

**“Oon tehny paljon ostoksia even tho I probably  
shouldn’t have”**

**Code-switching in a Finnish Fashion Weblog**

**Bachelor’s Thesis**

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# HUMANISTINEN TIEDEKUNTA

## KIELTEN LAITOS

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### **”OON TEHNY PALJON OSTOKSIA EVEN THO I PROBABLY SHOULDN’T HAVE”: Code-switching in a Finnish Fashion Weblog**

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Tämän proseminaaritutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli tutkia koodinvaihtoa suomenkielisessä muotiblogissa: millaisissa tilanteissa koodinvaihtoa ilmeni ja millä kielen eri osa-alueilla. Luemme säännöllisesti muotiblogeja ja osallistuimme syksyllä 2008 Sirpa Leppäsen englannin kielen syventävälle kurssille English as a Global Language, jossa teimme pienimuotoisen tutkielman samasta aiheesta. Mielestämme on tärkeää tutkia koodinvaihtoa blogitekstissä, joka ei täytä kaksikielisen blogin vaatimuksia, mutta joka sivuaa hyvin läheisesti kaksikielistä tekstiä. Blogien tutkimus on keskittynyt lähes pääasiallisesti kaksikielisiin blogeihin, joiden aihepiirit ovat hyvin erilaisia. Emme löytäneet aiempaa tutkimusta tästä aiheesta, joten koimme aiheen tutkimisen tarpeelliseksi.

Koodinvaihto tarkoittaa kahden tai useamman kielen esiintymistä puhutussa tai kirjoitetussa kielessä. Terminä koodinvaihto on laaja ja se jakaantuu useampaan alakäsitteeseen: koodinsekoitus, koodin kopiointi, *language mixing*. Koodinvaihto eroaa myös lainaamisesta siinä määrin, että se on ominaisempaa puhe- ja ns. katukielessä sekä puhekielen ilmauksissa. Lainaus sen sijaan tarkoittaa sanoja jotka ovat otettu vakiintuneeseen käyttöön ja ovat löydettävissä esimerkiksi sanakirjasta.

Tutkimus on lähestymistavaltaan kvalitatiivinen. Aineistona tutkimuksessa oli 30 tekstiä muotiblogista, josta keräsimme kaikki ilmaukset, joissa oli käytetty englannin kieltä. Tutkimuksessa otimme huomioon ainoastaan puhtaasti koodinvaihtoa sisältäneet ilmaukset ja esimerkiksi *hybridi*-muodot, lainaus, koodinsekoitus ja –kopiointi sekä *language mixing* jätettiin ulkopuolelle. Otimme huomioon ainoastaan tekstit, jättäen tutkimuksen ulkopuolelle niiden otsikot sekä kaiken muun tekstin layoutissa. Tässä tutkimuksessa käsiteltiin koodinvaihtoa kieliopillisesta näkökulmasta, tutkien koodinvaihdon ilmenemistä kielen eri osa-alueilla. Näitä osa-alueita olivat yksittäiset sanat, sekä virkkeet ja lauseet. Tutkimuksessamme pyrimme selittämään kontekstin ja koodinvaihdon suhteen sekä mahdolliset syyt koodinvaihtoon. Tutkimuksessamme ilmeni, että koodinvaihto on tiukasti sidottuna kontekstiin, ja se pystytään selittämään mm. Montes-Alcalán tutkimukseen pohjautuvan koodinvaihdon tarpeen avulla. Suurin osa vaihdetuista yksittäisistä sanoista oli substantiiveja ja erityisesti erisnimiä. Adjektiiveja oli verrattaen vähän ja ne toistuivat samankaltaisissa tilanteissa. Adverbejä löytyi neljä kappaletta. Verbejä ei esiintynyt ollenkaan. Sekä virkkeitä että lauseita esiintyi melko paljon ja ne sijoittuivat pääasiallisesti suuremman kontekstin loppuosaan.

Asiasanat: code-switching, weblog

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

English is globally considered as a lingua franca and its role as a global language is powerful. Today the most of the mass media is using English as a means of communication and discourse. People are more and more aware of English and it is strengthening its position globally.

The topic of this proseminar paper is *Code-Switching in a Finnish Fashion Blog* which we chose due to several reasons. First, we took part in Sirpa Leppänen's course *English as a Global Language* where we had to do a minor research on weblogs and we got very interested in code-switching in them. Secondly, both of us reads several fashion related weblogs regularly and in many of them occur aspects of language mixing, code-switching or translation. Thirdly, even though studies on weblogs are becoming more and more popular, and weblogs are examined from various aspects, we did not find any previous research on this particular topic.

