

FINNISH HEALTH CARE AND SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS'
PERCEPTIONS OF FINNISH–ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

A Survey Study

Master's thesis

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<p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>Englannin kielen asema kansainvälisenä valtakielenä on vaikuttanut sen leviämiseen myös Suomessa. Laajalle levinnyttä vierasta kieltä käyttävät Suomessa moninaisin tavoin eri-ikäiset ja taitotasoltaan erilaiset ihmiset. Siinä missä vieras kieli oli aiemmin kansakunnan ulkopuolelta tuleva asia, on vieraasta kielestä nykyaikana tullut enenevässä määrin myös yhteiskunnan sisäpuolella käytettävä kielellinen resurssi. Englannin kielen kohtaaminen ja sen käyttäminen ei enää edellytä kansainvälisiä kontakteja tai ulkomaanmatkoja, vaan englantia käytetään sujuvasti myös suomen kieltä äidinkielenään puhuvien kesken, osana pääasiallisesti suomenkielistä keskustelua.</p> <p>Vieras kieli on jo tuttu osa esimerkiksi tuotteiden nimiä, mainontaa sekä median kieltä, josta se on levinnyt osaksi suomalaispuhujien keskusteluja. Englantia kuulee suomen kielen seassa muun muassa lainasanoina, huudahduksina ja sanontoina sekä lyhenteinä. Sanamuunnokset ja erilaiset lausuntatavat antavat puhujalle mahdollisuuksia värittää puhettaan alituisen muuttuvassa kieliympäristössä, jossa vieraan kielen käyttö tarjoaa puhujalle lukemattoman määrän uusia ilmaisutapoja ja kielellisiä resursseja. Vaikka vieraan kielen osaamista arvostetaan laajasti, saattaa kielen muuttuminen ja englannin kielen yleistyminen aiheuttaa myös ärtymystä ja huolta oman kielen kohtalosta. Negatiiviset mielleyhtymät kielen muuttumisesta heijastuvat ilmiön lisäksi usein myös puhujiin ja vaikuttavat näin osaltaan ihmisten väliseen kommunikointiin ja suhteisiin.</p> <p>Tätä tutkimusta varten tehtiin kyselytutkimus 37 sosiaali- ja terveysalan ammattikorkeakouluopiskelijalle. Kyselyn tavoitteena oli kartoittaa vastaajien havaintoja kielten sekoittamiselle otollisista tilanteista, heidän ajatuksiaan englannin kielen yleistymisestä sekä mielipiteitään kielten sekoittamisesta arkikielessä. Tämän lisäksi haluttiin selvittää kielenkäytön vaikutuksia kanssakäymiseen sekä ihmissuhteisiin. Kieliasenteita koskevien tutkimusten perusteella voitiin olettaa jopa pienten kielenkäytön vivahteiden vaikuttavan sekä viestin ymmärtämiseen että ihmisten keskinäisiin suhteisiin. Tutkittavana ryhmänä sosiaalialan opiskelijoiden joukko oli mielenkiintoinen edustaessaan yhä kasvavaa joukkoa suomalaisia, joiden arjessa englannin kieli kohdataan jossain muodossa lähes päivittäin riippumatta henkilöiden ammatillisesta suuntautumisesta, kielitaidosta tai kiinnostuksesta englannin kieltä kohtaan.</p> <p>Tulokset osoittivat opiskelijoiden suhtautumisen englannin kielen yleistymiseen osana arkikieltä olevan pääsääntöisesti positiivinen. Useat vastaajista sekoittivat kieliä aktiivisesti myös itse. Tästä huolimatta mielipiteet kieliä sekoittavista ihmisistä eivät olleet yksiselitteiset, vaan suhtautumiseen vaikuttivat lukuisat asiat, kuten tiedot puhujan taustasta, ikä sekä kielten sekoittamisen oletettu motiivi ja käyttötarkoitus. Kielivalintojen katsottiin heijastavan puhujan persoonaa ja niiden kautta puhujasta luotiin mielikuvia. Tutkimus osoitti, että vaikka vieraan kielen käyttäminen äidinkielen rinnalla herätti vastaajissa voimakkaita mielipiteitä sekä puolesta että vastaan, kielenvaihtoon suhtautumista kuvaa ehkäpä kuitenkin parhaiten säännöttömyys ja vaihtelevuus. Kielenkäyttö ja siihen suhtautuminen näyttää näin äärimmäisen kontekstisidonnaisena ja vaatii sekä puhujalta että kuuntelijalta tilanteiden lukutaitoa sekä sosiaalista älyä.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

The position of the English language in Finnish society has become more important and its visibility has increased noticeably throughout the last few decades. According to a national VARIENG survey on English usage and attitudes toward the English language in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2011:15), the vitality of acquiring English skills has increased especially during the last twenty years and the change reflects a general shift toward multilingualism in Finnish society. The language change evokes new attitudes toward the foreign language, and its visibility in everyday language requires new methods in dealing with language use, as well as language change.

English has spread vigorously around the world with a status of a foreign language. However, according to Kachru (1982:2), by taking a more universal role than just the one of a foreign language, its spreading has become more intense and even dominating. English is widely used as the first language for example in the field of science and in popular culture. Kachru argues that whether it is beginner's level or language skills close to native competence, the increasing use of English has resulted in linguistic and cultural colonization. This sort of expansion has also been seen as a negative phenomenon and as a threat to other languages (Skutnabb-Kangas 2003). However, the accelerated impact of English can be seen also in Finland merely by turning on the television or by browsing through university course books, which, increasingly, seem to be written in English. In fact, according to the survey (Leppänen et al. 2011:16), English can no longer be thought of as a completely foreign language that appears in separation of Finnish. Instead, concentration is now focused on how languages are used together and on the way in which language use changes according to context and situation.

Foreign language competence can surely be seen as a resource and as an addition to the native language, especially in a society where the influence of English is undeniable and visible in many aspects of everyday life. Sharing a language can be seen as an advantage when it comes to business and national economies, but also on an individual level when socializing with people from different countries. Not only a tool of communication, the

foreign language also functions as a resource for self-expression and identity building. Despite all of the benefits, the widespread use of English, and especially the fact that it has become more common also in intranational use, might also be seen as a threat and as a cause for irritation within the community. Some of the worries might have to do with the preservation and ‘purity’ of the native language and the fear that a small language, such as Finnish, might eventually disappear.

Pahta and Taavitsainen (2003) address one possible fear regarding the wide spreading of English in Finland by explaining how the use of a foreign language can be seen to divide people by creating an elite: “The consequences of domain loss are explicated as a deepening division between the well-educated privileged group of people and the less educated. This danger is recognized, and there is increasing pressure for scholars who publish in English to write more in their mother tongue in scholarly discussions, and also present their thoughts to non-academic audiences” (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2003:8) This problem does not apply only in a rather marginal setting, such as the academic world, but reaches all types of conversations in both informal and formal situations. According to Leppänen and Pahta (2012) English can be seen as a danger to native language, to national identity, to social equality and to the development of competences. Moreover, Leppänen and Pahta conclude that English is repeatedly pictured as “a force threatening to tarnish the purity of not only the Finnish language and culture, but also that of the nation state, national identity and even Finns’ minds” (Leppänen and Pahta 2012:142-143). These sorts of fears bring forth the idea of language being much more than just verbal communication. It constructs and communicates the story of a person, nation and culture and subsequently affects society in many ways.

The growing visibility of English and the challenges it brings about have not gone unnoticed by Finnish language users and the topic often surfaces through media. For example Finland’s largest newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* (13.3.2014) has addressed the problematic regarding English and its growing visibility in Finland by pointing out how knowing English is nowadays taken for granted in Finland and poor English skills often become a cause for embarrassment for those who do not know the language so well. Finns are subjected to English so much that it seems to be a common assumption nowadays that everyone in Finland speaks the foreign language. The article provides examples on how Finns may be

greeted in English when booking a table for dinner, encounter English when using computers and use it when paying for their groceries at the supermarket and when checking product information listings. Globalized markets and the internationalization of businesses has brought English close to regular workers and English is used not only when communicating to international partners but increasingly also inside the office (Virkkula 2008). Moreover, English is encountered on a daily basis and in a variety of situations, not only among highly-educated people and in an academic setting. Even though good foreign language skills can be considered an asset to Finns, the assumption that everyone in Finland knows English is one that can leave people feeling like outsiders when they are unable to fully understand the language used around them. This idea links back to the previously mentioned point about the segregating and excluding effect of using English in Finland (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2003).

Moreover, along with its positive aspects, the increasing visibility of a foreign language can also give rise to negative attitudes along with prejudice. Attitudes, both negative and positive, subsequently influence the way language is learned and used in everyday conversation. In order for communication to be successful, it is important that speakers are able to evaluate reactions and understand different attitudes and the many functions of language use. Understanding the consequences of language use becomes not only more important, but also more difficult when the ways of using a foreign language multiply and become frequent in a variety of situations.

The aim of this study is to investigate attitudes toward the use of English in Finland. More precisely, attention will be paid on how Finnish students of health care and social work, all native speakers of Finnish, react to other Finns using elements of the foreign language in everyday interaction and in what kinds of situations they themselves mix languages, if they do it at all. The foreign elements can mean loan words or foreign names that appear in conversation, but also English expressions that are used side by side with Finnish. The study will thus focus on the process of code-switching, in which elements of two or more languages are used in an utterance. The aim is to find out whether code-switching is a recognized phenomenon in Finland, who are thought to engage in it and what is thought of it. By gathering opinions and examples from a group of students, the aim is to find out if different situations, topics or even pronunciation styles affect the way the students feel about code-switching between Finnish and English. Exploring the subject is interesting especially as

there are no clear definitions about what one can or cannot say or how English can be used alongside Finnish especially when it comes to informal talk. That is to say, there are no officially defined normativities that apply to every context where English and Finnish are mixed. However, norms are constructed and realized in communication, for example in peer groups. Such groups can consist for example of online communities, in which people can be branded as outsiders or be otherwise excluded at least partly due to linguistic choices that are different from the norm (Kytölä 2012). In addition, the study aims to find out how a feature of speech such as code-switching influences people's perceptions of others and whether code-switching affects attitudes and, subsequently, the speaker's relationships with each other. Even though foreign words have been loaned and used alongside Finnish for ages, code-switching is a relatively new phenomenon that has undoubtedly increased simultaneously with the nation's language skills. It is also a phenomenon that is rapidly becoming more common, simultaneously multiplying the ways code-switching is realized in talk. This makes it an interesting and relevant issue to study further.

The present study draws from my previous study (Rinne 2010), in which university level students of English were asked, using a questionnaire, to discuss their thoughts on language accommodation and attitudes on pronunciation in regards to the intranational use of English in Finland. In that study, the students were asked to share different ways and situations in which they use English and what kind of reactions they expected from other Finns when doing so. The aim of the study was to find out what sort of reactions the use of a foreign language produced in Finnish conversation. The results showed that the students used English almost on a daily basis but were cautious when doing so. This was due to the fact that many expected to face negativity if they were to integrate English regularly into Finnish and especially when words were pronounced using English pronunciation patterns. Moreover, showing one's expertise was sometimes seen as a medium of self-aggrandizement and thus thought to be embarrassing. These ideas stemmed from the respondents' experiences and also from their own beliefs and attitudes. The power of language use, and its effects, was recognized as the results showed that even small nuances in one's pronunciation were expected to trigger strong emotions for and against what was being said and also the speaker. The results showed that respondents thus used language carefully, paying close attention to what they said, to whom and how. The aim of the present study is to explore these ideas more widely and from the point of view of another group of language users.

Even though language attitudes and also code-switching have been studied to great detail, it seems that there is less study on code-switching and attitudes in an environment where the foreign language has become used intranationally among native speakers of another language. Moreover, code-switching has been studied extensively from the point of view of bilingual speakers and also immigrants who are adapting their own native language to the linguistic scenery of the receiving country. However, there seems to be fewer studies on English being the other language in a code-switching process in an environment where the language, despite its popularity, is still considered to be a foreign language and where the speakers share another mother tongue. This seems to be the case at least in Finland and in a context where native speakers of Finnish switch code when communicating to each other, even though there has been more study concerning the phenomenon as of late (for example Pispä 2011, Leppänen et al 2011).

As the intranational use of the foreign language along with the phenomenon of code-switching is getting more and more common in everyday life also in Finland, it is interesting to see how people feel about it and if the phenomenon is thought to create divisions and influence relationships between speakers. The whole concept of the etiquette and practice concerning code-switching also seems to be somewhat without rules, even though the phenomenon provokes plenty of opinions. This is due to the fact that there are no real guidelines for mixing languages and for incorporating elements of a foreign language into Finnish. That is to say, no course book at school tells you how to incorporate English into Finnish and whether a particular way of using English mixed with Finnish is right or wrong. Rather, one could claim that the boundaries of code-switching are context specific and learned by trying. It is of interest to find out what kinds of feelings this phenomenon brings about in a society where English is already a visible part of everyday discourse. The following paragraphs will concentrate on previous research made on the topic and then move on to discuss the present study in more detail.

2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.1 English as a global language

English has for a long time been a dominant language throughout the world. According to the British Council (2013), English is spoken at some level by approximately 1.75 billion people, which is a quarter of the world's population. English has undoubtedly acquired the position of a lingua franca, which means that the language is used as a common language of interaction between people who do not share a native language. When referring to English as the first global language, Svartvik and Leech (2006:228) list three eras of world history that have made it possible for English to flourish as it has. The first of them is the imperial expansion which saw the British taking over land overseas. The second era, according to Svartvik and Leech, is the technological revolution that preceded industrialization, bringing about major changes in the society and its infrastructure. The third era is one that could really be used as an umbrella term for all three periods: globalization. Svartvik and Leech (2006:227) subsequently claim that it is the results of the circumstances, rather than the merits of the actual language or the speakers that English has become so important and popular around the world. Nevertheless, the domination of English is nowadays undeniable.

Pennycook (2011:515) also stresses the links between English and globalization by emphasizing English as the language of global media, international forums, business, finance, politics, diplomacy etc. He stresses the point that English is used in different ways and that there are plenty of varieties around which can be put under the umbrella term of 'World Englishes'. Pennycook argues, similarly to Kachru (1982:2) whose comments were discussed previously, that one needs to look at English in a new way: "...the very conditions of globalization and the role of global English also demand that we rethink what we mean by language, language spread, native speakers, or multilingualism. Indeed, globalization requires us to consider whether we should continue to think of languages as separate, distinguishable, countable entities" (Pennycook 2011:515).

Relating to Pennycook's thoughts on rethinking English, one could argue that English is constantly evolving and taking new forms, and thus spreading in a variety of ways. When discussing the future of English, Svartvik and Leech (2006) argue that despite the dominant

role of English, national languages continue to play an important part in peoples' lives and that both sides are likely to remain valued also in the future: "users of English in their localities throughout the world will still feel the pull from two opposite poles – the need to identify with one's local community and the need for international communication" (Svartvik and Leech 2006:224). To some extent, this is presumably also the case in Finland and in part explains the attitudes toward the use of English. On the one hand, English skills are highly appreciated and people recognize the importance of language proficiency. On the other hand, there is the idea that English is perhaps a bit too dominating and the occasional worried remark about the future of Finnish national languages. According to Hiidenmaa (2003:75), in Finland, the foreign language is used so that the outcome is not actually English. Rather, it is a form of Finnish English, a language that could not be used or perhaps even comprehended elsewhere. This might be the case especially when Finnish and English are mixed by people who can speak both languages and when this sort of language is spoken in Finland. In these sort of cases full comprehension of the message requires skills in both languages. Hiidenmaa points out that foreign languages do not set in a culture as such, but that they evolve into something new. This means that cultural variation is not lost, even if the use of English words and phrases does become more common. One sign of this might well be the occasional attempts to form neologisms by translating common English words or expressions into something more suited for the Finnish speaker, for example a recent suggestion for coining the word *meitsie* for the word selfie.

2.1.1 English in Finland

Already in the late 70s, almost 95% of Finnish people were studying English as their first foreign language and the language was finding its way into the lives of all Finns (Sajavaara et. al. 1978). The widespread teaching of English, along with the rise of popular culture, made the atmosphere suitable for English to flourish and reach people in many areas of life. As a result, the society started producing young people using more than one language already decades ago. These youngsters were referred to as *puolitoistakieliset*, which in English means someone who speaks one-and-a-half languages. Leppänen and Pahta (2012:145) also mention the 1970s educational reform as a turning point regarding the acquisition of English, when studying a foreign language became compulsory for everyone and English, simultaneously, became the most commonly studied foreign language.

The society has of course changed immensely since the 70s, and 21st century Finland is even more open to English influence than before. According to a report made by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture (2011), English is undoubtedly the most popular foreign language when it comes to learning an A1-language at school. In fact, during the timespan of 1994–2009, nine out of ten third-graders began to study English as their A1-language. Even though foreign language studies usually commence in the third grade, the report also pointed out that it is more common nowadays to begin one's A1-studies already in the first or second grade. Nowadays, Finnish parents can even choose to send their children to a kindergarten where the main language is English or enroll them to an English language school. These practices are no longer a curiosity for the few, but have instead become more common and accessible at least in the more urban areas in Finland. As a result, English has become a medium of education, in addition to it merely being one of the studied subjects.

