UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

THE USE OF ENGLISH IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF CHRISTIAN YOUTH IDENTITIES IN A FINNISH YOUTH MAGAZINE

A Pro Gradu Thesis in English

by

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HUMANISTINEN TIEDEKUNTA KIELTEN LAITOS

Henna Jousmäki The Use of English in the Construction of Christian Youth Identities in a Finnish Youth Magazine

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Englannin kieltä pidetään nykyään maailmankielenä, ja se onkin saavuttanut näkyvän aseman myös Suomessa. Tämä tutkimus perehtyy englannin kielen käyttöön suomalaisessa kristillisessä nuortenlehdessä keskittyen erityisesti siihen, miten englantia käytetään identiteettien rakentamisessa.

Tutkimuksen aineistona käytetään *Dynamite*-lehden vuosikertoja 2003-2005. Aineiston analyysimenetelmä pohjaa ajatukseen, jonka mukaan (1) kieli on yksi keino rakentaa identiteettiä; (2) identiteetti on diskursiivinen rakennelma, mikä mahdollistaa niiden monitahoisuuden ja hybridisyyden; ja (3) kielenvaihtelu voidaan nähdä joko koodinvaihtona (switching), joka on lokaalisti merkityksellinen käytäntö osoittaen diskurssitason näkökohtia kielenkäyttötilanteisiin, tai koodien sekoittamisena (mixing), joka synnyttää kokonaisen kielellisen tyylin.

Aineiston kvalitatiivinen analyysi osoitti, että englannin kielen käyttö *Dynamite*-lehdessä liittyy molempiin edellä kuvattuihin kielenvaihtelun tapoihin. Koodinvaihdossa diskurssinsisäinen motivaatio liittyi haluun tuoda lehtidiskurssiin kristillisiä, globaaleja, sekä sekulaarin nuorisokulttuurin ääniä. Englannin käyttö kielellisen tyylin luomiseksi puolestaan liittyi ammattidiskurssiin, musiikkiterminologiaan, vapaa-ajan aktiviteeteistä kirjoittamiseen, sekä yksittäisten tilapäislainojen käyttöön. Molemmissa tapauksissa monenlaisia englannin muotoja esiintyi; selkeästi englanninkielisten sanojen lisäksi englantia mukautettiin suomeen ortografisesti, fonologisesti sekä morfologisesti.

Englannin kielen käyttö *Dynamite*-lehdessä osoittautui rakentavan moninaisia identiteettejä suomalaisille kristityille nuorille. Englannin kautta lukijoille esiteltiin globaaleja, etnisiä, sivistyneitä sekä hiphop-identiteettejä, sekä vahvistettiin jo ennestään oletettuja nuoren ja kristityn identiteettejä. Lisäksi englanti kytki suomalaisen kristityn nuoren eräisiin puhetapoihin, kuten biologiaan, talouteen ja sekulaariin fanikulttuuriin, joita ei yleensä yhdistetä kristillisyyteen.

Tutkimus osoitti, että englannista on tullut *Dynamite*-lehtiyhteisössä yksi kristillisen identiteetin rakennusosa; itse asiassa diskurssiyhteisöä voidaan pitää kaksikielisenä suomessa ja englannissa. Englannin kielen käytön myötä myös "nuori suomalainen kristitty" avataan yhä monimuotoisemmaksi identiteettikategoriaksi.

Asiasanat: English as an international language, discourse analysis, bilingualism, identity in discourse, Christian youth magazine.

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1 INTRODUCTION

According to Baker and Prys Jones (1998: 312), "[t]he preaching of Christianity by English-speaking missionaries has contributed to the spread of English in many areas of the world." This odd comment is interestingly connected with this study, although neither Christianity as a religion nor its entry to Finland is in the exact focus of it. Moreover, Finland is hardly among the areas the writers originally meant by their comment. While the quotation refers to events that took place centuries ago, the present study is located in the Finland of the 21st century. What, then, connects Baker and Prys Jones' statement to this study is that the present study concerns the use of *English among young Christians in Finland* and is thus related to both English – a global language – and Christianity, a global religion.

In today's Finland, the use of English has become an everyday phenomenon. Young Finns stand in the midst of the trend, as they encounter English in the media, in addition to school, and use it themselves, too. Media are indeed one of the domains were English is visible in Finland, and media also firmly belong to young people's life (Lokka 2003: 205). It should therefore be clear that Finnish youth media involving English are worth studying. The results will, in their part, capture something of the sociolinguistic climate in today's Finland. The findings will be especially interesting in the light of whether the status of English is changing from a foreign language (FL) to a second language (L2) in Finland.

The interest of this kind in language and (Christian youth) culture points to anthropological linguistics which, according to Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 369), is "in many ways... the study of language and identity." Bucholtz and Hall (ibid.: 373) further point out that "[a]t the center of this scholarly endeavour are some dimensions of identity that are currently the most contested and politicized: race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality." I argue that the list could be complemented with religion and religious identities respectively. Recent

events in 2006 in Europe and Asia concerning the quarrel over the caricatures of the Muslim prophet Mohammed have shown that, in spite of the popular claim that the world is undergoing a process of secularisation (abandonment of religion), religion is still actual and relevant in today's world (and in media, for that matter). In fact, Beyer (1994: 4) discusses the "revitalization of religion" as "a way of asserting a particular (group) identity" (see also Kellner 1995: 258). While this study is interested in Christian group identities, religion is not, however, at its centre, as "[s]ociolinguistics, the study of language in relation to social realities, examines religion only because it is another domain of human behaviour where language is an important component" (Samarin 1987: 85).

While belonging to people's everyday life, the media have become a major arena of representing and constructing identities. Media is indeed one of the means with the help of which people construct their identities. The present study involves, then, a set of current and relevant themes: English in Finland, identity in media, and religious group identities.

This study started first off to produce more empirical evidence of the actual use of English by Finns. The preliminary intention was to focus on code-switching from Finnish to English in a Finnish youth magazine, continuing the research started in my Pro Seminar paper (Polvi 2004). However, it soon became clear that code-switching would hardly suffice as a focus, but that a wider perspective would be needed, one that would offer a more holistic view of the use of English in the magazine. Simultaneously, an idea to examine language alternation with regard to its social meaning (*indexicality*) emerged; this was partly due to the wish to deepen the overall view gained from the Pro Seminar paper. The investigation of indexicality was backed up by views by such scholars as Woolard (2004: 89) who points out that "we have a lot of research that shows that social indexicality is brought into play by bilingual speakers through code-switching."

First, the study pointed to touching upon studies on bi-/multilingualism in media discourse (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2003); however, the interest in the social meaning of language alternation sharpened the focus into a functionalist one, where investigation of the linguistic forms would only be the first step in considering their function (cf. Boztepe 2003: 3). At this point already, the study was also linked with research on youth culture (e.g., Epstein 1998, Fornäs and Bolin 1995).

After recognising that the data, consisting of three volumes of a Finnish Christian youth magazine, are a public media that shape people's identities (e.g. Kellner 1995: 1) through language (e.g. Dufva 2002: 21, Laihiala-Kankainen, Pietikäinen and Dufva 2002: 10) the study was to touch upon studies on discursive construction of identity, too (e.g. Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003). The fact that the data are a *Christian* magazine further links the study with sociology of religion (e.g. Beyer 1994).

In sum, this is an undoubtedly multidisciplinary study taking a sociolinguistic approach on the use of English in the construction of Christian identities in a Finnish youth magazine, and, as such, contributes to the ongoing research project *English Voices in Finnish society* at the University of Jyväskylä (English Voices in Finnish Society 2004).

As Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou (2003: 1) point out, "rather than artificially keeping one identity aspect apart from others, and examining it in isolation, it seems more productive to investigate co-constructions and co-articulations of positions in discourse". Indeed, the data of this study is multi-dimensional, and the predicates 'young', 'Finnish' and 'Christian' already outline some aspects of the identities of the language users under investigation here. However, the meaning of the very same words is by no means straightforward. To start with, does 'young' refer to persons under 15, or does it include persons who are up to 20 or even 30? Quite a lot of variation exists among these age groups, and it is therefore crucial to

explicate the matter (cf. Fornäs and Bolin 1995: 3-4). What about 'Finnish', then? Does it concern people who speak Finnish, or does it involve some other features, too? Laihiala-Kankainen et al. (2002: 15) suggest such other features to include having a Finnish soul (being Finnish in a cultural sense) and having Finnish nationality. Finally, 'Christian' can denote someone who is baptized as a member of a Christian congregation without any participation in its activities, or even without interest in and/or acceptance of its beliefs. Alternatively, it can refer to a person who has a Christian outlook on life and is consciously devoted to Christianity.

In this study, the definitions for the three words stem from the data (magazine) context. Thus, 'young' refers to the audience that is expected by the publisher to read the magazine, and it can, in fact, vary from around 15 to around 25. 'Finnish' is used because the data are a Finnish magazine made by Finnish speakers for Finnish speakers (mainly) in Finnish, and printed and published in Finland. Similarly, 'Christian' refers to the fact that the data are explicitly Christian by nature; the magazine of a Christian community addresses the readers, inviting them to get (more) involved in Christianity and telling them how to do it. The purpose of this paragraph is not to investigate the data in more detail as that remains the topic of chapter 5.1. The point here was only to uncover the meaning of some words that appear regularly in this study.

The organisation of the thesis is as follows: chapter two is a theoretical, linguistic look at language contacts, paying special attention to the phenomena of borrowing and code-switching (the broad term traditionally used in the literature, meaning language alternation within communicative events). Chapter three draws a sociolinguistic profile of the relationship of Finnish and English in Finland, touching on the worldwide status of English, and focusing finally on the use of English in Finnish print media. In chapter four, a modern notion of identity is presented and discussed in bilingual settings. Chapter five presents the analytical framework for the data analysis

of the study with a model proposed by Androutsopoulos (2003). In addition, the chapter gives information of the sociocultural context of the data and explicates the research aims. A fair amount of space is devoted to data analysis in chapter six, after which a discussion of the findings and their importance will conclude the paper.

2 LANGUAGE CONTACTS

In today's world, a language hardly ever remains pure (Dufva 2002: 32). Languages get into contact with one another due to international connections, and when they do, they are influenced by each other at the lexical and/or structural level. From the point of view of the present study, the most interesting contact is that of Finnish and English, and the key question it explores is how English is taken up in a Finnish text and for what purposes.

According to Winford (2003: 11-22), language contact phenomena can be divided into three types: to situations of language maintenance where two languages co-exist; to language shift where one language overrides another; and to new language creation. Despite some pessimistic views on the future of the Finnish language in relation to English, which Latomaa and Nuolijärvi (2005: 216) and Leppänen and Nikula (forthcoming) report on, the language contact situation in Finland is best described as language maintenance: English is present in Finnish society but is by no means taking over Finnish. Latomaa and Nuolijärvi (2005: 213) point out that the case is different with Swedish, the other national language in Finland: Swedish is suffering from an on-going domain loss to both Finnish and English.

Language contact phenomena in which speakers maintain their native language include borrowing and (what has traditionally been called) code-switching. Numerous English words have been borrowed into Finnish especially after World War II (Pulkkinen 1984, Takala and Havola 1984). Itkonen (1990), for example, lists altogether some 7000 foreign words in the Finnish vocabulary. On code-switching, Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 5) note that it "is common in youth language, and code-switched English terms are frequent in the speech of professionals from many walks of life; IT jargon is perhaps the best-known case..." Borrowing and code-switching have thus become relevant concepts in the discussion of the role of English in Finland.

2.1 Code-switching

Theorising *code-switching* has led different researchers to discrepant outcomes. A simple, neutral definition of code-switching is given by Winford (2003: 14): he sees it as the alternate use of two languages (or dialects) within the same stretch of speech. However, for example Boztepe (2003) has shown that the issue of defining code-switching is more complicated for various different researchers. One debate concerns the different labels assigned to the phenomenon of two languages co-existing in conversation or text: some call it code-mixing, some code-alternation, some insertion; some see that the cover term should be code-mixing and not code-switching. (Boztepe 2003.)

Attempts at defining the term code-switching have truly been numerous and mixed. The traditional division has involved the concepts of *situational* and *metaphorical* code-switching. According to Wardhaugh (1992: 106), situational switching happens when different codes are reserved for different situations; according to Holmes (1997: 36), situational switching means the switch from a "code to another for reasons which can be identified". Metaphorical code-switching, in turn, is seen by Wardhaugh as the change of code according to the topic or participants of the discussion. Holmes (2001: 40) draws a connection between switching and its social relevance, considering metaphorical switching to work to a great extent like a metaphor: "Each of the codes represents a set of social meanings, and the speaker draws on the associations of each... Skilful code-switching operates like metaphor to enrich the communication." Different researchers have thus different definitions for code-switching.

Wardhaugh (1992: 107) mentions yet another category of code-switching: conversational code-switching. Conversational code-switching refers to switching without an associated topic change. One can often hear this in the speech of bilinguals (for instance, the Spanish minority in the southern

United States; hence the name *Spanglish*). Conversational code-switching has been of primary interest to Auer (1998: 1) who considers the "alternating use of two or more 'codes' within one conversational episode" as the usual definition of code-switching. Here, the fundamental issue is that all code-switching is conversational. Auer (1998: 4-7) distinguishes between three main types of code-switching: *discourse-related code-switching*, that is, the use of code-switching to organise conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of particular utterances; *discourse-related insertions* – code alternation in situations where a speaker uses a language with an inserted element from another language; and, finally, *preference*— (or *participant-*) *related switching* which indicates extra-conversational knowledge via language negotiation. Auer's views have inspired Androutsopoulos (2003) whose ideas will be presented in chapter 5.2.

Code-switching can further be described from a structural point of view: whether it is intersentential or intrasentential, the former referring to switches at sentence boundaries, and the latter to switches within a single sentence (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 4). Some scholars use the definition of intrasentential code-switching to explain the term code-mixing (e.g. Wardhaugh 1992: 106). Holmes, however, considers switching and mixing the same phenomenon, preferring the former label:

Code-mixing suggests the speaker is mixing up codes indiscriminately or because of incompetence, whereas the switches are very well motivated... Switching is... a distinctive conversational style used among bilinguals and multilinguals – a rich linguistic resource available to them. (Holmes 2001: 42.)

There are thus different ways of perceiving the alternation between languages. In this study, I will follow the model by Androutsopoulos, which will be presented in chapter 5.2. on the analytical framework of the study. One should note that the definition of 'code-switching' will thereafter be rather different from the broad view mostly described in this chapter.

2.2 Borrowing

In addition to the ambiguity involved in defining 'code-switching', another debate in the field concerns the distinction between code-switching and borrowing which are close language contact phenomena and often difficult to distinguish (Boztepe 2003: 5). Holmes (2001: 42) characterises borrowings as "normally adapted to the new language in terms of pronunciation and grammar", and sees borrowing as "motivated by lexical need. It is very different from switching where speakers have a genuine choice about which words or phrases they will use in which language". Furthermore, "people who are rapidly code-switching – as opposed to borrowing the odd word – tend to switch completely between two linguistic systems – sounds, grammar and vocabulary." Not properly distinguishing between switches and borrowings, Poplack and Sankoff (1988: 1177) suggest, will lead to invalid research results. Code-switching and borrowing are thus typically considered separate issues.

Borrowings are often characterised as either established or nonce loans. 'Nonce' refers to a word being borrowed only sporadically during a conversation or text (Callahan 2004: 10), and, according to Poplack and Sankoff (1988: 1176), nonce loans thus require some bilingual competence.

Established loans, on the other hand, are borrowings that monolinguals, too, can fully access (Myers-Scotton 2006: 45, Poplack and Sankoff 1988: 1176).¹ Determining the turnover from a nonce to an established loan (or from a code-switch to a loan) is by no means straightforward: a word may be used within certain sphere(s) on a regular basis while some others do not even recognise it. Thesauruses are not helpful in this, as they tend to be outdated at publication already. (See also Androutsopoulos 2003: 3.) From the point of

¹ It seems, however, dubious what 'monolingualism' could mean in the times of globalisation and increased transregional and –national contacts of the 21st century. On a theoretical level, the definition does clarify the difference between the two types of loans, and is especially useful as to individual language users.

view of this study, what is more important than trying to determine whether English-like items are established or nonce loans is to point out the overall bilingual practices in the data.

After reviewing various competing models for conceptualizing codeswitching and borrowing, Boztepe (2003: 8) argues that trying to separate borrowing from code-switching is purposeless with regard to the social and cultural aspects of the process.

Similarly, Gardner-Chloros (1995) questions making divisions between two discrete codes, taking thus the opposite view from Holmes' above, and argues that bilingual behaviour involves mixed practices on an interlingual continuum where code choices are not always neat or easily definable. To support this argument, Gardner-Chloros (ibid.: 73-4) denies the reliability of criteria used by different researchers to distinguish between a borrowing and a code-switch. Gardner-Chloros (ibid.: 71) further questions the way for instance Myers-Scotton (1993b) sees code-switching involving a base ("matrix") language which makes use of a donor ("embedded") language, and argues that this model does not suffice for complex mixed codes. Instead,

we should consider the possibility that speakers can simply let down the mental barriers between the two languages at various different levels – for example, switching can take place at the phonological level only – rather than assuming that they constantly shift from one pre-set frame to another". (Gardner-Chloros 1995: 71-4.)

(Note that indeed even Myers-Scotton (1993b: 175) who has actively advocated a distinction between code-switching and borrowing admits the arbitrariness of drawing the line between the two.) Gardner-Chloros represents thus thinking that challenges the traditional view of languages as separate entities. As no simple truths exist in the debate, for one studying language variation it seems worthwhile to be open-minded towards the quality of bilingual practices in order to make reliable conclusions of them.

Partly a similar kind of broad view is taken by Leppänen and Nikula (forthcoming). As to the language contact situation in Finland, they argue that

the use of English in Finnish society is not a uniform phenomenon but involves diverse practices. However, their findings can be classified into three categories: language contacts that are (1) monolingual in English, (2) mainly in Finnish but with some additional English elements, and (3) bilingual. Leppänen and Nikula suggest that these language contact situations be considered on a continuum where Finnish is one end point and English the other. In between are situations that are in various ways bilingual. (Leppänen and Nikula forthcoming.) I choose to use the term 'bilingual' alike here, using it to refer to linguistic practices involving the use of two languages. This involves that I resign of any other meanings and attributes attached to the term (cf. a bilingual's ability in respective languages when or when not compared with that of monolingual speakers; a bilingual's intelligence; implications of bilingualism for language policy and education).

The idea of the hybridity of bilingual practices, as discussed above, is supported by Brutt-Griffler, who, although in the context of societal second language acquisition, objects to the separation of the two languages in a speaker's repertoire. Drawing on recent theories on bilingualism, Brutt-Griffler (2002: 149-150) prefers to view a bilingual as a multicompetent speaker whose *identity* finds expression via two (or more) languages (for a description of a holistic view of bilingual, see Baker and Prys Jones 1998: 9). A thorough discussion of bilingualism as indexing identity will follow in chapter 4.2.

3 ENGLISH IN FINLAND

In this chapter, I will first outline the position of English in Finland. I will then give an overview of previous research on English in Finnish texts – a language contact issue that is in the core of the present study.

3.1 Contact zones

What precedes and accompanies the rise of English in Finland is its journey towards the position of a world language, a lingua franca. In today's world of growing internationalism and globalisation the need for a feasible means of communication between different nations and peoples is accentuated, and here English has gained the role of the shared language.

According to McArthur (2003: 55), English is the most widely distributed language in the world. Crystal (2002: 10) estimates that English is spoken by 1.5 billion people around the world, which corresponds to one quarter of the whole population in the world. Even if three thirds of the world's population do not speak English, it can nevertheless be viewed as a global language. According to Seidlhofer (2001: 138), English "is being spread [as a lingua franca], developed independently, with a great deal of variation but enough stability to be viable for lingua franca communication". English as a lingua franca seems to have "enough stability" as it is used for worldwide communication in the Internet, air traffic and maritime control, and international trade, among other domains (e.g. Crystal 2002: 280-4).

In addition to its global role, English is at times viewed as an especially European lingua franca, or *Euro-English* which is a "more recent concept with the focus on people from different language backgrounds in Europe using English as the *lingua franca* of communication." (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 3, emphasis original.) McArthur (2003: 56) makes a further, even if a

moderate, suggestion with the terms 'Nordic English' and 'Finnish-English', pointing out that

the areas in which this reality [of using English regularly, even routinely] has become particularly real are the Netherlands and Scandinavia, after which come Germany and Finland... Consider for example the language policies of the three companies Royal Dutch Shell, ABB, and Nokia. (McArthur 2003: 58.)

Here, it is relevant to speak of the *intra*national use of English, which is what Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003), also, discuss in the context of Finland, with their focus on the domains of education, science and business.

English has indeed gained a visible role in Finland, too, especially after World War II (Pulkkinen 1984, Takala and Havola 1984). The educational system in Finland has had a strong impact on this development: pupils start learning their first foreign language in third grade (at the age of nine), which in 2000 meant learning English for 87.6 per cent of the pupils. In secondary school, the percentage of pupils learning English rose to 98 per cent the same year. (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 6.) It is thus common for Finnish children to study English at least seven years in school (after which it partly depends on the students how many courses they will take on which subject and partly on the curriculum of the school they enter). In comparison, other languages a pupil can learn during his/her basic education enter the curriculum in fifth, seventh or eighth grade, leaving two to five years for learning. Simultaneously with the recognition of English as the most powerful language in the world, the need to learn it is acknowledged, too. What follows is that the status of English is reinforced from what it was (for this phenomenon, see also Myers-Scotton 2002: 34.)

In addition to education, Finnish people are exposed to the English language in contexts outside education even though they mostly are non-native speakers of it (cf. Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 4-5). Most of these contexts are linked with media and entertainment, but today even companies and organisations increasingly choose to use English when it comes to their

names and slogans. Advertisements on the street and on television are filled with English utterances. The domain in society that has by far the most visibly adopted the use of English in Finland is youth culture. The trend started along with the spread of popular music from the 1960s onwards, and today a growing amount of Finnish pop music has the lyrics in English. Moreover, computer games and the Internet, which both are of interest to young people, strengthen the status of English. (See also Latomaa and Nuolijärvi 2005: 216; Leppänen and Nikula forthcoming.)

Speculations have risen on whether the official status of English might be changing from a foreign language (FL) to a second language (L2, the position now reserved for Swedish) in Finland. (L2 is characterised among other things by its wide use in the surrounding society and by its meaning for the speakers' identities, Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 4.) A shift of this kind is already taking place in some other Nordic countries (ibid.: 4, Graddol 2000: 11). Some principles of language change presented by Graddol (2000: 16) are, in fact, prevalent in today's Finland: young people as important leaders of change is a central factor when combined with the prominence of English in Finnish youth culture (as described above). New social networks as promoters of English refer to (often transnational²) groups such as various music cultures (hiphop, for example), non-governmental organisations, electronic communities, and ideological movements. What makes these groups sociolinguistically interesting is that, firstly, they largely rely on English as their working language, thus instrumentally promoting it. Secondly, the majority of the members of these groups are young people whose (language) habits will carry over to times to come.

