyrics, and social activity in anti-racist struggles and in educating white youth about Islam can be seen very important in today’s Europe where there is more and more Islamophobia. In addition, they empower young Muslims to find a space for multifaceted identities and weapons for the struggle against Islamophobia. Pacini Hernandez and Garofalo (2004) have studied the *Cuban* rap scene, its past, its themes and its rappers and how they have negotiated their relationship to U.S. rap with their strong national identity. One reason for the rappers to choose rap as their vehicle of expression was the will to participate in a broader urban cultural community that transcends the borders of Cuba.

Cuban realities do not normally allow criticism but rap offers them a tool for it.

Finally, there are studies that are of special interest to the present study, as they discuss the themes of language and identity, especially hip hop identity. The studies show how hip hop identity is constructed through language and in Pennycook's (2003) and Androutsopoulos' (2004) work, through code-switching and language mixing. Ibrahim (1999) examined the impact of 'becoming Black' on ESL learning. He found out that the young Africans who moved to Canada, and had to learn English, did this through getting to know hip-hop culture. Their English was Black stylized English and they accessed it in, mainly, rap lyrics and styles. Thus, Black popular culture became an alternative place not only for identification but also for ESL learning. Pennycook (2003) studied the issues of performativity and identity in the case of Japanese rap group *Rip Slyme* who combine Japanese and English in their lyrics. Japanese rap seems to be both global and at the same time, it represents Japanese language and culture. Their language, raplish, is a new language, totally their own. Pennycook (2003) shows how, through the lyrics and performances, the rappers refashion new identities.

Berns and Schlobinski (2003) first present an overview of hip hop culture as a basis for their own research. They studied how identity is constructed in German hip-hop culture, both in the lyrics of two hip hop groups representing different styles and in a radio show where young fans called and were guided and taught about hip hop culture by the radio show host. The groups seemed to have a different kind of hip-hop identity each. The first group seemed to have an "imported identity" with no modifications from the U.S. model into the German context (Berns and Schlobinski 2003: 204-5). The other group, however, achieved street credibility by staying true to their own hip-hop identity, by participating in the culture and by writing

lyrics that are linked with their social surroundings and topics close to them (Berns and Schlobinski 2003: 205, 210).

Androutsopoulos (2004) studied the contacts between English and German related to youth culture in Germany. He examined printed music magazines and online guest-books. He found that many of the switches to English were “verbal routines”, for example, expressive speech acts, slogans and “props” – a greeting and congratulating routine in hip hop culture. The English used in the data was non-standard and colloquial. He concludes that code-switching into English provides the young German music fans an “exclusive” youth culture identity. His study sheds light on the area of media discourse, which has not been studied significantly. According to him, these new insights increase our knowledge of the processes of language contacts in media discourse: the Internet and the web communities create new literacy places for code switching and language mixing than the traditional media formats. Androutsopoulos (2004) will be discussed in further detail in the methodological part of the present study (chapter 4.3).

Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002) made a comparative study on European hip hop music in five different countries of which three, namely Italy, German and France, are discussed in the article because the research was still in progress at that time. They studied the hip hop cultures and discourse on a three-level framework that includes (i) the socio-cultural frame, (ii) rap discourse and (iii) linguistic patterns. The present study focuses only on one of their linguistic patterns, namely English elements in non-English lyrics, but their study offers many insights into other issues as well. Their aim was to show how the global hip hop model is appropriated basically in the same way in every “reception” country. They wanted to track down this process through analyzing the rap lyrics in careful detail. One of their initial arguments was also the fact that hip hop is not simply taken as such, adopted, when it comes to a new environment, but it is rather modified and

made local. Overall, they concluded that their initial assumptions were correct in that the global models are made local by adding elements that fit the social surroundings of the rappers. Thus, it is not merely a question of adopting a global model, but rather indigenizing it in a gradual process. Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002) will be discussed in further detail in chapter 4.3 on methodology.

Lüdtke (2007) compared rap lyrics from the United States and Australia and she used the framework of Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002). She analyzed all three levels in her study. She argued that although some connections remain to the original US hip hop culture, the Australian hip hop is nevertheless a local expression of local realities and filled with national discourses. A hip hop culture is not merely adopted, it is adapted and modified into the Australian context. (ibid.)

The popularity of hip hop culture and rap music across the globe speaks for the relatively easy appeal and access young people have to it. It gives them, among other things, a communicative tool to express themselves and their feelings and thoughts. Thus, it empowers young people all over the world. More research on hip hop is expected in the future as scholars become more interested in and aware of the culture and its influences.

3.5.2 Hip hop research in Finland

Studying hip hop is a fairly recent phenomenon in Finland and not much research has been done it. Many studies in Finland have concentrated on US hip hop culture and rap music. For example, Immonen (2004) studied the political influence of rap music in the United States. His Licentiate's Dissertation *Meitä ei dissata!* ('Don't dis(respect) us!') presents a view in which rap music is seen as an influential channel from the ghettos to the white suburbs. According to him (2004: 335, 337), in recent years rap music

has become also a big business in which black people can finally have a say in the business world by owning their own companies. All of this can be seen as a hip hop political movement in which hip hop entrepreneurs and hip hop intellectual are active (ibid.). Tajakka (1995) studied Afro-centric rap music and the themes of raciality and ethnicity in it. She concentrated on the US hip hop scene, too. Reinikainen (2005) studied representations and images of wealth and women in US rap music videos. Hannula (2000) looked into the social, political and cultural meanings and messages in US rap music.

As far as studying Finnish hip hop music and scene is concerned, relatively few studies have been conducted. Up till 2004, there was no extensive book on the Finnish hip hop scene. However, in recent years there has been more interest in the topic. Mikkonen's (2004) work on Finnish hip hop is the first of its kind. He presents some background from the US hip hop culture but focuses mainly on the Finnish hip hop scene. He discusses the history, themes, present state, artists and albums of the Finnish hip hop culture in a very deep level and has also included pieces of interviews in the text.

Kuivas (2003a) focused on hip hop as an ideology of its generation. She made an analysis of Finnish hip hop as a generational phenomenon based on Karl Mannheim's generation theory. In an article, Kuivas (2003b) further discusses the generation theory in Finnish hip hop. In it, she concentrates on only one Finnish rapper, *MC Avain* (currently *MC Asa*), arguing that he represents a mix of US gangsta rap culture and Finnish protest song tradition. He speaks for social issues and takes a very critical, leftist stand in his lyrics. (Kuivas 2003a, 2003b.) According to Kuivas (2003b: 34), rap music can offer a chance for criticism against society in outer-parliamentary ways. She suggests that we can see *MC Avain*, in Gramsci's terms, as an *organic intellectual* who is a kind of a spiritual and social leader. (See also chapter 3.6.2)

Another Pro Gradu about Finnish hip hop is made by Liesaho (2003). In his study, he aimed at establishing a connection between pop culture, rap music in particular, and politics in Finland. He studied some rap lyrics by *MC Avain* and *Fintelligens* as well as some lyrics by foreign rappers. In addition, he interviewed some graffiti painters and the above mentioned artists. In his opinion, rap music can function as a way to bring forward social questions. In an article, Liesaho (2004) discusses the suburbs of Helsinki in Finnish rap music. He tells about the kinds of lyrics artists from Helsinki make and what kinds of stories, true or false, they have. In a way, rap mixes up fact and fiction and sometimes connects these stories to questions in society. In his view, this might also have some influence on the people who listen to the music and start thinking about the lyrics more carefully. Also Cvetanovic (2003) studied Finnish rap lyrics as to their rhymes and meter, Pakkala (2004) focused on metaphors and world image whereas Tossavainen (2004) studied the first and second person in the lyrics of *Fintelligens*.

Kalliokoski (2006) studied Finnish rap lyrics, namely those of *Fintelligens*, particularly from the point of view of the Helsinki slang. He explored how the coming together of different languages makes *Fintelligens* part of Finnish and global hip hop cultures. In addition, he studied how their specific kind of language forms and establishes our understanding of the language of Finnish hip hop. He acknowledges that English elements are part of the language. The rapper expresses his hip hop identity as a local and a global member of the culture through e.g. linguistic choices that combine elements of the African American rap English, the Finnish standard language and the Helsinki slang. Their language is unique to them. (Cf. Pennycook 2003). Kalliokoski (2006: 315) concludes that the language of *Fintelligens* is in a way similar to the old Helsinki slang that also combined elements of different languages and varieties.

A particularly striking and different study in the Finnish context is made by Leppänen and Pietikäinen (forthcoming) about a rapper called *Amoc*, who raps in Finnish and Sami. He has chosen the Sami language as his language since he wants to upgrade the value and role of Inari Sami language and culture. Amoc seems to index his allegiance to the global hip hop community through e.g. the song topics and outer habitus and he has also gained the attention of foreign media. Leppänen and Pietikäinen (forthcoming) conclude that Amoc makes use of the globalized rap and creates a local rap discourse in Sami which has also language political effects.

3.6 Doing hip hop identities via language mixing

This chapter will firstly discuss identities in general: how we conceptualize them, and, secondly, it will view hip hop identities in particular. Finally, it will take into account the point of view of bilingualism in the context of hip hop music.

3.6.1 About identity in general

Identity is a topic that has recently raised the interest of researchers from different disciplines and viewpoints, such as social, biological and anthropological. According to Hall (1996), identity can be understood either in the *essentialist* way or the *non-essentialist* way. The essentialist thinking is linked to *modernity* and in that identity is understood as fixed, stable and unitary (ibid.). This position believes that those who “belong” to the same kind of identity category are essentially similar with one another and very different from anyone outside the category. Furthermore, essentialists argue that the groupings are “inevitable and natural”. (See e.g. Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 374.) The non-essentialist approach, however, views identity as varying, self-reflecting and subject to change and renewal. (Davies and Harré

1990; Kellner 1998: 262; Gauntlett 2002; Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 376.) Fragmented and multiple identities that are constructed across discourses, practices and positions are associated with *post-modernism* (Hall 1996: 3-4). According to Hall (1999: 223), one should in fact regard identity as 'production', which is never fully ready and always in process. Hall (1999: 250) argues that identities are, thus, not 'who we are' but rather 'what we can become' or 'how we are represented'. Generally people have many identities at their disposal. We do not think we have only one identity that remains the same in various situations and with different people. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 376), previous research on identity has mistakenly assumed that identities are attributes of individuals or groups. In fact, they are attributes of situations and as such, identities "may shift and recombine to meet new circumstances" (ibid.). In this study, both the terms, identity and identification, will be used since they basically refer to the same phenomenon. (See also Hall 1999.)

Identities are constructed but also maintained and negotiated in *discourse*. However, Tanni (2005) suggests that identity rarely consists of a single discourse; rather it is a collection of discourses. [As a side remark, the definitions of discourse vary greatly. It may mean language use beyond a sentence, social usage of language, meaning making, a system of knowledge, beliefs and conceptions, or, finally, language use as part of social practices (Pietikäinen 2006). Gauntlett (2002: 16) views discourse broadly as "a way of talking about things [...] or [as] a set of ideas within a culture which shapes how we perceive the world". Davies and Harré (1990: 45) define *a* discourse as "an institutionalised use of language and language-like sign systems." The institutionalization can occur on many levels, e.g. political, cultural and small group level. The same topic can generate different kinds of discourses, and they can be in contradiction and compete with each other. The reality seems different depending on the viewpoint i.e. discourse accepted. (ibid.) In addition, Davies and Harré (1990: 46) argue that discourse a diversified

process in which meanings actively constructed. Discourse is, thus, a way to conceptualize and understand the world around us.]

Davies and Harré (1990) see identities emerging in discourse, particularly in interaction, where identities are dynamically (re)produced. According to them,

an individual emerges through the processes of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate. Accordingly, who one is always an open question with a shifting answer depending upon the positions made available within one's own and others' discursive practices and within those practices, the stories through which we can make sense of our own and others' lives. (Davies and Harré 1990: 46)

Davies and Harré (ibid.) argue then that a person's identity is not by far fixed, rather it is an open-ended issue and always at stake in all kinds of interactions between people. Discourses offer us several alternatives or positions of who we are or become. Davies and Harré (1990) further present the idea of *positioning* according to which members of conversation can position themselves or others in the discourse. People can have pre-assigned positions in discourse, such as those of a professor and a student in a lecture discourse, and, thus, see and understand the world from that standpoint but the positions are also open to change during a discourse. Therefore, identities change continually and are open to renewal, change and negotiation in discourse. Indeed, according to Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou (2003: 1), identities should be investigated not as separate entities but as "co-constructions and co-articulations of positions in discourse". It seems impossible, or at least futile, to study only 'one identity' as a separate category as if it existed in isolation. Thus, although the precise aim of the present study is to examine hip hop identity, it must be taken into consideration that the particular lyrics and artists are from Finland, from specific cities, and are of certain age. Thus, the rappers bring their own voices and positions to the discourse, i.e. the lyrics, and they can be in someway similar and someway different to one another.

Footing is a concept related closely to discursive identities. In defining the concept, Goffman (1974, as quoted by Davies and Harré 1990: 54, 1981) firstly argues that we may achieve or lose a footing in conversations, and secondly, “we can speak from and change our ‘footings’ in conversations”. According to Goffman (1981: 128), footing is concerned with occasions when “participants’ alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self is somehow at issue”. Footing also “implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and to the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production and reception of an utterance” (Goffman 1981: 128). As for the present study, a change of footing can occur in the lyrics, when a rapper takes different stances in the lyrics, and has different voices. He can, for example, quote another person and, thus, change his/her footing. As for the difference between positioning and footing, we ourselves can change our footing but also others can position us in different ways, by e.g. assigning us the role of a novice. Therefore, in this study, footing seems a more useful concept than positioning. The rappers themselves can change footings in the lyrics, and rap in different voices.

Hall (1999: 251) argues that because identities are constructed in discourse, one must examine them in specific historical and institutional places, inside specific discursive practices. Hall (1999: 224) further asserts that we always write and talk in a specific place, in specific time, bound to a specific history and culture. Therefore, what we say is always said in a context and from a position (*ibid.*). This is the reason why the present study also focuses on specific discourse, that is, hip hop discourse which in this case consists of rap lyrics of a particular space and time. These lyrics are composed and performed in a context, the Finnish hip hop scene, and from different positions, such as that of an experienced rapper, that of a new-comer and also from different geographical positions. A useful point of view on the matter is stated by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 14) who indicate that “to

say that identities are discursive constructions does not imply that they are not 'real' in the material world". Naturally, identities are shown also in the real world. Discourse constructs the world, in a similar way as the world affects the discourse. Identities are reflected by the way we speak, but also by the way we act and dress in certain kinds of societies and ideologies surrounding us, for example.

3.6.2 Hip hop identities and the view of multilingualism

The view of identity of the present study is that identity is fluid, subject to change and that people have many identities. The specific identity I am interested in is hip hop identity. In line with what is stated above, also hip hop identity is fluid, changeable and dynamic. Not all rappers have the same kind of hip hop identity. It can be shown and seen in many different ways in the individuals in various situations. An additional aspect to be discussed here is bilingualism. In the world today, there is indeed a growing need for bi-/multilingualism because of the increasing communications and connections across the globe. According to Myers-Scotton (2006: 65), "a bilingual person is a person who can carry on at least casual conversations [...] in a second language". Li (2000: 7) similarly defines 'bilingual' as primarily "someone with the possession of two languages. A person, however, is seldom equally proficient in both languages (Myers Scotton 2006: 65). Mackey (2000: 26, 53), however, suggests that things are not as clear-cut in that bilingualism is a very relative concept and he, thus, argues that we need to consider bilingualism as an individual and not as a group phenomenon. The present study considers bilingualism especially in the light of hip hop culture, and how artists can make use of more than one language in the lyrics. I will not consider bilingualism as necessarily a group phenomenon of all the hip hop artists in Finland. Bilingualism is a concept related to an individual, but of course individuals of the same subculture can share some aspects of bilingualism.

On a general basis, one can see that music offers a chance for self-discovery. According to DeNora (2006: 145), music provides expressions and models for “elaborating self-identity – for identity’s identification”. Frith (1996: 125) argues that music is particularly interesting for identities in that it determines a space that has no boundaries, and it can, therefore, cross borders, e.g. classes, races and nations and it can also define specific places, e.g. clubs and scenes. An intriguing example of finding oneself, one’s identity and ethnicity is offered by Bennett (2000: 62) who reports on how white youth have culturally relocated themselves and reinvented their ethnicity. The youth have either adopted the music and style of a local ethnic minority group or appropriated global resources, usually of African-American or Afro-Caribbean origin (ibid.). According to Bennett (ibid.), these kinds of cultural borrowings are no longer mere stylistic experiments of white youth. They are part of what they are and how they act, and have made it their own. Rampton (1995: 280) has introduced the term *crossing* which refers to a verbal practice, to “switching into languages that are not generally thought to belong to you” and which crosses “social or ethnic boundaries”. Thus, it can be viewed as re-alignment of identity, a similar phenomenon to the one reported by Bennett (2000) except that the crossing has to do with languages in particular.

Identities are also based on “what I am *not*”. In fact, according to Hall (1999: 251), identities are born in and through difference, and in relation to the Other. Particularly the youth try to differentiate themselves from other youth groups as well as adults. According to Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou (2003: 5), peer groups try to remain different from all other youth communities but they also aim to position themselves with reference to hobbies and expressive lifestyles. Hip hop can be seen as such. They (ibid.) suggest that in such a process, “linguistic means of displaying identity” work together with the non-linguistic markers. In identity construction, also

activity types play a crucial role. According to Brown and Fraser (1979, as quoted by Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003: 6), activity types indicate “socially and culturally recognized events” which have certain settings and interaction structures. Knowledge of these types is crucial for gaining a membership in a specific community. It is easy to imagine a hip hop community being exactly like this: one needs certain knowledge, both linguistic and non-linguistic, in order to fully participate in the action and to be accepted as a real member. According to Morgan (2002: 117), “identity is viewed through referential and indexical language use where the discourse evokes times, places, experiences and ideologies”. Thus, to know about specific places and to have certain experiences mirrors a certain kind of (sub-cultural-) identity.

As far as rap music is concerned, identities play a very crucial and essential role in it. Kellner (1998: 205) notes that hip hop artists “often focus the attention on themselves and use their music to strengthen their own identity”. However, Kellner (1998: 210) also argues that in the world of rap music, in particular, there is a strong sense of group identity – each member finds him-/herself as a part of a large community. He (1998: 205) further claims that rap posses, groups, strengthen both the collective and individual identities. Each member has his/her own identity as an artist but s/he is also part of a larger group that s/he can go back to. Rose (2006: 216), too, has argued that identity in hip hop culture is based on local experiences of the streets and neighborhoods and on “one’s attachment to and status in a local group or alternative family”. In addition as the “rappers speak with a voice of personal experience”, they assume the “identity of the observer or narrator”(Rose 1994: 2).

Furthermore, Morgan (2002: 117) views that the ties to the audience or other urban youth bring a person, or an artist, ‘live’ as s/he is discussing the common experiences. According to Kellner (1998: 217-8), rap music is about

creating identities, not breaking them down. He argues that the hip hop artists create their own identities through their music and their audiences identify with the counter-culture and also the critical attitudes of the music, and hereby produce contradictory identities, in opposition to the norm(s). Kellner (ibid.) suggests that hip hop artists are, in Gramsci's words, *organic intellectuals* who speak on the community's behalf about the oppression against them and who in their music highlight the reasons for the oppression and propose solutions for the situations. (See also chapter 3.5.2)

Outside the United States, the context is slightly different for constructing hip hop identities and it cannot but affect the outcome. According to Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2003: 476), content-wise European rap "follows traditions established by U.S. rap, but is not identical to it". This is because rap music has as one of its characteristics to speak for the *local* social realities. However, this does not mean that rappers in Europe, or elsewhere, are not representatives of a global cultural discourse as well. Androutsopoulos and Scholz (ibid.) suggest that "being a local representative of a global cultural discourse is fundamental to European rappers' self-understanding and discursive action".

Another aspect in this matter is the fact that European, as well as other rappers, have the language issue to consider. Some choose English, the original rap language, and some their native language. Some, however, combine these two in various ways. This, too, can be seen as constructing their hip hop identity. For, as we have seen, identities are born in discourse and in interaction. Rappers have their own discourse and hip hop identities are constructed in it. English adds yet another dimension to the issue. According to Myers-Scotton (2006: 63), people can express different identities through using different languages. Also Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 8) argue for the connection between identities and multilingualism in reporting on Heller's (1982) and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) investigations which have

shown that “with multilingual speakers [...] each act of speaking or silence may constitute for them an ‘act of identity’”.