As previously mentioned, English has flourished in Finland during the latter part of the 1900s and definitely during the beginning of the 21st century. This has been made possible because of social, cultural and educational factors. Being a small nation and a small language, it has been essential for Finland and Finnish people to learn an important foreign language of commerce, science and culture. The role of English has traditionally been that of a foreign language, but one could argue that it has over time shifted closer to a second language status, at least if one looks at how the foreign language is used in practice. Moreover, whereas English as a foreign language (EFL) is used by non-native speakers in countries where English is not considered to be a local medium of communication, second language is a language other than the mother tongue, but still used in the speaker's area. This seems to be the direction, if not the current state, of English also in Finland.

Even though studying English is extensive and the majority of Finns have contact with the language, one cannot say that the use of English is uniform. Instead, the language is used in a variety of ways and by people with different agendas and varying language skills (Leppänen et al 2008:422). It is probably safe to say that for example young people generally have more contact with the foreign language than the older population and are therefore likely to be more used to the presence of foreign languages in different areas of life (Leppänen et al. 2011: 164-166). In addition to this, there are different purposes for language use and various reasons that expose people to English. Some people use the language mainly for

entertainment purposes and leisure activities, whereas others are forced to use English for example because of their occupation. Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 5) point out the fact that English has a strong presence in the lives of also those Finns who do not directly take part in international liaisons: “English is encountered on a daily basis through audio-visual mass media and various forms of popular culture and entertainment, such as the cinema, TV soap operas, satellite channels, and electronic games. Exposure to English is heightened by the fact that in the Finnish broadcasting system, all foreign-language TV programmes and news items have authentic voices with subtitles instead of dubbing” (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 5).

One could claim that it is difficult, if not impossible, to escape English in modern-day Finland. This is due to the many functions English has. English is used for business purposes, as a main language of academic research, and also in everyday communication. Not only do Finnish people interact with people from different cultures by using English as a mutual language, they also use it when interacting with other Finns, despite the fact that they already share a different native language. Using English between Finnish native speakers is often done by borrowing elements of the foreign language and incorporating them in otherwise Finnish talk or text. Hiidenmaa (2003:92–95) lists different ways in which the use of Finnish and English morph together in Finland and how English is used intranationally. Firstly, she mentions English appearing as a detached word in texts such as titles in job advertisements. In these cases, the words are used on their own and potentially without any Finnish translation. Second, she gives an example of a Finnish text that includes an English extract, which could for example be a slogan in an advertisement. These kinds of slogans are often additional mottos or detached notions that make no significant difference to the understanding of the actual message. Hiidenmaa also lists product names and titles as a common example on how English is used side by side with Finnish. This is indeed a visible way of using English in Finland and can be spotted on newspaper pages where employers are looking for new *project managers*, *designers* and *marketing directors*. Again, English is not necessary and does not contribute to the understanding of the message. Its main function is rather to create and maintain certain mental images like in the previous examples. The fourth example introduces the use of an English word as part of a Finnish sentence. Hiidenmaa states that even though texts that include English words are still quite rare when it comes to ways of using English in Finland, they are rather common in youth language (2003:95). In these cases, the English loan is not a term but rather a definer such as in Hiidenmaa’s Finnish

example sentence “mä olin *slightly* liikuttuneessa tilassa” (I was feeling slightly emotional), in which the Finnish adverb is replaced with English. This sort of use of English elements has become increasingly popular in recent years, much like Hiidenmaa observed in 2003. Hiidenmaa states that another increasingly common way of incorporating English into Finnish is molding an English term so that it adapts better to an otherwise Finnish sentence structure and talk in general. Moreover, words and phrases are morphologically domesticated so that the origin is detectable but the words are easier to conjugate and pronounce in Finnish.

As noted by Hiidenmaa (2003), the foreign language does not thus only affect names and nouns in general. Instead, even verbs can be derived from English, along with expressions and the aforementioned names. As a result, it can sometimes be difficult to notice when an English word or expression becomes 'Finnish' due to established use. The use of a foreign language can, at times, also go almost unnoticed and over a longer period of time, words and expressions that were once considered strange are accepted as a part of everyday talk. According to Auer (2011:467) this would mean a shift from code-switching to mixing where taking elements of a foreign language is more frequent. However subtle the change may seem, these sort of linguistic changes are sure to have an impact on the way people express themselves and how they construct their own identity through various ways of using language. In addition to the possibilities offered by the current linguistic atmosphere in Finland, one should consider the attitudes that language users have toward the phenomenon of code-switching and the overall change in language. After all, language, along with the images formed through language use, muster strong opinions both for and against, and the increasing influence of English is sure to have many outcomes in Finnish society.

On the one hand, people have become acquainted with the foreign language and almost everyone knows a little bit of English. An increasing number of people now use elements of the foreign language so fluently that it often goes unnoticed. On the other hand, attention has also been directed on how the Finnish language might be becoming poorer as a result of the extensive use of English. Especially young people and youth cultures in general are often scrutinized for mixing languages and of producing 'incorrect' Finnish. Borrowed elements are often emphasized in informal interaction such as discussions online and seem to have no established rules or protocol even though it should be noted here that language users and different groups establish their own code of conduct in interaction and some rules and

etiquette form in these smaller contexts, such as in online communities, fan groups or among hobbyists (Leppänen 2008). Due to the variety of ways English is used, one might assume that there is a wide range of opinions and attitudes, both positive and negative, toward the use of English and the process of mixing the native language with a foreign one. These language attitudes will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs.

As the foreign language is used in new ways and English has shifted from foreign language status closer to a second language one, it is important to address the issues surrounding language change also in Finland. People will most probably need to look at English in a different way they used to due to the fact that the power English possesses at the moment is unlikely to become less important in the near future. Instead, it may be that English will become even more common in the Finnish society and discourse. The future of English in Finland was also discussed in the previously mentioned survey on the English language in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2011) according to which the majority of respondents felt that the importance and visibility of English would increase in the next 20 years. The majority also expressed that they felt that English was important for Finns to learn and definitely more important than Swedish, the second official language in the country. Despite the ever-increasing importance of English, the foreign language was not seen as a threat to the Finnish language and the majority of respondents doubted the possibility of English becoming an official language in Finland. The survey however showed that English can undoubtedly be considered as a major factor in Finland's linguistic atmosphere and that is why it is important that English is studied as more than just a foreign language. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 41–152).

2.2 Social aspects of language

The area of this particular study is sociolinguistics; an area in which the main point is to recognize the connections between language and society. Trudgill (2000:21) explains sociolinguistics as "that part of linguistics which is concerned with language as a social and cultural phenomenon". He also stresses the connections sociolinguistics has with social sciences. According to Nieminen (1992:2), one important notion in sociolinguistics is the fact that language and the surroundings coexist and cannot be fully understood if taken apart. Sociolinguistics emphasizes that language and interaction are never random. Instead they have a social structure which influences the way utterances are placed in society and how

they are understood. According to Holmes (2013:1) the aim of sociolinguistics is to examine why language is used differently in different contexts and explore its social functions. Moreover, sociolinguistics concentrates on the relationship between language and context.

According to sociolinguistics, there is an undisputed connection between language and society and it is therefore important to examine how language is used and what it means. In other words, sociolinguistics studies how language affects society and also how society affects language. Giles and St. Clair (1979) along with Garrett (2010) also stress the importance of acknowledging the connection between social meanings and language use. They indicate the affective nature of speech variables when evaluating others and highlight the social reasons behind speech acts. It is of interest to find out, not only what happens, but why.

Burke and Porter (1991) emphasize the role of the field as one that reveals the active role of language in the formation of group and individual identities. These identities subsequently lead to perceptions about language and its use. Trudgill (2000:8) demonstrates these consequences of language use by pointing out that people evaluate for example different dialects and accents differently. According to Trudgill this is due to the close connections between language, social structures and the value systems in societies. Trudgill (2000:15–18) also talks about how the surroundings contribute to change in language. He mentions that language is affected by both the physical environment and the social environment, in which the language is used. In addition to this, the values of the society play an important part on language and language change, and social change can produce a corresponding change in language. Moreover, according to Trudgill, language and society are inter-related; i.e. “society acts upon language and...language acts upon society”. According to Trudgill (2000:24), one reason for the growth of sociolinguistic research has been the recognition of the importance of the fact that language is a very variable phenomenon, and that this variability may have as much to do with society as with language. According to Trudgill, it is worth noting that a language is not a simple, single code used in the same manner by all people in all situations.

2.2.1 Language and identity

As mentioned above, language has a key role in identity building, as it is one of the mediums people use when constructing the self and communicating it to others. Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003:4) agree with the aforementioned by stating that language forms a part of the speaker's identity repertoire. Furthermore, language is seen as a representation and as Taavitsainen and Pahta put it, "a speaker's judgment of his/her own self." Identity can thus be seen as a major factor in how people use language. Martin (2002:43) also makes the notion that language and language use has a big part in forming one's identity. In addition, she mentions that when thinking about identities and language, one should not only think about what is said but also include silence and recognize its power in shaping identities. Lippi-Green (1997) also suggests that language plays an important role in constructing and maintaining identities: "Language, a possession all human collectives have in common, is more than a tool for communication of facts between two or more persons. It is the most salient way we have of establishing and advertising our social identities. It may not be as tangible as height and weight, but the way we use language is more complex and meaningful than any single fact about our bodies" (Lippi-Green 1997:5). The way in which a speaker uses language can categorize them in a certain group and reveal a lot about the person in question. Language can say something about the speaker's background, ideology and also how they see themselves in relation to the other participants in the conversation or other people in general. This information help us understand why people, for instance the participants of this study, use language as they do and what affects their language choices.

According to Hall (1999:22), identity is formed in interaction between the self and the society. Hall refers to this as an interactive perception on identity, according to which the self evolves in a continuous dialogue with the outside, cultural worlds and different identities. Also Martin (2002:44) treats identity as something stemming, at least partly, from interaction by saying that identity is formed both through the person's individual experience of the self and also through other people's reactions concerning the individual. Hall (1999:250) states that identity is less about who we are and where we came from, and more about what we could be, how we are presented and how we present ourselves. Blommaert (2007:205) seems to share Hall's view when he argues that identity is not something that a person simply has. Instead, identity is seen as a construction that takes form and evolves in social interaction and

is performed by the speaker. According to Blommaert, identity is identification and, as he puts it, “an outcome of socially conditioned semiotic work”.

Social identities are not merely individual, but in stead function similarly on group level. Moreover, people communicate as group members and also gain access to groups via language. For example Trudgill (2000:13) stresses the importance of language in identity building and group identification. He explains that not only is language an important factor in group identification and group solidarity, it is also used for signaling difference between individuals and groups. Language can thus be used to separate oneself from a distinct group or, on the contrary, form ties with one. Giles et. al (2010:2) also state the meaning of group identities by arguing that most of language users’ communication is in fact more or less obviously influenced by the groups speakers belong to and that people often interact as group members rather than purely as individuals.

Even if the speaker is not actively communicating as a group member, the speaker is not alone in building his/her identity. Instead, identities are also constructed externally by outsiders who view the person from their own point of view. Trudgill (2000:14) states that the majority of information is not gained via what is actually said in conversation, but that the interlocutor learns things from the way the other one speaks. This is due to the fact that speakers cannot help but give clues about themselves and their origin to the listener. According to Trudgill, all of the gained information helps the interlocutor form an opinion about the speaker and build the speaker’s identity from an outside point of view. Language thus conveys information about the speakers, molds attitudes and establishes social relationships. This idea of the inter-relation between language and society brings us back to the root of sociolinguistics.

As previously mentioned, identities are in flux. That is, they keep changing due to various reasons and are thus never truly fixed. According to Hall (1999:20), people’s cultural identities keep evolving especially due to globalization, which fractures established determiners such as class, sexuality, ethnicity, race and national identity. Language users may find that globalization challenges them to rethink their identity. At the same time, it offers plenty of cultural and linguistic resources, which the individual can use as tools when building and portraying their identity. Conflicting identities and ideas about language can

result to other languages and its speakers being evaluated differently. In relation to these evaluations, I will next turn to discuss language attitudes.

2.2.2 Language attitudes

Firstly, it should be noted that the concept of language attitudes is not a new phenomenon stemming merely from globalization and the increasing spreading of foreign languages. Instead, language attitudes have most likely existed for as long as languages have and they have also been an interest of sociolinguists for some time now. However, according to Edwards (2011:53), the study on language attitudes fully started in the late 1960s. The aim was to find out how speaking, language varieties and style affect people's attitudes and how different groups are identified with certain speech styles. Studies on speech communities have also contributed to the study of language attitudes. Labov (1972) stated that people have different resources when it comes to language and that people speaking in the same way often create groups and communities of their own. Members of communities share evaluations and rank the performances of others in a similar way. Ranking, subsequently, creates divisions between groups and molds the members' individual identities as well as group identities.

Hiidenmaa (2003:27) puts the speaker in the centre of language attitudes with all of his/her feelings and intentions, by stating that the speaker is an inseparable part of language not only as a language user but also as someone who ranks languages. Hiidenmaa goes on to explain that ranking languages comes naturally to people and can be compared to preferring certain food; others have plenty of preferences whereas others barely notice what they put in their mouths. According to Hiidenmaa, evaluating language and talking about language unfortunately leads to us demanding that others share our appetite. Hiidenmaa (2003:50) goes on to explain that language in itself cannot be determined as good or bad. The evaluation is rather based on peoples' opinions and ideas about the language in question.

Trudgill (2000:20) draws the connection of language attitudes and sociolinguistics by stressing the social nature of language attitudes and stating that "value judgments concerning the correctness and purity of linguistic varieties are *social* rather than linguistic". Similarly to Hiidenmaa (2003), he concludes that there is no such thing as good or bad language and emphasizes the importance of prevailing social structures that influence language use and

attitudes toward variation in languages. Trudgill (2000:20) explains that for example attitudes toward non-standard dialects are mainly due to presuppositions and their association with speakers from low-status, under-privileged groups. Attitudes can thus be seen to mirror the social structure and values of the society. These ideas about sociolinguistics and language attitudes can contribute to the understanding of why certain type of talk provokes negative or positive thoughts in the interlocutor, and why people feel as they do for example about code-switching.

As previously noted, it is widely agreed that language use is closely connected with social factors. Therefore, language is not only a means of communication but it also constructs reality and relationships along with forming the previously discussed individual and group identities. By using different kinds of speech styles it is possible, at least to some extent, to manipulate the response of the listener and predict subsequent effects. However, linguistic cues are often unintended and can be understood differently by different people. These linguistic cues can be for example different features of speech such as pronunciation or the speaker's choice of words. The cues can affect not only how the message is perceived, but also the image of the speaker. In fact, Austin (1975:62) boldly states that the context and the interlocutor's assumptions about the speaker are considerably more significant to the understanding of the message than the speaker's intention. Utterances carry meaning depending on the roles participants take in a conversation and thus a conversation is much more than just an act of speaking. It holds hidden meanings and perceptions about the speakers, language in itself and the conveyed messages.

In order to converse successfully, people use different kinds of communication methods and styles when interacting with different people. It is safe to say that one speaks differently, for example, to family members and strangers. More subtle changes can also occur from one person to another so that communication is rarely identical between different sets of people. Even these subtle changes in the way one speaks can cause various reactions in the interlocutors, and can therefore affect not only the flow of discussion but also the relationship between the speakers. Conversation style influences the way in which people see each other and what their attitudes are like. Therefore, language use plays an important role in forming relationships, and also in unraveling them. It is of interest to see whether the participants of

the present study recognize different nuances that may influence their own opinion about code-switching and/or the language user either positively or negatively.

For example Giles and Coupland (1991:32) point out how linguistic choices can be meaningful to others: “even a single vowel or consonant sound, contrasting with others or with our expectations, can have evaluative repercussions for its utterer”. Giles and Coupland argue that inherently trivial little details, such as pronunciation, can take on a social significance and that people often express attitudes toward speakers and their style of speaking. Similar issues are pointed out by Gilles and St.Clair (1979:4) when they state that a wide range of language variables can influence both people’s impressions of others and the decisions they make about their character and intentions. Garrett (2010:2) supports these views by stating that people hold attitudes to language in all its levels and that language variation always carries social meaning, thus creating different attitudinal reactions. According to Garrett, language variation can even be seen as social advantage or disadvantage.

Much like identity, also language attitudes are not immutable. According to Hiidenmaa (2003:28) speakers often reflect upon their own experiences, knowledge and ideas about language when evaluating it. These ideas can change over time and thus attitudes toward language also alter. In fact, they can also contradict each other. It is plausible that changes in the social structure and values, the person’s own history and the evolving concept of identity play a part in molding a person’s thoughts and attitudes and they cannot thus be considered as a fixed element.