Finnish youth language adopting English seems like common knowledge to many Finns; indeed, Hujala (1997) concludes that English belongs to youth

² The term 'transnational' points to contacts between individuals from different countries. An associated term 'international', on the other hand, refers to contacts between nation states. (Transnational – Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia 2006.) This meaning of 'transnational' is made use of in the analysis of this study (ch. 6).

culture. That English has gained a strong foothold among young Finns requires, however, more research. As argued by Leppänen and Nikula (forthcoming), the use of English by young Finns can be said to relate to education (especially to Content and Language Integrated Learning, CLIL), to such leisure time activities as the playing of electronic games, to the Internet, and to youth magazines. The data of this study, too, are a youth magazine, and therefore the following chapter will focus on studies on English in Finnish print media.

3.2 Use of English in Finnish print media

Hiidenmaa (2004) argues that in Finland English appears in the big font while the ordinary newspaper texts are reserved for Finnish. Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 5), however, point out that English items have started to appear in regular newspaper language, as well. Similarly, in my Pro Seminar paper I witnessed various instances of using English in a Finnish youth magazine (Polvi 2004).

Other studies on written Finnish-English bilingualism in print media are those by Rinkinen (1986), Koskinen and Ojala (1992), and Hujala (1997). Rinkinen (1986) studied the code-switching patterns of Finnish-American immigrants in some Finnish-American publications, and found that English was often used in a Finnish text if the topic ('item') at hand expressed something that was closely linked with America (that is, American society or culture). Similarly, switches to Finnish appeared in an English text if the item expressed something closely belonging to Finland. Rinkinen classified switches in both languages and gave a descriptive presentation on and a comparison between them. Moreover, items of *Finglish* (a mixture of Finnish and English) were classified and compared to languages switches: here, the finding was that the types of Finglish items resembled the types of English switches, which led Rinkinen to the conclusion that a switch might be the first step towards borrowing.

Koskinen and Ojala (1992) investigated the amount and patterns of codeswitching in the Finnish messages in a supplement for young people in a Finnish newspaper. They conducted a linguistic and a functional analysis, discovering that codes were switched in roughly a quarter of the material published in 1990, and of that quarter intrasentential switching summed up to 63 percent, leaving 37 percent for extrasentential switching. The most frequently switched elements were (1) single words, (2) clauses and (3) phrases. In the data, it was common for the writers to use an English pseudonym. According to Koskinen and Ojala, codes were mainly switched for rhetorical purposes. They also argued that the code-switching in the messages did not require highly developed language skills.

Hujala (1997) studied the receivers' and copywriters' motivations for and attitudes towards using English in Finnish advertisements published in a Finnish youth magazine, finding evidence of mostly positive opinions on the issue. Young people reacted more positively especially to code-switching, and mostly agreed on the functions of the phenomenon: English was probably used because it is "cool" and attracts their attention. It was also used to switch roles in discussing sensitive issues. Some even figured that English was used in order for the young people to know that an advertisement is directed to them. Hujala concluded that young people are used to the fact that English is used in advertising. In fact, English belongs to youth culture, reflecting the high status of English in the world (see p. 15). (Hujala 1997: 85-91.)

The study that is the closest to the present study is one by Toriseva (forthcoming) as it considers the use of English from the perspective of identities. Through systemic functional discourse analysis combined with sociolinguistic analysis of language variation, Toriseva focuses on the uses and functions of English in a Finnish skateboarding magazine. Leppänen and Nikula (forthcoming) refer to the language contact in question as resulting in

a new, mixed language of skateboarder culture, which the publisher appropriates as the code of the magazine aimed at young, translocal Finns, and with which the young Finnish skateboarders construct their identity as members of the whole skateboarding culture. (Leppänen and Nikula forthcoming.)

The present study will differ from the previous four studies concerned with the use of English in Finnish texts in that it studies the bilingual practices in a *Finnish written* publication edited by *native Finnish-speakers* (non-immigrants, cf. Rinkinen 1986). The focus is on the articles and not in the advertisements, as in Hujala (1997); the focus is not merely in the section that is open for the public, either, as in Koskinen and Ojala (1992). Moreover, the use of English in Finland has not been studied from the perspective of Christian youth identities before (cf. Toriseva forthcoming for another subcultural context). The outlook of the study then offers a fresh insight into the linguistic practices involving Finnish and English.

There are, in other words, hints that the state of affairs is not as straightforward as one might think based on Hiidenmaa's view presented at the beginning of the chapter. The present study aims at finding out how English has entered the discourse of a Finnish magazine published in Finland for young Finnish people, and how that shows in the identity construction of magazine community. The findings will shed more light on how the use of English is spreading in Finnish society.

4 IDENTITY IN BILINGUAL SETTINGS

4.1 Redefining identity

En ole onnistunut löytämään kodikkuutta, vaan huomaan usein olevani helluntailaisille luterilainen ja luterilaisille helluntailainen. Radikaalien mielestä olen konservatiivinen ja konservatiivisten mielestä radikaali. En tunne tarvetta päättää, mikä olen. Identiteettini on Kristuksessa.

Lasse Heikkilä (Dynamite 1/04: 7.)

(I have not been able to find myself at home, but often realise that I appear a Lutheran to Pentecostalists, and a Pentecostalist to Lutherans. The radicals see me as a conservative, and the conservatives see me as a radical. I don't have the need to decide what I am. My identity is in Christ.)

In the quotation above, Lasse Heikkilä, a Finnish musician and a songwriter, points out that the essential in a Christian identity is the fact that it is rooted in Christ. Even though this is 'fixed' as the cornerstone of Heikkilä's inner self, there is something more to it: different people in different settings perceive Heikkilä in different ways. This happens to other people, as well. Each person thus has a range of different identities available, each of which comes to be constructed and presented in different situations. It is how the participants in these situations perceive others' being, image, and identity. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss questions of identity where the linguistic resources are bi- or multilingual, and thus to outline the theoretical ground of the present study where Finnish Christian youth identities will be shown to be constructed by using both Finnish and English.

The situations where identities are constructed, as described above, are often referred to as discourses. Besides the countable form of the word, an uncountable one exists. Fairclough (1992: 63-4) defines *discourse* as "a form of social practice... not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning". Foucault (in Hall 1997: 44) saw discourse as "production of knowledge through language".

These broad perceptions thus outline a specific view of language. On the other hand, *a discourse* refers, according to Fairclough (2003: 3-4), to particular usages of language that construct "key entities (be they 'mental illness', 'citizenship' or 'literacy') in different ways". Gauntlett (2002: 16) does not take this twofold distinction into account but argues that discourse generally is "a set of ideas within a culture which shapes how we perceive the world". In sum, *a discourse* is a system of concepts that belong to a certain systematic way of thinking; it is a way of representing reality. However, it is not indistinguishable from *discourse* as a broad concept; the literature cited above shows that discourse evolves into different discourses and mixtures of them (see p. 20). Indeed, Garrett and Bell (1998: 2) point out that the terms have been surrounded by "a constructive fusion" where mutual, multidisciplinary (e.g. media studies) interests are overcoming the differences.

Discourse – language use, that is – is closely linked with modern notions of identity. That is to say, the concept of identity has gone through a change in meaning. When it was once defined as something fixed, given, as a product ('who you are'), it is now understood as fluid, changing, as a process ('how you appear') (Davies & Harré 1990, Gauntlett 2002, Hall 1999). When identity is seen as not fixed, but as hybrid and fluid, it can be said that identity is constantly being rebuilt or reshaped. The site for this kind of construction work is discourse. On identity and its discursive construction, Davies and Harré state that

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

The quotation above puts forth the social constructionist idea of the *lack* of a stable essence in an individual and of the way identity is constructed in discourse, in which a range of different identities are available for everyone via language. Moreover, Davies and Harré (1990) introduce the aspect of

positioning: discourses often have pre-assigned positions (such as that of a doctor's and a patient's in a medical discourse), but positions can additionally be assigned in the course of discourse by and to each participant in that discourse. Identity is then open to changes at every turn, or in other words, it is always a question of negotiation in each discourse. However, the scale of identities is limited by the discourse type(s) involved. Davies and Harré continue:

Stories are located within a number of different discourses, and thus vary dramatically in terms of the language used, the concepts, issues and moral judgements made relevant and the subject positions made available within them. (Davies and Harré 1990: 46, emphasis added.)

To exemplify this, it is possible to talk about 'forest' drawing on the discourse of, for instance, economics ("green gold"), of nature conservation ("biodiversity"), of spiritualism ("peacefulness"), or of arts ("shades of green"). Fairclough (1992) suggests that a concern in analysing a discourse sample is recognising the different discourse types that it draws upon. He distinguishes (manifest) intertextuality, "the explicit presence of other texts in a text", from interdiscursivity, "the constitution of a text from a configuration of text types or discourse conventions" (ibid.: 10). In this study, it will thus be interesting to see what discourses – and thereby concepts and ideological beliefs – are used in constructing Christian identities; the presumption is that not all discourses will include Christian voices, and that, on the other hand, Christian discourse will be composed with the help of other kinds of discourse types.

A quotation from Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 377) makes the connection between language and identity even more comprehensible: "To take a simple example, at the referential level the contemporary slang word *props* means (refers to) respect, but at the broader sociocultural level it means (is associated with) hiphop culture, and hence a speaker who uses the word may indirectly invoke this identity." Indeed, this very same word and practice is observed by Androutsopoulos (2003, see chapter 5.2).

The contradiction between the two definitions of identity referred to earlier is also specified by Liebkind (1988, as cited in Halonen 2002: 17) who argues that the term is defined in a different way in psychology (identity as fixed) than in cultural studies (identity as fluid). The concept of identity as discursively constructed is thus used to refer to the different images that the others perceive of us, or that we want them to perceive. According to Fairclough (2003: 159), a better term to illustrate this phenomenon would, in fact, be *identification*. In this study, both *identity* and *identification* will be used overlappingly depending on the situation, the assumption being that the terms refer to the same phenomenon.

The view of identities as discursive constructs leads to two further opposite arguments. On the one hand, as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 14) point out, "to say that identities are discursive constructions does not imply that they are not 'real' in the material world" – indeed it is only natural that we appear as we are. On the other hand, however, the fact that a person may come to have multiple identities in discourse does not necessarily mean that these identities would co-exist in reality, even though they might. Laihiala-Kankainen et al. (2002: 9), for instance, note that it is truly possible to talk about *identities* over *identity*, but that these multiple identities are weighed differently in different situations. In other words, even though discursive practices allow a young Finnish Christian, for example, to show various qualities, interests, positions and characteristics in a youth magazine, it is doubtable that these elements would always manifest themselves in how the person actually leads his/her life or appreciates the different attributes assigned for him/her.

What has been asserted so far is that language is one means of composing identities (others include dress and gestures, for instance). From the point of view of the present study, it is important to examine situations where the

resources of identity formation come from two languages, and this will be the topic of the following chapter.

4.2 Bilingualism as an identity marker

The aim of the present study is to explore how Christian youth identities are constructed in the discourse of a Christian youth magazine through linguistic practices involving two languages, Finnish and English. As stated in chapter 2.2, I take this as enabling the use of the term 'bilingual'. Answering questions of a more general nature such as "Are young Finns becoming bilingual in Finnish and English?" and "Is the status of English changing from a foreign language to a second language?" will actualise only after data analysis.

The matter of bilinguals being multicompetent was raised in chapter 2.2. What demonstrates this multicompetence most aptly is code-switching (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 149-150), and it is therefore given more floor in this discussion than other bilingual phenomena of which borrowing is the most meaningful in terms of the present study. This does not imply that borrowings have no identity functions; indeed, all language use does. Gardner-Chloros (1995: 69), for instance, points out that "any mixture [of languages, dialects, etc.] sooner or later is associated with a new identity".

While some may underrate code-switching as linguistic incompetence, others have taken a more insightful view on it, seeing it as serving social functions for the language user (Woolard 2004: 74-5). Among those scholars is Myers-Scotton (2002: 38-40) who asserts that "becoming bilingual can be part of a change in how individuals perceive and express themselves." She further refers to Hyltenstam and Stroud (1996: 572, as cited in Myers-Scotton 2002: 39) who point out that "since language encodes social identity, speakers chose [sic] the language that best accords with their needs for self presentation and identity negotiations in given situations". In addition, Myers-Scotton (ibid.: 43) sees code-switching as a means for achieving "various stylistic effects". In

this sense, code-switching can be taken as the stylisation of the self, too. With code-switching as the norm rather than the exception, speakers, according to Myers-Scotton (ibid.: 45), indicate their "desire to project themselves as persons with the identities associated with more than one language; that is, they project dual identities." This study will show that even when codeswitching is exceptional rather than the norm, these kind of bilingual identities can be projected.

Swann (1996), too, argues that "a speaker's choice of language has to do with maintaining, or negotiating, a certain type of social identity. The use of a particular language also gives access to rights and obligations associated with that identity." Switching, then, points to changes in the social identity of the speaker (in other words, it indexes something of the situation, see p. 2). Goffman (as cited in Davies and Harré 1990: 54) has proposed the term *change* of footing to be used for these changes: "A change of footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and to the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production and reception of an utterance". What Swann (1996 above) labels social identities are to Goffman three speaker roles: 'animator' is the person who speaks, 'author' the one who is responsible for the text, and 'principal' the one whose position is established by the words being spoken (Goffman 1981: 144, as cited in Davies and Harré 1990: 54). Davies and Harré prefer their own analytical scheme of positioning (see p. 20 in this study) to Goffman's idea of footing, since footing, to them, suggests that "alignments exist prior to speaking and shape it". This is in contrast to positioning, where alignments are jointly produced during conversation. (Davies and Harré 1990: 55.) From my perspective, both views are acceptable and possibly useful. For the data examined in this study, however, footing is the more useful concept, because speaker stands will be shown to involve animaton, that is, moments when the speaker (or writer) changes his/her footing to speak on the voice of someone else to animate, enliven, another discourse context (see ch. 6.1.).

The existing literature thus ascertains that bilingualism is meaningful for language users' identities. The study of discursive identity formation in bi-/multilingual settings is, according to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 4), a young field of research. (Note that research literature often equates bilingualism with multilingualism, see e.g. Auer 1995: 115, Baker and Prys Jones 1998: 17, Woolard 2004: 90, +n 1.) Therefore, the challenge of the present study is to discover a valid method for analysing the kind of bilingual data, magazine texts, which has not been studied extensively before.

5 RESEARCH DESIGN

5.1 Aims, data and research questions

This study aims at exploring the use of English in the construction of Finnish Christian youth identities in the discourse of a Finnish Christian youth magazine. English in Finland has been of interest to various researchers (as shown in chapter 3), but the focus, even though occasionally on youth language, has never been on the bilingual practices of Christian youth. Moreover, it is interesting to see what happens when the (assumed) conservativeness of Christianity meets the freshness and rebelliousness often associated with the young, and how that shows in the discourses – and thus in the identities that are formed – in the magazine. The study is thus well justified and interesting as to the data. Furthermore, evidence of magazines for young Christian Finns adopting English as an aspect of their identity will give more grounds on claims of English strengthening its role in Finland.

As data for this study, I will use *Dynamite*, a Finnish Christian youth magazine which offers topics related to everything that young people are confronted with in today's world – from a Christian viewpoint. In fact, *Dynamite* is not merely a name of a magazine but more of a brand that covers various activities for young and not-so-young Christians in Finland and abroad. Among these are *Dynamite camp*, *Dynamite leadership training*, *Dynamite on the road*, *Dynamite outreaches*, and *Dynamite*, the magazine. The magazine was, at first, a simple newsletter with a circulation of around 2000, published to keep in touch with the people who had attended the youth camps organized by the Evangelical Free Church of Finland (Turunen, personal communication 13.1.2004). A couple of years later, in 1998, *Dynamite* started appearing as a serious release and opened itself to a wider audience without demanding from them any other sort of participation in the activities of the Free Church. Half of the magazine is owned by the Finnish corporation

Päivä and the other half by the youth organization of the Evangelical Free Church of Finland (ibid.). Currently, the circulation of the magazine is 3000 at the minimum, with six 40-page issues published each year (Dynamite! n.d.).

The editorial staff of *Dynamite* have not remained the same through the years. A major shift happened in 2005 and it had an impact on the design and structure of the magazine. Earlier, the magazine typically included an editorial, record and book reviews, interviews, news articles, advertisements, and columns, labelled sections that repeatedly occurred in every issue. From 3/2005 onwards, columns are most visibly absent, and the earlier practice of publishing five issues year (one of which was a double one) is replaced by six individual issues.

The data of this study include all the sections of the magazines (including editorials, articles, columns, causeries, reviews) except advertisements, because they were not compiled by the editorial staff of *Dynamite*, and the covers and illustrations, as they demand an additional analysis of pictorial signs. I am thus taking what Garrett and Bell (1998: 3) call "a traditional view of [media] text as words printed in ink" (in comparison with a more modern definition that includes speech, sound and image, as well). Nevertheless, the focus is not on language alone (as Garrett and Bell suggest is the case with text analysis), but also on the social context of communication (a youth magazine that is rooted in the Free Church); in that sense, this is a discourse analytical study.

To shed light on this "social context of communication", I will now give a description of the Free Church, the institutional origins of the magazine, here. Evangelical Free Churches have a history dating back to the great religious revivals of the nineteenth century. Separate from the state, Free Churches emphasise one's personal faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the authority of the Bible as the word of God. Free Churches represent conservative evangelical and charismatic movements. They do not see

themselves as the only congregation of true Christians but exercise cooperation with other Christians churches. The Evangelical Free Church of Finland has 14,000 members and it is international by nature, having sister churches and practising missionary work worldwide. (SVK: What we believe? n.d., Constitution of the International Federation... 1995.)

Among the religions in Finland, the Free Church is characterised by being a Christian free movement, in contrast to being the Christian church of the state (the Lutheran and Orthodox churches) or any of the non-Christian communities (Islam, Judaism, new religious movements, and so on) (Suomen uskonnollinen kenttä - RaamattuNET n.d.). It, similarly to other free movements, is often perceived as more charismatic than the more institutionalised religious movements (such as churches of state). Whether it is more liberal than for example the Finnish Lutheran church of the state is not a simple fact to establish: on the other hand, free movements might interpret the Bible more strictly than churches of state, but, on the other hand, they might allow for more freedom in terms of spiritual conduct in their services, for example. The matter of establishing a clear description of the liberalness or the lack of it is made more difficult by the Free Church not having a printed doctrine (SVK: Vapaakirkon opilliset periaatteet n.d.). The views presented above are thus partly based on my personal observations and partly on the announcements of the Evangelical Free Church of Finland (ibid.).

Dynamite is a public media text with an intended audience of its own. Although Free Church -based, the readership of the magazine extends over congregational boundaries (SVK: The Evangelical Free Church of Finland n.d.); its intended audience is thus young Finnish Christians. The intended audience is held together by a spirit of togetherness created by the publisher, and one way of doing this is by constructing and representing certain kinds of social identities. In other words, linguistic resources, when put into

practice, construct identities in discourse, in this case, those of young Finnish Christians. The first research question of the study is thus:

How does the use of English contribute to the construction of Christian identities in Dynamite?

To answer the first research question in a valid way demands answering to another question, too:

What kind of English forms occur in Dynamite?

The second research problem posed above resembles that of my Pro Seminar paper (Polvi 2004), where I examined 21 issues of the *Dynamite* magazine published 1998 – 2002. While my Pro Seminar work gave an overall picture of both the quantitative and qualitative nature of English used in the magazine during that time, the data of the present, qualitative, study come from 2003 – 2005, thus giving a more up-to-date picture of the use of English in the magazine.

It should be noted that the purpose of the study is not to make universal judgements of Christian identities – the interpretations are made exclusively based on the data analysed in the study. Similarly, the present aim is not to make value judgements and claim that the identities "done" in the data would be desirable and/or acceptable, or again, that they would not.

5.2 Analytic framework

Although the field of bilingual discourse research is vast, the analyses have rarely focussed on *written* code-switching, and when they have, a formalist and/or quantitative approach has been preferred (e.g. Callahan 2004, Koskinen and Ojala 1992). Similarly, studies on the discursive construction of identity have been conducted, but not very extensively in bilingual settings; modern identity studies have often chosen a particular linguistic aspect as

their focus, such as transitivity, choice of pronouns, or wording, often for the purpose of revealing power inequalities (e.g. Harju 2001, Räisänen 1999).

In this study, the aim is to examine how English is used in a Finnish magazine for constructing identities, and studies of similar type are not (yet) very common. Androutsopoulos (2003: 3) has addressed this lack of studies, pointing out that the "extensive insertion of a foreign language... into written and mass-mediated discourse produced in a national language... has hardly been investigated, and... demands a whole set of new diagnostic criteria."

In studying the use of English in German youth (hiphop) culture and its print and online media discourse, Androutsopoulos (2003) relies on Auer's (1998) understanding of code-switching in relation to language mixing, alternation and insertion. Firstly, the distinction between alternation and insertion is one where the former is a *bi-directional process*, whereas the latter is a *unidirectional* one. In other words, if two languages can take equal and unpredictable turns in interaction, it is a matter of language *alternation*. However, if one language dominates over the other, the embedded items are *insertions*. Language "alternations" in both Androutsopoulos' and my data are therefore in fact better described as insertions, as in all media discourse where there is one primary language of interaction (for example, as the language of a Finnish publication is first and foremost Finnish). (Androutsopoulos 2003: 3.)

Secondly, to distinguish switching from mixing, Androutsopoulos (2003: 3) follows Auer in his view of switching as "a locally significant phenomenon, which indexes features of the speaker and/or the situation, such as change of topic or activity, change of footing, etc" whereas mixing "is only meaningful as a whole... as a language variety or style". Switching and mixing cannot be separated based on the length of the items on the switched code, because both phenomena cover utterances of varying length. Language mixing, additionally, includes both established and nonce borrowings, which Androutsopoulos determines on the basis of structural integration, frequency

and community acceptance. (Androutsopoulos 2003: 3.) One should note that, in the analysis (chapter 6), the meaning of 'code-switching' and 'language mixing' thus differs from the unrestricted (and complex) meanings described in chapter 2.1.

In the analysis, Androutsopoulos identifies the following kinds of insertions, which can all occur simultaneously within a text: established ("dense") borrowings, nonce loans without morphological integration, and switching. The local meanings inherent in switching are in Androutsopoulos' data connected with (a) mottos for a retrieval of a phrase or quotation, for representation of a stance unrestricted to artists from a specific region, and for emphasis or expression; (b) a change in discourse role and modality; (c) intertextuality in quotations and allusions, often through framing discourse "as part of a more extensive sub-cultural discourse" (ibid.: 5) (i.e. English frames link German hiphoppers to the English-language hiphop community of the world); and finally, (d) crossing, metaphorical code-switching into the language of an identifiable ethnic group. (Ibid.: 3-6.)