Myers-Scotton (2002: 38) also argues that how one sees the world may change due to “exposure to outside lifestyles” and that “becoming bilingual can be part of a change in how individuals perceive and express themselves”. In my opinion, hip hop culture can be seen as such a lifestyle which can cause a change in one’s perceptions of the world. Hyltenstam and Stroud (1996, as quoted by Myers-Scotton 2002: 39) argue in fact that speakers “use languages to encode social identities”. They can choose the language for any given situation and express the kind of identity they wish. Furthermore, in Myers-Scotton’s (2002: 43) opinion, bilingual people may choose to switch between languages for achieving “various stylistic effects”. Thus, by choosing mixing of English and Finnish, a rapper can achieve different stylistic effects than merely using Finnish. People may indeed wish to “project themselves as persons with the identities associated with more than one language: that is, they project dual identities” (Myers-Scotton 2002: 45). Androutsopoulos (2007: 223) further suggests on the use of English in the European youth cultures that “the identities at stake might best be termed ‘glocal’, because they gain their meaning as local performances of a global cultural paradigm, and it is precisely this relationship English contextualizes”. According to Robertson (1995) ‘glocal’ and ‘glocalisation’ are more useful terms than ‘global’ and ‘globalisation’ to refer to the interaction between the local and the global in that each affects the other and they are not merely opposites, as often is thought.

A few studies indicate how language, bilingualism and hip hop can be combined and how this may result in a new kind of (hip hop) identity. In Berns and Schlobinski’s (2003) study, identities were fashioned in the lyrics of two German hip hop groups. The main language is German, but there are also English items in the lyrics. The first group seemed to import a U.S. hip

hop identity directly. In addition to German, they also used direct loans from English and American slang, without modifications into Germany. The second group also had German as their main language but had English items also in the lyrics. The group stayed true to their original topics, discussed what is going on in their local social surroundings and the lives of ordinary people. They also kept in contact with other components of the hip hop culture, i.e. other hip hop groups and graffiti. Thus, they can be said to be believable and have street credibility. (ibid.) This shows that in addition to the language and the lyrical content, also other components should be taken into consideration in defining hip hop identities. The focus of the present study, however, will be on the lyrics and their contents and the English and language mixing used in them.

Androutsopoulos (2004) did not study rap lyrics but his data, online guestbooks and printed music magazines, included a great deal of talk of young (hip hop) fans about music and hip hop, in particular. The data shows numerous examples of code-switching and mixing between English and Germany as well as "hip hop slang". He (2004: 9) calls the identities that are constructed in this process "exclusive" because there are clear boundaries of who belong to the community, and who do not. According to Androutsopoulos (ibid.), the identity in question is "that of a "real hip-hopper", a member of both a local and an international fan/artist community".

Like was mentioned in chapter 3.5.1, Pennycook (2003; see also Pennycook 2007: 126-7) studied the Japanese hip hop scene and the specific language Rip Slyme uses in their lyrics. They combine English and Japanese in a unique way which forms raplish, their own language. Pennycook (2003: 528) claims that their language cannot be defined as a first, second, or foreign language. The language of the lyrics is English and the lyrics include self-references common to rap music but the phonology and syntax are Japanese and this

locates the rappers as “Japanese performances in English”. The English used seems to echo African American English at some points and “Japanese English” at others. Identity for them seems to be constructed in the performance. Thus, the use of the specific kind of language seems to “flow itself across the boundaries of identity”. Through the lyrics as well as performances, the rappers refashion new identities by creating a new language of their own and being both local and global. (Pennycook 2003: 527.)

Androutsopoulos’ (2004) and Pennycook’s (2003) ideas about rap lyrics, or other hip hop discourse, and bilingualism seem closest to the present study. By having outlined here aspects on identity and, then, identity in rap, and in bilingual rap I hope to have achieved a deeper understanding on the matter. As not much research has been made on bilingual rap and identity questions, the present study faces a challenge, not least in putting together its analytical framework. This is where I will proceed next in presenting the research design of the present study.

4 RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 Aims and research questions

The aim of the present study is to explore the use of English and language mixing in the construction of hip hop identity in Finnish rap lyrics. Although some research has been conducted on English in Finland (see chapter 2), not many studies have concentrated on Finnish hip hop (see chapter 3.5.2). Leppänen (2007: 157-160) has touched on the topic of English in Finnish amateur rap lyrics in her article but, to my knowledge, there are no extensive studies on the use of English in Finnish rap lyrics and its significance in constructing hip hop identities. The present study investigates the multilingual practices of the Finnish rappers in their lyrics. This kind of research is, thus, needed. The present study will shed more light on the role of English in Finland and in the lives of Finnish adolescents and young people who are a part of the global hip hop culture.

Finnish hip hop culture has an audience of its own that is fairly varied but, one might also say, relatively homogenous in the sense that hip hop culture as well as music tends to attract the youth and adolescents more than for example the elderly. Finnish hip hop culture is also a part of global hip hop culture, but its audience remains mainly Finnish. Hip hop music, and lyrics, unite the audience with the artists. In discourse, that is, in the lyrics, Finnish hip hop identities are being constructed and in them, one can see opportunities for identification, for a sense of belonging in a sub-group or -culture.

The main research question of the present study is as follows:

How are English and language mixing used in Finnish rap lyrics to construct hip hop identities?

In order to thoroughly answer this question, it will be broken down into the following, more specific, analytic questions:

a) What kinds of forms and patterns of English are used in Finnish rap lyrics?

b) What kinds of patterns of language mixing are there in the lyrics?

c) How do the uses of English forms and patterns (question 1) and patterns of language mixing (question 2) contribute to the construction of Finnish hip hop identities?

The purpose of this study is not to give a definite specification of ‘the Finnish hip hop identity’ because there is no *one* hip hop identity in Finland, but rather a range of possible hip hop identities as constructed in rap lyrics. Of course, it is possible that there are common aspects found in the lyrics that contribute to the understanding of the identities constructed in the Finnish hip hop discourse.

4.2 Data collection and selection

The data collection process for the present study was not an easy one. Because hip hop culture is mainly an oral culture, not many artists have their lyrics in the CD booklets and some may even not have them in any written form, not at least in an understandable form for an outside researcher. Therefore, the collection and selection process was influenced by this fact, too. Although it would have been possible to also listen to the songs and the

lyrics, and then write them down myself, I did not see it as suitable to the purpose of this study. In my view, it is essential to study how the rappers themselves compose the lyrics and, specifically, the English items in them.

The data of the present study consist of Finnish hip hop lyrics. More specifically, the data set consists of the lyrics of three Finnish rappers or rap groups. They are *MC Cheek* from Lahti, *MCs SP* and *Sere* (formerly known as *Seremoniamestari*) from Tampere and a hip hop posse called *Kemmuru* (*MCs Jodarok* and *Aksim* and *DJ J-Laini*) originally from Tikkakoski, Joensuu and Rovaniemi respectively and currently in Helsinki. The data include the following four albums:

Cheek / Avaimet mun kulmille ('Keys to my hoods') (13 songs) 2004

Cheek / Käännän sivuu ('I'm turning the page') (14) 2005

Kemmuru / Kehumatta paras ('The best without bragging') (15) 2006

Sere & SP / Perusasioiden äärellä ('Down by the basics') (14) 2005

The albums consist altogether of 56 songs and I was able to get the lyrics of 42 of these, either in the CD booklets or directly from the artists themselves. In the final analysis of the present study, I selected four songs from *Kemmuru* (that is all I was able to get), eight songs from *Cheek* and six songs from *Sere & SP*. This amount seemed suitable for the aims of the present study, since already of these 18 songs, I was able to make enough adequate analysis and conclusions. Note that the analysis is not meant to be an exhaustive analysis of Finnish rap lyrics. Rather, it gives insights into questions of bi-/multilingualism, identities and hip hop. I chose the particular artists because they represent the diversity in the Finnish hip hop scene in terms of geography, years of experience in the scene and also of their themes. In addition, there has been no study on Finnish hip hop that has concentrated on any of these artists. Most of the studies so far have had the

lyrics of *Fintelligens* as their data. My data will, thus, bring forth some new and different voices of hip hop.

Cheek has published five solo albums during 2001-2007 and he started his rapping in English. He has published also one album which contains both English and Finnish rap songs. (Cheek 2006.) His rap language has been influenced by the Helsinki slang. This is because Lahti belongs to the metropolitan area of Helsinki. He became popular in Finland only with his third album *Avaimet mun kulmille*. His lyrics describe everyday life, having fun and partying and his own experiences. The hip hop group *Kemmuru* is a new-comer in the sense that they released their debut album in 2003 and their second album in 2006. However, even before this the group members have been active with various music projects with various artists. Their lyrics discuss their own experiences of everyday life, spending free time with friends, and hanging out. They have collaborated with e.g. *Fintelligens* and *Tulenkantajat*. According to Mikkonen (2004: 178), their style can be characterized as “ecological” (i.e. natural, “home grown”) hip hop that fits nicely with the *Ceebrolistics* kind of sound world that is instrumental and dream-like. A particularly interesting aspect of their lyrics is the use of the local dialect of Joensuu, Northern Karelia, which can be seen in some words and expressions in the lyrics. Finally, *MCs Sere* and *SP* had both published solo albums before they decided to join forces and make an album together. Both of them have been active in the Finnish hip hop scene for years, and *Sere’s* debut album was, in fact, the first Finnish (language) album to be published, if one does not take into account *Petri Nygård* (see chapter 3.2). Their rap language can be seen as being influenced by the dialect of Tampere.

Since the present hip hop study is a discourse analytic one, in addition to the lyrics one must also take into account the social context in which the lyrics

are born, that is, the present Finnish hip hop scene as well as its history and the artists. (See chapter 3.2-4)

4.3 Analytic methodology

Traditionally, the focus of code-switching research has been on *spoken* interaction among bilinguals. Not much research has been conducted on *written* code-switching. One of the few is Callahan's (2004) study on written codeswitching between English and Spanish in fiction. Sebba (2007b) has also acknowledged this lack of studies by claiming that spoken data are given primacy in the studies and that there is no comprehensive and independent theoretical framework for written code-switching. In his opinion (*ibid.*), this might have even "led to a relative lack of publications in this area and a feeling that it lacks 'respectability'". In addition, Androutsopoulos (2004: 3) has stated that "extensive insertion of a foreign language [...] into written and mass-mediated discourse produced in a national language [...] has hardly been investigated, and [it] demands a whole set of new diagnostic criteria". The present study aims at filling out a small gap in the area of written code-switching in the Finnish context, at least.

In his study on the use of English by German hip hop youth, Androutsopoulos (2004) adopted Auer's (1998) terminology related to code-switching, that is, the terms *language mixing*, *insertion* and *alternation*. Firstly, insertion is defined as a *uni-directional* process, whereas alternation is a *bi-directional* process. In the first case, there is one language that dominates, i.e. a *matrix language*, into which linguistic elements are embedded. In the latter case, linguistic elements can be embedded to either language at any point, and the languages are 'equal' in this sense. In Androutsopoulos' (2004) study, German functioned as the matrix language and the embedded English

items were, thus, characterized as insertions. (Androutsopoulos 2004: 3.) In my case, Finnish functions as the matrix language in most cases.

As regards the difference between code-switching and language mixing, Androutsopoulos (2004) views switching as “a locally significant phenomenon, which indexes features of the speaker and/or the situation, such as change of topic or activity, change of footing, etc.”. Mixing, on the other hand, is defined as being “only meaningful as a whole, i.e. as a language variety or style”. Both switching and mixing can involve either single words or larger pieces of text. Furthermore, mixing covers both established and nonce borrowings, which Androutsopoulos (2004: 3) determines on the basis of for example structural integration, frequency, and community acceptance. The words or phrases can have a different level of orthographic and morphological integration into the matrix language, and if they are categorized as ‘mixing’, they are used quite often and extensively in the group as part of its style and their usage is commonly accepted.

Androutsopoulos (2004: 3) categorizes the insertions the following way: (i) established, that is, widely integrated, used and accepted, lexical borrowings, (ii) nonce borrowings that have not been morphologically integrated nor commonly used or accepted, and (iii) switching. Furthermore, Androutsopoulos (2004: 3-6) identifies types of switching found in the data as: a) mottos, which can be phrases or quotations, or used for emphasis or expression; b) switches that “coincide with a change in discourse role (from first person to direct addressing) and a shift in modality (from ironical to aggressive)” and that “mitigat[e] aggression” (ibid.: 5); c) intertextual switches in the use of English quotations and allusions, often with the function of framing “a media text as part of a more extensive sub-cultural discourse” (ibid.: 5), e.g. hip hop culture, and d) language crossing, i.e. metaphorical code-switching, “into other people’s languages” which usually refers to a language used by “an identified ethnic or social group” (Rampton

1998, as quoted by Androutsopoulos 2004: 6). In Androutsopoulos' study on German hip hop discourse, 'crossing' relates to the US hip hop culture and, therefore, it includes Afro-American vernacular English.

What Androutsopoulos (2004: 6) concluded was that his switching and mixing examples seemed fairly different compared to the practices of spoken bilingual communication, but also different to the English used in other media, e.g. newspapers and websites, in Germany. Routines and vernacular speech, particularly, stood out from the data. By routines, he means "any fixed set or set linguistic item that is repeatedly used in specific context" (ibid.). Androutsopoulos (2004: 6-7) argues that routines can be depicted with the aid of seven categories: (i) greetings and farewells, e.g. *hi, bye-bye*; (ii) expressive speech acts, expletives and interjections, e.g. *thanks, fuck off, wow*; (iii) discourse markers, e.g. *ok, anyway*; (iv) slogans related to sub-cultural issues either in the form of a statement or a directive, e.g. *underground will survive, keep on rocking*; (v) advertisement slogans, e.g. *check it out*; (vi) props, i.e. an essential hip hop routine used in order to congratulate or greet someone and, finally, (vii) phrases such as *no way, let's go*.

Routines form a recurrent and valuable category in Androutsopoulos' (2004: 7) data. As far as pragmatic functions are concerned, they might function as openers and closers, expressive speech acts, or express sub-cultural values. Routines also allow for innovation, that is, they can include both established and new words. Usually, routines tend not to have a "local meaning", but they are rather "part of an in-group style" (ibid.). The props formulae offer an interesting example of how many of them are completely in English, while other versions resemble the German expressions more closely. Thus, Androutsopoulos (ibid.: 7-8) suggests that routines seem to mark the transition from switching to borrowing, i.e. "the process in which salient

items gradually become routinised” (Auer 1998, as quoted by Androutsopoulos 2004: 8).

The other important resource for the classification of English in the data in addition to routines is *vernacular speech*, which denotes non-standard language or slang. Hip hop culture and Afro-American Vernacular English, or “hip hop slang”, are essentially intertwined. Hip hop slang includes lexical items, e.g. *aight*, *nigga*, representations of phonetic / phonological features, e.g. <-er> as <-a> as in *brotha*, and some spelling choices, e.g. <ph> as in *phat*. Androutsopoulos (2004: 8) argues that the knowledge of this kind of vernacular English and its appropriations in the German context show special understanding of this culture. In fact, some of these new vernacular expressions might be in the everyday use of German teenagers before they are written down in English dictionaries. (ibid.)

The framework above, i.e. the differences between alternation and insertion, as well as mixing and switching, provides me with the basic analytic equipment for my own analysis. However, Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002) have yet other useful tools for analyzing hip hop discourse. They (ibid.) studied European hip hop by comparing rap lyrics from different countries. Their comprehensive analysis includes (i) the socio-cultural frame of hip hop, (ii) rap discourse and (iii) its linguistic patterns. Each of them is divided into sub-categories. The socio-cultural frame is concerned with (1) the social base of hip hop culture in each country and (2) the market and media infrastructure. Rap discourse deals with (1) song topics, (2) genre-typical verbal actions (speech act patterns) and (3) cultural references in rap songs. Finally, linguistic patterns include (1) language variation, (2) rhetorical patterns and (3) English elements in non-English lyrics. (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002: 4.) I have touched upon the matter of socio-cultural frame in chapters 3.2-3.4 on Finnish hip hop. Rap discourse, especially the topics, have been discussed to some extent in connection with

the data and the artists, and will also be touched upon in the analysis. My greatest interest, however, will be on the English elements and language mixing in non-English lyrics.

In Androutsopoulos and Scholz's (2002: 5) data, English elements form a category of their own because they occur frequently in the songs. In fact, more than 60 % of the French, German and Italian songs include English elements. In addition, many of the English elements are particularly related to hip hop culture, and originate from the non-standard Englishes. (ibid.) Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 24-25) divide these elements further into six sub-categories. These are (i) cultural terminology, e.g. *flow, funk, skills*; (ii) slang items, e.g. *homies, bitch, shit*; (iii) discourse markers, e.g. *yeah, yo*; (iv) formulaic expressions, e.g. the phrase *X is in the house*; (v) code-switching on verse/utterance level and, finally, (vi) code-switching over larger stretches of text. Examples and explanations of these categories will be dealt with more closely at the beginning of the analysis.

For the present study, Androutsopoulos' (2004) and Androutsopoulos and Scholz's (2002) studies offer a useful analytic framework. As mentioned earlier, the study on the use of English and code-switching in German hip hop discourse in printed music magazines and online guest-books offers basic analytic equipment, i.e. the differences between alternation and insertion, and between switching and mixing. Although our data is not similar, he discusses the same kind of code-switching phenomena, albeit in a different medium (i.e. media). We both address the hip hop culture, Androutsopoulos from a media point of view and I from the point of view of lyrics. Thus, the hip hop identity he discusses is that of a fan, or an enthusiast, and the one I will discuss is that of an artist. Nevertheless, the interest lies in bi-/multilingualism and their relation to sub-cultural identities. Thus, there is some considerable overlapping between the studies and his analytical framework suits well the present study.

Androutsopoulos and Scholz's (2002) comparative study on European rap songs from different countries offers a precise analytic framework. One of the main categories in their study is linguistic patterns and in it, they also study the English elements in non-English lyrics. This is exactly what the present study investigates, too. The subcategories also fit the present data, with maybe a few exceptions (which will be dealt with and explained at the beginning of the analysis chapter).

My analysis will proceed as follows. Firstly, I have focused on the uses of English in the lyrics. They included the use of some other languages also (notably Swedish), but as the aim of the present study is to examine the use of English in Finnish rap lyrics, these languages will not be analyzed. However, if there are some e.g. Swedish elements on the same lines as the English ones, some observations will nevertheless be made. Secondly, I have tried to separate the "hip hop English" items from the more "normal English" ones. The main focus in the present study is on hip hop language. There might be, however, cases which can fall into either category (hip hop words vs. "normal" words) and people may have different opinions as to their classification. I will elaborate on them, whenever such complicated cases occur.

I will draw on Androutsopoulos (2004) and Androutsopoulos and Scholz's (2002) studies and their analysis as follows. Finnish is the main language in my data and, therefore, language *alternation* is not a useful tool for me. Thus, thirdly, the language variation in my data is best described as *insertional*, i.e. English elements are added into mainly Finnish lyrics. As for the difference between *switching* and *mixing*, both studies offer something valuable for me. Therefore, fourthly, a distinction between switching and mixing is made. The switching cases in the present study have to do with locally significant phenomenon, e.g. a change of footing. (see chapter 3.6.1). Language mixing,

on the other hand, relates to creating a certain social style, in which the English elements will not have a local meaning (Androutsopoulos 2004: 3). In the present study, the first four subcategories have to do with language mixing, namely (i) cultural terminology, (ii) slang items, (iii) discourse markers and (iv) formulaic expressions, whereas the subcategories (v) code-switching on verse/utterance level and (vi) code-switching over larger stretches of text are related to code-switching. Note, however, that I have not initially categorized the English items according to the above categories but have simply noticed in the course of the analytic process that Androutsopoulos and Scholz's (2002) model fits almost perfectly to describe the English I have in my data. I have, however, made some changes based on my observations.

Fifthly, I will analyze the forms of the English items as regards their orthography and morphology (for grammar terms, I have used Heikura (2003)). Finally, I will analyze the use of English as well as code-switching / language mixing practices from the point of view of construction of a subcultural hip hop identity or identities, which is the main object of interest in the present study.

5 ANALYZING THE LYRICS

This section will focus on analyzing the English and language mixing found in Finnish rap lyrics. The analysis is divided into six sub-categories, following Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002). The analysis will begin with cultural terminology and end with code-switching over larger stretches of text. Whenever necessary, these categories are divided into further subcategories, to make explicit and logical the differences between the words and phrases. The focus will be, as stated earlier, on English but if other languages occur in the same lines as English they will be commented upon also, if necessary.

I have otherwise preserved the original lay-out of the lyrics, but for the purposes of the study I have made some changes in them, so that the specific words and phrases I am interested in stand out better from the rest of the lyrics. English items in the songs are always in *italics*, but the specific hip hop English items I am interested in, are in italics as well as underlined. If there are more than one hip hop item in the lines, the one I am discussing in that category, is in italics and underlined. In unclear cases, i.e. if the words could be either classified as “normal” English or as “hip hop English”, I will consult hip hop or slang dictionaries, my own knowledge of the scene and the language and also the knowledge and expertise of the artists themselves by consulting them. I have marked the name of the artist and of the song at the end of the lines. A translation of the lyrics from Finnish to English will follow after each item. If the item occurs in several categories, the translation is provided only with its first occurrence. Note, however, that some essential and locally “cool” words (i.e. in the Finnish context) and expressions that the artists have worked hard with in composing the lyrics might inevitably be lost in the translations because one cannot always translate specific word

plays and cultural references in an understandable way. (Berns and Schlobinski 2003: 198 report on a similar problem.)