2.2.3 Language accommodation

In relation to the previously mentioned attitudes, I will next discuss how speakers fashion their speech by introducing the concept of language accommodation. In order for communication to be successful, it is important that the speakers realize the nature of communication and are aware of the links between language and attitudes. Language behaviour and practices vary a great deal from one person, culture or conversation to another and the recognition of some of the features of communication is thus vital. By understanding different patterns and possible consequences of speech acts, one can also understand how

meanings can be manipulated by language. In fact, people use different communication methods in order to control and steer the influence of language along with language related attitudes. One of them is language accommodation, which means the practice of the speakers adjusting their speech acts in order to meet with the listener's language competences and personal style. According to Giles and Coupland (1991:60), language accommodation processes take place due to various factors; the speaker may for example try to manipulate social distance by using language that is also used by the other participant in the conversation. By using language accommodation processes, one can affect attitudes, enhance acceptance and influence general satisfaction. In addition to the above-mentioned, language accommodation can also function as a face-saving act. These accommodation practices take place in all kinds of communication and can be thought to be extremely important also in a code-switching situations and when evaluating the possible consequences of it.

Giles and Coupland (1991) introduce two basic concepts of language accommodation: convergence and divergence. Convergence is explained as "a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic/prosodic/non-vocal features including speech rate, pausal phenomena and utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, gaze and so on" (Giles and Coupland 1991:63). Giles and Smith (1979:46) explain convergence further by stating that in the event of two people meeting, they often tend to become more alike in their language; this includes many of the above-mentioned features of speech, such as pronunciation and vocal intensities. They state that convergence is often caused by the want of social approval. This links convergence with similarity-attraction processes according to which the more alike people are in their beliefs and attitudes, the more likely they are to be amicable with each other. In other words, similarity fosters acceptance and attraction, and can, therefore, be considered one of the main motivations for convergence.

As previously mentioned, Giles and Smith (1979:45) note that by using methods of language accommodation and convergence, speech can be rewarded by the listener; the prize being for example an increase in attraction and approval. Moreover, the speaker can influence the interlocutor's attitude by adjusting his/her language use. However, Giles and Smith also acknowledge that in contrast to positive feedback, the outcome can also be negative. In relation to this, they discuss the optimal level of convergence. This means that even though it

is often suggested that the more one adapts to the other's language competences and style, the more positively he/she will be perceived by the recipient, this is not necessarily the case if convergence is taken too far. Instead, Giles and Smith claim that an increase in convergence may result in negative feelings from the interlocutor's side, and that it can be seen as patronizing, threatening, or ingratiating. Considering these aspects, it is safe to say that one needs to assess speech situations carefully and continuously.

Goffman (1981:128) refers to 'footing' when talking about changing one's production or reception of utterances. He points out that participants often continuously change their footing over the course of a conversation. It is, therefore, also necessary for the speaker and listener to possess a certain amount of social wit in order to converse successfully. Garrett (2010:21) also emphasizes the importance of understanding the dynamics of language use and connects this idea with language attitudes. Garrett sees language attitudes both as input and output from social action. In other words, attitudes do not only affect the reception but also the production of language. This means that by evaluating the attitudes of the audience, speakers can fashion their speech depending on the impression they want to make. It is likely that also the respondents of this study use these sorts of methods when using English in Finland either consciously or without paying attention to why they may speak differently to other people. The emphasis on footing and on evaluating one's language choices becomes especially important when people mix language wanting to make a certain impression or when they consciously try to avoid another.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993), speakers are creative actors entering conversations with some expectations about what sort of language and code choices to use. When discussing the motivations for code-switching and also language accommodation, Myers-Scotton introduces the markedness model as an explanation. According to the model, "speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes based on the persona and/or relation with others which they wish to have in place." (1993:75). People are usually conscious of the consequences of their choices and thus generally choose the safe option. However, this is not always the case and Myers-Scotton also emphasizes the speaker's role in assessing the potential pros and cons of all alternative choices. The assessment of language choices in relation to the speakers and the surrounding society seems crucial to successful communication. According to Myers-Scotton, "competent speakers of a language have tacit knowledge of more than just *grammaticality*, i.e. what is a

well-formed sentence in their language and what is not. In addition, they are able to judge the *acceptability* of a given well-formed sentence in a given social context.”

Contrary to convergence, the term divergence can be explained as referring to the ways in which people accentuate differences between themselves and others, both verbal and non-verbal. Thus, language accommodation can have both inclusive and exclusive forms depending on the speaker's purposes. As previously mentioned, one can form strong communal identities or separate themselves simply by using a certain speech style. Divergence is thus also a way of building identities by identifying what a person or group is and is not and by creating division between 'us' and 'them'. This sort of exclusion can be one of the many answers when the aim is to explore the motivations for code-switching as in the present study,

One can conclude that the way a person uses language affects how he/she is perceived by the listener, how the surroundings are constructed through language and what kind of response the speaker can expect from his/her audience. Therefore it is important to examine and aim to comprehend the changes in the linguistic infrastructure, in addition to its effects in language use. Language varieties and attitudes toward them have been studied for example by looking at social class and dialect and different varieties within a nation, for example British Standard English vs. local pronunciation or different dialects in the United States (Trudgill 1974, 2004; Labov 1966; Lippi-Green 1997). In these studies the emphasis has often been on variation within one language. However the present study will concentrate on the linguistic features within one language or between native-speakers of a chose language, which in this case is Finnish.

What makes the research interesting is the fact that in today's globalized society, it is increasingly common to use English even when the participants share another language and are not native English speakers themselves. After all, English is often mixed with a different language and used in a variety of ways on a daily basis. One could expect that due to the increased use of the foreign language, people would have formed some kinds of attitudes toward the language and also toward those who use it. In addition, it seems that this sort of linguistic area and code-switching in general is somewhat without rules. That is to say, there are no set ways or specific forms on how one ought to use a foreign language when it is

intertwined with another. It is not taught at school, but rather picked on by people of different ages and backgrounds.

2.2.4 Attitudes toward using English in Finland

As previously mentioned, language attitudes have presumably existed almost for as long as languages have. Due to the fact that languages have identified groups of people, determined their shared identities and also reached out beyond nations and continents, foreign languages are scrutinized by the society in which the foreign language gains power. This discourse has naturally become relevant also in Finland. Attitudes toward the English language in Finland have been studied for example by Hyrkstedt in a master's thesis (1997), in which the aim was to recognize different attitudes toward English and also seek out possible fears that come with the increasing exposure of a foreign language. In other words, the study aimed to find out whether English was seen as a threat or as an opportunity in Finnish society. According to the study, English was considered an extremely important language for Finns in the mid-90s, an opinion that was probably also influenced by Finland becoming a member of the European Union in 1995. However, attitudes toward the language varied with some people being afraid of how the foreign language would affect Finnish and others seeing it as a positive phenomenon. A lot has happened since the 1990s and English is even more present now than it was before. According to the VARIENG survey discussed earlier (Leppänen et al. 2011), similar attitudes toward English still apply in 21st century Finland. That is, English is considered to be an important language, people are eager to learn it and it is not seen as a real threat to the native language. At the same time, Finnish natives' language skills are better than ever and English is perhaps more visible than it was before, and attitudes may have changed partly as a result of that. In addition to this, Hyrkstedt's study (1997) concentrated on how English was seen as something coming from outside the society. However, the present study studies English more as an internal phenomenon. That is to say, nowadays English is used by Finnish people not only when in contact with foreigners but also when interacting with other Finns. The language is being used on a daily basis between people who share a different native language and still it is not considered to be particularly strange. It can be assumed that the attitudes that once were directed toward foreign influences are now partly redirected at Finns using a foreign language in an environment where it is not

necessarily needed. This was also the focus of my bachelor's thesis, which dealt with attitudes and expectations in conversations between non-native English speakers.

As previously mentioned, Finns are subjected to English through various channels and the reason for exposure can be expected to influence the way language users view the language. Whereas other people's daily lives are not that touched by the influence of the foreign language and they are not challenged to reflect on their own attitude toward the language, for others, using English may come as a given side product of for example their profession. Relating to professional life and the use of English, Virkkula (2008:382–420) investigated attitudes Finnish people have toward business English by looking at five master's theses on the subject. More precisely, the study concentrated on how employees feel about the fact that the corporate world in Finland is nowadays dominated by English, making the language a visible part of people's working life, regardless to the level of their language proficiency. According to Virkkula, the interviewed employees seemed to be accustomed to the increasing use of English in their work and saw it as an important instrument that helps them perform adequately at their job. Even though English was generally thought to be extremely important, the article also discussed the use of unnecessary English at the workplace. In relation to language attitudes, some of the findings showed that English could be seen as a cause for irritation in the workplace, particularly if the employees were all perfectly capable of using Finnish and some saw the perhaps unnecessary use of English as a means of self-aggrandizement. According to the interviewees this was the case especially in email correspondence between Finnish native speakers and sometimes also in meetings between Finnish workers. In a situation where the parties share a native language, the use of a foreign one can simply seem unnecessary, but negative attitudes could also have something to do with the fact that language skills represent, in some situations, power and can therefore act as a discriminating factor (Virkkula 2008:415).

According to Hiidenmaa (2004:22) it is generally a common belief that language change is automatically bad and that a responsible language user ought to fight against it until the end, even though languages have of course evolved throughout their existence. However, not all worries have to do with the language per se. Other worries concern for example equality and people's relationships with each other. This is due to the fact that much in the same way that language unites people it can also create divisions and draw people apart. The extensive use

of a foreign language can also leave people feeling like outsiders if they lack language skills and thus turn people against it, even though one can claim that generally English is a popular language in Finland and foreign language skills are appreciated and sought-after.

2.3 Code-switching

In order to situate language attitudes and link them with another linguistic phenomenon, this study will discuss code-switching. The process takes place when a speaker mixes two, or possibly more, languages during an utterance. Gardner-Chloros (2009:4) defines code-switching as the use of more than one language or lect, such as dialect, sociolect or jargon, in the course of a single sentence or in the same conversation. According to Similarly, Grosjean (1982:145) describes it as the use of (certain elements of) two or more languages in the course of the same conversation. As a phenomenon, code-switching is not new; in fact, as Auer (2011:460) points out, code-switching actually emerged at the same time people first started learning languages and became bilingual. Large-scale research on code-switching has however been conducted from the late 1970s onwards. Auer states that today, multilingual practices are an undisputed everyday phenomenon and that bilingualism is a visible interactional and social fact.

According to Auer (2011:463), code-switching carries various social meanings. Mixing languages during conversational exchanges can occur because a speaker wishes to enhance group identity or be accepted as a member of one. In a similar way, a speaker may also wish to be separated from a group of people. Therefore one can say that code-switching has a strong social function. This is also stated by Auer as he concludes that “code-switching/mixing receives its social function and meaning from a complex of interacting dimensions, among them the prestige and value of varieties involved in the linguistic market, the social powers that regulate this market, the specific constellations of majority/minorities (or centre/periphery) within a society that relate to these forms of power, the accessibility of language resources, and the ideologies around the languages and their (bilingual or monolingual) use” (Auer 2011:463).

The process of code-switching makes it possible for speakers to identify themselves and create distinctions between *us* and *them*. As previously mentioned, code-switching can thus

define groups and also mark their boundaries whilst shaping the identities of individuals and groups. According to Gal (1998:247) “codeswitching is a conversational strategy used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their accompanying rights and obligations.” Due to the role and function of code-switching as one that may divide people and place them in groups, code-switching has historically also been linked with different elite groups. Auer (2011:263) offers an example about code-switching and its links to the elite by pointing out that it was common for example in 19th century Russia to mix French and Russian, as the use of those languages portrayed the speakers as belonging to certain social circles: “in the cases of elite code-switching, it is doubtlessly the prestige of the bilingual talker which lends prestige to their language; in all cases, certain linguistic resources...are scarce and access to them is restricted by educational system. A local elite in these cases combines an internationally prestigious variety with a local vernacular, thereby excluding both those who have no access to the international prestige variety and those who are not familiar with the local vernacular”. This idea applies not only in 19th century Russia but also in modern-day Finland and among different kinds of language user groups. A few examples could be for example groups of friends or work communities in which people tend to use similar expressions or a field-specific jargon. Language choices, such as the use of specialized words or a foreign language shared by the group members, can help in identifying with a group and in gaining access to it, but also in marking the groups boundaries by excluding others.

2.3.1 Code-switching in Finland

Contrary to the example above, code-switching seems to serve different purposes in modern Finland and it cannot be said to function as a sign of elite despite the fact that in some cases, for example in science, code-switching might take place due to professional vocabulary and expertise, mixing English and Finnish is extremely common and does not serve merely one purpose. As Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003:5) point out, English has become an integral part of many people’s everyday life and therefore it is also reflected in their manner of speech. Code-switching seems to be exceptionally common in casual youth language, but code-switched English terms are also frequent in the speech of professionals from many areas. “Various English catch-phrases, fillers, and hesitation markers (So what? Who knows? OK ... about...) can be heard in everyday spoken language, and quite recently this phenomenon has

also begun to appear in newspaper language.” (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003:5). Hiidenmaa (2003:35) seems to agree with the aforementioned by stating that loan words are no longer merely academic words that have been acquired through extensive education. Instead, elements of English are nowadays often used in casual conversations and acquired by speakers through movies, music, literature and advertisements. Some of the English expressions are common in everyday discourse, while others are used in specific areas, science or commerce.

All of these factors have brought English even closer to the Finnish native. In addition to the many instances in which English is used in Finland, code-switching takes place among people with various language learner backgrounds and is therefore accessible to many. Auer (2011:463) points out that there is really no need for the code-switcher to actually be a so-called bilingual. Instead, he claims that also people with minimal proficiency may take part in code-switching processes for example by mimicking or imitating things they have previously heard: “...in all these cases, the switching speakers are not usually called bilinguals, even in a very liberal sense of the word, and, surely in the case of crossing, they would not even consider themselves to be bilingual” (2011:463). Code-switching could thus be considered as an easily accessible way to use, and perhaps learn, a foreign language.

The topic of code-switching in Finland has been studied for example in the VARIENG survey from the year 2009 (Leppänen et al. 2011:116–128). The findings of the survey showed that code-switching was acknowledged as a growing phenomenon in Finland. It was noted that it often takes place in either informal situations or as a part of professional language. It was also reported that it most often took place when speaking to friends. All in all, code-switching seems to be most common among the younger generations. The findings of the study also support the fact that code-switching is often automatic and people do it without noticing. According to the survey, the majority of the respondents seemed to have a rather positive, or at least neutral, attitude toward code-switching and said that they understood it. However, it was mentioned that despite people having a relatively positive attitude toward mixing languages it could very well be one of the linguistic features that people refer to when worrying about the state of the national language.

Leppänen (2008:213) discusses code-switching from the point of view of fan fiction. She states that code-switching functions as a strategy for building a shared way of using language, and subsequently indicates and creates group identities, social relationships and social identities. Leppänen points out that code-switching is not necessarily always a question of bilingualism, but can also indicate a state of interlingualism. More precisely, interlingualism means that the languages do not necessarily change sequentially. Instead, the other language is an alternative resource for the speaker. In this state, the speaker does not necessarily recognize the fact that they are actually using a different language. Leppänen states that fan fiction and the bilingual texts showcase the changing linguistic atmosphere of Finland. The texts show that for some Finnish people (especially the younger generations), English is a part of their linguistic repertoire and they can choose elements from the foreign language and use it side by side with their native language, Finnish. (Leppänen 2008:229–230).

In addition to the other language being considered to be an additional resource to speakers, code-switching is sometimes also connected with sloppy language use. Moreover, as Gardner-Chloros (2009:14) points out, code-switching is often connected with laziness, even by those who admit to code-switching themselves. According to Gardner-Chloros, code-switching is seen as an easy way out when people cannot be bothered to search for the words they need in a single language. She goes on to say that because laziness is not a favourable quality in a person, it easily leads to thinking that mixing languages is somewhat wrong.

2.3.2 Motives behind code-switching between Finnish and English

It may be that sometimes language users use English words in Finnish due to the fact that they are more convenient and easier to remember, and that can be seen as lazy by some interlocutors as pointed out by Gardner-Chloros (2009), but there are of course plenty of other reasons why languages are mixed. In an article about the use of English in Finnish radio talk, Muhonen (2008) discusses the different functions of the foreign language. She talks about the Finnish linguistic environment in which English is a visible resource in communication and media, and functions alongside Finnish. The more specific phenomenon she focuses on is the use of English in radio talk in a Finnish radio station *YleX* which has a young target audience, but the findings help to understand the reasons also behind other instances when English is incorporated in Finnish talk. Muhonen sees the use of English as

part of a linguistic activity through which communicational and social meanings are made (2008:172). The presupposition of the study is that while Finnish is the main language of communication, the use of English carries specific meanings and has a motive behind it. This again is something that can be recognized also in casual conversation between ordinary people whose shared native language is Finnish. One could assume that there is some sort of a meaning for using a foreign language in Finnish conversation; whether it be the lack of a suitable Finnish word, a stylistic feature or a question of identity.