Androutsopoulos (ibid.: 6) points out that his findings differ from the patterns observed in bilingual spoken interaction and also from those found in mainstream German media. The two important resources in the data examined by Androutsopoulos are English routines and the use of the vernacular. A routine refers to "any fixed or set linguistic item that is repeatedly used in a specific context" (ibid.: 6). Androutsopoulos detects seven types of routines in the data which counted overall for most insertions of English in the data: greetings and farewells (e.g. hi, see you); expressive speech acts, expletives and interjections (e.g. thanks, sorry); discourse markers (e.g. ok); slogans related to subcultural concerns, possibly statements or directives; advertisement slogans; "props", hiphop culture greeting and/or congratulating routines; and phrases such as no way, let's go. Routines "do not have a 'local meaning'... but are part of an in-group style" (ibid.: 7). On the other hand, a routine can have a local meaning, as shown by

Androutsopoulos with regard to an opener *peace my niggaz!!!* where the local meaning is produced through the utterance's "uncommonness and the indexing of 'original' hip-hop culture". Therefore, Androutsopoulos (ibid.: 8) suggests that "a classification according to routines can depict the transition from switching to borrowing". (Ibid.: 6-8.)

Based on his findings, Androutsopoulos (ibid.: 9) argues that English verbal routines and the vernacular project the identity of "a real hip-hopper" in German youth culture discourse. The argument underlying the present study – that linguistic choices contribute to identity – is thus strenghtened.

Although many valuable insights are gained from the work of other scholars (see chapters 2 and 3.2), Androutsopoulos (2003) is the most appropriate model for the analysis in this paper, for he not only addresses the challenges posed at my attempt of studying the use of English in the construction of identities in a Finnish magazine, but also carries out similar kind of research himself (although German for Finnish). Moreover, Androutsopoulos adopts a "broad perspective" on bilingualism, taking into account the whole variety of the "English" in the data. While not dwelling on the exact line between a loan and a code-switch, Androutsopoulos discusses the use of two languages from the point of view of youth subcultural identities, which is the aim of this study, too.

My adoption of Androutsopoulos' (2003) model is as follows. Firstly, I will exclude from the analytic framework the category of language variation that Androutsopoulos (ibid.: 3) calls *alternational*. This is because in my data there is one primary language of interaction (Finnish), and the language variation involved is thus characterised as *insertional*. Secondly, I will, similarly to Androutsopoulos (ibid.), separate code-switching from language mixing. In consequence, I will search for (a) local meanings of English usage in the data. In this study, 'local meanings' point to changes of footing and to organising of discourse; as a rule, switching will index something of the situation. 'Change

of footing' (see p. 23) points to a change in the social identity of the writer, after which s/he becomes the animator of words written or spoken by someone else before him/her. Changes of footing will be detected with the help of such textual clues as quotations and word choices (representing discourse types, see p. 20). As to the specific local meanings and classes of routines identified by Androutsopoulos (ibid.), they will not function as prescriptive categories for this study, because my conclusions need be based on data and not on a priori classifications.

In the analysis, I will also (b) distinguish the local meanings from the use of English for achieving a certain style (mixing). An overall style involving English will be identified by the lack of local meanings of English usage; as in Androutsopoulos (ibid.), this category will include both nonce and established loans. (This does not, however, mean that a loan word could not have a local function within the discourse, but that the uses of English that lack local significance are to be classified as insertional language mixing. Androutsopoulos (2003: 7), too pointed out that a routine, a feature of linguistic style, can have a local meaning, see p. 30 in this study.)

Within the two categories of switching and mixing, I will thirdly describe the forms of the English utterances; finally, I will analyse the Finnish-English bilingual practices from the perspective of identity construction; how bilingual practices identified in the data create and represent the identity of young Christians in Finland. This will be done through the examination of word choices and discourse types (see p. 20) involved.

Auer (1995: 119) points out that "the mere fact of juxtaposing two codes can have a signalling value of its own, independent of the direction of codealternation." Androutsopoulos (2003: 9), similarly, notes that the focus of analysis need not be "'English' as such" but rather specific patterns of English. Relying on this notion, attention will be paid not only on English as such but also on transitions from Finnish to English and vice versa.

According to Chouliaraki (2003: 304), "youth is always articulated with other social positions and... such articulations are important in how we come to understand particularly youth identities". Räisänen (1999: 204-10), too, has shown that identities are multifaceted: in studying discursive construction of the identity of a blind man, she concludes that blind identity is not straightforward, but inconsistent and heterogeneous. In the present study correspondingly, it might be expected that Christianity is not separate from other categories of identity but articulated in co-occurrence with other aspects of identity, such as age, nationality, family relations, personal interests and lifestyle, for example. Moreover, as the present focus is on the use of *English* in the construction of Finnish Christian identities, Christianity might even be invisible in some exact discourse contexts where other aspects are weighed. That Christianity nevertheless is part of the larger context (a Christian magazine) makes it possible to draw conclusions of how any discourses present in the magazine contribute to Christian identities.

6 DATA ANALYSIS

In this section, I will start with the examination of cases of insertional codeswitching and then proceed to looking at insertional language mixing. The chapter on switching presents uses of English in *Dynamite* that have local meaning. The chapter on mixing, on the other hand, depicts how English is used in the data for achieving a certain style.

When examples are given, the letter 'D' is used as an abbreviation for *Dynamite*; as my data were gathered from one source only, a risk for misunderstanding does not exist. After 'D' follow the issue and year of publication of the magazine. I have preserved the original layout in the examples; some all-capitals examples therefore occur. If changes have been made in the originals, I have indicated this by marking *emphasis added* after the source information. Examples exceeding one page with the translation are included in the appendices. In the analysis, I refer to writers as *she* or *he*, and when unsure, as *s/he*.

6.1 Switching to English to create local meanings

The local meanings of insertional code-switching from Finnish to English are, in this study, connected with changes of footing and organising of discourse. In the data, switches to English were made to organise the discourse in column names, article headings, and in text openings and endings. Changes of footing, the phenomena that the analysis starts off with, were connected with the animation of Christian voices, of global, secular voices, and of secular youth culture discourse. (For the theory of animation and footing, see p. 23.)

6.1.1 Animating Christian voices through English

This chapter examines eight examples involving insertional code-switching through the animation of Christian voices. In the first five of them, 'Christian voice' refers to gospel lyrics; in the sixth case, a Christian voice evolves through Christian sayings; examples seven and eight show how English is inserted to animate the voice of a "professional" Christian (a person working for a Christian congregation or organisation).

The first three examples are extracted from an article which is based on opinions that the readers of the magazine have sent in for the editors, commenting on gospel songs that have, for some reason, become meaningful to them (this information is given in the lead paragraph of the article). The comments are textured in the form of a discussion between two imaginary persons (I will therefore refer to *Keke* (male) and *Kipa* (female) as 'speakers'). The examples show code-switching at the levels of both proper nouns and citations.

Examples (1) to (3) show how English is used as an additional resource in creating meaningful, progressive interaction with Finnish as the primary language. English is taken up in concurrence with an Anglo-American band name (Mercy Men), with song titles (Word of God speak, No doubt, God will make a way), and with citing lyrics. In citing lyrics, the speakers' footings change: they are not speaking their own words but those of songwriters and bands. Following the model proposed by Androutsopoulos (2003, see 5.2), since these changes of footing are locally meaningful uses of English in indexing that the speaker roles vary, they are cases of insertional code-switching. It is unmarked noteworthy that English is almost the choice; "conversationalists" are made to insert English as a natural way of discussing the matter. As a result, the English utterances are not translated. Rather, the function of developing the point one is making without disturbances (such as could be caused by a translation) overcomes the form and the speakers (or, in fact, writers) elaborate on the English parts in Finnish. This, however, should not lead one into the conclusion that it is a case of language mixing where mixing is done for achieving a certain style; the English used for citing an English source is discourse-internally motivated and, thus, switching. This is illustrated by the following example:

(1) Onneksi on tuollaisia lauluja, joiden kautta Jumala voi puhua meille, erilaisissa tilanteissa. Mulle kokonaisuutena siunaavaa ja rohkaisevaa musiikkia on viime aikoina ollut *Mercy Menin Spoken For* –niminen levy. Yhden laulun nimi on *Word of God speak* ja ensisoinnuista lähtien aina koen, että Jumala on lähellä. Kyllä huomaa, jos bändi levyä tehdessään on rukoillut ja etsinyt Jumalaa! (D 2-3/04, emphasis added.)

(I'm glad there are those kinds of songs that God can use for talking to us, in different kind of situations. Lately, I've found the album Spoken For by Mercy Men as blessing and encouraging on the whole. One song is called Word of God speak, and from the first tones I always feel that God is close. You can tell if the band has prayed and searched for God when making the album!)

Here, the speaker establishes a connection between the song title and its actual meaning (in his opinion) for the whole album and recording process (i.e. the band has listened to God's word). This kind of interpretation is of course possible only if one understands the meaning of the English song title, as seems to have been the case with the writer, who also assumes that it will be understood by the readers, too. The example thus shows firstly how English is used by a Finnish Christian telling how the English gospel song title has contributed to his spiritual thinking; secondly, the utterance can be seen as model offered for the readers, suggesting knowledge of English and Anglo-American gospel music to be relevant for a young Finnish Christian. It is therefore possible to say that English has become an ingredient in constructing Christian identity here.

Another case, similarly, shows how English is inserted as an element for elaborating on the point the speaker is making:

(2) Tunnetko sä Petran laulun *No doubt*? Se on ollut mulle tärkeä laulu, kun oon ollut masentunut. Mä olin vuoden vaihto-oppilaana Saksassa. Kun mä tulin takaisin Suomeen tuntui, että mä ja kaverini ollaan ihan eri aaltopituudella. Se oli pitkään erityisen raskasta aikaa. Tuo Petran kappale hoiti ja rohkaisi mua silloin valtavasti. Siinä lauletaan näin: "*No doubt, it will be allright with God. He can move any mountain for us. No doubt in the end it will be understood*". Nuo säkeistön sanat tukivat mun ajatuksia tosi paljon. Ajattele, Jumala tosiaan voi siirtää puolestamme kokemiamme vuoria! (D 2-3/04, emphasis added.)

(Do you know the song No doubt by Petra? It has been an important song for me when I've been depressed. I spent one year as an exchange student in Germany. When I returned to Finland I felt that my friend and I were at totally different wavelengths. Those were especially difficult times for a long time. That Petra's song was very healing and encouraging to me back then. It goes like this: "No doubt, it will be allright with God. He can move any mountain for us. No doubt in the end it will be understood". Those lyrics supported me very much. Think about it, God can truly move mountains for us when we experience them before us!)

That the speaker cites the lyrics of a song and resorts to English in doing that results in insertional code-switching. The quotation is preceded by the speaker's description of the difficult moments in her life when the song has become to play a role for her. After citing the lyrics, the speaker continues commenting on their meaning in Finnish. Further, she rewords the contents as her own insight, as the last sentence above is not so much a translation than it is a paraphrase with added emphasis (*ajattele* 'think about it', *tosiaan* 'truly', exclamation mark). The use of English here is again a question of animating a Christian voice (gospel lyrics) through which the footing of the speaker changes. Again, we see how insertional code-switching, which example (2) represents through animation, contributes to the construction of Christian identity, as both Finnish and English are used when discussing matters of Christian faith or life and the meaning of Anglo-American music (and of lyrics, especially) to Christian thinking.

In the third speaker turn, English is present through a song title, whereas everything else appears in Finnish. Although English is used here exactly because the song is of Anglo-American origin (and does not, as such, represent real code-switching, cf. example (1), the discourse context shows that English is used for retrieving a phrase that is relevant for the point that the writer goes on to make. Following Androutsopoulos (2003: 4), this kind of "retrievals" can be classified as instances of insertional code-switching.

(3) Uusin rauhoittava laulu on *God will make a way*. Mä en nyt muista, kuka laulun esittää. Nimi jo pelkästään kertoo mun mielestä uskon ja Jumalaan luottamisen ytimen: Jumala valmistaa minulle tien. Laulussa lauletaan siitä, että kun tuntuu ettei osaa suunnistaa eteenpäin, Jumala johdattaa ja on suuntaoppaana. Mikäpä sen ihanampaa! (2-3/04, emphasis added.)

(The newest peaceful one is God will make a way. I can't remember now who performs it. I think the mere name of the song tells the core of faith and trust in God: God will make a way for me. The song is about how you sometimes don't know which way to go, and then God will lead you and be your guide. What could be more wonderful!)

The writer explicitly shows how English contributes to her Christian identity firstly by showing she understands the meaning of the English song title, and secondly by drawing a connection between the title and Christianity (Nimi jo pelkästään kertoo mun mielestä uskon ja Jumalaan luottamisen ytimen: Jumala valmistaa minulle tien 'I think the mere name of the song tells the core of faith and trust in God: God will make a way for me'). As in the previous sample, here, too, the speaker summarises the main idea of the song (title) in Finnish. More likely than merely a translation of the lyrics, the phrase Laulussa lauletaan siitä, että kun tuntuu ettei osaa suunnistaa eteenpäin, Jumala johdattaa ja on suuntaoppaana 'The song is about how you sometimes don't know which way to go, and then God will lead you and be your guide' presents the speaker's own understanding of the message. This is shown in the speaker finally embracing the idea (Mikäpä sen ihanampaa! 'What could be more wonderful!'), which also strengthens the identity functions of the English phrase (i.e. that Christians can fully rely on God even when the future seems unclear).

In examples (1) through (3), it is taken as a given that the conversationalists and most importantly, the readers, will understand the English sequences. It is, in fact, the readers who have sent in their comments for the editors so it is the readers who are actually using English. All this gives the impression that – in this specific setting – English is actually used as a means of constructing the identities of young Christian Finns when discussing the meaning of English gospel lyrics to Christians.

An essential feature of Christian life is learning to know the Christian doctrine and understanding more of its practical implications (which are colloquially called spiritual growth or growing as a Christian). This is often done via reading commentaries on *the Bible*, the holy book of Christianity, or via listening to ministers teaching the word. In *Dynamite*, this practice of constructing Christian identity as such is actualised through articles often included in the column *Dynamite Bible*. The following extract is an exception in this sense, as it appeared in *Dynamite Music File*, being the second paragraph of an article on Christian worship. Including such a teaching in a column about music points to the importance of music in Christian worship. (Differences might be found between congregations. One should remember that the congregational context of *Dynamite* is the Free Church, and that may show in the interpretation of certain dogma; here, for instance, the implication is that worship is more related to music than to *the Bible*.)

(4) Joskus me ihmiset rakennamme tiukkoja määritelmiä ylistykselle tai teemme ylistyskulttuurista teologiaa. Brittiläinen lauluntekijä ja ylistyksenjohtaja **Matt Redman** kuvaakin tätä osuvasti laulussaan *The Heart of Worship: "I'm sorry Lord for the thing I've made it, when it's all about You, it's all about You Jesus"*. Ylistyksessä on siis ennen kaikkea kyse Jeesuksesta, ei mistään kikoista tai tekniikoista, joita oikein noudattaessamme saamme Jumalan läsnäolon elämäämme. (D 5/04: 6, bold font original, other emphasis added.)

(Sometimes we people make strict definitions of worship or turn praise culture into theology. The British songwriter and worship leader Matt Redman cleverly illustrates this in his song The Heart of Worship: "I'm sorry Lord for the thing I've made it, when it's all about You, it's all about You Jesus". So worship is first and foremost about Jesus, not about some tricks or techniques that we can practice to find God present in our lives.)

Similarly to example (2), English is used here for proving the point. Example (4) is also a case of insertional code-switching as the writer cites (animates) the chorus of a gospel song, thus adding another voice to the text, to exemplify the matter, after which she paraphrases – or practically translates – the main idea and elaborates on it. Example (4) shows that English in *Dynamite* is used not only in conjunction with "light" themes (such as music, leisure time and so forth, see ch. 6.2) but also when it comes to matters that are more fundamental for practicing Christian belief.

Another special feature of Christianity is preaching the gospel. This has certainly to do with the previous example of "teaching the word", but there is a nuance between the two. As shown in example (4), teaching the word aims at guiding a person's growth as a Christian. Preaching, on the other hand, seeks to rouse up the spirit of the hearers by addressing them directly and by proclaiming joy and thankfulness to Jesus, and it may, therefore, seem more charismatic as powerful words, expressions and sounds may be involved. The difference becomes evident when example (4) is compared with the following:

(5) Vuonna 2002 Seurakunnan kasvu ry teetti Suomen Gallupilla kattavan tutkimuksen, jossa 15-24 –vuotiailta suomalaisilta kysyttiin: "Oletko uudestisyntynyt kristitty, jolla on henkilökohtainen suhde Jeesukseen?" Vain 3% kaikista vastanneista vastasi myöntävästi. Minun unelmani on nähdä tuon luvun kasvavan kristittyjen yhteisen rintaman myötä. Unelmani on myös nähdä tuhat kristittyä nuorta ja nuorta aikuista ensi kesänä Turussa rakastamassa ja palvelemassa turkulaisia. Deliriouksen biisinriimein: "We're gonna paint this big old town in red with the blood of Jesus!" (D 6/05: 28, emphasis added.)

(In 2002, Seurakunnan kasvu ry ('The growth of the congregation registered association') ordered an extensive survey from Suomen Gallup ('The Gallup of Finland') to ask 15-24-year-old Finns: "Are you a reborn Christian with a personal relationship with Jesus?" Only 3% answered yes. My dream is to see that figure grow along with a joint Christian front. My dream is to see a thousand Christian young people next summer in Turku, loving and serving the people of Turku. Quoting the lyrics of Delirious: "We're gonna paint this big old town in red with the blood of Jesus!")

This piece of text appeared as a part of a one-page article on an upcoming event involving young Finnish Christians, as an answer to the interviewer's question "What is your own dream concerning the happening?". The answer, involving an English quotation – of the length of a whole sentence – and producing thus insertional code-switching, was placed at the end of the article, thus giving it the discourse function of closure. Positing a code-switched utterance this way emphasises it (see 6.1.4). Here, it strengthens the sense of proclamation achieved otherwise by confidently presenting one's dream to others and ensuring it by citing another source, in this case, song lyrics. This example shows thus how the Christian in *Dynamite* discourse can

be highlighted by switching to English, by placing the utterance in an attention drawing way, and by citing another source.

All the five examples presented above show switching from Finnish to English for citing lyrics, and how that contributes to the construction of Christian identities in Finland. As the song lyrics cited are of Anglo-American origin, it is probable that they are also consumed by other than Finnish youth, at least by British and/or American. Taking into account firstly the fact that music youth cultures of the world depend on their English-speaking origins (Androutsopoulos 2003: 2), secondly the "Englishisation" and "americanisation" of the world (Phillipson 2003, especially p. 92), and thirdly an inherent vision of Christianity - taking the biblical gospel to the ends of the earth (Holy Bible, Matt. 28: 19), it is also very likely that the trend of listening to Anglo-American gospel music is a global one. The adoption of Anglo-American gospel music in several national contexts implies a transnational (see Bookmark 2 on p. 14) Christian fellowship, and it is this "community" that young Finnish Christians, too, seem to be aspiring to belong as they make use of English in their (often quite conscious) construction of identity.

In my earlier study on code-switching patterns in *Dynamite* (Polvi 2004), I found out that English was used for citing not only song lyrics but also slogans, mottos and people. The same trend is evident in the present data, as examples (6) to (8) will show. In example (6), insertional code-switching takes place when the writer mentions two slogans in English:

(6) Jesus Loves U -T-paidat loukkaavat USA:n perustuslakia?

Los Angelilaisen Fountain Valley High Schoolin yksitoista oppilasta saivat nuhteita vuosikirjan valokuvassa pitämistään t-paidoista. Koulun rehtorin mielestä *"Jesus loves U"* ja *"Jesus is the Way"* – tekstit loukkaavat perustuslain toimeksiantoa, jonka mukaan kirkko ja valtio tulisi erottaa toisistaan. Oppilaat itse kertoivat vain haluavansa ilmaista paidoillaan kristillisen uskon tärkeyttä heille itselleen.

Pacific Justice Institute näkee tapauksen uskonnonvastaisena sensuurina ja aikoo ryhtyä laillisiin toimiin, mikäli kuvien ei anneta olla vuosikirjassa koskemattomina. (D 5/03: 33, emphasis added.)

(Jesus Loves U – T-shirts offensive to USA constitution?

Eleven students in Fountain Valley High School, Los Angeles, were discredited for the T-shirts they wore in the yearbook photos. The principal of the school thinks that the texts "Jesus loves U" and "Jesus is the Way" offend the terms of reference of the constitution, according to which the church and the state should be separated. The students said they only wanted to express the importance of Christian faith to them through wearing the shirts.

Pacific Justice Institute considers the case an anti-religious censorship and will take legal action if the photos are not left untouched in the yearbook.)

The example above appeared in the *News* section of the magazine without the name of its writer. However, a link to a web site was given at the end of the text, referring to www.charismanews.com. This implies that a journalist had picked up the piece of news in the Internet him/herself and translated it – and possibly modified it in other ways, too, for example by shortening it (of course, this is only a speculation). It seems that insertional code-switching is here due to multilayered animation, for it must be that the Finnish journalist animates the voice of a news agency and uses English for proper nouns and slogans; the news agency, among other things, animates the slogans in the students' t-shirts ("Jesus loves U" and "Jesus is the Way"); the t-shirts finally finally animate the Christian doctrine. Mottos and other "retrieved phrases", Androutsopoulos (2003: 4) suggests, have a kind of "global validity" in representing "a stance, which is not restricted to artists from a particular country or national origin"; the slogans Jesus loves U and Jesus is the Way no doubt represent a global Christian stance.

Although insertional code-switching is limited to the two slogans in example (6), the use of English is not. English place names are used in placing the events to a specific locality (Fountain Valley High School, Los Angeles, USA) and in mentioning a local organ (Pacific Justice Institute). These are used by the Finnish journalist by their original names rather than by Finnish translations (which would have been an option, too, even though possibly an inappropriate one if translated unsuccessfully). The example thus not only animates Christian voices in English but also creates a sense of an American locality through the use of English.

When looked at from the view point of identities, including discourse with English proper nouns and English Christian slogans in a Finnish Christian magazine again indicates that Christianity is a transnational, global movement and thereby that the identities of the members of that movement involve, respectively, a transnational component.

The last kind of Christian voice that is found animated in the data, "professional" Christianity, is presented in examples (7) and (8). Example (7) below, similarly to other data examples in chapter 6.1.1, shows insertional code-switching through a change of footing.

(7) Jotkut ovat kokeneet hyväksi kirjoittaa Jumalan kohtaamisen hetkissä ylös ajatuksia ja näin pitää päiväkirjaa siitä, mitä on oppinut tai mitä on oivaltanut Raamattua lukiessaan tai mitä Jumala on puhunut. Tällainen "Spiritual Journal" eli hengellisen elämän muistio tai päiväkirja auttaa suuremman hengellisen pääoman keräämisessä. (D 4/03: 25, emphasis added.)

(Some have found it good to write down one's thoughts in the moments of encountering God, and so keep a diary of what has been learnt or what one has come up with when reading the Bible or what God has spoken. A Spiritual Journal of this kind helps to compile a larger spiritual capital.)