5.1 Cultural terminology

Group (1), cultural terminology, consists of words and phrases, e.g. *flow*, *funk*, *skills*, *to kick a rhyme*, that deal with “the major roles, activities and objects of rap music and hip-hop culture”. These include “terms for music production and verbal performance as well as culture specific key-words”. (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002: 27.) Since the first category is by far the largest as regards the number of examples, it has to be divided into further subcategories. The first one of them is *master of ceremonies*, that is, *mc* in which all its variants are discussed. The second, *rap* deals with all the variants and combinations of that word. The third subcategory comprises *hip hop nouns* and the fourth one *hip hop proper nouns* and *cultural references*. The fifth, and the last one, includes *hip hop verbs* and *adjectives*.

5.1.1 ‘Master of ceremonies’

The first subcategory of the group (1) includes the various different examples of the acronym ‘mc’, i.e. *the master of ceremonies*. The forms in the first five examples reflect the original English orthographic forms, and some of them are inflected according to Finnish morphology and pronunciation. Example (6) includes the “transition” from the English orthographic form to the English pronunciation form and the examples (6 and 7) reflect the original English pronunciation, and they are inflected according to Finnish morphology. Example (8) mixes both English and Finnish pronunciation as well as English orthography.

- (1) Jos kannat ristiä mc, älä siitä lässytä
 Ku seuraavas biisis rikot vähintään viittä käskyä
 Milloin luit sen kirjan, on vissiin kauan siit
 Et tunne sitä etkä jäbää joka ristiin naulittiin
Sere & SP: Vapaa sana

[If you carry a cross mc, don't talk rubbish about it
 Cos in the next song you'll break at least five Commandments
 When did you read that book, must've been a long time ago
 You don't know that nor the dude who was crucified]
Sere & SP: Free word

The acronym *mc* is from English 'master of ceremonies' and no modifications are made on the original form. 'Mc' is an essential aspect of rap music, and hip hop culture. Most often, Finnish hip hop artists use the English term 'mc' in its various orthographic forms. The Finnish translation, 'seremoniamestari', is also occasionally heard, but the acronym of that, 'sm' is never used. It may be that the connection to the original US hip hop culture is so strong and essential that some elements of it have to be kept almost as they are. In addition, the Finnish equivalent is a very long word, and, if used, it might disturb the rhymes and the flow of the song.

- (2) *klubia ja festivaalia rokataan - Suomi antaa propsit kun*
 pidän silmukkaa roskamc:n kaulassa kireellä niinku luotilankaa
Sere & SP: Punssia

[We're rocking the club and the festival - Suomi gives us props when
 I'm holding a tight loop in the trash mc's neck like a plumb line]
Sere & SP: Punch

Roskamc:n is a hybrid compound made up of *roska-* ('trash') and *mc:n*. The form follows the original orthography and it is inflected according to Finnish morphology in that the Finnish genitive case marker *-n* is added to the *mc* with a colon. It might be that the colon is used because the word is in its original orthographic form, i.e. an acronym. The meaning of the compound might be that the 'mc' in question is not particularly skilled in the act of rapping.

- (3) Eletään aikoi ku mc:t ei osaa ees omaa äidinkieltä
Studiokingit ei tuu rinkiin ku ne saa päihin siellä
 Eikä yleensä nolota ettei versee syletä kokonaan yhellä otolla
 Voi kysellä jokohan ois jo aika ylemmäs kohota?
Sere & SP: Punssia

[We're living in times when mc's don't even know their own mother tongue
 Studio kings don't enter the ring cos they'll be beat up there
 And it's not usually embarrassing that you can't spit the verse with one take
 You can ask if it isn't the time already to go higher?]

The plural and nominative form of the acronym, that is, *mc:t*, reflects the English orthography. The form is inflected according to Finnish morphology in that the plural marker *-t* is added to the nominative form with a colon. The reason for the use of the colon might be the same as in example (2), that is, the word is in its original orthographic form and any additional markers have to be added with a colon.

- (4) Miten kutsut sä ittees konnaks
 Ku oot *gay* niinku *Diesel* ja *von Dutch*
 Tässä sulle oikeita mciiitä on kaks
 peukut ilmaan, sun poikaas onnas
Sere & SP: Heitä ne ilmaan

[How do you call yourself a crook
 When you're gay like Diesel and von Dutch
 Here you have two real mc's
 Thumbs up, your boy got lucky]
Sere & SP: Throw them in the air

Mciiitä reflects the original English orthography in the basic form but the partitive case has a partitive case marker *-iitä*, which reflects the English pronunciation of *c* as 'cii'. Notice, however, that the letter *m* is not spelled out as an *em*, following the pronunciation. This Finnish form is in the plural.

- (5) Kaikki ämseeet ei oo musta
 yhtä suurta *fämiä*
 perheet syntyy ajan kanssa
 eikä turhast häviä
Cheek: Täältä sinne

[All the mc's are not
one great big family
Families born with time
and they don't just disappear]

Cheek: From here till there

Ämseet reflects the Finnish pronunciation of the original English orthographic form of the acronym in *äm* and *see*. It has a plural marker *-t* in the end, directly added to it without a colon. Thus, it follows Finnish morphology. One can also see forms such plural forms as *MC:t*, *emsiit*, the latter of which follows the English pronunciation form.

- (6) *Cheek* on vakava *MC*, se on tavaramerkki
mä isken iskulinjoi, toiset koittaa maailmaa
parantaa
Tän *emsiin* pestin kukin voi hoitaa kai vaa
tavallaa

Cheek: Herätys

[Cheek is a serious MC, it's a trademark
I'm hitting punchlines, others are trying to heal
the world
I guess one can do this job of an mc each on one's
own way]

Cheek: Wake up

Example (6) is a particularly apt example of how the acronym *MC* still has no one orthographic form in Finnish. The way in which the term is used varies a great deal from one song to another, but sometimes even within one song. Here, both *MC* and *emsiin* are used within a couple of lines. In example (6), *emsiin* is inflected according to Finnish morphology in that there is a genitive case marker *-n* added directly to it, without a colon.

- (7) Naama ku se kantolan, keksin et siis
emsiin pestiin ei tarvii tenttii opuksia
Bassolaulajasta *jodarokuksi*
mogulin tyyppisiltä otuksilta jallitan bonuksia

Kemmuru: Koputa puuta

[Face like that kantola's⁴, I figured out that
 you don't need to do exams on any books for this job of an mc
 From a bass singer to jodarok
 I do bonuses out of creatures like Moguls]
Kemmuru: Knock on wood

Emsiin is from the acronym 'mc'. The Finnish orthographic form reflects the way it is originally pronounced in English, and the form is inflected according to Finnish morphology, with a genitive case marker *-n* in the end, added directly to it (but see example 2).

- (8) Ny mennään Sere/jos joutuu ottaan pari *emceetä* ulos
 niin semmää tehen/saat kenkää spede
 koita tajuu: tää on räppii ny vittuun lentää skede
Sere & SP: Heitä ne ilmaan

[Let's go Sere/we might have to take a couple of mc's out
 that's they way I'll do it/you're fired, idiot
 try to get this: this's rap, let's throw the skateboard away]

Emceetä is from the acronym 'mc'. The Finnish orthographic form is a complicated example as it follows initially (*em-*) the way it is pronounced in English but then, the *c-* follows the original English orthography whereas the end of the word (*-eetä*) follows the Finnish pronunciation of *c*. (but see example (4)).

In general, it seems that when 'mc' is in its basic form, not inflected, it is spelled 'mc'. When it is inflected, the basic form changes either into 'emsii' or 'ämsee', the former reflecting the English pronunciation of the acronym and the latter the Finnish one. One can also notice that if the acronym 'mc' is in its basic form and it is inflected, a colon is used and only after that is a suffix added. One of the artists themselves, *Cheek* (personal communication, October 18, 2007), commented that there is no systematic pattern in his use of the word and that it is written down sometimes this way and sometimes in

⁴ Kantola is the name of a Finnish company which makes cookies. 'Keksin' means two things in Finnish 1) a cookie's (genitive form) 2) I invented, figured out. Therefore, the translation into English inevitably loses this "double-meaning".

the other way. The basic idea initially is to simply get words on the paper when creating a song. Later on, those forms of writing might stay like that, in the form they were written in the first place. *Kemmuru* (personal communication, November 5, 2007), too, argued that they write it the way it feels best at a given time and that both 'emsii' and 'ämsee' are being used. *SP* (personal communication, November 5, 2007) commented also that he writes the word sometimes one way and sometimes the other way, in case it is not a rhyming word. If it's meant to rhyme with another word, then he often writes it the way it is supposed to pronounce in the lyrics to make it rhyme.

However, *Cheek* (ibid.) also admitted that it might be true that in the basic form, it is more common to write 'mc' whereas in the inflected form it changes into, e.g. 'ämseet'. This might be due to the fact that it is easier and more natural to inflict the form 'ämsee' than to add a colon after 'mc'. (ibid.) All of these variations suggest that there is still no *one* way of writing the word. Different kinds of varieties exist, spread and are used. Its usage is not yet established, and maybe it never will be because the language of youth, and also of hip hop, is vivid, living and constantly changing.

Relating to identity, it is firstly noticeable that the original English word 'mc' in all of its variations, is highly important to the hip hop culture and rap music. By using the original word, the Finnish artists want to maintain the connection to the original culture as well as establish connections to other hip hop cultures around the world. The rappers share the concept. As previously stated, the Finnish equivalent, 'seremoniamestari' is almost never used and, in fact, I could not find a single example of this in my actual data, except for the former name of the artist that is currently known as 'Sere'. The fact that 'mc' is often "Finnishized" in its form, e.g. 'ämseet', 'emsiin', and inflected according to Finnish morphology, suggests that the artists are indigenizing the concept and making it local and "their own". In my opinion, this shows both the local and global aspects of the hip hop identity.

5.1.2 'Rap'

The second subcategory of group (1) includes the various different examples (from 9 till 20) of the verb 'to rap', the noun 'rapper' and all other kinds of related examples, e.g. compound nouns.

- (9) Nyt on *räpin* kans säpinää,
äänityst ja keikkaa
juonitaa kui *äässit* nyt saa
sheikkaa

Cheek: Täältä sinne

[Now I have something going on with rap
recordings and gigs
we're scheming how to get asses
to shake]

Räpin comes from 'a / to rap' and it reflects the English pronunciation. The use of this form is quite established in the Finnish hip hop scene, although one can also see the form 'rapin', with an *a* – still pronounced the same way as 'räpin'. In the nominative form 'räppi', there is a double *-p* and a word-final *-i* to make it more "Finnish" in nature. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology as there is the genitive case marker *-n* in the end. Like 'mc', 'rap' is one of the essential elements of hip hop culture.

- (10) nuorena pittää häslätä, onpa jotain mistä *räpätää*
ja viisastella sitku on tämmönen vanha käppänä
mut se ei oo niin suurta
vaa jotai peruskuviota junnuna joensuussa

Kemmuru: Oon 1

[You've got to fool around when you're young,
at least you've got something to rap about
and be a smart ass when you're an old man like me
but it's nothing so big
just some basic stuff as a young kid in joensuu]

Kemmuru: I am 1

Räpätää comes from the English 'to rap' and it reflects its original English pronunciation. The form is inflected according to Finnish morphology in that it has an infinitive ending *-tää*.

- (11) Kun räppää tai maustaa
 ei voi miettimättä jättää taimaustaan
 Jos hyvältä saundaa ja läppä on hauskaa
 niin heitä silloin kättä ja baunssaa
Sere & SP: Heitä ne ilmaan

[When you're rapping or spicing up
 you can't not think about your timing
 If it sounds good and the shit's funny
 so throw your hands up and bounce]

Räppää is from the English 'to rap' and the form follows its original pronunciation but the Finnish orthographic form has a double *-p*. The form is inflected according to Finnish morphology as it has a personal suffix of the third person singular form, i.e. the final vowel becomes a long one. The form is, in this case, different from its meaning, since the meaning of 'räppää' is passive in this sentence.

- (12) Kaks rämäpäät jäbää osaa sägällä vähän räbätä
 Päämäärä hämära mut tuskin tää tähänkään jää
Sere & SP: Punssia

[Two rattlehead dudes can rap a bit with luck
 Destination unclear but I don't think it ends here]

Räbätä is a variation of 'räpätä', which in its turn also originates from the English form, 'to rap'. The form follows the pronunciation of the original and it is inflected according to Finnish morphology in that it has an infinitive ending *-tä*. The use of *b* instead of *p*, the latter of which is more common for the Finnish language, can be seen as part of a phenomenon in which letters of foreign origin are used also in places where they do not belong. For example, the English 'a piece' was first 'piisi' or 'piesi' in Finnish, but has later become 'biisi'. Thus, the form 'räbätä' could be seen as a "hyper correct" form. (Häkkinen 2004: 86.)

- (13) Kutsu mut *studiolles* ja potan vien mä sinne
 Mut ku itte *pudotan shittiä* hajotan viemärinne
 Teen jo helikopteria ku roikut vielä puolapuussa
 Vieläki niin nälkänen et räbään vaik ruoka suussa
Sere & SP: Punssia

[Invite me to your studio and I'll take my pot there
 But when I'm dropping the shit I'll break your drain
 I'm doing a helicopter when you're still hanging in the wall bars
 I'm still so hungry that I'll rap even my mouth full]

Räbään - see example 11. This form is inflected according to Finnish morphology, with a personal suffix *-n* to mark the form of the first person singular.

- (14) ikina ollu mikkaa naistenmies
 aloin *rappaa* [sic] et oisin sanojeni mittainen mies
 enka ois arvannuu ees etta luuviulu *Svartan*
 ois makkarissa niiku *Tarzan*
 alkumies, ja niiku mun oma *Jane*
 sanois, *bang bang*, aika kova ----!
Kemmuru: Oon 2

(I've never been a ladies' man
 I started rapping that I'd be a man of my words
 and I never would've guessed that a bag of bones *Svartan*
 would be like a *Tarzan*, a primitive man, in the bedroom
 like my own *Jane*
 would say *bang, bang*, pretty eager to ---!)
Kemmuru: I am 2

Although there is the form *rappaa* in the lyrics, it should be 'räppää'. *Kemmuru* (personal communication, November 5, 2007) commented that they never say 'rappaa' and it is always 'räppää', that is, with a with the dots. The form is inflected according to Finnish morphology as it has a personal suffix of the third person singular form, that is, a long vowel.

- (15) Heti ku oli jotain sanovinaan
 Se olikin ivaa, pilaa, *ironiaa* tai *parodiaa*
 Kaikki on huumorii, peliin ei tuoda muuta
 Koko *suomiräppi* onki pelkkää Jope Ruonansuuta⁵
Sere & SP: Vapaa sana

[As soon as people were about to say something
 it was ridicule, a joke, irony or parody
 Everything's about humor, there's nothing else in the game
 All of finnrap is only Jope Ruonansuu]

⁵ Jope Ruonansuu is a Finnish comedian, actor and singer.

Suomiräppi, ‘Finnrap’, is a hybrid compound that comes from the Finnish ‘suomi’ and the English ‘räppi’. ‘Räppi’ is from ‘rap’ and it follows the original pronunciation, but with a double *-p* and a word-final *-i* in the Finnish orthographic forms.

- (16) Ei paljo auta vaikka tuntee puoli *skenee*
binekses jos nostaa perseensä niin tuoli menee
feimin mukaan *räppipiirit* meikän luokittelee
 ja yhteishenki löytyy sit ku saadaan juomist’ vereen
Sere & SP: Olet ystävään

[It doesn’t help much if you know half the scene
 in business, you lose your chair if you get your ass up
 rap circles define me based on the fame
 and we find the group spirit when we get some booze in our blood]
Sere & SP: You’re my friend

In the hybrid compound *räppipiirit*, ‘rap circles’, *räppi* comes from the English ‘rap’ and follows its original pronunciation, but with a double *-p* and the word-final *-i* in the Finnish orthographic form.

- (17) *One love* [italics original], *skidit* jää siit osattomiks
 Levyn dokaas ja *mamin* läpsiminen jatkuu omas kodis
Skidit piiloon komeroon tai lastenvaunujen ta
 Tuhansien surullisten *räppilaulujen* maa
Sere & SP: Vapaa sana

[One love, the kids are left out of it
 Drinking after publishing the album and hitting mami continues at home
 The kids go hiding in the closet or behind the carriage
 A country of thousands of sad rap songs]

The hybrid compound in the genitive form *räppilaulujen*, ‘rap songs’, has the Finnishized form *räppi-* which comes from the English ‘rap’. It follows its English pronunciation but it has a double *-p* and a word final *-i* in the Finnish orthographic form.

- (18) löysiä
 housuja saatava ja jotai *räppitakkeja*
 uuet *niket*, maaleja, *hellya*, *kangolin* lakkeja,
räppi määräs: pakko saaha heti kaikkee matskuu
 uusin *public enemy kassu*, *sittarista* taskuu
Kemmuru: Oon 1

[loose
 pants I gotta have and some rap jackets
 new nike's, paints, helly, kangol caps,
 rap ruled: I must have all kinda shit now
 the newest public enemy cassette, into my pocket from the citymarket]

Räppitakkeja, 'rap jackets', is a hybrid compound consisting of *räppi*- which comes from the English 'rap' and follows the original pronunciation, but with a double *-p* and a word-final vowel *-i* in the Finnish orthographic form.

Räppi – see example 8.

- (19) *Groovy, jazzy ja aika funky*
 Sun *lempiräppäriäs* taitavampi
 Ota sen *ceedeet* ja laita halki
 Liity mun *fanikerhoon* ja paita hanki
Sere & SP: Heitä ne ilmaan

[Groovy, jazzy and pretty funky
 More skillful than your favorite rapper
 Take his cd's and crack it
 Join my fan club and get my t-shirt]

Lempiräppäriäs, 'your favourite rapper', is a hybrid compound made up of the Finnish 'lempi' meaning 'favorite' and 'räppäri' which comes from the English 'a rapper'. The Finnish orthographic form partly reflects the original English pronunciation. There is, however, a Finnish derivational suffix marking the person, *-äri*, in the end of the word as it is inflected according to Finnish morphology. In the Helsinki slang, the suffix *-ari/-äri* is most commonly used to form words that refer to the agent, the person who is doing something (Paunonen 2000: 25). Other slang suffixes in the Helsinki slang are e.g. *is*, *ka*, *tsa*, *tsi*, *tsu*. The word in question here is in the partitive case, as can be seen in the partitive case marker *-ä-* after the suffix *-äri*. Finally, the word has also the informal version of the possessive suffix *-s* of the second person singular at the end of the word, to mark the genitive. As can be seen from this example, some originally English words have indeed become Finnishized with the help of different kinds of suffixes.

- (20) Ekakskin tääl *offbeaträppärit* saa aikaan *haippia*
 ja itketään et *Cheek-fanit* on naaraita kaikki ja
 mun ja *jengin* välille halutaan kaavailla *faittia*
 junttien päissä kai vielä maalaillaa *Paippia*
Cheek: Herätys

[First of all, offbeat rappers bring out the hype here
 and people are whining that Cheek fans are all female and
 they wanna plan a fight between me and my gang
 I guess the hillbillies are still thinking about Pipe]

Offbeaträppärit, ‘offbeat rappers’, is a hybrid compound noun. ‘Offbeat’ is in its original orthographic form. It is combined with a more common English-originated noun in Finnish, that is, ‘räppäri’, a form partly following English pronunciation with a Finnish -äri suffix. (See example (17)). According to *Cheek* (personal communication, Oct 18, 2007), the term ‘offbeat rappers’ refers to rappers that don’t have the right beat and who can’t keep up with the right rhythm. This annoys him and some other rappers a great deal, since rap music is essentially rhythm music and it is, thus, very important that the rappers have a sense of rhythm. (ibid.)

- (21) En oo mutsis unelma, vaa hunsvotti *räppijäbis*
 Mua vois luulla sirkuspelleks, jos vaa äkkii näkis
 Jos *rullaisit* mun messis, en sika läppii *räkis*
 En oo sokko, tiedän ku on jotain nättii käsis
Cheek: Avaimet mun kiesiin

[I’m not your mother’s dream but a no-good rap dude
 You could take me for a circus clown if you saw me only briefly
 If you rolled with me, I wouldn’t spit any nasty shit
 I’m not blind, I know when I’ve got something pretty in my arms]
Cheek: Keys to my car

Räppijäbis, ‘rap dude’, seems to be a hybrid form of English and Swedish. The noun *räppi*, follows its English pronunciation but adds a double -p and an -i at the end of the word. *Jäbis* comes from ‘jäbä’ and is formed with one of the suffixes in Helsinki slang, namely -is (Paunonen 2000: 25; see also examples 17 and 18). ‘Jäbä’ in turn comes from ‘gäbä, gubbe’ which means a man, or an old man. It is part of the old Helsinki slang, originally derived from Swedish. (*Nykysuomen sanakirja* 5 1980: 165.) What is particularly

interesting in this example is the uncommon, and perhaps somewhat odd, combination and juxtapositioning of the words 'räppijäbis' and 'hunsvotti'. Odd in the sense that the word 'hunsvotti' is no longer often seen in contemporary language as it is an old word. 'Hunsvotti' originates from the Swedish 'en hundsfott', meaning 'scoundrel' or 'good-for-nothing'. It follows partly its original and quite conventionalized orthography, but the *-f-* has changed into a *-v-* and there is a word-final *-i*. In this example, two phenomena relating to the Helsinki slang are reflected: the older Helsinki slang with its Swedish influences and the newer one, with the English and hip hop influences. These, together with influences of other languages, demonstrate the unique characteristics of that slang.