According to Muhonen (2008), one of the reasons English is used in Finnish radio shows is to increase the content's entertainment value. Moreover, the use of a foreign language is seen as a fun element of speech that brings the conversation something extra. According to Muhonen, another reason for mixing English and Finnish is the fact that an English insert draws attention to what is being said and can thus emphasize the relevance of the message and make it more noticeable. However, she also notes that code-switching might also be used to soften a message. More precisely, the use of English is considered to make the message somewhat indirect and thus less severe. Muhonen also mentions role-playing when discussing the reasons behind using English in Finnish talk. Quite naturally then, English is used when imitating famous people and when taking the role of someone else. In addition to the aforementioned, Muhonen also states that English can be used to indicate a certain area of expertise. Sometimes the foreign elements embedded in Finnish talk show off the linguistic repertoire of the speaker and his/her bilingual competence. It functions as a professional jargon and, for example in radio talk, it is used to strengthen the professional identity of the speaker. (2008:176–183).

The functions of English are varied and subsequently there are many motives behind its use. The findings of Muhonen's study are applicable to not only media talk, but also to casual conversations between different kinds of people. It can be assumed that sometimes the use of a foreign language is a necessity, sometimes it is used in order to create a specific atmosphere and sometimes it is used in order to portray other people and different situations. It can be a stylistic feature, but also a part of a more established professional jargon that strengthens the speaker's status along with his/her individual and group identity. Through linguistic choices, the speaker identifies him/herself with a certain group or culture while portraying their individual linguistic competence and resources. Perhaps some things can be said more

indirectly by using a foreign language and the speaker is simultaneously able to distance him/herself from the topic.

Paakkinen (2008:299–329) also discusses reasons behind the extensive use of English by looking at the language of commercials in Finland. She recognizes many of the motives discussed also in Muhonen's study; one of them being the fact that English is useful when the aim is to grab people's attention. The foreign language also gives additional resources and an array of options when thinking about catchy slogans, wordplays and other ways of making products more desirable. According to Paakkinen, English is connected not only with the rather obvious concept of internationality, but also with trendiness and with being cool. This could well be one reason why Finnish companies are eager to name themselves, their products and services in English even if the target audience is Finnish. English also seems to be the go-to language when advertisers want to say something quickly and with impact. Both articles shed light on the reasons why English is so widely used in Finnish media and the findings give an indication on why Finnish native speakers might mix language in everyday conversations. The foreign language is connected to certain desirable qualities that both businesses and individuals can acquire through language use.

Hiidenmaa (2003:27) also addresses the fact that English might be so widely used side by side with Finnish due to the attributes that speakers associate with the foreign language. After all, many of the English loanwords could easily be replaced with Finnish ones, but sometimes it is not enough, when the aim is to create atmospheres and influence mental images. According to Hiidenmaa, the chosen word may reflect appreciation, the speaker's knowhow and awareness, his/her position and the playfulness or dignity suited for different occasions and for different people. Hiidenmaa connects language choices closely with the speaker's wish to represent her/himself through language. She also goes on to discuss another interesting point about how the use of English might reflect the speaker's and the community's own thoughts about internationality and the added prestige of a certain language, rather than actually attaining those attributes (2003:77). Indeed, the thought of English as the language of internationalization, modernization and globalization is rooted so strongly in our minds that by using English, things and people seem to turn almost magically international and modern too. This could well be one of the main motivations for engaging in

code-switching also in primarily Finnish talk and the subject will be discussed further in the analysis of the present study.

As seen in the previous paragraphs, English is used side by side with Finnish for many reasons. Over all, it seems that the foreign language is often used when the aim is to appeal to people's emotions. More precisely, it is used as an additional resource when constructing mental images about phenomena, events, products or people. English is often also associated with internalization and modernity, which makes it especially appealing for example in marketing. At the same time, it seems that English is rarely used in order to make a topic more comprehensible. Choosing to mix English and Finnish can thus be considered to happen more out of choice than out of necessity. These motivations will be discussed from the point of view of the health care and social work students, as I move on to discuss the present study in detail next.

3 THE PRESENT STUDY

3.1 Purpose of the research

The aim of the present study is to map out some of the attitudes toward mixing English and Finnish in everyday interaction between Finnish non-native speakers of English. It is of interest to find out whether language mixing is visible in Finland, when it occurs and what sort of people are thought to mix languages. The present study draws from my previous study (Rinne 2010), which shed light on some of the reactions and expectations concerning the use of English in Finland and the different styles of doing so. The focus of the previous study, conducted in 2010, was on university students majoring in English and the aim was to find out how they experience code-switching and, perhaps more importantly, how they expect to be perceived by others when they mix languages or use English outside the university. It was of interest to find out how, and in what kinds of situations, students used English and how their foreign language competence was utilized in everyday life.

The findings of the previous study raised questions about the optimal level of language accommodation and also a so-called etiquette of code-switching, in addition to questions about convergence and language attitudes. More precisely, the findings introduced some of the insecurities and expectations that affect language use and also challenged to think about what kind of language use is appropriate and what is undesirable, if there are such evaluations to be made. The previous study showed that Finnish students with advanced level skills in English were cautious when using the foreign language as they felt that they were being evaluated badly if they used their full potential and showed their advanced language skills when using English in local contexts. Subsequently, most of the students felt that in order to communicate successfully it was essential for them to accommodate their speech according to the language skills and background of the interlocutor. In everyday communication, this might be seen in how the students pronounced English words and names when talking to other Finnish people. Most of the respondents admitted that pronouncing words in a way that is considered native-like might influence the conversation in a negative way (Rinne 2010). This is all somewhat surprising, when taking into consideration that foreign language skills are generally appreciated and valued in Finnish society, English is already widely used in Finland and the level of English is generally quite good among

Finnish people. The effects of the foreign language can be seen by most people despite their age or geographic location and using English is not directly and strictly connected with any particular group, such as academics or people with a multilingual background. (Leppänen et al. 2011:19–20)

The present study will draw from the previous one and introduce a second opinion to the issue of English and code-switching. After all, English often appears in Finnish talk as a part of the process of mixing languages and is an everyday phenomenon that touches a lot of Finnish speakers, not only those who actively study it for example at university level. In this study, the opinion will be that of those language users who perhaps do not have the same level skills in English as the students that took part in the previous study, but nevertheless, can be expected to face the foreign language regularly. More precisely, the studied group consisted of 37 health care and social work students studying at a Finnish polytechnic. The aim of the study is to find out whether the concerns of the students who took part in the previous study were correct and whether the use of English with other native speakers of Finnish by switching code between Finnish and English is frowned upon by their peers. The study aims to shed light on how young adults in general experience the ever-increasing visibility and use of English and how they themselves may incorporate elements of the foreign language into their own communicative practices. It is also interesting to map out potential negativities toward the language and see if language attitudes affect language users and subsequently relationships between speakers.

3.2 Data

The data for the study was collected from a group of students studying at a University of Applied Sciences in Western Finland. The city is the centre of an otherwise rural area with a population of approximately 57 000 people. The participants were all students at the School of Health Care and Social work and training to become social work professionals. The data was collected during two English classes and there were a total of 37 participants, three male students and 34 female students. All of the students were native speakers of Finnish. The reason for selecting this kind of a group is the fact that these people offer a counterpart to the group of students that took part in my previous study (Rinne 2010). They were roughly the same age group as the university students studying English, and therefore one can assume

that in regards to the surrounding linguistic atmosphere, they have grown up in similar settings. That is, during their childhood and adolescent years, the English language has gained more power in Finland and its presence has become increasingly visible in the everyday lives of Finns. They have also had access to the same kind of basic education of English, which means that they have started studying English as a foreign language more or less at the same stage of their education.

What makes this group different however is the fact that their experiences are likely to differ from the experiences of those students who have decided to study English further at a university level and make it a part of their future profession. Moreover, it is likely that the ones at university level have had a pleasant experience when studying English and it might be that learning the language has not been that troublesome. Rather, it has been something pleasant and maybe even easy. This is however not to say that English is thought to have been automatically difficult for other than the university students of English. Rather, it is suggested that students of English can more often be expected to have a multilingual identity, one that they are conscious about, and it is likely that they are interested in internationalization as well. In addition, they can be expected to actively seek international experience and opportunities to use the foreign language and they are perhaps more prone to using elements of the foreign language than others.

This being said, one might assume that the two groups have different learner backgrounds and various relationships with the English language. Personal history with the language and the learning experience altogether is likely to influence the students' attitudes toward the language and also toward those who use it regularly. For the English students, English may have taken a big role in their lives early on and it might form a part of their self-image and identity, whereas for a person who is not accustomed to English, the ever-increasing use of English might be slightly uncomfortable. The aim of the study is thus to find out what kinds of attitudes the students have toward the use of English and how they experience its visible role in Finnish society and as a resource of everyday communication. In addition to attitudes about language and language use, one interest is to find out what language users think about each other and how language use might influence social relationships. Even though the two groups have things in common, it is essential to recognize that the groups do represent different speech communities and are likely to rank performances in a different way. It is

important to notice that not everyone has access to same language resources, competence and opportunities to use the language. In addition, some people do not find foreign languages as interesting as others. Views on language are thus likely to differ from each other.

The data for the study was gathered by using a questionnaire. A set of both structured and open-ended questions were used in the questionnaire in order to get broader results concerning the topic of the English language being used in Finland. More precisely, the questionnaire focused on the students' attitudes and experiences toward the foreign language, and code-switching. The aforementioned method was used due to the advantages of using a questionnaire is gathering knowledge about the thoughts, feelings and attitudes of the participants (Hirsjärvi et al. 2007:189). The use of a questionnaire also made it possible to collect data from a larger group of people than conducting interviews would have. On the other hand, interviewing would have given the author the chance to make further questions when in need of clarification or more in-depth explanations.

The structured questions were used to gather information about the students' personal history as language learners and users. In addition, a Likert scale was used for questions concerning about the students self-evaluation of their English skills and also about how important English was for them. The questions related to background information will be discussed in section 3.4. where I introduce the participants of the study. The open-ended questions in turn had more to do with the phenomenon and process of code-switching. The use of open-ended questions, rather than a scale, allowed the participants to answer more freely and so that their own interpretation would be visible in the answers. Students were encouraged to include their own experience concerning the topic of mixing Finnish and English and to bring forth their thoughts that have to do with the foreign language and people who mix languages. The respondents were known to be Finnish native speakers so all of the questions were posed in Finnish in order to avoid any language restrictions that might affect the understanding of the research topic or the responses.

In order to introduce the topic of code-switching to the participants, the questionnaire also included audio recordings in which code-switching takes place. The audio part of the questionnaire included five short extracts that included elements of English in an otherwise Finnish conversation. The extracts were taken from reality television and interviews, but the

audio was presented without any images from the programmes. Code-switching was used in different ways in the examples. Differences could be heard for example in the way English was pronounced; in some examples the pronunciation was native-like (i.e. distinctively American English) and in others almost overly 'Finnish', meaning that the words were pronounced as they appear in writing and a lot of emphasis was put on every letter. In some cases, the foreign language was used for individual words, and others included longer extracts such as English catch-phrases incorporated in Finnish talk. In one of the examples, an English verb was used with a Finnish suffix, transforming the word phonologically and orthographically better suited for Finnish. After each audio example, the students were asked to write down three adjectives that came to their mind simply by listening to the recordings, not knowing anything about the topic or the speaker. The audio part of the data collection was used as an introduction to the actual questionnaire and the students did not yet know exactly what they were looking for from the audio extracts. However, the participants were advised to pay attention to the speech rather than the content of the audio clips. More precisely, the audio extracts were evaluated by the participants with minimal knowledge about the speaker or the nature of the topic. The best-case scenario, by using the audio before the actual questionnaire that introduced the issue of code-switching, the participants could share some of their thoughts without additional presuppositions. The Finnish term used in the questionnaire was *kielten sekoittaminen* (*language mixing*) due to the term's explanative nature.

3.3 Method of analysis

Open-ended questions were made to a relatively small sample of people, 37 students in total. The number of participants was quite small for a questionnaire study, but considered adequate due to the fact that around half of the questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions which were thought to offer more data for analysis than if the questionnaire had consisted merely of multiple choice questions. By answering freely to open-ended questions, there was an opportunity for the participants to share their experiences and introduce new issues that had not necessarily been introduced by the author. The analysis subsequently followed the practices of qualitative research and the research technique was content analysis, the aim of which is to describe the meaning of the data in a systematic way (Schreier 2012: 2). The research questions and aims of the present study determined the angle from which the

data was examined but the themes were drawn from the students' responses. Content analysis was thought to work well especially with open-ended questions, where interpretation of the answers is necessary in order to draw conclusions about the topic. The content of the responses was analyzed in detail and meaningful discussion topics were drawn from the data for closer inspection. Re-occurring themes were drawn from the answers and discussed using extracts from the students' answers as examples. The participants and the examples were numbered in the analysis for clarification. The background information which was gathered using structured questions and a Likert scale were used in drawing connections between the students' history as English users and their attitudes toward code-switching and the general visibility of English in Finland.

Qualitative analysis and more precisely practices of content analysis were chosen due to the fact that it seems like the best research method in a study in which the aim is to find out how people feel about certain things and when the participants' individual experiences are of interest. For example Baker (1997:10) also states that the aim of qualitative research is usually to gather an authentic understanding of people's experiences. Baker goes on to state that open-ended questions are often thought to be the most effective route in achieving said results.

The participants' answers were arranged so that themes could be drawn for closer inspection and analysis. Themes were found by looking for clues in the answers. According to Quest (2012:66), clues that help to identify themes could be for example repetition, ingenious categories, metaphors, transitions, constant comparison and linguistic connectors. Especially repetition was key in finding themes in this particular study. Baker explains the process of identifying themes in detail by stating that "the contents of the respondents' thoughts (beliefs etc.) are expressed in the medium of language (the interviewer's task is to encourage this expression) and then this content is rethematized by the analyst, who typically chunks the data, categorizes it, moves it around and rearranges it into a different formation. The words spoken by the respondents and the ideas they are heard to represent are 'the data'." (Baker 1997:130).

In order to achieve validity and reliability of the answers and research in general, it was important to make sure that the respondents understand the topic and recognize the

phenomenon before answering the questionnaire. This was also the reason why the term *kielten sekoittaminen* (language mixing) was used instead of *koodinvaihto* (code-switching). When constructing the questionnaire, a separate audiotape was created in order to be able to give the respondents some concrete examples on code-switching. By playing the tape, students were able to get a grasp of what was meant by the term, and presumably the topic of the study became clearer than it would have been without any examples. A pilot study was used to test the questions with people who were not as familiar with the topic as the author prior to the actual data collection. Useful feedback was given of both the questions and the audiotape leading up to the questionnaire. As a result, some audio extracts were replaced due to issues with audibility, and some questions re-phrased for more clarity.

3.4 The participants

As previously mentioned, there were a total of 37 students that answered the questionnaire. Out of the 37, there were three males (8,1%) and 34 females (91,9%), which made the females overrepresented in the data. As the male representation was so scarce, it was impossible to draw reliable conclusions about gender-related opinions and attitudes in this particular study. Also, when looking at the responses, there seemed to be no noticeable differences between the male and female respondents that could be linked to the gender of the respondent, especially as the male representation was so small. Finnish was the first language of every respondent and when asked to evaluate their language skills, most of the students stated that they were monolingual (83,3%). Five students (13,5%) considered themselves to be bilingual and only one self-identified as multilingual. As there are no set characteristics that apply to the notion of a bilingual or a monolingual person, it was up to the students to evaluate themselves while viewing the terms from their own perspective. For different people being bi- or multilingual means different things. That is, for some, it might mean mastering two or more languages equally well and similarly to a mother tongue (Bloomfield 1933), whereas for others, it might simply mean that they are able to use or understand more than one language, even if only at a basic level. For example Edwards (1994:56) states that everyone who knows even one word of a language other than their mother tongue can call themselves bilingual. However, as so many participants considered themselves to be monolingual despite the fact that their educational background included years of language studies, one might assume that their perception of a bi- or multilingual person would be

closer to the first definition. A similar conclusion was made in the VARIENG study on English in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2011) according to which Finnish people mostly see themselves as monolinguals despite the fact that the foreign language, English, has a visible role in their lives and Finns speak the language rather well. It was concluded in the study that Finns' way of viewing bi/multilingualism is one that demands "wide-ranging, native-like skills" and thus partial command of a foreign language is not identified as bi- or multilingualism (2011:162). This notion was supported by the self-evaluations of the present study.

Most of the participants of the study were born in the early 1990s, 26 out of 37 to be precise (70,3%). There was, however, one older student who was born in 1953 and one participant born in the 1970s. The remaining nine students were born in the late 1980s. When selecting a group for the study, the aim was to find a counterpart for the university students who participated in my previous study (Rinne 2010) where university students of English were asked to share their experience on code-switching and speech accommodation. Regarding the respondents' age, this aim was met as the vast majority of the students in the study were in their early twenties with only a few exceptions, much like in the previous study.

When asked about their history as English students there was a bit more variation than there was with age. Most of the students (86,5%) had started studying English in third grade (approximately 9–10 years old) as was to be expected. However, one student had started earlier and four students later than others, for example on the 8th grade. A majority of the students, 26 in total (70,3%), had continued their studies at upper secondary school, while the rest had revised secondary school English or studied some vocational English. One student had also completed 25 credits of English studies at the Open University, which is the equivalent of almost the basic studies (25–30 ECTS credits) at university level.