The example is taken from an article in the column *Dynamite Bible*. The English noun phrase "Spiritual Journal" is embedded within an otherwise Finnish text and is followed by a translation in Finnish. This paragraph contains quite pure Christian discourse, meaning that no other discourses are present. Why insert an English phrase? The clues are scarce, but a tentative suggestion could point to the phrase "Spiritual Journal" originating in an transnational context where, for example, pastors have gathered together for a seminar or likewise. This is backed up by the notion that the paragraph comes from an article written by a Finnish pastor, who then uses inverted commas around the English phrase. Inverted commas imply that it is a matter of quoting someone else's words, or of expressing the same as "as we X like to call it", where X stands for any group using their own jargon. In this case, the writer's message could be interpreted as "What we [Christian] pastors [of the English-speaking world] like to call a spiritual journal ---". As stated above, the motive cannot be known for sure; however, using an English

expression for 'spiritual journal' implies that spiritual journals are popular in other-than-*Dynamite* contexts, as well, and that these contexts involve the use of English language. Christianity is thus again portrayed as a global movement.

The following example, too, exemplifies the use of English for animating professional Christian discourse (producing thus insertional code-switching). The text is taken from the column *Leader's corner* which is characterised by being always written by a worker of a Christian congregation or organisation.

(8) Jos saamme identiteettimme suorittamisesta – mikä on osa menneisyyttäni – vaarana on, että palvelustyömme ylikorostuu. Näemme oman palvelustyömme kaikista tärkeimpänä asiana ja koko identiteettimme on siinä, mitä teemme. Aina kun pidämme itseämme korvaamattomana, ajan hallintamme on poskellaan. Raamatun perspektiivi arvojärjestykseen on selkeä ja tasapainottava: Minun "ministrini", joka usein tuo kiireen, ei ole tärkein, vaan ensin on oltava jumalasuhde, sitten toteutettava Jumalan antamaa arvojärjestystä kodissa, suhteessa toisiin ihmisiin sekä otettava vastuu oman elämäni henkisestä ja fyysisestä puolesta. Jumalan ohjeilla syntyy kristillinen yhteisö, joka leviää myös normaalin elämän kautta, ei vain kokoussarjoina. Siksi johtaja joutuu kysymään, onko minun elämäni esimerkki Jumalan antamasta tasapainosta ja arvojärjestyksestä vai organisoinko vain asioita ja ihmisiä. ---

Katsele ihmisiä, jotka ovat luoneet hedelmällisen pitkän ministrin, ota heitä olkapäästä ja kysy heidän kokemuksiaan. --- (D 4/04: 38, emphasis added.)

(If we receive our identity out of accomplishments – which is a part of my past – there is the danger of over-emphasising our mission of service. We see our own service as the most important thing and our whole identity is in what w edo. Every time we consider ourselves unreplaceble, we are not in control of our use of time. The Bible's perspective on the value hierarchy is clear and balancing: My "ministry", which so often brings with it rush, is not the most important thing, but first one needs to have a relationship with God, then one has to fulfill God's value hierarchy at home, in relation to other people, and be responsible for the mental and physical sides of my life. God's guidelines create a Christian community that expands through normal life, not just through conferences. That is why a leader must ask him-/herself if his/her own life exemplifies the balance and value hierarchy given by God, or whether s/he only organises matters and people. —

Take a look at people who have created a fruitful long ministry, grab them by the shoulder and ask them of their experiences. ---)

English is not used here in an extensive fashion, but only in conjunction with one word: ministry. It is used twice in the article, firstly in a genitive in *Minun* "ministrini" 'my ministry' and secondly in an object form in jotka ovat luoneet... ministrin 'who have created a ...ministry'. Interestingly, when the writer first uses the word, he attaches inverted commas to it (cf. example (7). This

suggests that using the word *ministri* is not a self-evident choice for the writer; or that he is at least not sure whether its use will be intelligible to the readers. In fact, it seems like the writer might have had the intention of using the word earlier, too, in the article, but has, for some reason, come to use *palvelustyö* 'service' instead (more specifically, in *oman palvelustyömme* 'our own service' – a better term than 'service' in the translation might indeed be 'ministry'). Later on in the article, when the word *ministri* is used for the second time, it is not marked or flagged in any way, so the writer might have felt that it is at that point acceptable to insert the kind of linguistic form that has been already introduced in a more gentle manner.

The theoretical complexity of drawing the line between a borrowing and a code-switch (see p. 9) has evidently not been left unobserved by the writer, as he finds it difficult to decide how to use the word *ministry* in a Finnish text, as explicated in the previous paragraph. It is not quite yet an established loan nor perhaps even recognised by the magazine community; yet, it is not a full nonce loan either, as it is modified orthographically into Finnish by changing the English ending –*y* into the Finnish –*i*, and inflected according to Finnish rules concerning genitive and object forms. Identitywise, the use of the word *ministri* indexes a change in the writer's footing, as he moves from being a Finnish pastor addressing the Finnish readers to indexing membership among "professional Christians" around the English-speaking world.

The eight examples presented in this chapter support Swann's (1996: 321) argument, according to which the social surpasses the linguistic, as speaker style is a "creative enterprise: speakers, to a large extent, are able to design their speech to take on particular identities." As this chapter has shown, the writers in the *Dynamite* magazine switch to English to take on transnational Christian identities. One might go as far as to conclude that Christianity is then constructed as a global religion that uses English as its working language.

6.1.2 Animating global voices through English

The previous chapter described the practice of animating Christian voices in English in *Dynamite*. This chapter, similarly, presents animation and thereby insertional code-switching, but here, the voices that are animated are not especially Christian by nature; instead, they are better described as global ones. This means that a "global voice" belongs to someone or something representative of the whole world. Animation of these voices thus also creates a sense of a universal locality. Unlike example (6) above, examples (9) to (12) show no one place that is actualised in the discourse through the use of English. Rather, switching to English, as presented in this chapter, creates a sense of place on a more abstract, universal level.

Example (9) comes from an interview with an African-born young Finnish woman (aged 17), who the journalist considers to be a "child of two cultures". In the example, the interviewee is asked to comment on the Finnish word *neekeri* ('nigger') for a black person:

(9) "Tummaihoisten mielestä hyvin ärsyttävä sana. Saattaa tuoda mieleen orjuuden, minkä muisteleminen ärsyttää tummaihoista, jolloin haukkujalla saattaa käydä huonosti. (hymyä) Joskus riippuu kuitenkin paljon siitä, kuka sanaa käyttää ja millä tavalla. Tummaihoisten kesken neekeri on vitsisana, vitsailemme sillä joskus keskenämme, "what's up my nigger". (D 6/05: 11, emphasis added.)

(The black think this is a very irritating word. Might remind them of slavery, and remembering that annoys the black, and the insulter might get treated badly. (smile) Sometimes it does, however, depend on who is using the word and how. The black use 'nigger' for jokes, we use it for joking, "what's up my nigger".)

In this sample, insertional switching takes place when the speaker changes her footing to speaking in the voice of her circle of friends (consisting of black people, as is evident from the way the interviewee refers to it as *tummaihoisten kesken... vitsailemme* 'the black' and 'we joke'). Various issues of identity are at stake here. First of them is ethnic identity. In the example, English is used for quoting an idiomatic phrase (an interrogative sentence) of Afro-American discourse ("what's up my nigger"); English is used for representing another

discourse in this new Finnish-language context. The present discourse thus combines the fact of being black in Finland while also belonging to the international black culture with a shared memory. Secondly, this example explicitly discusses the use of the "n-word" (which is generally perceived a politically incorrect one). Thirdly, the question of identity is relevant from the perspective of inclusion/exclusion: the girl makes it clear that the connotation of the word neekeri 'nigger' is directly dependent on who uses it and how, and so converts the word from a racist discourse to that connoting solidarity and in-group membership. This illustrates nicely what Swann (1996; p. 23 in this study) outlined in saying that "the use of a particular language... gives access to rights and obligations associated with that identity" - here, the use of English and the indexing of having a black identity gives the speaker the right to use the word 'nigger' in an acceptable manner. Finally, the meaning of these observations put together against the context of the magazine: inclusion of a black Finn in a Christian magazine can be seen to imply diversity among young Finnish Christians, and also their tolerance towards other ethnicities and ethnic looks.

In addition to a worldwide ethnic culture depicted above, another universal space that is touched upon in *Dynamite* with the help of switching from Finnish to English is the media, and more specifically, the Internet and the news media. The Internet is presented by example (10) which is taken from an article on controversial religious cults that cause negative changes in people, making them abandon their normal life as it was. It shows insertional code-switching in that the writer animates a possible cult member:

(10) Heidi lähetti viimeisen sähköpostinsa englanniksi Miralle. Hän kyseli kuulumisia ja vointia. Vastauksena tuli kysymys: "Who are you?". Kohta tämän jälkeen Miran mailiosoite lakkasi toimimasta. Viimeinen yhteydenpitokanava oli katkaistu. (D 4/05: 29, emphasis added.)

(Heidi sent her last e-mail message to Mira in English. She asked how she was doing. As an answer, she received the question "who are you". Soon afterwards Mira's e-mail address stopped working. The last communication channel was turned off.)

The whole article tells a story of a Finnish girl losing her friend to a cult abroad. One of the media of transnational contacts today, e-mail, is not helping to gain her back. In the sample, a switch from Finnish to English is made to insert a quotation from an e-mail message received from (presumably) abroad. The local meaning of code-switching here indexes a change in the footing of the writer: s/he moves from reporting on the events in Finnish to animating a cult member who used English in the response. Interestingly, the writer explicates that English was first used by the Finnish party; in a way, using English for quotation does not come as a total surprise as the fact that English was used in the e-mail interaction is already established. On the other hand, Finnish could have been used for the quotation for exactly the same reason; the readers were already told that the language of messaging was English. That the writer switches languages might then be due to the wish to emphasise the English clause "who are you"; the writer might have considered this kind of emphasis as evidence of the girl truly being lost abroad and of some unknown English-speaking person using her e-mail. The way English is used in this example implies an assumption of the readers knowing English to be able to follow the text.

The other media-related example showing insertional code-switching is concerned with the news media:

(11) Miten Paavali pärjäsi ilman Internetiä?

Kaupungeissa riittää haasteita – mutta myös mahdollisuuksia hyvän sanoman, evankeliumin, eteenpäin viemiseksi.

- Evakeliumin täytyy olla julkisesti esillä mahdollisimman selkeästi ja ymmärrettävällä tavalla. Media muokkaa kaupunkilaisten ajattelua, ja siksi kristillisen uskon täytyy näkyä ja kuulua mediassa luontevasti.
- Paavali osasi käyttää julkisia tilanteita hyväkseen, vaikka nykymedia ei ollutkaan vielä käytettävissä. Uskonpa, että Paavalilla olisi ollut *Areiopagi news* käytössään. Media luo päivän puheenaiheen. Onko evankeliumi mukana kisassa? Laine kysyy. (D 1/04: 21, emphasis added.)

(How did Paul manage without the Internet?

Cities are full of challenges – but also chances for spreading the good news, the gospel. – The gospel has to be presented in public in an as clear and understandable way as possible. The media shape the thinking of townspeople, and that's why Christian faith must be seen and heard in the media in a natural way.

- Paul knew how to take advantage of publicity, although the modern media were not yet available. I do believe that Paul had Areiopagi news at his disposal. Media creates the topic of the day's discussions. Is the gospel in the race? Laine asks.)

Example (11) is taken from an article included in the column *Dynamite Bible* where various workers of Christian congregations and organisations were interviewed on the challenges that modern, urban lifestyle poses at congregational activities and at the spreading of the gospel. English is used by the interviewee in the phrase Areiopagi news where he combines the bibliohistorical place name Areiopagi with the noun news to suggest that Paul, an apostle of Jesus, must have had a medium of that kind with the help of which he spread the gospel. (Note that 'the Internet' is an established loan word in Finnish and is therefore not discussed here.) The use of English is locally meaningful – and therefore a case of code-switching – for two reasons. Before explicating these reasons I will briefly return to the analytic framework of the study. As I have presented in chapter 5.2, code-switching is a locally significant practice, which in this study means that it indexes something of the situation. At the same time, among the bilingual practices that Androutsopoulos (2003: 5), the analytical model used, considers insertional code-switching is intertextual switching. I will, similarly, include intertextual switching in the category of insertional code-switching, intertextuality (see p. 20) is one way of animating other voices in a new context.

As to the insertional code-switching in example (11), the first local meaning has to do with the interviewee generating humour by referring to an imagined news medium that Paul supposedly used for spreading the gospel. English is central in terms of this: the Areiopagi paper or a television channel (even more absurd and therefore amusing an idea) was hardly called *Areiopagi news* during the first century A.D. The second local meaning, following from the first, is the implication of the expression *Areiopagi news* that today, however, the case could be different with the name of the medium: *Areiopagi news* can be seen as an intertextual reference to English-

language newspapers published in the world (e.g. *Jerusalem Post, Norway Post, Asia Times*) and news broadcasts in television (e.g. *BBC News, Euronews, Skynews*). By making this reference the interviewee establishes a connection between the age of St. Paul and ours; he creates the impression that things are not in fact that different now than they were in the early days. People have always used media for sharing news and information, and Paul, the writer suggests, made use of the Areiopagi news of his time (whatever it was called). The implication of this for the reader, growing as a Christian, is that publicity is good and one should utilise it even today for the Christian message. In fact, this is explicitly spelled out in the surrounding Finnish lines. Thus, English is used for strengthening the message that is delivered mainly through Finnish, aiming at constructing Christian identities with respect to the use of the media for spreading the gospel.

Adding to the spaces of an ethnic culture and the media, the third kind of global space that is depicted in the data through insertional code-switching is an urban one. The following example is an extract from a column, being the first of the total of three parts in it (parts contain one to three text paragraphs).

(12) Jeesuksen heimolaiset, vallatkaa cityviidakko!

Kaupunki – Oulu, Helsinki, Pariisi, Lontoo – on viidakko, jonka monimutkainen ekosysteemi on visuaalinen. Viidakon asukkaat elävät suunnistaen näköaistiensa varassa; metroasemien seinät, raitiovaunujenkyljet, televisio, *screenit* ja kyltit viestivät kaikki omaa sanomaansa. Suuriin, kymmenien salien kinopalatseihin jonotetaan katsomaan uutuusleffaa, jota mainostetaan talonkorkuisesti. Omien kolojen piiloissa yhteenkuuluvuutta koetaan television ääressä: 40 satelliittikanavaa takaa oman tiensä kulkijallekin valinnanvapauden ja pääsyn kaltaistensa maailmanlaajuiseen kerhoon.

Valtavirran lisäksi alakulttuurit ilmaisevat itsensä. Sen jäsenet tunnistavat heimonsa lajitoverit jostakin itsestään kehittyneestä lajityypillisestä merkistä. Lököhousut? Kirppariretro? *No logo? Cityjunglen* asukas osaa lukea näitä viestejä ja luovii viidakossa vaistonsa varassa. Kaikki tietävät, minkä aukion laidalta löytyy skeittareiden valtakunta. Asiaan vihkiytymätönkin oppii, että juuri tietyssä kahvilassa kokoontuvat intellektuellit, kun taas naapuripaikasta tapaa aidot rokkidiggarit. Näkeehän sen jo logosta. --- (D 1/04: 9, emphasis added.)

(Kinsfolk of Jesus, conquer the city jungle!

The city – Oulu, Helsinki, Paris, London – is a jungle with a complex visual ecosystem. The inhabitants of the jungle live navigating with the help of their sight; the walls of the underground stations, the sides of the trams, television, screens and signs all communicate their own message. There are long queues before the big, ten-hall cinemas to see the new film that is advertised in a mighty fashion. In the shadows of one's own compartment one can sense togetherness by television: 40 satellite channels guarantee even a loner the freedom of choice and access to the worldwide club of likeminded people.

In addition to the mainstream, subcultures express themselves. Their members recognise their kinsfolk by some species-specific feature that evolved by itself. Loose trousers? Secondhand retro? No logo? An inhabitant of the city jungle knows how to read these messages and goes about in the jungle trusting his/her instincts. Everyone knows by which square the skaters' kingdom is. Even an undedicated person will learn that the intellectuals gather in a certain cafeteria, whereas next door one will meet real rock fans. One can tell it by the logo already.)

To begin with, example (12) portrays a multilayered linguistic profile. The writing shows features of spoken youth language (e.g. *kirppariretro* 'a flea retro') that, especially in the Helsinki region in Finland, has in the course of time absorbed traits of English, Swedish, Russian and German, in addition to formal Finnish (Paunonen 1995: 22, 2000: 35). As a result of this development, words *leffa*, *skeittari*, and *rokkidiggari* appear in the text (although their use is not restricted to speakers of Helsinki slang anymore but are also used in spoken Finnish more generally). The two latter ones originate in English as 'a skater' and 'a rock fan', 'a person who digs ('likes') rock'; *leffa* 'a film', on the other hand, comes from the Swedish *levande bilder* 'living picture' (Häkkinen 2004: 585). The distinctive style of writing is reinforced by using figurative language (Fairclough 1992: 194-8), by drawing on various discourse types (see page 20; Fairclough 1992: 124- 30), and by switching codes.

The column of which example (12) is extracted from is constructed around the writer's view of the city as a jungle. This metaphor shows in word choices: a biological flavor is added through the words 'ecosystem', 'instinct', 'species' and 'evolution'. A feel of a metropolitan environment is created by referring to means of transport and vast cinema villages (an expression closer to the precise meaning of *kinopalatsi* which is not captured in 'cinema') only found in major cities. It is notable that these discourses (urban and biological)

are accompanied by Christian discourse, too: the heading directly addresses the reader and expects him/her to be a Christian as it addresses the readers by *Jeesuksen heimolaiset, vallatkaa cityviidakko* 'Kinsfolk of Jesus, conquer the city jungle'. Here, Christian discourse ('Jesus') is connected with a biological one, or one adhering to primitivism ('kinsfolk'). Moreover, the heading urges the readers to take action for conquering the city (*vallatkaa cityviidakko* 'conquer the city jungle'), although this should not be taken literally, as is evident from the neutral tone of the rest of the column. In any case, the choice of word *vallatkaa* 'conquer' in the heading brings on a hint of military discourse.

What comes to the use of English in example (12), it is noteworthy, firstly, that there are such mixed practices for expressing the Finnish 'kaupunkiviidakko'; both *cityviidakko* 'cityjungle', where an English word is combined with a Finnish one (a loanblend, see Myers-Scotton 2006: 219), and *cityjunglen* 'cityjungle's', an English compound with a Finnish genitive marker –n, are used. However, use of English in conjunction with 'city' and 'jungle' is limited to compounds only, as the Finnish equivalents are used for separate nouns *kaupunki* 'city' and *viidakko* 'jungle' (plus for its inflected forms). Secondly, the writer makes use of *screenit* 'screens', inflecting the English word according to the Finnish grammar plural rule (adding the letter *i*) but maintaining the consonant cluster *scr*- at the beginning of the word (it is notable since not only are consonant clusters rare in Finnish, so is the mere consonant *c*, too, see Battarbee 2002: 8-9). Thirdly, *no logo* appears as such in the text in an interrogative form (*No logo*?).

All the three cases (*cityjunglen*, *screenit* and *no logo*) represent cases of insertional code-switching for reasons that follow. According to Androutsopoulos (2003: 5), intertextual code-switching involves the use of English for quotations and *allusions* (see p. 30). With regard to example (12) here, the local significance of (some of the) code-switching has similarly to do with allusions. The use of English for 'screens', firstly, is meaningful as it

evokes the picture of an urban environment as screens (of the size of large buildings) are, similarly to the certain means of transport and certain kinds of cinemas, characteristic of a true metropolis (such as London, New York or Tokyo). Likewise, 'city' in *cityjunglen* serves the same purpose; the connotation is different than using 'town', for instance, would bring about. The words *screenit* and *cityjunglen* can therefore be considered allusions that make indirect references to the urban environment.

The case of *no logo* is partly different from the allusions described above, as it is a case of direct intertextual code-switching (in that directness resembling example (11). In example (12), the writer's use of *no logo* is an intertextual reference, animating the "text" *No logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies* by Klein (1999), which was the book that popularised the ideas that are first and foremost anti-consumerist (and, by implication, anti-capitalist).

The expression *no logo* enriches the discourse of the example (12) (which has so far been demonstrated to consist of urban, biological, Christian, and even military discourses) by opening it up for ideological discourse. That is to say, "no logo" bears with it a whole set of ideas and values. This interdiscursive (see p. 20) practice by the writer of the *Dynamite* column is important from the perspective of identities. On the one hand, the discourse in the column can be seen as representing city dwellers as members of, for instance, the No Logo Movement, and interdiscursivity is exactly the reason for using English (the English voice is animated as it is). On the other hand, the writer can be seen to address the audience, and that would imply that she considers the matter of concern relevant for the readers to know. The writer thus expects that young Christian Finns are as socially and politically aware as needed to follow the text, or at least tries to posit them accordingly (see p. 20). Although both angles prevail as socially meaningful, the latter is of more significance as far as the construction of Christian youth identities is concerned.

The four cases depicted in this chapter have shown that, in *Dynamite* magazine, insertional code-switching is sometimes a question of animating global voices and thereby of creating a sense of a place. That these places are universal (cultural, electronic and urban) ones points to transnationalism within Christian youth identities; young Finnish Christians are represented as members of a worldwide community.

6.1.3 Animating youth culture discourse through English

This section presents five examples of insertional code-switching through the animation of secular youth culture discourse. 'Secular youth culture discourse' is a broad description of the language use associated with young people around the (Western) world, and therefore the examples represent various different angles to this discourse.

Example (13) shows insertional code-switching through the animation of a formulaic English expression:

(13) Nyt on siis uuden vuoden lupausten aika! Lukemasi *Back to school* – numeron hengessä hyviä lupausideoita voisivat olla esimerkiksi "Kerron tänä syksynä jollekin kaverille olevani uskossa" tai "kokoan vihdoin rukouspiirin kouluumme"... (D 3/05: 3, emphasis added.)

(So it's now time for New Year's resolutions! In the spirit of the Back to school – issue that you're reading, good ideas for promises could be, for example, "This autumn, I'll tell a friend I'm a believer" or "I'll finally start a prayer group in school"...)

Here, the English prepositional phrase *Back to school* draws on the discourse of youth magazine covers: in many countries, special magazine issues focus on the excitement of returning to school in the autumn, and it is the English (British and American) ones that have originally made use of the cover text or theme *Back to school*, which is now used here in an editorial. The writer is thus drawing on the linguistic practices of secular, Western youth media, and labels the issue of *Dynamite* at hand as a back-to-school –issue. While doing this, he also suggests that Christian readers can prepare themselves for

starting school again; they could, in his opinion, make a promise for the upcoming school year, and that promise could involve a Christian act (such as telling about one's faith or gathering with others for prayer). While 'back to school' represents a journalistic style where the phrase is an established expression (and could therefore be seen as a case of language mixing for creating the overall journalistic style), the use of the English phrase is clearly locally meaningful as it is used for coordinating Christian youth with other youths (around the Western world) returning to school, but at the same time contrasting them with each other by suggesting that Christian youth should be explicitly Christian in school, too, which, by implication, other youths are not.

Example (14) below also shows insertional code-switching as the writer uses English for animating another discourse in this new context.