In general, one can say that all the words related to rap/rapping/rappers, whether in this form or another, still have the English form, either the spoken or the written, as their 'basis'. However, many words have now become "Finnishized" in the sense that they different kinds of suffixes added to them and they look more Finnish now. Similarly to the acronym 'mc' and all its variations in the Finnish language, 'räppi' still has no *one* correct way of writing, but it can be written with *-a*, *-ä* and with *-p* or *-b*, although the forms with *-a* and *-p* are more frequent. This suggests that the hip hop language in Finland is still "under construction" and no precise norms have yet been set.

As far as identities and the use of 'rap' and all its variants and combinations in Finnish rap music are concerned, I find a similarity to the use of 'mc'. This suggests that the artists have wanted to keep the original term but modified it so that it becomes local for them. The forms look more Finnish, they are inflected according to Finnish morphology and compound nouns are made of them. The original word 'rap' unites and connects the hip hop cultures around the world, but local variants add something of their own to it.

5.1.3 Hip hop nouns

The third subcategory of group (1) includes nouns that are related to rap music and hip hop culture, e.g. activities, people practicing these activities, and other essential concepts.

- (22) kyllä sen pystyy varmaa välttämää,
 vaivaa uteliaisuus eli tulevaisuus on nähtävä
 jälkikasvulle saarnaa *old skool hiphoppia*
 kemmuru 60 vee, *ilovaarirokissa*⁶
Kemmuru: Koputa puuta

[I'm sure it can be avoided
 I'm curious so I gotta see the future
 lecturing old skool hip hop to the descendants
 kemmuru 60 years old, in Ilovaarirock]

Old skool hiphoppia is from the English noun phrase 'old school hip hop'. The Finnish orthographic form follows the original orthography, except for the -k in 'skool'. Note, however, that it is sometimes spelled with a -k in informal English and in rap jargon (possibly also in other music genres), too. Thus, the Finnish form can be seen as reflecting the original form as such. The noun phrase is inflected according to Finnish morphology in that it has a partitive case marker -a. In hip hop culture, 'Old School' refers to the "originators in any particular area, or of any particular technique or style". In rap music, old school means "the earliest period of rap, in the 1970s and early 1980s" and artists such as Grandmaster Flash, Afrika Bambataa, Sugar Hill Gang, Kurtis Blow and Run-DMC. (Wikipedia 2007.) In this example, the rappers are "predicting" the future how they will, in turn, be teaching the younger generation about old school hip hop.

- (23) *Jep se vaan jähmetti mut liikkeillään*
ja harvemmin sä kädet sivul dj:n näät
Cheek: Liiku

⁶ Ilovaarirock is organized in connection to Ilosaarirock in Joensuu. The literal translation of the former would be "Joy grandpa rock", so the joke is, again, lost in the translation process.

[Yep she just froze me with her moves
and rarely you'll see a dj with his hands on his side]
Cheek: Move

Dj:n, 'dj', follows its original English orthography. 'Dj' comes from 'disc jockey' and it is one of the key elements of hip hop culture, along with rapping, breakdancing and graffiti. The word is inflected according to Finnish morphology, in that it has a genitive case marker *-n* added to it with a colon. (See also a similar example (2) on 'mc'.)

- (24) On nähty *breikkarii* ja tiskijukkaa
Mut *mc:n* syliin joka *chicksi* tuppaa
niinku musarilla ulos *titsit* pukkaa
sit meikä käy hotellil' ja *bitchin* hukkaa
Sere & SP: Heitä ne ilmaan

[We've seen breakdancers and disc jockeys
But every chick pushes her way in to an mc's lap
like on mtv, the boobs are coming out
and then I visit the hotel and lose the bitch]

Breikkarii is an abbreviation of the English 'a breakdancer' and the Finnish orthographic form follows initially ('break') the original pronunciation. In this example, too, the derivational suffix *-ari* is added to make it a person or an agent according to Finnish morphology. (See also examples 19 and 20.) The form is in the partitive case, as it has the informal version of the partitive case marker *-i* at the end of the word.

- (25) tänä vuonna annan *baittareiden*
jäädä sivuun
Cheek: Taas askeleen edellä
- [this year I'm gonna let the biters
stand aside]
Cheek: One step ahead again

Baittareiden, 'biters'', comes from the English 'biter' which means a copycat (Westbrook 2002: 13), thus, someone who steals someone else's songs and ideas. The Finnish orthographic form is partly based on its English pronunciation form. An *-ari* suffix is added to make it a person or an agent

according to Finnish morphology (Paunonen 2005: 25; see also examples 19 and 20). The word is in the plural genitive form, which can be seen in the genitive case marker *-den*.

- (26) mutsi vois sanoo etta elan kaatopaikalla
 koska mielummin *sämp^{le}jeja* dyykkaan ku siivoon
 kaveleva *ADHD* , en tiijä aina mihin menos
 joten pyorin vaan ympyrää niinku *B-Boy*
Kemmuru: Koputa puuta

[My mom says that I live like in the dump
 because I rather check out my samples than clean up
 a walking ADHD, don't always know where I'm going
 so I just spin round like a B-Boy]

Sämp^{le}jeja is from the English 'a sample' and the Finnish orthographic form initially follows the original pronunciation and then, orthography for the end of the word. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology as it has the partitive case marker *-ja* for the plural. The word refers to the act of 'borrowing' some piece of music or sound from another group or artist, and it is originally associated with rap music. *B-boy* comes from the English 'a b-boy' which means a break-boy, someone (male) who practices breakdancing. Breakdancing is one of the elements of hip hop culture. The Finnish form follows the original orthography without any modifications. (But see example (24)).

- (27) *skrät^{si}*: "elän *getosti* , vaimo vaati et skarppaan.."
Kemmuru: Skarppaa

[scratch:"I live like (in the) ghetto, my wife tells me to get a grip on myself..."]
Kemmuru: Stay sharp

Skrät^{si} comes from the English 'a scratch, to scratch'. The Finnish orthographic form has a word-final *-i* but otherwise it reflects the original English pronunciation. It refers to the 'scratching of records', a technique the DJs use, originally in hip hop music, to produce new sounds.

- (28) Kun räppää tai maustaa
 ei voi miettimättä jättää taimaustaan
 Jos hyvältä saundaa ja läppä on hauskaa
 niin heitä silloin kättä ja baunssaa
Sere & SP: Heitä ne ilmaan

Taimaustaan is comes from ‘a timing’ and it follows initially its original English pronunciation. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology and it has a noun suffix *-us*. In addition, it also has the possessive suffix *-taan* of the third person singular form. ‘Taimaus’ is essential in rapping and in its flow.

- (29) Träkkei mitä huudattaa ja bläästätä biitsil
 bläästätä striitil ja bläästätä biilis
Cheek: Nostan kytkintä

[Tracks to shout and blast on the beach
 blast on the street and blast in the car]
Cheek: I’m releasing the clutch

Träkkei, ‘tracks’, follows partly its original English pronunciation. In the Finnish orthographic form of the nominative, there is a double *-k* and a word-final *-i*. The word is inflected according to Finnish morphology in that there is an informal version of the partitive case marker *-i* at the end of the word (cf. *sämpeljä*). *Träkkei* can be considered a hip hop word as well as an everyday word, but I have included in the present study because it nevertheless relates to hip hop culture and particularly the music.

- (30) Veripää monnilt' niskavillat keritään
 silti *chillaan* ehitään
 vaik' on *kuumaa paskaa*,
 nii kirpeetä pakkast' setit nää ilmaan levittää.
Sere & SP: Punssia

[We’re shearing the scruff of a bloodheaded rookie
 Still, we’ve got time to chill
 although the shit is hot,
 these sets will spread some crispy frost in the air]

Setit comes from the English ‘sets’ and it follows the original orthography with an added Finnish plural marker *-t*. ‘Setti’ in the singular is made by doubling the consonant and adding the word final *-i*. According to *SP*

(personal communication, November 5, 2007), 'setti' can refer to any number of things and its meaning tends to be more varied in the Finnish context than in the American one. In Finland, it can refer to a good gig, good music, good service etc. In American context and language it can also refer to a gang, whereas in Finland one does not come across this meaning very often. (ibid.)

- (31) Olin se poika joka sua alko riimeihin orientoida
Suomen kielellä *settejä* moni ei hoida
Samal *levelillä*, ja menetelmillä
Pois mene en millään

Sere & SP: Heitä ne ilmaan

[I was the boy who oriented you to rhymes
Ain't many who do the sets in Finnish
On the same level and methods
I won't just go away]

Settejä – see example 30. This Finnish orthographic form is in the plural partitive case as can be seen in the partitive case marker *-jä* in the end.

- (32) Mikset nää sittenkään miten sä itteäs
kivetät kliseillä, nihkeillä riveillä
Mikset nää miten näil *skilsseillä* mitellään
mitenkä *livenä mikkejä* pidellään

Sere & SP: Heitä ne ilmaan

[Why can't you see after all how you
throw clichés, bad lines at yourself
Why can't you see how you should measure with these skills
how you hold the mic live]

Skilsseillä comes from the English 'skills' and it reflects its original orthography. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology, as it has an adessive case marker *-llä*. The form is in the plural, as it is also in English. One never speaks of 'a skill' in this context. According to Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 27), it is "a cover-term for artistic and (sub) cultural competence in hip-hop". One needs to have 'skills' in order to be popular, successful and taken seriously in the 'rap circles' and in one's own 'posse'. *Mikkejä*, 'mic(rophone)s' can also be seen as 'cultural terminology' of hip hop because it is an essential concept in the act of rapping, although 'mic' can

of course be also considered ‘everyday’ English. (See also Lüdtke 2007: 18.) The Finnish orthographic form follows its original English orthography, at least initially, except for the use of a double *k* in the Finnish form instead of *c*. The plural form is inflected according to Finnish morphology, in that it has a partitive case marker *-jä* at the end of the word.

- (33) On uudet kuviot, mut kuulutte aina mun lapsuutee
työstän *biisii* teist, tää kuuluu *sainatun* vastuusee
Cheek: Täältä sinne

[I’ve got new things now, but you’ll always be part of my childhood
I’m working on a song about you, it’s the duty of the signed]

Sainatun, ‘signed’, refers to the (hip hop) artist who is signed and hired on a record label. The Finnish orthographic form follows initially its original English pronunciation. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology, in that it has a marker *-ttu* in the basic form (‘sainattu’) of the past participle. The word is in the genitive form and it has a genitive case marker *-n* at the end of the word.

- (34) “no ei ne *propsit* rehkimättä tipaha” [quotation marks original]
Herätyys *Tsekkaa* mun *diskografia*
Cheek: Herätys

[“you won’t get any props without working hard
Wake uup Check out my discography]

Propsit is from the English ‘props’ which means ‘propers, proper respect’, that is, credit, kudos, respect (Westbrook 2002: 110). The Finnish form follows the English orthography and it is inflected according to Finnish morphology with a word-final *-i* as well as a plural marker *-t*. The concept is very important in hip hop culture and characteristic of it. (See also example (79).)

- (35) tunnen kusseeni *platan*, jos saan *krediittiä* *Rumbalta*
Suelta tai *Cultilt*, en halua *meriittiä* kummaltkaa
Cheek: Herätys

[I feel like I've failed with my album if I get credit from Rumba
Sue or Cult, I don't want merit from either of them]

Krediittiä, 'credit', follows its original orthography, with some modifications. The letter *c* changes into a *k*, a consonant more common in and characteristic of the Finnish language, and there is also a double *-i* and a double *-t* in the Finnishized version of the word. The word is inflected according to Finnish morphology and it has a partitive case marker *-ä* at the end of the word. In the hip hop world, gaining respect and credit is considered essential. *Rumba*, *Sue* and *Cult* are Finnish music magazines. One can, thus, see a reference, to Finnish popular culture in this example.

- (36) Ei koulun suosituimpia poikia, ei edes top sata
Mut kelpas seuraks kun piti niit kotiläksyi kopsata
Tiesi kyl mitä tytöt puhu selän takana
Koht avointakaan *dissausta* ei pitäny enää pahana
Sere & SP: Taivaan täydeltä

[Not the most popular boy at school, not even in top hundred
But would pass as company when you had to copy your homework
He knew well what the girls would talk behind his back
Soon, he wouldn't think open dissing was that bad either]
Sere & SP: Let it pour with rain

Dissausta comes from 'to dis(respect) someone'. Rappers often 'dis' one another (see chapter 3.4), although in this specific example (36) it is the girls at school that are 'dissing' the boy. The Finnish orthographic form has a noun suffix *-us* and the form is also in the partitive case which can be seen in the partitive case marker *-ta*.

- (37) Ei paljo auta vaikka tuntee puoli *skenee*
binekses jos nostaa perseensä niin tuoli menee
feimin mukaan räppipiirit meidän luokittellee
ja yhteishenki löytyy sit ku saadaan juomist' vereen
Sere & SP: Olet ystävään

Skenee reflects its English orthography, 'a scene', except for the change of *c* to *k*, to make it more Finnish in form. It is also inflected as it has an informal

version of the partitive case marker *-e* (cf. 'skeneä'), thus following the Finnish morphology. In every country, but also maybe in every town, there is a local hip hop scene, and the word is thus very important in the culture. *Binekses*, 'biness, business' can be also considered a hip hop word particularly because of its deviant pronunciation [bines] that is, according to *SP* (personal communication, November 5, 2007), used at least in some parts of the West Coast in the US. He himself started using the word 'bines' also in the Finnish context after hearing a rap song called *Worship the D* by *Saafir* in which the artist pronounced it like that. Furthermore, *SP* (ibid.) explains that the word 'bines' is used in a humoristic way in Tampere, where one can say that "I gotta take care of biness" meaning that s/he is going to do something that might be profitable. *Feimin*, 'fame' follows its English pronunciation and it has a word-final *-i* as well as a Finnish genitive case marker *-n*. Although 'fame' is a normal English word, it can be considered a hip hop word, too in that 'fame' has an important status in the hip hop culture. According to *SP* (personal communication, November 5, 2007), a graffiti artist gets 'fame' for good and bold pieces and in Finland one can, or could at least in the 90s, call some places e.g. in Tampere as 'fames' because they had a great deal of graffiti. He (ibid.) argues that also rappers gets 'fame' for a variety of reasons, e.g. some sell many albums, others are good at 'battling' (freestyle rapping), others are brilliant writers, others have a particularly good flow in their rapping and yet others have been doing good quality music for a long period of time.

- (38) Jos on tarvis en pidä *biiffei* vaa vahalla
 Mä ja mun juipit ei olla *striittei* vaa lavalla
 Mä en lyö pelkästään *netis*, *biiteil* ja sanalla
 Sä kerrot kuin rimmaat ja *friikkei* paat samalla
Cheek: Suu kii

[If it's necessary I won't have beefs just on the wax
 Me and my dudes are not street only on the stage
 I won't hit only in the net, with beats and words
 You're telling me how you rhyme and screw freaks at the same time]
Cheek: Shut your mouth

Biiffei 'beefs' is a fight, or a quarrel with someone, and it is a typical rap expression. It follows its English pronunciation but doubles the -f and adds a word-final -i in the Finnish nominative. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology in that it has the informal version of the partitive case marker -i (cf. 'biiffejä'). The rhyming of the words in these lines has also affected the inflection of the words: *biiffei*, *strittei*, *biiteil* and *friikkei*. *Biiteil*, 'beats', follows its English pronunciation. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology as it has the informal version of the adessive case marker -l (cf. -llä). The form is in the plural. According to *Cheek* (personal communication, Oct 18, 2007), the word refers to the whole musical background onto which rappers rap and it can also mean the rhythm. The speed of the songs is measured with a unit of 'bpm', that is, beat per minute. (ibid.)

- (39) Taas Jake Kilpiö ja taas MG
 taas *biitit* on kunnossa ja taas lämpeet niist
Cheek: Taas askeleen edellä

[Again Jake Kilpiö and again MG
 again the beats are fine and again you're feeling them]

Biitit reflects the original English pronunciation of 'beats'. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology, in that it has a plural marker -t. (See also example (38).)

- (40) *Groovy*, *jazzy* ja aika *funky*
 Sun *lempiräppäriäs* taitavampi
 Ota sen *ceedeet* ja laita halki
 Liity mun *fanikerhoon* ja paita hanki
Sere & SP: Heitä ne ilmaan

Funky is in its original English orthographic form, with no modifications. The concept is essential to hip hop culture in the sense that it relates to the origins of hip hop culture, to the musical style that has influenced also rap music, e.g. the late James Brown. Also Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 18, 26-27) categorized it as cultural terminology in their French example: "aujourd'hui moi je représente pour le Fonk" (today I represent for the funk). *SP* (personal communication, November 5, 2007) argues that, for him, the

term ‘funky’ sounds somewhat ridiculous and old-fashioned both in the Finnish and American rap lyrics. It used to be a popular term in the US in the 1990s but its usage has diminished since. *SP* says he would not use the word anymore.

- (41) *One love* [italics original], *skidit* jää siit osattomiks
 Levyn dokaas ja *mamin* läpsiminen jatkuu omas kodis
Skidit piiloon komeroon tai lastenvaunujen taa
 Tuhansien surullisten *räppilaulujen* maa
Sere & SP: Vapaa sana

The noun phrase *One love* is in its original English orthographic form, with no modifications. It means 1) unifying statement that was the mantra for a song 2) salutation (Westbrook 2002: 101). Maybe the phrase is not inflected because it usually occurs in the basic form and there is no need to inflict a salutation.

As regards identity and the above hip hop nouns, one can clearly see that all of these items are key hip hop concepts and terms. Most of them have been “Finnishized” either by formulating the nominative form into a more Finnish one or by inflecting the words according to Finnish morphology. A couple of terms remain in their original orthographic form but they are, nevertheless, understandable to the Finnish hip hop audience. The common terms unite the hip hop cultures around the world, but they also have a local flavor in them. Here, too, one can see a clear connection between the global and local aspects of hip hop identities.

5.1.4 Hip hop proper nouns / cultural references

The fourth subcategory of group (1) includes proper nouns that are related to rap music and hip hop culture, both in the original culture as well as in the Finnish one. This category takes as its examples the same kinds of words and phrases that Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 20-21) categorized in

their study under the analysis category (ii) rap discourse, in the subcategory (3) cultural references in rap songs. These include: people/personalities, brand names, fiction and other uses, e.g. record labels and local pubs. According to them (2002: 21), “cultural references are particularly appropriate in order to show the rappers’ affiliation with specific socio-cultural contexts”. All in all, they create a kind of a “cultural horizon” that is hybrid in nature, orienting both towards the US and Europe (ibid.). A distinction between the present analysis and that of Androutsopoulos and Scholz’s (2002) is that I am only interested in the specific hip hop references here, because of clarity and the limited space in this study. It would be, however, interesting to study also other kinds of references to the local and global culture in the future.

- (42) Lahes en keuhkoa monistakaa
 Mut *mami* niin kuuma, et voisin lähtee sen kaa pikku Cheekkii
 neuvolaa todistamaa

Cheek: Avaimet mun kiesiin

[I’m not bragging about many in Lahti
 But this *mami*’s so hot I could go and witness little Cheek
 in the maternity clinic with her]

In the hybrid compound *pikku Cheekkii*, ‘little Cheek’, ‘Cheekkii’ follows its English orthography, but the Finnish orthographic form has a double *-k* and a word-final *-i*, thus following the Finnish morphology. It is also inflected according to Finnish morphology, in that it has an informal version of the partitive case marker *-i* at the end of the word. *Cheek* is the name of the artist who raps this song. Self-referring is common to rap lyrics, as Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 10) have stated: “Talking about oneself and the crew one belongs to, is one of the most prominent and traditional rap topics”. This example also refers to the local, Finnish hip hop scene and localizes the rapper in Lahti. Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 15) define ‘localizing’ as “the rappers’ various references to their own geographic and social context”. Furthermore, these localizing practices work on a global scale

in “grounding of hip-hop culture in local networks: The rapper’s own crew and neighbourhood operate as local sources of identity”. (ibid.; see also Rose (1994).)

- (43) Taas *5thi matskuu* massoille kuultavaks
 taas duunis suunnata kassoille huutamal
Cheek: Taas askeleen edellä

[Again 5th material for the masses to listen to
 again your job to go to the cash desk by shouting]

In the hybrid compound *5thi matskuu*, that is, 5th material, the numeral refers to ‘5th / Fifth Element’, which is *Cheek*’s posse from Lahti. In *5thi*, the orthography follows the original English one, but it has a word-final *-i* of the nominative form, reflecting typical Finnish morphology. This example is, again, cultural terminology of Finnish hip hop.

- (44) 2005 kuumaa tuuaa *bäkkii*
 tää on *Lahtistailii*, vaik
 muu maa sättii
Cheek: Tuuaa kuumaa 2005

[2005 we’re bringing the heat back
 this’s Lahti style, although
 the rest of the country’s nagging]
Cheek: We’re bringing the heat 2005

In the hybrid compound *Lahtistailii*, ‘Lahti style’, *stailii* follows partly the original English pronunciation. The nominative form of the word, *staili*, has a word-final vowel *-i*. The word is inflected according to Finnish morphology as it has an informal version of the partitive case marker *-i* at the end (cf. *stailia*). In this example, too, there is a process of localizing in the lyrics. It is the particular Lahti style they are talking about and they want to clearly tell their audience where they are coming from. In addition to the locality reference, there is also a time reference here, the year 2005. According to Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 17), “place and time references emphasize rap’s reality grounding, its anchoring in real space and time”.