The students were also asked about longer stays abroad in order to find out if using a foreign language had been an everyday necessity for them at one point of their lives. Out of the 37 students, six (16,2%) had spent time in a foreign country for at least three months, the destinations varying from Ukraine to Australia. In addition to this, one student had completed a two-month training period in an English speaking country. Other students' experiences on life in foreign countries were limited to shorter travels and holidays.

When asked to complete a brief self-evaluation of their English skills, most students rated their skills as *average or above*. In the self-evaluation, students were asked to rate their speaking and reading skills as well as comprehension of spoken English. The alternatives varied from *passable* to *fluent* with five different alternatives to choose from. No one chose the weakest level of proficiency even though some admitted to struggling with the foreign language. In fact, it seems that most of the students felt they have a good knowledge of English and that they are able to communicate with others using the foreign language. This was to be expected as English is widely studied in Finland and students are nowadays able to start learning it younger than before. According to the self-evaluation on their English skills, there seemed to be no significant differences between students who had previously resided in another country and those who had not. Similarly, educational background did not seem to affect the respondents' view about their own language skills and no great difference could be seen for example between students who had gone to upper secondary school and those who had attended vocational school. In addition to studying English in schools, Finns are subjected to English also outside of formal education and through various channels. The foreign language is a big part of culture, media and social interaction, and therefore language contact and experiences concerning English often take place outside of classrooms. This could in part explain why there were no significant differences in the self-evaluations that were directly connected to the duration and extent of formal education.

In addition to the self-evaluation of their skills, the students were also asked about their relationship toward English. For this question, the respondents were given four alternatives to choose from; *extremely important*, *quite important*, *not that important* and *not at all important*. The respondents' feelings toward the English language in general varied from *extremely important* to *not that important* among the respondents. Most of the students said that to them, English was either *quite important* or *not that important*. Eight students said that English was *extremely important* to them while no one said that English was *not important at all*. As could be presumed, those students who had evaluated their English skills as good were more likely to consider English important to them and those who felt they were lacking in language skills were among those who cared less about the language.

The students were also asked when and where they had the most contact with English. The majority of students said that they mostly use English in their studies and at school. A little

less than half, more precisely 15 out of 37 respondents (40,5%), said that they used English the most during their free time. One student said she used English mainly at work. Only two respondents stated that they did not use English at all. One respondent initially said that English was not that important to him/her and that they only mixed languages occasionally when having fun. However, on closer inspection, later on in the questionnaire, the respondent began to question his/her own language use, as example 1 shows:

(1) *"Jotkut sekoittelevat kieliä "tosissaan" yrittäen kuulostaa "coolilta", toiset onnistuvat siinä ja toiset kuulostavat teennäisiltä. Oho! Huomasin juuri että käytän välillä englanninkielisiä adjektiiveja kuvaillessani asioita. Esim. "cool" tai "very funny".*

Some people mix languages 'in a serious way', trying to sound 'cool'. Some make it work and others sound pretentious. Oops! I just realized that I sometimes use English adjectives when describing things. Such as 'cool' or 'very funny'. (respondent 24)

The example above supports the fact that some elements of English are such common features in Finnish talk or familiar to the speaker in question, that they are sometimes difficult to point out and recognize as foreign language. Moreover, adding short extracts of English in otherwise Finnish talk or using morphologically domesticated English words has become so common among some people that speakers may feel as if their language is not affected by English, but upon reflection, realize that the foreign language does in fact influence the language they use. This seemed to be the case also with the respondents of this study who initially thought that they did not use English in their everyday life.

This being said, some elements are of course easier to spot, whereas others have become so widely used that they are not necessarily even considered to be foreign. According to the respondents, examples of such elements could be for example loan words such as 'cool' or 'please', which are some of the words so widely used that one could perhaps argue that they have almost become Finnish and speakers do not necessarily recognize them as foreign. Foreign elements that are perhaps easier to spot would include for example different catch phrases and other longer loans from English. It is important to note how people use elements of the foreign language even without noticing. The presence of English may seem so natural

that language users do not pay attention or need to think about it if not particularly challenged to reflect upon it. This was evident also in the answers of this study.

4 ANALYSIS

The background information presented in the previous paragraphs lead us to the analysis on the open-ended questions and the actual topic of code-switching in Finland. This section will firstly concentrate on the phenomenon of code-switching and discuss the general opinion about it, along with exploring different kinds of situations in which the respondents of the study had witnessed English being used alongside Finnish.

After addressing the visibility of code-switching, attention will be directed toward more particular instances in which code-switching occurs and what is thought of it. The section will discuss situations in which the respondents mix languages and examine the motivations behind doing so. Most frequently surfaced motivations included humour, necessity, efficiency, hobbyism and identity, which will be presented in individual sections. In addition to this, the section will discuss possible negative attitudes toward code-switching and the increasing use of English in local contexts, caused for example by poor English skills or reservation toward the seeming dominance of English.

As one of the aims of the study is to find out whether code-switching practices influence the perception and attitudes about language users and whether it influences their relationships, the discussion will later turn on to the respondents views about other people who mix languages and discuss the characteristics often linked to language users who use English in Finland. This section will discuss attributes connected to age, domicile and pronunciation before moving on to the conclusion, which contains a summary of the results and remarks about the present study and its findings.

4.1 Attitudes to the phenomenon of code-switching

After questions about the respondents' background and profiles as language users, the questionnaire continued with open-ended, more specific questions, about code-switching. The aim was first to enquire whether the participants of the study noticed English in Finnish contexts and whether they were familiar with the act of switching language. When asked about the visibility of the foreign language being incorporated in native Finnish, all of the participants said that they were familiar with the concept of taking elements of English and

applying them to otherwise Finnish talk. All 37 participants had noticed the phenomenon in Finnish language use regardless of their own relationship with the language or how well they themselves knew the language. In their answers, the respondents shared their own experiences about code-switching, the examples including both instances where the respondent was the one mixing languages and also the interlocutor. The examples also included instances where the respondent's role was not active in producing language and in which he/she was a by-stander or an outsider in general. The respondents also mentioned situations where they thought code-switching might often occur and what kind of people might frequently engage in incorporating English in otherwise Finnish talk. These answers were presumably based both on experience and presuppositions.

Not only were the respondents of the study aware of the existence of the phenomenon, the majority of them also seemed to agree that code-switching between Finnish and English is visible and fairly common in modern day Finland. Out of the 37 participants, no one particularly implied that mixing languages was uncommon. As previously mentioned, some observed that the use of English might also go unnoticed as certain expressions and words have become established also in Finnish talk. This may also lead to differences in how different people and groups, such as different generations, hobbyists and professionals, view languages and the concept of 'foreign'. As respondent 15 stated, once the foreign words have become established, the words may even seem like a better fit than the Finnish one. Subsequently, it can become more difficult to make a distinction between the languages:

(2) *"Monet ihmiset käyttävät nykyään englanninkielisiä sanoja ja heille niistä on tullut ikään kuin ainoita oikeita sanoja, kuten ignorata"*

Nowadays, many people use English words and the words have, in a way, become the only right words, for example 'ignorata' (to ignore). (respondent 15)

As example 2 suggests, even those foreign words that do not seem to fit in a Finnish sentence may become used so widely by either a group of people or by an individual, that in the end the process of changing the language of conversation mid-sentence is nothing out of the ordinary, even though the use of the foreign term, such as the previous example's word 'ignore', might make the Finnish sentence incomprehensible to another person not familiar with the English origin.

All in all, the respondents of the study agree that using English in a Finnish context was something that everyone does, and also that mixing languages is visible in various settings. They did, quite naturally, distinguish certain types of people as regular code-switchers and pointed out situations in which code-switching was more likely to occur, but all in all, respondents seemed to think that the phenomenon was visible pretty much everywhere. In fact, a common answer to the question about the appearance of code-switching was that it is done everywhere and by everyone. More particular details concerning the respondents' thoughts on people who mix languages and on situations in which it takes place will be discussed in later paragraphs in the analysis.

4.1.1 Code-switching situations

In relation to the recognition of the phenomenon, the participants were asked to elaborate on the situations in which they had witnessed the foreign language being used. Out of the 37 respondents, 18 (48,7%) particularly mentioned that the setting in which code-switching occurs is usually a casual one. In addition, other respondents also described situations that indicated that an auspicious atmosphere for code-switching was most commonly a casual one. The examples included various instances in different kinds of environments, which leads to think that rough generalizations about the use of English do not apply. However, there were particular situations and occasions which came up frequently in the answers. The most common situation where the participants noticed code-switching seemed to be discussions among friends. Ten respondents particularly mentioned that if they themselves were to engage in mixing languages, it would most likely be when taking part in a conversation with their friends, and others recalled situations where they were observing a situation between friends in which code-switching took place. The emphasis on friendly conversations with people one already knows well also supported the idea of the casual nature of code-switching. In fact, informality was probably the most frequent characteristic linked to the phenomenon.

The respondents' examples concerning talk with strangers also included brief and casual conversations, such as dialogue at a store check-out. In these examples, the English insert was described as a short one, for example a greeting and saying thank you rather in English than in Finnish. Moreover, it seems that the respondents were here referring to short exclamations. These were most likely the kind of instances where the English word has, in a

sense lost its origin, and is not considered foreign. Another frequently mentioned arena for code-switching was the Internet where writing passages at least partly in English was seen as a common thing and also as a convenient way of using language.

Despite the fact that code-switching was mostly connected to informality, there were also a few respondents who pointed out that they had witnessed English being used in a local context in a rather different kind of setting. Contrary to informal settings, these respondents mentioned professional jargon and political talk as examples of situations and topics in which English was used often, like respondent 2 in the below example:

(3) *“Politiikassa käytetään myös vähintäänkin suomennettua englantia. Priiffata, pitkässä juoksussa...”*

In politics, people use at least finnicized English. Brief (‘priiffata’), in the long run.
(Respondent 2)

Borrowing terms from English, using anglicized expressions (such as *pitkässä juoksussa*) and mixing the foreign language with Finnish in a formal context was thought to be common especially when the people mixing languages were older and, according to the respondents, highly educated. English and code-switching was thus also seen as a sign of expertise and professionalism, even though code-switching was mostly considered to take place in informal settings.

In addition to notions about age, respondents said that they had noticed code-switching in the previously mentioned media and in popular culture. Some respondents said that other people’s example and habit drove people to mix languages and that TV and media in general were strong contributors in igniting code-switching among large groups of people. Code-switching was also connected to more specific phenomena in culture, such as popular culture and its various sub-categories. For example Finnish rap and hip-hop artists were mentioned as a group of people who use plenty of English and English derivatives in their lyrics, even if the main language of the song remains Finnish. According to Westinen (2014:311-) using elements of English in rap and hip hop music can be one of the ways of constructing authenticity and it is thus a common linguistic resource for artists. The language links the music and the artist to the local hip hop scene but at the same time nods to the American

tradition. Media and mass cultures in general could be seen as one of the main channels through which English spreads into everyday language use.

As previously mentioned, the use of English has become a natural feature in the linguistic atmosphere in Finland and seems to be one that the participants are well aware of. By looking at the participants' responses, code-switching seemed to be most visible as short extracts among Finnish, such as different exclamations. Students had noticed code-switching also in the use of words such as thanks ('täanks'), sorry ('sori') and please ('pliis') which in some cases were introduced as being *almost Finnish*. Moreover, foreign terms have become fixed in Finnish and this phenomenon has not gone past the participants of the study, as the following statement in example 4 concludes:

(4) ”*sekoitettu kieli muuttuu koko ajan pysyvämmäksi ja vieraskieliset sanat alkavat vakiintua*”

Mixed language is becoming more fixed and foreign words are starting to be established (respondent 24)

4.1.2 Opinions about code-switching as a phenomenon

The majority's outlook on the phenomenon of code-switching seemed to be rather positive. The respondents did not seem to question the role of English in Finnish society and rather recognized the benefits of being able to use another language even when interacting in a country where English is not an official language. The acknowledged functions of code-switching and the respondents' thoughts on what English might offer to native Finnish language users are discussed in more detail later on in the analysis, but already based on the respondents' initial comments about the whole phenomenon of code-switching, one can conclude that the overall attitude was positive.

Only a few respondents out of the 37 addressed the problem of using English at the expense of one's native language competence by expressing concern for the demise of Finnish. Those students commented on the domination of English and how they felt about the phenomenon of English becoming a more visible part of language use also in Finland. However, even they admitted to mixing languages together and also felt that code-switching would probably

become even more common in the future. For example one respondent pondered on what might happen to Finnish if the visibility of English continues to grow (example 5).

(5) *”Kyllähän sitä mieltii joskus, että entäs jos pitkän ajan päästä suomen kieli katoaa, kun siihen sekoittaa niin paljon englantia”*

One does sometimes wonder whether the Finnish language will disappear some time in the future due to the fact that so much English is being mixed with it (respondent 25)

For some, the reason to shun the phenomenon was a more personal one; respondents said that the ever-increasing use of English was uncomfortable because they felt that their own language proficiency was not enough for them to understand foreign expressions used in Finland. They said that because they lack language skills, the use of English can be troublesome and the activity of code-switching can seem both uncomfortable and pointless. Some of these thoughts can be detected in the following examples 6–8:

(6) *”En koe englantiani niin hyväksi että olisin tarpeeksi itsevarma niitä esim. lauseissa sekoittamaan, koska virheen tehdessään joutuu naurunalaiseksi ja sitä itsetunto ei kestä ☺”*

I don't think my English is good enough for me to be confident enough to mix [languages] for example in sentences, because if you make a mistake you become a laughing stock and that's too much for the self-esteem ☺ (Respondent 35)

(7) *”en pidä siitä koska oma kielitaitoni on niin huono, että saattaisin ymmärtää jotain väärin mikäli kieliä sekoitettaisiin”*

I don't like it, because my own English skills are so poor, that I might misunderstand something if the languages were mixed. (respondent 27)

In the above examples (6 and 7) the respondents clearly state that they lack English skills, and thus do not care for the whole phenomenon of code-switching either. In the next example, the respondent does not comment on his/her own language competence, but questions the necessity of code-switching and the excessive use of English in general by bluntly stating the following:

(8) *”joskus miettii sitäkin että miksei vaan voi kirjoittaa pelkällä suomen kielellä”*

Sometimes you wonder why can't we just write merely in Finnish

(respondent 9)

As the previous example 8 shows, it can be difficult to justify the use of English if a perfectly adequate expression already exists also in Finnish. This aspect is perhaps emphasized when code-switching is encountered by a person who does not necessarily know the language that well, does not find the foreign language interesting or, all in all, considers using the foreign language a chore. However, the foreign language can also be considered as an interesting addition and used successfully side by side with Finnish. In fact, even a majority of those who expressed some discomfort regarding code-switching did not show aversion toward the phenomenon, much like the following example by respondent 10 suggests:

(9) *”Minun mielestäni se [kielten sekoittaminen] on hauskaa ja mielenkiintoista. Toisaalta kielet pitäisi pitää puhtaana, mutta maailman globaalistuessa se tuskin on mahdollista”*

In my opinion, it [mixing languages] is on the one hand fun and interesting. On the other hand, language should be kept pure, but in a globalizing world that's probably not possible (respondent 10)

As the example above shows, even though there seemed to be no real concern for the future of the Finnish language, a few students did bring forth the idea that the native language ought to be enough when communicating in Finland and that it is rather pointless to bring elements of a foreign language into Finnish talk, if it is not absolutely necessary. However, the reality that languages have in fact always had contact with each other was not recognized in example 9 and rather the present state of the language was considered the original one. Despite some of the reservations toward language change, most attitudes toward the phenomenon seemed to be rather positive and according to the responses, English seems to contribute to the participants' own language use as well. The reasons for mixing languages, as experienced by the respondents, will be discussed later in more detail. It is worth noting here, that even though the majority's opinion toward the English language and the phenomenon of code-switching seems rather positive, or at least neutral, evaluating actual situations and speakers is not quite so black-and-white. Moreover, there are a variety of elements that contribute to

the way people view code-switching and speakers. Possible stimulus for adapting negative views on code-switching, the foreign language or, even more so, the speaker, will be presented later on.

4.2 Motivations for code-switching

After addressing the existence of the phenomenon of code-switching and its visibility in Finland, the participants of the study were asked to reflect on their experiences on code-switching in order to find out what kind of people they considered to be 'language mixers' and what reasons they saw for changing code between English with Finnish. When sharing their own opinions about code-switching, the students, quite naturally, reflected also on how they themselves switch languages and borrow elements of English in everyday talk. The following paragraphs discuss situations in which the participants told they mix the foreign and native language and explores some of the functions of code-switching in general, as detected by the participants of this study.