(14) Uskova nuori on *extreme*-ääriainesta ja äärimmäisen (=*extreme*) ilmoituksen kantaja. Uskovan *extreme-teko* on uskoa Raamattuun niin kuin kirjoitettu on. Näin tekivät Jeesus, Paavali, Pietari ja kaikki pyhät aina näihin päiviin saakka. Nykyajan suvaitsevaisuuden nimissä useat ihmiset ovat kadottaneet arviointikykynsä ja alkaneet hyväksyä useita hyvin vahingollisia ajatusmalleja ja oppeja. Oikea pyritään vääntämään vääräksi ja väärä oikeaksi. Nyt jos koskaan tarvitaan nuoria, jotka seisovat Jumalan sanan pohjalla ja ovat myös aktiivisia laajentamaan Jumalan valtakuntaa. Dynis-väelle olen kiitollinen, että olette potkaisemassa meitä liikkeelle. P.S. Se ero meillä uskovilla ja *extreme-urheilijoilla* on, että me uskovat emme voi enää riskeerata elämäämme, koska olemme jo osallisia iankaikkisesta elämästä. Ei muuta kuin menoksi! (D 2-3/03: 57, emphasis added.)

(A young person who believes is of an extremist element and carries an extreme revelation. The extreme act of a believer is to believe in the Bible as it is written. That is what Jesus, Paul, Peter and all the saints did through these days. In the name of today's tolerance many people have lost their ability of judgement and started to accept many very detrimental philosophies and theories. The right is tried to be reversed into wrong, and wrong into right. Now more than ever young people are needed who rely on the word of God and are also active in expanding the kingdom of God. Dynamite-people, I'm grateful to you that you are pushing us to take action. P.S. The difference between us believers and extreme sportspeople is that we believers no longer can risk our lives because we have already accessed eternal life. Now, just go!)

This example is a sponsor salutation for the young readers in *Dynamite*. The use of English is concerned with one word, *extreme*, which appears unmodified in the phrase *extreme-ääriainesta* 'of an extremist element'; in translating an adjective in *äärimmäisen* (=extreme) 'extreme (=extreme)'; and in

the phrases *extreme-teko* 'extreme act' and *extreme-urheilijoilla* 'extreme sportspeople'. I have earlier pointed out (Polvi 2004: 15) that among the English adjectives used in *Dynamite* are words that express excellence and magnitude (such as *extreme, cool* and *supercool*). I have also discussed the possibility of the word 'extreme' now belonging to the Finnish vocabulary as a loan, at least in *Dynamite*, and possibly even in other contexts (ibid.: 26). A Finnish dictionary of foreign words (*Gummeruksen suuri sivistyssanakirja* 2001) lists the word as *ekstreemi*, a form which is modified into Finnish by changing the letter *-x-* to *-ks-*, by lengthening the middle vocal *-e* and by adding the final *-i*. However, a local congregational bulletin editorial (Heiskanen 2006) recently used the form *ekstreme* which is one step closer to English than *ekstreemi* because only *-x-* is replaced by *-ks-*. This supports the idea of the word 'extreme' finding its way into Finns' usage.

However, based on example (14), the word *extreme* is not quite established into Finnish yet. This shows in how the writer translates the word when using it for the first two times: *extreme-ääriainesta* 'of an extremist element' and *äärimmäisen* (=extreme) (in both, thus doubling the meaning of 'extreme', as the Finnish prefix *ääri*- corresponds to the English *extreme*). In conclusion, while calling the word 'extreme' a nonce loan would be an imperfect observation, it might be too radical to argue that it has become an established loan in Finnish or even in the context of *Dynamite*. Variation of this kind in the form and orthography of a foreign word is most likely a general tendency in the process of a language adopting loan words. Thus, 'extreme' seems to be in the midst of this process, heading for establishment.

As to the dimension switching – mixing, it first seems straightforward to name the use of *extreme* a case of insertional language mixing because mixing includes loans of all sorts (Androutsopoulos 2003). However, when one looks at the discourse of example (14) more closely, it becomes clear that the use of *extreme* is locally significant, which makes it a case of code-switching rather than mixing. The local significance evolves through the animation of a word –

extreme – that originates in sports discourse. The writer thus recontextualises a word from secular youth discourse to represent Christian issues; here, those issues that are highly relevant from the point of view of identities have to do with how a young Christian should live his/her life in today's world where, the writer argues, Christian ideology is not the prevailing one. The point the writer makes is that what is truly "extreme", compared with extreme sports, is to believe in *the Bible* as the word of God, acknowledge what it says about right and wrong, and tell that to others, too.

In example (15) that follows, the word 'extreme' recurs, this time with another English adjective typical of *Dynamite* (see p. 56) and of youth language more generally.

(15) tasapaino sisäiseen maailmaasi

Extreme on cool – nyt etsitään rajoja. Yritetään mennä pidemmälle, syvemmälle tai nopeammin kuin kukaan muu. Miten tällaiseen aikaan sopii ajatus tasapainosta? Sopiiko se? (D 4/03: 23, emphasis added.)

(Balance to your inner world

Extreme is cool – the thing is reaching the limits. You try to go further, deeper or faster than anyone else. How does the idea of balance fit this day?)

The example above is the beginning of an article in *Dynamite*; the first line is the heading of the article, and the rest of the text constitutes the lead (or intro, see Bell 1998: 67) paragraph. In contrast to example (14), here neither one of the adjectives *extreme* and *cool* is translated, but the essence of 'extreme' is explicated in Finnish. In the lead, the writer first depicts the today's spirit and after that poses a question that suggests balance is desirable, and therefore also questions the trends set on the preceding lines. This is also presented as the desirable outlook for the readers; young Finnish Christians are invited to question the worldly development and reach for a balanced life. The secular and the Christian are thus contrasted, and English is used as a means in suggesting this, as it used for the words connoting the worldly. That implies a hint of irony not towards English as such but towards modern secular lifestyle.

A similar tendency to the insertional code-switching illustrated in example (15) is evident in Appendix (1), too, which is an extract from an article in Dynamite Bible. (What it is exactly that produces switching here will be explicated below.) The writer of the article questions the necessity of "extreming" and embraces, instead, normal, balanced daily life. Here, English is used in a slightly more extensive fashion than in (15): 'extreme' is used in an unmodified form in the compounds extreme-usko 'extreme faith' and extreme-elämää 'extreme life', and as a noun in extremeily 'extreming', where the English word is given the Finnish morphological ending -ily. Moreover, the English word 'cool' is modified phonologically into Finnish as "cooli" and inflected according to Finnish morphology in cooliin 'in a cool (happening)'; the word 'hype' is inflected according to Finnish morphological rules in hypellä 'with hype'. In Appendix (1), the writer focuses not only on 'extreme' as such, but on 'extreming' within Christian spheres more specifically. A focus of this kind, together with the use of English words, makes the article relevant for this study; the example directly addresses questions of Christian youth identities, and, while doing it, uses English.

The use of the English words in this example represents insertional codeswitching, where the local significance of the switches results from the animation of secular youth culture discourse (cf. example (15) to which the words *extreme*, *cool* and *hype* belong. The analysis below will show that the animation of these words carries with it a negative connotation, so that the words are made to refer to phenomena the writer considers undesirable in a Christian's life.

The writer of Appendix (1) claims that the phenomenon of extreming has entered Christian thinking, too, in the form of *radikaali kristillisyys* 'radical Christianity', and that *extreme-usko* 'extreme faith' has become to stand for mere participation in youth events. The writer then sets out to object to these artificial views and stresses that true faith, more than anything, shows in

everyday life. What is desirable, then, is to find oneself a normal life where different aspects ("family, work, free time and congregational life") are in balance. Furthermore, the writer attacks the idea of "shining" a Christian's life with "Christian hype" (hohdotetaan... kristillisellä hypellä) which is characterised by the following kind of thinking:

(16) Tietenkään en hae kunniaa itselleni: Jumala vain jostain syystä valitsi minut olemaan tämän ajan messias, joka pelastaa maailman ihmeellisellä totuudellaan. Voi kuinka olenkaan nöyrä tämän suuren tehtäväni kanssa. (D 4/ 03: 21.)

(Of course I'm not after glory for myself: for some reason, God just picked me to be the messiah of this age who saves the world with an amazing truth. Oh how humble I am with this great mission.)

According to the writer, hype – excitement, build-up – and related thinking is unnecessary to a Christian. Moreover, the writer mocks believers who appear as "professionals" and lack any other aspects of identity (!) or who try to hide the human in them:

(17) On niin helppo sairastua ammattiuskovaisuuteen. Koko identiteettini on siinä, että olen uskova. Osaan olla "oma itseni" vain uskovien keskellä. Osaan puhua vain uskovien kanssa tai hengellisistä asioista. Muiden ihmisten parissa koen olevani hukassa ja uhattu. (D 4/03: 22.)

(It's so easy to become a professional believer. My whole identity is about being a believer. I can be "myself" only among believers. I can only chat with believers or about spiritual matters. Among other people I feel lost and threatened.)

By implication, young Christians are invited to be "more than believers" and real in the sense that they could *de facto* encounter other people, including non-believers. In other words, although Christian aspirations are desirable, they should not be the reason for rejecting humanity, as *Siloteltu "cooli" kristillisyys on liian muovinmakuista myydäkseen* 'Smooth, "cool" Christianity is too plastic to sell' (D 4/03: 22).

So far, the article (Appendix 1) has focused on undesirable Christianity. This does not, however, mean that the writer is rejecting Christianity; the aim is only to guide the readers in their spiritual growth. The more promising outlook of a Christian life that the writer portrays anchors Christians to an

obedient relationship with God. As to extreme life, the writer relies on a biblical model, and after citing *the Bible* she argues:

(18) Vaikka Paavali itse toisaalta eli aika *extreme-elämää*, hän ei jätä ohjeissaan uskoville juuri tilaa turhalle *extremeilylle*, vaan käskee hankkia ammatin ja elättää sillä itsensä, niin kuin tekevät muutkin ihmiset. (D 4/03: 22, emphasis added.)

(Even though Paul in some respects lead quite an extreme life, in his advice for believers he doesn't leave much room for futile extreming, but tells them to find a profession and make a living out of it, just like other people do.)

Here, the writer turns explicit and clear: extreming is not for Christians, but making a proper living is.

In sum, Appendix (1) shows exact construction of Christian identity, and although English is not in a major role, it does play a part, as insertional codeswitching takes place when reference is made to the non-Christian by the animation of secular discourse.

The last example of this section involves insertional code-switching much in the same way as the previous examples of this section: through the animation of secular youth culture discourse. Appendix (2) on "the world's biggest fan club" appeared originally in the column *Dynamite Profile*, being a one-page question – answer session where the writer both asks and answers the questions. Here the writer makes figurative use of fan discourse, using a metaphor of faith where Christians are seen to belong to the fan club of God.

The writer's suggestion of Christians as fans of God is not explicitly spelt out in the text. Instead, the writer uses more generic expressions such as 'basic manual', 'membership', 'members' benefits', 'fan post' and 'fan products'. The expression that the writer varies more than the others is the noun phrase fan club, as the writer plays around with the words, modifying them from fan club, club, Club, klubi, to even fänklap. Of these alternatives, the latter two are most modified according to the Finnish orthography and phonology, and additionally, the writer also uses the established Finnish kerho 'club'. These irregular forms make one question the motives for choosing them: does the

writer not know how to spell the word in a Finnish text context? Or does he want to vary the orthography not to make the text dull (due to repetition of the word)? Is he mocking Finns' ways of using English? Or is he mocking the fan institution? These explanations exclude insertional language mixing as a type of language variation as they present discourse-internal reasons for linguistic choices (such local meanings produce insertional code-switching instead). I find all four questions could be answered 'yes'. The most interesting of them is the last one, the idea of the writer showing disrespect towards a crucial component of the Western youth culture: fandom.

What is notable in the article is the (nearly total) absence of the word fan as referring to a person who is a member of a group that idolises a star, although the phenomenon is discussed widely in the article as a whole. Fans, or in fact Christians, are referred to by using words like *jäsen* 'member' (of the fan club) and as *klubilainen* 'a club member'. This can be seen to support the idea of the writer opposing to what people normally associate with fan culture. Not directly calling Christians fans implies thus that the writer does not want to coordinate Christians and fans - or more profoundly, God and secular stars. This is also shown by the use of the word fan once in the lead, and that is in conjunction with secular idols (Eminem, Elvis and David Beckham) precisely. The implication for Christian youth identity is clear: Christian young people should devote themselves to God instead of some worldly idols. The message is reinforced by comparing "the world's biggest fan club" with other clubs, showing how superior the first one is with all its benefits and strengths. Having asserted that, it also is evident that the writer considers Christian youth not that different from other young people: they are expected to be able to follow the writer's argument, which presumes knowledge of contemporary youth culture in the world.

A further identity dimension is achieved by the use of the noun *survival* in a compound in *Varsinaiseen fanin survival-pakkaukseen kuuluu* 'The actual survival kit of a fan includes' where a Finnish equivalent

'selviytymispakkaus' would have been possible. Using either one introduces yet another discourse present in the article, one that suggests that surviving is not self-evident and that one should be prepared for difficulties. In this context it suggests that young Christians demand some support to get along in the world where being a Christian is not always regarded good.

There is an additional point to make about an established loan in Finnish with its origins in English, and especially about its significance in terms of identity. In Appendix (2), the word (perus-) manuaali '(basic manual') is used as a reference to the Bible. (The established Finnish form of 'manual' is 'käsikirja' or 'ohjekirja'.) The use of the more English-like word shows how, on the surface level, the word is adjusted into Finnish by adding a final -i (in the vein of screenit in example (12) plus by lengthening the vocal -a-. The picture of English as a word "donor" language (see p. 10) here evokes the association of English as a world language; this again creates the impression that the world knows this certain "manual" in question. Its users form a global community, to which the writer then suggests even the readers to belong. This is also explicated by mentioning specific foreign countries and areas (Sudan, North-Korea, China, Africa and South-America).

The emerging picture of a Christian identity in Appendix (2) is thus multi-layered. For one, spirituality: Christianity is implicitly present through the article in the figurative use of language, and once even explicated in saying that entering the club involves a total change in the spiritual status of the member. Second, youth: young Christians are positioned similarly to other young people who have their idols to admire and honour. Third, struggle: existence of Christians is not an axiom but difficulties prevail. Finally, transnationalism: there are Christians all over the world.

In this chapter, I have shown through five data extracts how the use of English in *Dynamite* is an animation of secular youth culture discourse. These cases can be seen as creating a contrast between the worldly and the

Christian. This happens when English is used in reference to the non-Christian, but also when English words normally associated with the secular are newly contextualised to denote the Christian. The examples also include aspects of transnationalism (cf. 6.1.2) and of youth identities more generally.

6.1.4 Organising discourse through English

Two of the sites often reserved for English utterances in *Dynamite* are headings and text endings (Polvi 2004: 17-20, 23-4). 'Heading' in this context is taken to include subheadings and names of columns (see 5.1), as well. Moreover, one should remember that the name of the magazine itself is in English. In fact, the *Dynamite* brand was first established in conjunction with a youth camp *Dynamiittileiri* ('Dynamite camp'), but the editorial staff decided to apply the English form for the magazine (Turunen, personal communication 13.1.2004). In the present data, additionally, text openings were established as sites for switching to English.

Headings and text openings and endings organise discourse; they are points of orientating and preparing oneself to what follows. In a similar fashion, they also draw the readers' attention (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993b: 237) and that is the local meaning within them that makes them instances of insertional code-switching.

The following alphabetical list gives an overview of the English names designated for columns in the data. All instances of emphasis are original.

- o AKTIO X-TRA (D 1/03; 1/04), aktioextra (D 1/05)
- o BUUKS (D 1, 2-3, 4, 5/03; 1, 2-3, 4, 5/04; 1, 2/05)
- o dynamite bible (D 1, 2-3/03; 1/04), d_bible (D 4, 5/03; 2-3/04), d.bible (D 4, 5/04; 1, 2/05)
- o D_CAMP (D 1/04)
- o d_fashion (D 2-3/03)
- o d_festival (D 5/03)

- o d_miracle (D 2-3/04)
- o dynamite mission (D 1, 2-3/03; 1/04), d_mission (D 4, 5/03; 2-3/04), d.mission (D 4, 5/04; 1, 2/05)
- dynamite music file (D 1/03), d_music file (D 2-3, 4, 5/03; 1, 2-3/04), d.MUSIC FILE (D 4, 5/04; 1, 2/05)
- o dynamite profile (D 1, 2-3/03; 1/04), d_profile (D 4, 5/03; 2-3/04), d.profile (D 4, 5/04; 1, 2/05)
- o d_relationships (D 2-3/03)
- o dynamite survey (D 1, 2-3, 5/03; 1/04), d_survey (D 2-3/04), d.survey (D 4/04; 2/05)
- o D_TIIMI (D 5/03)
- o GEIMS (D 1, 5/04), d_geims (D 2-3/04)
- o KALLUPPI (D 5/03)
- o leader's corner (D 1, 2-3, 4, 5/03; 1, 2-3, 4, 5/04; 1, 2/05)
- o NEWS (D 4, 5/04; 1, 2/05)
- o SIIDIIS (D 1, 2-3, 4, 5/03; 1, 2-3, 4, 5/04; 1, 2/05)

The English list above outlines the general contents of the magazine. What is interesting is that most column names are generally English. That is to say, the Finnish column names used in *Dynamite* are restricted to

- o sisus, sisällä (contents) (D 1, 2-3, 5/03; 1, 2-3, 4/04)
- o pää(oma)kirjoitus, pääkirjoitus (editorial) (D 1, 2-3, 4, 5/03; 1, 2-3, 4, 5/04; 1, 2/05)
- o kolumni (column) (D 1, 2-3, 4, 5/03; 1, 2-3, 4, 5/04; 1, 2/05)
- o menot&keikat, menot, keikat, menovinkit (where to go) (D 1, 2-3, 4, 5/03; 1, 2-3, 4 5/04; 1, 2/05)
- o pakina (causerie) (D 2-3, 4, 5/04; 1, 2/05)
- o vinkit (tips) (D 1, 4, 5/03)

Of these six, the first four ones appear regularly in the data and the latter two on a more random basis. When one compares the distribution of English and Finnish column names, it can be seen that English is a more popular and established choice in terms of the number of different columns. More interestingly (and more relevantly for the study), the qualitative nature of the Finnish vis-à-vis English columns is different: whereas the columns that are assigned a Finnish name mostly concern practical issues (information, for example), the English ones constitute the proper contents of the magazine. In

this sense, it is justified to argue that English plays a crucial role in the construction of Christian youth identities in *Dynamite*.

The language of the column names is a point where language policies are visible in *Dynamite*. When the change of staff took place from issue 3/2005 onwards (see p. 26), the columns that were maintained (or added) included the following:

- o Pääkirjoitus (editorial) (D 3, 4, 5, 6/05)
- o Terveys&sportti (health and sports) (D 3, 4, 5, 6/05)
- o Levyt ja elokuvat (albums and films) (D 3/05)
- o Levyt ja kirjat (albums and books) (D 4, 5, 6/05)
- o Uutiset (news) (D 3, 4, 5, 6/05)
- o Menot (where to go) (D 3, 4, 5, 6/05)
- o Lukijoilta (letters-to-the-editor) (D 4, 5/05)
- o Kysy Päiviltä (ask Päivi) (D 3, 4, 5/05)
- O Avataan Raamattu (opening the Bible) (D 3, 4, 5, 6/05)
- o Sarjakuva (cartoon) (D 3, 4, 5, 6/05)
- o Jälkipääkirjoitus (posteditorial) (D 3, 4, 5, 6/05)

It is clear that the latter editors have excluded English from the context that was earlier packed with it, as in these more recent issues of *Dynamite* English appears in only one column name (in (*Terveys&*)sportti '(health and) sports', where the English sports is modified by leaving the final –s out and replacing it by the ending -ti). However, as this column name language policy is only prevalent in four issues in the data (in contrast to the ten edited by the former staff), it is justified to generalise the overall findings based on the majority in the data.

Of course, it is clear that Finnish was not unknown in the context of column names earlier, either, but occasionally had an impact on the forms produced (I will call these 'hybrid' forms as they show features of both Finnish and English, see p. 11). The most striking example of this is *kalluppi* 'gallup' (see p. 64), where the English word is assimilated into Finnish by changing the initial

voiced consonant g for the voiceless k, by lengthening the final consonant p, and adding a final -i. This modification does not, however, produce a formal Finnish expression (which would have been a work-saving choice as the Finnish form is, in fact, 'gallup') but one that resembles some spoken form of the word, thereby possibly parodying Finns' ways of using words of foreign origin.

Another hybrid column name is the compound *aktioextra* 'action extra' where the first part is more Finnish-like than the latter in terms of orthography (as *x* is more rare in Finnish than the combination *ks*). However, 'extra' is in wider use in Finnish than 'aktio': although listed as 'ekstra' in the Finnish dictionary of foreign words (*Gummeruksen suuri sivistyssanakirja* 2001), it is also widely known as 'extra', in advertising, for example. *Aktio* 'action', on the other hand, although listed in the dictionary of foreign words (ibid.), meaning action, influence, or legal process against an employee or company, is not acknowledged in everyday Finnish. In Christian discourse, however, it has become a standard way of referring to short-time volunteer operation for spreading the gospel (in contrast to long-term missionary work).

Above I have shown how *Dynamite* columns are given titles that, linguistically, are on a continuum between English and Finnish, ranging from fully English to fully Finnish. In between there are hybrid column names *buuks* 'books', *geims* 'games', and *siidiis* 'CD's'. These forms show a typically Finnish feature observed by Battarbee (2002: 10) as he points out that "Finnish is spelt highly phonetically" and that the assimilation of English words into Finnish is therefore influenced by pronunciation and/or by "a Finnish reading of the spelling". In the case of *buuks*, *geims*, and *siidiis*, too, the Finnish principle of spelling according to phonetics is visible: pronunciation of 'books', 'games' and 'CD's' has affected the orthography of the words created by the *Dynamite* editors. (Finnish reading of the spelling, on the other hand, would have produced *books*, *games* and *seedees/cd:s*, or, if the writers were uneducated on the English grammar rules concerning noun plurals – which

they obviously are not, *booksit*, *gamesit*, and *seedeesit*, assigning the English words the Finnish plural marker -t and adding an -i in between.) It is thus a fact that young Finns' know English; moreover, they are able to use it creatively as they like – the fact that the English 'game' is found as a slang form *geimi* in the dictionary of spoken Finnish (Jarva and Nurmi 2006) has not prevented *Dynamite* staff from coming up with another kind of spelling for the word. In any case, the case seems to be that *geimi* is among the words that are on their way to establishment in Finnish.

Common to the columns *buuks*, *geims*, and *siidiis* is that they all contain reviews on books, games and CD's respectively. Simultaneously, they all refer to the free time interests of young people more generally than just Christian ones (although the specific products reviewed perhaps do not).

Based on the analysis of column names, one can conclude that a trend of *Dynamite* is switching to English to organise discourse; English column labels not only characterise the contents of the articles that follow (which is normally the function of column labels) but also carry with them social significance. As shown above, the use and modification of English by editors of the magazine indicates knowledge of English, for one, but also a wish and a skill to play with it to create humour and to represent bilingual Christian identities.

The column names are section titles located at the top of the page. They are not always the sole headings, however, but can be accompanied by actual article headings. This is the case especially with columns starting with *dynamite* (such as *dynamite bible*) or its abbreviations d_{-} and d_{-} , but also with *leader's corner* and *news*. Article headings, too, sometimes involve switching to English. Some instances of resorting to English in article headings have already been reported in examples (6) and (12) and in Appendices (0) and (0).