Thus, this song is situated in Lahti and it is made in 2005. It is indeed connected to the Finnish hip hop scene in the 21st century.

- (45) Ekakskin tääl *offbeaträppärit* saa aikaan *haippia*
 ja itketään et *Cheek-fanit* on naaraita kaikki ja
 mun ja *jengin* välille halutaan kaavailla *faittia*
 junttien päissä kai vielä maalaillaa *Paippia*
Cheek: Herätys

In the hybrid compound *Cheek-fanit*, ‘Cheek fans’, *Cheek* is the name of the performing artist. *Cheek* follows its original English orthography, with no modifications. (But see example (42)). *Paippia* refers to the hip hop festival called Pipefest, which is organized annually in Vuokatti. The Finnish orthographic form reflects the original English pronunciation of ‘pipe’, but the Finnish form has a double *-p* and a word-final *-i*. It follows Finnish morphology in that there is partitive case marker *-a*. This is part of local hip hop knowledge and terminology and also part of the Finnish hip hop scene.

- (46) Nähty Hauhot ja Muoniot, ollu mautonta Kuopios
 tuu *Paipis* meidän lölyihin, sut saunotaan kuolioon
Cheek: Taas askeleen edellä

[We’ve seen Hauho’s and Muonio’s, pretty tasteless in Kuopio
 Come to the sauna with us in Pipe and we’ll bathe you till necrosis]

The noun *Paipis* reflects its English pronunciation of the word ‘pipe’. However, in the Finnish orthographic form of the nominative, there is a double *-p* and a word-final *-i*. It receives an informal Finnish inessive case marker, *-s* (cf. *-ssa*), reflecting typical Finnish morphology. (See also example 45.) There is also a phenomenon of localizing going on in here, in that by specifically naming the places in Finland they have visited and done gigs in, this rap and rapper localize themselves in the Finnish hip hop context.

- (47) Pistetään sun sotku pakettiin,
 mitä vois lausua loppukaneettiin...
 - näytetään mitä on *T-town stomp*, *jengille*
 joka jo tottu *balettiin*

Sere & SP: Punssia

[Let's put your shit in a package
 what could I say to finish this off...
 - let's show them what T-town stomp is, to a gang
 that already got used to ballet]

In *T-town stomp*, there are no modifications made on the original English orthography. T-town refers to Tampere town, and that is where both the rappers, *Sere* and *SP*, come from. 'Stomp' refers either to 1) a ritual and ceremonial dance by some Native American communities, e.g. Cherokee or 2) a kind of dance and musical performance by the British Stomp troupe "that uses body and ordinary objects to create a percussive physical theatre performance (Wikipedia 2007). This phrase is yet another localizing term. By specifically naming their place of origin, the rappers wish to localize themselves in the Finnish hip hop context and are clearly proud of it.

- (48) ehkä niitä joskus sitte *droppaa*
 en oo korkeushyppääjä siks en *floppaa*
 ikinä – en usko ainakaa
 mullon vuos aikaa vaa, *joda rokenroll* vainajaks
Kemmuru: Koputa puuta

[maybe they'll drop them one day
 I'm not a high jumper and that's why I don't flop
 ever – at least I don't think so
 I've got only one year left, joda rock'n'roll, to a dead man]

Joda rokenroll is the nick name for the rapper *Jodarok* in *Kemmuru* rap group. *Rokenroll* comes from the English phrase 'rock and roll' (also spelled rock'n'roll). The Finnish orthographic form partly follows the original pronunciation. As mentioned earlier, self-referring is very common to rap lyrics, see example (42).

- (49) jos haluat tietää miks sellane oon
 (seo *blikedi*, *laini* ja *jopolokki*) [brackets original]
Kemmuru: Oon 2

[if you wanna know why I'm like that
 (it's blikedi, laini and jopolokki)]

Laini is a nick name or short for *J-Laini*, the DJ in the rap group *Kemmuru*. The form comes from 'a line' and it follows its original English pronunciation, with the exception of a word-final vowel *-i*, inflected according to Finnish morphology. The nominative forms in the Finnish language tend to end with a vowel and, thus, *Laini* becomes more Finnish in nature with an *-i* at the end. In this example, the (nick) names of all the members in *Kemmuru* are mentioned, thus, in this example, too, self-referring is very evident and important.

- (50) kiitti *rudy*, et pyydät *adlibbaa* *kop kop*
 vaik eka kysymys on paljon *liksaa*
 jos lähen luvatta kotoo , vaimo sanoo *soo soo beibi*
 se on paikoin punanen ja kulmikas ku *stop* merkki
Kemmuru: Koputa puuta

[thanks rudy that you asked me to adlib *knock knock*
 although the first question is how much will you pay me
 if I leave home without a permission, my wife says no no baby
 she's red here and there and angular like a stop sign]

Rudy refers to *Rudy Rääväsuu*, nowadays *Ruudolf*, a Finnish rapper with whom *Kemmuru* sometimes collaborate. (See also example 60.) The proper name is in its original English orthographic form. Although this is not an example of self-referring, it is also very common to refer to those artists one collaborates with. This example is part of the Finnish cultural terminology in hip hop and the scene here.

- (51) opittii *pajauttaa* ja se homma nosti kurssia
 nuori *doe-boy* leikki *slängäävänsä* nurtsia
 se tuntu taivaan lahjalta, ennenku *jäi fakkiin*
 söi jokapäivä *raflassa* ja kaikkee riitti massii
Kemmuru: Oon 1

[We learned how to smoke and that shit was great
 a young doe-boy played selling the grass
 it felt like a heaven's gift until he got caught
 he ate in a restaurant every day and could afford everything]

Doe-boy is in its original English orthographic form. According to Kemmuru (personal communication, November 5, 2007), ‘doe-boy’ refers to a character “Doughboy” played by the US rapper and actor *Ice Cube* in a film called *Boyz N Da [sic] Hood*⁷. ‘Doe/dough’ means money or cash (Westbrook 2002: 37; Kemmuru *ibid.*). Thus, this can be seen as a cultural reference to the original US hip hop culture.

- (52) löysiä
 housuja saatava ja jotai räppitakkeja
 uuet niket, maaleja, hellyä, kangolin lakkeja,
 räppi määräs: pakko saaha heti kaikkee matskuu
 uusin *public enemy kassu*, sittarista taskuu
 Kemmuru: Oon 1

Public enemy kassu (‘Public enemy cassette’) is a hybrid compound consisting of the name of a famous US old school rap group, *Public Enemy*, and ‘kassu’ which is short for ‘kasetti’, ‘a cassette’ in English. The name of the rap group is in its original English orthographic form. Notice that there is no hyphen between the name of the band and ‘kassu’, although there should be one in Finnish because it is a compound noun. Here, the cultural reference is not to the local scene and culture, but rather to the original American hip hop culture, and specifically the “old school” personalities. In Androutsopoulos and Scholz’s (2002: 20) data, international rap stars, for example in the Italian data, included people like Afrika Bambaataa and Wu-Tang Clan.

- (53) kohta kolkyt , ”no onks helppoo *Bläk?*” no ei o hei
 selkä sanoo *Kräk !* niiku *Flavor Flav*
 keräilen lelut lattialta ja kiroilen
 menin lupaa pojille että maksan sen viitosen *kop kop*
 Kemmuru: Koputa puuta

[nearly thirty, “so is it easy to be Black?” well no it ain’t
 my back says Crack! like Flavor Flav
 I’m picking up toys from the floor and cursing
 that I’d promised to pay that fiver to the guys *knock knock*]

⁷ *Boyz n the Hood* (1991) is a motion picture that took its name of the song *Boyz-n-the-Hood* by N.W.A. (*Niggaz with Attitude*) that also *Ice Cube* belonged to (Wikipedia 2007).

Bläk is from the English 'black' and the form reflects the original pronunciation. It seems to be *Aksim's*, the other mc of the group *Kemmuru*, nickname, as he is also called 'Bläksim' sometimes. The proper noun *Flavor Flav* is in its original orthographic form. It is the name of a rapper and a member of the famous US old school rap group called *Public Enemy* (see example 52). This example, too, might be seen as a reference to the 'roots' of hip hop culture, i.e. the origins and the influential old school period. It might also imply knowledge and subcultural expertise.

The (hip hop) cultural references that I have dealt with here focused both on local artists and places, as well as to some US artists. Self-referring is a frequent theme connected to the names. Thus, as regards identities, I consider it to be very important that the artists make themselves heard and make their names heard, too. It is a way for them to make explicit who is rapping and there may also be a promotional aspect in this. It is significant to localize oneself in the Finnish hip hop scene and tell the audience where one is coming from, or where the biggest hip hop party of the year is (Pipefest). The references to the original hip hop culture can be seen as showing knowledge of the culture and respect for the old school rappers. Also these cultural references can be seen as having a local aspect on hip hop identity construction, as well as a global one. One cannot claim to be a real hip hopper without showing knowledge of "the roots" and one also needs to name and localize oneself in a specific context, to "represent" a local scene. The term 'represent' is often used in American rap and nowadays in global rap as well. It deals with "associating one's name and [verbal] expression with the persons one respects and one socializes with, like one's own posse, but also, above all, with the place and the neighbourhood one lives in." (Boucher 1998: 167, as translated and quoted by Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002: 18)

5.1.5 Hip hop verbs and adjectives

The fifth, and the last, subcategory of group (1) includes verbs and adjectives that are related to rap music and hip hop culture.

- (54) kuuntelee musaa, puhelimeen *friistailaa*
 hiplaa tyttöä joka kaunistaa pelkääjän paikkaa
 silmät pysyy tiessä ei nukuta vielä
 kahvin voimalla väsymystä sietää
Kemmuru: Koputa puuta

[listening to some music, freestyling over the phone
 touching the beautiful girl on the seat next to me
 keeping my eyes on the road, I'm not sleepy yet
 drinking some coffee to keep the tiredness away]

Friistailaa comes from 'to freestyle'. The Finnish orthographic form follows initially the original English pronunciation. The word is inflected according to Finnish morphology as it has a personal suffix *-aa*, a long vowel, to mark the third person singular form. Freestyling refers to an act in which an mc flows with lyrics spontaneously and on the spot (Wikipedia 2007). It is essential to have 'skills' to be able to 'freestyle' fluently.

- (55) Kun räppää tai maustaa
 ei voi miettimättä jättää *taimaustaan*
 Jos hyvältä *saundaa* ja läppä on hauskaa
 niin *heitä* silloin *kättä* ja *baunssaa*
Sere & SP: Heitä ne ilmaan

Baunssaa is from 'to bounce' meaning 'to move to the (rap) rhythm and jam', 'to jump up and down'. The Finnish orthographic form reflects its original English pronunciation, but it has been inflected according to Finnish morphology and it has a personal suffix *-aa* to mark the third person singular form. The crowd in hip hop gigs or jams is usually encouraged by the rappers to bounce to the music.

- (56) kiitti *rudy*, et pyydät *adlibbaa* *kop kop*
 vaik eka kysymys on paljon *liksaa*
 jos lähen luvatta kotoo , vaimo sanoo *soo soo beibi*
 se on paikoin punanen ja kulmikas ku *stop* merkki
Kemmuru: Koputa puuta

Adlibbaa comes from ‘an / to adlib’, which means “to improvise and deliver extemporaneously, to engage in improvisation, as during delivery of a speech.” It relates to “words, music, or actions uttered, performed, or carried out extemporaneously.” (Answers 2007.) The Finnish orthographic form follows the original English orthography, except for a double *-b* in the Finnish form. The form is inflected according to Finnish morphology in that there is a personal suffix, *-aa*, that in the form is the third person singular, but in the meaning is infinitive. The standard Finnish form in this case would be: “...pyydät *adlibbaamaan*”, that is, in the third infinitive.

- (57) Taas korvat auki, nyt voit *bläästää* tätä
 taas tätä sä venasit että päästään tähän
Cheek: Taas askeleen edellä

[Ears open again, now you can blast this
 You waited for this again that we’d get here]

Bläästää comes from ‘to blast’, that is, to play music loud. It reflects partly its English pronunciation. The form is inflected according to Finnish morphology as it has the personal suffix, *-ää*, of the third person singular form. Although the form is in the third person singular, the meaning is infinitive. The standard form would be: ‘voit *bläästätä*’ (you can blast), thus, with an infinitive ending *-tä*.

- (58) *Netis Mängi ounaa Cheek* on kulmilla kuuma
 Siksi kai junntilan Juudaat aukoo kulmilla suutaa
Cheek: Suu kii

[In the net, Mängi owns, Cheek is hot in the hoods
 That’s probably why the Judas hillbillys are moaning in the hoods]

Ounaa, comes from 'to own', and reflects, thus, its original English pronunciation. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology as it has the personal suffix *-aa*, a long vowel, of the third person singular form. According to *Cheek* (personal communication, Oct 18, 2007), one can say that "he owned you" if a rapper wins another rapper in a battle. In this specific case, an artist called *Mängi* was popular and bragging in the internet at the time, whereas *Cheek* was 'hot' in the hoods, i.e. he and his posse organized street parties and other activities. (ibid.)

- (59) opittii *pajauttaa* ja se homma nosti kurssia
 nuori *doe-boy* leikki *slängäävänsä* nurtsia
 se tuntu taivaan lahjalta, ennenku *jäi fakkiin*
 söi jokapäivä *raflassa* ja kaikkee riitti massii
Kemmuru: Oon 1

Slängäävänsä comes from the English verb 'to slang' which means 'to sell'. According to *Kemmuru* (personal communication, November 5, 2007), in the Finnish or their own context, they are normally selling albums whereas in the US the verb 'slang' is often associated with slanging drugs. The Finnish form 'slängäävänsä' is in the first participle of the active ('slängäävä') and *-nsä* in the end marks the possessive suffix of the third person singular.

- (60) Tuntuu varmasti masentavalta
 Täs on parkettien partaveitset, sul on kaks vasenta jalkaa
 Arvokkainta vaik aletiskil
 Jos *doupeimmat* Jumala *seivaa* sillon on toivoo täl ateistil
Sere & SP: Punssia

[Must be depressing
 Here you have two really good dancers, and you have two left feet
 The most valuable though on sale
 If God saves the dopest, then this atheist still has hope]

Doupeimmat comes from the hip hop adjective 'dope' meaning 1. drugs 2. nice 3. good. (Westbrook 2002: 38). In this specific example, 'doupeimmat' could be understood as 'the best'. It follows initially its English pronunciation ('dope'). It is inflected according to Finnish morphology, as it

has a degree of comparison in the superlative, *-immat*. The form is in the plural which can be seen in the plural marker *-t*. The phrase *Doupeimmat Jumala seivaa* is from the rapper *Ruudolf's* song title. Thus, here we can see intertextuality at work within the Finnish hip hop culture. Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 20) define intertextuality in its narrow sense as “the quoting of or the allusion to specific texts”. *Seivaa* comes from ‘to save’ and it follows its original English pronunciation. The Finnish orthographic form is inflected according to Finnish morphology, in that it has a personal suffix *-aa* to mark the third person singular form.

- (61) Jos on tarvis en pidä *biiffei* vaa vahalla
 Mä ja mun juipit ei olla *striittei* vaa lavalla
 Mä en lyö pelkästään *netis*, *biiteil* ja sanalla
 Sä kerrot kuin rimmaat ja *friikkei* paat samalla
Cheek: Suu kii

Striittei, ‘to be street’, follows its English pronunciation partly but the Finnish orthographic form has a double *-t* and a word-final *-i* in the nominative. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology as it has the informal version of the partitive case marker *-i*. Although ‘a street’ is a noun, in this particular example ‘street’ is considered an adjective and meaning ‘streetlike’. They are ‘street’ everywhere and they also have street cred(ibility). *Friikkei*, ‘freaks’, follows its original English pronunciation. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology as it receives an informal version of the partitive case marker, *-i* at the end of the word. It can be considered both a ‘normal’, everyday English word, but it can also be attached to the hip hop culture. (See also Lüdtke 2007: 19). In addition, it could also be classified as a slang item but for the purposes of the study, it is most wise and useful to classify it as a hip hop adjective and fit in this category.

Similarly to hip hop nouns, also hip hop verbs and adjectives serve as a common and shared knowledge of the hip hop culture. They unite the cultures around the world. The terms have all been modified into Finnish to make them more local and part of our own Finnish hip hop language. They

receive many personal suffixes and are usually inflected using the colloquial Finnish. They are, thus, used in constructing a hip hop identity, at the same time global and local. The terms all originate from English but the specific orthographic forms are uniquely Finnish. This is what, among other things, makes my data different to those of Lüdtké (2007) and Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002).

All in all, the words and phrases in the first category of cultural terminology all contribute to the construction of a global and local hip hop identity. According to Lüdtké (2007: 19), they are “an important means of reference to the competences and values of hip hop culture and thus for connecting scenes on a global scale”. There seems to be, thus, “a commonly accepted reference system in hip hop” (ibid.) Most of the terminology seen here is very specific in meaning and it can be seen “creat[ing] the jargon of hip hop and rap culture”. (ibid.) The global and local aspects can be seen as working together, mixing up, and forming a *glocal* identity. As a difference compared to Lüdtké’s (2007) and Androutsopoulos and Scholz’s (2002) study, my data are much more inflected according to the rules of the local language, namely Finnish. This makes the terminology look even more mixed and integrated.

5.2 Slang items

According to Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 27), group (2) “provides a “street-flavor” balance”, compared to the items in group (1) that are “referentially important”. Group (2) comprises words, e.g. *homies*, *bitch*, *shit*, “borrowed from colloquial/nonstandard (U.S.) English, or more specifically, from Afro-American Vernacular English (AAVE)” (ibid.) Some of the words are used colloquially, whereas others are terms of abuse and vulgar in their nature. As for the difference between a cultural term and a slang term, I have used several dictionaries, the works of Lüdtké (2007) and Androutsopoulos

and Scholz (2002) as well as consulted the artists themselves. There remain, however, some unclear cases and I will elaborate on them, when necessary.

- (62) Sä suot *cuulin* tuut selittää, *puhu kädelle*
 ja vaik keräisit kaikki tutut lähelles
 oot edelleen yksin niinku *Cast Aways Tomi*
Yeah, suu kii... And that's the way homie
Cheek: Suu kii

[Don't bother coming all cool to explain, talk to the hand
 and even if you gathered all your friends around you
 you're still alone like Tom in Cast Away
 Yeah, shut up... And that's the way homie]

Homie is from the English 'homeboy, -girl, homey, homies' and it means 1) term of familiar address 2) reference to a person from the same neighborhood or hometown (Westbrook 2002: 70-71). The Finnish orthographic form reflects the original English orthography with no modifications. This might be due to the fact that it is in an all-English sentence. It is a slang word and characteristic of AAVE. However, its use, like the use of other slang items, too is spreading also to other young (white) people. Thus, it is not as clear-cut anymore which words and expressions are essentially 'slang' items and which have become more 'mainstream' in a sense. (See e.g. Rampton (1995, 1998) on crossing.)

- (63) On nähty *breikkarij* ja *tiskijukkaa*
 Mut *mc:n* syliin joka *chicksi* tuppaa
 niinku musarilla ulos *titsit* pukkaa
 sit meikä käy hotellil' ja *bitchin* hukkaa
Sere & SP: Heitä ne ilmaan

Bitchin is from 'a bitch' and it follows the original English orthography, except for the word-final *-i*. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology, and it has a genitive case marker *-n*. 'Bitch' is a slang item and it sometimes loses its "original" meaning as a derogatory term and is used in a vulgar way of women, in general.

- (64) Lahes en keuhkoa monistakaa
 Mut *mami* niin kuuma, et voisin lähtee sen kaa pikku *Cheekkii*
 neuvolaa todistamaa

Cheek: Avaimet mun kiesiin

Mami comes from the English ‘mami’ and it means ‘a girl’ (Westbrook 2002: 90) or a young woman. The Finnish orthographic form follows the original orthography and there are no modifications. Other possible spellings are ‘ma’, ‘mam’ and ‘mama’. It is quite extensively used in Finnish hip hop. ‘Mami’ can be heard in American rap songs and it can be seen as a sub-cultural and a slang concept in the hip hop culture.

- (65) *One love* [italics original], *skidit* jää siit osattomiks
 Levyn dokaas ja *mamin* läpsiminen jatkuu omas kodis
Skidit piiloon komeroon tai lastenvaunujen taa
 Tuhansien surullisten *räppilaulujen* maa

Sere & SP: Vapaa sana

Mamin comes from English ‘mami’ and *SP* argues that it is also somewhat derogatory. It follows its original orthography. It is inflected according to Finnish morphology and it has a genitive case marker *-n*.