The blog we examined in our study is written by a 20 year-old Finnish female who at the moment lives in Tokyo, Japan. She writes entirely in Finnish but there are a lot of aspects of English involved. The blogger is studying in a Japanese language school and she is surrounded by a totally bilingual environment (Japanese-English). The blogger reads fashion blogs and magazines in English which surely affects her word choices. We find examining this topic important because we want to know how her interests and the surrounding environment affect her use of language.

We conducted a qualitative study gathering data from thirty weblog entries from <http://www.dirty-prettythings.blogspot.com/> . In this research we analyzed extracts of text where code-switching appears. We chose thirty latest entries from the year 2008 in a chronological order. In this research we have observed only the texts of the entries, excluding the headlines and any other texts outside the entries. We analyzed the results based on the previous research by Cecilia Montes-Alcalá (2007) and Jannis Androutsopoulos (2006) on both code-switching in general, and code-switching in weblogs. However, due to the slightly different aspect and nature of both of the previous studies, our study cannot be completely based on the previous research. Therefore, we followed the instructions that we were given in the lecture of Sirpa Leppänen in the autumn 2008. This paper consists of many different parts. We begin with theoretical background where we will present weblogs, as well as fashion weblog and blogging in general. Also, we will present the term code-switching itself and in a weblog. Then we will move on to the method of this study and the data that we have gathered. We will present the fashion weblog that we analyzed by giving information about its general character. In this study we will analyze code-switching in terms of its use in this blog. Its occurrence: in different word classes, position in the context, situations.

## 2. BLOGGING AND LINGUISTICS

In this chapter, we will first explain the general character of weblogs, blogging and blog research by presenting the basic characteristics of a weblog, focusing especially on fashion weblog. Then we will move on to presenting the definitions and typical features of the term code-switching including a little discussion over its closely related terminology and its research.

### 2.1 WEBLOGS

A weblog, according to Werbach (2001) as quoted by Montes-Alcalá (2007:162) is a personal website that offers frequently updated observations, news, headlines, commentary, recommended links and/or diary entries, generally organized chronologically. Some blogs provide information or news on a particular topic and the others serve as public online diaries dealing with the blogger's personal life and interests. Usually blogs include text, images, links to websites of other blogs but they can also have videos, music or special photographs. Blogging and reading blogs have become kind of a trend and examining them gives an interesting aspect to internet language research. Blogs are today an interesting and fairly recent phenomenon.

Overall, the language used in blogs is more informal and thus blogs are quite democratic form of expression. Communication is usually direct, casual, and uncensored. Posts do not go through editors or spellcheckers necessarily and hence bloggers may take the liberty to use language freely as they wish (Montes-Alcalá 2007:163). Therefore, it is common to find ungrammatical sentences, spelling errors, swear words and code-switching. According to Androutopoulos (2006:7), weblogs represent the voice of individuals rather than institution and are arguably sites of public discourse; they are cross-linked with mainstream media in manifold ways, and have the potential of gaining regular audiences.

Today, weblogging is very popular and it has expanded into a fashion phenomenon. Weblogs deal with issues from various areas and there are websites that divide blogs into different categories according to their field of discussion. Nowadays creating a blog is very easy since there are many operators that provide a possibility to create an own account. Almost all universities and educational institutes offer server space to start a blog. However, possibly the most popular server is "Blogger" owned by Google because a large number of blog accounts have been created with this server. The bloggers endeavor to create a visually attractive layout in order to catch the readers' attention. They tend to use attractive colors and pictures and in general, an easy access to the earlier entries and other interesting blogs. Advertisers have noticed the popularity of weblogs and by

giving a little reward to a blogger they can put a little advertisement in the layout of the blog. They also provide bloggers free samples of some products that can be tested and evaluated so that the readers become aware of new products and will possibly purchase them.

It is a clever idea to advertise products in the weblogs because in most of the cases the audience comes from the same age group as the writer and as follows, the advertisers are able to reach their target audience easily. Advertisers also provide the writer with free samples of some the products and gift vouchers to some shops that can be prizes in a lottery. Actually, lottery has become a very popular method to gain readers' attention and it creates a win-win situation for all, the blogger, the advertisers (and also the sellers) and the readers. The writers consider their readers' ideas, opinions, and wishes very essential when planning new posts. This way the readers are active participants of the blog and it is important to keep them satisfied. Readers can give wishes for becoming entries, questionnaires, and in general, give feedback of the blog.