Article headings sometimes have English proper nouns, as in the following examples (all instances of emphasis are original).

- (19) KRISTILLINEN DEITTIPALVELU 777LOVE.COM (D 2/05: 23) ('Christian date service 777love.com')
- (20) The Rain Lempeää rankkasadetta (D 5/05: 20) ('The Rain tender pouring rain')
- (21) deep insight rokkaa rehellisesti ja ryhdikkäästi (D 5/03: 6) ('Deep insight rocks faithfully and vigorously')
- (22) PETRI KOSONEN & UNDIVIDED HEARTS TALLENSI TUNNELMAA (D 5/04: 10) ('Petri Kosonen & Undivided hearts recorded the atmosphere')
- (23) KING'S KIDSIT TEKEVÄT JUMALAA TUNNETUKSI (D 2/05: 29) ('King's kids are making God known')
- (24) LOGOS HOPE TUO TOIVON HUKKUVILLE (D 2/05: 34) ('Logos Hope brings hope to the perishing')
- (25) Talents-kilpailu! (D 4/04: 19) ('Talents competition!')
- (26) All for Jesus! (D 2-3/04: 64)

As found out in my earlier study (Polvi 2004: 17-8), here, too, English proper nouns of Finnish subjects (people, groups, events) are complemented by a phrase in Finnish. In (19) and (20), the Finnish complementation is an explanation of what the subject in question is (the former being the name of a Finnish Christian electronic date service, and the latter a Finnish gospel band), whereas in (21) through (24) it is more about what the subject in question does, and that involves in (21) "rocking", in (22), recording, in (23), telling about God, and in (24), creating hope. Finally, in (25) and (26) the English proper nouns are names of Christian youth events organised in Finland. Example (26) is the only case where no complementary phrase is used and the English proper noun stands alone; moreover, it uses more English (a phrase of three words) than any other example listed because of the name given to the event.

As to the type of language variation involved in the above examples, it is the case that the use of English by the *Dynamite* journalists is compulsory,

because the journalists have not got the choice of *not* using English when referring to subjects who happen to have English names. For this reason, examining the use of English for proper nouns, as is not a case or real codeswitching, was left out from the analysis in the first place; however, the journalists *do* make choices as to whether include the (English) proper nouns in the headings or not. As stated at the beginning of this chapter (see p. 63), headings have discourse organising functions, and that also means that language variation within them is locally motivated, making it a case of insertional code-switching. In examples (19) to (26), the use of English pronouns in the headings organises discourse and draws the readers' attention in two ways: through being a (part of a) heading, and through switching to English.

The use of English for Finnish subjects (bands, groups, events) might be seen as reflecting the prominent position that English has gained in Finland; it appears that English names are also popular among secular subjects, such as bands, coffee shops and barbershops, and even among individual people. If language is a means through which identity is constructed, so are names, too, essential in terms of indexing identity. Therefore, the adoption of English names for Christian bands, events, and likewise can be interpreted as a wish to identify with the English-speaking world, and to be part of the international community.

Dynamite headings also have other types of switches into English besides proper nouns. The following two examples show how only English is used (instead of both Finnish and English) in the headings:

- (27) info & history (D 4/03: 6)
- (28) I AM DREAMING (D 1/05: 13)

Example (27) was published as a part of an interview with a Finnish gospel band in *Dynamite Music File*. The heading *info & history*, consisting of two nouns, was assigned to a text giving information of the band, a text that was

separated from the actual interview and placed aside at the bottom of the page. The clause *I AM DREAMING* of example (28) appeared as a heading for a column-like short text, relating to a gallup in the previous pages on the respondents' dreams, was the only instance of English in the article. Both headings have local meaning in the discourse contexts as they "guide the reader's eye", that is, they help the reader in organising discourse. In addition to these completely English headings, hybrid forms that combine Finnish and English occur in the data:

- (29) Extreme-vaihtoehtoja (D 1/04: 25, emphasis added) ('Extreme options')
- (30) Evankeliointi antaa uuden *draivin* elämään (D 4/03: 29, emphasis added) ('Evangelising gives a new drive to life')

The use of the word *extreme* in *Dynamite* in general was discussed earlier (p. 55) with regard to example (14), and the suggestion was made that the word is on its way to become established in Finnish, at least in the context of the magazine. Example (29) supports this idea. Here, *extreme* is combined with *vaihtoehtoja* 'options' in a subheading that is followed by a list in an article in the column *Dynamite Bible*.

Similarly to example (29), example (30), too, shows how an English word is adopted into a Finn's language use. It was used as a subheading in an informative article with no named journalist; instead, two persons (and the congregations they represented) were mentioned at the end of the article as sources of additional information. In the heading, the word *draivi* 'drive' is modified according to the way it is pronounced (cf. p. 66) and a final *-i* is added to it. In fact, *draivi* is included in the Helsinki slang dictionary (Paunonen 2000), so it is already established in Finnish, although in a limited speech community. One must remember, however, that dictionaries often lack behind people's language use, and that, in today's Finland, linguistic trends spread rapidly from Helsinki to other areas, too, so it is justified to expect an increase of the use of the word among (young) people elsewhere in Finland, as well.

The English utterances in the above examples clearly point to the wish to address the Christian readers of the *Dynamite* magazine as bilingual. Moreover, in (30) while the writer is making the point that telling about Jesus is a positive thing, s/he has chosen the word *draivi* 'drive, action' – *Evankeliointi antaa uuden draivin elämään* 'Evangelising gives a new drive to life' – to represent the advantages of spreading the gospel for the person who practises it.

In addition to completely English headings and hybrid forms in the headings, there are cases in the data where Finnish and English are clearly separated form each other. The following example shows how English is used in a subheading for making an intertextual reference (see example (11) for comparison):

(31) USKO - CONNECTING PEOPLE (D 5/04: 30, emphasis added.) ('Faith - connecting people')

The subheading begins a section of an interview included in the section *Dynamite Profile*, focusing on how Christian faith can unite people. The unmodified English sequence *Connecting people* is an intertextual reference to a *Nokia* mobile phone advertisement slogan; in other words, it is a case of insertional code-switching (which it is also because it appears in a heading with the local meaning of organising discourse). Codes are switched in the midst of the utterance, separating the subject *usko* 'faith' from the construction verb plus object *connecting people*. The writer is thus coordinating immaterial (faith) and material (mobile phone) discourses, showing that the invisible can also create link between people in addition to the material.

Appendix (2) was concerned with depicting Christians as fans of God. This idea is elaborated further in the same issue of the magazine with articles titled as follows (emphasis original):

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(32) JESUS FAN CLUB 1: TAPAUS TANNER, anu tanner (D 2-3/03: 27) ('Jesus fan club 1: case Tanner, Anu Tanner')

JESUS FAN CLUB 2: päälliköt (D 2-3/03: 28) ('Jesus fan club 2: foremen')

JESUS FAN CLUB 3: kaksi ihmettä (D 2-3/03: 30) (' Jesus fan club 3: two miracles')

JESUS FAN CLUB 4: jääkiekkoilija (D 2-3/03: 31) ('Jesus fan club 4: ice hockey player')

JESUS FAN CLUB 5: come BACK (D 2-3/03: 31)

JESUS FAN CLUB 6: Jeesus minulle (D 2-3/03: 32) ('Jesus fan club 6: Jesus for me')

Jesus fan clubilaisen perusmanuaali (D 2-3/03: 33) ('The basic manual of a member of Jesus fan club')
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All the examples numbered as (32) involve insertional code-switching, following the root text (the analysis of Appendix 2 begins on p. 60), where 'fan club' is a metaphor of faith. In (32), the local meanings are related both to the animation of secular youth culture discourse (fandom) and to the discourse organising function of headings. Unlike in the root article, here English is not morphologically or phonologically modified, except in the last example Jesus fan clubilaisen perusmanuaali 'The basic manual of a member of Jesus fan club'. In this hybrid noun phrase, the English Jesus fan club is given the Finnish ending *-ilaisen* to denote the genitive form of a member of the club. The writer then adds perusmanuaali 'basic manual', a linguistic case that was discussed with reference to Appendix (2) (see p. 62).

The identity dimension established most clearly in the root text is preserved in example(s) (32): now Christians are *explicitly* presented as fans of Jesus. Moreover, the headings suggest diversity (see example (9) among fans (i.e. Christians), as they give profiles of six different kinds of "fans". For example, one of them (club member four) is into ice hockey, and the first heading reports on a 'case', which suggests that there is no single right type of a "club member" but all members are individuals, different "cases". Presenting the club member five having made a comeback to the club introduces a

magazine-internal cross-reference – the theoretical possibility of making this kind of a comeback was introduced in the root article.

In addition to headings, another attention drawing and discourse organising practice related to English in *Dynamite* is its use for opening (33) and ending (34) below) text paragraphs or whole articles.

(33) "NORWAY, NO WAY!" OLI ENSIMMÄINEN AJATUS JOKA ISKI TAJUNTAANI, KUN POMONI NOIN KUUKAUSI SITTEN KERTOI LÄHETTÄVÄNSÄ MINUT NELJÄKSI KUUKAUDEKSI NORJAAN. (D 3/05: 35, capitals original, other emphasis added.)

("Norway, no way!" was my first reaction when a month ago my boss told me s/he'd send me to Norway for four months.')

The sample above was a lead paragraph in an article where a Finnish young man reported on his stay abroad. Because situated as the precise opening words in an opening paragraph, the English sequence both organises discourse and attracts attention. Using English is marked by inverted commas surrounding the clause ("Norway, no way!"), although this is not so much due to English as such than to the fact that the writer is quoting his own words (or, in fact, thoughts). In doing this, the writer animates words from another discourse context, which produces a local meaning for using English (another local meaning of English is its use for opening the text paragraph). It is therefore valid to label it a case of insertional code-switching, even though 'switching' is a somewhat confusing term here, as the actual switching only takes place after the utterance Norway, no way! (from English to Finnish) and not before it. Switching to this direction is equally interesting, however: in "Norway, no way!" oli ensimmäinen ajatukseni "Norway, no way!" was my first reaction', the transition form English to Finnish is an effortless one and nothing of a translation is given of the English part. This implies that the reader is expected to understand what *Norway, no way* means.

It is probable that, since the events took place abroad, the language of the interaction between the employer and the writer was English; this might have caused the writer also to reflect upon the issue in English (*Norway, no way!*).

Some humour is involved here, as the pronunciations of 'Norway' and 'no way' are quite alike. The reader is thus expected to know also the pronunciation of the words to grasp the humour.

Whereas in (33) above it was taken for granted that readers know (some) English, in (34) below this is not the case. The text is taken from an article in the section *Dynamite Mission*.

- (34) Vielä lopuksi Ruth haluaa rohkaista suomalaisia nuoria tavoittamaan oman asuinalueensa ihmiset sanomalla Jeesuksesta.
 - Suosittelen yksinkertaisesti, että kristityt tekevät sitä mitä heidän on pyydetty tekemään jo alkuseurakunnasta lähtien: rakastamaan toinen toistaan. Siellä, missä asuu, voi olla osa yhteisöä ja auttaa naapureita. Rakenna ihmissuhteita ja kerro Jeesuksesta kaikilla mahdollisilla tavoilla. Rukoile kohtaamiesi ihmisten puolesta. Jos aamulla pyydät Jumalalta mahdollisuutta puhua Hänestä jollekin päivän aikana, Hän vastaa aina.

Be the Message! Ole sanoma! (D 1/04: 31, emphasis added.)

(Finally, Ruth wants to encourage young Finns to reach out for the people of their neighbourhood with the message about Jesus.

- I simply recommend Christians to do what they were asked to since the early congregation: to love one another. Where you live is a place where you can be part of the community and help your neighbours. Build relationships and tell about Jesus in every possible way. Pray for the people you meet. If you in the morning ask God for a chance to speak about Him to someone during the day, He'll always answer. Be the Message!)

It is not clear from the context if the English directive clause *Be the Message!* in (34) is produced by the writer of the article or by the person that is being interviewed. The preceding lines are recommendations for action by the interviewee, who represents a British foundation called *The Message Trust* (as revealed at the beginning of the article), and this would support the idea of the directive clause *Be the Message!* being hers. On the other hand, the layout of the text that separates the phrase as a paragraph of its own would suggest that the phrase is the writer's endnote. In any case, it is the writer who chooses to include the phrase on the original code of the interaction and then repeat the meaning in Finnish. As it appears as a paragraph of its own (although with a translation), the English sequence has the local meaning of organising discourse through ending a text; it is therefore a case of insertional code-switching. If the clause were produced by the British interviewee,

another local meaning of the code-switch would be the animation of the interviewee's original words by the journalist.

As in (5), here, too, English is used at the end of the article; it is thus a final remark. A final remark is enough as such to draw attention, but switching to English for it even reinforces it (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 237). In general, it is not a norm that translations are given for English utterances in *Dynamite*. Here, however, it is done, and that suggests the writer is not presuming that every reader will understand English. By implication for young Christian identities, it is acceptable to *not* know English – a counter conclusion to other examples in the chapter, and, additionally, Finnish can be used to achieve the same effect as English in constructing Christian identity (here, an endnote encouraging the readers for Christian action).

In the following two examples, pieces of text are closed with an English sequence. They thereby combine two local meanings: animation of Christian voices (see 6.1.1) while drawing attention through English at the closure.

- (35) En ole pystynyt liikkumaan kunnolla yli kahteen kuukauteen. Kun nyt huomaakin pystyvänsä liikkumaan edes vähän, tekee mieli hypätä taivaalle ja huutaa: "Praise the Lord!" (D 5/03: 16, emphasis added.)
 - (I haven't been able to exercise properly for over two monts. When I now notice I can, even a little, I feel like jumping off to the sky and shout out: "Praise the Lord!")
- (36) Haastattelun lopuksi Kyle toteaa, että ajatus oman perheen perustamisestakin alkaa jo tuntua mahdolliselta, onhan Jumala paljon suurempi kuin lapsuuden ikävät kokemukset. Pilke silmäkulmassaan hän kysyy, olisiko Suomessa mukavia tyttöjä, ja ottaa sitten kitaransa esiin. "Yaweh, Yaweh, look what you've done for me..." (D 4/04: 26, emphasis added.)
 - (At the end of the interview Kyle says that the idea of starting a family of his own is beginning to feel possible, as God is much greater than the unfortunate childhood experiences. With a gleam in his eye he asks if there are any nice girls in Finland, and then takes up his guitar. "Yaweh, Yaweh, look what you've done for me...")

Example (35) ends a Finnish person's response to a question on the meaning of physical exercise to her. English is taken up in a directive clause when the person expresses how she feels after regaining the ability to exercise ("*Praise the Lord*"). Example (36), on its behalf, presents the final paragraph of an

interview of altogether seven text paragraphs. The English sentence *Yaweh*, *Yaweh*, *look what you've done for me* is produced the interviewee of foreign origin who continues from his own preceding comment, but does not address the interviewer anymore but, instead, God (*Yaweh* in Hebrew). The English sequences in the examples are marked with inverted commas ("*Praise the Lord!*", "*Yaweh*, *Yaweh*, *look what you've done for me…*"), which indicates that other discourses are animated and the speakers change their footing; in both examples, the interviewee becomes a worshipper (the former shows this more clearly than the latter where the speaker is nevertheless singing to God) when switching to English. The use of English in (35) and (36) are therefore cases of insertional code-switching.

The examples are not quite similar to each other, though. In (35), the English phrase used by a Finn (*Praise the Lord*) is an established saying in Christian discourse, and it has a Finnish equivalent, too, to express the same tone (*Kiitos Herralle*, literally 'thanks to the Lord'). Example (36) (*Yaweh*, *Yaweh*, *look what you've done for me*), on the other hand, are words spoken or sung – probably improvised – by a foreign person. In other words, whereas in the former case the writer of the article simply reported on the interviewee's words, in the latter a conscious decision was made to use the original English words instead of coming up with a translation by the reporter.

On the basis of (35) and (36) one might conclude that in *Dynamite*, English is also used to address God. This, if taken categorically, would have major implications for Finnish Christian (youth) identities: it would mean that one has to know English in order to make contact with God. This is hardly the intended message, however, as such arguments ("God only knows one language, English") would present Christianity as implausible (as the presumption of Christianity is that God has created everything, and therefore stands above all things, including languages). What the examples do point to is that young Christian Finns are invited to also contact God in English (in addition to Finnish). Whilst they do not forbid the use of Finnish – the default

language of the readers – they present a further option in encouraging the readers to explore their spiritual identity in terms of English. When these findings are combined with the ones showing global features of Finnish Christian youth identities, one can conclude that in *Dynamite*, English is at times used to represent Christianity as a global religion.

Insertional code-switching illustrated in section 6.1.4 resembles what Androutsopoulos (2003: 9) calls framing in his study: framing German hiphop texts with English expressions shows how German hiphoppers identify with the English hiphop culture of the world. Similarly, framing Finnish Christian discourse with English connects members of the *Dynamite* community with the English-speaking Christian community of the world.

The whole of chapter 6.1 has introduced cases of insertional code-switching found in *Dynamite*, and the findings have shown that switching has two main kinds of local meanings in the discourse context: discourse organising functions and changes of footing (which involve animation of Christian, of global, and of secular youth culture discourse). Insertional code-switching with its local meanings is fundamentally different from the other set recognised by Androutsopoulos (2003, see chapter 5.2) – insertional language mixing, a category in the focus of the following chapter.

6.2 Mixing Finnish and English for style

While code-switching is a *locally* meaningful practice, language mixing "is only meaningful as *a whole… as a language variety or style*" (Androutsopoulos 2003: 3, emphasis added). Mixing can, similarly to switching, index aspects of identity. In the following, I will therefore report on cases of insertional language mixing in the data. The cases have been identified by the lack of local meanings (cf. chapter 6.1) related to English utterances. The first group

of them consists of individual nonce loans, whereas the other three groups present nonce loans from more limited discourses.

6.2.1 English nonce loans without a local meaning

Nonce loans – that is, English expressions that appear only once or at least not repeatedly in the data – without any local significance (such that would index something of the situation) are to be classified as language mixing (Androutsopoulos 2003: 5). The following examples present some occurrences of such forms in *Dynamite*.

English nonce loans are often used in *Dynamite* when the topics evolve around contemporary matters, as in the following example that comes from a causerie. The example shows insertional language mixing at a word-level:

(37) Kun on niin kivaa, että aika ja paikka katoavat. Tai sitten on ihan kamalaa, mutta hyvä seura tekee siitäkin *flow*-kokemuksen. (D 5/04: 15, emphasis added.)

(When it's so much fun that you loose track of time and place. Or, it's as awful as it can get, but good company makes even that seem like a flow experience.)

The English word *flow* is used here in an unmodified form. 'Flow' is a contemporary concept that refers to an ultimate experience. The writer uses the word in a compound with the Finnish, indeed, *kokemus* 'experience'. The word 'flow' lacks a Finnish equivalent but it cannot be called an established loan, as it is found in no dictionary nor does it come up frequently in Finnish discourse. The use of the word in *Dynamite* can be seen as the writer's aim of addressing the Christian readers as modern, sophisticated contemporary people who should have knowledge of the term and its usage.

The following example illustrates a use of not as new an English concept in Finnish as 'flow'. It too, is a case of insertional language mixing, and it appeared as a part of a journalist's answer to a reader's question (in the column *Kysy Päiviltä* 'ask Päivi'.

(38) Ystävyys on ilman muuta asia, johon ei voi ketään pakottaa. Joskus, harvoin, jotkut löytävät elinikäisen ystävän jo lapsuudesta, ja yhteyttä pidetään läpi elämän. Jotkut taas ovat nuorena ihan *best friends*, mutta elämä [sic] kuljettaa niin erilleen, ettei aikuisena edes tunneta. (D 5/05: 25, emphasis added.)

(Friendship is no doubt a matter to which noone can be forced. Sometimes, rarely, some find a friend of a lifetime in their childhood, and they keep in touch through their life. On the other hand, some are best friends when young, but driven apart by life so they don't even know each other when they grow up.)

The English nonce loan in example (38), best friends, is concerned with an aspect of youth culture. Best friends is a formulaic phrase known to many young people (the form used in spoken Finnish is, according to Jarva and Nurmi 2006, bestikset, which originates in the English phrase), often referring to the point of adolescence/teenage years when peers play at least as influential a role as parents do for young people. It seems the writer in (38) is also aware of this association, as she explicitly states that Jotkut taas ovat nuorena ihan best friends, mutta 'some are best friends when young, but'. It is thus clear that the expression 'best friends' evokes a mental picture of childhood or youth friendship (which may or may not continue through adulthood). This association is an expected one, as the expression best friends is used within a text focusing on friendship. 'Best friends' is an expression that belongs to the discourse of friendship and to the style of writing about it even in Finnish discourse, as this example in Dynamite has shown, and its use here is thus a case of insertional language mixing.

Unlike the previous example, the following one does not contain a formulaic English phrase but one that is a more innovative one.

(39) Hopparit ja joosualaiset samassa projektissa kuulostaa oikeastaan ihan luontevalta kokonaisuudelta: kumpikin ryhmä on tähän asti toteuttanut missiotaan pitkälti omalla tyylillään, soraäänistä pahemmin piittaamatta. Mistään suuresta kulttuurillisesta *crossoverista* ei siis pohjimmiltaan olisi kysymys. (D 4/05: 38, emphasis added.)

(Hoppers and Joshuans in the same project in fact sound a natural entity: both groups have so far expressed themselves in their own style without paying much attention to dissonance. So it would not thus be a fundamental question of a great cultural crossover.)

The use of the word *crossoverista* 'of a crossover' here shows how an English word is adopted into Finnish by giving it the Finnish morphological ending –

ista; the use of the word seems at first an unexpected one, since nothing in the discourse context points to the use of English. While it may be that 'crossover' does not adhere remarkably to any one discourse, it is also the case that it was recently also used in a Finnish newspaper headline as part of cultural discourse (Mattila 2006). Here, it is used in the column Jälkipääkirjoitus 'posteditorial' claiming that some representatives of two subcultures are uniting for a joint project; this is the incident that 'crossover' (or, in fact, its absence, as the writer finally points out) refers to.

The nonce loans presented in this chapter are erratic uses of English words without any local meaning in the *Dynamite* discourse context; in contrast, the following chapters focus on English terminology from more limited areas put to use in the Finnish discourse context of *Dynamite*.

6.2.2 English in Finnish professional jargon

Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 5, see also page 6) have noted that in Finland, "English terms are frequent in the speech of professionals". In this sense, achieving the professional style involves the use of English (words) in speech as well as in writing. Therefore, the professional language varieties where both Finnish and English are used (although Finnish remaining the matrix language) are cases of insertional language mixing. This is also visible in the discourse of Appendix (3), the analysis of which is in the focus of this chapter. Example (13) analysed earlier (in conjunction with the animation of secular youth culture discourse, see p. 54) can also be seen as a case of using English for professional jargon, as there the editor used the English *back to school* for describing the *Dynamite* issue at hand, thus activating his professional, journalistic terminology (which nevertheless was a locally meaningful practice as the point was to coordinate Christian young people with other young people, and thus a case of insertional code-switching).