- (66) En voi olla pitkää naamaa ku tsiigaan sun *smailii*
 Sun releit, sun kasvoi, sun kroppaa, sun huulii
 Mittaan sua pääst varpasiin ja ain *stoppaan* sun *bootyy*

Cheek: Avaimet mun kiesiin

[I can't be sad when I'm checking out your smile
 Your clothes, your face, your body, your lips
 I'm checking you out from head till toe, and always stop at your booty]

Bootyy, ‘booty, ass’ reflects its original English orthography, but the word is inflected according to Finnish morphology in that an *-y* is added as an informal version of the partitive case marker (cf. *bootyä*). It is AAVE and its origins might be in the obsolete Black English *booty* meaning ‘a body’ (Dictionary 2007).

- (67) Ase ei ole laitton tavara ja maassa on kai tapana
 Et välil voi *kruisaa* ja vaimon hakata
 Mut jos maistoit vuos sitte *ganjaa* yksissä bileissä
 Niin kaikki tuomitsee kansan syvissä riveis
Sere & SP: Se menee niin

[A gun is not an illegal thing and I guess it's the habit here
 to sometimes cruise around and beat your wife up
 But if you smoked some ganja a year ago at some party
 Then everyone in the grass roots is judging you]
Sere & SP: That's the way it goes

Ganjaa comes from 'ganja', which is a slang expression for marijuana. The form reflects its original English orthography but it is inflected according to Finnish morphology, in that it has a partitive case marker *-a*. Originally, the word 'ganja' comes from Sanskrit and is associated with the (Jamaican) rastafari culture, but it has been "borrowed" also to hip hop culture and is now an essential part of it and its lexicon. Also *SP* acknowledges the usage of the word in hip hop culture, too.

- (68) Ku ekan *jointin* ne *passas*, mä koitin: ei
 natsaa parhetken [sic] hetken koisin penkassa, mut voitin
 sen paskan.
Cheek: Täältä sinne

[When they passed me my first joint, I tried: didn't
 feel right I lay by the ditch for a while, but I won
 that shit.]

Jointin is from 'a joint' – a marijuana cigarette. It can also mean 1) location 2) record or 3) it can refer to anything in a positive way (Westbrook 2002: 80). It reflects the original English orthography and it is inflected according to Finnish morphology and it has a genitive case marker *-n*. Also the artist himself (personal communication, Oct 18, 2007) agrees that 'joint' can be categorized as a slang item. In his opinion, 'joint' is a (slang) word clearly related to hip hop culture.

- (69) on niitä kuviaki mulla ajalt ku *aksim*
 asu akvaariossa ku *matafakin* kultakalat
 ja vasta kaks vee ne päätti tän kaksosen
 vapaaks laskee niiku *nils gustafssonin*⁸
Kemmuru: Oon 2

[got some pics of the times when aksim
 lived in an aquarium like gold fishes
 and only at the age of two did they decide
 to release this twin like nils gustafsson]

Matafakin, ‘motherfucking’, follows, at least partly, its original English pronunciation, except for the /th/ sound, which is replaced by only /t/, a more common sound in Finnish.

- (70) Veripää monnilt' niskavillat keritään
 silti *chillaan* ehitään
 vaik' on *kuumaa paskaa*,
 nii kirpeetä pakkast' *setit* nää ilmaan levittää.
Sere & SP: Punssia

Kuumaa paskaa, ‘hot shit’ can be viewed as a calque. In this example, ‘shit’ is used as a general noun for things, events, etc. ‘Hot shit’ in this case can be viewed as meaning ‘hot stuff/music/songs’. It is used also in African American and global hip hop. In Androutsopoulos and Scholz’s (2002: 27; emphasis original) study, they found out that “characteristic for the usage of slang items is that they tend to occur in pre-patterned contexts, and to yield calques (loan translations), e.g. the word *shit* (in the vernacular meaning of ‘stuff, music’) becomes *Scheiss* in German and *merda* in Italian”.

- (71) stevarit tietty oli porteilla vastassa,
 miks pitiki sen *paskan* kans niin kauan jahkailla
 epäilyttävän touhun huomaa varmaa puol kauppa
 piti kuulla nuhtelut ja se nauha palauttaa
Kemmuru: Oon 1

[of course the guards were there at the gates to get me,
 why did I hang back with that shit for so long
 half the store must’ve noticed that shady stuff
 had to listen to the scolding and give that tape back]

⁸ *Nils Gustafsson* is a Finnish man, who was accused in 2004 of murdering three of his friends in 1960 and set free in 2005 (Wikipedia 2007).

Paskan, 'shit', can be seen as a calque, a loan translation, similarly to example (70). 'Shit' can be seen as referring to things, stuff, etc. in its vernacular meaning, and here, particularly, to the (*Public Enemy*) tape, the boy had tried to steal from the market.

(72) Ku ekan *jointin* ne *passas*, mä koitin: ei
natsaa hetken koisin penkassa, mut voitin
sen paskan.

Cheek: Täältä sinne

In example (72), *paskan*, 'shit', is yet another calque. 'Shit' in this case refers to the joint the guy had been offered and which he tried but then 'won' it. (See also examples 70-71.) As can be seen from these examples, the usage of this calque is quite common and established in Finnish rap lyrics, since the three different examples of the use of 'shit' are all from different artists.

Relating to identities, the slang category can be seen as showing knowledge of the African American Vernacular English that is linked with the original rap culture. The knowledge and usage of these items show a particular kind of expertise, and also construct a particular kind of identity, in this case a hip hop identity. The fact that also the slang items have been Finnishized refers to an indigenizing process of the terms to make them more local. The emergence and use of calques ('shit') is yet another marker of the process. Thus, identities are being constructed through both local and global discourse items.

5.3 Discourse markers

Group (3) consists of e.g. *yeah*, *yo*, that is, of "a number of discourse particles, especially interjections, which occur both in English and "native" contexts" (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002: 27).

- (73) Sä suot *cuulin* tuut selittää, *puhu kädelle*
 ja vaik keräisit kaikki tutut lähelles
 oot edelleen yksin niinku *Cast Always Tomi*
Yeah, suu kii... *And that's the way homie*
Cheek: Suu kii

Yeah is an interjection in its original English orthographic form, and it is not modified into Finnish at all.

- (74) Sun päätös *rullaatsä*, vai *passaaks* sun *chäänssis*
 Mä oon tehny selväks, mulle *passaa* sun *äässis*. *Jia!*
Cheek: Avaimet mun kiesiin

[It's your choice if you wanna roll, or pass your chance
 I've made it clear, I'm fine with your ass. Yeah!]

Jia, 'yeah', is an interjection that follows its original English pronunciation. In the Finnish orthographic form, the word begins with a *j* and there is no *h* at the end of the word (but see example (73)).

- (75) *Jep* se vaan jähmetti mut liikkeillään
 ja harvemmin sä kädet sivul *dj:n* näät
Cheek: Liiku

Jep, 'yep', is an interjection that follows its original English pronunciation. The Finnish orthographic form starts with a *j* instead of the English *y*.

- (76) *Whoa* Täällä takas taas, oli kova hinku takasin
 nyt lomalt niinku palasin,
 taas kovat piippuun latasin
Cheek: Taas askeleen edellä

[Whoa Back here again, I was eager to come back
 now I returned from the holiday
 and loaded the barrel]

Whoa follows its original English orthography, with no modifications in the Finnish form.

- (77) 3 vee ukki otti polvelle
jou eelis sä oot *superfreesi* ja juvalla
 pidettiin serkkunelikko tiiviinä
 välil kiusattiin hanna, se oli tyhmintä ikinä
Kemmuru: Oon 2

[3 years old my grandpa took me to his knee
 you eelis you're superfresch and in juva
 we kept the four cousins' group tight
 sometimes we teased hanna, it was the dumbest ever]

Jou comes from the English 'yo' and the Finnish orthographic form, thus, reflects the original pronunciation. It is an interjection and typically seen in rap lyrics and slang. In my opinion, 'yo' could be also classified as cultural terminology and as a slang item, because it can be seen as relating essentially to both of them. For the purposes of this study, however, it seemed best to classify all the discourse markers in the same category. In Pennycook's (2003: 515) view, 'yo' is indeed "a term commonly used in rap / hip hop slang, and originating in African American Vernacular English, AAVE. In Androutsopoulos' (2004: 4) study, the greeting particle 'yo' in the German data was in the form of *jo*, thus, suggesting a German way of modifying the particle.

- (78) sen takii siitä varmaan tuli kommmari
 ku meikä vaan paskalla vessan seinää *bommasi*
KISS ja *WASP*, *jou* ne aidot
Twisted Sister ja *Quiet Riot*
mamamama were all crazy
Kemmuru: Oon 2

[that's probably why he became a communist
 when I was just shitting and painting the toilet wall
KISS and *WASP*, yo the real ones
Twisted Sister and *Quiet Riot*
 Mamamama we're all crazy]

Jou - see example 77. In this example (78), it is interesting, and perhaps somewhat surprising, to see that the hip hop word 'jou' is used in connection with rock 'n' roll bands, such as *KISS* and *WASP* that have nothing to do with hip hop culture.

As regards identity construction, these discourse markers that have been taken from English, either the standard or the AAVE one, construct, again, global and local hip hop identities. The words come from elsewhere and some of them have been modified into Finnish and some remain in their original forms. A single artist can use either the original form or the “Finnishized” one. This refers to their unfixed nature in the sense that there is no one way of writing these words. Their function in the lyrics seems to be to frame the discourse in some way, because they tend to act as openers and closers. Therefore, they could also be categorized as code-switching. Nevertheless, they are part of the in-group style characteristic of hip hop culture and this is why they have been categorized as language mixing in the present study. In addition, the discourse markers make the lyrics more speech-like in nature as the particles are not normally part of a written text culture. In addition, their speech-likeness might add to the “instability” of the written forms.

5.4 Formulaic expressions and patterns

Group (4) comprises formulaic expressions, such as the phrase *X is in the house* in Androutsopoulos and Scholz’s (2002) data. However, the specific phrase in question could not be found in my data but there are some other formulaic expressions and patterns, or “ready-made catch phrases” in my Finnish data.

- (79) klubia ja festivaalia rokataan - Suomi *antaa propsit* kun
pidän silmukkaa *roskamc:n* kaulassa kireellä niinku luotilankaa
Sere & SP: Punssia

Antaa propsit (‘to give propers = proper respect’) – see example 34. The Finnish orthographic form partly reflects its original English orthography but it is inflected according to Finnish morphology and it has a word-final *-i* and a Finnish plural marker *-t*. The phrase can be seen as a semi-calque in the sense that ‘propsit’ is a Finnishized English word whereas the verb ‘to give’

is in Finnish. In my opinion, the use of the phrase is fairly established in the Finnish hip hop scene and it can be said to be a pattern of its own by now.

- (80) Kutsu mut *studiolles* ja potan vien mä sinne
 Mut ku itte *pudotan shittiä* hajotan viemärinne
 Teen jo helikopteria ku roikut vielä puolapuussa
 Vieläki niin nälkänen et *räbään* vaik ruoka suussa
Sere & SP: Punssia

Pudotan shittiä, ‘I’m dropping the shit’, is a semi-calque in the sense that ‘dropping the shit’ is an (African American) English expression and ‘shit’ is Finnishized by doubling the *-t* and adding a word-final *-i*. The word is also inflected according to Finnish morphology in that it has a partitive case marker *-ä*. As seen in the case of the word ‘shit’ in earlier examples 71-73, its calque usage is already fairly established in the Finnish hip hop scene. An interesting remark, however, is that in this example (80) ‘shit’ is not a calque but used in its partly original form. Only the verb ‘to drop’ is translated into Finnish.

- (81) *Stage* karismaa karttuu, *tatsi* kunkkujen
 loppuu flaksi mulkkujen ku jäbis raspikurkkunen
tiputtaa shittii niinku mämmikoura
 Pysyn skarppin, en runttaa kännis *shouta*
Cheek: Suu kii

[Gaining stage charisma, the touch of the kings
 the luck of assholes will end when this dude with a harsh voice
 is dropping the shit like a butterfinger
 I’m staying sharp, I won’t be drunk in my show]

Tiputtaa shittii, ‘is dropping the shit’, is a semi-calque of ‘dropping the shit’. *Shittii*, ‘shit’, reflects partly its original English orthography, but the Finnish form has a double *-t* and an added *-i* at the end of the nominative. The form is also inflected according to Finnish morphology as it has the informal version of the partitive case marker *-i* (cf. *shittiä* in example (80)). Similarly to the previous example, ‘shit’ here is not a calque but is in its partly original English form. Here the verb in Finnish is different (‘tiputtaa’ vs. ‘pudottaa’)

but their meanings are almost the same and both of them are translated ‘to drop’.

- (82) Kesti kauan tulla, mut jaksoin odottaa
 en lähteny hätiköimään, *duussit maksoin* kokonaan
Cheek: Taas askeleen edellä

[It took me a long time to get here, but I could wait
 I didn't want to rush it, I paid all my dues]

Maksoin duussit is a semi-calque of ‘pay one’s dues’. This idiom means that someone has earned a position or a right through working hard, long-term experience or suffering (Dictionary 2007). *Duussit* reflects partly its English orthographic form, except for the change of *-ue* into a double *-u*. The form also initially reflects American English pronunciation of the word [du:]. The Finnish nominative form of the word is formed by adding *-ssi* at the end of the word. The word is also inflected according to Finnish morphology as it has the plural marker *-t*. The word is, in a way, in the “double plural” because it has the plural marker *-s* of the English language as well as the plural marker *-t* of the Finnish language. The phrase can be seen in connection with the Finnish hip hop culture and/or the original one. The artist has worked hard and is now in a position of coming back to the scene. This pattern, too, seems fairly fixed in the Finnish hip hop discourse.

- (83) Sit salaa kaupunkiin isojen poikien kanssa
 ne lupas *pitää mun bäkkii* ja ne hoiti sen kanssa
Cheek: Täältä sinne

[Then to the town in secret with the big guys
 they said they'd got my back and they did take care of it]

Pitää mun bäkkii, ‘got my back’ comes from the English phrase ‘got someone’s back’ that means to take care of someone. It “comes from making sure you are safe by watching what’s behind you when you’re busy looking ahead” (Urban Dictionary 2007). The form *bäkkii* follows the English pronunciation. In the Finnish orthographic form, there is a double *-k* and a

final vowel *-i* at the end of the word. In addition, the word is inflected according to Finnish morphology and it has the informal version of the partitive case marker *-i*. It is a semi-calque, in that ‘pitää’ is in Finnish and ‘bäkkii’ is Finnishized from English. This idiom seems quite an established pattern in the Finnish hip hop discourse.

- (84) Vaik *rullaan* soolona, tarviin taustatukee
 vaik on ollu *raffia* en arpii maustaa rupee
Pidän mun äijät *bäkis* nii keikoil ku kapakas
ceissi ku *ceissi* ne seisoi mun takana
 Cheek: Suu kii

[Although I roll solo, I need some back-up
 although it's been rough I won't spice up the scars
 I'll keep my guys in my back in the gigs and in the bars
 one case, or another, they'd stand behind me]

Pidän [...] bäkis, ‘I’ll keep [...] in my back’, comes from the English ‘got someone’s back’ that means to take care of someone, to watch out for someone. (See also example 83.) It is a semi-calque in that ‘bäkis’ is in a Finnishized form but still partly English form and the verb ‘to keep, to get’ is translated. *Bäkis* follows its original pronunciation. The Finnish form has a double *-k* and a final vowel *-i* in the nominative form but it is inflected according to Finnish morphology and it has the informal version of the inessive case marker *-s* at the end of the word.

- (85) *skrätsi*: “*elän getosti*, vaimo vaati et skarppaan..”
 Kemmuru: Skarppaa

Elän getosti, ‘I live like (in the) ghetto’, can be viewed as a semi-calque in that the verb ‘to live’ is translated into Finnish whereas ‘getosti’ is still partly in the original form. Note, however, that ‘ghetto’ is also used in the Finnish language. The etymology of the word is under debate; it can either come from Italian, Greek or Hebrew but the most plausible explanation is the Italian ‘getto’ meaning ‘casting’ or ‘ghetta’ meaning ‘slag’. It used to refer to Jewish ghettos in Venice but later in other places, too, and even later to the

US residential areas where Black people live. Nowadays, it can refer to urban slums around the world. In addition, it can be used figuratively to refer to “geographic areas with a concentration of any type of person” e.g. a student ghetto. (Wikipedia 2007.) According to *Kemmuru* (personal communication, November 5, 2007), the expression *getosti* means ‘köyhästi’ (‘poorly, in a poor way’). They argue that the ghetto might refer to the suburb in the Finnish context. The Finnish form follows the original orthography, except for the *-h*, and it is inflected according to Finnish morphology and it has a Finnish derivational suffix *-sti*, to mark the adverb. Usually the suffix *-sti* is added to adjectives and not to nouns, thus, this example is particular in that respect. The noun ‘ghetto’ can be also viewed as an adjective in this example.

- (86) Kun räppää tai maustaa
 ei voi miettimättä jättää *taimaustaan*
 Jos hyvältä *saundaa* ja läppä on hauskaa
 niin *heitä* silloin *kättä* ja *baunssaa*
Sere & SP: Heitä ne ilmaan

Heitä kättä, means literally ‘throw your hand’. According to *SP* (personal communication, November 5, 2007), it actually refers to the expression “gimme five”. ‘Five’ means a hand in American English slang and ‘gimme five/give me a five’ means ‘to ask for a high five’ that in its turn refers to ‘the slapping of hands as a form of [...] bonding’ (Urban dictionary 2007). This could be viewed as a calque, or at least a semantic one if not a literal one. *SP* (ibid.) himself considers its usage quite clumsy in Finnish rap lyrics because it does not sound good. However, in this specific case, the phrase seems to fit the rest of the context nicely and it does not stand out. He (ibid.) further argues that, in the rhyme schemes of several words, somewhat inappropriate expressions are “forgiven” in that the form goes ahead of the contents.

- (87) Sä suot *cuulin* tuut selittää, *puhu kädelle*
 ja vaik keräisit kaikki tutut lähelles
 oot edelleen yksin niinku *Cast Always Tomi*
Yeah, suu kii... And that's the way homie
Cheek: Suu kii

Puhu kädelle, ‘talk to the hand’, is an expression literally translated from English to Finnish. Thus, it can be viewed as a calque. Notice that this example (87) is a direct translation, whereas the previous example (86) was rather a semantic translation, not a literal one. It is a slang phrase that has AAVE origins and is being used “as a contemptuous and urbanized way of saying that no one is listening” (Wikipedia 2007). It is often extended to phrases such as "Talk to the hand, because the ear's not listening" or "Talk to the hand, (be)cause the face don't understand". Its usage is commonly considered “sarcastic or obnoxious” and it is usually connected with “urban black youths, especially black women, as well as teenage valley girls who adopted it”. (ibid..)

- (88) Nyt on *räpin* kans säpinää,
 äänityst ja keikkaa
 juonitaa kui *äässit* nyt saa
sheikkaa

Cheek: Täältä sinne

Äässit [...] *sheikkaa*, ‘asses [...] to shake’, is a special example in this category in the sense that in this pattern, both words are Finnishized from English. ‘Äässit’ reflects initially its original English pronunciation but there is a double *-s* and a word-final *-i* in the nominative form of the word. The word is in the plural and it has a plural marker *-t*, thus, it is inflected according to Finnish morphology. ‘Sheikkaa’ follows initially its original English pronunciation. It has been inflected according to Finnish morphology in that there is an infinitive ending *-aa*. Lüdtke (2007: 19-20) had ‘shake your ass/thang’, ‘shake some more’ and ‘shake your body’ in her data but she categorized the first two under the ‘slang items’ category. Also this example (88) could be considered a slang item, either as two separate words or as a single phrase, but for the purposes of the present study I argue that it is clearer to categorize it as a formulaic pattern since the words belong together and one sees them often in connection to one another. Nevertheless, the items can still be viewed also as (a) slang expression(s).

From the point of view of hip hop identity, the category of formulaic expressions and patterns offers many perceptions. First of all, there are many patterns that have been translated wholly into Finnish, either literally or semantically, e.g. ‘puhu kädelle’ and ‘heitä kättä’ (respectively). Then, there are patterns that have a translated verb (from English to Finnish, e.g. give - antaa) but the noun is Finnishized (e.g. ‘propsit’). The noun might still consequently look somewhat English in its form, although it has been inflected according to the rules of the Finnish language. Finally, there is a pattern, ‘äässit sheikkaa’ in which the whole pattern is Finnishized. All these patterns and expressions suggest a particular kind of knowledge both of the slang and of the hip hop culture (e.g. ‘propsit’). Their origins are in (African American Vernacular) English but they have been modified, one way or another, into Finnish to make them more ‘local’. In my opinion, this strongly suggests a local and global hip hop identity, in which the two combine and mix in many different ways.

5.5 Code-switching on verse / utterance level

Group (5) changes the point of view from language mixing into code-switching. Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 27) divided “instances of code-switching from native speech into (Afro-American) English” into two groups. Group (5) includes verse/utterance switches.

- (89) Mä kuljen nyt, *sori* veinkö sun paikkas auringos
 ku keskellä talvee paistattelen auringos
 Oon sulle *Will Smith "I'm going to Miami..."*
 Jos mahdollisuus tarjottais ni lähtisit kai säki?
Cheek: Suu kii

[I'm going now, sorry, did I take your place in the sun
 when in the middle of winter I'm basking in the sun
 I'm Will Smith to you "I'm going to Miami..."
 If you were offered a chance to go, wouldn't you?]

"I'm going to Miami..." is a direct quotation from the song "Miami" by the rapper *Will Smith*. It differs from the rest of the data in my study in that it has to be categorized as a code *switch*, rather than mixing which most of the rest of the data represents. Here, one can clearly see a change of footing (see chapter 3.6.1 on identities) and voice. The voice becomes that of the animated *Will Smith* and the words are written by him originally. The switching is, thus, intertextual in the sense that it includes the use of a direct quotation and even the quotation marks are used. According to Androutsopoulos (2004: 5), the general meaning of these switches is "to frame a media text as part of a more extensive sub-cultural discourse", e.g. "to establish a connection to the original US skater culture" in German skateboarding magazines. This particular switch, then, could be viewed as an attempt to establish a connection of some sort to the US hip hop culture, although Will Smith is not particularly appreciated or "seriously-taken" artist. The artist himself, *Cheek* (personal communication, October 18, 2007), argues that the idea behind these lyrics was that when he filmed a music video, paid by his first record company, in Miami, it was not largely appreciated by people in Finland. He himself considered it a great idea and the song *Suu kii* ('Shut up') is a response for the "haters" in which he takes a stand on the reactions of people. Miami functions in this case also as a localizing practice, as the artist has actually been there and wants to localize himself also there. (See examples (42), (44) and (47) on Lahti and Tampere.)

- (90) Sä suot *cuulin* tuut selittää, *puhu kädelle*
 ja vaik keräisit kaikki tutut lähelles
 oot edelleen yksin niinku *Cast Always Tomi*
 Yeah, suu kii... *And that's the way homie*
Cheek: Suu kii

And that's the way homie seems an example of code-switching as there is a change of footing (see chapter 3.6.1 on identities) in it. "Suu kii" is the only Finnish element on the line. Finnish seems to function as the matrix language and it is also the name of the song. English is used in the interjection and in

the “quote”. *Cheek* (personal communication, October 25, 2007) argues that it is not a direct quote from any other source but he himself has written it. The idea and meaning behind the quote is something like: “that’s the case/thing, boy”. The main reason for doing this in English was to make the lyrics and the lines rhyme: “Cast Aways Tomi” and “That’s the way homie” and, thus, to get a five syllable rhyme. This is, or at least was, a more general tendency in *Cheek*’s lyrics as he wanted to make ‘multi-rhymes’ in his songs and not only e.g. in the last two syllables. All in all, he considers rhyming very important in rapping and he claims that some Finnish rappers can do it, whereas others do not. It is important to be innovative and create difficult patterns and not simply do the rhyming for the sake of rhyming. This is what he has later turned to. (ibid.)

As regards identity in connection to these examples of code-switching, one might suggest that they form a connection to and a voice from the original rap culture. They might also be a convenient way of expressing oneself in the particular situation. The quote of Miami might be the first Miami-related thing that comes to mind when rapping about that place. Both these quotes also speak for a skillful use of English. In addition, the quotes rhyme with the rest of the lyrics, i.e. Tomi and homie, Miami and säki. In my opinion, these examples of code-switching, as well as those of language mixing, speak for bilingual practices of these artists. Their lyrics are very skillful mixes of Finnish and English, and although Finnish is clearly their matrix language of rapping, English plays an important role in the lyrics as well. It does not seem awkward for the artists to mix the languages or switch between them.

5.6 Code-switching over large stretches of text

In Androutsopoulos and Scholz’s (2002: 27) data, group (6) comprises “the quite common occurrence of English refrains and/or choral parts, some of which are probably sampled”. However, I was not able to find a single

instance of this kind of code-switching in my data. There were no English refrains in any of the songs. One of the songs of *Cheek*, namely *Tultiin, nähtiin, voitettiin* ('We came, saw and conquered') includes a great deal of English but there are no lyrics provided for that particular song in the booklet. The use of English in that song might be, at least partially, explained by the fact that *Monte Cummings* (an American basketball player who at the time played in Lahti), features in that song, and, thus, the refrain includes also English. Finnish rap lyrics might be considered "special" in this respect, too, that there are not many refrains in all-English. Of course, one has to keep in mind, that this observation is based only on the data of the present study and no generalizations can be made of Finnish rap lyrics on this matter.

All in all, the relatively small amount of code-switching compared to language mixing in my data can be seen as a marker of the willingness to do local, Finnish lyrics that have no large pieces of unmodified English items. The matrix language tends to be Finnish. The few code-switching examples of the present study, nevertheless, create a link to the original hip hop culture and they may be 'the right thing to say' in the context. In addition, they may serve the function of rhyming and flow. Both language mixing and code-switching are characteristic of the lyrics in the present study. By using them, the rappers are engaging in bilingual practices that connect them to the global hip hop culture. Still, the rappers stay local as they use Finnish in their lyrics and also often subject the English items to the rules of the Finnish language and their own environment and context.

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Findings of the present study

The purpose of the present study was to explore the construction of hip hop identities in Finnish rap lyrics. The aim was to find out what kind of hip hop identities are constructed in Finnish rap lyrics through the use of English and language mixing. For this purpose, the analysis of the lyrics of different Finnish hip hop artists and groups (*Cheek, Sere & SP* and *Kemmuru*) were made. In the analysis, the methodological framework of Androutsopoulos (2004) and Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002) were used.

The findings of the present study indicate that the English items form a substantial part of the non-English rap discourse. Practically all the songs in the data have some English items. Also Androutsopoulos and Scholz's (2002: 5, 27) data includes a great deal of, namely more than 60 %, English items. Although the aim of the present study was not to compare the artists with one another, one might say that, in general, it seems that all of the artists had English words and phrases in their lyrics. Thus, one might conclude that the use of the shared English terminology does not characterize only the Helsinki-slang influenced hip hop that has so far been the object of many studies (e.g. Kalliokoski 2006).

Another general finding was that the English in the data is largely characterized as *language mixing*, i.e. a social style, with a few exceptions of code-switching. In my opinion, this is an indication that English is an essential and integrated part of the lyrics. As can be seen in the many cases and case markers, it is modified largely according to the rules of the Finnish language, and, thus, there are various inflected English items in the lyrics. In my view, Androutsopoulos' (2004) data seems to be more characterized by *both* language mixing and code-switching, and, therefore, my findings differ

from his. However, it should be noted that we had a different set of data because he studied media discourse and I studied lyrics. Compared to Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002) with respect to the code-switching, our findings differ in that in my data there are no long stretches of English in e.g. refrains. This might be because the Finnish rappers want to emphasize the Finnish language in their lyrics as their language of story-telling, and do not feel a need for catchy English refrains. *Cheek* (personal communication, October 25, 2007) suggested also that the refrains might be in English in some European rap songs due to their international distribution. The Finnish rappers rapping in Finnish do not normally aim to the international markets.

What was essentially different in my data and that of Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002) as well as that of Lüdtke (2007), was naturally the Finnish language as the matrix language. The analysis reveals the unique characteristics of the Finnish language with its 15 cases. This can also be seen clearly in the examples of English items, which are mostly nouns but there are some verbs and adjectives as well. Items of all of the word classes are inflected according to both Finnish orthography (e.g. a word-final vowel *-i* in the nouns) and morphology (e.g. *Paipis*). A similar observation is made by Berns and Schlobinski (2003: 198) in their study: all the major German hip-hop words are in English, which are morphologically integrated. Since the Finnish language has 15 cases, it is bound to affect the form of the English words. I would say that my data are, thus, much more complex and varied than those of Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002) and Lüdtke (2007). One word can have, e.g. a derivational suffix, a partitive case marker and a possessive suffix in it.

It was also interesting to notice that through the use of the different cases or case markers, particularly through partitive, the rappers were able to inflect the English words better and make them rhyme with the rest of the lyrics. Thus, Finnish morphology in fact facilitated the general rhyming and also

the flow in rapping, which is considered highly essential. Therefore, it is justified to claim that the Finnish language suits rapping very well, although there have been negative opinions on the matter ever since the beginning of the 21st century, when Finnish hip hop music first became popular. What this also suggests, is that the Finnish language with its 15 cases, thus, differs a great deal from e.g. Germanic languages in this respect. The hip hop English can, in this way, become more deeply embedded into the Finnish rap lyrics on a linguistic level.

The English elements are never explained or translated in the lyrics and it is, thus, assumed and expected that the fans and the audience understand them. The finding bears resemblance to that of Berns and Schlobinski (2003: 198) who argued that all the major German hip hop words are in English but not translated into German. They (ibid.) offer a couple of explanations to this: (i) The English items are technical terms and a translation could not be as accurate and (ii) English elements are regarded as “cooler” than their German counterparts. This bears resemblance to the present study, except that I might add that the Finnish equivalent terms may also be longer and, therefore, not as useful in the rapping.

The shared terminology, a specific kind of jargon, is characteristic of hip hop culture. It is shared around the world and it tends to be in English. In my data, all the essential words, mainly nouns and verbs, of the culture are used in their Finnishized form, thus, the origin is still English but the rappers have made it local by modifying it according to the rules of the Finnish language. The words and expressions are often colloquial or non-standard in their forms. This refers to the speech-likeness of rap music as well as to the normal language usage by youth. The hip hop English words and expressions describe “the main competences and activities of the culture” (Lüdtke 2007: 20). This finding is similar to Lüdtke’s (2007) study on Australian hip hop lyrics and suggests a universal validity. Relating to the use of slang

terminology as well as formulaic expressions, my data indicates that the rappers can “stylize themselves as authentic in the sense of underground and subcultural experience” (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002: 27). The Finnish rappers know and make use of the original slang of African American Vernacular English, AAVE, and formulae in their Finnish lyrics and, again, make the words and phrases more Finnish in form. This speaks for the expert knowledge, usage and competence that are also shared across the globe in different hip hop cultures. This specific knowledge also connects them with the original US hip hop culture and its vast usage of AAVE. The local and native “stylistic repertoire” of the Finnish rappers includes both direct loans as well as calques, such as the word ‘shit’. This finding, too, receives support in Lüdtke’s (2007: 21) as well as Androutsopoulos and Scholz’s (2002: 27) studies.

The insiders of the culture know, use and share the shared terminology, whereas the outsiders do not understand it. Variation, i.e. deviation from the standard spelling, can in fact contribute to the rappers’ identity construction by “demarcating group boundaries and showing an oppositional stance with respect to the mainstream” (Sebba 2007a: 56). By using deviating spellings, the rappers can, thus, show their in-groupness and mark a clear distinction to the norms of a language used by most people. One of the main findings Androutsopoulos (2004: 9) made in his study was that the German youth “project exclusive social identities”, i.e. that of a “real hip hopper”, through linguistic choices, in this case, through routines and vernacular English, particularly “hip-hop slang”. This can also be seen in the Finnish context in which special hip hop slang with English elements is being used. That language can be seen as a more general style (language mixing). Although our data and the constructed identity (a fan vs. an artist) are different, I argue that in the present study of lyrics, the rappers construct themselves an expert and exclusive identity through e.g. the use of a specific kind of English. This identity is both local and global, thus, glocal. The local aspect in the lyrics can

be seen in the matrix language, Finnish, and in how the English items are Finnishized according to Finnish orthography and morphology. They are made more Finnish in nature and they are also made to match with the rest of the lyrics and with the rhyme and flow. Furthermore, the local aspect of identity is seen in the numerous self-references and references to local places. The global aspect of identity is obvious in the hip hop terminology that originates in the US hip hop culture that is spreading across the globe, to different hip hop cultures. All the major concepts are present in the Finnish lyrics. Linguistic choices, thus, do construct identities. The rappers choose to use both local and global elements and, in that process, construct themselves a glocal hip hop identity.

In my view, the mixing of English and Finnish in my data is a unique combination. Finnish is in a way “enriched” with Finnishized hip hop English words and phrases in that the Finnish language receives new words of a global subculture and enables the Finnish rappers, thus, to connect with other hip hop cultures. Still, these new words are made local in their form. One might argue that it is no more Finnish as such but it is a special kind of Finnish, its own style and a new language. In my view, it could in fact be seen as a new language, and maybe not necessarily as two languages in their own rights because the language is so mixed. For the rappers, it forms a kind of “mother tongue” and maybe they do not treat it as mixed at all. As *Cheek* (personal communication, October 25, 2007) argued, he and his friends use the kinds of (English) words and expressions also in their normal, everyday speech. My findings are similar to those of Pennycook (2003) who concluded in his study on Japanese hip hop performance that the specific kind of usage of both Japanese and English constructs an identity in flow. It is important what one does with the language and the Japanese rap group he studied created a new language of their own, a ‘raplish’ which is no one’s first, second or foreign language, through which they were refashioning new identities. (Pennycook 2003: 527-529). Also Kalliokoski (2006) concluded in

his study on the lyrics of *Fintelligens* that the hip hop identity is both local and global and this is expressed through e.g. linguistic choices that combine elements of the African American rap English, the Finnish standard language and the Helsinki slang. Their language is unique to them.

The present study focused on only one linguistic-level phenomenon, namely the use of English. Still, I could argue that my findings support Androutsopoulos and Scholz's (2002: 28, emphasis original) general conclusion: "[...] European rap lyrics are neither fully *imitating* their U.S. model(s) nor are they fully "emancipated" from these" [thus,] European rap includes both a *centripetal* and *centrifugal* tendency". Thus, "the "original" patterns are filled with each country's own "ingredients" on a thematic, actional, and linguistic level, thereby creating a cultural hybrid". What is even more important is that, gradually, this hybrid becomes indigenized. (ibid.) Indigenization refers to the outcome of imported cultural forms taking on local features, e.g. "rap sung in local languages with lyrics that refer to local personalities, conditions and situations" (Lull 1995: 156). Thus, the cultural hybrid becomes something unique to and characteristic of the local culture (Lull 1995: 155-156), as can be seen in the Finnish context, too. The originally US patterns with their English forms are filled with the Finnish language and Finnishized and localized in a special way. Global and local forms come together in that whereas rap and hip hop in Finland are by now local and native forms (thus, they are indigenized), there is still a strong connection to "a global youth cultural community" (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002: 30).

In my study, English appears to be a natural resource for the rappers alongside Finnish, which nevertheless remains the matrix language in all of the data. The Finnish hip hop identity, thus, seems (at least) bilingual. Finnish operates as the main language of story-telling, as the language that is mainly used for sharing one's own experiences in the songs. All in all, the

use of Finnish as the matrix language in Finnish rap lyrics seems to mark the “emergence of ‘local’ rap conventions” as the rappers can use the local linguistic resources (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002: 28). Using Finnish as the main language in rapping is very significant for the rappers (see also Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002: 30). However, in their rapping, they “copy and adapt a number of genre-typical figures of speech and formal patterns” (ibid.) as can be seen different kinds of formulaic patterns the rappers have adapted from the US hip hop models. English is not a foreign element for the rappers but rather a second language, the one of subculture and expertise. The English language items do not appear as “other” in the Finnish lyrics. (A finding similar to Sebba’s (2007b) on the use of English in Japanese advertisements.) This study, thus, confirms the role of English in the lives of Finnish youth, and in Finland on a more general level, too since the language of hip hop is transferring to youth and maybe also to other people. For example, the term ‘bling bling’ used to be a hip hop expression but nowadays all people use it to refer to jewelry, an expensive lifestyle, or what ever they can think of.

Although some researchers have conducted studies on Finnish hip hop, their data and methods have been fairly different (e.g. Kalliokoski 2006 on *Fintelligens* and Leppänen 2007 on “amateur” hip hop artists). The present study on Finnish rap lyrics offers unique information compared to e.g. studies on other non-Anglophone hip hop cultures and lyrics, since Finnish is a different kind of language with its cases and case markers. The present study offers, thus, new valuable information.

6.2 Evaluation

In the present study, I could have also focused on English in general but, in that case, the material would have been so vast that it felt reasonable to

somehow restrict the amount of data. Therefore, I chose to concentrate mainly on the specific hip hop items of the English data. They stood out from the data and there was plenty of that kind of data, too, so it was no problem to focus solely on that aspect of the lyrics. Hip hop English is, after all, the most characteristic kind of English the lyrics contain.

However, what I found sometimes difficult in the analysis was the distinction between a “normal” English word and a hip hop English word. They cannot always be viewed separately, because hip hop items occur in everyday language, too, and their usage is increasing all the time among youth not part of the hip hop culture. In addition, the same word can have a slightly different meaning as a normal word and as a hip hop word. In these complicated cases, I have tried to make it clear that it is a question of the viewpoint and opinion. In some cases, I have also consulted the artists as to their opinions on the matter. Usually, they agreed that it is a question of a word belonging to the hip hop culture.

What I found problematic with respect to the use of Androutsopoulos (2004) and Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002) as my methodological framework was the complication with the terms and in categorizing the words based on them. In the present study, it was sometimes difficult to differentiate between a slang item and a cultural term because in my view they sometimes overlap. Some items might indeed be part of the slang but still be meaningful cultural terms, such as ‘a homie’. In these kinds of cases, I have categorized them as slang items because they are first and foremost part of the slang vocabulary. In addition, slang items and formulaic expressions overlap. A slang item might belong to a formulaic pattern, e.g. ‘duussit’. I have categorized them under the formulaic expressions heading. Sometimes, as in the case of ‘shit’ and its Finnish calque, there are instances of them in both the slang items category as well as in the formulaic patterns.

Furthermore, it was sometimes difficult to determine the difference between mixing and switching. Although a clear majority of my data is language mixing, there are some examples that could be viewed as *both* language mixing and code-switching. The discourse markers can function as openers (e.g. "*Whoa* Täällä takas taas, oli kova hinku takasin") and closers (e.g. "Mä oon tehny selväks, mulle *passaa* sun *äässis*. *Jia!*"), and, thus, have local meanings in shaping the discourse. Therefore, they could be categorized as code-switching. But in addition, they can be inflected and modified into Finnish, express sub-cultural values (Androutsopoulos 2004: 7) and be part of the rappers' in-group style, so they can also be seen as instances of language mixing. In the present study, I have categorized discourse markers as language mixing because in my opinion, they are an essential part of the lyrics and their speech-like style. But I was left to wonder whether the categorization should be as strict as this. Auer (2007: 320) has argued that "bilingual talk blurs the line between language A and language B". Thus, it is not as simple as that to see where one language ends and another one begins. Therefore, in the future it might make more sense to study the languages not as separate entities in their own rights but as "a collection of discursive and linguistic practices used by bilingual speakers in a community, and based on certain grammatical/lexical/phonological feature constellations" (Auer 2007: 337).

Initially, I planned to interview the artists in addition to analyzing the lyrics because I believed it would give me more information and insights as to the questions of language(s) and identity/identities. I firmly believe that this would have been useful. However, because of the scope of the present study, it would have been too large a task to undertake. Therefore, I concentrated only on the lyrics and simply consulted the artists in unclear and problematic cases, such as the origin of the word or its implications, i.e. whether the word or expression can be considered a hip hop word.

6.3 Implications and conclusion

A significant implication of the present study is that the rappers' Finnish is by no means threatened by English. Finnish still functions as the mother tongue of the rappers, it is essential for them in the lyrics, since it functions as the matrix language. This idea was also confirmed by *Cheek* (personal communication, October 25, 2007) who argued that Finnish is indeed the main language of the lyrics and he considers it very important for him. However, my study shows that English is an additional language, but it has lost its foreignness. One reason for this could be that the rappers' language is, in fact, so mixed and so natural for the rappers themselves that they do not necessarily notice that they are using two "separate" languages or mixing them. For them, it is the language of subcultural knowledge and expertise and a kind of mother tongue. Nowadays, one can also see that different words and expressions are transferring from the hip hop circles into a normal use of language, into a colloquial language of other youth, too.

In the future, it would be very interesting to know more about the indigenized Finnish hip hop culture. Since it is clear now that all countries have their own, special hip hop culture, it would be interesting to study the Finnish hip hop scene in more detail. I believe that also by interviewing the artists, one could get much more information than by simply looking at and analyzing the lyrics. This way, one could perhaps get access to "inside" information and knowledge about hip hop culture that is not available in any books or studies. I would also be interested in finding out what kind of more general findings the framework suggested by Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002) would offer in the Finnish hip hop context. It could be very intriguing to learn about (i) the Finnish socio-cultural frame of rap, (ii) rap discourse - related issues such as song topics and cultural references in rap lyrics as well as about (iii) the linguistic patterns in the Finnish rap lyrics. An interesting and a more specific point of view in this respect could also be to examine the

themes of rappers in careful detail and, consequently, try to find out what kind of social themes the rappers have and speak for. In addition, it would be intriguing to know whether and how rappers can influence young people and their world views with their lyrics and themes and/or make them active in society, in one way or another. A study based on Androutsopoulos and Scholz's (2002) framework would be fairly large in scale and could, in my view, be complemented with observation and interviews on the Finnish hip hop scene, thus engaging in ethnography.

As stated before, the specific hip hop identity constructed in the lyrics is a glocal one. The global aspects could be seen in the language mixing (and code-switching) related e.g. to the specific cultural terminology and slang items. The local items, however, could be seen first of all in the matrix language, Finnish, but also in the specific naming of places and self-references. Locality is important for the rappers. Another significant aspect in the lyrics that was not the focus of the present study is the *local dialect* of the rappers. It would, therefore, be interesting to study also the local dialects as relating to the construction of Finnish hip hop identities. Mitchell (2001a: 32, emphasis added) has acknowledged this importance by arguing that "*regional dialects, and indigenous languages other than English [are] important markers for the vernacular expression and construction of identity*". By using the local dialects, rappers in e.g. Italy have been able to reconstruct the "roots" of the local histories (ibid.). This area of study would certainly need more attention in Finnish hip hop culture in the future.

Other possible studies in the future could relate to *education* and *empowerment* that rap and hip hop culture seem to offer and enable. As many young people are interested in rap music and hip hop culture and find meaningful and interesting texts and issues in them, they also sometimes start to compose lyrics themselves. They can express themselves freely and learn to deal with, sometimes difficult, things in their lives instead of e.g. starting up

a fight with someone because they feel bad. Thus, they gain empowerment and some control of their own lives. In fact, in a Finnish hip hop project called "Rap-kulttuurisilta", 'Rap culture bridge', the youth were able to express themselves by composing lyrics and they ended up publishing their own album titled "Isot kivet veteen", 'Big rocks to water' in 2006. (Hietaneva 2006; Turunen 2007.) More studies on this interesting topic should be conducted, also from the point of view of language(s). As can be seen from this, hip hop is not merely a subculture anymore. Its influences go beyond that. Also in education, one could make use of the popularity and the empowering tool of the hip hop culture. Some scholars have already studied this (see, e.g. Pennycook 2007, Ibrahim 1999), but there are no extensive studies on this issue in Finland. For instance, schools with pupils with many different ethnic and cultural backgrounds could find a common language in rap and hip hop that could help them in understanding and getting to know one another. Rap and hip hop could also be used in learning English. This is yet another fascinating area to be explored and studied in the future.

The identity or identities that were constructed in the lyrics with regard to the use of English and mixing the languages were in nature both local and global, thus, *glocal*. Finnish remains the main language throughout the lyrics and nothing suggests that its role is threatened by the English language or that it is diminishing its role and status. English is used alongside Finnish and it functions as the language of subcultural expertise, thus constructing a special subcultural identity as a member of the global and local hip hop culture. The English forms are integrated in varying degrees into the Finnish language, and this speaks for the indigenized terms and culture.

The present study has shed more light into the role of English in Finland, and specifically how English is used in Finnish rap lyrics and how it, in part, constructs hip hop identities. However, more research is needed about the role and functions of English in different areas of life in order to have a better

understanding of the sociolinguistic situation of Finland today. The present study has also contributed, to an extent, to the global research on hip hop culture and rap lyrics, since the Finnish context has not yet been studied extensively. More research is therefore needed also on this field of research to better understand what Finnish hip hop with its different rappers, identities, styles, themes and languages is all about.

7 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

No.	Artist	Album (year of publication)	Song
1	<i>Cheek</i>	<i>Avaimet mun kulmille</i> (2004)	Avaimet mun kiesiin
2			Suu kii
3		<i>Käännän sivuu</i> (2005)	Herätys
4			Liiku
5			Nostan kytkintä
6			Taas askeleen edellä
7			Tuuuaa kuumaa 2005
8			Täältä sinne
9	<i>Kemmuru</i>	<i>Kehumatta paras</i> (2006)	Koputa puuta
10			Oon 1
11			Oon 2
12			Skarppaa
13	<i>Sere & SP</i>	<i>Perusasioiden äärellä</i> (2005)	Heitä ne ilmaan
14			Olet ystävään
15			Punssia
16			Se menee niin
17			Taivaan täydeltä
18			Vapaa sana

Secondary sources

Androutsopoulos, J. and A. Scholz 2002. On the recontextualization of hip-hop in European speech communities: a contrastive analysis of rap lyrics [online]. *PhiN – Philologie im Netz*, 19, 1-42.
<http://web.fu-berlin.de/phin/>.

Androutsopoulos, J. and A. Georgakopoulou (eds.) 2003. *Discourse Constructions of Youth Identities*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Androutsopoulos, J. and A. Scholz 2003. Spaghetti Funk: Appropriations of Hip-Hop Culture and Rap Music in Europe. *Popular Music and Society*, 26 (4), 463-479.

Androutsopoulos, J. 2004. Non-Native English and sub-cultural identities in media discourse. In H. Sandøy (ed.), *Den fleirspråklege utfordringa/The multilingual challenge*. Oslo: Novus, 1-12 (83-98).

- Androutsopoulos, J. 2007. Bilingualism in the mass media and on the internet. In M. Heller (ed.), *Bilingualism: a social approach*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 207-230.
- Answers 2007. Online Dictionary and Encyclopedia. (May 29, 2007) www.answers.com. Entry: 'to adlib'.
- Auer, P. 1998. From Code-switching via Language Mixing to Fused Lects: Toward a Dynamic Typology of Bilingual Speech. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 3 (4), 309-332.
- Auer, P. 2007. The monolingual bias in bilingualism research, or: why bilingual talk is (still) a challenge for linguists. In M. Heller (ed.), *Bilingualism: a social approach*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bennett, A. 2000. *Popular music and youth culture. Music, identity and place*. Basingstoke: MacMillian Press.
- Berns, J. and P. Schlobinski 2003. Constructions of identity in German hip-hop culture. In J. Androutsopoulos and A. Georgakopoulou (eds.), 2003, 197-219.
- Bozza, A. 2003. *Eminem*. K. Lipponen and T. Lipponen (transl.). Helsinki: WSOY.
- Bucholtz, M. and K. Hall 2004. Language and Identity. In A. Duranti (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 369-394.
- Callahan, L. 2004. *Spanish/English Codeswitching in a Written Corpus*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Chamberland, R. 2001. Rap in Canada. Bilingual and Multicultural. In T. Mitchell (ed.), 2001, 306-325.
- Cheek 2006. (September 25, 2006) www.cheekki.com.
- Cheek 2007. Personal communication. October 18 and 25, 2007.
- Condry, I. 2001. A History of Japanese Hip-Hop. Street Dance, Club Scene, Pop Market. In T. Mitchell (ed.), 2001, 222-247.
- Crystal, D. 2002 (1988). *The English Language*. 2nd edition. London: Penguin Books.

- Crystal, D. 2003 (1997). *English as a Global Language*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cvetanovic, D. 2003. "Riimivirta voittamaton, taatusti loputon, joo!"
Suomalaisen rap-lyriikan riimistä ja runomitasta. Unpublished Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish.
- Davies, B. and R. Harré 1990. Positioning. The Discursive Production of Selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 20 (1), 43-63.
- DeNora, T. 2006. In A. Bennett, B. Shank and J. Toynbee (eds.), *The Popular Music Studies Reader*. London: Routledge, 141-147.
- Dictionary 2007. (October 19 and 23, 2007) www.dictionary.com. Entries: 'booty' and 'dues'.
- Eurobarometer 2005. *Europeans and Languages* [online]. (Jan 15, 2007) http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_237.en.pdf
- Fernando, S.H. Jr 1999. Back in the Day 1975-1979, in A. Light (ed.), *The Vibe History of Hip Hop*. New York: Three Rivers Press, 13-21.
- Flores, J. 1994. Puerto Rican and Proud, Boyee! Rap, Roots and Amnesia. In A. Ross and T. Rose (eds.), *Microphone Fiends. Youth Music & Youth Culture*. New York: Routledge, 89-97.
- Frith, S. 1996. Music and Identity. In S. Hall and P. du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage, 108-127.
- Gauntlett, D. 2002. *Media, Gender and Identity. An Introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Goffman, E. 1981. *Forms of Talk*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Graddol, D. 2000 (1997). *The Future of English? A guide to forecasting the popularity of the English language in the 21st century*. London: British Council.
- Graddol, D. 2006. *English Next. Why global English may mean the end of 'English as a foreign language'*. London: British Council.
- Haapsamo, R. 2007. Ilman kieltä tai kulttuuria olisin kuin yksisiipinen lintu. *Opettaja*, 2007 (22), 34-35.

- Hall, S. 1996. Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'? In S. Hall and P. du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage, 1-17.
- Hall, S. 1999. *Identiteetti*. M. Lehtonen and J. Herkman (eds. & transl.). Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Hannula, N. 2000 *Social, political and cultural messages in rap music – a discourse analytical approach*. Unpublished Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Tampere, Department of Philology.
- Heikura, V. 2003. *Lessons in Finnish Grammar suomeksi*. Helsinki: Vuokko Heikura.
- Hietaneva, P. 2006. Naulakallion pojat räppäävät omasta elämästään [online]. (December 8, 2007).
<http://www.hs.fi/omaelama/artikkeli/Naulakallion+pojat+r%C3%A4pp%C3%A4v%C3%A4t+el%C3%A4m%C3%A4st%C3%A4n/HS20060527SI1KU01bi5>.
- Hilamaa, H. and S. Varjus 2000. *Musta syke. Funkin, diskon ja hiphopin historia*. Helsinki: Like.
- Hilamaa, H. and S. Varjus 2004. Hiphop: Pohjoinen ulottuvuus. In P. Gronow, J. Lindfors and J. Nyman (eds.), *Suomi soi 2. Rautalangasta hiphoppiin*. Helsinki: Tammi, 193-203.
- Huq, R. 2003. Global Youth Cultures in Localized Spaces: The Case of the UK New Asian Dance Music and French Rap. In D. Muggleton and R. Weinzierl (eds.), *The Post Sub-cultures Reader*. New York: Berg, 195-207.
- Huq, R. 2006. *Beyond subculture: Pop, Youth and Identity in a Postcolonial World*. London: Routledge.
- Ibrahim, A. 1999. Becoming Black: Rap and Hip-Hop, Race, Gender, Identity, and the Politics of ESL Learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 33 (3), 349-369.
- Immonen, J. 2004. *'Meitä ei dissata!' – Rap-musiikki puuvillapelloilta gettoon ja sieltä ulos*. Unpublished Licentiate's Dissertation. University of Jyväskylä, Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy.
- Jousmäki, H. 2006. *The use of English in the Construction of Christian Youth Identities in a Finnish Youth Magazine* [online]. Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Jyväskylä, Department of Languages. (October 22, 2007) http://thesis.jyu.fi/06/URN_NBN_fi_jyu-2006540.pdf.

- Kalliokoski, J. 2006. "Omaa panosta omasta vokabulaaristosta." Rap-tekstit Stadin slangin kuvina. In K. Juusela and K. Nisula (eds.), *Helsinki kieliyhteisönä*. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 299-317.
- Kellner, D. 1998. *Mediakulttuuri*. R. Oittinen et al. (transl.). Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Kemmuru 2007. Personal communication. November 5, 2007.
- Keskisuomalainen 2006. Saksa suosituin valinnainen kieli lukiossa [online]. Dec 13, 2006. (Dec 3, 2007)
<http://lehti.keskisuomalainen.fi/portaali/doris/portalwww.isa?dpubl&JTarkisto,4817665>.
- Kochman, T. (ed.) 1972. *Rappin' and stylin' out. Communication in urban black America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Kochman, T. 1972. Toward an ethnography of black American speech behaviour. In T. Kochman (ed.), 1972, 241-264.
- Kuivas, S. 2003a. *Hiphop sukupolvensa ideologiaa: suomalaisen hiphop-musiikin tarkastelu sukupolvi-ilmiönä Karl Mannheimin sukupolviteoriaa soveltaen*. Unpublished Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Rovaniemi, Department of Education.
- Kuivas, S. 2003b. Avainkokemuksesta Avaimen. Suomalaisen hiphop-genren mannheimilainen sukupolvianalyysi. *Nuorisotutkimus* 2003 (1), 21-36.
- Labov, W. 1976 (1972). *Language in the Inner City. Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.
- Latomaa, S. and P. Nuolijärvi 2005. The Language Situation in Finland. In R. Kaplan and R. Baldauf Jr. (eds.), *Language Planning & Policy, Europe, Vol. 1 Hungary, Finland and Sweden*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 125-232.
- Leppänen, S. 2007. Youth language in media contexts: insights into the functions of English in Finland. *World Englishes*, 26 (2), 149-169.
- Leppänen, S. and T. Nikula 2007. Diverse Uses of English in Finnish Society. *Multilingua*, 26 (4), 333-380.
- Leppänen, S. and S. Pietikäinen (forthcoming). Urban rap goes to gells: breaking through and saving the endangered Inari Sami language. In H. Kelly-Holmes and G. Mautner (eds.), *Language and the Market*. Palgrave-Macmillan.

- Li, W. 2000. Dimensions of bilingualism. In W. Li (ed.), *The Bilingualism Reader*. London: Routledge, 3-25.
- Liesaho, J. 2003. *Welcome to the real world? Hip hop och politik i Finland*. Unpublished Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Helsinki, Department of Political Science.
- Liesaho, J. 2004. Tiedettä, taidetta ja satuja. Lähiö suomalaisessa rap-musiikissa. In P. Paju (ed.), *Samaan aikaan toisaalla... Nuoret, alueellisuus ja hyvinvointi*. Helsinki: Sosiaali- ja terveystieteiden tutkimus- ja kehittämiskeskus.
- Light, A. (ed.) 1999. *The Vibe History of Hip Hop*. New York: Three Rivers Press.
- Lull, J. 1995. *Media, Communication, Culture. A Global Approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Lüdtke, S. 2007. *Rap lyrics from the USA and Australia: a comparative study*. Paper present at the second part of NORFACE Seminar Series 'Linguistic diversity as social action', Tallin, Estonia, September 26-28, 2007.
- Mackey, W.F. 2000. The description of bilingualism. In Li, W. (ed.), *The Bilingualism Reader*. London: Routledge, 26-54.
- McArthur, T. 2003. World English, Euro-English, Nordic English? *English Today*, 19 (1), 54-58.
- Maxwell, I. 2001. Sydney Stylee. Hip-Hop Down Under Comin' Up. In T. Mitchell (ed.), 2001, 259-279.
- Mikkonen, J. 2004. *Riimi riimistä. Suomalaisen hiphopmusiikin nousu ja uho*. Keuruu: Otavan Kirjapaino Oy.
- Mitchell, T (ed.). 2001a. *Global noise. Rap and hip-hop outside the USA*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- Mitchell, T. 2001b. Fightin' Da Faida. The Italian Posses and Hip-Hop in Italy. In T. Mitchell (ed.), 2001, 194-218.
- Mitchell, T. 2001c. Kia Kaha! (Be Strong!) Maori and Pacific Islander Hip-Hop in Aotearoa-New Zealand. In T. Mitchell (ed.), 2001, 280-305.

- Mitchell, T. 2004. Doin' damage in my native language: the use of 'resistance vernaculars' in hip hop in Europe and Aotearoa/New Zealand. In S. Whiteley, A. Bennett and S. Hawkins (eds.), 2004, 108-123.
- Mitchell-Kernan, C. 1972. Signifying, loud-talking and marking. In T. Kochman (ed.), 2001, 315-335.
- Morgan, M. 2002. *Language, Discourse and Power in African American Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. 2002. *Contact Linguistics. Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. 2006. *Multiple Voices. An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Nieminen, M. 2003. Ei ghettoja. Ei ees kunnon katuja. In K. Saaristo (ed.), *Hyvää paha rock'n'roll. Sosiologia kirjoituksia rockista ja rockkulttuurista*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 168-190.
- Nykysuomen sanakirja 5* 1980. Porvoo: WSOY.
- Pacini Hernandez, D. and R. Garofalo 2004. The emergence of *rap Cubano*: an historical perspective. In S. Whiteley, A. Bennett and S. Hawkins (eds.), 2004, 89-107.
- Pakkala, E. 2004. *Metaforat ja maailmankuva Fintelligensin sanoituksissa*. Unpublished Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish.
- Pavlenko, A. and A. Blackledge 2004. Introduction: New Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts, in A. Pavlenko and A. Blackledge (eds.), *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1-33.
- Pennycook, A. 2003. Global Englishes, Rip Slyme, and performativity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7 (4), 513-533.
- Pennycook, A. 2007. *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*. London: Routledge.
- Pietikäinen, S. 2006. A Pro Gradu theme seminar on identities. Given at the University of Jyväskylä, January-May 2006.

- Potter, R.A. 1995. *Spectacular Vernaculars. Hip-hop and the Politics of Postmodernism*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Rampton, B. 1995. *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity Among Adolescents*. London: Longman.
- Rampton, B. 1998. Language crossing and the redefinition of reality. In P. Auer (ed.), *Code-switching in Conversation. Language, Interaction and Identity*. London: Routledge, 290-317.
- Reinikainen, S. 2005 *Representations of Women and Wealth in Hip Hop Videos* [online]. Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Tampere, Department of English. (Oct 31, 2007)
<http://tutkielmat.uta.fi/pdf/gradu00538.pdf>.
- Robertson, R. 1995. Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity. In M. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Robertson (eds.), *Global Modernities*. London: Sage, 25-44.
- Rose, T. 1994. *Black Noise. Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press.
- Rose, T. 2006. Voices from the Margins. In A. Bennett, B. Shank and J. Toynebee (eds.), *The Popular Music Studies Reader*. London: Routledge, 216-223.
- Royal Family 2006. (September 29, 2006) www.royalfamily.fi.
- Sarkar, M. and L. Winer 2006. Multilingual Code-switching in Quebec Rap: Poetry, Pragmatics and Performativity. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3 (3), 173-192.
- Sarkar, M. 2007. Hybrid Identities in Quebec Hip-Hop: Language, Territory, and Ethnicity in the Mix. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 6 (2), 117-130.
- Sebba, M. 2007a. *Spelling and Society. The culture and politics of orthography around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sebba, M. 2007b. *Hybridity, language mixing and code-switching*. Lecture given on August 22, 2007 at the Hybridity seminar, University of Jyväskylä.

- Seidlhofer, B. 2001. Closing a conceptual gap: the case for a description of English as a lingua franca. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 11 (2), 133-158.
- SP 2007. Personal communication. November 5, 2007.
- Swedenburg, T. 2001. Islamic Hip-Hop versus Islamophobia. Aki Nawaz, Natacha Atlas, Akhenaton. In T. Mitchell (ed.), 2001, 57-85.
- Taavitsainen, I. and P. Pahta 2003. English in Finland, Globalization, Language Awareness and Questions of Identity. *English Today*, 19 (4), 3-15.
- Tajakka, L. 1995. *Afro-Amerikkalainen vastarinnan muisti ja rap-musiikki: rodullisuuden ja etnisyyden diskurssit afrosentrisessä rapissa*. Unpublished Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Jyväskylä, Department of Literature.
- Takala, S. and L. Havola 1984. English in the socio-linguistic context of Finland. Jyväskylä: Kasvatustieteiden tutkimuslaitos.
- Tanni, M. 2005. Identiteetin tekijät [online]. (October 25, 2006) <http://www.uta.fi/~mt63532/docs/identiteetti.html>.
- Toop, D. 2000. *Rap Attack 3. African Rap To Global Hip Hop*. 3rd edition. London: Serpent's Tail.
- Toriseva, M. (forthcoming). *Suomen ja englannin kielen käyttö ja tehtävät rullalautailuteksteissä*. (The uses and functions of Finnish and English in skateboarding media). PhD Thesis. University of Jyväskylä, Department of Languages.
- Tossavainen, V. 2004. *Puhuja ja kuulija – ensimmäinen ja toinen persona Fintelligensin sanoituksissa*. Unpublished Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish.
- Turunen, H. 2007. *Isot kivet veteen. Case Rap-kulttuurisilta-projekti: Naulakallion oppilaiden räppiä elämästä* [online]. Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Jyväskylä, Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy. http://thesis.jyu.fi/07/URN_NBN_fi_jyu-2007378.pdf.
- Urban Dictionary 2007. www.urbandictionary.com.
 Entries: 'gimme five' (November 7, 2007), 'got your back' (October 23, 2007), 'street credibility' (October 30, 2007).

- VARIENG 2007. (October 23, 2007)
www.jyu.fi/hum/laitokset/kielet/varieng.
- Watkins, L. 2004. Rapp'in' the Cape: style and memory, power in community. In S. Whiteley, A. Bennett and S. Hawkins (eds.), 2004, 124-146.
- Wermuth, M. 2001. Rap in the Low Countries. Global Dichotomies on a National Scale. In T. Mitchell, (ed.), 2001, 149-170.
- Westbrook, A. 2002. *Hip-hoptionary. The Dictionary of Hip-hop Terminology*. New York: Harlem Moon.
- Whiteley, S., A. Bennett and S. Hawkins (eds.) 2004. *Music, Space and Place. Popular Music and Cultural Identity*. Aldershot : Ashgate.
- Wikipedia 2007, 2006. The Free Encyclopedia.
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/>. Entries: 'Boyz n the Hood' (October 30, 2007), 'freestyle rap' (May 29, 2007), 'ghetto' (October 23, 2007), 'hip hop' (October 30, 2007), 'Old School' (May 29, 2007), 'Stomp' (October 22, 2007), 'street credibility' (October 30, 2007), 'talk to the hand' (October 23, 2007)
<http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/>.
 Entry: 'Nils Gustafsson' (October 22, 2007), 'Royal Family' (September 29, 2006)
- Woolard, K. 2004. Codeswitching. In A. Duranti (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 73-94.
- 5th element 2007. (October 19, 2007) <http://www.5thelementlahti.net/>.