Fashion blogs are very popular nowadays since fashion in general has been maintaining its position on the top of today's media (television, magazines, Internet). They are usually written by women and in Finland, fashion weblogs are popular among adolescent girls (15-21). Fashion blogs include a large number of pictures from fashion shows, clothing catalogues, fashion magazines and websites and user's own pictures. They describe bloggers' own preferences in fashion, their clothes, what they have been buying, what they recommend to other people, pictures of daily outfits and other fashion related topics. Almost all fashion weblogs tend to have a visually attractive layout since the nature of fashion blogs is aesthetic and it has to attract one's eye. In Finnish fashion weblogs advertising is becoming more and more common and visible to the readers. Also, the weblogs of many writers have been spotted by the media. Some of them have a little column in a newspaper or a magazine that deals with same fashion related issues as the blog. Also, one Finnish blogger has got the opportunity to talk and discuss about her blog and ideas weekly in television. In Finland, a group of active and most popular fashion bloggers have created a community that organizes meetings in Finland and even shopping trips to abroad. These meetings and trips are presented in the blog.

According to Montes-Alcalá (2007:164) it seems clear that the rapid proliferation of blogs now offers a whole new field of study in the area of code-switching very much unexplored to date. Even though there have been blogs earlier, they have gained popularity and attention recently. Montes-Alcalá (2007:167) states that there is always a need for switching to another language. The issue of a real need is relative and should not be interpreted as lack of language proficiency. Instead, it

should be considered as a lack of an exact equivalent in the other language. Another explanation for a switch could simply be a higher frequency of exposure of an item in a specific language, as we will find out later in this paper. A typical reason for oral code-switching, but also common in written language, is to switch a language when quoting someone else's words (Montes-Alcalá 2007:167). As the research of Montes-Alcalá has also come into a conclusion, quotations are a very typical feature of code-switching in the weblogs. The research has also come across an area of code-switching in a weblog that puts together a group of situations where there are no obvious single reason to switch. The reason behind these switches is entirely stylistic. According to Montes-Alcalá (2007:169) code-switching is a rather complex and meaningful strategy that many authors perceive as a superior expressive repertoire, as opposed to a sort of limitation or lack of familiarity with the language. In the following chapter, we will introduce the code-switching in more profound way.

## 2.2 CODE-SWITCHING

Code-switching is a natural phenomenon that consists of alternating two or more languages (Montes-Alcalá 2007: 162). It occurs frequently in bilinguals' discourse and writing, but also in other linguistic environments such as internet communities (weblogs, discussion forums, IRC, and so on.) and in conditions where there is a constant access to another language. Code-switching appears at several levels of language: individual words (nouns, adjectives, particles, adverbs and verbs), phrases and utterances/sentences (Leppänen 2008). There has been some disagreement on the definitions of code-switching and related phenomena, and it has been analyzed from various points of view. For instance, code-switching has been analyzed from the point of view of conversation analysis and it has also been the interest of different fields such as sociology, psycholinguistics, general linguistics and pragmatics (Kovács 2001:61). According to Montes-Alcalá, code-switching has traditionally been studied in its oral production but very little research has focused on code-switching in writing. It is important to examine the features and effects of written internet language, or so called "netspeak" which means a type of language displaying features that are unique to internet (Crystal (2001) as quoted by Androutsopoulos (2006)) since the research in this field is becoming more and more frequent. The term code-switching is quite vague including a variety of sub-categories that might easily get mixed up. In the following chapter we shall clarify the differences within the term code-switching.

The terms most often used code-switching and code-mixing are sometimes used as complementary terms (Kovács 2001:62). Even though it has been claimed by various researchers (Thelander 1976,

Sridhar, and Sridhar 1980:408-409 as quoted by Kovács (2001:62) that switching means language alternation between sentences but not inside a sentence or a clause, while code-mixing refers to mixing of two or more languages within a clause (Appel and Muysken 1992 [1987]: 117-118 as quoted by Kovács 2001: 62), they both have been considered rather cover-terms meaning any type of language alternation. Auer (1998) states, that there occurs a twofold distinction between switching and mixing on the one hand, and alteration and insertion on the other. Insertion is defined as a uni-directional process, in which elements of a donor language are imbedded into a matrix language. Alternation is a bi-directional process, in which interaction can equally be conducted in both languages, and the point of switching is not predictable. For the distinction between switching and mixing Auer (1998) also argues for a restrictive view of switching as a locally meaningful phenomenon, which indexes features of the speaker and/or the situation, such as change of topic or activity, change of footing, etc. It can involve single word items or larger chunks. Insertional mixing, on the other hand, can be quite frequent and is only meaningful as a whole, i.e. as a language variety of style. It covers both established and nonce lexical borrowings as well as some larger chunks. In this research we are not going to separate the other terms from code-switching to avoid confusion since they are so closely related. Instead we will use code-switching as an umbrella term.