In Appendix (3), English is used for words related with the language user's profession as a technical producer of music festivals. Some of the words appear unmodified, such as backline-crew, Stage Manager, and freelance-; some are inflected according to Finnish morphological rules, such as deadlinea and shownkin; and finally, some are even more modified into Finnish (raiderin 'rider', fiksaamassa 'fixing'). In fact, quite a few of these are listed in the Finnish dictionary of foreign words (Gummeruksen suuri sivistyssanakirja 2001): deadline, fiksata ('to fix', the root verb of fiksaamassa 'fixing' found in the data), freelance, and show. In other words, they are considered established loans in Finnish. When one looks at the discourse more closely, other (earlier) established loan words can be found, too, such as festivaali- 'festival' and mikrofoneja 'microphones'. Thus, only backline-crew and Stage Manager are left as nonce loans.

The influence of English for Finnish profession-related terminology in this example in *Dynamite* seems to support Taavitsainen and Pahta's (2003: 5) proposal presented above. English words are adopted and more or less modified, so that they vary from nonce to established loans; in any case, their use is not in any way marked. Rather, they belong to this (no doubt transnational) linguistic style of technical producers (and perhaps others working with musical productions) and therefore illustrate language mixing. Finally, the example implies something of a Christian identity: the discourse presents a Christian working as a technical producer of music festivals, and this may be seen as a occupational option offered by the magazine for the young Christian readers.

6.2.3 English in Finnish music terminology

The use of English in *Dynamite* often has to do with music-related topics, such as music genres, music business, entertainment and so forth. English names of music genres, for example *pop*, *rock*, *praise*, *dance*, *metal*, *gospel*, *groove*, *rap*,

unplugged, live, funk, folk, triphop, house, drum'n base, are often used among the otherwise Finnish text, and this kind of a frequent linguistic practice implies that they resemble more established than nonce loans, especially when one considers Androutsopoulos' (2003: 3) criteria of separating them - structural integration, frequency and community acceptance. In fact, using English is a part of the style of writing about music in Finnish discourse and thus represents insertional language mixing. In addition to the names of music genres, the trend of including English words within music discourse in Dynamite can also be observed with the words cover (as in cover-versiot 'cover versions' and covereita 'covers'), soundit 'sounds', encore (in kaksi encorea 'two encores'), and backstage (in backstagella 'backstage' in a Finnish locative expressing place). Despite the lack of quantitative evidence, the overall impression gained during the data analysis has shown that the three criteria (structural integration, frequency, community acceptance) are met in many points in the data. The words listed above, for example, all have Finnish morphological endings. The following example from a record review illustrates the matter further.

(40) Levy on kokonaisuudessaan mielestäni hyvinkin onnistunut tuotos ja vaikuttava musiikillinen taide-elämys. Biisisovitukset vaihtelevat heavy-pop-/rock-blues-/rock-hiphop-akselilla, mutta laajasta tyylikirjosta huolimatta jäi tunne kohtuullisen harmonisesta kokonaisuudesta. U2:n biisit perustuvat enimmäkseen leadlaulajan tulkinnan ja bändisovituksien varaan, jotka luovat omalta osaltaan vahvan mielenjäävän [sic] tunnelman kappaleisiin. Biisien tehokkaat riffit ja yksinkertaiset kertosäkeet jäävät vastustamattomasti mieleen. Näin käy oikeastaan jokaisessa kappaleessa.... (D 2-3/04: 16, emphasis added.)

(The album is to me a very successful entity and an impressive musical art experience. The song compositions vary along a heavy-pop-/rock-blues-/rock-hiphop axle, but despite the wide variety of styles I was left with a feeling of a fairly harmonic entity. U2 songs are mainly based on the lead singer's interpretation and band compositions that in their part create a strong memorable atmosphere in the songs. The effective riffs and simple refrains of the songs stick to your mind irresistibly. In fact, this happens in all songs...)

The example firstly shows many uses of English names of music genres on the second line; secondly, a compound occurs where the English *lead* is combined with the Finnish *laulaja* 'singer', producing *leadlaulajan* 'lead singer's', a form where the English word is inflected according to the Finnish morphological rules. Moreover, the writer uses Finnish music slang in *biisit*

'songs, pieces (of music)' and *riffit* 'riffs, rhythms'. These uses of (at least originally) English words in this music discourse points to that they are part of an overall style of writing about music. Identitywise, the implication is that Christians listen to popular Anglo-American music and evaluate it in a professional manner. (This, however, does not imply that it is a question of professional jargon (cf. ch. 6.2.2); rather, using English for music discourse is a more general tendency than only among music professionals.) It is also notable that the band whose album is being reviewed (*U2*) is of Englishlanguage origins (Ireland). (Again, it is clear that the music repertoire of young Finnish Christians is all but solely Finnish, cf. 6.1.1.)

Leppänen and Nikula (forthcoming) suggest that skateboarding culture involves a complete life style (including the use of a certain kind of language), and this must be true of some other subcultures, such as hiphop, as well. The three following examples show that hiphop discourse – and thereby hiphop identities (cf. Androutsopoulos 2003: 9) – where insertional Finnish-English language mixing constitutes the overall linguistic style is not unfamiliar in *Dynamite*, either.

(41) "Liikaa *räppiä*!", kuuluu monen uskisfestarikävijän suusta, kun kesä 2005 vetelee viimeisiään. AOC, J-Posse, Maallikkosaarnaajat, Jage, MC Kurmot, UDF... Kristillinen *hiphop-skene* on voimissaan. (D 4/05: 38, emphasis added.)

("Too much rap!" can be heard from the mouths of many visiting Christian festivals when summer 2005 is drawing to its end. AOC, J-Posse, Maallikkosaarnaajat, Jage, MC Kurmot, UDF... The Christian hiphop scene is going strong.)

In (41), the writer of the column *Jälkipääkirjoitus* 'posteditorial' asserts that Christian hiphop is triumphing, and that not all Christian music fans are pleased with that – or at least that there is too much of rap music performed in different events. Example (41) can be described as an example of Finnish hiphop discourse, as the topics come from hiphop discourse (originally English), as can be seen in some of the band names and other expressions; and as English is appropriated into Finns' language use in for example *räppiä* (instead of *rappia*, thus spelling according to phonetics, see p. 66), *hiphop-skene* 'hiphop scene ('culture')', where the Finnish-atypical letter *c* is changed into *k*;

and in English band names. (Note that *festari* 'festival' on the first line of the example is a spoken language form of the established loan *festivaali*, see p. 81.) A similar trend of appropriating English in Finnish hiphop discourse, the style thus producing insertional language mixing, can be seen in example (42) below.

(42) Tavoitteenamme on ylistää Jumalaa ja tuoda Hänen kirkkauttaan enemmän esille kuin omaa *show'tamme.* ---

Koska jo itse J-Possessa on viisi "räbäyttäjää" ja sen lisäksi levyllä on mukana vielä muutamia vierailijoitakin, kenenkään ei tarvitse kuunnella levyllistä tasapaksua "flowta" tai tasaisia "laineja", vaan luvassa on mitä mutkikkaimpia ja hauskimpia sananparsia. (D 5/05: 18, emphasis added.)

(Our aim is to praise God and and show more of His glory than our own show. --- As there are already five rappers in J-Posse itself, and on the album some visitors, too, nobody has to listen to an album full of monotonous "flow" or uniform "lines"; instead, it's full of ever more complicated and hilarious saws.)

Example (42), taken from an interview with a Finnish Christian hiphop group, shows that hiphop discourse is not introduced very assertively in this Finnish Christian magazine context: the use of inverted commas in "räbäyttäjää" 'rappers', "flowta" 'flow' and "laineja" 'lines' resembles the practice in example (7). As in (41), so here, too, English is appropriated by Finnish hiphoppers, but here it is partly done differently, as more English features are preserved in (viisi) "räbäyttäjää" 'five rappers' and (tasapaksua) "flowta" 'monotonous flow' than in (41) or in "laineja" 'lines' (from this example). Firstly, räbäyttäjä 'rapper' is a Finnish form, denoting a subject (the ending -äjä corresponding to the English -er), which is developed from the more established *räppäri* 'rapper'. It is also a form where the letter *b*, which is not very common in Finnish, is used together with the typically Finnish (and Scandinavian) ä (cf. Battarbee 2002: 7-9). Secondly, flowta shows how the English 'flow' is morphologically inflected with the Finnish ending. It also shows the writer knows both the spelling and the pronunciation of the word; spelling according to pronunciation would have produced a form like 'flouta'. (Note that 'flow' here comes from hiphop discourse and that its meaning thus differs from the 'flow' presented in example (37).) Thirdly, and in contrast, laineja 'lines' is yet another example of Finns spelling according to

phonetics (cf. p. 66). In sum, while at times the English spelling is preserved (as in *flowta*), sometimes an English word is phonologically modified into Finnish (as in *laineja*) or used as a model in creating a morphologically Finnish expression (as in *räbäyttäjää*). It seems thus that, in Finnish hiphop discourse, English appropriated according to the language users' own needs and wishes, with the help of which they identify themselves as part of English-speaking hiphoppers and as part of Finnish hiphoppers.

The use of inverted commas around the three hiphop discourse words in example (42) differs from the use of the more general entertainment discourse word *show* in *show'tamme* 'our show', as *show* is not surrounded by inverted commas. These differing practices imply that *show* is more established and (in the writer's opinion) more surely accepted by the readers than *räbäyttäjää*, *flowta* and *laineja*.

Example (43) below gives further evidence of hiphop discourse and of hiphop identities among young Finnish Christians. This extract, too, comes from an interview with a Finnish Christian hiphop group.

(43) Teiltä ilmestyi keväällä ensimmäinen pitkäsoittonne Tykkii evankeliumii. Kuvailkaa levyänne sekä musiikillisesti että sanoituksellisesti.

AOC: Musiikillisesti levy ei ole raakaa rappia vaan melodista "AOC-stailia", josta välittyy iloisuus ja toivo. AOC on rappia, jota rokkarit, hevarit, nuoret, aikuiset, mummot ja papatkin pystyvät kuuntelemaan. Sanoituksellisesti emme tingi mistään. Yritämme sanoa asiat kiertelemättä parhaalla mahdollisella tavalla.

Rap on kantaaottavan musiikin muoto. Mihin te erityisesti haluatte ottaa kantaa? AOC: Jeesus tulee pian! Meidän uskovaisten on herättävä ja tajuttava, että meillä on ystäviä, joita emme ehkä tule koskaan enää näkemään. Se on AOC:n suuri hätä. Olemme uskovaisia, mutta emme näytä sitä vaan elämme, kuten kaikki muutkin. *GET UP* seurakunnat! Meidän pitää tehdä parannus ja tulla ristin juurelle. (D 3/05: 24, capitals original, emphasis added.)

(Your first album Tykkii Evankeliumii came out in the spring. Describe your album in both musical and lyric terms.

AOC: Musically, the album is not plain rap but melodic "AOC-style" that transmits joy and hope. AOC is rap that rockers, head bangers, the young, the grown-ups, grandmas and grandpas, too, can listen to. Lyrically, we give up on nothing. We try to say things straight in a best possible way.

Rap is a form of music that takes a stand. What is it especially that you want to take stand on?

AOC: Jesus is coming soon! We believers should wake up and realise that we have friends who we might never ever see again. That's the great worry of AOC. We're believers, but we don't show it and live like all the others. GET UP congregations! We have to repent and come to the cross.)

In example (43), English is here used as an object form of a noun in the compound "AOC-stailia" 'AOC style' (note that inverted commas are used again, as in example (42) where the English 'style' is spelt according to Finnish phonetics and added a final -a. Moreover, English is used in the directive clause GET UP seurakunnat 'get up congregations' where get up occurs in an unmodified form together with the Finnish seurakunnat 'congregations'. While staili 'style' belongs to spoken Finnish (Jarva and Nurmi 2006), get up has not (yet) gained a similar position. Both uses of English are equally interesting in terms of identity, however. The use of English seems as such to belong to hiphop culture in general; in this context, English is additionally connected to Christian topics, such as the group being interviewed wanting to stay faithful to the gospel (the "AOC style" involving that Sanoituksellisesti emme tingi mistään 'Lyrically, we give up on nothing') and wanting other Christians to want that, too (GET UP seurakunnat! Meidän pitää tehdä parannus ja tulla ristin juurelle. 'Get up congregations! We have to repent and come to the cross.'). By using the pronoun "we" in 'Get up congregations! We have to repent...' the group shows they are addressing not only congregations but themselves, too. The linguistic choices of the interviewed hiphop group show that they identify with both Christians and hiphoppers; moreover, with both Finnish and English (or, more likely, American) hiphoppers.

The three hiphop examples presented above show how Christian youth as a category involves a yet another identity dimension; the presentation of hiphop music and artists shows approval of hiphop culture, too. However, here that approval is limited to *Christian* hiphop (in contrast with not purposefully Christian hiphop), as shown through the expressions *kristillinen hiphop-skene* 'Christian hiphop scene' (example (41), *Tavoitteenamme on ylistää Jumalaa ja tuoda Hänen kirkkauttaan enemmän esille* 'Our aim is to praise God

and show more of His glory' (example (42), and *Sanoituksellisesti emme tingi mistään* 'Lyrically, we give up on nothing' (example (43). As some examples analysed earlier in this study, this chapter, too, shows that Christian youth identity is, as questions of identity often are, both about inclusion and exclusion (Woolard 1997: 2).

From the examples analysed in this chapter, it can be concluded that one recurring feature of texts about music in *Dynamite* is the use of the English music terminology. This kind of genre-internal use of English can be classified as insertional language mixing as the use of both Finnish and English produces a linguistic style that is only meaningful as a whole (cf. Androutsopoulos 2003: 3).

6.2.4 English in texts about leisure time

One specific type of insertional language mixing in *Dynamite* is the use of English words and expressions related to entertainment and leisure time activities. For example, in *Dynamite* issue 5/2003 there was an article (in the column *Dynamite Survey*) in which a group of Christians in their twenties discussed a couple of relationship series shown on Finnish television at that time. During their discussion, the speakers drew on English nonce loans in *sitcomit* 'sitcoms' and *talk showt* 'talk shows', assigning thus English noun phrases Finnish plural endings and, in *sitcomit*, and *-i* between. Moreover, one of the speakers said the following:

(44) Mä taas saan kicksejä kaikista sosiaalisista suhteista, ja sarjatkin tarjoaa siihen kanavan.
 Joo, varsinkin kotimaisissa on happy endit harvassa. (D 5/03: 11, emphasis added.)
 (I get kicks from all social relationships, and tv-series, too, offer a means for that. --- Yeah, the Finnish ones especially lack happy ends.)

It is clear that in this specific discourse context, English is the source of television and film-related terms (in the extract above, of *happy endit* 'happy ends' where the Finnish plural marker -t and an additional -i are added to

the English noun phrase *happy end*). Moreover, English is used for *kicksejä* 'kicks', a word that belongs to spoken youth language in Finland. Here, the English spelling of the word is preserved, and the word is given the Finnish morphological ending *-ejä*. These uses of English suggest that Christian youth both watch television and know the terms used in discourse on television and films, and have youth language in general as one of their reference points. The latter observation is also backed up by the following examples.

- (45) "Beachilla kaksi viikkoa ilman huolen häivää!" (D 5/05: 32, emphasis added.) ("Two weeks on a beach with no worries whatsoever!")
- (46) Löysät, vyötäröltä madalletut *cargo*-housut näkyvät kevään katukuvassa. (D 2-3/03: 19, emphasis added.) (Loose, low-hip cargo trousers can be seen in the spring streets.)
- (47) Nyt maistuu parhaiten *southwest* ja *bbq*-tyyppinen grillattu sapuska. (D 1/05: 15, emphasis added) (My favourite is now southwest- and bbq-type grilled food.)

The examples above present various aspects of leisure time: vacation, fashion and food. As to vacation, first, although 'beach' is not an established loan in Finnish, it appears to be used quite commonly in modern informal Finnish. In (45), it was used in one of the answer alternatives in a test-yourself test on one's dream vacation. The word is sometimes spelled as biitsi by Finns, but here the spelling is alike the original English model (with an added morphological ending *-lla* to denote place). As to fashion, the word *cargo* is taken on in its original English spelling and combined with housut 'trousers' in example (46) (from the column *Dynamite Fashion*) to denote certain types of trousers. Finally, food: in (47) from an interview in the column Dynamite Profile a Finnish person shares his food preferences, which appear untraditional Finnish food (southwest and bbg for barbecue refer to food originating in Texas, USA, as a quick net inquiry confirmed, see e.g. Free Recipes From Southwest Cuisine n.d.). Both words were applied in their original spelling in a compound with a Finnish word in southwest- ja bbq*tyyppinen* 'southwest- and bbq-type'.

As stated above, the use of youth language of the kind of examples (45) through (47) attaches Christian youth to the other youth of the world who might share similar interests in beach vacations, fashion and food. On the other hand, English can be a means for detaching from the non-Christian youth (cf. p. 87), as well, as the following example shows:

(48) ... draamoja, *sketchboardia* eli evankeliointia maalaustaulun avulla sekä muita hyödyllisiä taitoja. (D 1/05:32, emphasis added)

(... dramas, sketchboard - evangelising through painting, and other valuable skills.)

In the example, the English nonce loan *sketchboard* is modified morphologically into Finnish by giving it the ending *-ia*. A discourse where 'sketchboard' refers to spreading the gospel is no doubt a Christian one; this is thus a case of weighing the Christian aspect, which inevitably results in a distinction being made to the non-Christian. Moreover, referring to evangelising as a "valuable skill" strengthens the Christian in this discourse – the fact that discourse guides one's way of thinking is clear.

Finally, a leisure time activity touched upon with the help of English in *Dynamite* is reading books. The following extract comes from a book review:

(49) Jos et ennen ole ollut kiinnostunut Ilmestyskirjan asioista, mutta haluaisit kuitenkin tietää enemmän, silloin tämä kirjasarja on juuri sinua varten. Teksti on puettu jännittävän romaanin muotoon, eikä se ole missään vaiheessa kuivaa asiatekstiä. Tuntuu kuin tieto lopunajantapahtumista tulisi kuin ilmaiseksi. Kirjaan mahtuu myös kipeitä ihmissuhteita sekä armotonta *actionia*, jotka pitävät lukijan jännityksessä loppuun asti. Laiskat lukijat voivat tietenkin ottaa käsiinsä kirjasarjan ensimmäisestä osasta tehdyn elokuvan ja lukea vasta sitten, jos kiinnostusta vielä riittää. Suosittelen kirjaa lämpimästi kaikille joko alkuperäisteoksena (*Tribulation Force*) tai suomenkielisenä käännöksenä. Antoisia lukuhetkiä! (D 2-3/04: 58, emphasis added.)

(If you haven't been interested in the Book of Revelations before, but would like to know more, then this book series is made for you. The story is textured in the form of an exciting novel and at no point becomes dull factual text. It feels like the information about the events of the last days comes for free. The book also includes difficult relationships and merciless action that keep the reader excited till the end. The lazy readers can of course find themselves a copy of the film made of the first part of the series, and read afterwards only, if they're still interested. I warmly recommend the book for everyone either as an original (Tribulation Force) or as a Finnish translation. Enjoy the reading!)

In the example, an English nonce loan *action* is taken up in (*armotonta*) *actionia* '(merciless) action', a noun where the English spelling is preserved but added the Finnish morphological ending –ia. This piece of writing is interesting in that it, in addition to using English for *action*, directly suggests at the close of the review that the readers of *Dynamite* could (instead of 'should', though) take up *reading* a *Christian* book *in English*. Implications for Christian youth identity are threefold: first, it is deemed good for Christian youth to read books. Second, the practice of reading is especially valuable if the readings are Christian by nature. Thirdly, it does no harm if the readings are English instead of Finnish. While the clearest identity focus is surely on the fact that it is Christian literature that is recommended as a reading, the two other aspects are also important.

The examples analysed in 6.2 show how insertional Finnish-English language mixing in *Dynamite* creates a connection between young Christians and young people more generally in relation to their free time interests. Other examples examined in this study have also offered similar kind of evidence, while also showing how English is used to distinguish Christian and non-Christian young people from each other.

In chapter six, I have analysed data samples from a Finnish Christian youth magazine. I have made a distinction between insertional code-switching and insertional language mixing, and I have also looked at the samples with regard to how the uses of English contribute to the discursive construction of Christian youth identities in the magazine. The findings of the study will be further discussed in the final chapters of the study.

7 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to find out how English is used in a Finnish Christian youth magazine to construct Christian youth identities. In reaching for this aim, the observation was made that a variety of English forms appeared in the mostly Finnish magazine discourse. That is to say, 'English' is by no means a simple concept in the data context, as many types of uses of English by the Finnish writers complicate the matter. While at some points English could be clearly recognised from the surrounding discourse – in cases with little or no visible impact from Finnish, as in quotations or other "purely" English utterances, at other points English was more embedded in the Finnish text, most notably with established loans, but also with words that were assigned Finnish inflectional endings or the Finnish curiosity of spelling according to pronunciation, or when an English word was combined with a Finnish one for a compound. In the case of hybrid forms, it was suggested that some English words used in the magazine discourse seem to be heading for establishment in the Finnish lexicon, at least in this specific discourse community; on the other hand, some might remain nonce loans and not ever recur. In sum, the analysis showed that the use of English in Dynamite involves diverse linguistic forms, ranging from fully English via hybrid forms to already established loan words originating in English.

The analysis was conducted following the distinction between insertional code-switching and language mixing as proposed by Androutsopoulos (2003). Here, switching – resorting to English for discourse-internal reasons – was found to be connected to changes of footing and to the organising of discourse. Changes of footing, moreover, took place in conjunction with the animation of Christian voices, of global voices, and of secular youth culture discourse. Language mixing, on the other hand, was shown to occur in relation to professional jargon, music terminology, leisure time discourse, and in relation to some other individual nonce loans.

As to the identities constructed in the magazine, some prescriptions evolved from the nature of the data itself: the expected readers were 'Finnish', 'Christian', and 'young'. However, this multiplicity of identities was found to be even more extended in the course of the analysis: English was used to present global, modern, ethnic, professional, and hiphop identities. Moreover, two of the presupposed aspects of identity, young and Christian, were also enforced through the use of English. Interestingly, even discourses and identities that are not often considered to connote Christian thinking, such as biological, economical, or secular fan discourse, were found in the magazine (a finding similar to Harju's 2001: 76). It can thus be concluded that 'young Finnish Christians' are more than merely young, Finnish, and Christian, and even more than these three combined; as modern identities in general, so young Christian Finns, too, are presented with a variety of identity aspects and options in the magazine of their community.

The analysis showed how inserting English is almost a natural resource for writing about different topics, for example, about Christian faith and life. On the other hand, the case was also that English was used for differentiating from and excluding the non-Christian. Differentiating from the non-Christians, on the first hand, happened when English was an additional element in an otherwise Finnish utterance expressing the wish to identify with Christians over non-Christians. Excluding the non-Christians, on the other hand, happened by using English for phenomena that were perceived as secular and undesirable for a Christian.