4.2.1 Humour and atmosphere

One of the most common reasons students gave for mixing Finnish and English was humour. According to the respondents, this was generally common among people who mix languages, but the motive was emphasized especially when the respondents were describing their own use of English alongside Finnish. The respondents stated that one of the benefits of mixing the foreign language with the native one was the fact, that by using English, it was easy to make things sound more comical and also more interesting. According to the respondents, the foreign language was used when imitating other people, for example celebrities, and contributed to the entertainment value of what was being said. The observation and links between code-switching and humour relates closely to the findings of the previously mentioned studies by Muhonen (2008) and Paakkinen (2008), in which they discussed the motives behind using English in Finnish media channels such as in the radio and in advertising. To summarize, they both stated that in media, English was used in order to create comedy and in making a piece funnier. It was also said by Muhonen (2008:183) that sometimes things can be taken a bit more lightly when the language of communication is

other than the native language. The findings of the studies translate to casual everyday discussions and, similarly to the findings, also the participants of this study explained that they often used code-switching in order to emphasize a funny incident, or to make a story somewhat comical and more entertaining. Also according to Sebba (1993) code-switching is often used to animate discussion and is a tool for providing different voices. Over all, it seems that code-switching was used to contribute to the atmosphere and the tone of a conversation and thus humour as a motive for code-switching did not only mean comical things such as jokes and imitation as is visible in the following examples:

(10) *"Kielten sekoittaminen on hauskaa, jos joku heittää yhtäkkiä englanniksi jotain. Tulee rento, hyvä fiilis"*

Mixing languages is fun, when someone all of a sudden says something in English. It creates a relaxed, good feeling. (respondent 1)

(11) *"lauseista englannin avulla mielenkiintoisia ja hauskoja. Englanti on sujuvampaa kuin kankea suomi."*

Sentences (become) more interesting and funnier with the help of English. English is more fluent than stiff Finnish. (respondent 22)

In examples 10 and 11, code-switching is not distinctly comical and the function is not humour per se. Code-switching is rather seen as an element of talk that contributes to creating a relaxed mood and light-hearted conversation. In the following example, English is more directly used for a humorous purpose:

(12) *"Joskus on hauska lisätä puheeseen englanninkielisiä sanoja ja ääntää niitä yliampuvasti brittiläisittäin, esim. leffojen ja tv-sarjojen nimiä. Tätä tapahtuu kavereiden kanssa & tarkoitus on vähän hauskuutella."*

Sometimes it's fun to add English words into speech and pronounce them extravagantly in British English, for example the names of movies and TV-series. This happens with friends and the purpose is to have a little bit of fun. (respondent 34)

The connection to humour further emphasized the fact that code-switching was mostly connected to casual conversations. It also seems that when used for entertainment purposes,

code-switching was perhaps the easiest to understand, tolerate and like. Some respondents said that while they admit to mixing languages often, they would never do it 'seriously'. Instead, they reserved it merely for entertainment purposes; for joking and 'being funny'.

(13) "*Käytän joitain englannin sanoja huomaamatta sitä itse. Jos tarkoituksella käytän, käytän hassutellessa, en tosimelessä*"

I use some English words without noticing it myself. If I use them on purpose, it's when I'm being silly, not in a serious way. (respondent 20)

Emphasizing the fact that they would not mix English and Finnish in a serious way was common among the respondents' answers. As we will see in later paragraphs, this clarification was important to the respondents presumably due to some of the attitudes commonly held towards people who actively change code and mix languages. Even though using English was generally considered to be funny and interesting and respondents were aware of the functions of the foreign language, the person using the language might not be perceived in such a positive light.

4.2.2 Necessity

Finnish people have become accustomed to different English words, phrases and other elements of the foreign language as the use of English has become more common in Finland. Due to globalization and the introduction of foreign cultures, lifestyles and products, there is an increasing number of English expressions and words that have been adopted to Finnish language simultaneously with other elements of cultures. Some language users may be so used to the foreign elements that it is easier to use a foreign expression than a Finnish one, let alone invent a word or an expression in a case where there is no established Finnish version. Relating to this, the respondents stated that in addition to using English as a stylistic feature, code-switching also occurs out of necessity. Fourteen respondents (37,8%) mentioned that English was often used when the speaker finds it difficult to find Finnish alternatives to certain words or expressions. In some cases this was due to the fact that some loan words simply do not have a suitable or, perhaps more importantly, an established Finnish version, but a multilingual or otherwise international background was also mentioned. In addition, it was said that some words and expressions might also have a close connection with a

particular phenomenon for example in popular culture and that their meaning could therefore not be fully understood if translated to Finnish. In addition to this, some loan words have themselves become established at least in spoken language and used so widely that there seems to be no real need for a translation.

Despite the common thought that using a foreign language might make a Finnish sentence incomprehensible, one respondent particularly mentioned that English was used to explain something further:

(14) "*Englannilla on hyvä korjata tai selventää asioita*"

English is good for correcting or clarifying things (respondent 23)

It seems that in these cases, English can be seen to offer another possibility to say the same thing and works as though a Finnish synonym would. Moreover, English can here be thought of as an additional resource for the speaker. The same can be said about the following example, in according to which a speaker may resort to using English in the absence of a Finnish alternative or a lack in memory.

(15) "*...kun ei esim. muista suomenkielistä sanaa, niin sanoo sen englanniksi, puhekielessä*"

---When you don't remember a Finnish word, then you say it in English, in spoken language (respondent 29)

Some respondents admitted, similarly to the above example, that they sometimes use English because the foreign language version of a word is the first one that comes to mind. More precisely, students felt that certain English words come to them naturally and are easier to use and, sometimes remember, than Finnish ones. This links closely to the previously discussed point by Gardner-Chloros (2009), according to which people do not necessarily bother to look for suitable expressions in a single language and instead choose the first alternative that comes to their minds. This phenomenon seemed more common for those who use the foreign language a lot, have friends with whom they communicate in English or if they have spent time in an English speaking country. One respondent explained how a learning period in England affected her language choices.

(16) *”Kielten sekoittaminen on tapa joka jäi Englannin harjoittelusta, jolloin kadotin sanoja suomeksi ja korvasin ne englannilla”*

Mixing languages is a habit that stayed with me after a training period in England when I lost words in Finnish and substituted them with English (respondent 29)

A similar example (17) showcased how people resort to the foreign language when they are struggling to find the right words and fully express themselves or when an English version simply seems like a better fit:

(17) *”Sekoitan kieliä, koska jotkut asiat/sanat on helpompi sanoa/ymmärtää englanniksi eikä sana-vastaavuutta välttämättä löydy helposti. Esim. paljon helpompaa on sanoa, että joku on wannabe jotakin kuin suomeksi sanoa, että joku yrittää olla jotakin mitä ei ole. Myös englannin kielestä on helpompi tehdä lyhenteitä kuten btw, brb, kit ym. joita on helppo käyttää esim. viesteissä”*

I mix languages, because some things/words are easier to say/understand in English and it's not necessarily easy to find an equivalent word. It is for example a lot easier to say that someone is a *wannabe* than to say in Finnish that someone is trying to be something he/she is not. It is also easier to make abbreviations from English, such as btw, brb, kit etc., which are easy to use for example in messages. (respondent 17)

According to the respondents, the foreign language may co-exist with the native language and is used not only when it is favored due to style, but also when the native language competence appears to fail the speaker. Whether it is indeed the better fit of an English expression, a lack of a suitable Finnish alternative or perhaps even laziness, often connected to code-switching, is debatable and undoubtedly context bound.

4.2.3 Efficiency

One of the reasons the respondents gave for using English instead of Finnish was efficiency. When explaining the efficiency of English, respondents wrote that it was sometimes less time-consuming to use an English word or expression instead of Finnish. This relates to what was said in the previous paragraph about English words being the first, or indeed the only existing and established ones that come to the speaker's mind. In addition, the possibility of

creating abbreviations was considered a benefit of using English. Abbreviations were said to be typical especially in online discussions and when writing text messages on one's mobile. Examples included common abbreviations such as 'omg' (oh my god), 'lol' (lots of laughter) or 'rofl' (rolling on floor laughing). Even though these abbreviations first became popular in online discussions, they have transferred to actual spoken language as well, and one can often hear especially 'omg' and 'lol' used 'irl' ('in real life' that is). Examples of longer expressions and complete words common in casual conversation included expressions such as 'what ever', 'what's up' and 'hell no'.

Some students felt that they would get their message across faster if they replaced words with English. A few respondents also went beyond using 'separate' expressions or foreign words to combine Finnish and English to make up new words, for example verbs. In these cases, the speaker would take an English word and add a Finnish ending so that it would be easier to use in otherwise Finnish speech. Moreover, in these cases the morphology and/or phonology of the word is altered so that it suits Finnish. One respondent gave the following sentence as an example of how she/he would replace a Finnish word with a compilation:

(18) ”*esimerkkinä jyvaskyläläinen Bar Launch, kaverien kesken puhutaan että mennään launtsiin. Silloin väännetään englanninkielestä suomalaisempaa. Joskus tekemistä lyhennän esim. ”meen uimaan” = swimmaamaan*”

For example Bar Launch in Jyväskylä, among friends we talk about going to *launtsi*. We are making English more Finnish then. Sometimes I shorten an expression of doing something, for example *meen uimaan* (i'm going swimming) = *meen swimmaamaan*”
(Respondent 3)

The above example was used to indicate the efficiency of English and the respondent said that it was an easier and also less time consuming a way of saying the same thing. However, this particular example by respondent 3 makes one wonder if the idea of efficiency is sometimes simply an illusion. Even though English was seen as dynamic and efficient, one could argue that for example in the above example it seems to be anything but that. When compared to the Finnish version '*meen uimaan*', the one with English in it is actually longer and does not seem like an ecologic way of speaking or writing. Relating to this example, one must consider the image and 'brand' of the foreign language. If English is seen as an efficient

language, it seems that also the person using English becomes efficient. The reality may be different, for both the person and the actual word, but the at least an illusion about the efficiency of English exists and communicates something about the person and the conveyed message. This relates to Hiidenmaa's (2003:27) notion about using English due to the attributes associated with the language. Moreover, Hiidenmaa emphasizes that language choices are partly made on the basis of how the speakers wish to represent themselves and sometimes English is needed in order to create a certain mental image.

Another, perhaps more successful, example about replacing Finnish with a more efficient English expression was the use of the word 'wannabe' which was talked about in the previously mentioned comment 17 by respondent 17 (see p. 56). In that example, the need for borrowing the expression from English seems more grounded than in the previous one. Moreover, in this case, the use of the word *wannabe* seems like a faster way of expressing the same thing and is on-point in describing the subject in one word. The word is not only shorter than the Finnish equivalent but also more established as a term.

Regardless of how efficient the use of English turned out to be on closer inspection, English was thought to be a fast alternative to Finnish when the speaker could not remember the Finnish equivalent, when the speaker favored the English version or when the speaker considered it as a more established way of saying something. In addition, several English abbreviations had become established in the respondents language use and made interaction decidedly faster especially in written communication such as online chatting and text messaging.

4.2.4 Hobbyism and multilingual identity

According to the responses, code-switching can also occur when people search for ways to use a language they like. In other words, those who like English are likely to have a positive attitude toward using English and Finnish side by side and it is more common for them to use the foreign language even in Finnish conversations. One respondent said that to him/her, code-switching provided one way of using a language that he/she likes and also knows quite well (example 20). The act of code-switching can thus also be seen as a representation of

interest and hobbyism, and the main purpose it serves is that it gives the speaker a channel to utilize his/her skills in their immediate surroundings, for example with friends and at home.

(20) *”Olen aina ollut hyvä englannissa, joten se tulee luonnostaan. Tosin vain kaveriporukassa”*

I have always been good in English, so it comes naturally. Only around friends though.

(respondent 25)

This was a common reason given for code-switching also among the university students of English who took part in my previous study (Rinne 2010). They also saw code-switching as an opportunity to use a foreign language in a domestic environment and claimed that it was natural to them as they had the skills and interest to use English. Some of the participants of the present study also explained that they simply enjoyed expressing things in English, like in the following example:

(21) *”Joskus on kiva ilmaista mielipiteitä ja tunteita englanniksi.”*

Sometimes it's nice to express opinions and feelings in English.

(respondent 28)

This example might relate not only to the inclination to use a well-liked foreign language, but also to the previously mentioned notion that things might be taken more lightly if they are said in a foreign language. This might also apply to expressing feelings in general. Moreover, it may be that using English gives the speaker a more indirect way of stating something, for example concerning the speaker's emotions, than the use of the speaker's own native language would.

4.3 Sticking with Finnish

As previously mentioned, the phenomenon of code-switching was familiar to all of the students and they seemed to recognize the multiple reasons behind using English side by side with Finnish themselves too. There were, however, also those who did not feel quite so comfortable in a linguistic atmosphere in which languages are mixed freely. One reason for refraining from code-switching might well be the attitudes and presuppositions that some

people hold against others who mix languages. The findings showed that mixing English and Finnish was often seen as a representation of the speaker's persona and some of the evaluations were less than favourable. For one, code-switching was connected with snobbish behaviour and the feeling of superiority. It was also linked with pretentiousness and with being fake. One could presume that such presuppositions and the knowledge of these attitudes might refrain people from mixing languages, even though none of the students directly stated that that was the reason for them personally to avoid code-switching. This could also be seen in my previous study (Rinne 2010) conducted about the way university level English students, and future language experts experienced the use of English in Finland and how they experienced the effects linguistic choices have on conversations, attitudes and subsequently relationships. The fear of not being accepted and of looking like a show-off were among the reasons why students limited their use of the foreign language. In light of the answers of both the participant groups the fear can be somewhat justified.

Despite the presupposition that speakers might avoid code-switching because of fear of being judged badly, students did not directly state it as a reason for not using English next to Finnish. Instead, they said that it was their own skills that made them avoid code-switching. Quite naturally, those who evaluated their own English skills as being poor, were less likely to mix languages. Instances where code-switching occurs were made uncomfortable by the participants' uncertainty of their own comprehension. One respondent said that code-switching made the message sound confusing and that it took an unnecessary amount of effort to understand what was meant when using English words. In addition to this, the simultaneous use of Finnish and English seemed unnecessary to others. Some of these explanations can be detected in the examples below:

(22) *"En käytä, koska en osaa yhtään sanoja...en ainakaan itse saa selvää, jos joku koko ajan käyttää puhuessaan englantia"*

I don't use it (English) because I don't know any words...at least I cannot understand what is being said if someone uses English all the time when speaking (respondent 16)

(23) *"sen verran perussuomalainen olen että puhun vain suomea jollei ole pakko puhua vierasta kieltä"*

I'm that much of an ordinary Finnish person that I speak only Finnish if it is not necessary for me to speak a foreign language (Respondent 27)

In the first example (22) the reason for avoiding code-switching seems to be a rather personal one. The response indicates that the respondent is not sure about his/her own language skills and therefore sees little sense in incorporating English in Finnish. The comment also indicates that the respondent does not care for other people switching code either, as it can make a sentence incomprehensible and communication difficult. Regarding the second example (23), one can detect that respondent 27 also seems to think that the use of English is not that necessary in Finland, as the respondent states that he/she only uses the language if they have no choice not to. One can also detect a sense of cultural identity which is performed through language. The respondent identifies him/herself as an ordinary Finnish person, to whom Finnish is the obvious choice when it comes to communication. More direct criticism towards the whole concept of using English in Finnish language comes, however, from respondent 18:

(24) "*mielestäni englanti ei kuulu suomen kieleen*"

I think English doesn't belong in the Finnish language (respondent 18)

In example 24, it seems that similarly to example 9 (see p.51) the present situation of language is again seen as fixed and as the original form of language even though this is not the case. Moreover, the example neglects the history of language and the fact that most words in Finnish are originally loans and that languages in general are never immune to change. Instead they keep on evolving constantly.

Much like the previous examples show, the reasons for not engaging in code-switching were either personal or they had to do with the whole phenomenon. As said in a previous chapter, the majority's opinion toward the phenomenon of code-switching was, however, positive. In other words, a poor self-evaluation of the respondent's language skills did not automatically mean that they also had a negative attitude toward the increasing visibility of English and the whole phenomenon of code-switching, even though it might have restricted their own language use. Neither did good English skills always equal a positive outlook toward code-switching.

4.4 Views on other people who mix languages

In addition to reflecting upon their own language use, the respondents were asked to share their views about other people who mix languages. There was a direct question about who the respondent thought an average language mixer was, but in addition to that particular question, the topic of the code-switching person came up indirectly in many of the answers about the phenomenon of code-switching, the students' perception about the foreign language in general etc. The suggested characteristics, language user profiles and groups of language mixers will be presented in more detail in the following sections.

4.4.1. Age

One characteristic that came up multiple times in the answers concerning people who mix languages was age. Despite the fact that the respondents thought that English was present in the lives of Finnish people of all ages, many of the respondents seemed to connect the phenomenon of code-switching with young people, as sixteen particularly mentioned that a typical language mixer was a young person. More precisely, when referring to young people, it seemed that many respondents were referring to someone younger than themselves even though most of the respondents were only in their early twenties. Some specified the age group by stating that the most active language mixers were usually teenagers. Young people's code-switching was often linked to discussions between friends which again brought up the casual nature of code-switching. It is worth pointing out here that the term *teenager* seemed to refer to more than just the person's age. Even though it obviously has to do with age and the term generally refers to the age group of 13–19, the mental picture of a teenager is known to be more complex and multi-faceted. The word teenager (*teini* in Finnish) is often used to sum up a group of people, not only by their age but also what they are expected to like and engage in. The word is also used to group young people together. Descriptions concerning teenagers were not always necessarily the most flattering ones. Teenagers as language mixers were described in a slightly negative way and their language use was in some responses thought to be mainly annoying like in the example below.