Code-switching has received an increasing research interest especially in the last twenty years. According to Jacobson (1990 and 1998) as quoted by Kovács (2001:61), today code-switching is no longer looked upon as a “peculiar” use of different languages but recognized as a “worldwide phenomenon”. The nature of code-switching as a worldwide phenomenon is clearly visible in today’s international media and communication. Advertising is a good example of the use of code-switching. Many advertisements are full of word games that include code-switching. Also, internet, newspapers and magazines as well as television use a lot of code-switching today. Code-switching in the media has various purposes such as sarcasm, joking, argumentation, and in general, playing with language. Most research investigates the influence of sociocultural and psychological factors in code-switching or searches for grammatical constraints, especially in intrasentential switches. Code-switching has also been analyzed from the point of view of conversational analysis (Kovács 2001:61).

Four main lines in code-switching research can be distinguished: the sociolinguistic, the psycholinguistic, the linguistic and the interactionist/conversationalist approach. However, recent studies attempt to combine the different approaches into one single model (Kovács 2001:65). Many researchers attempt to explain the reasons for alternating languages. Other research concentrates



more profoundly on the semantical, pragmatical and morphological contents of code-switching. Code-switching is also seen as a negotiation device between different social identities. It can also be used for breaking up the traditional associations. However, this model has been strongly criticized, for example for its monolingual starting point (Kovács 2001:66). According to Heller (1992, 1995) and Jorgensen (1998) as quoted by Kovács (2001:66) code-switching has also been analyzed as a reflection of power relations. The opportunity to switch to another language gives a great feeling of power since some expressions and ideas are better expressed in another language. In this paper we shall argue that the tendency to switch language is highly depending on the context and cultural surrounding.

The main orientation in code-switching research until the 1990's was the linguistic or grammatical approach, the search for structural constraints on code-switching. In the 1990's, many code-switching studies endeavored to take into account more than one factor in explaining code-switching, that is, to combine sociolinguistic factors with the grammatical, psycholinguistic and conversational factors (Androutsopoulos 2006:432). In this research we will concentrate on the grammatical factors of code-switching, and we will also take into account the linguistic and cultural environment keeping in mind the role of English for the user.

### 3. METHOD

In this chapter, we will represent the fashion weblog we analyzed, providing information about its general character, the language used in it, and the ways we used to conduct this study.

The blog we analyzed in this paper is written by a 20 year-old Finnish female who at the moment lives in Tokyo, Japan. We chose this blog because it has a remarkable number of English words and expressions, it is interesting, and it belongs to the category of fashion weblogs that we want to analyze. Fashion weblogging is very popular phenomenon in Finland. Therefore it is worth examining. This blog was remarkably different from other similar blogs due to its language. There occurred a large number of English which is not the case in other blogs that we observed when choosing the data.

The blogger mentions that her interests are travelling and fashion, which remained as the main focus of this blog. The blog entries are written in Finnish, and English is used only in some expressions. All the headings and majority of the picture texts are in English. The role of English in this blog is difficult to define. Since she is Finnish, and all her blog entries are written in Finnish, the role of English could be considered as English as a Foreign Language (EFL). However,

according to her writings, the blogger studies Japanese in a language school in English while living in a bilingual environment where she has access to English and Japanese. Therefore it can also be claimed that the role of English here is English as a Second Language (ESL). The blogger seems to have a good knowledge of English possibly due to the fact that she lives and studies abroad. She uses English in her everyday life and it is the only language that she shares with other people in Japan. Therefore, the use of English seems very natural and in some cases even “forced” since there are a lot of utterances and/or words that cannot be said in Finnish.

We conducted a qualitative study and gathered the data from the weblog observing 30 entries. The entries were gathered and analyzed during December 2008 and January 2009. We analyzed code-switching in different levels of language: individual words, including nouns, adjectives, adverbs, as well as, phrases, and utterances/sentences. We categorized all the expressions where English had been used from every entry and chose the expressions that included only code-switching. Due to the fact that this is a small-scale study we excluded all the hybrid forms, loan words, code-mixing and language mixing and concentrated only on code-switching. Furthermore, we excluded all the texts outside the actual entries as well as the headlines.

The research questions of this study are: How does the use of code-switching occur in this particular fashion weblog? Does the use of code-switching appear in individual words (different word classes), phrases or utterances/sentences? And which are the situations where code-switching is used?