Sociolinguistically, the most significant observation concerning Finnish Christian youth identities is that, in the data, these identities are *bilingual*. This means that English is presented as the self-evident second language along Finnish, the (assumed) mother tongue of the readers. While English utterances are sometimes translated or explained in Finnish, in most cases it is taken as a given that the readers, young Christian Finns, will understand

English. Presupposing this makes it possible for the editors to insert English expressions of various kinds that among other things allude to other texts or places, evoke humour, and elaborate on the point to be made (even on abstract issues such as spirituality). That English is the second language of young Christian of the Finnish *Dynamite* magazine community reflects the strong position that English has gained among other youth in Finland, and in Finland and the world more generally, too.

Although it is possible to generalise that English is used in the *Dynamite* magazine, it must be remembered that the practices of using English by different writers are not uniform: some switch comfortably between the codes while others prefer Finnish and use English only erratically, if at all. It thus seems that there is no strict language policy in the magazine that would homogenise the language used in it; rather, innovative choices are tolerated by the editor and/or publisher.

The present methodological choice of using Androutsopoulos (2003) as a model proved as a successful one, for it gave the present author the opportunity to examine both language alternation and construction of identities. It did not, however, suffice for a more precise linguistic analysis, which could have, in addition to giving a more systematic formalist description of the linguistic examples, offered an even deeper insight into the meaning of linguistic choices (such as wording, pronouns, modality, transitivity) in the representation of young Christians as a social group.

Androutsopoulos' (2003) model was useful in the sense that it allowed for the present kind of data to be examined. Even if it had been a case of language alternation (and not of insertion, as now was the case, Finnish being the matrix language at all times), the model would have functioned well. The model is thus useful for various kinds of data, and I might therefore use it in later studies, too. However, using the model was not always straightforward. Firstly, in making the distinction between switching and mixing, I found it at

times difficult to determine whether some uses of English had a local meaning embedded within them or not; in the end, the model proposes that all kinds of English forms can belong to either one category. Moreover, what a 'local meaning' (the prerequisite for a case to be called insertional codeswitching) finally meant was somewhat unclear: some uses of English in the data seemed at first to be *somehow* meaningful, for example in creating a sense of place through the use of English or contrasting secular with Christian by using English. Their meaning, however, was more of a social rather than a local, discourse-level sort. Since labelling them as instances of insertional language mixing would have been a misconstruction, I extended the meaning 'local significance' to include anything that indexed something of the situation. For the analysis, this meant that even one-word intertextual allusions, and many other cases, could be interpreted as insertional codeswitching, because the use of English was indexical of something in the social reality (for example, of Christian young people being quite alike other young people).

Secondly, Androusopoulos' (2003) model was not one with explicit guidelines as to the study of discursive construction of identities (although Androutsopoulos (ibid.: 8-10) does discuss questions of identity with regard to his data). While it must be true that there can be no "one size fits all" – model for the study of identity in discourse (since the nature of the data and the research aims vary), it would have been useful to find a more precise description of how Androutsopoulos (ibid.) addressed the question of identities in the analysis (and not only in the discussion) of data that, in being subcultural texts, were rather similar to the data of the present study. Now the case was that, while drawing on various sources for information of the study of identity in discourse, I had to find my own way of analysing the data from the perspective of identities.

While this study has given information on the (bilingual) identities of the implied readers of the *Dynamite* magazine, it might be the case that these

identities do not, as such, represent all young Christians in Finland. (*Dynamite*, although exceeding congregational boundaries and in that sense represents Christians from various churches, is not a "product" of the Lutheran church of the state to which most Finns nevertheless belong to.) On the other hand, the findings showed how one of the reference points of the language users in the data was youth culture in a more general sense; if this is true for all *young* Christians, then it might as well be the case that English plays a role for other young Finnish Christians, too, in addition to the members of the *Dynamite* community. However, the fact that the Free Church, the origins of the *Dynamite* magazine, might, in some respects, be a more liberal church than some others may have influenced the language use in the magazine. Therefore, the identities constructed in the magazine also represent the (Christian) thinking of the Free Church and its interpretation of the Christian doctrine.

The present study was located at the crossroads of the study of English in Finland/Finnish youth media and of Christian identity in discourse. If one wishes to extend one's understanding of this kind of a research field, one could, for instance, look at the use of English in other Finnish (youth) media, including television, radio and web data; or Christian identity in other kinds of media; one could also adopt a more formalist approach to the use of two languages and examine the linguistic structures born therein. For someone interested in the bilingual identity of Finns, it could be worth looking at their use of English (or whatever L2) in relation to their mother tongue in order to obtain a holistic view of how different languages (and not just English) contribute to people's identities.

Discourse puts forth certain aspects of a person's identity while it may prevent or hide some others, and therefore identity in discourse is not the whole truth; nevertheless, it is the truth that is presented for us. Therefore it raises some interesting questions. Why are certain identities manifested while some are not? Who decides on it? What is the cause of the decision? For a

sociolinguistic study of Christian discourse to take a critical approach (Fairclough 1995), another question to ask would thus be how the power of language is used to address the readers and present them with certain kinds of (religious) identities.

8 CONCLUSION

The present study has, in its part, added to our understanding of how English is used by Finns in a Finnish magazine from the perspective of identities. Similar kind of investigations on various kinds of data will be needed in the future, as well, to gain a better view of the sociolinguistic profile of today's Finland, and even to assist language policy in the country, as it is based on empirical investigations on what languages people use and how.

The study has also given insights on Christian youth identities in Finland. It seems that Christian young people are not different from other young people, or from modern people in general, either, in that they are presented with various kinds of identities. This is especially important as those identities are presented to them by a magazine of their own Christian community; it can be concluded that young Christians are not only allowed but also invited to be more than Christians. One recurring aspect of Christian youth identities seems to be transnationalism, and Finnish Christians are presented as members of a global Christian community. While Christianity is constructed as a global religion in the magazine, it is also presented as using English as its working language. Impression of this kind is likely to have a "snowball effect" which strengthens the status of English as a global language.

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APPENDIX 1. CONTRASTING EXTREME WITH BALANCE

EXTREME – epäTasapainoista elämää?

Tasapainoinen elämä kuulostaa tylsältä ja arkiselta. *Extremen* ihannointi on leviämässä myös kristilliseen kenttään. Mitä siitä pitäisi ajatella?

Extreme on elämysten hakua: vasta äärirajoilla tuntee elävänsä. Se on myös helppoa. Ei tarvitse tasapainotella vaikeasti monien totuuksien keskellä, vaan voi heittäytyä yhteen äärilaitaan. Tasapainoinen elämä onnistuu vain kypsältä luonteelta, joka on sinut itsensä ja elämänsä kanssa. Arki ei ahdista, eikä sitä tarvitse paeta. Todellisen henkisen kypsyyden mittari mielestäni onkin se, että pystyy elämään tyytyväisenä tasapainoista elämää arjen keskellä. Mutta se onkin helpommin sanottu kuin tehty, myös kristitylle. ---

extreme-usko

Usein mainostetaan radikaalia kristillisyyttä. Mitä sillä tarkoitetaan? Ilmeisesti heittäytymistä täydellisesti Jumalan varaan, elämistä usko täysillä todeksi, vastavirtaan uimista. Tosin olen myös huomannut, että monen mielessä radikaali kristillisyys onkin osallistumista hienoon ja cooliin kristilliseen megatapahtumaan, jossa on suuri into ja suuret puheet. Valitettavasti tällainen ei vielä vaadi suurtakaan radikaaliutta. Haastavampaa on muuttaa puheet teoiksi: elää arjen keskellä tasapainoista elämää, jossa usko on elämää kantava voima. Jos aikaisemmin ihailinkin karismaattisia profeettoja, jotka lavalta maalailivat silmieni eteen toinen toistaan vaikuttavampia tulevaisuudesta, jos vain antautuisin tarpeeksi, niin nyt määrittelen kypsän ja ihailtavan kristityn henkilöksi, jonka elämässä perhe, työ, vapaa-aika ja seurakuntaelämä ovat terveessä tasapainossa. Olen todennut, että tällaiset ihmiset usein tekevät yhteiskunnan keskellä suuremman vaikutuksen ihmisiin, kuin spottivaloissa paistattelevat suuret nimet.

hohdotettua elämää

Extremeily, se, että aina pitäisi olla "radikaali", voi myös väsyttää. Niin sanottu sekulaarikiriallisuus kutsuu tätä nuoruuteen liittyvää ilmiötä "hohdottamiseksi". On tarve elää tunneskaalan yläpäässä, ja niinpä elämää hohdotetaan eri asioilla kuten alkoholilla, elämyshakuisuudella, jopa kristillisellä hypellä. Elämää ei kestä sellaisena kuin se on, varsinkaan omaa rajallisuuttansa. On tarve uskoa olevansa jotenkin "erilainen", ylempi kuin muut. Juuri minulla on erityinen tehtävä valloittaa koko maailma. Tietenkään en hae kunniaa itselleni: Jumala vain jostain syystä valitsi minut olemaan tämän ajan messias, joka pelastaa maailman ihmeellisellä totuudellaan. Voi kuinka olenkaan nöyrä tämän suuren tehtäväni kanssa. Tällaisessa ajattelussa ei sinänsä ole väärää, kunhan se ei jää päälle. Idealismissa on paljon hyvääkin. Haaste on siinä, kun idealismi romahtaa, ettei nuoruuden into ja usko vaihtuisi kyynisyyteen ja katkeruuteen, vaan jalostuisi nöyräksi kuuliaisuudeksi Jumalaa kohtaan, edelleen rakastaen Jumalaa kokosydämisesti, tietoisena sekä oman voiman vähyydestä että Jumalan armon ja voiman suuruudesta.

uskovasta ihminen

En tiedä, kumpi on vaikeampaa, saada ihmisistä uskovia vai saada uskovista ihmisiä. On niin helppo sairastua ammattiuskovaisuuteen. Koko identiteettini on siinä, että olen uskova. Osaan olla "oma itseni" vain uskovien keskellä. Osaan puhua vain uskovien kanssa tai hengellisistä asioista. Muiden ihmisten parissa koen olevani hukassa ja uhattu. Tiedän kuitenkin, että tehtäväni on evankelioida, joten yritän parhaani mukaan maalata ei-uskoville itsestäni särötöntä kuvaa menestyvästä uskovasta, jonka elämä on ihmeellistä ja onnellista. Toivon, että he vaikuttuvat ja tulevat uskoon. Monen vuoden kokemuksella voin todeta tämän evankeliointitavan täysin hedelmättömäksi. Ihmeekseni hedelmää on alkanut syntyä, kun olen suostunut ihmiseksi ihmisten rinnalle paljastamalla, että minullakin on välillä vaikeaa, ahdistaa, ottaa päähän, teen virheitä. Siloteltu "cooli" kristillisyys on liian muovinmakuista myydäkseen.

suuri kutsumus arjessa

Pitäkää kunnia-asiananne elää hiljaisuudessa, toimittaa omia tehtäviänne ja tehdä työtä omilla käsillänne, niin kuin olemme teitä käskeneet, että vaeltaisitte moitteettomasti ulkopuolisten edessä ettekä olisi kenenkään avun tarpeessa (1. Tess. 4:11). Vaikka Paavali itse toisaalta eli aika extreme-elämää, hän ei jätä ohjeissaan uskoville juuri tilaa turhalle extremeilylle, vaan käskee hankkia ammatin ja elättää sillä itsensä, niin kuin tekevät muutkin ihmiset... (D 4/03: 20-22, emphasis added, except in the biblical quotation original.)

(EXTREME – unBalanced Life?

Balanced life sounds boring and everyday. Admiring the extreme is becoming common within Christian spheres, too. How should one relate to it?

Extreme is about searching for experiecnes: one feels alive only at the limits. It's easy, too. There's no need to balance between many truths when one can fling to one extreme. A balanced life is only possible for a mature individual who is ok with him-/herself and life. Day-to-day life isn't oppressive and there's no need to escape it. To me, the indicator of true mental maturity is that one can be pleased with living a balanced life everyday. But that's more easily said than done, even for a Christian. ---

extreme-faith

Radical Christianity is often talked about. What is meant by it? Apparently, relying fully on God, living one's faith real, swimming against the flow. Although I have also noticed that many think that radical Christianity is participating in a great and cool Christian megahappening, where there is great spirit and great talks. Unfortunately, this doesn't demand the little of radicalism. More challenging is converting speech to action: to live a balanced life everyday with faith as the power that carries life. If earlier I did look up to charismatic prophets who from the stage portrayed before my eyes impressive future visions one after the other, if only I'd surrender enough, now my definition of a mature and admirable Christian as a person who has a healthy balance between family, work, free time and congregational life. I've realised that this kind of people often make a greater impression on people in the midst of society than the big names glaring in the spotlights.

a shined life

Extreming, always having to be "radical", can also make one tired. The so-called secular literature calls this youth-related phenomenon "shining". One has to live at the top of the emotional scale, and so life is shined with different things like alcohol, experience-seeking, even Christian hype. Life is too much to cope with, especially one's limitations. One needs to believe one is somehow "different", above the others. Precisely I have a special mission to conquer the world. Of course I'm not after glory for myself: for some reason, God just picked me to be the messiah of this age who saves the world with an amazing truth. Oh how humble I am with this great mission. There's nothing wrong with this kind of thinking as such, as long as it doesn't last. There's a great deal good in idealism. The challenge issues when idealism collapses, so that the eagerness and faith of youth would not change into cynicism and bitterness, but would be refined into humble obedience towards God, still loving God whole-heartedly, aware of both the shortage of one's own power and the greatness of God's mercy and power.

a human out of a believer

I don't know which one is more difficult, make people believe or make believers people. It's so easy to become a professional believer. My whole identity is about being a believer. I can be "myself" only among believers. I can only chat with believers or about spiritual matters. Among other people I feel lost and threatened. I know, however, that my mission is to evangelise, so I do my best portraying non-believers a perfect picture of me, a successful believer, whose life is amazing and happy. I hope they are impressed and repent. With many years' experience I can ascertain that this way of evangelising is completely fruitless. To my amazement, fruit has begun to appear when I have been willing to be a human beside humans by revealing that it's occasionally hard for me, too, that I'm distressed, annoyed, and make mistakes. Smooth, "cool" Christianity is too plastic to sell.

a great calling in everyday life

Make it your ambition to lead a quiet life, to mind your own business and to work with your hands, just as we told you, so that your daily life may win the respect of outsiders and so that you will not be dependent on anybody (1. Thess. 4:11). Even though Paul in some respects lead quite an extreme life, in his advice for believers he doesn't leave much room for futile extreming, but tells them to find a profession and make a living out of it, just like other people do.)

APPENDIX 2. CHRISTIANS AS FANS OF GOD

> Kenellä on eniten *faneja* maailmassa? Väärin. Kyseessä ei ole Emma-gaalan yleisöäänestyksessä vuoden ulkomaisen artistin palkinnon napannut Eminem, ei Elvis, eikä edes David Beckham. Seuraavilla sivuilla meillä on kunnia esitellä sinulle muutamia maailman suurimman *Fan Clubin* jäseniä.

maailman suurin fänklap

- > Kuka voi päästä klubin jäseneksi?
- Fan Clubin perusmanuaalin mukaan Clubin nimenomainen tarkoitus on saada kaikki ihmisolennot mukaan. Manuaalista poiketen tietyt veljestöt ovat historian varrella pyrkineet rajaamaan muun muassa naiset ja neekerit pois, mutta tämä on karkeasti ristiriidassa manuaalin nimenomaisten ohjeiden kanssa.
- > Miten jäseneksi päästään ja mitä se maksaa?
- Jäsenyyttä anotaan suoraan Fan Clubin kohteelta ilman välikäsiä. Tosin joku klubilainen on yleensä auttamassa käytännön liittymisasioissa. Fan Clubin kohde suorittaa varsinaisen jäseneksi tekemisen, mikä käsittää muun muassa ihmisen hengellisen statuksen täydellisen muuttamisen. Liittyminen maksaa elämäntavan, asenteet ja tapauksesta riippuen erilaisia touhuiluja. Pitkän tähtäimen hinta vaihtelee maittain. Tiettävästi liittyminen ja mukanaolo tulevat Suomessa kansainvälisesti ajatellen hyvin halvaksi, kun taas esimerkiksi Sudanissa ja Pohjois-Koreassa Fan Clubin jäsenyyden hinta on ajoittain todella kova.
- > Mitkä ovat jäsenedut?
- Fan Clubilla on edessään megaluokan kohtaaminen, jota isännöi itse Fan Clubin kohdehenkilö. Kohtaamisen ylivertaisen laadun lisäksi sen erikoisuutta nostaa se, että se ei pääty koskaan. Vaikka Fan Clubin jäsenyydestä on usein paljon iloa jo ennen tätä kohtaamista, varsinainen jäsenyyden pointti on kuitenkin tulevaisuudessa.
- > Saavatko jäsenet fanipostia tai –tuotteita?
- Varsinaiseen *fanin survival-pakkaukseen* kuuluu lukuisien *muinaisklubilaisten* kirjoittamia teoksia, jotka on koottu yhdeksi *manuaaliksi*. Tämän lisäksi ylimmältä portaalta tulee tarveharkintaisesti hyvinkin henkilökohtaista postia ja jopa suoranaista apua erilaisissa elämäntilanteissa.
- > Kauanko jäsenyys kestää?
- Jäsenyys on periaatteessa ikuinen, joskin jotkut irtisanoutuvat erilaisista syistä. Toisaalta monet irtisanoutuneet liittyvät vielä myöhemmin *Clubiin* mukaan. *Fan Clubin* perustaja sitoutuu sataprosenttisesti jokaiseen jäseneen, ja tietenkin vastavuoroisuus kuuluu *Clubin* etiikkaan.
- > Paljonko *klubilla* on jäseniä?
- Ainoastaan ylin porras tietää tarkan jäsenmäärän. Tällä hetkellä arviot pyörivät jossakin 500 miljoonan tienoilla. Toisten mukaan klubiin kuuluu taas reilusti yli miljardi ihmistä. Joissakin kyselyissä noin 10 prosenttia suomalaisista ilmaisi kuuluvansa Clubiin. Eniten jäseniä taitaa olla Kiinassa, Afrikassa ja Etelä-Amerikassa.
- > Miksi juuri tähän Fan Clubiin kannattaa kuulua?

- *Clubi* on vanha ja osoittanut stabiiliutta, joka puuttuu monilta muilta kerhoilta. Byrokratian vähyys ja suora yhteys ylimpään portaaseen ovat ehdottomasti *Clubin* vahvoja puolia. Lisäksi *klubilaisten* jäsenedut ovat täysin eri luokkaa kuin muissa *klubeissa* eikä *fanipostin* allekirjoitusta ole kopioitu Canonilla. (D 2-3/03: 25, emphasis added.)

(Who has the most fans in the world? Wrong. It isn't Eminem, the one who won the award of the foreign artist of the year in the poll of the Emma gala, nor is it Elvis or even David Beckham. In the following, we are proud to present you with some members of the world's largest fan club.

(The world's biggest fan club

- Who can become a member of the club?
- According to the basic manual of the fan club, the literal purpose of the club is to get all people involved. Departing from the manual, some fraternities have in the course of the history tried to block women and Negroes, among others, out of the club, but this is in harsh contrast to the expressed guidelines of the manual.
- How can one become a member and how much does it cost?
- One applies for membership straight from the object of the club, without middlemen. Although, another member is normally involved in settling the practical issues. The object of the fan club carries out the actual joining, which involves, among other things, a total change in the spiritual status of the person. Joining in costs a way of life, attitudes and, depending on the case, different kinds of activities. The long-term price varies from one country to another. It is known that joining and being involved in Finland is cheap when compared internationally; for instance in Sudan and North-Korea the price of the membership in the fan club is very high at times.
- What are the members' benefits?
- The fan club is awaiting a mega-class meeting hosted by the object of the fan club himself. In addition to the incomparable quality of the meeting, its' rarity is increased by it never ending. Although membership in the fan club often brings joy already before this meeting, the actual point of the membership is in the future.
- Do the members receive fan post or products?
- A fan's actual survival kit includes literary works by various ancient members collected into one manual. In addition to this, one can receive very personal means-tested post and even direct help from the manager in different life situations.
- How long does the membership last?
- Membership is ever-lasting in principle, even though some resign for different reasons. On the other hand, many of those who resign later rejoin the club. The founder of the fan club makes a one hundred percent commitment to each member, and reciprocity is part of the Club's ethics.
- How many members does the club have?
- Only the manager knows the exact number of members. At this moment the estimated figures are around some 500 million. In some surveys around 10 percent of Finns have announced themselves to belong to the Club. Most members are probably found in China, Africa and South-America.

- Why is it worth belonging to exactly this Fan Club?

- The Club is old and has exhibited stability that many other clubs lack. The scarcity of bureaucracy and direct connection to the manager are definitely the strengths of the Club. Additionally, the members' benefits are on a whole different level than in other clubs, and the fan post signatures haven't been copied by Canon.)

APPENDIX 3. ENGLISH IN PROFESSIONAL JARGON

Unelma-ammatissa: Festarien tekninen tuottaja

Kun keikat kasvavat festivaali-tasolle pitää lisäksi olla **backline-crew**, eli ne kaverit jotka hoitavat vahvistimet, kitarat, rummut ja muut soittimet lavalle ja sieltä pois. ---

Jos tapahtumassa on monta esiintyjää tarvitaan **Stage Manager**, joka hoitaa esiintyjät oikeaan aikaan lavalle ja sieltä pois. ---

Sitten ensin *freelance*-teknikkona puolisen vuotta ja sen jälkeen vakituiseksi alan yritykseen. ---

Aikataulu tai siis se, miten saan ajan rittämään siihen, että hommat valmistuvat ennen *deadlinea*. ---

Ensinnäkin hän lähettää *raiderin* (=dokumentti josta käyvät ilmi ko. esiintyjän tarpeet eli montako muusikkoa on tulossa, mitä mikrofoneja tarvitaan, paljonko tilaa lavalle tarvitaan yms.) etukäteen ja vieläpä sellaisen, joka pitää paikkansa. ---

Kyllä tässäkin se ennakkohomma on tärkeintä. Se että on tehty hyvät aikataulut joista pidetään kiinni, niin rakentamisen osalta kuin sitten itse shownkin osalta. ---

Musta väri on taas sen takia, ettei erottuisi lavalta kun käy fiksaamassa jotakin vaikkapa kesken esityksen. (D 6/05:26, bold font original, other emphasis added.)

(In a dream job: the technical producer of festivals

When gigs change into festivals, also a backline-crew is needed, in other words those guys who make sure that amplifiers, guitars, drums and other instruments get on and off stage. ---

If there are many performers, a Stage Manager is needed who makes sure the performers are on and off stage at the right time. ---

Then first as a freelance technician for half a year, and thereafter permanently in a firm. ---

Timetable, or the matter of having enough time for preparing the business before the deadline. ---

First, s/he sends a rider (= the document showing the needs of the performer in question, such as how many musicians are coming, which microphones are needed, how much space is needed on stage, etc.) beforehand, one that even holds true. ---

Here, too, it's the pre-work that is the most important. That one has a good timetable and sticks to it, both in terms of construction and the show itself. ---

The black colour is for not being too visible when one goes and fixes something on stage, perhaps in the middle of the show.)