(25) ”*Jos esimerkiksi Michael Monroe sekoittelee [kieliä] se on huvittavaa, mutta jos 14-vuotias tyttö sekoittelee se kuulostaa ällöttävältä. Sekoittamisen pitää olla sujuvaa ja soljuvaa, se ei saa särähtää korvaan*”

If for example Michael Monroe (a Finnish rock musician) mixes [languages], it is entertaining, but if a fourteen-year-old girl mixes, it sounds disgusting. Mixing should be fluent; it can't hurt your ear (respondent 37)

Even though teenagers and young people in general were described as the most active English users, they were not the only age group thought to mix languages. Respondents who mentioned adults as language mixers said that older people who mix English and Finnish were presumably highly educated or had previously lived abroad. The area of professionalism was also mentioned when discussing adults who mix languages. Adults were seen to mix languages in formal settings and with a professional agenda. The action of code-switching was seen as a necessity rather than something that is done simply for fun. Moreover, the reasons for code-switching were thought to be different than for young people whose code-switching was closely linked to casual settings and everyday conversations with their peers, as seen also in the example below.

(26) ”*[kieliä sekoitetaan] tehosteena, esimerkiksi jokin sanonta tai huudahdus: joku lopettaa puheensa sanoen I rest my case. Tai jos pitää jostain: word!! yms...uskon että nykyään sekoittaminen on yleistynyt etenkin nuorten keskuudessa internetin vaikutuksesta. Peleissä on paljon englantia. Vanhemmat [sekoittavat kieliä] useammin jos ovat asuneet pitkään ulkomailla*”

[people mix languages] in order to emphasize, for example a saying or an exclamation: someone ends by saying *I rest my case*. Or if you like something: *word!!* and the like...I believe that nowadays mixing languages has become more common at least among young people due to the Internet. Games have a lot of English in them. Older people [switch code] if they have lived abroad for a long time (respondent 37)

4.4.2 Domicile

In addition to age, another characteristic linked to code-switching was the area the speaker comes from or where he/she currently lives. A common thought was that languages were

mixed mainly, and definitely most often by people who live in cities. Many respondents seemed to connect the phenomenon with the regional dialect, or slang, spoken in Southern Finland and especially in the capital area of Helsinki. A little less than half of the respondents mentioned cities, and particularly Helsinki in their comments. They said that people in the Helsinki region are, in general, more prone to use English than other people in Finland and also include foreign features in the capital slang.

Using a regional slang, especially that of the capital area, has been known to create some attitudes toward its speakers and using slang is sometimes frowned upon by those who do not speak it (Mielikäinen and Palander 2002: 102–103). The capital slang and vernacular in general sometimes creates presuppositions about people who speak it, the feeling of superiority and trendiness to name a few. It seems that those respondents who linked code-switching with the vernacular of the Helsinki area also thought that the linguistic features are used mainly to represent and enhance the speaker's identity. More precisely, those who use the slang or switch between Finnish and English aim to strengthen their status and calculatedly build their character. It was suggested, that English is often seen as trendy, international and young, and thus, those who speak it wish to acquire said characteristics for themselves via language. Relating to this, the respondents said that some of the people who mix languages were doing it in order to show off or act like something they are not. Below is an example on how code-switching was connected to a specific area and as a part of building a regional identity.

(27) *"Kieliä sekoittavat helsinkiläiset ja julkkikset..."*

people who mix languages are those living in Helsinki and famous people. (respondent 14)

(28) *"Serkkuni opiskelee Hesassa (lähtöisin maalta) niin siellä rupesi sekoittamaan kieliä. Ei hän sitä aikaisemmin ole tehnyt"*

My cousin studies in Helsinki (he/she is from the countryside) so there he/she started to mix languages. My cousin did not do that before (respondent 9)

In addition to commenting on his/her cousin's changing language use, respondent 9 also said that languages were most often mixed by people who wish to speak in a young people's slang

and by those who want to stand out. According to the respondent's experience, these characteristics applied most often to people living in cities. It is worth noting here, that the respondents of this study come from a school in an area that is mostly rural and distant from the capital area. This is likely to be one reason for the students to connect English with the capital slang. The language and particular language use is seen as something a bit distant especially when the references are somewhat negative. The findings might have been different if the data had been collected from a university of applied sciences somewhere in Southern Finland. There is a divide between the city and the countryside and, according to the respondents of this study, in the way that people act in different environments. The place of residence was thus also seen to affect language use and considered as one reason, or explanation, for code-switching. Differences between demographic groups were discussed also in the survey by Leppänen et. al. (2011) according to which the area of residence plays its part in how well people know English, how they use it and whether they need it or not. According to the survey, people living in the countryside are more likely to be uninvolved with English, whereas urban dwellers generally have more contact with it and are prone to use it more regularly.

According to the respondents, in addition to city dwellers, another group that is thought to mix languages are people who have spent a lot of time in a foreign country or have family members who speak a different language. Close contact with English, either due to work, origin or family ties, was mentioned as a reason for code-switching by eighteen respondents, one of them being respondent 31.

(29)"Sellaiset ihmiset, jotka ovat pitkään olleet ulkomailla ja englannin kieli on tarttunut vahvasti. Kun kaksi kieltä on yhtä vahvoja, voivat ne sekoittua keskenään"

People who have been abroad for a long time and the English language has stuck to the person strongly. When two languages are equally strong, they can be mixed.
(respondent 31)

In cases where the interlocutor recognized the speaker as being someone who uses a lot of English during their work, has lived abroad or has family members who do not speak Finnish as a native language, code-switching was expected and seen as a natural aspect of their language use. The speaker's background and surrounding linguistic environment was thus

considered a proper reason for code-switching. Multilingual background was also seen as a justified reason for code-switching and it was not seen as an irritating thing. In these cases the motive for code-switching is presumably clear and easy to recognize.

Even though respondents said that a person's multilingual identity and experience might lead them to use English also in Finland, and code-switching was usually accepted as a natural part of such a person's language user profile, multilingual identity was not always considered a natural reason for code-switching, as one can see in the following example:

(30) ”*[kieliä sekoittavat] ihmiset, jotka haluavat olla erilaisia ja kokevat että ovat esim. matkustelleet paljon*”

[Languages are mixed by] People who want to be different and feel that they have for example travelled a lot. (respondent 30)

In the above example, respondent 30 states that code-switching is usual among people who might travel, but simultaneously seems to particularly refer to a person who might merely aim to portray a citizen of the world by building a multilingual identity via language. The knowledge that a person is inclined to travel and enjoys using another language is not, at least in this case, enough to justify code-switching and the interlocutor has interpreted code-switching as a means to appear different to others.

4.5 Pronunciation of English words

The students were also asked to discuss their feelings toward different ways of pronouncing English in Finnish talk as it was presumed that also pronunciation might play a part in how code-switching was understood and what was thought about it. English can of course be pronounced close to the norms of the foreign language but also by taking the pronunciation pattern from Finnish, i.e. pronouncing the words as they appear in writing. Different combinations of these two are also extremely common and English words can therefore be pronounced in a variety of ways when mixed with Finnish. Even though there really are no norms for pronouncing English in Finnish talk, it is safe to say that pronunciation still affects the way listeners comprehend and evaluate both the message and the speaker. Speakers are able to connect a certain way of pronouncing to different areas, nations and cultures, and

compare the varieties. Even though many of the respondents seemed to refer to native-like pronunciation as the 'correct' one, in the case of code-switching the issue of pronunciation was not quite so straightforward. So called 'correct' pronunciation, which according to the answers were forms of American and British English, was often considered to be socially incorrect when mixing English with otherwise Finnish talk. Moreover, it was often linked with people who mix languages in order to seem better than others. In nine examples it was likened to bragging and self-aggrandizement.

Even though native-like pronunciation was in some responses linked with trying too hard some respondents thought that if a person's English sounded British, it would increase their status and maybe even make them appear wiser. Some said that using British norms when pronouncing English words would result in the speaker being more respected, than for example a person who pronounces English according to Finnish norms, i.e. pronounces words like they appear in writing. Then again, American English was likened to exaggeration by a few of the respondents who said that American English often felt fabricated. This again seemed to link native-like pronunciation with inauthenticity. This opinion can be detected for example in the following example 31 by respondent 2.

(31) *"amerikanenglanti antaa pinnallisen ja "liikaa yrittävän" kuvan joissain tapauksissa. Brittienglanti on minusta henk.koht. hienoa, mutta välillä se ärsyttää jos se on tarkoitettu pröystäilyyn"*

American English gives out a shallow and a try-too-hard image in some cases. In my opinion, British English is nice, but sometimes it irritates me if it's used for showing off (*respondent 2*)

As one can see in the example above, ideas about pronunciation styles are usually personal and consist of many elements. Moreover, it is impossible to state that American English is always thought to be a sign of superiority and that British English makes one appear wiser. Opinions like these are the results of a certain taste, acquired through different attributes, for example due to a general preference of British popular culture over American or vice versa. Sometimes preferences can be difficult to identify, even by the interlocutors themselves, as the following example shows:

(32) *”Jos lausuu sanat ylikorostetusti ja liian amerikkalaisesti niin sit jotenkin se on outoo ja hassua. Mut ei se tavallaan.”*

If you over-pronounce words or pronounce words too American-like, then it's somehow strange and funny. But then again in a way it's not (*respondent 5*)

In addition to personal preference, also the speech situation and available background information about the speakers seems to affect how respondents viewed English use and especially pronunciation. These views are visible in the following examples by respondents 6 and 4.

(33) *”Suomen englanti ei niin ärsytä, oikeestaa ollenkaan. Mutta just semmonen hirveen hieno lausunta ja täydellinen ärsyttää. Niinku haluis sillä jotenkin itseänsä korostaa. Sitte taas ymmärrän kyllä niitä joilla enkku on hirveen vahva ja ne ajatteleeki varmaan paljo sillä kielellä”*

Finnish English does not really irritate me at all. But then really fancy and perfect does. It's like they use it for self-enhancing. Then again I do understand those whose English is really strong and they probably even think a lot in English (*respondent 6*)

(34) *”Joskus ärsyttää kun ihmiset ei osaa lausua ’oikein’. Joitain sanoja ei taas pidäkään lausua ’oikein’ koska se kuulostaa tosi teennäiseltä.”*

Sometimes it annoys me when people don't know how to pronounce 'correctly'. Some words are, however, not even supposed to be pronounced correctly because it sounds pretentious. (*respondent 4*)

When talking about the wrong and the right way of speaking it is by now quite evident that native-like pronunciation, more precisely standard British and American English, is likened to the right way of pronouncing whereas so-called Finnish English is an example of 'wrong'. This idea probably stems from formal education in which said varieties are presented most frequently. Despite the fact that students made the distinction between correct and incorrect, Finnish English was preferred by many when it comes to the respondents' own code-switching style. Most students said that they would pronounce English words according to Finnish norms in order to make sentences more entertaining. It also seemed that when code-switching was used for the purposes of humour, a Finnish way of pronouncing functioned

best. More precisely, this means that there is strong correspondence between sounds and letters, and most words are pronounced as they appear in writing. In contrast, native-like English pronunciation is not in a sense phonetic, as words are pronounced differently than spelled. Finnish way of pronunciation was described by the respondents as playful, entertaining and in contrast to native-like pronunciation, honest. As previously mentioned, the respondents of the study described their own code-switching as humorous and emphasized the fact that they only used English in an otherwise Finnish context for fun. It was thus fitting that the respondents would also say that they pronounced English in the funny, non-serious way, following Finnish pronunciation conventions.

Another reason for pronouncing English in a Finnish way had to do with comprehension. Some said that things were easier to understand if pronunciation was modified to fit Finnish. Other respondents said that the whole process of code-switching made them uncomfortable if it was unclear to them what was meant and they felt they did not fully understand the foreign segment. This is of course understandable and a reason for preferring a Finnish way of pronouncing in the occasion of code-switching.

(35) *“En välttämättä ymmärrä, mikäli jokin esim. englanninkielinen liikkeen nimi lausutaan niin kuin kuuluisi, sillä yleensä suomalaiset sanovat sen niin kuin se kirjoitetaan”*

I don't necessarily understand, if something, for example an English store name is pronounced as it should be, because usually Finnish people say it as it's written.

(Respondent 27)

It seems that even though Finnish-style pronunciation was considered as being disarming and fun, it also brought up some negative comments. Moreover, people who do not follow native-like pronunciation patterns, were seen as somewhat backward and definitely untrendy. Some students said that they always felt a bit irritated when hearing Finnish-style pronunciation, like respondent 21 in the comment below. Many said that Finnish English sounded rough and felt the urge to correct people who pronounce according to Finnish norms. However, the attitudes toward pronunciation seemed to be context-bound and prone to change according to people and situations, as is visible in examples 36–38 below.

(36) *”jos englannin kieltä lausutaan kirjoitusasun mukaisesti, pieni ärsytys nousee aina. Ehkä ärsyttävintä on kuitenkin kun yritetään lausua hienosti ja lopputulos on täysin väärä”*

If English is pronounced according to the written form, it always irritates a little. Perhaps the most irritating is however when one tries to pronounce really well and the result is completely wrong. (respondent 21)

(37) *”jos lausutaan niin kuin kirjoitetaan, niin se ottaa korvaan. Se voi olla kuitenkin kaikista hauskinda usein. Täydellisesti lausuttu herättää ärsytystä”*

When you pronounce like it's written, it hurts your ear. However, it can often be most fun. Perfect pronunciation irritates. (respondent 30)

(38) *”Jos lausutaan tarkoituksella ”suomen” englannilla, kuulostaa hauskalta ja vitsikkäältä.”*

If one purposefully pronounces using “Finnish” English it sounds funny and comical. (respondent 20)

Even though many students themselves used so-called Finnish English when talking casually to their friends, it seemed important that when they were being serious or among strangers they would try and pronounce English words as native-like as they could. One respondent said that Finnish English was preferred for joking but that whenever he/she was recalling an English name of for example a brand or a television series, he/she would gear toward native-like style. In other words, it seems that the students felt that it was important to show that they have a good grasp of the foreign language and know how the natives pronounce the words, but that one ought to shift from one style to another according to the listener and situation. They might even down-play their skills in casual conversation to achieve a certain reaction. Similar responses could be found in the data of my previous research (Rinne 2010), in which university students of English were asked about the appropriate use of English in an otherwise Finnish context. Even though they were naturally keen to show their language skills and expertise among their peers at university, many said that they would not intentionally pronounce English in a native-like way in other circumstances. While it was sometimes difficult to evaluate interactional situations and pronounce in a way that seemed somewhat unnatural to them, the students saw the benefits of language convergence and felt

that pronunciation was an important factor on how other people viewed them and perceived their message.

5 CONCLUSION

The Finnish society's change toward a more multilingual environment has not gone unnoticed and the increasing use of English is perhaps the most visible aspect of the change to a regular language user. As the results of the study show, all participants of the study seemed to think that the use of English in Finland was common and that the foreign language was increasing its visibility even further. All of the respondents were also familiar with the concept of code-switching, which sees the foreign language incorporated in otherwise Finnish talk. English has become a vastly available linguistic resource to people of different ages and language-user backgrounds. It is definitely present in the lives of most Finnish people and this was also the case among the participants of this study. Not one of the respondent's said that they felt English was not important at all and they considered themselves as users of English, excluding only a few respondents who, at least initially, stated that they did not use English.

The increasing visibility of English has resulted in the fact that it is utilized in a variety of ways, in different situations and among different groups of people. The participants of the study were also aware of this and able to examine how different situations and language user profiles might influence the way language is used and what is thought of it. Their ideas about language use stemmed from daily contact with the foreign language, either at work, school or during free time, and through media and entertainment. The participants obviously had an idea of what kinds of people might for example mix languages and use English and Finnish side by side in their everyday lives and thoughts about what the possible reasons behind using English in local contexts between Finns might be.

The aim of the present study was to explore code-switching situations and different attitudes toward the phenomenon and subsequently also toward other language users. The initial motivation for conducting this particular study were the results gathered from my previous study on language accommodation in non-native English conversation (Rinne 2010) according to which university level English students were aware that language accommodation was extremely important when using English and Finnish side by side due to the social function of language and its power in forming and maintaining a person's image.

Even though the study's focus was more on accommodation than the phenomenon of code-switching, the respondents expressed many of the same observations and also concerns that came up in the present study. Both studies also concentrated on the use of English in local contexts in Finland. One of the main observations in both studies was the fact that using English, and especially different kinds of pronunciations, played an important part on how interlocutors evaluated the speaker and on what kind of conclusions they made about the speaker's character. This relates closely to the earlier presented works by Giles and Coupland (1991) and Giles and St.Clair (1979), according to which even seemingly small details can affect the way the interlocutor views the speaker. The respondent group of the present study also thought for example that native-like pronunciation might be evaluated badly and that the speaker might be labeled as an over-achieving know-it-all. Due to the recognition of the possible consequences of certain styles, the respondents felt that there was a place and time for different kinds of language use and that evaluating the surroundings and interlocutor profiles was important for successful communication. The respondents thus engaged in the processes of language accommodation discussed previously in this study (e.g. Giles and Coupland 1991). Even though the participants of my two studies were initially considered to be somewhat counterparts to each other, the subject was not quite so black-and-white and such a division seems rather harsh. Moreover, even though one can roughly divide the two groups into experts and regular users of English, speakers and interlocutors, both groups face the same challenges in a society where the foreign language is more and more commonly used by everyone, not only by those who have studied it on a high level and wish to make a profession out of it. In fact Leppänen et al. (2012) also stated that in the future English skills are expected to be important to almost all population groups in Finland and contribute even to social involvement. At the same time, wide access to foreign language learning may diminish differences between groups of language users and bring the groups closer together as far as language skills are concerned.