#### 4. RESULTS

In the chapter 4.1 we will analyze the data. First, we will analyze the group of individual words including nouns, divided into nouns and proper nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. We will examine the appearance of nouns, adjectives and adverbs by means of where do they stand in a sentence/phrase. In the chapter 4.2 we will move on to analyzing the function of phrases again, by means of where they stand inside a sentence. In the last chapter of the results, 4.3 we will examine the use of utterances/sentences by means of whether they are individual, or whether they appear embedded, beginning or the end of a larger context. We will explain, when relevant, the relationship between the switch and context. In chapter number 5, we will gather the explanations together as in this chapter we will present the results.

##### 4.1 INDIVIDUAL WORDS

In the blog entries the largest group of individual words written in English was the group of nouns. We divided this group into two: nouns and proper nouns. A noun, according to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2000) is a word that refers to a person, a place or a thing, a quality or an activity. A proper noun is a word that is the name of a person, a place, an institution, etc. and is written with a capital letter (1016). The difference between the two groups was remarkable; there were more proper nouns than simple nouns. Proper nouns included the names of actors, musicians, fashion labels, music groups, television programs, few names of places and models whereas, nouns included a variety of clothing related vocabulary, and a couple of swear words.

#### 4.1.1 NOUNS

Nouns occurred embedded in the sentences of phrases. For example,

- (1) Mutta noh, en kuitenkaan pysty aloittamaan mitään ennen kuin Bunkan koe on ohi (fuuuuck, enää 3 viikkoa), joten palaillaan tähän sitten joskus.
- (2) Omat suosikkini kevään 2009 ready-to-wear mallistoista (voi luvata paljon mustaa, mustaa ja mustaa).
- (3) Spank!-stä löytynyt second-hand froiteinen vaalean mintun värinen jumpsuit...
- (4) En enää asu 9 neliön guest house-huoneessa.

The noun-*look* was used frequently. For example,

- (5) Yukito ja maanviljelijä-look. Tästä kun olis laittanu vielä tukan alas ja kakkulat veke niin vuorossa olis ollut meksikolainen kokaiininviljelijä-look.
- (6) Mun sulokas junttilook.

Nouns occurred frequently in picture texts, in the end of a sentence or a phrase. For example,

- (7) Moussyn villakankainen bikerjacket.
- (8) Rillin ja sen kavereiden tuleva bar/restaurant. Sen teemana on rainbow.
- (9) Rilde ja the party hat.

The most common circumstance for a noun to appear was an individual word embedded in a sentence or a phrase functioning as emphasizing the context. For instance, nouns were used to give information about clothes with their names in the fashion world (*jumpsuit*) and other fashion related information (*ready-to-wear, fashion design, fashion forward, street snap, look*). Also, other embedded nouns were used to give additional and emphasizing information about the context. For example,

- (10) En enää asu 9 neliön guest house-huoneessa.

the noun *“guest house”* is used to give information about the writer's former apartment, that was a *“guest house- type of a room”*. Also, in

(11) Luultavasti olen vaan new era vampire, tosin eipä siinä mitään eroa huomaa kun hiihdän muutenkin päivästä toisiin kokouksissa tukka sekaisin.

The noun "new era vampire" is used to refer to the writer's possible Halloween costume, and also, to her everyday clothing style in an ironical way. There were a variety of embedded individual nouns that did not belong to any particular category. These nouns were *liner*, *cocktail*, *funk*, *magazines* and *highlight* functioning as quiz answers and therefore did not have any specific context.

Another circumstance of noun appearance was individually standing word in the end of a sentence or a phrase. The majority of these sentences/phrases were picture texts and the function of the English word choice for a noun is to emphasize the name of a place or a thing. For example,

(12) Moussyn villakankainen bikerjacket.

(13) Rillin ja sen kavereiden tuleva bar/restaurant. Sen teemana on rainbow.

(14) Rilde ja the party hat.

(15) Uuh, joku aamuinen hot mama.

are all texts that appear under a picture and therefore the nouns are used to describe things happening in them. The nouns in this group were tightly tied in the context and the use of English was evident.

A fact that is worth mentioning is that individual nouns were never used in the beginning of a sentence/phrase.

The other group of nouns, proper nouns, included a remarkably larger number of words than the group of nouns. The majority of proper nouns were names of people, such as actors/actresses (*Johnny Depp*, *Heath Ledger*, *Winona Ryder*, *Keira Knightley*), musicians (*John Scatman*, *Michael Jackson*, *Anthony Kiedis*), models (*Jessica Stam*), and fashion designers (*Vivienne Westwood*, *Ed Hardy*). A large number of proper nouns also included names of music groups (*Red Hot Chili Peppers*, *Bloc Party*, *The Sounds*, *Mr. President*), television programs (*Big Brother*, *Gossip Girl*, *TV-Shop*), song names (*Under the Bridge*, *Wonderwall*, *Scar Tissue*, *Otherside*), fashion labels (*Cheap Monday*, *Wonder Rocket*, *Romantic Standard*), trademarks (*Care Bears*, *My Little Pony*, *Grateful Dead Bear*, *Tinkerbell*) and names of particular places (*Tokyo Tower*, *Chinatown*, *Bunka Fashion College*). This group of nouns appeared equally in the beginning, embedded and in the end of a sentence/phrase. There were completely individually standing occasions, for instance in the quiz answers. Proper nouns did not carry any specific meaning or function. The writer uses the proper nouns to inform her readers about her music taste, places she has been to, and in general her

interests. They were used only because it is necessary and they cannot be interpreted or expressed by any other means.

#### 4.1.2 ADJECTIVES

The second largest group of individual words was adjectives. They all were embedded in sentences carrying positive images. Some adjectives were used to describe fashion related items: *rock- (henkinen)*, *second hand-*, *basic-*. All these adjectives are very common in many fashion weblogs because they carry description and characterize clothing. When the blogger describes her emotions or state of mind, she tends to use English adjective. For example, adjectives such as *random*, *happy*, *happy joy*, *cool*, *beloved* and *boring* are very commonly occurring adjectives in this weblog.

The adjectives that are used to describe the blogger's emotions, state of mind, and important things carried a very positive image and tend to repeat frequently. For example,

(16) ...mikä täällä on aina yhtä happy joy kokemus.

(17) ...täytyy nyt vaan toivoa että 1000 jeniä palaisi takaisin siihen 6 euroon, niin olisin happy...

The adjective *happy* replaced in all the cases its Finnish equivalent—*iloinen/onnellinen*”, and in many occasions it was emphasized with another adjective, as the example shows (*joy*). Also, *happy* was emphasized with adverbial *very*, but it cannot be taken into account here due to its orthographical form “*veri*” which belongs to another category of code-switching, and is not relevant in this study. The following examples carry descriptions of the important things to the blogger.

(18) ...mikäs muu kuin mun beloved kakka...

gives information about the blogger's teddy bear toy, called *kakka*. She has used the adjective *beloved* about other important toys, clothes and things as well. The adjective *random* was very common in all the fields of code-switching, but as we are concentrating only on pure code-switching, we cannot provide as many examples as the adjective would require.

(19) Kuvaile tyyläsi kolmella sanalla: random, kämänen, tumma..

(20) ...ja kaikki random.

are both examples that provide information about the blogger's clothing style and music taste.

There were a group of adjectives that were used particularly to describe and emphasize “extreme” characteristic of a word. For example, adjectives *huge*, *spooky*, *boring*, *hi-tech*, *extreme*, and *fab* represent this group of adjectives carrying a strong image. In the example,

(21) mun silmissä yksinkertainen equals boring boring boring.

the blogger describes a specific clothing style that she finds boring. *Boring*, as well as *happy*, replaces its Finnish equivalent “*tylsä*” in every situation. Also, boring always referred to clothing or a style. Adjectives *hi-tech*, *extreme* and *fab(olous)* were used to characterize the nature of specific items, such as in this case, hi-tech for an airplane, extreme for a car and fab(olous) for a possible future apartment. They all convey a special meaning that is common in netspeak due to the slang nature of the words. The blogger uses these kinds of street expressions often, and therefore they appear very naturally and in the text. Adjectives *huge* and *spooky* were used to emphasize and even exaggerate the extreme nature of two words. For example,

(22) mörkökin on aika spooky.

(23) ...siellä oli ihan HUGE hämähäkki.

both are taken from contexts that require a strong adjective to indicate the noun. Both, *mörkö* (=bogyman) and *hämähäkki* (=spider) are generally feared and therefore worth highlighting. Also, due to the writer’s everyday use of English both switches seem very natural.

#### 4.1.3 ADVERBS

There were only three adverbs which is the third group of individual words. Two of them were in the beginning of a Finnish sentence, and one of them was embedded in a similar sentence. Adverb *anyway*, was used more than once in the beginning of a sentence and it was also transformed in various ways (*eniveis*, *anygays*, *enivei*) that are not relevant in this study. For example,

(24) Anyway, ihanaa olla viimein kotona ja vaan löllyä.

(25) Anyway, random tyttöjen paita Takeshita doorin jostain liikkeestä 1000 jenillä nyysitty.

both begin with the adverb *anyway*. *Anyway* seems to be very commonly switched adverb in all kinds of netspeak (Leppänen 2008). In this blog it can be seen in the transformation of the adverbial. It is given a new orthographical form that relates to the Finnish way of pronouncing the English word. Also, the wordplays, such as “*anygays*” became very common in this blog. The use of the English form here is due to the bilingual nature of this blog.

Another adverb “*finally*”, that was in the beginning of a sentence had the same function as “*anyway*”. For example,

(26) Finally niitä kuvia, joita kylläkin tuli otettua ihan surkea määrä.

conveys a meaning where it is evident that the writer is able to express the adverb “*finally*” in her native language, the language of this blog. However, there is an obvious need for a switch here because she uses English everyday and it becomes very natural to start a sentence with an English

word or expression. This probably can be due to the fact that she thinks the most of the time in English, and this way starting a sentence in English seems even reasonable.

The example,

(27) Summer salet on officially melkein kaikkialla täällä jo finaaleissa.

on the other hand, represents a different case. The adverb *officially* does not have in this context a Finnish equivalent that would function in the same way. There is certain evidence that this sentence has been thought in English since it begins with a hybrid form of the word summer sale, ends with the language mixed form final, and the adverb, if used in Finnish, would resemble a very formal use of language. By being aware of the style of the writer, the whole context and, her use of Finnish language, it can be assumed that this adverb would not be used in Finnish in a Finnish sentence. Instead, it could be replaced with the Finnish equivalent for the adverb *finally*.

## 4.2 PHRASES

In this chapter we will present the phrases that occurred in the texts. Phrases were in most cases in the end of a sentence carrying a promise, gratitude or farewell. There were also few embedded phrases. However, none of the sentences began with a phrase.

Phrases that occurred in the end of a sentence were:

(28) I know, I promise, , of course!, for you, for real, for realz, thank god, thanks, so long, oh well, no clue, no comments

All the phrases represented a case where the switch is needed, and all these switches can be used and heard in Finnish everyday language, especially among young people. They are all widely known and frequently used. Especially, *I know*, *of course*, *for you*, *for real*, *thank god*, *thanks*, and *no comments* are probably the most common known English phrases of slang language due to their major occurrence in the Internet. For the writer, these phrases propose again a natural and reasonable choice of expressing herself. It can be assumed that these phrases belong to the everyday vocabulary of the writer.

Phrases that were embedded in a sentence were:

(29) ultimate goal, my dear, I think, you know?

The phrases *ultimate goal* and *my dear*, however, convey the idea of the writer's personal expressions, her way of speech, and the possibility that she cannot at that precise moment find a Finnish equivalent for the expressions and chooses to write them in English. It is a significant characteristic of her writing which is spontaneous, and she is not aiming for linguistically or grammatically correct language. The phrases do not carry any other explanation than the fact that the writer uses English as her primary language.

#### 4.3 UTTERANCES/SENTENCES

In this chapter we will present the utterances/sentences that were in the texts. This category was the largest in addition to the group of nouns from the field of individual words. The majority of the sentences was completely individual, or occurred in the ending of a larger context. There were four embedded sentences from which one sentence occurred twice. There was only one sentence/utterance in the beginning.

Individually standing sentences/utterances were:

- (30) That's all I need.
- (31) I'm coming!
- (32) Check this hot shit out babes.
- (33) At times like these I hate living in Japan.
- (34) I can assure you.
- (35) I can tell you
- (36) May I ask.
- (37) At the end of March.

Many of the individually standing utterances/sentences occurred in the middle of a text extract where the writer is telling about something that has happened to her recently and she is using the English expression to emphasize the sarcasm in her writing. Example 32 refers to the writer's need to go to a hairdresser since she has not dyed her hair in months and her roots can be seen. The sarcasm is very difficult to define and explain because it is tightly tied into the context and it is very important to be aware of it in order to understand it. Also, examples 30, 33, and 37 carry a sarcastic character. The first refers to the writer's minor problems with her new home country, thus it does not have a very serious meaning but rather a sarcastic one. The second example refers to the expiry date of the writer's visa, and the English expression emphasizes the sarcasm. The third one refers to the currency of Japan yen, which she is comparing to euro, and as it has not been in good balance, she tends to joke about it. On the other hand, examples 31, 34, 35, and 36 carry another meaning. All of these occur obviously in the writer's everyday language and conversation. Also, all of these could definitely be expressed in Finnish as well, and the context does not require the use of



English expression, or any need for English equivalent. Again, it would be useful and important to be aware of the context, and the writer's personal writing style.

Sentences/utterances that were in the ending of a larger sentence were:

- (38) don't ask me why.
- (39) are not very high.
- (40) I like sleeping.
- (41) you name it.
- (42) again with Henna.
- (43) I love-love it.
- (44) in looove.
- (45) I do not know.
- (46) now and forever.

In this case again, there are two examples where the concept of sarcasm can be taken into account. Examples 38 and 39 both carry a sarcastic meaning that is, again, highly depending on the context. The first one is not a direct question but rather an assumption, and in the given context a Finnish expression would not be the same sarcasm as the English one is doing here. The rest of the examples, on the other hand, could be explained by her everyday use of English and again her personal style.

Sentences/utterances that were embedded in a larger context were:

- (47) to be honest
- (48) in the end (occurred twice)
- (49) even tho I probably shouldn't have

The only sentence/utterance that began a larger context was *First things first*.

## 5. DISCUSSION

In this chapter we will relate our analysis and its results to earlier research and knowledge. We will explain the relationship between the English language and the blog context, and the possible reasons for code-switching in this case. Since we have been looking at this topic from a very narrow point of view, we were not able to provide as in-depth analysis as we would have wanted to. This is a small-scale study that has to be kept in a certain framework. We could not interview the writer, we sent an e-mail to her to which she did not respond, and we could not include other aspects of English which would have been interesting. Thus, this topic is worth studying further, by, for instance including a larger number of blog entries, widening the theoretical point of view, and comparing it to the earlier studies. For further study, we would recommend examining this topic by comparing the blog to another from the same field. Also, another interesting aspect would be to

study this blog from the point of view of the use of English as a whole, by including language mixing, code-mixing, borrowing, hybrid-forms and, so on to the research.

As we have earlier mentioned in the chapter 2.1, there is always a need for switching to another language (Montes-Alcalá 2007:167). The issue of this need is relative and should not be interpreted as lack of language proficiency. It is obvious that the writer is able to express the switched extracts in Finnish since it is her native language and she has at least some kind of contact with the Finnish speaking culture all the time. Therefore, some of her choices to switch could be considered as a lack of an exact equivalent in the other language, in this case in Finnish. However, as it has also been mentioned earlier in this paper, another explanation for a switch could simply be a higher frequency of exposure of an item in a specific language since she uses English in her everyday life. In many cases, the English expression could be said in Finnish as well, carrying exactly the same meaning and idea but since these expressions belong to her everyday vocabulary, their use seems natural and reasonable.

A growing body of research examines multilingualism on the Internet as a part of two different trends: the dominance of English as a lingua franca of transnational communication, and the representation of linguistic diversity online (Androutsopoulos 2006:428). As the research by Androutsopoulos (2006) also supports, due to the rapidly growing position of the English language in the mass media and its role as a lingua franca, switches tend to occur more and more frequently in other languages, in our case Finnish. Leppänen (2008) states that the role of English in Finland has grown remarkably in the past years, and it can be considered as “the third national language” in addition to Finnish and Swedish. This gives a good explanation for the recurrence of the English switches in this particular blog, and the fact that the writer lives abroad, and is constantly communicating in English, supports the concept. The influence of English can also be seen in other Finnish fashion weblogs due to the context, which in this case is fashion. It is evident that the writers have a contact with the English language since the most popular weblogs in Europe are written in English, the most popular fashion magazines are in English, and the English speaking media has its own effect. However, in this specific blog the effect of English can be seen more clearly than in any other blog.

In this paper we have examined a Finnish fashion weblog that carries a certain character of bilingualism. We have studied the topic from the point of view of individual words, by dividing them into nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Nouns we divided even further into nouns and proper nouns. We found out that nouns were the largest group of individual words, and of which, the

majority was proper nouns. There were few adjectives, a few adverbs and no verbs at all. We examined the phrases in terms of their appearance in a larger sentence or context, and found out that in most cases they occurred in the end of a sentence. In a few cases a phrase was embedded in a larger context. Utterances/sentences were looked at from the same point of view as the phrases. Again, there were many cases where the utterance/sentence occurred in the end of a larger context, a few of them embedded in it, and only one in the beginning. However, we found out that there was a large group of individually standing utterances/sentences. All the switches in all the levels of language shares similar characteristics. There were a large number of switches where the need for switch was evident, there was a group of switches where the switch was remarkably context-related and therefore there occurred a need for switch, and there were certain number of switches where the switch was forced (proper nouns). This topic is worth of studying further since this blog provides a great data for various aspects of research. There occur a remarkable number of English expressions that are interesting, and provide a great opportunity to study the use of English in Finnish writing.

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