Code-switching seems like a controversial issue and there are plenty of opinions for and against the phenomenon. Firstly, there is the potential concern for the domination of English and the overall preservation of languages. However, according to this study, the position of Finnish beside a dominating global language such as English was not seen as critical. Few respondents showed concern for the small native language and all in all, the students did not seem to be too bothered about the presence of English. This result was somewhat expected,

as previous study (Leppänen et al. 2011) has shown that Finnish people recognize English as an important language and mainly have positive thoughts concerning the foreign language. If the respondents of the present study had negative thoughts about English, it more likely had to do with their own language skills and frustration caused by having to encounter the foreign language on a daily basis. It seems that English influence in Finnish is a phenomenon the participants are familiar with and thus most of their comments are not so much directed on the existence of the phenomenon but to the ways it is realized in everyday lives and conversations between Finnish people.

Code-switching seems to present the language users with challenges. Due to the fact that code-switching appears in various contexts and is done by different kinds of people, it is unclear when code-switching is acceptable. Moreover, there are no pre-existing rules, or perhaps tradition, that would determine how code-switching should occur and that could be learned during an English class at school. Rules concerning code-switching are rather made up along the way, among different language user groups and among peers. As the results of the study showed, many respondents said that they found mixing English and Finnish funny and a nice addition to their linguistic repertoire. However, there seems to be a fine line between 'good' and 'bad' code-switching as almost all of the respondents said that code-switching was only acceptable and fun when used in moderation and when the change from one language to another was fluent. However, no one was really able to say how much code-switching was too much and also what was the norm for fluent. A general line between good and bad is indeed difficult, if not impossible to draw, as evaluations are based on peoples' opinions and ideas about the language as well as prevailing social structures and values. Language in itself cannot thus be labeled as good or bad (Hiidenmaa 2003, Trudgill 2000). Despite the fact that language use cannot be "officially" labeled either good or bad, evaluations are made all the time on an individual level. According to the responses, the participants seemed to draw conclusions about other people who mix languages and many branded language users as "posers" and "wannabes" if they used plenty of English in Finnish talk. However, the respondents themselves also confessed to mixing languages and often found it a good way to make their speech more effective and entertaining.

According to the results, it seems that the image of the speaker affects how code-switching is seen by other people and previous knowledge about the speaker helps the interlocutor

recognize the motivations behind code-switching. This subsequently molds the listener's perception of the speaker. As previously noted, these perceptions can be either positive or negative depending on how justified code-switching seems to the interlocutor. According to the respondents, code-switching is acceptable and even necessary when the native language fails to fulfill the linguistic needs of the speaker. This might occur for example when there is no equivalent word in Finnish for some English expression or word. On the contrary it was not automatically acceptable to mix languages simply because it is possible. Moreover, so-called extra code-switching seemed to trigger thoughts about the authenticity of the speech act and/or the speaker. Code-switching, if it was not considered essential, was seen as a somewhat forced way of speaking and it was often considered to be the result of a hidden motive, such as the need to appear trendy or superior to others. Moreover, an unclear motive seems to leave plenty of room for interpretation and can thus lead to miscomprehensions or judgment. According to the answers, it seems that recognizing the motives behind code-switching is key to understanding it and in explaining different reactions.

For code-switching to be perfectly acceptable it seems that there has to be a valid need or a visible reason behind it. More precisely, code-switching seems to be fine if it is a part of an established jargon for example in a workplace, if the speaker comes from a multicultural background or simply cannot remember the word or expression in Finnish. Respondents also said that if a person was extremely oriented toward English and knew the language well, it was understandable that they would mix languages as well. The participants responded well to code-switching also when they knew the motive behind code-switching was for example humour and when languages were mixed for entertainment purposes and not in a serious way. The respondents themselves also stressed the fact that if they were to mix languages it would most often be for fun. This was an aspect they wanted to make clear to their listeners as well.

As the results showed, code-switching can be experienced by the listener in almost opposite ways. On the one hand, using English in a Finnish context was thought to lighten the mood, cheer people up and bring people closer. Similar functions of code-switching were also discussed by Muhonen (2008), according to whom English is often used alongside Finnish for entertainment purposes and as a fun element in talk. On the other hand, code-switching was also thought to be segregating. Moreover, respondents said that while some people mix languages for fun and never seriously, others do it in order to make divisions between them

and others. Usually this remark followed explanations that people who mix languages often consider themselves better than others and that they are, quite frankly, supercilious. If the motive for code-switching was known to be for example a multilingual background, personal interest or time spent abroad, students seemed to accept it and evaluate the speakers and speech situations positively. However, negative feelings arise when no clear motive for code-switching could be detected. This seemed to be the time when interlocutors began to question the speaker's insincerity and started to connect adjectives such as self-obsessed and wannabe to the speaker's persona. The idea of establishing an identity through language was thus present in the participant's answers and they seemed to recognize the power of language in building one's identity, whether it was the person's own creation or a definition coming from the outside.

The students were, however, undecided on where to draw the line between wanted and unwanted code-switching. They simply know that it is there. Subsequently, one of the most striking observations about the characteristics of code-switching arising from the data is indeed its uncertainty. Even though respondents may have rather strong opinions on what code-switching tells about the language user's personality, it seems difficult to recognize the reason for the opinions. Many felt that code-switching was on the one hand fun and a good way to make a conversation more lively and exciting, but on the other hand also thought that it was a sign that the speaker was self-centered and above everyone else. Code-switching and the intranational use of English is a grey area when it comes to peoples' thoughts about it and especially the people who mix languages. Situations and previous knowledge the interlocutor has for example about the speaker's background builds a framework for the speech situation. It seems that the interlocutor finds, or at least tries to find a meaning for the speaker's language choices and evaluates situations and people according to the motive he/she finds. Sometimes the interlocutor has more information about the speaker but at times, evaluations are based more on intuition and presupposition.

The present study was conducted by gathering information from 37 people by using a questionnaire. It is presumed that by being able to answer open-ended questions anonymously, the participants of the study got a chance to share their experiences freely and the number of participants allowed the author to make certain generalizations concerning the subject of code-switching and the participants' attitudes toward it. It should be noted here

however that some answers were more declarative than explanatory. More precisely, some respondents answered very briefly and perhaps noted that code-switching or certain type of pronunciation irritated them immensely, but did not explain their opinion further, which made analysis challenging. Luckily these responses were few and most of the respondents had attempted to explain their opinions in more detail. In hindsight, it might have been useful to guide the respondents a bit more, even though with a questionnaire survey that would have been problematic as the author gets to examine the answers only after the data collection is over.

As health care and social work is still a female dominated educational programme in polytechnics it was somewhat expected that the majority of respondents would be female. In the end, the fact that the male and female presentation turned out to be so uneven (3 male and 34 female respondents) prevented reliable examination of gender related attitudes, which might have offered interesting study material. Due to the ambivalence concerning the topic, it would also be interesting to conduct more in-depth interviews perhaps to a smaller sample of people in pursuit of unveiling some of the language attitudes in more detail. That sort of approach might also offer interesting data for further research purposes, as it would be interesting to dive deeper into the reasons behind attitudes concerning code-switching that seem difficult to pin down.

It was evident in this study, as it was in my previous study, that the students do truly understand the social functions of speech acts and understand how a choice of words or a subtle change in the tone can create atmospheres, change how people see other people, affect tolerance and relationships etc., even though some of these reasons and consequences can be difficult for them to explain. It seems that even though participants were not necessarily able to pinpoint why they feel as they do, they recognize that for example a certain pronunciation style affects even their own opinions on others and affects their perceptions of the speaker. They also know that when they perform a speech act, such as mix Finnish and English in casual conversation, they are sending out a message. How the message, and the speaker's character for that matter, is subsequently comprehended is up to the interlocutor and their opinions. By assessing situations and people, the participants change their conversation style, language choices and even pronunciation when it comes to foreign languages.

Moreover, respondents seemed to acknowledge the fact that it can be difficult to explain why certain type of code-switching is more acceptable than another way of mixing languages. One respondent quite aptly remarked that pronouncing English words in a Finnish way was unfashionable and backward but in the same sentence also made the notion that often that was the funniest way to mix languages. The participants seemed aware of the fact that even the smallest of nuances in speech can affect the way the speaker is evaluated by the interlocutor. For example 'the wrong kind' of pronunciation of English words may trigger negativity among listeners. However, in other situations this might be exactly the right way of pronouncing English in otherwise Finnish. They were perhaps not able to say what it was in particular that annoyed them and what they enjoyed, but nevertheless, the feeling was acknowledged. Speakers will need to try, risk and perhaps fail in communication to make sense of what is acceptable and when as there definitely seems to be a time and place for code-switching, but not a definite right or wrong.

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APPENDIX

The questionnaire

Hyvä vastaaja,

Oheinen kysely on osa Jyväskylän yliopiston kielten laitokselle tekemääni opinnäytetyötä. Tutkimuksessa pyritään selvittämään opiskelijoiden suhtautumista englannin kielen sekoittamiseen suomalaisessa keskustelussa. Kysely koostuu vastaajan kielihistoriaa käsittelevistä kysymyksistä sekä kysymyksistä joissa vastaajaa pyydetään kertomaan mielikuvistaan jotka käsittelevät kielten sekoittamista. Jokainen vastaus on tutkimuksen kannalta merkittävä. Kiitos ajastasi!

-Tiina Rinne

Tutkimus opiskelijoiden suhtautumisesta englannin ja suomen kielen sekoittamiseen

1. SUKUPUOLESI MIES___ NAINEN___

2. MINÄ VUONNA OLET SYNTYNYT? 19_____

3. MIKÄ ON ÄIDINKIELESI?_____

4. KOETKO OLEVASI

YKSIKIELINEN _____

KAKSIKIELINEN _____

MONIKIELINEN _____

5. OLETKO ASUNUT ULKOMAILLA YHTÄJAKSOISESTI 3 KUUKAUTTA TAI PIDEMPÄÄN?

EN _____

KYLLÄ (MISSÄ?)_____

6. MILLÄ LUOKKA-ASTEELLA ALOITIT ENGLANNIN OPISKELUN?_____

MITÄ ENGLANNIN OPINTOJA SINULLA ON PERUSKOULUN LISÄKSI?_____

7. MITEN TÄRKEÄ ENGLANNIN KIELI ON SINULLE?

ERITTÄIN TÄRKEÄ ___
 MELKO TÄRKEÄ ___
 EI KOVIN TÄRKEÄ ___
 EI LAINKAAN TÄRKEÄ ___

8. KUINKA ARVIOIT ENGLANNIN TAITOASI SEURAAVIEN VAIHTOEHTOJEN VALOSSA?

	Vaivattomasti sujuvasti	Suhteellisen sujuvasti	Kohtalaisesti	Vaivalloisesti	Vain yksittäisiä sanoja	En laisinkaan
a) PUHUN ENGLANTIA	___	___	___	___	___	___
b) LUEN ENGLANTIA	___	___	___	___	___	___
c) YMMÄRRÄN PUHUTTUA ENGLANTIA	___	___	___	___	___	___

9. MISSÄ KÄYTÄT ENITEN ENGLANTIA?

KOULUSSA JA OPINNOISSA ___
 VAPAA-AJALLA ___
 TYÖSSÄ ___
 EN KÄYTÄ ENGLANTIA ___

10. HUOMAATKO SUOMENKIELISESSÄ PUHEESSA KIELTEN SEKOITTAMISTA (SUOMI JA ENGLANTI)?

KYLLÄ ___ EN ___

MILLAISISSA TILANTEISSA KIELIÄ SAATETAAN MIELESTÄSI SEKOITTA
 KESKENÄÄN? VOIT KERTOA ESIMERKIN.

11. MILLAISET IHMISET OMASTA MIELESTÄSI SEKOITTAVAT ENGLANTIA MUUTOIN SUOMENKIELISEEN PUHEESEEN?

12. MILLAISIA TUNTEMUKSIA KIELTEN SEKOITTAMINEN SINUSSA HERÄTTÄÄ?

13. VAIKUTTAAKO ENGLANNIN ERILAINEN LAUSUNTATAPA (esimerkiksi amerikanenglanti, suomen englanti) SIIHEN MITEN SUHTAUDUT KIELTEN SEKOITTAMISEEN?

vaikuttaa ___ ei vaikuta ___

MIKÄLI VAIKUTTAA, MINKÄLAISEEN LAUSUNTATAPAAN KIINNITÄT HUOMIOTA JA MITÄ AJATTELET SIITÄ?

14. SEKOITATKO ITSE PUHEESSA TAI KIRJOITUKSESSA SUOMEA JA ENGLANTIA?

kyllä ___ en ___

MITÄ AJATTELET OMASTA KIELTENSEKOITTAMISESTASI? MIKSI SEKOITAT KIELIÄ/MIKSI ET? VOIT KERTOA ESIMERKKEJÄ ERILAISISTA TILANTEISTA JA KÄYTTÄMISTÄSI ILMAISUISTA

*** KIITOS VASTAUKSISTASI ***

Dear respondent,

This questionnaire is a part of a study for a master's thesis conducted at the department of languages, University of Jyväskylä. The study aims to explore students views on mixing English in primarily Finnish talk in Finland. The questionnaire consists of questions concerning the respondents background as a user of English and of questions about the respondent's thoughts about mixing languages. Every response is relevant for the study. Thank you for you time!

-Tiina Rinne

A study concerning students' attitudes toward mixing English and Finnish

1. WHAT IS YOUR GENDER? MALE__ FEMALE__

2. WHAT IS YOUR YEAR OF BIRTH? YEAR 19____

3. WHAT IS YOUR MOTHER TONGUE?_____

4. DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF TO BE
 - MONOLINGUAL ____
 - BILINGUAL ____
 - MULTILINGUAL ____

5. HAVE YOU LIVED ABROAD CONTINUOUSLY FOR THREE MONTHS OR LONGER?
 - NO ____
 - YES (WHERE?) _____

6. IN WHAT GRADE IN SCHOOL DID YOU START YOUR ENGLISH STUDIES? _____
 WHAT OTHER ENGLISH STUDIES HAVE YOU COMPLETED IN ADDITION TO
 COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION? _____

7. HOW IMPORTANT IS ENGLISH TO YOU?

EXTREMELY IMPORTANT ___
 QUITE IMPORTANT ___
 NOT THAT IMPORTANT ___
 NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT ___

8. HOW DO YOU EVALUATE YOUR ENGLISH SKILLS ACCORDING TO THE OPTIONS BELOW?

	Fluently	Fairly fluently	Moderately	With difficulty	Only a few words	Not at all
a) I SPEAK ENGLISH	___	___	___	___	___	___
b) I READ ENGLISH	___	___	___	___	___	___
c) I UNDERSTAND SPOKEN ENGLISH	___	___	___	___	___	___

9. WHERE DO YOU USE ENGLISH THE MOST? (Choose one)

AT SCHOOL OR IN MY STUDIES ___
 IN MY FREE TIME ___
 AT WORK ___
 I DO NOT USE ENGLISH ___

10. DO YOU NOTICE LANGUAGE MIXING IN FINNISH TALK (BETWEEN FINNISH AND ENGLISH)?

YES ___ NO ___

IN WHAT KINDS OF SITUATIONS HAVE YOU NOTICED LANGUAGES BEING MIXED? YOU CAN GIVE AN EXAMPLE.

11. WHAT SORT OF PEOPLE DO YOU THINK MIX ENGLISH IN PRIMARILY FINNISH TALK?

12. HOW DOES MIXING LANGUAGES MAKE YOU FEEL?

13. DO DIFFERENT PRONUNCIATION STYLES INFLUENCE YOUR OPINION ABOUT LANGUAGE MIXING (FOR EXAMPLE AMERICAN ENGLISH, FINNISH ENGLISH)?

YES IT DOES ___

NO IT DOES NOT ___

IF THE PRONUNCIATION DOES INFLUENCE YOUR OPINION, WHAT SORT OF PRONUNCIATION STYLE DO YOU PAY ATTENTION TO AND WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT IT?

14. DO YOU MIX ENGLISH AND FINNISH WHEN SPEAKING OR WRITING?

YES I DO ___

NO I DO NOT ___

WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT YOUR OWN USE OF LANGUAGE MIXING? WHY DO YOU MIX LANGUAGES/WHY NOT? YOU CAN GIVE EXAMPLES ABOUT DIFFERENT SITUATIONS AND THE EXPRESSIONS YOU USE.

*** THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING ***