Language Alternation and Expert Identity Construction in Fashion Blog *Dirty Pretty Things*

Master's thesis
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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Englannin kieli on saavuttanut kiistattoman aseman maailmankielenä ja sitä käytetään myös Suomessa monilla eri aloilla. Bloggaamisesta on tullut viime vuosien aikana trendi ja erityisesti muotiblogit ovat kasvattaneet suosiotaan Suomessa. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, millaisia funktioita koodinvaihdolla ja kieltensekoittamisella on suomen kielisessä muotiblogitekstissä, ja kuinka blogin kirjoittaja rakentaa asiantuntijaidentiteettiä kieltenvaihtelun (suomi ja englanti) kautta.

Tutkimuksen aineistona käytetään 47:ää blogimerkintää syksystä 2007 tammikuuhun 2010 asti. Merkintöjen pääkieli on suomi, mutta niissä kaikissa esiintyy myös englannin kielisiä elementtejä. Kieltenvahtelulla tarkoitetaan analyysissa joko koodinvaihtoa, joka on merkityksellistä diskurssin paikallisella tasolla, tai kielten sekoittamista, joka taas on merkityksellistä kokonaisuutena ja muodostaa oman tyylinsä.

Tulokset osoittavat, että Englannin kieltä käytetään muotiblogissa korostamaan jotakin asiaa ja sen avulla elaboroidaan suomen kielistä tekstikokonaisuutta. Suurin osa kieltenvaihtelusta on kielten sekoittamista, jonka myötä muodostuu blogin kirjoittajan oma persoonallinen tyyli. Englannin kielisiä elementtejä mukautetaan suomen kielen ortografian sekä morfologian tai jopa molempien mukaan. Joskus kieltenvaihtelun avulla muodostetaan hybridimuotoja, joissa suomen ja englannin kieliset sanat muodostavan yhden sanan. Nämä hybridimuodot liittyvät useimmiten muotiin. Englannin kieltä käytetään myös ilmaisemaan asiantuntevuutta muodin alalla sekä rakentamaan asiantuntijaidentiteettiä. Käyttämällä englannin kieltä kirjoittaja myös osoittaa kuulumistaan globaaliin muotibloggareiden yhteisöön.

Tutkimus korostaa englannin kielen vankkaa asemaa suomessa ja sen käyttöä suomen kielisessä blogitekstissä, jossa on selkeästi yksi osa identiteetin rakentumista. Lisää tutkimusta tarvitaan suomalaisista blogeista sekä englannin kielen käytöstä Suomessa.

Contents

1. Introduction

The globalization and spread of the Anglo-American culture have reasserted the status of the English language in significant ways. English has achieved a role of a lingua franca, an international language that is used in a variety of domains globally. The number of English speakers in the world is considerable. It is not only spoken as a native language in countries all over the world but there are a large number of non-native speakers. English is spoken as a second or foreign language and in many countries it is also the second official language. Moreover, English is the most taught foreign language in the world, and the number of non-native speakers of English is continuously increasing. Thus, the number of non-native speakers who use English to communicate with other non-natives is also growing (Graddol 2000).

In the present-day Finland, English has an integral role within educational, media, and business settings, as well as in recreational activities (Leppänen and Nikula 2007). It is relevant to study language alternation in a country such as Finland, where English does not have a status of an official language, but where it is used for communication in the national sphere. In Finland, the majority of young people master English well since practically everyone chooses to study it as their first foreign language at school. Moreover, one of the major reasons why Finnish people in general have a good command of English is that they have an easy access to the language via television and other media. The Internet plays a major role in the spreading of English in Finland. It is an important tool of communication, information seeking, and entertainment, and a common source of the English language for many Finns today.

Today people have a wide range of possibilities to interact and communicate with each other in electronic environments. The Internet is a practical and effective tool for communication and sharing thoughts and experiences. Discussion forums, chat groups and email are common ways of electronic interaction giving the users a possibility to share ideas with people of the same interest. The blog represents a type of the newest media revolutions. Blogging has become a trend that is involved in the ongoing change of the mainstream media, and is conquering the fields of politics,

business, and culture. People are able to communicate, argue publicly and share experiences as well as archive knowledge with this phenomenon (Burstein 2005). Moreover, people do not necessarily have to be devoted to technology to start blogging, because a ready-made tool has been created by technologists and engineers. However, a computer with an access to the Internet is required. Blogging contributes to publishing and retaining the voice of ordinary people (Burstein 2005). Now practically everyone can express their ideas and share their opinions with others. Blogging also allows people to express themselves in a more spontaneous way. One can be more informal and argue over sensitive issues. This is possible because one does not have to write a blog publicly: a blogger can write either anonymously or write a completely private blog that requires a password.

This study is exceptionally interesting because it focuses primarily on written texts that combine two different languages. It is important to examine written texts because the majority of earlier research in the field of bilingualism and multilingualism has mainly focused on spoken language. The Internet has affected significantly on the increase of bi- and multilingualism in written communication, thus it is very important to study texts that occur on the Internet. Bi- and multilingualism in computer-mediated communication is a current topic and is undoubtedly worth examining. The Internet affects also the language use in Finland. English has been the dominant language of the Internet for a long time and it continues affecting the language use in computer-mediated communication in Finland.

The present study aims at filling a gap in the research of the functions and role of English in Finland. English is taught and learned as a foreign language in Finland but due to the status it has gained in Finnish society, it could be considered a second language for the majority of Finns. Furthermore, the study focuses on the language alternation in a written context, more specifically, in computer-mediated communication. The Internet is one of the major reasons for the spread of English in Finland. It is very important to explore the language alternation in written computer-mediated context, where the primary language is Finnish, and it gets affected by English.

The present study focuses on the role of English in Finland as well as the use of English by a Finn who lives abroad and communicates with the Finnish audience. It is relevant to study the use of English in Finland because it has achieved a significant status in Finnish society. It is worth mentioning, that the remarkable role of English is visible in the language use of youth cultures. English has a strong impact on Finnish language use via television, Internet and other media. It is used alongside with Finnish by fresh and innovative ways. English has become an important resource of communication for Finns. It is conquering the status of a second language in Finland because the number of fluent speakers is continuously increasing.

The structure of my thesis is as follows: First, I will provide theoretical background of my study. I will discuss the role of English as a global language as well as its role in Finland. Then I will introduce the theory of language alternation, including characteristics of code-switching (CS) and language mixing (LM). I will also introduce basic characteristics of computer-mediated communication (CMC), and I will describe briefly weblogs. In the last part of my theory I will outline the concept of identity. Second, I will introduce my methods of study and my data. Third, I will outline the analysis. The first part of my analysis deals with the functions of code-switching and language mixing. The second part of my analysis aims at contemplating the expert identity construction in the blog. Fourth, I will provide the findings of my study, discussion and conclusion.

2. English as a Global Language

This chapter will focus on the role of English as a global language. First, I will outline some of the reasons for the global spread of English. Secondly, I will discuss the role that English has established in Finnish society.

2.1 English as a lingua franca

In the era of globalization, one language has managed to conquer the whole world. It has made it possible that people all over the world can easily share their thoughts and communicate with each other. English, the global lingua franca, has acquired an unwavering reputation and status. It has become the language of technology and business, global media and communication. It has introduced an entire culture, the one of the Anglophonic world. The spread of English is a continuous process that will appear in multiple and different ways in different societies, cultures and environments. English language learning is changing as globalization increases. Globalization indicates that English is used increasingly for economic purposes and that using English means owning rich linguistic capital (Baker 2006: 92). In this chapter, I will discuss the status of English as a global language, and its position in Finnish society.

There are multiple reasons for the global spread of English. One of the most remarkable reasons is the rise of the British Empire in the 19th century which gave English an unwavering status of global power. This was followed in the 20th century by "the rise of the US as a superpower that has spread the English language alongside its economic, technological and cultural influence" (Graddol 2000: 8). The spread of English has occurred in various ways, including political domination, the subordination of vernacular languages, trade, colonization, emigration, education, religion and the mass media (Baker 2006: 87). As Baker (2006: 87) states, English is the dominant language of a variety of important domains and functions, such as international communication, science, technology, medicine, computers, research, books, periodicals, transnational business, tourism, trade, shipping, aviation, advertising, diplomacy, international organizations, mass media, entertainment, internet, politics, youth culture and sports. Such a widespread use of English makes sure that Anglo culture, Anglo institutions, and Anglo ways of thinking and communication are spreading (Baker 2006: 87-88).

The spread of English can also be explained by the economic and cultural globalization, which has accelerated increasingly during the past years. In global business and trade, English is a useful tool of communication which is easily

adoptable and available to an increasing number of users. Today, it seems that employees at different levels of international organizations and companies are able to communicate in English without the help of interpreters, translators or correspondents (Graddol 1997, Alatalo 2006, and Bergroth 2007, as quoted by Leppänen and Nikula 2008).

Cultural globalization affects the spread of English since it is often the dominant language of different media, such as television, movies and popular music. The number and distribution of newspapers and magazines has grown remarkably, but radio and television have become even more important vehicles of mass communication since they offer all; news, information and entertainment (Baker 2006: 426). Baker (2006: 426) points out that television, especially the satellite television, has contributed to the creation of the global village – to the world-wide diffusion of important and immediate news, sport and culture. Television can contribute to multiculturalism and to an empathy and insight into other cultures, languages and lifestyles. As Baker (2006: 426) mentions, there is also another side to television. The world´s largest television industry is in North America and it provides a mass of programs, mainly light entertainment and news. Through these programs, the Anglo-American culture is transmitted to other parts of the world. This way, the Anglo-American lifestyle, its music, cultural practices and lifestyles become known all over the world.

The mass media is one of the most significant channels of the English language. The use of subtitling means that the English language is experienced by audiences in many worldwide countries. In Scandinavian countries, such as Finland, many English language films and other programs have traditionally been broadcast with subtitles, with only children´s programs dubbed. This has clearly had a positive effect on the motivation to learn the English language. The motivation to learn is usually high in Scandinavian countries, and evidently, the television is one aid to competence. This is an additive bilingual situation, where the second language does not displace the first. (Baker 2006: 426-427). Different video and computer games are in most of the cases in English. At the moment, the Internet plays a significant role as an important channel of the power of English due to its rapid and wide global

spread. Different social channels and spaces where English is used more and more for communication are especially important (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 13).

Bhatia (1992, as quoted by Androutsopoulos 2006: 18), points out that English is the "single most favored language selected for global mixing" in advertising. According to this statement, English is widely used for products of non-Anglophone provenience, and has been attributed symbolic values such as novelty, modernity, internationalism, technological excellence, hedonism and fun. The use of English in the mass media of non-Anglophone countries in traditionally attributed to Englishization, i.e. "the infiltration of host societies and cultures by Anglophone, in particular American, technology and lifestyle (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999, as quoted by Androutsopoulos, 2006: 19). Traditionally, the focus of this debate is on anglicisms, i.e. lexical borrowings. However, current uses of English in national language mass media also include one-word code-switching, chunks, formulae, phrases or utterances, as well as English names, headlines and subtitles (Androutsopoulos 2006: 19).

Axelsson et al. (2003, as quoted by Androutsopoulos 2006: 21), focus on introduced languages, i.e. languages other than the main or majority language of a "world". They distinguish three main motivations for the introduction of a new language, three types of responses to it, and three factors for the acceptance or rejection of the newly introduced language. Reasons for introducing a new language are addressee specification (i.e. users want to get in touch with fellow speakers of their language), playfulness (users want to initiate language play or engage others in multilingual conversation), and disturbance (users disturb ongoing conversation or try to attract other users' attention) (Androutsopoulos 2006: 21). The way the newly introduced language is treated depends on the type of language, the type of discourse environment, and the perceived intention of the language introducer.

The powerful role of English is also visible in the language competence of European Union citizens. In the EU, English (34%) is the most widely known language besides the mother tongue followed by German (12%) and French (11%) . At country level, English is the most widely spoken foreign language in 16 member states, and also mentioned most often as a first foreign language. In Finland, three most widely

known languages are English (60%), Swedish (38%) and German (17%) (Eurobarometer 2005: 4).

2.2 English in Finland

English has a unique and important status in the present day Finland and its importance can be explained by various factors. The change in the structure of society, its modernization and urbanization, the processes of change in the global market and business, the internationalization of working life, the cultural flows, efficient and productive language education and formation, and different kinds of channels of information and media, have all had a remarkable effect on the great status that English has in the life of many Finns today (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 16).

It was not a particular circumstance that the English language found its way to Finnish society. The development of English into a global language is associated with the widespread use of English in Finland. During the past five decades, English has achieved an exceptional status as a   world language, *lingua franca,* which is spoken, not only as a first language or mother tongue, but also more and more as second or third language (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 12). English will continue its spread and development, and it will emerge in different ways in different places, societies and environments. According to Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 13), the main focus of the research of English as a global language has for a long time been in countries where English has a remarkable role in society or where it is recognized as an official language. For instance, as a result of colonization English is still an official second language of many countries. Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 139) also point out that a lot less is known about the situation in countries like Finland, where the English language is learnt and used as a foreign language, but its status is preeminently growing. It is important to study the development of English in contexts where it is used as a second or foreign language, since the number of these users is growing rapidly.

In Finland, English is considered a foreign language since it does not have a status of an official language, and it is not used by Finns as a means of mutual communication. However, English has a special role in Finnish society through the media, education and working life. One of the most significant channels through which the English language affects Finns is television. In Finland, television programs and movies are not dubbed, as it is the case in most of the European countries, but they are subtitled in Finnish (Vertanen 2003, as quoted by Leppänen and Nikula 2007). Subtitling films and television programs makes it possible that people can hear English and at the same time read the translation in Finnish. As many children's programs are also subtitled, Finnish children get affected by English since the childhood. Leppänen and Nikula (2007) also point out the role of English in the print media – including youth magazines, advertisements, job announcements and trade names – and in the new media. "English has established itself an additional language, alongside Finnish and Swedish" (Leppänen and Nikula 2007).

Education is an important factor when it comes to the English language competence of Finnish people. The educational system in Finland encourages people to study and learn foreign languages. The majority of Finnish children begin to learn English in school at the age of nine (3rd grade in the Finnish elementary school). The research of Leppänen et al. (2009: 79) points out that English has become the most important language taught in the schools of Finland. The differences between age groups justify this statement as the youngest groups (15-24 years, and 25-44 years) have studied English approximately 6-15 years. Half of the age group 25-44 has studied English at least 11 years, and in the group of 45-64 this number was only 13 percent. According to the study, this can be explained by the reform of the comprehensive school, which began in the 1960´s. During this reform, students began to study English already in their first school years. The study of Leppänen et al. (2009: 40) also points out the popularity of English language in high school education and in different (municipal) institutes. In both cases, English was the dominant language of the education. In 2005, 99,7 % of high school graduates had studied English as their first foreign language, 99,2 % of junior high school students, and 68,8 % of elementary school students (Tilastokeskus 2005a, 2005b, 2005c).

According to Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 5), English has a significant role in Finland, especially in youth culture and pop music. Young Finns are constantly affected by the popular culture from the USA and UK via television, music and Internet. As they are affected by the English language, they are able to use it together with Finnish, and adopt English words and expressions into their mother tongue. Since its inception in 1988, MTV or, The Music Television has become a significant factor at the European media scene. Today, it broadcasts non-stop, around the clock, seven days a week, to around 36 million homes in 26 countries (Roe and Cammaer, 1993: 169, as quoted by Kachru, Kachru and Nelson 2006: 592). In Finland, Music Television has also played a significant role since the 1990´s. It has made popular many television shows that affect the youth culture. For example, Jackass, Southpark, and Pimp My Ride have been very popular among young males, while The Hills, Laguna Beach, and different reality shows have been the topic of interest for young girls. These kinds of programs involve typical slogans and expressions, and a young style for the language use which all affect the young viewers.

One of the most significant channels for the spread of English in Finland is the Internet. It can be assumed that in present day Finland, the vast majority of citizens have at least some kind of access to the Internet. Today the practicality of the Internet is used for everyday necessities, such as paying the bills in the online bank, making different applications and keeping in contact with family and friends via email. The Internet provides a variety of different kinds of discussion forums where people can chat with others, change and express their ideas and opinions, achieve information, and help one another. In Finland, websites made for social networking, such as Facebook, Twitter and Finnish IRC- Galleria, are popular and common ways to keep in contact with other people. At the beginning, for instance Facebook was only available in English, which clearly has had an effect to people´s language use online. Leppänen (2011) points out that Finnish people use English more in the Internet than in everyday life. The use of English is rarely random and it has established rules and norms of its own. The Internet communities create the rules for the occasions where English is used and how it should be used. English is used to express some idea or matter in an interesting and efficient way. Moreover, expert knowledge on some particular topic is emphasized through English (Leppänen 2011).

2.2.1 Code-switching in Finland

Finland is a bilingual country where Finnish is the majority language and Swedish the second official language. In Finland, as well as in other bilingual communities, code-switching is a common phenomenon of communication. Finnish people use other languages with their native language, and may switch and mix it with them. According to Leppänen et al. (2009: 116), code-switching in Finland occurs especially in ordinary everyday contexts and speech events, and in professional jargon. Code-switching and language mixing are also important resources of expression among youth cultures in Finland. Expressions of dialect or "slang" spoken in theHelsinki-region consist, to a great extent, of foreign-based words (e.g. *kääsh*i for *cash*, *steissi* for *station* and so on.). Music, films and television affect youth culture's communication and language use, and thus language alternation is likely to occur.

There are multiple reasons for the occurrence of code-switching in Finland. In the study of Leppänen et al. (2009: 123-125), the most common explanation for switching a code is that "it happens subconsciously". The second largest group explained their code-switching by using professional language, and the third mentioned that code-switching is an efficient means to express power. According to the study, the majority of respondents considered code-switching positive, and it occurs most frequently among young people, people with higher social status, and people who live in cities. Code-switching seems to be a natural resource of expression and communication for these groups of people, which explains the reason why they use it more easily and more subconsciously. The research also states, that code-switching may be one of the features that defines the use of language by a young person, and it may be a significant factor in expressing his identity. Though code-switching is considered a positive resource of communication, for a part of Finnish society it is seen as a foreign phenomenon which may cause concern.

Moore and Latomaa (2006) examined the combination of Finnish and English, or "Finglish" that was spoken in parts of the North America for two hundred years by Finnish immigrants. They point out that while the use of Finglish is decreasing in North America, a newer version now appears back in Finland. Moore and Latomaa

(2006) aims at presenting what happens today when two very different languages collide and create new expressions and terms. Finnish has borrowed many words from a wide variety of languages during the past four thousand years. The first loans came from the early Indo-European language and later mainly from Indo-Iranian, Baltic, Germanic and Slavic languages. Swedish has contributed to Finnish the most words, and they relate to several spheres of life, for instance the term *laki* for *law*, and *koulu* for *school* (Moore and Latomaa 2006).

Moore and Latomaa (2006) point out the two core features of English that affect the present day Finnish: passive use and personal reference. While English speaking people use active voice, Finnish people tend to use passive voice especially in conversation, and to focus on verbs. Moreover, Finns favor not to refer to people by personal pronouns, while in people who speak English tend to call other people by their names or another word that directly indicates to the person (e.g. Mr., Mrs.). Moore and Latomaa (2006) mention that the most obvious changes in Finland have been "the coinage of new Finglish terms to reflect internationalism and to be cool and cosmopolitan". The internationalization has resulted in both extremely creative and ridiculous results.

English word	Finnish word
Liquor	Likööri
Motorist	Motoristi
Novel	Novelli
Petrol	Petroli

As it can be seen in the example by Moore and Latomaa (2006), all Finnish words end in a vowel. When Finnish adopts loan words they are made to adapt the Finnish sound pattern. Moreover, Finnish words tend to end in a vowel so foreign words also conform to this: the English words *stress* become *stressi, trend* goes to *trendi*, and *net* becomes *netti*. Moore and Latomaa (2006) also say that Finnish adopts new verbs quite easily, and they are often formed with –ata, or –oida endings. They provided some examples from computers:

to boot → bootata

to save → seivata

to print →printata

to chat → tsätätä

to format → formatoida

to edit → editoida

Finns also use abundantly some of the following English words: yes, please, well, OK, sorry, anyway, whatever, and about (Moore and Latomaa 2006). These English words are adapted to Finnish pronunciation so that for example, *yes* becomes *jees*. As Moore and Latomaa (2006) say, these English words are finding their way into Finnish conversation so that people can say *ihan jees* (quite okay), or *ihan jees tyyppi* (a quite an okay type of guy). They also point out that certain sectors of Finnish society tend to adopt or coin English-like words or phrases. Some examples of these include business, beauty shops, interior decorating firms, pubs, sex shops, data technology, fitness clubs and music industry. A hair salon in Finland could thus be called Hair-Story, or a gym City Gym.

English has established a steady role in Finnish society, and it is visible through a variety of domains. In present day Finland, people are exposed to English more than ever before. It is no wonder it arouses discussion and causes concern in Finland.

3. Continuum of Language Alternation Phenomena

In this chapter, I will introduce the typology by Peter Auer for language alternation. This typology is applied in the analysis of the present study. I will discuss the different types of code-switching, language mixing, and introduce the concept of a fused lect. Moreover, I will apply some points on language alternation by Sirpa Leppänen. This study focuses on language alternation between Finnish and English. One the key terms in this field of study is the phenomenon called code-switching. In

this chapter, I will firstly present the general characteristics of code-switching. Secondly, I will outline some differences between code-switching and borrowing. Thirdly, I will discuss about the relation that code-switching has with social identities. Finally, I will introduce briefly earlier research on code-switching in the web. Both of the earlier studies are relevant as regards the present study. Thus, introducing them is important.

3.1 Characteristics of language alternation

According to Auer (1999: 310-311), over the last few decades, a vast variety of phenomena where two (or more) different languages are juxtaposed in discourse and/or within a sentence have been great matter of interest. These include language alternation, code-switching, codemixing, and so on. A continuum of language alternation phenomena includes three cases of language alternation. The cases are code-switching (CS), language mixing (LM), and fused lects (FSs). In the continuum, code-switching and fused lects are the polar extremes, and language mixing a point between. Code-switching represents the pragmatic pole and fused lects the grammatical pole. In code-switching, the contrast between two different codes is meaningful and can be interpreted by participants. This leads to the fact that code-switching can be used creatively as a linguistic resource, while fused lects consist of structural regularities. As Auer (1999) points out, the language use among bilinguals develops from CS via LM to FLs. Nevertheless, he also states that this progress is not necessarily inevitable, as the language use can stabilize at any point of the continuum (Auer 1999: 329.).

Code-switching can have either discourse-related or participant-related functions. In discourse-related switching the linguistic activities are contextualized and therefore it is a way of creating interactional meanings. It is also one of the available strategies used by bilinguals to convey meaning. Participant-related code-switching includes instances of differing language preferences and competences. Auer (1999: 311-312) states that "(discourse-related) code-switching occurs in a sociolinguistic context in which the speakers aim to direct towards a preference of one language at a time".

Auer (1999) illustrates the prototypical case of (discourse-related) code-switching in the following way: (a) it occurs in a sociolinguistic context where one language is used at a time, therefore it is possible to identify the language-of-interaction which is valid at a given moment, and until code-switching occurs; (b) code-switching signals "otherness" of the upcoming contextual frame, and thus achieves a change in "footing"; (c) the mechanisms by which code-switching relates to the two codes and to the context in which it occurs can be described in very general ways. Both contexts and interactional meanings of code-switching are theoretically innumerable; however, the ways in which these meanings are interpreted remain habitual from one community to the next; (d) code-switching can be either personal or group style. As a group style, the use of code-switching may relate to the peculiar use of language within a speech community; (e) most code-switches occur at "major syntactic or prosodic boundaries" (at clause or sentence level). Switching contextualizes a certain linguistic activity and therefore the units affected by the switch must be large enough to develop such an activity; (f) although it is very predictable that code-switching bilinguals are highly proficient in both languages, balanced proficiency is not under any circumstances a prerequisite. Actually, code-switching is possible also with a very limited knowledge of the "other language". This prototypical case illustrates the alternational type of code-switching. In the following paragraph I will introduce the insertional type, which is relevant in this study.

In insertional switching, "a content word (noun, verb, rarely adjective/adverb) is inserted into a surrounding passage in the other language". The insertions can be "morphosyntactically fully integrated and they can even carry over grammatical elements into the receiving language" (Auer 1999:314). In both instances, alternational, and insertional switching, participants orient towards the "other-languageness" of the insertion. This can be done by deriving a particular interactional meaning from it, or by relating it to the speakers' (momentary) incompetence in the established language-of-interaction. Auer (1999: 314) accentuates that the insertion may be morphosyntactically fully integrated; or "it may carry over grammatical elements into the receiving language". Thus, the communicative function of the insertions does not depend on its grammatical format.

In contrast to locally meaningful code-switching, language mixing (LM) is meaningful as a whole or as a recurrent pattern (Auer 1999: 315-16). In language mixing, it is difficult to identify the final language-of-interaction; LM involves frequent intrasentential juxtaposition of two languages. Moreover, it is usually difficult to draw and maintain a clear distinction between insertional and alternational juxtaposition in language mixing. As Auer (1999: 315) says, it is a specific feature to LM that alternational and insertional strategies blend. Language mixing does not involve a change in footing, and it must not be considered an expression of a speaker's language preferences.

Auer (1998) states, that there occurs a twofold distinction between switching and mixing on the one hand, and alteration and insertion, on the other. Insertion is defined as a uni-directional process, in which elements of a donor language are imbedded into a matrix language. Alternation is a bi-directional process, in which interaction can equally be conducted in both languages, and the point of switching is not predictable. For the distinction between switching and mixing, Auer (1998) also argues for a restrictive view of switching as a locally meaningful phenomenon, which indexes features of the speaker and/or the situation, such as change of topic or activity, change of footing, etc. It can involve single word items or larger chunks. Insertional mixing, on the other hand, can be quite frequent and is only meaningful as a whole, i.e. as a language variety of style. It covers both established and nonce lexical borrowings as well as some larger chunks.

Leppänen (2008: 213) argues that on some occasions, language mixing is rather about interlingualism than bilingualism. While bilingualism means moving from one language to another, interlingualism means that "different languages do not always vary and activate sequentially, and for the users, they can be expressional possibilities that occur at the same time" (Leppänen 2008: 213). When interlingualism occurs, the language users might not be aware of using expressions in foreign languages. Instead, the expressions are the relevant and appropriate linguistic resources that the users have at a particular occasion or context, and which help the

users to create different meanings. On these occasions, the form of language is a mixed code (Leppänen 2008: 213) whose common feature is that the expressions are meaningful in both languages: bivalent, or syncretic. Leppänen (2008: 214) points out that this kind of interlingualism may develop into its own variety, a mixed language. In this study it is particularly important to take the concept of interlingualism into account since the use of code-switching has created a possibility that the blog's discourse has developed into a mixed language.

Fused lect is a relatively stable mixture of two or more languages. According to Auer (1999), the term could be defined as a "grammatical amalgamation of two language varieties or languages. Fused lects differ from language mixing at the grammatical level. As the "function-form relationships" become stabilized, the linguistic variation unique to language mixing does not occur in fused lects which leads to the simplification of the structures. However, new structures may emerge as a result of combining two elements from two languages or varieties (Auer 1999: 321).

3.2 Code-switching

Code-switching is the use of words and structures from more than one language or linguistic variety by the same speaker within the same speech situation (Callahan 2004: 13). Its area of research is remarkably vague and it involves a lot of terminology, which sometimes makes understanding difficult. There are several reasons that explain the attention that code-switching has attracted, but probably the most common issue seems to be that it violates the strong expectation that only one language will be used at any given time (Heller 1988). The use of more than one language is considered something that needs to be explained, whereas using one language is considered normal. Code-switching can occur between speech acts of different individuals, in the same address between different utterances and even within single phrases or expressions. As Gumperz (1982: 64) states, code-switching tends to occur within the informal communication of homogenous language minorities. Usually in these cases the language used to communicate with the speakers of the same speech community is different than the one that is used with other people. Code-switching is also a crucial part of bilingual discourse, and occurs

frequently in multilingual and/or cultural communities. Code-switching is often subconscious: people may not be aware that they have switched or be able to report, following a conversation, which code they used for a particular topic (Wardhaugh 1992: 107).

Code-switching that occurs within the same conversation is considered *conversational code-switching*. When switching emerges at either clauses or between sentences, it is considered *inter-sentential switching*. Inter-sentential switching may also occur between speaker turns, and can be thought of as requiring greater fluency in both languages than tag switching since major portions of the utterance must conform to the rules of both languages (Romaine 1995: 123). In contrast to inter-sentential switches, there are also *intra-sentential switches,* which involve switching in the middle of sentences, clauses, or even words. According to Romaine (1995: 123), intra-sentential switching involves the greatest syntactic risk, and may be avoided by all but the most fluent bilinguals. Auer (1999: 5), however, argues that "although a codeswitching bilingual may be highly proficient in both languages, balanced proficiency is by no means a prequisite". According to Auer's hypothesis, code-switching is possible even with a very limited knowledge of the other language.

Another type of code-switching is *tag-switching*, in which there are "tags" that can be inserted anywhere, and that do not have too many syntactic limits. The tags are usually in one language, and the rest of the utterance in another language. Usually tags are discourse markers, such as *like*, *you know*, and different interjections (Milroy & Muysken 1995: 7-9). Romaine (1995: 122) points out that, "since tags are subject to minimal syntactic restrictions, they may be easily inserted at a number of points in a monolingual utterance without violating syntactic rules". In the following example *Mutta mä en viittinyt, no way*, the English tag *no way* is inserted into a Finnish sentence without violating any grammatical rules or the structure of the sentence (Poplack et al. 1987, as quoted by Poplack 2004).. All three types of code-switching could be found within a single and the same discourse.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) recognized in their research two different types of code-switching: *situational* and *metaphorical*. Situational code-switching refers to

language alternation by the same speaker in different speech situations, though the speaker's utterances within each situation are monolingual (Callahan 2004: 13). Wardhaugh (1992: 106), points out that situational code-switching occurs when the language used change according to the situations in which the conversants find themselves: "they speak one language in one situation and another in a different one". There is no topic change involved. If a change of topic requires a change in the language used, we are talking about metaphorical code-switching. Metaphorical code-switching occurs when certain kinds of topics are discussed. Participants of a particular conversation may follow the social norms of a certain communicative event, thus expressing their relationship and communicating meanings by switching a code (Blom and Gumperz: 1972: 424-425). Callahan (2004) states that "emblematic, or etiquette, switching and metaphorical switching are terms used to classify code-switching on the basis of its pragmatic and social motivation."

As mentioned earlier, code-switching is a significant part of bilingual discourse. Alvarez-Cáccamo (1990: 11, in Leppänen 2008) claims that, the code-switching of a discourse does not treat only the variation of speech varieties, but that "in communication speech and actions are contextualized microchronolocically in the local level of speech. Code-switching is "a contextualization cue" (Gumperz 2001: 221-222), which is "any verbal sign which, when processed in co-occurrence with symbolic grammatical and lexical signs, serves to construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation". This way, it affects how constituent messages are understood.

Code-switching has received an increasing research interest especially in the last twenty years. According to Jacobson (1990, 1998, as quoted by Kovács 2001: 61), today code-switching is no longer looked upon as a "peculiar" use of different languages but recognized as a "worldwide phenomenon". The nature of code-switching as a worldwide phenomenon is clearly visible in today's international media and communication.

According to Kovács (2001: 66) code-switching has also been analyzed as a reflection of power relations. The opportunity to switch to another language gives a

great feeling of power since some expressions and ideas are better expressed in another language. In this study I suggest that the tendency to switch language is highly depending on the context and cultural surrounding.

3.2.1 Code-switching vs. borrowing

The distinction between code-switching and borrowing is important in the research, and it has been examined a lot. It is important to clarify this distinction since most of the bilingual interaction involves both code-switching and borrowing. Also, single-word switching can easily be confused with borrowing. However, the need to distinguish the two phenomena has been questioned.

According to Callahan (2004: 13), borrowing occurs when word forms from one language are introduced into another. In code-switching, the forms of each language remain discrete at some aspects. When material from one language (L2) is used in another (L1), it may be unclear whether in consists of elements which have been borrowed from L2, and which have at some point entered the lexicon of L1, or if the forms remain discrete from L1. This can be difficult to determine especially when focusing on a single word. Gumperz (1982: 66) claims that the borrowed elements are treated as parts of the borrowing language because they adapt to its syntax and morphology. Romaine (1995: 124) states that borrowing can occur in the speech of those with only monolingual competence, while code-switching implies some competence in the two languages, although the precise relation between competence and types of code-switching is disputed. In contrast, Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez (1975: 158), talk of code-switching as a type of borrowing.

Myers-Scotton (as quoted by Heller 1988: 159-160), states that the problem of distinguishing borrowing and switching can be solved if it is approached in terms of social content, not structure. She also points out that, "Phonological or syntactic features in a social dialect are not distinctive and therefore are not crucial defining features of the dialect; all incorporations of L2 into L1 are not diagnostic of interpersonal negotiations". Those which carry social significance constitute code-

switching, while those which do not are borrowings.

Earlier researches by, for instance, Gingras (1974) and Reyes (1976) categorically classified single words as borrowings (in Callahan 2004: 15). As an exception to this, Haugen (1973:521, as quoted by Callahan 2004: 15-16) considered code-switching to include "everything from the introduction of a single, unassimilated word up to a complete sentence or more into the context of another language". According to the study of Lance (1975:138-139 in Callahan 2004: 16), there was a category of "single words or terms", in which he included quasi-technical terms, brand names, place names, personal names, tag questions, interjections, adverbs, and numbers. Lance considered these items to be codeswitches as long as they did not show structural adaptation. Myers-Scotton (1993a: 23-24) would call the quasi-technical terms and brand names cultural borrowings. However, she does consider other "singly occurring lexemes" to be codeswitches. The distinction of borrowing and code-switching in a single-word level is called quantity.

Poplack (2004: 4) also states that it is uncontroversial that the code-switching differs from lexical borrowing. Established loanwords usually assume the morphological, syntactic, and often phonological identity of the recipient language, despite the etymological identity with the donor language. Loanwords tend to occur frequently in the speech of the individual and to be widespread across the community. The selection of established loanwords is available to monolingual speakers of the recipient language, along with the remainder of the recipient language lexicon. Loanwords again differ from code-switching in that there is no involvement of the morphology, syntax or phonology of the donor language. In her study, Poplack (2004: 4) mentions another type of borrowing, *nonce-borrowing*, which like its established counterpart, tends to involve lone lexical items, generally major class content words, and to assume the morphological, syntactic and, optionally, phonological identity of the recipient language. Particular nonce borrowing not recurrent or widespread, and nonce borrowing requires a certain level of bilingual competence. These characteristics are similar to code-switching, and distinguishing those characteristics from CS is conceptually easy but methodologically difficult (Poplack 2004: 5).

4. Computer-mediated communication

Computer-mediated communication is a rather recent field of study that has become popular among researchers. The present study has a major focus on computer-mediated communication (CMC). I will exploit the typology of computer-mediated discourse analysis in the theory and analysis. Computer-mediated communication is undeniably worth examining since today, as it forms a major part of people´s everyday communication through different mediums. In this chapter, I will firstly outline the concept of computer-mediated communication. Secondly, I will briefly introduce the key issues in CMC research by Herring (1996). Thirdly, I will bring out the concept of computer-mediated discourse analysis, which includes introducing the faceted classification scheme by Herring (2007). Fourthly, I will tell briefly about online ethnography. Finally, I will present weblogs in general, describe some of the characteristics that they share, and introduce the concept of fashion blogging.

The most relevant concept of CMC is obviously the Internet because it makes communication possible. Online communities, forums or emails would not exist without the Internet. The Internet plays a significant role in today´s communication. Children grow up using computers in schools and at home. Teenagers play computer games and use different kinds of real-time chats (e.g. IRC, messenger, ICQ) to exchange messages with their friends. E-mail is an important form of communication for individuals and organizations, and it has practically replaced the ordinary mail. Computer-mediated communication is an important resource in people´s lives both at home, and in working life.   In this chapter, I will introduce perspectives and characteristics of CMC, and some details of computer mediated discourse analysis.

4.1 Characteristics of computer-mediated communication

Computer-mediated communication (CMC) refers to communication that occurs when people interact and communicate with each other via the instrumentality of computers. It has evolved from text based interaction to using streaming video as a method of interpersonal communication (Barnes 2003: 1). As the technology changes

and develops, the concept of CMC continually expands. Barnes (2003: 3) states that since the introduction of the Internet, CMC has developed a variety of genres. These include e-mail, discussion groups, chat, instant messenger, the World Wide Web, and also weblogs. Computer-mediated communication is usually text based in which participants interact by means of the written word, and it is usually "typed on a computer keyboard and read as a text on a computer screen" (Herring 2001: 612). According to Barnes (2003: 4), the term computer-mediated communication is used today to refer to a wide range of technologies that facilitate both human communication, and the interactive sharing of information through computer networks, including e-mail, discussion groups, newsgroups, chat, instant messages and Web pages.

The communication technologies change constantly and the Internet plays a major role in these changes. It is almost impossible to imagine living in a world without the Internet: It has become such an important part of people´s everyday lives. Barnes (2003: 11) states that the fastest growing part of the Internet is the World Wide Web, "an interconnected assortment of Internet computer servers that conform to the same network interface protocols". Because all of these systems use the same protocols, Web-based information can be read on any type of computer. The basic unit of a Web-site is a page. Individual Web pages are linked together to create an entire Web site. As Barnes (2003: 11) points out, the Web is being used increasingly as a medium of interpersonal communication.

It is important to define the features of the medium so that one is able to understand the nature of computer-mediated language and language use. According to Herring (1996: 1, 2001: 615), synchronous computer-mediated communication occurs when a typed message can be read immediately on the computer screen. In this type of CMC, the participants must be logged on at the same time to be able to communicate. For example, when participants communicate in a chat, the messages become visible on the computer screen as they are sent, and they get a responding message from another participant. In contrast, the asynchronous medium does not require concurrent participation since the messages are stored and can be read later. For example, e-mails and different discussion forums are types of asynchronous

communication (Herring 2001: 614-615.) Weblogs with their comment boxes also provide an example of asynchronous communication since they do not require simultaneous participation.

Herring (2001: 614) points out that computer-mediated language is sometimes regarded as a mixture of spoken and written. According to Baron (2001: 21-23), the relationship between speech and writing has been presented as a continuum, and according to this view, there is no clear-cut distinction between the use of spoken and written language. In the actual use of language, the regular features of written and spoken language tend to blend. The written language used in the Internet includes a great number of characteristics that are common in spoken language such as dialect forms, abbreviations, cutting the end of the word, and different kinds of "filling words" (eg. niinku - like). As it becomes clear in this study, code-switching is a very common feature in a bilingual and/or multilingual CMC. The Internet allows people express themselves more freely, and communication becomes a lot more relaxed since one does not have to be literal and formal.

According to Sebba (2003: 165), in electronic environments, where young users predominate, new practices and conventions are developed constantly. He also points out that forms of computer-mediated communication, such as e-mail, retain some of the spontaneity of spoken genres. Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou (2003: 13) point out that an integral resource related to youth vernacular literacy is *orality*, which involves features and patterns of informal conversation. Orality also serves as a means of creating informality and "indexes background knowledge in mediated communication" (Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003: 13). This way, it is related to the concept of community.

4.2 Key Issues in CMC research

Herring (1996: 3) presents three key issues that are related to CMC research. According to her, the first issue concerns the language of computer-mediated communication. It is typed, on the keyboard of one computer, and hence like writing.

However, its exchanges are often rapid and informal, and hence more like spoken conversation. Furthermore, in CMC there are unique features, such as emoticons (smiley faces), and acronyms (FAQ, WTF, IMHO, LOL). Finally, CMC is not homogenous, but like any communicative modality, it is represented in different styles and genres, some determined by the available technologies (for example real-time chat models, in contrast to asynchronous e-mail), and others by human factors such as communicative purpose and group membership (Herring 1996: 3-4).

The second issue Herring (1996) points out is the fact that participants interact without the benefit of extra-linguistic cues such as gender, identity, personality, or mood of their interlocutors. This observation has led to the claim that text-based CMC is impersonal or distancing, which makes it useful for the transfer of information but unsuitable for personal relationships. Finally, the third issue is related to the phenomenon of community formation in cyberspace. Online communities take shape, generate norms of interaction (e.g. rules of network, or "netiquette") and conflict resolution procedures in text that can be saved and mined later for "insights into the genesis of human social organization". The potential of computer-mediated communication to bring people together also has practical consequences both for individuals and the social order. Virtual communities have to protect the interests of their members, and "ethical dilemmas result when individual and group needs come into conflict, as well as when certain groups dominate in defining the terms of the discourse" (Herring 1996: 4-5)

4.3 Computer-mediated discourse analysis

According to the study of Herring (2001), the study of computer-mediated discourse (CMD) is a specialization within the computer-mediated communication that is the broader field of interdisciplinary study. In contrast to CMC, computer-mediated discourse focuses on language and language use in electronic environments, and applies the methods of discourse analysis for addressing that focus (Herring 2001: 612). Moreover, CMD involves the concept of social practice in electronic environments that differs from the physical contexts of communication.

Herring (2007) introduced the faceted classification scheme for computer-mediated discourse. The goal of the scheme is to "synthesize and articulate aspects of technical and social contexts that influence discourse usage in CMC environments" (Herring 2007). As the popularity of the Internet has grown, it has become apparent that computer-mediated discourse is sensitive to multiple technical and situational factors. Herring's (2007: 10, 12) approach for the classification of computer-mediated discourse is based on multiple categories, or "facets, and they are realized by values that can be binary, scalar or a list of items. The purpose of the facets is to facilitate data selection and analysis in CMC research. It also aims at complementing less precise and flexible genre or mode-based analyses. Herring (2007) recognized two basic types of influence on CMD: medium (technological) and situation (social). It is assumed that both of these factors affect the communication as well as contribute to variation in CMC contexts.

The medium factors include synchrony (M1), message transmission (M2), persistence of transcript (M3), size of a message buffer (M4), channels of communication (M5), anonymous messaging (M6), private messaging (M7), filtering (M8), quoting (M9), and message format (M10). In her study, Herring introduced two different blogs that were classified according to the medium factors. The blog analyzed in the present study shares many medium features. It represents asynchronous CMC (M1); the persistence of messages in the archive (M2); web-based delivery and text-only nature of the messages (M5); and the appearance of the entries in a chronological order and the "comment" option involved in every entry (M10). As Herring (2007: 24) suggests, these characters could be considered definitional for the blog genre.

Table 1. Situation factors in faceted classification scheme for computer-mediated communication (Herring 2007: 18-19).

S1 Participation structure	• One-to-one, one-to-many, many-to-many • Public/private • Degree of anonymity/pseudonymity • Group size; number of active participants • Amount, rate, and balance of participation
S2 Participant characteristics	• Demographics: gender, age, occupation, etc. Proficiency: with language/computers/CMC • Experience: with addressee/group/topic • Role/status: in "real life"; of online personae • Pre-existing sociocultural knowledge and interactional norms • Attitudes, beliefs, ideologies, and motivation
S3 Purpose	• Of group, e.g., professional, social, fantasy/roleplaying, aesthetic, experimental • Goal of interaction, e.g., get information, negotiate consensus, develop professional/social relationships, impress/entertain others, have fun
S4 Topic or Theme	• Of group, e.g., politics, linguistics, feminism, soap operas, sex, science fiction, South Asian culture, medieval times, pub • Of exchanges, e.g., the war in Iraq, pro-drop languages, the project budget, gay sex, vacation plans, personal information about participants, meta-discourse about CMC
S5 Tone	• Serious/playful • Formal/casual • Contentious/friendly • Cooperative/sarcastic, etc
S6 Activity	• E.g., debate, job announcement, information exchange, phatic exchange, problem solving, exchange of insults, joking exchange, game, theatrical performance, flirtation, virtual sex
S7 Norms	• Of organization • Of social appropriateness • Of language

| S8 Code | • Language, language variety |
| | • Font/writing system |

The situation factors in Table can partly be applied to the phenomenon called blogosphere, and thus also individual blogs. Weblogs represent a genre of computer-mediated communication, although some subtypes such as diary and filter blog have been identified that illustrate different ways of language use (Herring 2007: 23). The blog in the present study shares some of the situation factors introduced by Herring.

The participation structure (S1) represents public one-to-many interaction. The blogger tells quite a lot about her life so it becomes clear that she reveals "real life" (S2) characteristics. Moreover, she writes with her real name and shows her face in the pictures that she posts. The blogger is proficient computer user and has a lot of experience in computer-mediated communication (S2).

According to Herring (2007:20) the purpose (S3) of CMD is relevant in two levels. It can be defined either in terms of group's aims or an individual's personal goals of interaction. The interaction in weblogs consists of entries written by the blogger, and possible comments from the readers. The entries are written about various topics (S4) according to the blogger's interest. Tone (S5) refers to "the manner of spirit in which discursive acts are performed (Herring 2007: 21). Emoticons are also involved in the tone of a message, and "they take on different pragmatic meanings depending on the tone of an exchange" (Huls 2006, as quoted by Herring 2007: 21). Code (S8) refers to the language or language variety in which computer-mediated interactions are carried out (Herring 2007: 22).

4.4 Code-switching in the web

Montes-Alcalá (2007) studied code-switching in Spanish-English bilingual blogs. In her study, she inquired whether bilingual individuals would freely switch languages when writing a public journal. Moreover, she attempted to explain the situations

where switching occurs and reasons for switching. The findings of her study demonstrate that the bilingual bloggers' writing exposes specific social and stylistic functions that are similar to those that occur in oral code-switching. Code-switching was done mostly for lexical items and for emphatic reasons. She also points out that the main reason for switching is rather straightforward: because they can (Montes-Alcalá 2007: 169). Also, a common feature for all the bloggers was that their "sufficient linguistic and cultural knowledge of the nuances of both Spanish and English" so that they could apply the two languages for both stylistic and communicative effects.

Leppänen (2007) studied language alternation in Finnish fan fiction websites. According to her study, code-switching had for instance following discourse-related functions: change in the relation between the reader and the writer, moving on from one discourse type to another, discourse structures (for instance moving on from the prologue to the core text), and change in the relations of the characters in the text. English is an important resource of communication and interaction for Finnish fan fiction writers. Code-switching is thus a significant discourse practice in this type of websites. For fans, English has become a tool that is used skillfully alongside their native language Finnish. Leppänen (2007: 230) also suggest that the way English and Finnish alternate in most fan fiction texts could mean that the fans are developing their own "mixed" language that is part of their fandom.

5. Weblogs

Today, writing a weblog (e.g. blogging) is popular and it has expanded into a trend. Weblogs are a new form of personal journalism in which an individual takes on the role of columnist, reporter, analyst, and publisher to share information through the Internet (Barnes 2003: 11). Individuals use weblogs as a form of personal expression. Adding quest lists and e-mail addresses to these sites as well as using comment boxes provides methods of feedback and interaction. Weblogs tend to comment on and point to other articles and writings on the Internet. They cover a wide range of

topics, including technology news, dating services, fashion and mass media.

5.1 What is a weblog?

A weblog, according to Werbach (2001, as quoted by Montes-Alcalá 2007:162) is a personal website that offers frequently updated observations, news, headlines, commentary, recommended links and/or diary entries, generally organized chronologically. Blogging allows all kinds of people express their ideas, opinions and experiences, and share their thoughts in an electronic environment. Blogs are particularly interesting because they involve so much personality and attitude with the complex mix of software technologies (Burstein 2005). Some blogs provide information or news on a particular topic and the others serve as public online diaries dealing with the blogger's personal life and interests. Usually blogs include text, images, links to websites of other blogs but they can also have videos, music or special photographs. The bloggers endeavor to create a visually attractive layout in order to catch the readers' attention. They tend to use attractive colors and pictures, and in general, an easy access to the earlier entries and other interesting blogs. Blogging and reading blogs have become a trend that has encroached to the area of the mainstream media.

According to Blood (2000, as quoted by Leppänen 2007:16), three basic types of blogs can be distinguished: filters, personal journals, and notebooks. Filters represent the type of blogs that deal with issues external to the writer (eg. different events of happenings). In contrast, the contents of personal journals are more about the writer's personal; internal issues such as his/her thoughts of life and so on. Notebooks are usually longer and more essay-like than filters and personal journals, but can also contain either external of internal contents. However, certain common features for all these types of blogs can be distinguished. According to Paquet (2003, as quoted by Leppänen 2007: 16) these features include a) personal editorship, b) hyperlinked structure, c) frequent updates, d) free, public access to the content, and e) an archive of the posts.

The weblog that is analyzed in the present study represents the type of a personal journal because it focuses generally on the writer's lifestyle. It discusses the writer's thoughts and ideas and deals with her everyday life. The tone of the blog is very particular and personal.

The language used in weblogs is more informal and thus blogs are quite democratic form of expression. Communication is usually direct, casual, and uncensored. Posts do not necessarily go through editors or spellcheckers and hence bloggers may take the liberty of using language as freely as they wish (Montes-Alcalá 2007: 163). Therefore, it is common to find ungrammatical sentences, spelling errors, swear words and code-switching. According to Androutsopoulos (2006: 7), weblogs represent the voice of individuals rather than institution and are arguably sites of public discourse; they are cross-linked with mainstream media in variety of ways, and are very likely to gain regular audiences. Blogging also allows people to express themselves in a more spontaneous way. One can be more informal and even more politically incorrect. There is no need to introduce one´s true self in a blog. A blog can easily be written anonymously if the issue is sensitive. It is also possible to write a private blog, which requires registration.

5.2 Fashion blogging in Finland

Fashion blogging is particularly interesting because it has become a trend that is expanding and gaining more attention. Today, fashion is visible practically everywhere in the media and it is reaching a larger target group. Fashion is no longer just for young females – a growing number of men have become interested in it. There are a variety of fashion related television shows and series that also reach the male audience. Fashion blogs are usually written by (young) women and they usually include pictures from fashion shows, clothing catalogues, fashion magazines and websites and the user's own pictures. They describe bloggers' own preferences in fashion, their clothes, what they have been buying, what they recommend to other people, pictures of daily outfits and other fashion related topics. Many fashion blogs concentrate merely on high fashion from very external point of view, but there are a

growing number of those blogs that, along with fashion, deal with the writers´ lifestyle, thoughts and ideas. In Finland, most fashion blogs represent this latter category, and are more personal journals, or notebooks than filters. Fashion weblogs tend to have a visually attractive layout and a catchy name.

Fashion blogging has become a prominent trend in Finland during the past four years. Many Finnish fashion blogs have gained remarkable attention and the bloggers get paid for writing today. The most popular Finnish fashion blogs can be found in the Indiedays- community which was founded in 2009. Today, there are twenty five (25) fashion blogs in the Indiedays –community (Indiedays 2011). There are also other popular blogs that are not in the Indiedays-community, but still co-operate with other media and/or organizations. For example, the fashion/lifestyle blog MoreToLove (http://www.moretolove.fi/) co-operates with the young girls' magazine Mix (http://isotsiskot.missmix.fi), and with the shopping center Forum. Another popular fashion blog Mungolife collaborates with a travel agency website rantapallo.fi (http://www.rantapallo.fi/mungolife/). Dirty Pretty Thing is a more alternative kind of blog, partly because the writer lives abroad. The blogger has never advertised anything or has had competitions where the readers can win prizes. She does not gain any financial profit of her blog and is not required to write about any specific theme or topic.

Fashion blogging in Finland became more serious and popular in 2009 when a group of fashion/lifestyle bloggers joined in a new blog community called Indiedays. Before the Indiedays was launched, all the bloggers had individual fashion blogs, and according to blog ranking website blogilista.fi, they all were in the top ten most read fashion blogs. Today, the Indiedays community includes twentyfive (25) Finland´s most popular fashion and lifestyle related weblogs (Indiedays portal Apr 4 2011). The writers are mostly women, but there are a couple of blogs that give a male aspect to fashion. The Indiedays community is a link between bloggers and their readers. The portal offers different services for the readers; they can order newsletters, register online to the community, join in the discussions and give feedback. Some popular fashion blogs such as Mungolife and MoreToLove were also invited to this community but according to their writings, there were some problems with the

portal. It can be assumed that the bloggers were not satisfied with the contract, but they could not explain the issue further. The weblog that I will analyze in this study is an individual fashion weblog, and is not involved with the Indiedays fashion weblog community though it has a lot of features in common with it. The blogger does not profit from her writing and no one directs her.

6. Identity

In this chapter, I will introduce the concept of identity. I will discuss identity in general, and how it is related to discourse. Moreover, I will discuss the effects that globalization and the Internet have on people's identities.

6.1 Introducing the concept of identity

One of the important issues in the field of discourse analysis is the concept of identity. Identity is who and what we are, and is involved in our actions in different situations (Blommaert 2005). People have different identities due to the situation, environment, group, community, and thus we represent multiple identities. As Blommaert (2005: 203-204) states, the "who and what you are" is dependent on the context, occasion, and purpose, and "it almost invariably involves a semiotic process of representation: symbols, narratives, textual genres such as standard form and the CV". Blommaert (2005: 203-204) also points out that "in fact, identity is semiotic through and through, and every act of semiosis is an act of identity in which we give off information about ourselves".

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) described the concept of identity as "social positioning of self and other". They introduced five principles for the study of identity in linguistic interaction. According to the first principle: *the emergence principle*, the identity is seen rather as a product than a source of linguistic practices. Thus, it is considered a social and cultural phenomenon. The identity is constituted through social action, and especially through language. Moreover, it is considered a discursive construct that

emerges in interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 587-588). The second principle is called *the positioning principle* and it points out the importance of ethnography. According to this principle, language users orient to local identities, and the identity emerges in discourse through temporary roles and orientations, such as narrator, story teller and so on (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:591). *The indexicality principle* is related to the mechanism whereby identity is constituted and which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 593-594) define the index as follows: "a linguistic form that depends of the interactional context for its meaning such as the first person pronoun I". In this view, the ideological structures, and associations between language and structure are rooted in cultural beliefs and values. According to *the relationality principle*, the identity is a relational phenomenon. Identities are never autonomous or independent, and they always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity position. Here, identities are constructed through several complementary relations such as similarity/difference, genuiness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 598-599). The last principle is called *the partialness principle*. According to this view, identities are constructed by context and "are themselves asserted as partial accounts" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 605-606).

Identity is also involved when one wants to be a part of a special group, culture or environment, and "situate" one´s self to a specific occasion. Blommaert (2005: 204) suggests different occasions of situating the individual in relation to several layers of "groupness" and "categories". In addition to categories such as age, sex, and professional category, there are also national, cultural, and ethnolinguistic categories. There are also a variety of complexes (young vs. old, male vs. female, highly educated vs. less educated, and so on) that have to be situated in turn in relation to others (Blommaert 2005: 204).

Identities are constructed and also maintained within discourses. Gee (2005: 21) defines the term "Discourse" with a capital "D" for ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, and ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity. Such socially accepted associations among ways of using

language as well as interacting in the "right" places and at the "right" times with the "right" objects that are the associations that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or "social network" (Gee 2005: 26). Discourses may create new hybrids, thus one discourse can involve many identities. Gee (2005: 34) uses the term "identity" for the multiple identities individuals take on different practices and contexts. Discourses, according to Gee (2005: 33), involve situated identities, ways of performing and recognizing characteristic identities and activities, ways of coordinating and getting coordinated by other people, and characteristic ways of acting and/or interacting (including e.g. thinking, believing, feeling, speaking, listening and so on.).

Globalization and modern society have affected the idea of identity in a variety of ways. According to Barnes (2003: 117), modern identity is mobile, multiple, personal, self-reflexive, and subject to change. Today, people are able to create their own identities, as they are no longer born in a rigid social structure. Barnes (2003: 117) also says that "individuals can decide what social roles they play, whether or not to get married, become parents, and work as a doctor, lawyer, teacher or engineer". This way, the modern concepts and issues of identity are socially constructed as people assume different roles through their lives.

The Internet supports a concept of self-identity that is multifaceted. People can represent themselves as their true identity on a discussion list, as a false identity in a chat room and as a character when playing an online game (Barnes 2003: 118). People are able to create different identities for a variety of occasions and purposes and change them as they want. The Internet has also significantly facilitated the concepts of changing identities and different roles. In game related discussion forums one´s identity may differ totally from the identity that one has when chatting with a close friend in messenger. Also, a video conference with a prestigious working colleague differs a lot from an individual journal text behind a password. The Internet is a social space in which people with similar interests and ideas are able to adopt the interactivity, multimodality and easy access to media production, to construct identity and community (Androutsopoulos 2007: 282). Androutsopoulos

(2007: 282) points out that identities constructed online can be understood as processes in which individual relationships to larger social antities are constructed and negotiated through text and talk.

There are contradictory opinions and arguments about the influence of the Internet on the formation of self-identity. For instance Gergen (as quoted by Barnes 2003: 118) argues that it is difficult to develop a stable sense of self in today´s world full of mass media, because media expose people to so many different cultures and ideas. It is true that the Internet gives people more examples and ideas from different cultures than they can even adapt. Arguments, conflicts and confusion are evident when a great variety of subcultures and groups claim to be the right one with right ideas. Since the Anglo-American culture dominates the world´s mass media in multiple ways, there is a major change that people get exposed to this particular culture. Many smaller cultures, societies and groups are in danger to adapt only the culture and habits of the greater one. Consequently their native culture and habits are in danger to get lost (see Chapter 2).

6.2 Code-switching and social identities

The use of more than one language for communication or in a discourse allows an individual to represent multiple identities. Bilinguals have an expanded set of resources, i.e. linguistic and discursive forms, for the negotiation of identity. Moreover, they have a broader range of social categories that can be made relevant through talks as compared to monolinguals. On the linguistic level, bilinguals can apply forms from two languages and also hybrid forms that result from language contact. On the social and cultural level, many are familiar with "diverse cultural frameworks for interpreting and evaluating the world and positioning themselves and others in it" (Bailey: 2008).

Le Page (Le Page 1978; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985, as quoted by Auer 2008) introduced the concept of "acts of identity". According to this concept, individuals choose within certain limits their affiliations and express them symbolically through language. People create their linguistic systems in order to affiliate with those of the

groups they wish to identify with. According to Le Page, there are two distinct social groups: social group A from whose "linguistic act of linguistic behavior a linguistic act of identity draws its semiotic resources", and social group B with whom the speaker wishes to identify. Le Page suggests that it is necessary to make a distinction between these two social groups. He also points out that a (linguistic) act of identity refers to the selection of a linguistic element which is familiar with social group A and which is chosen on a special occasion in a particular context in order to affiliate of disaffiliate with social group B (Auer 2008: 6). Social groups A and B do not necessarily coincide, it is however possible.

Antaki and Widdicombe (1998: 3) introduced the basic principles for identities-in-interaction. According to their view, having an identity means "being cast into a category with associated characteristics or features". The participants develop specific identities that are relevant in particular interactive events, and the importance of identity relates to its significance in interaction. Auer (2008: 8-9) points out that, in interaction, identity-relevant activities are "indexical and occasioned", they cannot be understood if their embedding into the conversational and larger context is not taken into account. According to his view "having an identity" plays an important role in interaction because the respective category is related to expectations of action. This may lead to a shift of footing of the interaction, or it may also lead to a consequence where nothing happens because a co-membership of that category is established.

Identity is an important part of individuals' discourse and communication. It defines our role in different situations and defines "who we are". Identity allows us to express ourselves differently in different situations. It makes possible for people to join in different groups and adapt to different environments. Identity is also tightly linked to language. We are able to express our social and cultural background, our special knowledge, interest and hobbies through language. Identity affects our lives all the time and in multiple ways.

7. Research Design

In this chapter, I will outline the research design of the present study. First, I will introduce the aims of the present study, followed by the research questions. Second, I will present the data and the methods of analysis. Thirdly, I will bring out the role of English as regards the data of the present study.

7.1 Aims and research questions

The present study takes an approach that combines studies from the fields of bilingualism, computer-mediated communication and discourse analysis. It is qualitative and sociolinguistic by nature. The study aims at concentrating on language alternation in computer-mediated communication, as well as taking a discursive approach to identity construction. I applied the method of online ethnography in order to collect and observe the data.

The context of present study is related to fashion industry. Applying online ethnography to this context involved searching information about fashion in general, Japanese street fashion and writer's studies in Bunka Fashion College. Paying attention on the special terminology and expert language common to fashion blogging was essential because they are involved in defining the genre of fashion blogging. Also, it was important to find out and understand the particular terminology related to the blogger's studies in Bunka Fashion College. I have not commented on the blog, neither have I communicated with the blogger.

The purpose of this study is to examine the use of code-switching and language mixing between Finnish and English in a fashion weblog. First, I aim to examine the functions of code-switching and language mixing in the weblog dirtyprettythings.blogspot.com. I will examine the occasions where CS and LM occur in the text. I will focus on language alternation at both single word and clause/sentence level. Moreover, I aim at explaining possible reasons for switching and mixing. I will focus on language alternation at both single word, and clause/sentence level. My goal is to demonstrate that the blogger uses English for special purposes in the blog discourse.

In the second part of my analysis I aim to provide a discursive approach to identity. I believe that the writer is constructing an expert identity through her discourse. The expert identity in this case means being an expert in the field of fashion. Moreover, the identity is related to belonging to a certain community, which in this case is the fashion blogger community. The blogger does not exactly belong to any particular group or community, but since fashion blogging in Finland has become a trend and different fashion bloggers have clearly dealt with similar ideas and contribute to each other's writing, her identity construction somehow relates to the community. The language alternation; the use of the English language alongside with Finnish also relates to the blogger's identity construction. The use of English elements and expressions in the discourse demonstrates the blogger's belonging to a global fashion context. She possesses a lot of fashion knowledge not only from Finnish scale, but from a global scale as well.

My research questions are as follows:

1. **What are the functions of code-switching and language mixing in fashion weblog dirtyprettythings.blogspot.com?**

The first research question is split it into two different questions in order to clarify the theme *function*.

1.1 **What kind of elements alternate in the discourse**?

I will explore whether the language alternation occurs at a single word or clause/sentence level. Moreover, I will explore the parts of speech that are switched or mixed (e.g. adjectives, nouns, adverbs, verbs).

1.2 **For which purposes are code-switching and language mixing used in this blog?**

I have divided the occasions in which the language alternation occurs in three relevant categories. The categorization gives, on the one hand answer to the question that deals with the purposes of CS and LM. Moreover, in this part of the analysis, I will focus on the possible reasons for switching into English.

Code-switching in this study is insertional, which means that the main language of the discourse is Finnish in which English elements are added.

In the second part of my analysis I will focus on the blogger's identity construction. My aim is to find out the type of identity that the blogger's develops through discourse. Moreover, I will examine the relation of language alternation and the identity construction. The research questions in the second part are as follows:

   2.   What kind of identity is the blogger constructing through the discourse?

   2.1 **How does the language alternation relate to the identity construction?**

7.2 Data and method

Fashion Blog: Dirty Pretty Things http://dirtyprettythings.blogspot.com/

The data in this study includes 47 weblog entries from September 2007 to March 2010. 16 entries were written when the blogger still lived in Finland and 31 entries after she moved to Japan. I selected the entries by paying attention to the length and "quality" of each entry. The blogger used to write longer texts when she was living in Finland, and thus the number of selected entries from that period is smaller. Furthermore, the quality of the entries changes a bit after moving abroad. There are more photos and fewer texts involved, and thus the number has to be bigger in order to have more or less equal amount of text. There are a few entries in which the blogger answers to the readers´ questions. These entries are usually very long and include a lot of text. However, nearly half of the text consists of questions written by readers.

I have gathered all expressions of English-origin that occur in the 47 entries. However, I used only the most relevant ones as examples in the analysis. For instance, there are many single words such as proper nouns, band names, and common commercial brands that are not necessary in the analysis since there are enough examples of more profound language alternation. I will not distinguish code-switching from borrowing or separate code-mixing or any other minor term from

code-switching. Only the texts that appear in actual entries are taken into account in the analysis, except the headlines of each entry. The headlines are presented within the description of each example in order to illustrate the context where the particular example phrase/passage occurs. I will introduce the headlines in every example because they carry important information of each example. However, I will not concentrate on the use of English in the headlines. The readers´ comments and the blogger´s responses to them in the comment boxes will not be analyzed. Any texts that appear in the layout of the blog (e.g. blogger´s description and interests) will be introduced briefly but excluded from the analysis.

The blog was closed from public in December 2010. The blogger explained her action by telling that she did not have enough time for her blog anymore. Also, she said that she did not feel that she has interesting ideas to offer anymore. However, after closing the Dirty Pretty Things, the blogger founded a new blog that is written entirely in English. She explained her choice to write in English by her international audience and a wish to practice her English skills.

I will apply the Auer's (1999) typology of language alternation phenomena in order to be able to illustrate theoretically different occasions of code-switching and language mixing. As mentioned earlier, in the *insertional switching* the content word is embedded in the surrounding passage composing a switch that is locally meaningful. As Auer (1999: 313-314) points out, the switch can be either fully integrated in the receiving language or carry some grammatical elements into it. Moreover, in the insertional type of code-switching or language mixing it is easy to recognize the language-of-interaction. In insertional language mixing from Finnish to English the English insertion is embedded into a Finnish grammatical frame. In spelling, I have paid special attention on the orthography of English originated words. There are many instances where a word of English origin is orthographically modified according to Finnish spelling. I did not clearly make a distinction between code-switching and borrowing, or I have not made a separate category for loan words. However, if there is a case where an established loan word occurs, I have commented on it briefly. The occasions of both code-switching and language mixing in my data represent insertions since the primary language of communication in the weblog is clearly Finnish. Despite that there are some weblog entries that represent

abundant use of language mixing, the main language of the discourse can be recognized as Finnish.

I have applied the study of Cecilia Montes-Alcalá (2007) on bilingual blogs to illustrate possible functions that code-switching and language mixing carry, as well as some probable reasons for switching. Moreover, I have used her study for asserting the "lexical need" for a switch. Montes-Alcalá (2007) describes the concept of this need as follows: "The issue of a real need is relative since roughly every switch fulfills a need, although this should never be interpreted as a lack of language proficiency but rather as the lack of exact equivalent in the other language". She also points out that another explanation might be a "momentary gap in the lexicon of the individual" or simply "a higher frequency of exposure of an item in a specific language". As Montes-Alcalá shows, switching for lexical items (e.g. nouns, noun phrases, etc.) is closely related to the biculturalism of the subjects rather than to the lack of proficiency in any of the languages involved. The study of Montes-Alcalá recognizes that code-switching in bilingual blogs is used for lexical items, triggered switches, to quote someone/something, for elaboration, as tags, for emphatic reasons and freely.

By spoken language, or slang I am referring in this study to the definitions by Jarva and Nurmi (2006):

Spoken language refers to "a stylistic register of a language" regardless of whether the language is spoken or written (Jarva and Nurmi 2006). Standard language is used in formal occasions, for instance authorities use standard language for preparing instructions and notices. Written mass communication, such as newspapers and magazines, primarily use standard language. Furthermore, standard language (literary language) was at first place developed for the needs of written communication. In contrast, spoken language is the language of informal, everyday occasions that is produced here and now (Jarva and Nurmi 2006). It changes and transforms rapidly and new words and expressions emerge constantly. Spoken language is also strictly tied to the communication context and former addresses, which is why the addresses do not represent so called "perfect utterances" but they complete, continue and refer to the speech situation and the speakers' environment (Jarva and Nurmi 2006: 8).

There are multiple words and expressions in spoken language that might be difficult to define in terms of their literal meaning but that possess an important meaning in parsing the speech and dialogue. Particles and interjections represent examples of these type of words, and sometimes they are called "filling words".

Jarva and Nurmi (2006: 19-20) suggest that foreign words that clearly belong to the spoken language in Finland include words from the fields of everyday life, different professions, recreational activities, technical inventions, fashion phenomena and entertainment. Today they are mostly derived from English, while before they used to derive from Swedish. In standard (literal) language foreign words have been avoided for traditional reasons so they have developed willfully an equivalent that derives from the original language. There are occasions where one word can have both formal and informal stylistic value, and thus two different words that refer to the same matter might exist: the foreign based spoken language word and the standard language word. For example the word "fani" in Finnish "ihailija" derives from the English word "fan" (referring to admirer).

Jarva and Nurmi (2006: 24-25) define slang as "a form of language of a particular group" . Usually, its purpose is to demonstrate belonging to that specific group, and it is not the exclusive way of speaking for the speakers in the group. In Finland, slang has generally referred to the language variety spoken in the Helsinki area; the Helsinki slang. Moreover, doctor-, student- and soldier slangs also occur. Helsinki slang is not only understood in Helsinki, and thus it does not indicate belonging to a particular group. It is used for everyday communication, and it is common for young people in Finland.

Many slang words also derive from foreign languages and they favor foreign based spelling and sounds (*b, d, f, g)* or consonant clusters (such as *pr, s*t and *ts)* in the beginning of the words (Jarva and Nurmi 2006: 20). In Finnish slang, words that derive from English are for instance "bestis" that refers to a (girl's) best friend, "geimi" for a (computer) game, "sheivata" which means shaving one's body hair and "tsoukki" which means a joke. All the above mentioned words are mostly modified according to Finnish orthography and morphology.

The analysis of entries collected from the blog dirtyprettythings.blogspot.com in this study is presented as follows: I have gathered example phrases or passages from the full entries and numbered them according to their appearance in this analysis. The examples will not appear in a chronological order since they occur in different categories in this analysis. The date of each entry appears in parenthesis after every example. Every example will also be translated into English. I have numbered the examples according to their appearance in this study.

I have not preserved the original font style, color, or size, or line spacing since in many cases especially the font size and line spacing occupy too much space. The font size has been used, in a few cases, for emphasizing something very remarkable but the importance of those particular occasions can be interpreted from the text. I have not made any changes to orthography or punctuation.

I have highlighted the examples of code-switching and language mixing by italics and also by bolding to avoid confusion since on some occasions the blogger herself has emphasized particular words in the same way. I have not analyzed every single English word in depth but taken into account the most relevant parts. There were many single English words such as brands, buildings, places and people's names (e.g. proper nouns) that are not meaningful in the discourse context. These names would have been switched into English in any case, thus they do not represent "real" code-switching. Moreover, the number of occasions where language alternation occurred was bigger than I expected. Thus, I have used only the most relevant and suitable examples in the analysis; the ones that represent the best instances of code-switching and language mixing in each category.

The most relevant instances of code-switching include English insertions that clearly carry a special function or meaning in the context. For example, switches that are related to fashion jargon and terminology are undoubtedly meaningful in the fashion context. When it comes to language mixing in the discourse of this blog, all the occasions where it might occur are relevant because they strongly relate to the personal style of the blogger. The tone in most of the entries is rather informal and sarcastic. The informal tone emerges from the use of spoken language and slang items in the discourse. Sarcasm is mostly expressed through language alternation

between Finnish and English. There are relatively many "smiley faces" involved in the entries. Usually they are used alongside with sarcastic expressions to emphasize the sarcasm. I have not taken into account their visual aspect but mentioned their function in the tone of the phrases.

7.2.1 Dirty Pretty Things

The blog dirtyprettythings.blogspot.com represents asynchronous computer-mediated communication, which means that it is available and visible for the public, thus reading it does not require registration. The primary language of the blog is Finnish but there are a great number of English expressions involved. There are also some single Japanese words, and in a couple of entries a small translation in Japanese is involved. In most cases, Japanese is used to refer to the magazines, designers, or places in Japan. Hence, Japanese does not have as relevant a role as English in the blog. The use of English has a relevant role and it is used regularly and exceptionally throughout the entries. English is also used practically as the main language of the blog´s layout. The name of the blog, the blogger´s personal description, her interest and favorite blogs in the sidebar as well as the "comment" button in the comment are in English. Also, the date and weekday of every entry is written in English.

The blog is written by a native Finnish speaker, a young woman called Paula who has moved to Japan to study in a fashion institute. The blog has its roots in Finland where Paula used to live before moving to Japan. When Paula went to Japan for the first time, it was because of vacation. However, she liked Japan so much that she decided to move there later to study fashion at Bunka Fashion College in Tokyo. Before getting accepted at Bunka Fashion College, Paula studied Japanese at a language school. The majority of the students were from the US, and the main language of teaching and communication was English. The blog follows her life and especially her style in Japan. It is full of sarcasm, wordplays and informal expressions that are in many cases expressed through code-switching and language mixing to English. Therefore, the discourse in her blog can be interpreted properly only if the reader has some kind of capacity in the English language. Moreover, there

are some inside expressions and jokes that most probably are meant to open only for Paula's closest friends.

In the first place, Dirty Pretty Things is a fashion blog, but there are a lot of entries that are related to the writer's everyday life, including travelling, studying, and hanging out with friends. There are some entries where the blogger answers questions that her readers have asked earlier in the comment boxes. The blog was founded when the blogger lived in Finland and primarily written to a Finnish audience. In the beginning, there are no English translations involved. After having lived longer abroad, the blogger started to include a small English translation after some entries.

As mentioned before, Paula is a native Finnish speaker with advanced skills in the English language. She mentions that she has not lived in an English speaking country, and that she has learned her English at school, by listening to music, and watching television and movies. She has learned English as a foreign language, as it is common in a Finnish school. After moving to Japan, English has been her language of communication, since her Japanese skills have been rather weak. She has used English in her everyday life; at Japanese language school, with her friends, to communicate with Japanese people, and so on. Her language skills are advanced, and she undoubtedly uses English as a second language.

7.2.2 The use of English in Dirty Pretty Things

English has a remarkable role in this blog. It is used regularly and skillfully throughout the writing as well as in the layout and description of the blog. For the blogger, English is an important resource of communication. I strongly believe that the blogger's use of English is not only limited to the writing. There is a strong sense that she uses similar expressions and single English words in her spoken language as well. I came to this conclusion because there are several elements from English adapted proficiently to Finnish spelling and grammar. Many English expressions found in the entries are also common in youth language in Finland. Thus, the use of some expressions can also be explained by her age. However, in the majority of the

cases English is used in a more skillful and fluent way that could not be done without a very good command of English.

The blogger is fluent in both written and spoken English, and it can be assumed that she speaks English as a second language. The use of idiomatic expressions in her writing is an example of her vast linguistic repertoire. Also, the choice of English words in the discourse is an interesting factor; she chooses to switch words that are not necessarily familiar to the readers. Her interest in and knowledge of the Anglo-American culture is visible in the blog. She obviously reads a lot and different types of texts. She has mentioned earlier in the blog that she has been interested in fantasy books, such as Harry Potter and reads them in English. Fashion has been on the top of the blogger's interest for a long time, and she has moved to Japan because her dream was to study in Bunka Fashion Institute. She reads a lot of fashion magazines and publications, partly because of her studies. The blogger's interest and the knowledge that she has of the fashion world can be seen in her writing. There are a lot of fashion related terms and jargon of English origin that require a good knowledge of that specific field. One of the major reasons for her good English skills is that she has lived abroad and has foreign friends. She used to study Japanese in a language school with English speaking students in Tokyo. It becomes clear in the blog that she used to speak only English with her Japanese boyfriend. The use of English is not only limited to the layout and headings. It is constantly visible in the blog entries because the blogger links music videos and photographs from fashion websites to the entries. Most of the fashion related links and photos are from English speaking websites but there are a few examples of Japanese fashion magazines and websites as well.

The choice of headlines is an interesting factor. Almost all the headlines are in English and are tied to the idea of the entry. Some of them are song names or idiomatic expressions that relate to the topic of a particular entry. Others are just plain headlines written in English, even though they could have been written in Finnish. There are also headlines that mix English and Finnish. Although the headlines are mostly in English, I will not focus on them in this study. In the analysis, I will present the headlines with the example phrases because they convey important information about the entries.

8. Analyzing the entries from Dirty Pretty Things

The analysis of study is as follows: In the first part of my analysis I will observe the functions of language alternation. I will categorize the instances of CS and LM in three relevant categories that are "*Describing Style and Fashion – Fashion Terminology Studies at Bunka Fashion College*", "", and "*Commenting on her life and style*". The second part of my analysis deals with the blogger's expert identity construction.

8.1 Functions of Code-switching and Language mixing

The functions of language alternation - code-switching and language mixing in a fashion weblog will be analyzed at two levels. First, I will concentrate on the blog's discourse and aim at finding out for which purposes have the two phenomena of language alternation been used, and what meanings they might carry. To be exact, I will explore both the code-switching and language mixing at a single word level as well as clause/sentence level. The second part of my analysis is dealing with the writer's identity construction.

Three categories where both code-switching and language mixing carry a special meaning or function were found. The first category includes examples that are strictly fashion related. There are instances of fashion jargon and terminology that are very common for this type of blogs. Most of the alternation between English and Finnish involves somewhat established fashion terms and expert vocabulary. In this category, code-switching and language mixing occur at both single word and clause/sentence level. They carry a special meaning that is to describe the blogger's interest and enthusiasm towards fashion. The second category is all about the blogger's studies at Bunka Fashion College. The examples in this category include descriptions of the blogger's future fashion studies and of Bunka Fashion College in general. The third and last category in my analysis includes a variety of examples where the blogger describes her style and tells about her life in Japan, and later comments on both of them. There are many occasions where the surrounding passage conveys a sarcastic message and/or tone. In these instances, code-switching and

language mixing are used either for completing the sarcasm, or to comment on a sarcastic matter that was mentioned earlier.

8.1.1 Shoeeeeegasm! Me wants! – Fashion terminology

The purpose of the blog dirtyprettythings.blogspot.com is to express its writer's interest in fashion and clothing. The writer aims at presenting new and upcoming trends and also comments on them. Her deep interest in fashion is clearly visible in the discourse as she describes and also presents her own style by posting photographs of her outfits and by telling about them. The blog is also a personal journal that tells about the blogger's everyday life, first in Finland, and later in Tokyo, Japan.

In this chapter, I will introduce the language alternation related to fashion terminology. I will provide examples of code-switching and language mixing at a single word level, and clause/sentence level.

The following example appears in an entry from September 2007. The headline "Black is the new…black?" undoubtedly reveals the entry's theme. The blogger discusses the autumn's fashion and clothing trends that include a lot of black color. The headline also refers to the timelessness and undeniable status of black color in the fashion world. In this entry, she describes her own outfit which includes a lot of black, and also presents some high fashion photographs from the designer Jean Paul Gaultier's fashion show.

(1) Mustahan on aina enemmän tai vähemmän *in ja hot*, mutta ihanaa (*in my humble opinion*) että tänä syksynä mustan muodikkuutta on korostettu entisestään, niin pukeutumisessa kuin meikissäkin. Voi ronskisti pukeutua tummaan päästä varpaisiin ja käyttää vahvoja rajauksia ilman gootti/emo/keksiitse leimaa otsassa komeilemassa. Itse todella rakastan värejä, niin räikeitä kuin hempeitäkin, mutta jotenkin nyt oikeen pihisen innosta käyttää mustaa ja kunnolla. (Sep 10 2007)

[Black is always more or less in and hot, but it's lovely (in my humble opinion) that this autumn the trendiness of black has been emphasized in clothing as well as in make-up. It is now totally acceptable to wear dark colors and use strong eye liner without looking like a gothic/emo/figureitoutyourself. I personally really do love colors, both bright and light, but now for some reason I'm so excited of wearing black].

English adjectives *in* and *hot* have been inserted in a Finnish sentence to describe the unwavering popularity of black color in clothing. Moreover, an elaborative phrase *in my humble opinion* that appears in parenthesis is embedded in the same sentence. "In" refers to something or someone that is declared fashionable and acceptable at a certain time (Urban Dictionary 2011). In this context, Finnish equivalents would sound clumsy and would not provide specialized or competent definition of fashion matters. The English phrase *in my humble opinion* is used to elaborate the idea or matter that was mentioned earlier in the passage. In this case, elaborating means expressing the blogger's personal opinion on the popularity of the black color in fashion.

The whole passage represents insertional language mixing since there are foreign language elements that are frequently juxtaposed with the receiving language within a single sentence. Both adjectives, *in* and *hot* are established fashion terms and they are used systematically also alongside the Finnish language in Finland when the context is fashion related. Thus, they also might be parts of the blogger's own linguistic repertoire, especially because she holds a vast range of expertise vocabulary from the fashion world.

The next example is from an entry called "Mmmkay.". The blogger is telling that she has not been paying attention to her looks lately, so she does not want to comment on her personal outfits or style. Instead, she says that she wants to post pictures of Mary-Olsen, who is one of her style icons. In one of the photographs, Mary-Kate is wearing an outfit that is, according to the blogger, a perfect outfit. The comment appears as a complementary part of the Mary-Kate Olsen's photograph.

(2) *Täydellinen* asu. Ihanan yksinkertainen löllöpaita yhdistettynä mustiin **killer-plattareihin** ja tuohon laukkuun, joka muuten on aivan älyttömän magea. Mulla on viime aikoina tullut muutenkin joku ihme fiksaatio sulkiin. Plus b&w toimii aina.

(Sep 15 2007)

[A perfect outfit. Adorable and simple loose shirt matched with black killer – platforms and that bag, which by the way is amazingly sweet. Lately I've had some sort of strange fixation to feathers. Plus b&w works always]

In this example the writer is describing what in her opinion "a perfect outfit" is. She points out that this kind of outfit includes a loose shirt matched with black killer-platforms (killer-plattareihin). In this context, the blogger is describing extremely cool and beautiful shoes. She has chosen to describe the shoes with the word killer, because they are black, shiny and extremely high. The term "killer" is used a lot in fashion magazines and websites, and usually appears as "killer heels". It refers to something that is considered very cool (Urban Dictionary 2011). In addition to being very cool, the term "killer" in this context also refers to the height of the high heel shoes, which obviously is notable. The term *killer-plattareiden* (the non-inflected form being "killer-plattarit") is a hybrid compound word where both English and Finnish elements are mixed to create a new expression. "Plattarit" is a fashion term that derives from English meaning "platform shoes". In this type of shoes, there is "a platform" located under the ball of the foot to give the shoe extra height. The word "plattarit" imitates the English orthography and is constructed in order to create a Finnish slang word. Understanding and interpreting the hybrid "killer-plattarit" requires some knowledge of the field of fashion, and the blogger's style of writing.

The blogger also mentions that she has developed some sort of a "fixation" (fiksaatio) with feathers because Mary-Kate Olsen is holding a feather covered bag. *Fiksaatio* is an established loan word from English and means clinging strongly and emotionally to something. In this case, the blogger is telling that she has been clinging to feathers. *Plus b&w toimii aina* ("Plus b&w works always) includes both examples of the use of youth language and applying a fashion term. B&w is the abbreviation for black and white in the fashion jargon. *Plus* is used in youth language instead of the expression "in addition" (lisäksi).

As a whole, this passage represents insertional language mixing. Finnish and English alternate relatively frequently and create a style of its own. The writer uses words and expressions that require knowledge of the fashion world but also adds other elements from foreign language to her discourse. The use of fashion jargon that originates from the English language is necessary in this context. However, the use of English is also related to the blogger's personal writing style that includes elements from Finnish youth language, slang, and English.

This example occurs in the same entry with the previous example. Again, it appears alongside a fashion photograph of Mary-Kate Olsen. The blogger's enthusiasm and predilection for MK Olsen's style clearly comes across from her comment on the outfit.

(3) *SHOEEEGASM. Me wants!* Hattu on myös ihan *winner.* (Sep 15 2007)

[SHOEEEGASM. Me wants! The hat is also a total winner.]

The whole expression illustrates abundant use of language mixing. Foreign language elements are constantly juxtaposed within the passage. The language alternation in this case could almost be an instance of a fused lect (see Auer, 1999). However, by taking into account the entire blog entry, the main language of discourse can be recognized as Finnish. The first term "shoeeegasm", written in capital letters to emphasize the blogger's enthusiasm towards the shoes that appear in the photo, is a clever mix that derives from the English words "shoe" and "orgasm". Writing in capital letters usually refers to shouting in computer-mediated communication. In this case, the choice of using capitals could also mean that the blogger is literally shouting when she sees the pair of shoes. It is common to the blogger's personal style to use these kinds of wordplays. By saying that some pair of shoes is a "shoeeegasm", she refers to a particular pair that she really finds better and more attractive than any other pair.

Right after the shouting the shoeeegasm the blogger declares that she wants those shoes. She continues the discourse in English: the informal English phrase "*Me wants!*" represents the blogger's personal writing style. The grammatically incorrect form of the phrase "I want" is a way of playing with the language. The blogger has already started to describe the photograph with wordplay so it is highly predictable that she continues it, especially if the following phrase represents inserted code-switching. "Me wants!" might also have something to do with the Finnish colloquial

way of imitating "bad Finnish" (minä haluaa/haluta) and therefore be a translation of "bad Finnish" expression.

The last English originated insertion in this example appears in the phrase "*hattu on myös ihan winner*" (the hat is also a total winner). The English noun winner is used as an adjective in this context. The blogger is saying that the hat in the photo is perfect - something she would definitely wear. "A winner" in street language can refer to something excellent or high quality (Urban Dictionary 2011). Thus, according to the blogger's style, it is obvious to describe a hat by saying it is a winner.

This example is from an entry under a headline "Shopping". The blogger is telling in this example about "do-it-yourself" styling. She has dyed her old white jeans in the washing machine.

(4) Heitin myös yhdet ***LIKE SO LAST SEASON -valkoiset farkut*** pesukoneeseen värjättäviksi, ja niistä tulikin oikeen mukavan kirkuvan liilat! **(Sep 16 2007)**

[I also threw one pair of LIKE SO LAST SEASON- white jeans to washing machine to dye them, and they became very nicely bright purples.]

The English codeswitch "LIKE SO LAST SEASON" is inserted in a Finnish sentence, and it appears within a Finnish noun phrase "valkoiset farkut" (white jeans). The switch is used as an adjective to describe the white jeans that apparently are old fashioned. The blogger is claiming that white jeans are "last season", thus she decided to dye them bright purple. The expression "so last season" is used for referring something that is out of date or old fashioned (Urban Dictionary 2011). Loyal to her writing style, the blogger has chosen to describe the jeans in English, especially because she thinks they are last season. Furthermore, the choice of using capital letters highlights the emphasis of the jeans being last season. "So last season" is a familiar expression for anyone who reads fashion magazines or blogs. By adding the adverb "like" she is telling sarcastically that the jeans are last season. The blogger is really into fashion but she does not believe in "the right seasons". The way she

tells about and describes her style gives the reader an image that her preferences are very unique and even alternative. This leads to a conclusion that for her the so called "seasons" do not matter that much.

The following example appears in an entry called "The Great Spring 2008 RTW SPECIAL". At the beginning of the entry the blogger tells that she has been "pressing the key F5" at the fashion website style.com because the spring collections of her favorite designers are about to be published. The example illustrates the blogger's opinion on the collection by LUELLA.

In the examples 5 and 6 the adjective *chic* is used to describe a specific style. The style is feminine, classy and even rather posh. The word chic has its origins in French and is found in English language meaning stylish. Chic can refer to a classy, sophisticated and elegant style or a person (Urban Dictionary 2011). In this case, there is always a need for a switch. The word chic is a commonly recognized fashion term and there is no exact equivalent for it in the Finnish language. Moreover, the term chic is a well known and established fashion term so in this context it can be assumed that it is part of the blogger's linguistic repertoire.

(5) ***Nerd chic***. Jälleen kerran erittäin ***wearable*** kokoelma**,** voisin hyvin kuvitella H&M:n kauppaavan jotain tälläistä keväällä. (Oct 7 2007)

[Nerd chic. Once again very wearable collection, I could easily imagine that H&M would sell something like this in the spring.]

In the example 5 the writer mentions that the collection "nerd chic" is very wearable, and she has used the English adjective to express this. It is difficult to say if *nerd chic* is the real name of the collection or something that the blogger has invented to describe it. The English word *wearable* is inserted in a Finnish sentence and it functions as an adjective. Wearable in Finnish would be "puettava" or "käytettävä" and both of the examples sound rather clumsy in this context. If the writer wanted to express the "wearability" in Finnish, she would have had to construct the sentence in another way. I believe that the adjective wearable is also a part of fashion students'

vocabulary. Moreover, it is repeated in foreign fashion blogs written in English so the writer has got influence from there.

This example appears in an entry "Pretty as a picture". The headline does not clearly relate to the upcoming text and the entire entry is about relatively random matters. The blogger says that she has done some shopping and that she should take pictures of her new clothes. There are also some pictures of street fashion. The blogger is going to participate to Finnish Catwalk gala-party and she mentions that she still does not know what to wear.

(6) Finnish Catwalk -gaala myös lähestyy lähestymistään, ja tälläkin hetkellä istun tamineet päällä pähkäillen, mitä sitä lopullisesti kiskoisi ylleen**.** Harvinaisen ympäripyöreä teema, *chic***...** damn, jätesäkki voi olla *chic***.** (Jan 23 2008)

[The Finnish Catwalk gala is approaching, and at this given momet I am wearing the clothes and thinking what am I going to wear finally. Relatively dull theme, chic…damn, a plastic bag can be chic.]

The fashion term *chic* represents insertional type of code-switching. In this context, it is locally meaningful and emerges at a single word level. There are two occasions where chic appears. On the first occasion, it is used as a noun; it is a name of a theme. In the second one, it is used as an adjective; it describes something that can be chic. The blogger does not have any other choice that to use the word *chic* for the party theme. In the first place, it is a name of a particular theme and cannot be changed. Moreover, the Finnish equivalent (tyylikäs, hienostunut, naisellinen) for the word "chic" actually does not carry the same image. As mentioned in the previous example, the established fashion term *chic* is part of the blogger's linguistic repertoire. It is also related to the blogger's belonging to a more global context. She reads a lot of foreign publications and has acquired a variety of fashion terminology from them. In general, her language use demonstrates strong fashion knowledge and also creativity.

There is yet another example that involves the use of the term *chic*. This example appears in an entry called "Junk, junk, junk, junk." and begins with the blogger ranting about having been ill for quite a while. The purpose of the entry is to answer

to the readers' questions and there are also a few photographs of the blogger. She appears in the photos wearing a kirugumi. The following example is a complementary text under a photograph.

(7) olen hengannut tuossa kigurumissa 24/7**, *so chiiiic*** että itkettää**!** Mutta rakastan kiggejä, talvella etenkin käteviä kun ainakin omassa huoneessani on se +15 ja hengitys höyryää. (Oct 11 2007)

[I´ve been hanging out in that kirugumi 24/7, so chiiiic it makes me wanna cry! But I do love kigs, they´re practical especially in the winter when, at least in my room, it´s like +15 degrees and my breath freezes.]

In this example *chic* illustrates the blogger's opinion on the kirugumi which is a piece of Japanese clothing. A kirugumi is a type of overalls, or onepiece that represents a cartoon character, often an animal. The writer is wearing a kirugumi and mentions that they are practical especially in the winter because they are warm to wear. The phrase *so chiiiic* carries without a doubt a sarcastic meaning. A kirugumi is definitely not something that people would consider "chic". Moreover, by writing the word chic with four i- letters the blogger manages to convey the sarcasm in the expression. A kirugumi can be warm and practical, but it does not represent a stylish piece of clothing in the blogger's opinion, neither is it something that the blogger would wear outside her home.

This example is also taken from the entry "Pretty as a picture" and it functions as a complementary part of a street fashion photograph. The blogger is commenting on a picture in which a girl is wearing dark orangebrownish over-the-knee socks with white sandals and a grey winter coat with a black belt.

(8) Ihanaa värien käyttöä, IHANAT kengät (*gotta get*) ja *over-knee-sukat*. Tässä vaan *matchaa* kaikki, ei sen kummempaa sanottavaa. Muutenkin tosi hauska kuva, tulkaa joku ottamaan tälläisiä mustakin *plz* niiden pölyisten peilikuvien sijaan. (Jan 23 2008)

[Lovely use of colors, LOVELY shoes (gotta get) and over-knee-socks. Everything just matches in this outfit; I've got nothing else to say. This picture is also very funny, could someone plz come and take this kind of picture of me instead of those dusty mirror-pics.]

The example represents insertional language mixing. The blogger is describing a fashion photograph and commenting on it as follows: *Lovely use of colors, LOVELY shoes (gotta get) and over-knee-socks. In this outfit everything just matches, I don't have anything else to say. It is also a very funny picture, can someone plz come and take these kinds pictures of me as well instead of those dusty ones taken through the mirror*". The term "gotta get" is inserted in a Finnish phrase and it appears in parentheses. It is used for elaborating the shoes – the shoes must be purchased at some point. Related to the term "must", "gotta get" is also a recognized term among fashion blogs and magazines. It refers to something that is very trendy at the moment and thus every fashion victim should purchase it. In this context, the shoes that appear in the photograph are, according to the blogger a "gotta get" purchase. The choice for the English expression is interesting because the blogger could have said the same in Finnish, especially because the Finnish equivalent "pakko saada" occurs very frequently in other Finnish fashion blogs. The blogger, however, reads a lot about fashion in English, thus the choice for the English term derives from the foreign blogs, websites and magazines.

In addition to the shoes, she mentions also "over-knee-socks" that appear in the same look in the same photo. There was a trend of "over-the-knee" boots and socks, and in the blogosphere, this trend was abbreviated OTK (e.g. OTK-boots/socks). The inserted language mix is obviously derived from the Finnish translation "ylipolvensukat" because the English definite article is omitted. The blogger usually uses the established fashion terms correctly so the omission of the article "the" could be explained by the Finnish translation. The English term *over-knee* is a part of expert fashion jargon in Finland as well. Its Finnish equivalent is used to describe shoes or socks that go over the knee. However, foreign fashion magazines, websites and now also blogs have introduced English equivalents for many terms that expressed in Finnish earlier.

"Matchaa" (match) is used to tell that everything goes well together in the outfit of the picture. It is, again, a fashion term and can also be found in Finnish fashion magazines and blogs. The expression represents an example of language mixing where an English verb is adapted to Finnish morphology by adding the Finnish verbal ending of the third person singular -aa to the word "match". The abbreviated

and slang version of the word "please" – *plz* represents inserted language mixing. The blogger is saying that she would like that her "today's outfit" pictures were as good as the fashion photo. She makes an interrogative suggestion by using the word "plz" although she is not assuming that one of her readers would come and take her picture. "Plz" illustrates the blogger's personal style to play with the language. Moreover, "plz" is a common way of abbreviating the word please in youth cultural discourse, and it derives from the Anglo-American culture.

Example number 9 occurs in the entry "Black is the new… black?" that has been mentioned earlier in this analysis as there are other examples that were taken from this entry. The following example is a description of the blogger's outfit-of-the-day. Again, it appears alongside with a photo of the outfit.

(9) ***Today's outfit.***
mekko / Tokio
neule / H&M
legginsit / H&M (kirjoitusasu hämää yhä, oikeaoppisesti leggings (?), mutta suomalaisittain legginsit on jotenkin paljon helpompi...kirjoittaa.)
mary jane sukat / Tokio
kengät / Din Sko
Ah, ai että rakastankaan tuota Din Skon mallia, harmi etten hommannut sinisiä myös, siniset kengät on ***MUST**-juttu* jossain vaiheessa. (Sep 10 2007)

Description of today's outfit is a common feature for fashion blogging. The blogger's describe what they had been wearing that day, or they post a photo of their outfit of the day. The bloggers tend to mention the names of the shops where the clothes are bought. In almost all other Finnish fashion blogs the outfit of the day is written in Finnish "*päivän asu*". The blogger has chosen to use the English term most apparently because of the terminology that she has acquired from foreign fashion blogs. By using English to express the "today's outfit" the blogger demonstrates belonging to a global fashion context.

Legginsit, in English *leggings*, are tights without the sock part and usually worn as trousers. The word is a loan word from English and can be found in Finnish dictionary. In Finnish word "legginsit" the Finnish plural marker –it is integrated into

the English word "leggings". In the description of today's outfit, the blogger is wondering whether the English form "leggings" or the Finnish one "legginsit" would be the accurate way of writing the term. She is wondering why in the Finnish way of writing the word leggings the last g-letter is omitted. The word lacks the last –g letter probably because it would not be pronounced in spoken language.

 "Mary Jane-socks" are a type of socks that imitate the girly style of Mary Jane-shoes. The term is used for a particular type of strap shoes that typically have low heels and rounded closed toes (Wikipedia Jan 25 2011). It is necessary to use this fashion term in order to be able to refer to the particular type of shoes, or in this case, socks. The same happens with the word "leggings" (legginsit). The term derives from English and is commonly adapted to Finnish morphology and spelling as leggings have become a trend in Finland.

The description of today's outfit represents insertional language mixing. English originated fashion terminology is juxtaposed frequently in a Finnish passage. Moreover, if we take into account the entire entry, the headline "today's outfit" functions as a cue for a high probability that terminology in English will appear again. Fashion terminology is for the most part expressed in English, thus the outfit's description is very likely to include some English elements.

The blogger mentions in the part where she describes her shoes that blue shoes will be a MUST at some point. She tells that it is a shame that she did not buy the same shoes in blue color. In English this phrase would be "*Oh, how I love that design by Din Sko, it's a shame that I didn't buy the blue ones also, blue shoes will be a MUST at some point*". "A must", in fashion context means something that fashion savvy people literally must get or buy. It is also an established term and appears also in Finnish fashion contexts such as magazines and blogs quite frequently. The blogger has chosen to create a compound that mixes English and Finnish: MUST-juttu ("a must thing"). The choice is interesting because she could have expressed the same idea by using simply the word "must". Moreover, as an expert in the use of fashion jargon, she is aware of the term "must" and how it usually appears in fashion discourse. By using the English term alongside with the Finnish word the blogger

most probably wants to emphasize that what is going to be a must at some point will particularly be a pair of *blue* shoes, and not just any pair of shoes.

The following example illustrates another way of describing today's outfit. The example appears in entry called "Shopping", and deals mostly with presenting the blogger's new purchases.

(10) ***The outfit of the day***, siinä näkyvät myös uudet kengät & leggingsit. Ai että nuo kengät oli löytö, olenkin himoinnut vihreitä kenkiä jo iät ja ajat, ja vielä tuollaisia hieman mintun vivahteisia, ahh. Takki on myös uusi, tosin olen sitä mieltä että se on liian tylsä ja tarvii jotain...noh, JOTAIN, täytyy kattoa saanko jonkun inspiraation Eurokankaasta sitten kun sinne asti viimein saan itteni raahattua >O

* takki / Only / 49,90 e
* tunika / Tokio
* lirtti / Tokio
* koru1 / Vivienne Westwood / 160 e
* koru2 / Tokio, yhdistelmä korvakorusta ja riipuksesta
* leggingsit / H&M / 2,90 e
* kengät / UFF / 8 e

(Sep 16 2007)

In this example the concept "today's outfit" is expressed in a different way. *The outfit of the day* is more literal translation of the Finnish "päivän asu", while "today's outfit" derives straight from the foreign fashion blogs. Here, the English phrase represents insertional code-switching since it is the only English element in the entire passage that deals with describing the outfit. It is locally meaningful and functions as a topic or a headline for the description of the blogger's outfit. Moreover, there are only a couple of English elements in the entire entry and thus there are no instances of frequent juxtaposition of two languages.

Example number 11 is taken from an entry "A million miles from here, somewhere more familiar". The blogger is listing good and bad things that have happened to her lately. She considers Japanese Language Proficiency Test and flu as bad things and booking a flight ticket to Finland as a good one. She also mentions that she has to find a new winter jacket which has never been easy.

(11) Tällä hetkellä käynnissä on **The Talvitakin metsästys**, joka joka vuonna on yhtä tuskaista (
siitä osoituksena se, että viimeiset 3 vuotta olen käyttänyt samaa kulahtanutta telttaa, kun no,
eipä parempaakaan ole osunut tielle). Takin täytyy ehdottomasti olla musta, sopivan lämmin
eikä liian lyhyt. Perinteinen musta tönkkö villakangastakki on iso *no-no*, takin tulee olla joko
rennon *rock-henkinen*, tai jännästi...liehuva. Joku juju kuitenkin pitää olla.

(Dec 2 2008)

[At the very moment The Winter Coat hunt is on, which results equally painful every year (as
an example of that, for the last 3 years I've been wearing the same worn-out tent, when, I
haven't found better one.]

Here, the blogger tells that she is looking for a new winter coat at the moment. In the
phrase *"Tällä hetkellä käynnissä on **The Talvitakin metsästys**, joka joka vuonna on
yhtä tuskaista"*(At the very moment The Winter Coat hunt is on, which results
equally painful every year), the English definite article "the" is used with the Finnish
word "talvitakki" (winter coat) for emphatic reasons. The blogger mentions that it is
very difficult to find a good winter coat that also attracts her eye. This is why she has
chosen to emphasize the word "talvitakki" with a definite article "the". The English
language allows people to emphasize things with an article, while in Finnish there
are no articles at all. Thus, one has to find another way to imply the emphasis.
Another inserted code-switch in this passage can be found in the following phrase:
"Perinteinen musta tönkkö villakangastakki on iso *no-no*, takin tulee olla joko rennon
rock-henkinen, tai jännästi...liehuva" (A traditional black, rigid woolen cloth coat is a
big no-no, the coat must be either relaxed and rock, or flowing, in a groovy way).
The repetition of the English word "no" is used for telling that a traditional woolen
cloth coat cannot be accepted as a new winter coat. In fashion magazines and blogs it
is common to refer to something that is "last season", not trendy anymore, or
something that the person has not been looking for at that time, with a phrase "no-
no". The blogger could have said the same in Finnish but the phrase might have had
a slightly different meaning with the phrase *iso no-no* ("a big no-no") replaced by
something such as *ehdoton ei* ("an absolute no").

The following example represents insertional code-switching that is used to
emphasize something. It appears under a headline "Pretty as a picture", which is
already mentioned earlier in the analysis.

(12) **THE HAT!!1** Hemmetti, vannon että olen kokeillut läpi joka ainoan kirpparin ja UFFin
karvahatun, eikä vaan nappaa ei sitten millään..... Joko malli on vain täysin hanurista, tai

sitten koko hökötys ei edes suoriudu mahtumaan jättipäähäni. On tämä elon tie sitten välillä niin vaikeaa. (Jan 23 2008)

[THE HAT!!1 Dammit, I swear that I've tried on a fur hat from every single fleamarket and UFF second hand store, but I can't find a good one… Either the model is straight from the arse, or the thing just doesn't fit into my giant head. Life is so hard sometimes.]

THE HAT!!!!!1 describes a particular hat that the blogger finds exceptional. The use of capital letters, many exclamation marks, and number one that is left there by accident emphasize the blogger's enthusiasm towards that hat. She explains that she has been looking for a perfect hat but none of the ones she has tried seems to fit.

8.1.1.1 Language alternation in full clauses and sentences

There were many instances where an English clause is inserted in a Finnish sentence. The English clause appears always after a comma and the preceding clause is in Finnish. The function of these clauses usually is to emphasize the idea or issue that was dealt with earlier. The blogger switches into English when she wants to comment on the preceding clause, or give a conclusion to the sentence. The clauses usually carried an emotional tone and there was an emotion verb, such as "to love" or "to like" involved.

In the following example the blogger is commenting on fashion collections. She is telling about the fashion designer Betsey Johnson's collection and commenting on it.

(13) … Pidän ylipäänsä Johnssonin tyttömäisen hauskoista ja kokeilevista vaatteista, ne ampuvat juuri ihanalla tavalla ylitse. Ensimmäisessä asussa on jotain tosi Carrie Bradshawmaista, *I like that too*. (Oct 7 2007) [I like in general Johnson's girlishly funny and tentative clothes, they are exaggerated in a very lovely way. There's something very Carrie Bradshawish in the first outfit, I like that too.]

In this example, the English clause *I like that too* is inserted in a Finnish sentence after a comma. The English clause gives a conclusion to the preceding part of the sentence. The blogger has started the sentence by saying in Finnish that she likes Johnson's clothes. She concludes the sentence by saying in English she likes the first

outfit too. The blogger's choice of switching into English is interesting because the entire passage is written in Finnish. Perhaps she wants to emphazise that she really likes that specific outfit.

The next example comments on a special style. The blogger says that she really likes that style and would like to have the shoes that appear in that picture.

(14) Savuisia värejä, tiukkoja hameita, revittyjä sukkahousuja, löysiä yläosia, kiiltonahkanilkkureita... Tuollaiset vetskarinilkkurit kun saisi niin *uh would I be happy.* *_* (Feb 16 2008) [Smoky colors, tight skirts, ripped tights, loose tops, patent leather shoes… If I only got those zipper bootees and uh I would be happy.]

The blogger is describing the clothes that a model is wearing in a fashion photograph. She is saying that she likes particularly the zipper bootees. The English clause "uh I would be happy" is inserted in a Finnish sentence to comment on the bootees. In this case, there is no comma before the English clause and the clause begins with a Finnish adverb "niin" ("so", but in this context it has to be translated as "and").

The following example appears in an entry "Pitäis olla jotenkin niin smooth". Here, the blogger is telling that she bought the "image glasses".

(15) Mäkin kävin hakemassa Punanaamiosta ne imagokakkulat (5,20), *oh I love these.* (Feb 28 2008) [I also bought those imago-classes from Punanaamio, oh I love these.]

The Finnish expression "imagokakkulat" ("image glasses") refers to a pair of spectacles that is only worn to have an "intellectual image". They are not prescription glasses and are not used for improving one's vision. Again, an English clause is inserted in a Finnish sentence and appears after a comma. The blogger switches into English when she wants to comment on the glasses. She says she loves them. It is very probable that the blogger finds it easier to express such an emotion in English. The verb "to love" in Finnish carries a very strong emotional sense. According to Tolvanen (2004: 65-66) it is possible that English is somehow a more neutral way of expressing strong issues, both positive and negative. She also points

out that the English language has two opposite functions: obstrusiveness and dissolving strong expressions.

The occasions where code-switching and language mixing appeared frequently were description of fashion terminology and the blogger's personal style preferences. Most of the switches into English were adjectives that belong to the fashion jargon or terminology. Moreover, some instances of nouns and a few verbs were found. The switches into English in this category included, to a great extent, adjectives that describe clothes and trends. There were also few nouns that also belong to the fashion sphere. Language alternation also emerges at a clause/sentence level as the blogger tells about fashion in more detail, comments on some fashion-related matter, and emphasizes something.

8.1.2 Styling, coordination and fashion business – Studies at Bunka Fashion College

For a long time, the blogger had a dream of studying fashion in a special fashion college. Her future plan was to learn to speak Japanese better and get accepted to the Bunka Fashion College in Tokyo. She mentioned in couple of her blog entries that it is a very valued fashion school and many former students have created a career with high fashion. The blogger wrote about the application process and the entrance exam. Finally in November 2008, she got accepted at Bunka Fashion College. She tells a lot about her studies and weekly schedules and English plays a crucial role when these are described. The blogger's studies at Bunka Fashion College interlink with orientation to global contexts which is reflected in her writing style.

This example is taken from the entry "Fitter for Max Mara". The blogger is telling that her studies have recently started and that she has not had a lot of time for writing. Moreover, she says that she is very happy to be in that particular school and that the stylist line is perfect for her. Anyway, as the headline says, the blogger has been a fitter in Max Mara Autumn/Winter 09 fashion show. She mentions that 1st and 2nd year fashion students can intern in fashion shows when they have work.

(16) Vaatteiden tekoa**, *stailausta***, värioppia, piirtämistä&maalaamista, ***fashion bisnestä***, musiikin&taiteen historiaa... Ensi vuonna tulee vielä vaikka mitä muuta kivaa, kuten valokuvausta, meikkausta ja hiusten laittoa! (Sep 20 2009)

[Making clothes, styling, color theory, drawing&painting, fashion business, music&art history… Next year will bring another nice things such as photography, make-up and hairdressing!]

In example 16 the blogger is telling what she has studied at Bunka Fashion College. There are two examples of language mixing integrated into a Finnish phrase. "Stailausta" derives from the English word "styling" that has been modified according to Finnish orthography and morphology. The spelling of the word imitates the Finnish way of pronouncing the word "styling. The non-inflected form in Finnish is "stailaus". This is an established fashion term and occurs frequently in Finnish fashion sphere (e.g. magazines, television programs, websites and so on.). The word "staili" (style) can be found in the Finnish language dictionary (MOT kielikone) thus it is a recognized colloquial expression in Finnish. Many other slang or jargon words can be derived from the word "staili". These include the verb "stailata" (to stylize), "stailisti" (a stylist) and "stailaus" (styling). It is common for the blogger's style to alternate between Finnish and English when talking about her studies. Some study concepts such as subjects, courses and lines of interest are in many cases easier to express in English since they are mostly recognized in Finnish as well. Moreover, sometimes it might be difficult to come across an exact equivalent for a particular term in Finnish.

The following example (17) also appears in the entry "Fitter for Max Mara". Here, the blogger tells how it was to work as a"fitter" in Max Mara autumn/winter 09 show.

(17) Mutta joo, otsikkoon viitaten, olin viikko sitten sunnuntaina ***MaxMaran A/W09 showssa fitterinä***. 1. ja 2. vuoden ***stailistiopiskelijat*** tekevät ikäänkuin pienenä työharjoitteluna ***fitterin*** töitä silloin kun niitä on tarjolla, eli käytännössä Bunkaan tulee ***brändiltä*** pyyntö, että näin ja näin monta tyyppiä tarvittaisiin avustajaksi, ja jokainen vuorollaan pääsee harjoittelemaan.
(Sep 20 2009)
[But yeah, according to the headline, last Sunday, I worked as a fitter in the MaxMara A/W09 show . 1st and 2nd year stylist students can do a kind of an internship as a fitter when needed, which basically means that Bunka gets a request from a brand, this and this many people are needed as assistants and everyone gets to practice]

The whole passage represents abundant use of language mixing. Elements from the English language are constantly juxtaposed with Finnish. Moreover, the spelling of the English words has been modified according to Finnish. The blogger mixes the English word "show" with the Finnish case ending "-ssa" so that it becomes *showssa* ("in the show"). Also, she describes her position in the show by mixing the English word "fitter" with the Finnish case ending "-nä" and also adds the Finnish ending "i" – *fitterinä* ("as a fitter"). *Stailistiopiskelijat* ("stylist students") is a hybrid compound that combines a language mix "stailisti" and a Finnish word opiskelijat. The orthography of the word *stailisti* "stylist" is adapted to Finnish spelling system. In Finnish, the vocal sound "y" of an English originated word is pronounced "ai". Moreover, the Finnish ending "i", in the case of these terms (fitter, stailisti) refers to a certain position or a profession. Consequently, stylist becomes "stailisti". There is also an established fashion and also marketing term *brändi* "brand". It is a commonly recognized term in Finland and its orthography is usually adapted to the Finnish spelling system.

The passage in the following example represents again abundant use of language mixing. It is from an entry in which the blogger tells her readers that she got accepted at Bunka Fashion College. The headline is as original as "Here I come, BFC!".

(18) Pääsin sisään, pääsin sisään! [I got in, I got in!]

Täältä tullaan ensi vuonna, ***Bunka Fashion College****! **Yahhoo yahhoo yahhoo****!*

[Here I come next year, Bunka Fashion College! Yahhoo yahoo yahoo!]

Departmenttini on siis ***Fashion Marketing and Distribution Department***, kurssi ***Fashion Styling and Coordination***, joka kestää kaksi vuotta, ja toisena vuonna valitaan kolmesta mihin erikoistutaan**: *Fashion Styling, Fashion Advising ja Fashion Modeling***. Kolmantena vuonna voi vielä ottaa ***Advanced Coursen***, jossa vaihtoehtoina on ***Fashion Directing, Fashion Media ja Fashion Retail Management***. Itse tällä hetkellä menisin tietä ***Fashion Styling -> Fashion Directing***, mutta eihän sitä tiedä miten mieli sitten muuttuu! Tästä pääsee tarkastelemaan englannin kielisiä sivuja, jos jotain kiinnostaa mitä muuta tuolla voi opiskella. (Nov 23 2008)

 [So I will be studying at the Fashion Marketing and distribution Department, at course Fashion Styling and Coordination which takes about two years to complete, and the second year one chooses one subject to specialize: Fashion Styling, Fashion Advising, and Fashion Modeling. Third year one can yet take an Advanced Course in which the options are Fashion Directing, Fashion Media and Fashion Retail Management. At the moment I would follow

the way Fashion Styling -> Fashion Directing but you never know if you're going to change your mind! Click this to browse the English websites if you are interested what other studies do they offer.]

At the beginning of the entry the blogger shows her enthusiasm and happiness with an exclamation *Yahhoo yahhoo yahhoo!*. The choice to adapt the exclamation to the English orthography is interesting because the preceding phrases are written in Finnish. The choice to use the English spelling for the exclamation represents the blogger's personal writing style. It is common for her to use English for emphatic reasons such as express her enthusiasm.

The blogger has chosen to use the English to describe her future studies at Bunka Fashion College: *Departmenttini* on siis *Fashion Marketing and Distribution Department*, *kurssi Fashion Styling and Coordination*, joka kestää kaksi vuotta, ja toisena vuonna valitaan kolmesta mihin erikoistutaan: *Fashion Styling, Fashion Advising ja Fashion Modeling.* The entire passage illustrates insertional language mixing. The blogger alternates between English and Finnish when she tells about her next year's studies. There is a certain need for a switch in terms of the fashion studies terminology because the blogger does not have the exact and accurate equivalents in her mother tongue. Moreover, the application process has been completely in English and Japanese thus the study related terminology is more familiar to the blogger in English. As I pointed out in the previous example, it is also very likely that the blogger finds it easier to call her subjects and courses by their actual (English) names especially because they can be understood relatively easily with limited proficiency in English.

The following example appears in an entry "Making mama so proud". The blogger is telling that she has not had time for updating her blog because her studies had begun recently. She tells that so many new things have happened that she does not know where to start and what to tell. She repeats that her school is called Bunka Fashion College and that she studies at Fashion marketing and Distribution Department.

(19) Olen tämän joskus maininnut, mutta opiskelen siis ***Fashion Marketing and Distribution departmentissa*** (fasshon ryuutsuu senmonkatei), pääaineeni on ***Fashion Styling and Coordination*** (sutairisuto ka). Luokallani on 56 oppilasta, joista 11 on ***mänejä*** ja 9 ulkkareita (jei o/). Mun luokka on 1. vuositason luokka numero 5, jotenka siis tuollaisia melkein 60

oppilaan luokkia on 5 kappaletta, eli tuolla koulussa on helvetisti *populaa*. Missä niitä japanilaisia ei olisi paljon....

Lukujärjestys. Ei varmaan hirveästi kyllä sano mitään kellekään... Mutta siis, aineita joita mulla nyt on: vaatteiden tekemistä - vaikka kyseessä onkin *stailistikurssi,* ommellaan myös aika paljon ja tehdään siis vaatteita, materiaalioppia, *fashion design -piirtämistä* (lähinnä opetellaan piirtämään ihmisiä, asentoja, vaatteita jne.), *colour coordinationia*, muodin historiaa*, fashion businesstä, coordinationia*, ja sitten kaiken maailman *apparell-juttuja,* joista en oikein ole vielä perillä, sillä kanjien lukutaitoni on surkea... (Nov 16 2008)

[I've mentioned this before, but I study at the Fashion Marketing and Distribution Deparment (fashhon ryuutsuu senmonkatei), my major is Fastion Styling and Coordination (sutairisuto ka). There are 56 students in my class, 11 of them are men and 9 of them are foreigners (yay o/). My class is the class number 5 from the first year, so there are almost 5 of those 60 student classes, so there are hell of a lot people in the school. But where wouldn't be many Japanese people…]

[My schedule. I guess it doesn't say anything to anyone… But, subjects I'm taking at the moment: making clothes – although it refers to stylist course, we sew quite a lot and thus make clothes, material theory, fashion design drawing (basicalle drawing people, positions, clothes etc.), color coordination, fashion history. Fashion business. Coordination, and then all kinds of apparel-things, of which I'm not quite aware of yet because my ability to read kanjis sucks…]

The alternation of English and Finnish in this example represents again language mixing. English elements are used constantly alongside the Finnish language. There are several instances where the English elements are integrated in the Finnish sentences. They are mostly adapted to Finnish grammar and spelling. The passage begins with the blogger reminding her readers in which Bunka Fashion College department does she study. In the following phrase *Fashion Marketing and Distribution departmentissa* the English word department is integrated in the Finnish sentence and adapted to Finnish grammar. A Finnish case ending *-ssa*, which is the indicator for a location in Finnish, is added to the English word "department". In the following sentence, the English expression is inserted and it adapts to Finnish without modification: *Pääaineeni on Fashion Styling and Coordination,* "I'm majoring in Fashion Styling and Coordination".

The sentence *Luokallani on 56 oppilasta, joista 11 on mänejä ja 9 ulkkareita (jei o/) /)* includes a good example of the blogger's creative style. She refers to men by calling them "mänejä" which derives from its English equivalent "men" and is adapted to Finnish orthography as well as morphology. The non-inflected form would be "mäni" which derives straight from the English pronunciation of the word

"man". There is also a Finnish ending added which represents the blogger's personal and informal style. The blogger uses almost exceptionally the word "mäni" instead of the correct English word "man" and its Finnish equivalent "mies".

There is also an established loan word *populaa* from English with the non-inflected form being *popula*. The term "popula" is a recognized element of spoken language, or slang in Finland. The word derives from the English word "population" and in Finnish it means people or a crowd (Jarva and Nurmi 2006: 311). In this context, the word *populaa* is used for telling that there are a lot of people in the school: *Mun luokka on 1. vuositason luokka numero 5, jotenka siis tuollaisia melkein 60 oppilaan luokkia on 5 kappaletta, eli tuolla koulussa on helvetisti populaa.* ("My class is the class number 5 from the first year, so there are almost 5 of those 60 student classes, so there are hell of a lot people in the school.".)

In example number 19 the blogger is telling about her weekly schedule. Again, there is a hybrid compound *stailistikurssi* "stylist course" which combines a language mix from the English origin *stailisti* (stylist) and a Finnish word (kurssi) for course. The word *stailisti* appears also in a similar context in example 16. The blogger tells that her studies at the moment include fashion design drawing (*fashion design-piirtämistä),* color coordination (*color coordinationia),* fashion business (*fashion businesstä),* coordination (*coordinationia)* and all kinds of apparel things (*kaiken maailman apparel-juttuja).* There is also one more subject that the blogger has listed to her studies – fashion history (*muodin historiaa).* It is the only term that she has written in Finnish. This is most probably because it is the easiest one to translate into Finnish, and also because inflecting the word history according to Finnish rules (=historya) would probably be more difficult.

Entries that deal with the blogger's studies at Bunka Fashion College represent mostly insertional language mixing. English is used alongside Finnish practically in all the cases where descriptions or definitions of the blogger's studies are given. The language mixing is insertional because the language-of-communication is clearly Finnish, and English elements are only inserted in Finnish discourse.

8.1.3 As glamorous as ever – Life and style

What becomes evident from the discourse in Dirty Pretty Things is that the blogger is quite an alternative person in many ways. The way she writes is very personal and there are elements (such as language alternation) that demonstrate the specific style of writing. It can be interpreted from her writing that she really masters self irony and sarcasm. The sarcasm is often related to her looks and it tends to appear frequently in texts under the photographs. Moreover, she uses sarcasm when talking about herself being a "geek". She has mentioned that she considers herself a nerd or a geek because she uses and has used the computer a lot especially for communication, and because of her interests in Japanese culture and music. "A geek" is a colloquial term for someone who is not athletic and enjoys playing video games and being on the Internet (Urban Dictionary 2011). The blogger has a vivid life online, and she uses computers regularly to keep in contact with the people in her life, to read other fashion blogs and about fashion, styles and clothing in general.

The blogger has a special style and her outfits are always matched and carefully chosen. She is also mostly well groomed meaning that in her photos she always appears with a neat look. Her hair and make-up are well done and she looks fresh and clean. However, she does not feel ashamed of not looking perfect and once in a while she posts pictures that show her "home look" or tells about a day when she did not have time or desire to dress up. She usually describes those occasions through self-related sarcasm.

The following examples are all from entries where the blogger has posted photos of herself, and/or her friends. Adding photographs, especially of "today's outfit" is a common social practice in fashion blogs. The purpose of photos is to present and illustrate the blogger's own style to the readers as well as to other (fashion) bloggers. In this blog, the photographs are from very different situations. There are high fashion photos, and photos of today's outfit but there are also many photos of landscapes, travelling in general, and parties.

The first example in this category appears in an entry called "Asagiri Jam", which is mostly a picture entry about a festival that carries the same name. The second one (21) appears in an entry "DPT 1 vee + muuta kräppiä!", where the blogger tells that

she forgot the blog's birthday. In addition, this entry is also a picture post about the blogger's home in Japan. Both of the following example texts appear as a complementary part of a photograph.

(20) Uh, joku aamuinen **hot mama** siinä.

(Oct 10 2008) **[**Uh, some hot mama there in the morning.**]**

(21) Mun **fashion forward** päivän asu.

(Sep 14 2008) [My fashion forward outfit of today]

Both of these examples are texts appearing under photographs that are taken in the morning and the blogger is wearing a pajama, and does not wear any make-up. An English insertion "*hot mama*" is used to refer to her natural, out-of-bed -look. The term "hot mama" originates from street slang and hip hop culture, and it refers to a very beautiful and attractive woman. The blogger obviously does not look like what is generally considered a "hot mama" in her pajama and rather tired face.

In example 21, the blogger tells in a sarcastic way that she is wearing her today's outfit. In the photo she appears, again, wearing a pajama. Hence, the English insertion "*fashion forward*" is used to make fun of her "today's outfit picture". The term fashion forward is used to describe extremely fashionable, cool and "hip" people. If an outfit is fashion forward it should be very trendy and "in". In this context, a pajama definitely is not, in any way, a fashion forward outfit and the writer knows it. That is why she has decided to make fun of it.

Both of the examples represent insertional code-switching. They are both locally meaningful in the context, and they carry an emphatic meaning. *Hot mama* is used to emphasize sarcastically that the blogger does not look too attractive in the photo. *Fashion forward* also functions as an emphatic description for the blogger's outfit (a pajama) in the picture. Moreover, in both of these examples English elements are used to carry a sarcastic meaning. The blogger would not be able to express the sarcasm that occurs in these instances the same way in Finnish. English is needed to convey the sarcasm that is a common feature of the blogger's writing style.

Example 22 appears under a headline "This n' that!". Here, the blogger mentions yet at the beginning of the entry that she is going to post a random picture entry about random things. The following text appears as a complementary description of a fashion photograph from Harajuku, Tokyo.

(22) Hahahahaharajukuuu. Oon niin rakastunut tähän tyttöön, ihan älysöpö ja ihana tyyli ♥. Rakastan tuota kaulus/kauluri/huivi-asiaa ja värejä ja kaikkea ja haluun kanssa ***Mary Janet.*** *JA ton värisen tukan,* ***god damn it.***
Gaak, rakastan tätä asua! Ruskee, beige, kameli = ♥. Ja ihanasti kerroksia ja lirttimäisyyttä, ja hyvä idea ***kustomoida*** t-paidasta huivi, vielä noinkin onnistunut. Jos en kasvattaisi tukkaa niin leikkaisin kyllä ehottomasti polkan, ***just about*** tän pitusen, ai muna se olis niiiin hieno. ***One day, one day...*** (Sep 19 2007)

[Hahahahaharajukuu. I'm so in love with this girl, she has so cute and lovely style ♥. I love that collar/scarf –thign and the colors and everything and I also want a pair of Mary Janes. AND that colored hair, god damn it.
Gaak, I love this outfit! Brown, beige, camel = ♥. And I like the layers and loose style, and it is a good idea to customize a scarf out of a t-shirt, when it's even that successfully done. If I wasn't trying to grow my hair, I wouldn definitely cut a bob haircut, just about this long, oh shit it would be so cool. One day, one day…

The entire passage illustrates regular and frequent alternation between English and Finnish, thus it must be considered language mixing. The "Mary Jane" style must have been a common trend in 2007 because it appears more than just once in the blog. See example (9) for more precise discussion on the term. The clause *JA ton värisen tukan, god damn it* ("AND a hair color like hers, god damn it") refers to the blogger's admiration of the model's hair color in the photograph. She emphasizes the admiration by the English phrase "god damn it", which is usually written "goddammit". The choice for expressing this type of emotion in English is not unusual. Conversely, it is most likely easier to emphasize something in such a strong way by using an English expression. In Finnish the context, the native equivalent for this swear word "jumalauta" sounds a lot uglier and seems to convey stronger meaning for a native Finn.

The second passage in this example continues with constant use of language mixing. The passage begins with the interjection *Gaak* when the blogger tells that she loves the outfit in that photo. In the following sentence, she is commenting on the outfit and mentions that in her opinion it is a clever idea to customize a scarf from old t-

shirt. The verb *kustomoida* derives from English ("customize") and it is adapted to Finnish morphology and spelling. The literal meaning of the English verb refers to something that is custom made for someone. The Finnish adaptation of the word is a commonly recognized term for making new clothes, jewelry and accessories from old ones. In the following sentence, the blogger goes back to commenting on the hair. She says that if she was not trying to grow her hair, her option would definitely be cutting it as in the picture. *Just about tän pitusen* ("just about this long")

Example 23 is taken from an entry "Kohti ääretöntä ja sen yli". It is a complementary text that appears under a photo of the blogger's hair. She makes fun of the fact that she has not dyed her hair in six months and in her opinion it looks very bad.

(23) ***Check this hot shit out babes***. PUOLI vuotta sitten viimeksi on nähnyt minkäänlaista käsittelyä, että siinä komeilee ihan ihka elävä 7 sentin juurikasvu <3___<3.

(Oct 2 2008) [Check this hot shit out babes. It's HALF a year ago that this one saw any treatment, so there you can see the seven centimeter long roots]

The English phrase "*Check this hot shit out babes*" is inserted into a passage which continues in Finnish after a full stop. Again, the switch into English is done for a sarcastic purpose. The blogger wants to express ironically that her hair is "hot shit" when in her opinion it actually is not. Moreover, she encourages her readers to "check the hot shit out", and this way she emphasizes even more the self-irony that comes up in the sentence. The term "hot shit" refers to something that is very cool. In the writer's opinion, the hair that appears in the photo is definitely not very cool. She wants to express self irony in a funny and informal way, which is a typical feature for her writing style. The use of a smiley with two hearts emphasizes the sarcastic tone of the sentence.

Both of the following examples are taken from a picture challenge entry. The blogger has to post a photo that matches the readymade description. The headline of the entry is simply "Photos".

(24) **A picture of you when you were anything but happy:**

Meikittömänä, tukka rasvaisena ja väsyneenä ei ollut kovin hehkeä olo koulussa tällä viikolla! *(About joka päivä in fact...)* [No make-up, greasy hair and feeling tired, I didn't actually feel blooming at school this week! (About every day in fact…)]

(25) **The most recent picture of you:**

Oiskohan tää ollu eilen, *as glamorous as ever.*

(Feb 26 2010) [I guess this was taken yesterday, as glamorous as ever]

In example 24 there is an example of inserted code-switching in the phrase that appears inside the brackets. The blogger posts a picture of herself in which, according to the rules of the challenge, she is anything but happy. According to the blogger, the state of being anything but happy means appearing with no make-up, greasy hair and feeling tired. *"About joka päivä in fact"* is a sarcastic observation about the blogger's state of mind at that point. She makes fun of her appearance at school that particular week by saying that she has gone to school looking like that about every day. The English insertions *about* and *in fact* are placed carefully so that both English and Finnish words make sense together. The phrase would be grammatically correct in both languages. The phrase appears in parenthesis and functions as an emphatic phrase for the preceding description of her looks. Commenting and elaborating in English the surrounding Finnish passage is a very common practice in this blog.

Example 25 appears under a recent photograph of the blogger. In the photo, again, she is wearing a home outfit. *"As glamorous as ever"* is used to emphasize the sarcastic voice of the picture text. She definitely does not think she looks glamorous in that picture. Neither does she assume that the readers consider the photo of her as glamorous. This is an example of insertional code-switching where an English phrase is inserted into a Finnish sentence. Again, the switch is made according to the grammar rules of both languages and thus would make sense if it was translated in either of the languages. The switch functions as an elaborative phrase that comments on the preceding part.

The next entry appears in entry "Long time no see" where the blogger apologizes her unintentional blog silence. The entry is again photo oriented and thus the following example appears as a complementary part of a particular photograph.

(26) Oman huoneeni uberpunaisessa valaistuksessa. ***Excuse me my eye bags***, tollaset ne on au naturel.

Nää kuvat lähti nyt ***random-linjalle***, mutta ***game centerissä*** oli palkintoja jättihattivatteja.... ***me wants.***

(Nov 16 2008)

[In the uber red light of my own room. Excuse me my eye bags, they are like that au naturel.]

[These pics are a bit random but there were giant hattivatti-toys as prizes in the game center….me wants.]

The first sentence of this example is, again, a text that appears under a photo which is taken in the blogger's room. She mentions that the room is illuminated with a red light, or as she puts it "*In the uber-red light of my room*" (Oman huoneeni uberpunaisessa valaistuksessa). The next phrase in this example involves an English insertion "*Excuse me my eye bags*". The blogger wants to emphasize her natural appearance in the photo. She obviously has shadows under her eyes and it is typical for her to make fun of them. The crucial word choice that reveals the sarcasm is the apology "excuse me". She is not afraid of posting a "bad" picture of herself but still wants to express that she is sorry to appear in the photo with eye bags. Moreover, the formal apology "excuse me" in this case also relates to sarcasm. She could have chosen to say "sorry" or even adapt it to Finnish ("sori").

There are two examples from other languages as well. The word uber, which originally is a German expression for "over", has become a relatively popular street or slang expression, and it could be considered a part of Finnish youth language (Peuronen 2008). Another example originates in the French language but has become a globally recognized term that usually appears in contexts that relate to female contexts (e.g. beauty advertising and marketing, fashion, and so on.). "Au naturel" means "naturally" or "in real nature". The blogger has chosen to use the French switch "au naturel" to describe the natural state of her eyes because the term is common in the fashion world. Although English is the dominant language of fashion marketing and publishing, the French still has an unwavering role in cosmetic advertising and marketing and thus, some French expressions might appear frequently in peoples' communication.

Example 27 appears in an entry "Photos", which has occurred earlier in the analysis. It is a picture challenge entry, and the blogger has to post a photo that matches the given description. The second example, number 28, also appears in an entry that has been dealt with earlier. "Long time no see" is a longer entry that involves many relevant examples.

(27) **A picture that describes how you'd like to spend every day:**

Kavereiden kanssa yökkäreissä löhöttäminen ja ***no-lifettäminen* <3__<3**

(Feb 26 2010)

[Hanging out with my friends wearing pyjamas and having no-life <3__<3]

(28) *Fiilis* oli todella *freesi* 4 tunnin yöunien jälkeen, nokka myös vuosi jatkuvasti eikä ollut paperia mihin niistää, kurkkua kuivasi ja pissatti.
(Nov 16 2008)

[I felt so fresh after 4 hour sleep, also my nose was running all the time and I didn´t have paper to blow it, my throat was dry and I had to pee.]

Example 27 represents insertional code-switching. The first example is a phrase from the same picture challenge entry that has been mentioned earlier in this study. According to the challenge, the blogger has to post a photo that describes how she would like to spend every day. She tells that her ideal day would consist of "*Hanging out with friends wearing a pajama and having no-life*". The term no-life is sometimes used among Finnish youth to indicate the people who spend a lot of their spare time in front of a computer screen playing games or surfing on the net (Peuronen 2008: 109). *No-lifettäminen* eg. having no-life represents language mixing and is a hybrid verb modified according to Finnish verbal form. In this context, the expression "*no-lifettäminen*" is used for sarcastic purposes. As I have pointed out earlier in this study, the blogger considers herself as a "geek" or a nerd and thus for her, having no-life is an ideal state of being. The use of a smiley with hearts in the end of the phrase emphasizes the sarcastic tone.

The following example 28 carries two examples of insertional language mixing. "Fiilis" is a frequently used term in Finnish youth language and it derives from the English equivalent "feeling". The Finnish language mix "fiilis" does not convey the same meaning as the English word "feeling" does. Jarva and Nurmi (2006: 51) define "fiilis" as an atmosphere or a mood. Meanwhile, the English equivalent

"feeling" inevitably refers to emotions and has to do with what someone actually feels, not with the mood someone is having. In this example, the blogger is telling about a trip she did with her friends and they had to sleep outside in a tent. She describes her mood using language mixing from the English origin. In the phrase, "*Fiilis oli todella freesi 4 tunnin yöunien jälkeen, nokka myös vuosi jatkuvasti eikä ollut paperia mihin niistää, kurkkua kuivasi ja pissatti*", she describes her mood after sleeping outside. The literal translation from Finnish to English would be "the feeling was really fresh", but what she means is that she was feeling really fresh after having slept four hours. The term "fiilis" in the Finnish context is made a subject of the phrase, while if translated into English, the personal pronoun "I" would be the subject. The word "freesi" illustrates also language mixing and it derives from the English adjective "fresh". It is modified according to Finnish morphology by adding the letter "i" in the end of the word, and also according to Finnish orthography. It could have been written also "fressi" which would imitate more precisely the English pronunciation. However, "freesi" is yet quite established term in Finnish. The entire phrase, again, illustrates the sarcasm that is very common for the blogger. When she says that she was feeling really fresh, she actually means that she was feeling nothing but fresh.

The following example is taken from entry "Feedback & meme". The blogger comments on her readers' feedback on the earlier entries. She mentions that she was a bit surprised that Japan related posts were very popular. People had asked her to write more about Japan.

(29) Jotenkin itelle tulee aina sellainen ***"ONE TIME, IN A BAND CAMP..!!1"-geek*** olo kun rupee Japsilasta paasaamaan, mutta nyt voinkin sitten antaa palaa niin paljon kuin huvittaa, ja todeta että tätähän te pyysitte.....tässä kohtaa kuuluu *evil laughter*. (Dec 18 2007)

[For some reason I get the "ONE TIME, IN A BAND CAMP…!!1" –geek feeling when I start ranting about Japan, but now I can talk about it as much as I want, and state that this is what you asked for… here you can hear evil laughter.]

Here the blogger tells that she feels like "one time in a band camp"- geek when she starts ranting about Japan. Since her readers have been asking for more information about Japan, she now has a full permission to write about it as much as she wants. The English switch is inserted in a Finnish passage and it functions as a description

of the blogger's attitude towards ranting about Japan. The blogger wants to emphasize the stereotypical attitude of some people towards the Japan as a trend or phenomenon. The switch is emphasized by using capital letters, quotation marks, and exclamation marks. "One time at a band camp…" is a famous line from the movie American pie, and in urban language it is considered an excuse to tell a long, funny, and often stupid story (Urban Dictionary 2011). By using this expression, the blogger means that her stories about Japan are rather long and include "geeky" features. Stereotypically, being interested in Japanese popular culture conveys a "nerdy" image. That is why the expression "one time in a band camp" is appropriate in this occasion.

Another code-switch into English can be found in the same passage. In the sentence *tässä kohtaa kuuluu evil laughter* the English adverb phrase is inserted in the end of Finnish sentence. *Evil laughter* functions as a sarcastic comment on the readers' request for more Japan-related information. By using English in this occasion, the blogger emphasizes an action, that is, to laugh in an evil way.

8.1.3.1 Language alternation in full clauses and sentences

This part of the third category "life and style" illustrates language alternation between Finnish and English at a full clause/sentence level. There are instances where the entry is written entirely in Finnish but a full clause or sentence in English is embedded in the passage. Most of the examples are taken from entries that were written when the blogger had moved to Japan.

This example is from entry "Kampaajan tuolista". As the headline tells, the entry is about the blogger's hairdresser appointment. She posts a couple of photographs of her new hair and gives a brief description of the appointment, as well as her new hair.

(30) Mun aika oli muuten kello kuusi illalla, ja pois lähdin kello puoli yksi yöllä.... Kyllä, *you heard me*. Japanissa nämä *business hourit* on vähän toista luokkaa. (Jan 29 2010) [My

appointment was by the way at six o'clock pm and I got away at twelve thirty at night... Yes, you heard me. In Japan these business hours are a bit different.]

English elements are embedded twice in this passage. The first one is an English insertion *you heard me* in a Finnish sentence. The blogger is telling that her hairdresser appointment was at six o'clock in the afternoon and that she got off from there after the midnight. The English tag clause functions here as an emphatic element. The blogger aims at highlighting to her readers that the appointment really was very late – assuming that in Finland people do not usually go to the hairdresser at those hours. The emphasis becomes evident also from the language structure as the blogger uses the pronoun "you" for speaking to the readers. The second example *business hourit* represents language mixing and is inserted in a Finnish sentence. *Business hourit* is modified according to Finnish morphology by adding the plural marker –it to the English noun phrase business hour. The reason for choosing the English here could derive from a momentary gap in the blogger's lexicon (see Montes-Alcalá 2007). After having lived abroad for a good while, the blogger most probably is used to the English expression business hours. Thus, mixing it with Finnish in her speech or discourse comes naturally. It is not lack of equivalent in her mother tongue – Finnish; neither is it lack of language proficiency.

The following example appears in the entry "A million miles from here, somewhere more familiar". Here, the blogger is thanking her readers for their congratulations on her birthday. The passage is the last part of the entry, as the "pps" also demonstrates.

(31) Pps. kiitos kaikille viime merkinnän onnitteluista! Olen ihan hirveän huono vastaamaan kommentteihin, ***I know...***
(Dec 2 2008) [Pps. Thank you everybody the congratulations of the last entry! I'm terribly bad at answering the comments, I know...]

Here, an English tag clause *I know* is inserted in the Finnish sentence. The blogger says she thanks everyone for congratulating her and that she is terribly bad at answering to the comments. The insertion *I know* functions as a conclusion to the preceding sentence as the blogger admits being bad at responding to the readers' comments. I consider the tag clause an instance of insertional code-switching. Although the full entry mostly represents language mixing, this example is yet

clearly separate from the true context. It is one of three postscripts that appear at the very end of the entry. The blogger wants to comment on the issues that were dealt with earlier in the blog.

The next example is taken from an entry where the blogger is telling about a festival in Japan. The headline is "Asagiri Jam", which refers straight to the name of the festival. A few other examples that appear in the same entry have been introduced earlier in this analysis. Since the entry consists mostly of pictures, this example also functions as a description of actions that happen in a particular photograph.

(32) Tässä vaiheessa oli hieman väsynyttä meininkiä ja musta oli aivan hulvattoman hauska idea väännellä noita hupparin naruja, suunnilleen kierin pitkin lihatiskejä naurusta.... Uupumus on se pahin huume, ***I can assure you***.

(Oct 10 2008) [At this point everything and everyone was quite tired, and I found twiddling those hoodie strings absolutely hilarious, I was just about rolling on the meat counters…. Exhaustion is the worst drug, I can assure you.]

Again, there is an English tag clause *I can assure you* inserted in a Finnish sentence. The tag appears after a comma and functions, again, as a conclusion of a full sentence. This example too can be considered an insertional code-switch. It elaborates the preceding part and is also used for speaking with the audience. There is again the pronoun "you" that refers directly to the readers of the blog.

There were several instances where a full English sentence was embedded in a Finnish passage. All the sentences carried a special meaning in the discourse. They were used to elaborate or further explain an idea, as tags, and for emphatic reasons.

The following example is a concluding statement of an entry "The Great Spring 2008 RTW SPECIAL!". The blogger says that she is excited about the upcoming spring collections. The purpose of this entry is to present highlights of some fashion designers' spring collections.

(33) Siinäpä ne! ***Feel free to share your thoughts*** @>@. Yleensäkin kevään tulevasta muodista tai kokoelmista tai mistä vaan! (Oct 7 2007) [There it is! Feel free to share your thoughts @>@. In general of the upcoming spring fashion or the collections or anything!]

The inserted English sentence *Feel free to share your thoughts* in the middle of a Finnish passage elaborates both the preceding clause and the upcoming sentence. The whole surrounding passage is a conclusion of an entry which is about the upcoming spring fashion and fashion collections. There are pictures of some of the collections, and the blogger describes and comments on them. She also adds in her personal preferences on the particular designers' spring collections. The function of the English sentence is to advice or to encourage the readers to comment on the entry. She wants that the readers express their thoughts and preferences about the spring fashion, collections, or anything they might want to say.

This example is taken from the same entry as the preceding one. The blogger is telling about the make-up testing she has been doing.

> (34) Meikkikokeilu vielä! *I'm in love <3_____<3*. En siis itseni vaan tuon punaisen huulipunan kanssa. (Oct 7 2007) [Yet a make-up experiment! I'm in love <3____<3. Not with myself but with that red lipstick.]

The blogger is saying that she loves her new red lipstick. The English sentence *I'm in love <3__<3* appears again embedded in a Finnish passage. The heart smileys are used to emphasize the blogger's love with the lipstick. By using the English expression, and especially the verb "love", the blogger adds emphasis to the phrase. She highlights the liking of that lipstick. After the English insertion, she switches back to Finnish in order to explain with what or who she is in love. Again, it is very probable that the blogger finds easier to express "love" in English, especially because she uses the verb for exaggerating and emphasizing her love to a lipstick. The overblown tone of the clause is yet highlighted with heart smileys. Since the English element is used for elaborative and emphatic reasons, and it is meaningful only locally (e.g in this case does not represent constant alternation between Finnish and English) I consider this example insertional code-switching.

Example 37 is taken from entry "I am the parteyyy.". In this entry, the blogger presents briefly her today's outfit, and focuses on presenting some of her new fashion purchases. The following example describes one of her new clothes, and it appears within a photograph.

(35) Yleisesti olen H&M:lle vähän nenää nyrpistellyt, mutta oioioi siellä on nyt vaikka MITÄ kivaa! *__* Paljon mustaa, hopeaa, kiiltävää, koristusta, paljetteja.... Tuossa siis jotain omia saaliitani.
1) Vaaleanharmaa/hopeinen bolero-asia. *It was love at the first sight.*
2) Mustat "pyöräilytrikoot". Paksummat kuin wet lookit joten hyvät kylmällä.
3) Paljettitoppi. U la la, tän kanssa sopii reivata. Ja lähinnä yhdistelytarkoituksiin tämänkin hommasin, harvoin kun vetelen pelkässä topissa, etenkään tälläisissä pakkaslukemissa ;/.
4) Iiiiiihana musta löysä pitkä paita.
(Nov 10 2007)

[Generally I've been avoiding H&M but oh my they've got all kinds of nice things! *__* A lot of black, silver, shiny, adornments, sequins…. Here some of my purchases. 1) Light grey/ silver bolero-thingy. It was love at the first sight. 2) Black "biking tights". They are thicker than wet looks so they are good for the cold weather. 3) A sequin top. Uh lala, I can rave with this top. And I mostly bought this to match it with something since I usually don't wear tops without anything else. Especially when it's this cold :/. 4) Looooovely black long loose shirt]

The purpose of this passage is to present four items that the blogger bought when she visited the H&M store. She is telling that the new "light grey/silver bolero-thing" *was love at the first sight.* The complete English sentence *It was love at the first sight* is inserted in a Finnish discourse. It appears after a Finnish phrase and functions as a comment on that particular phrase. The "grey bolero-thing" to which she is referring, is the only thing that has clearly been highlighted in general. By doing it in English, the blogger adds extra emphasis on the fact that she really likes it.

Bloggers get a lot of comments on their entries. In this example, the blogger is telling about unnecessary and/or mean comments in blogs in general. There is a big difference between constructive criticism and bullying.

(36) Rakentava kritiikki on täysin asia erikseen, mutta esimerkiksi ulkonäöstä huomautteleminen... Ihan oikeasti, *miettikää* mitä suustanne suollatte. **Shouldn't be that hard**. (Feb 28 2008)
[Giving constructive criticism is a totally different thing but for example making remarks of one's looks… For real, think about what you blurt out. Shouldn't be that hard]

 Many fashion bloggers receive a lot of bad and even disparaging comments. They might be about their clothes and style, and even about the lifestyle. There are also bloggers who receive unnecessary, rude and even indecent comments on their appearance, physical features or even on their family. The writer of this blog decided to post an entry on this topic. She does not personally receive very much bad critique

but she tells that at school she was bullied quite badly. That is why she finds bullying online a serious matter. In this example, the English sentence *Shouldn't be that hard* elaborates the preceding part.

8.2 Expert Identity Construction in Dirty Pretty Things

In the second part of my analysis, I concentrate on two discourses that illustrate the blogger's identity construction. Code-switching and language mixing seem to be important practices in the construction of identity in Dirty Pretty Things. A common feature for fashion blogs is that they represent expert knowledge on fashion, and thus special terminology and expert vocabulary come up in the discourse. The discourse in Dirty Pretty Things is mostly related to high fashion, and the expert knowledge is often expressed through English.

There are multiple reasons why English affects the blogger´s written communication. English has been a part of the bloggers life since childhood. As it is common in Finland, she has studied English as her first foreign language since elementary school. She has described herself as a "nerd" in some of the entries, and mentioned that she has read a lot in English and that she has written some fan fiction earlier. I believe that using English for communicative purposes via computer has had a remarkable effect on the blogger´s identity. English has become an important and natural resource of communication for her, which is now the spice of the writing in her blog.

The aspect of identity in multilingual contexts is worth examining because of the very same reasons as examining the use of English of non-native speakers, the language alternation phenomena, and code-switching. The concept of identity is a central topic in the era of globalization. Identity is what makes us who we are, and depending on the context we become different, or our behavior changes due to different environments and conditions. The mother tongue of each person is a strong indicator of one´s identity because it is the primary medium of self-expression. However, mother tongue is not the language linked with identity because many people learn to speak, and use more than one language (Virkkula 2006: 5).

The first example is a full blog entry from October 2007. The blogger is excited about the upcoming spring collections, and the purpose of this entry is to comment on them.

(37) Sunday, October 07, 2007

The Great Spring 2008 RTW SPECIAL!

Joo-o, eletäänhän vasta sitä syksyn ydinaikaa, mutta itse ainakin olen hakannut F5:sta ja odottanut silmä kovana omien lempisuunnittelijoideni mallistoja julkaistaviksi *fashion weekeillä*, ja nyt kun ne kaikki on popsautettu ihmisten ilmoille(okei, ainakin suurin osa), ajattelin postata omat lempparini ja muuten vaan oman huomioni herättäneet asut tänne!

Itse vaan olen jotenkin niiiin kevät- ja kesäihminen henkeen ja vereen, pukeutumisen saralla ainakin, ja on jotenkin tavattoman lohdullista kaiken tämän kylmyyden ja synkkyyden keskellä miettiä jo kevättä ja lämpimämpien ilmojen pukeutumista *__*. Omasta mielestäni keväällä & kesällä vaan mahdollisuudet pukeutumiseen ovat paljon paremmat, etenkin jos mietitään kenkä-osuutta. Kaiken kukkuraksi itelläni syksyllä pukeutumishalut vaan tippuvat jotenkin nolla-asteelle, nyttenkin koko vaatekaapin sisältö vituttaa, hiukset ovat aivan järisyttävät ja muutenkin vaan panostus koko ulkokuosiin...nolla. Tiedän, että se on pitkälti omasta asenteesta kiinni, mutta itelleni vaan iskee syksyllä *eijaksaeipystyeiosaaeikykene-period*. Mutta ah kevät, inspiraatio! *u*

Anygays, HERE WE GOOOO! (ovat aakkosellisessa järjestyksessä, paremmuudella ei siis mitään merkitystä)

ANNA SUI
Vaikka nuo shokkiväritukat eivät oikein iskeneet ja veivät liikaa huomiota pois itse asuista, pidin kyllä Anna Suin kokoelmasta yleisesti. Vaikka ei kyllä vetänyt vertoja vuoden takaiselle *spring collectionille*, joka oli yksi ehdottomia lemppareitani ja hankala päihittää >O. Tässä kokoelmassa pidin eritoten räväkästä värien käytöstä, toinen asu on mielestäni kerrassaan ii-ha-na, siinä on juuri sitä "annasuimaisuutta", mitä rakastan.

BALENCIAGA
Eipä muita lemppareitä tarttunut kouraan kuin nämä kengät + pöksyt. Hemmetti kun en tiedä mitään virallista nimeä tuollaisille kengille, mutta niitä joka tapauksessa näkyi usean suunnittelijan mallistoissa - eli taattua tavaraa kaupoissa keväällä. Itsellenikin kyllä kelpaisivat, *peep-toe* nauhallisissa ja muuten "raskaissa" kengissä on hauska idea. Tosin haluaisin vain enemmän tolppakorkoiset, piikit ei iske ei sitten yhtään.

BETSEY JOHNSON
Betsey Johnssonin kokoelma oli mielestäni erittäin *käytettävä*, tuollaisia asukokonaisuuksia voisin helpostikin kuvitella kaduille. Ehken kuitenkaan välttämättä Suomen, mutta... Pidän ylipäänsä Johnssonin tyttömäisen hauskoista ja kokeilevista vaatteista, ne ampuvat juuri ihanalla tavalla ylitse. Ensimmäisessä asussa on jotain tosi *Carrie Bradshawmaista, I like that too.*

D&G
Yksi ehdoton suosikkikokoelmani - ellei peräti kaikkein kivoin, sanat eivät riitä kuvailemaan. D&G ei petä koskaan *__*. Ensimmäisten kuvien mekot ja tunikat ovat JUURI jotain sellaista, mitä haluan kesäksi - ihana ihana kankaan

laskeutuminen, kevyt materiaali, kuosi, värit. Ihanaa myös, että noita gladiaattorisandaaleja on saatavilla vielä ensi keväänäkin, itseltä kun jäivät nyt ostamatta ja ihan PAKKO saada tuollaiset, sekä pitkävartiset että lyhyet. Viimeisissä kuvissa vain kaikki on täydellistä, hatut, turkis, ruskeat värisävyt..ahs

DOLCE & GABBANA
Pidin myös Dolcen mallistosta, eritoten toisen kuvan asusta. Kaipaisin myös korkeavyötäröisiä hameita sekä joitain *edgykkäitä* t-paitoja. >O Kolmannen kuvan hameen vyötärö on ihana, mutta hameen pituus kyllä kaikkein epäimartelevin, en voisi kuvitella pitäväni hametta joka on yli polvien/juuri polviin asti, se vaan ei... ei istu mulle. Sitten taas yhdet tuollaiset peep-*toe-kengät*, ja viimeisen kuvan mekko on vain ihana, rakastan juuri tuollaisia monimutkaisia yksityiskohtaisia söherryksiä.

GUCCI
Guccin kokokoelma oli tosi hauska ja siinä oli *60s vibaa*, pidän etenkin tuosta ensimmäisestä asusta paljon. Keltaista ja lilaa näkyi muuten erittäin paljon kevään kokoelmissa, vaikkei sitä näistä omista valinnoistani välttämättä tule hyvin ilmi. Lila, keltainen ja sininen tulee varmaan ainakin olemaan kauden hittivärejä. Ai joo, en vieläkään omista yhtäkään tuollaista vyötärövyötä, *gotta-get-hankinta* kylläkin.

JEANPAULGAULTIER
Jos koskaan sekoan ja menen naimisiin niin sehän tapahtuu kyllä tässä koltussa!

JOHNGALLIANO
Ei *Jompasta* nyt voi sanoa oikeen mitään, se mies vaan on nero. >:I Olis ihan älyttömän kivaa jos ihmiset pukeutuis tällä tavalla.

JUNYAWATANABE
Eipä tästä juurikaan sanottavaa, kokonaisuudessaan kiva asu ja käyttäisin ihan tuollaisenaan + hattu on ihana, kankaan materiaali ja laskeutuminen myös. Ponchomainen paita jees.

KARLLAGERFELD
Mustavalkoisuus on ainoa asia, joka näissä asuissa tuo mieleen Karl Lagerfeldin, itselleni vaan jotenkin automaattisesti KL = Chanel, ja tästä mallistosta ainakaan ei heti ensimmäiseksi pamahda Chanel mieleen. Kuitenkin, tämä kokoelma on oman suosikkilistani kärkipäässä! Asut ovat yksinkertaisia, mutta niissä on kuitenkin joku juju, ja mustavalkoisuus ja harmaa plussaa. Hyvin katumuotiin sopivia vaatteita.

LIMIFUE
Yohji Yamamoton tyttären Limi Yamamoton ensi(?)kokoelma. En tiedä mutta tykkään vaan japanilaisten suunnittelijoiden töistä yleensäkin, epäsymmetrisyys ja kerroksellisuus viehättää pientä mieltäni *-*. Pidän paljon tästäkin mallistosta, ja voisin hyvin kuvitella käyttäväni näitä kaikkia. Aasialaisista malleista myös plussaa.

LUELLA
Nerd chic. Jälleen kerran erittäin *wearable* kokoelma, voisin hyvin kuvitella H&M:n kauppaavan jotain tälläistä keväällä.

MOSCHINO
Mochino ei ole mikään oma lempparini, mutta kokoelma oli hauska ja silmiinpistävä, tykkään kaikesta omituisesta ja erikoisesta >O. Haluaisin jotkut tuon ensimmäisen asun shortsien tapaiset pöksyt, vaikka näyttävätkin lähinnä alusvaatteilta mutta ihan päällyskäyttöön kylläkin ;/. Viimeisessä kuvassa yksi järkyttävin väriyhdistelmä - lila ja punainen, mutta jotenkin se ehkä...jopa toimii tuossa.

PRADA

Tykkäsin tosi paljon väreistä ja ylipäänsä vedenalaisesta tunnelmasta, joka mulle ainakin tuli näiden asujen värimaailmasta ja materiaaleista. Tokassa kuvassa hyvä idea tuo nilkkasukat + leggarit (+ remmikengät), itse muutenkin olen ruvennut ymmärtämään nilkkasukkien hienouden lähiaikoina.'

SONIARYKIEL
Ensimmäiseksi Sonia Rykielin *runwaylta* silmään pistivät iloiset ja tanssahtelevat mallit, jotka oli ehottomasti kivaa vaihtelua - näytti tosiaan siltä että mallit itsekkin viihtyi vaatteissa. Ensimmäiseen asuun viitaten pakko hankkia nahkatakki jostain viim. keväällä...koska mulla sellaista tosiaan vastoin puolta Suomea ei ole. Tokassa kuvassa on JUST sellainen mekko mistä olen unelmoinut lähiaikoina, en kyllä tiedä miksi, sillä eipä tuo ihan arkikäyttöinen ole. Mutta jonnekkin *fancy partyihin* niin haluaisin juuri tuollaisella yläosalla varustetun koltun. Kolmannen ja neljännen kuvan asut ovat ylipäänsä ihania, kaikesta valkoisuudesta ja ilmavuudesta tulee mieleen lähinnä taivas ja enkelit ja ties mitä, jotenkin tykkään tosi paljon.

VIVIENNE WESTWOOD
Ah, *Vivi* on yksi lempisuunnittelijani eikä tämäkään *collection* pettänyt :*. Rakastan Westwoodin leikkauksia ja kankaan laskeutumista ja ihanaa epäsymmetrisyyttä ja monimutkaisuutta (ja kenkiä) ja ja

WUNDERKIND
Wunderkind oli mulle ihan uusi tuttavuus, mutta pidin kokoelmasta tooodella paljon! Siellä ne nilkkasukat + kengät taas kummittelee. Viimeinen asu ihanan *baggy* ja lirtti.

Siinäpä ne! *Feel free to share your thoughts* @>@. Yleensäkin kevään tulevasta muodista tai kokoelmista tai mistä vaan!

The entry is about recently released spring 2008's fashion collections in a fashion website style.com. Style.com is a popular website that deals with high fashion, celebrities, parties and models. The blogger of Dirty Pretty Things has mentioned many times that she is a regular user of style.com. This can be assumed also from the beginning of this blog, where she mentions that she has been "pressing F5 at style.com" ("itse ainakin olen hakannut F5:sta…") even though it's still autumn.

Expert knowledge in this entry is expressed through English. The first interesting matter is the choice of the headline "The Great Spring 2008 RTW SPECIAL!". The headline shows the blogger's deep interest in fashion. She tells that the entry is going to include special details and comments on the spring 2008 collections. The headline also demonstrates the blogger's creativity because she did not copy the headline from Style.com where the headline was "Spring 2008 Ready-To-Wear". The word choices in the headline require some kind of knowledge of high fashion. "RTW" is a recognized abbreviation of a fashion term ready-to-wear. In general, the headline shows that the blogger wants to express her expertise in creative ways. The headline could easily appear in a fashion magazine or website.

Code-switching functions as a practice for expressing expert terminology in this entry. At the beginning of the entry, where the blogger is telling that she has been waiting for the release of the spring collections, a code-switch occurs: "Joo-o, eletäänhän vasta sitä syksyn ydinaikaa, mutta itse olen hakannut F5:stä ja odottanut silmä kovana omien lempisuunnittelijoideni mallistoja julkaistaviksi *fashion weekeillä*". "Fashion weekeillä" is a commonly known term and it is used frequently in Finnish fashion contexts to replace the Finnish equivalent *muotiviikot.* A similar type of switch occurs in the section where the blogger comments on the collection by Anna Sui: "Vaikka ei kyllä vetänyt vertoja vuoden takaiselle *spring collectionille*, joka oli yksi ehdottomia lemppareitani ja hankala päihittää >O". The entire sentence shows that the blogger is very familiar with each year's fashion collections. She is telling that this collection by Anna Sui was not as good as it was the year before. The third switch that is similar to the previous ones occurs in the section where Sonia Rykiel's collection is presented: "Ensimmäiseksi Sonia Rykielin *runwaylta* silmään pistivät iloiset ja tanssahtelevat mallit, jotka oli ehottomasti kivaa vaihtelua- näytti tosiaan siltä että mallit itsekkin viihtyi vaatteissa". Here again, there is a fashion term"runway" expressed in English. Like in the previous cases, here too the switch is made to express knowledge on fashion. However, in this occasion, there is also a certain need for the switch. The term "runway" does not have an accurate equivalent in Finnish, and the English term is rather established in fashion contexts.

In all of these three cases, the English insertion is used to express the blogger's knowledge of fashion terminology. Moreover, since she is a regular user of fashion websites and very familiar with the fashion industry this type of terminology comes rather naturally.

The blogger uses English to express some special details on clothes or "names" for different clothing. Following two example sentence include the term "peep-toe" that has been discussed earlier in this study (see chapter NUMBER). "Itsellenikin kyllä kelpaisivat, *peep-toe* nauhallisissa ja muuten "raskaissa" kengissä on hauska idea." and "Sitten taas yhdet tuollaiset peep-toe-kengät, jaa viimeisen kuvan mekko on vain ihana, rakastan juuri tuollaisia monimutkaisia yksityiskohtaisia söherryksiä.". In both of these examples the term"peep-toe" is used for describing a special type of shoes. Understanding this term requires some knowledge on different types of shoes.

Fashion savvy people (in Finland) use this term to refer to open-toe-shoes and it is generally the only term to describe them.

The blogger uses her creativity and innovativeness for describing LUELLA's collection. She calls the collection "Nerd chic" and says that it is very wearable. ("*Nerd chic*. Jälleen kerran erittäin *wearable* kokoelma, voisin hyvin kuvitella H&M:n kauppaavan jotain tälläistä keväällä."). The collection by LUELLA was not described as nerd chic in style.com so the term represents the blogger's creativity and knowledge on fashion. It is interesting that she chose to use the English word "wearable" to describe the collection even though she has used its Finnish equivalent "käytettävä" earlier in the same entry ("Betsey Johnssonin kokoelma oli mielestäni erittäin *käytettävä,* tuollaisia voisin helpostikin kuvitella kaduille"). It is very probable that she chose to use the English term "wearable" because she started the discourse in that context in English. Perhaps she wanted to emphasize that the nerd chic collection is exclusively wearable.

Another description for clothes occurs in the section of Betsey Johnson. In the sentence "Ensimmäisessä asussa on jotain tosi Carrie Bradshawmaista, I like that too" the outfit by Betsey Johnson is described "Carrie Bradshaw-a-like". Betsey Johnson was responsible for the outfits seen in the television series Sex and the City and the blogger is most presumably aware of that. The expert knowledge emerges from the reference to the Sex and the City character Carrie Bradshaw as the blogger describes the outfit. She must possess knowledge on the Betsey Johnson's style and collections, as well as on the style of Carrie Bradshaw in Sex and the City.

In the following sentence, the term "baggy" is used to describe loose clothing in the collection by Wunderkind: "Wunderkind oli mulle ihan uusi tuttavuus, mutta pidin kokoelmasta tooodella paljon! Siellä ne nilkkasukat + kengät taas kummittelee. Viimeinen asu ihanan **baggy** ja lirtti.". Baggy is a commonly recognized term for loose clothing in the fashion contexts (MOT). It is also very common for the blogger to use this term for loose clothes. In addition to the fact that the blogger wants to express her expert knowledge, she also wants to be cooler. This is done by using English. The Finnish equivalent for "baggy" would not sound as specialized as the English one in the same context.

An interesting English switch appears in the following example passage: "Pidin myös Dolcen mallistosta, eritoten toisen kuvan asusta. Kaipaisin myös korkeavyötäröisiä hameita sekä joitain *edgykkäitä* t-paitoja.". In this context, the blogger is commenting on the collection by Dolce&Gabbana. She says that the collection is missing high-waist-skirts and some edgy t-shirts. The term "edgy" is definitely not the most common in Finnish discourse, neither in this blog. The blogger has probably acquired the term from fashion websites or magazines. The switch in this context unquestionably requires expert knowledge of fashion. It also illustrates the blogger's creative ways of language use. She mixes Finnish and English skillfully and creates new terms that seem very competent in a fashion context.

The blogger's creativity emerges also in the inventing of nicknames for designers. In the following example, she is referring to the fashion designer John Galliano by a nickname: "Ei *Jompasta* nyt voi sanoa oikeen mitään, se mies vaan on nero.". "Jomppa" is a nickname for John Galliano. The use of a nickname demonstrates the blogger's interest in that particular designer. She probably wants to express that she is very familiar with the collections by John Galliano, and that she is also a fan of his. She has used a nickname to refer to the designer Vivienne Westwood as well: "Ah, *Vivi* on yksi lempisuunnittelijani eikä tämäkään collection pettänyt :*." Here too, "Vivi" is a nickname for Vivienne Westwood. The blogger mentions that Vivienne is one of her favorite designers. Thus, it is normal that she has invented a nickname for her. Another element from expert language is the switch "collection" in the same sentence. As mentioned earlier, this type of switch in this context demonstrates the blogger's knowledge of high fashion.

The second example in the analysis of identity construction is another complete entry that has partly been analyzed earlier in this study. I concentrated on the type of language alternation that occurs in an extract taken from the entry but did not focus on the identity. I chose this entry as the second example because it is written after the blogger moved to Japan, whereas the first one was written while she still lived in Finland. The expert vocabulary is likely to be different after living abroad and studying fashion.The entry is called "Fitter for Max Mara".

(38) Sunday, September 20, 2009

Fitter for Max Mara

Pöö! VIIMEINKIN pääsen kirjoittelemaan, on meinaa ollut tässä koulun alkamisen jälkeen ihan kauhea kiire. Mulla on myös järkyttävät SHNP-ongelmat (selkähartianiskapää), joten ei oikein huvita istua tässä koneella... Lähestyvien synttärien kunniaksi lahjatoiveeni on käynti fysioterapeutille.

Ensinnäkin, koulu alkoi pari viikkoa sitten. Uusia aineita: **hinshitsu ron**, tämä tuli materiaaliopin tilalle, miten tämän voisi suomentaa.... no, tämäkin on tavallaan materiaalioppia, mutta enemmänkin vaatteiden laadun/huollon näkökulmasta, **bunka geinou shi**, populaarikulttuurin opiskelua, *artflower&bag* neuleen&hatun tilalle, siinä taisikin olla kaikki uudet aineet! En voi kyllä muuta sanoa, kuinka äärettömän megakivassa koulussa olen, ja kuinka *stylistilinja* on täydellisesti sopiva. Tämä on *niin juuri sitä* mitä olen aina halunnut opiskella. Vaatteiden tekoa, *stailausta*, värioppia, piirtämistä&maalaamista, *fashion bisnestä,* musiikin&taiteen historiaa... Ensi vuonna tulee vielä vaikka mitä muuta kivaa, kuten valokuvausta, meikkausta ja hiusten laittoa!
Tämä mekko oli myös mulla, tosin nuo olkapäät eivät asettuneet läheskään yhtä nätisti....

Mutta joo, otsikkoon viitaten, olin viikko sitten sunnuntaina *MaxMaran A/W09 showssa fitterinä*. 1. ja 2. vuoden *stailistiopiskelijat* tekevät ikäänkuin pienenä työharjoitteluna *fitterin* töitä silloin kun niitä on tarjolla, eli käytännössä Bunkaan tulee *brändiltä* pyyntö, että näin ja näin monta tyyppiä tarvittaisiin avustajaksi, ja jokainen vuorollaan pääsee harjoittelemaan.

Tämä *look* oli ihan kokonaisuudessaan mulla. Ja oli muuten kaikista rasittavin - paljon eri osia, vei eniten aikaa.

Minun kohdalle arpa osuikin sitten heti alkuun, ja sunnuntaina toisen onnekkaan ystäväni Saayan kanssa aamulla kello 8 (3 tunnin yöunien jälkeen...) taaperrettiin Roppongin Grand Hyatt Hotellin aulaan. Jännitti ihan perkeleesti *I can tell you,* sillä tämä oli ensimmäinen muotiin liittyvä työ mitä olen koskaan tehnyt, plus kyseessä ei ollut mikään koulun juttu, vaan ihan oikea tilaisuus, ja etenkin kun tässä on tullut kuunneltua juttua japseista jotka lyövät silmän mustaksi jos mokaat, niin oli hieman kuumoittunut olo...

Tämä asu oli myös mulla, vain kengät olivat saappaiden sijaan avokkaat.

Saavuttiin paikalle ajoissa, jonka jälkeen meidät ohjattiin saliin, jossa näytös pidettäisiin, ja sieltä *backstagelle*, missä vaaterekit jo odottivatkin. Ihan ensimmäiseksi meille jaettiin mallit (yksi *fitter* per malli), omalle kohdalleni osui brasilialainen Patricia-niminen tyttö. Seuraavaksi otettiin vaatteet pois muovipusseista ja irroitettiin *tagit*. Jokaisen rekin päässä oli pahvikyltti, mistä näkyi kaikki *lookit* ja niihin tarvittavat asusteet jne. Omalla mallillani ja tietääkseni muillakin oli 6 *lookia*, mikä on aika paljon. Seuraavaksi piti tarkistaa, että kaikki tarvittavat asusteet ja vaatteet löytyvät rekistä, ja että vaatteet ovat oikeassa järjestyksessä

Näytöksiä oli kaksi: ensimmäinen kello 14.00 ja toinen 20.30. Harjoitukset olivat aamulla kymmeneltä. Kun mallit tulivat paikalle ensimmäistä kertaa, olin jo siinä vaiheessa ihan jännäreissä. Harkat menivät ihan ok, helpotti paljon että malli oli kokeneempi kuin itse. Jännitystä lisäsi se, että oikea näytös olisi kuulemma vielä paljon nopeampi, ja jo harjoituksissa oli siinä ja siinä kerkesivätkö mallit lavalle oikeaan aikaan. *In the end* kummatkin näytökset menivät ihan hyvin, mutta kyllä siinä hässäkässä hiki tuli! Ehdottomasti kaikista rasittavin homma oli sukkahousujen vaihto... *6 lookkia ja 4 eri sukkahousut = pain in the ass.* Vie tuhottomasti aikaa, plus kun malli pukee sukkahousuja, ei voi oikein pukea mitään muutakaan päälle, vaan täytyy seistä vieressä tattina samaan aikaan kun joku tyyppi huutaa niskaan "kiirehdi kiirehdi!"

Kotiin päästiin kello kymmenen maissa illalla, mukava 14 tunnin työpäivä siitä tuli.... Vaikka olikin välillä hieman pelottavaa ja raskasta (lähinnä tuon päivän pituuden vuoksi), niin tulipa ainakin hyvää kokemusta! Seuraavaksi olisi kivaa päästä keväällä *Tokyo Fashion Weekeille* avustamaan *fitterin* merkeissä.

> Nyt on taas pakko rientää, huomenna alkaa taas koulu viiden päivän lomailun jälkeen ja mulla on kauheat kasat läksyjä rästissä.... Enkä tietenkään ole laittanut tikkua ristiin niiden eteen ennen kuin nyt viimeisenä iltana. o/ Postausaiheita olisi kyllä vaikka miten, Suomen ostokset mm. esittelemättä, myös pari Japanin löytöä, koulutöitä, uutta tatuointirintamalla....

When this entry was published, the blogger's studies at Bunka Fashion College had started and she had been living in Japan for over one year. She mentions in the beginning of the entry that after the school started she has not had much time for updating the blog. The headline tells that the entry is going to deal with fashion-related issues. "Fitter for Max Mara" refers to the occasional job that the students of Bunka Fashion College are allowed to do when needed. A fitter refers to the person who helps the models with dressing up in the fashion show. By mentioning a high fashion brand in the headline the blogger demonstrates belonging to an expert group: the one of fashion bloggers, fashion students or people devoted to fashion.

A wide variety of expert knowledge emerges in the form of language alternation in this entry. There are commonly known fashion terms such as *fashion week, look, brändi* and *stylisti* that are adapted to Finnish orthography and morphology according to the requirements of the context. Although these terms are very likely to be familiar for "ordinary" people, they require some knowledge of fashion. The use of these terms represents the global, international nature of fashion. An equivalent for each term exists in the Finnish language but the English ones have been favored in fashion related contexts such as advertising, magazines and blogs. In this context, it is natural that the blogger has chosen to express these words in English. When she published this entry, she had already been studying fashion for a while so these types of terms are a part of her everyday life. Moreover, all these terms are most probably emerged in the Max Mara fashion show, thus they have been recently used.

The blogger tells about the subjects that she studies at Bunka and several elements in the description involve English. *"Artflower & bag neuleen & hatun tilalle"* refers to the new subject that will replace the previous one. In this case, the English term must be used because there is not an accurate Finnish equivalent for it. Moreover, the name of this subject is very specific and represents the special jargon of Bunka Fashion College. The same occurs in the following text extract: "Vaatteiden tekoa, **stailausta**, värioppia, piirtämistä&maalaamista, **fashion bisnestä,** musiikin&taiteen historiaa...". "Stailausta" and "fashion bisnestä" are expressed through English,

whereas the remaining subjects are in Finnish. Both of these terms are rather established in Finnish, thus it is natural that the blogger has chosen to use them. They both are also adapted to Finnish spelling and Finnish case endings *–sta*, and *–stä* are added to the end of each word.

The blogger uses specific vocabulary when she describes the course of events in the Max Mara fashion show. She mentions that this was her first fashion-related job and that she was very excited and a bit nervous too. English is used for describing her nervousness as follows: "Jännitti ihan perkeleesti *I can tell you,* sillä tämä oli ensimmäinen muotiin liittyvä työ mitä olen koskaan tehnyt…". The English insertion is made probably because the blogger wants to emphasize that this really was an important occasion for her and that she really was nervous. Moreover, writing this type of a phrase in English is typical characteristic of her style.

The use of special vocabulary in the following extract illustrates the blogger's expertise as an intern in a real fashion show. "Saavuttiin paikalle ajoissa, jonka jälkeen meidät ohjattiin saliin, jossa näytös pidettäisiin, ja sieltä *backstagelle*, missä vaaterekit jo odottivatkin. Ihan ensimmäiseksi meille jaettiin mallit (yksi *fitter* per malli), omalle kohdalleni osui brasilialainen Patricia-niminen tyttö. Seuraavaksi otettiin vaatteet pois muovipusseista ja irroitettiin *tagit*." In the previous extract the English words "backstage" , "fitter", and "tag", are embedded in the Finnish discourse, and they are modified according to the rules of Finnish if the surrounding passage requires it (backstage*lle*, tag*it*). Although these terms could be considered commonly known (e.g. backstage, tag), they represent in this context instances of expert fashion vocabulary and jargon of the people who work in fashion shows.

Although the blogger was nervous and working in the fashion show seemed to be tough, the blogger, however, tells that both of the fashion shows went well in general. In this extract "*In the end* kummatkin näytökset menivät ihan hyvin, mutta kyllä siinä hässäkässä hiki tuli! Ehdottomasti kaikista rasittavin homma oli sukkahousujen vaihto... *6 lookkia ja 4 eri sukkahousut = pain in the ass.*", there are couple of instances where English is used. The sentence begins with the English phrase "in the end" which is a typical feature for the blogger's personal style of writing. She wants to emphasize that the shows were successful, thus the switch is

done for emphatic reasons. The blogger illustrates her professional position of a fitter by telling about the fitting process. She says that the most difficult part was when the model was changing her tights, and it resulted even more difficult because nearly every look involved different tights. She says that "6 looks and 4 different tights equals pain in the ass". By using the English expression here she emphasizes the difficulty in the occasion, and illustrates her professional touch to the real fashion context. The extract in general represents expertise and special knowledge of fashion, and it is emphasized further by using English.

The blogger wants to express her belonging to the group of fashion students, and her expertise in high fashion by using the fashion terminology. English is the dominant language of high fashion so it is natural that it emerges in the fashion contexts. Moreover, the blogger studies abroad in English and Japanese. It is no surprise that special vocabulary that relates to her studies is expressed in a foreign language.

9.   Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to examine the language alternation in computer mediated communication, i.e. the use of English alongside Finnish in the forms of code-switching and language mixing. The aim was to find out what type of language alternation emerges in a Finnish fashion blog and what its possible purposes are. Moreover, the present study aimed at demonstrating the expert identity construction in a fashion context. The assumption was that this is mostly done by using English. The previous study on computer-mediated communication and language alternation by Cecilia Montes-Alcalá and Sirpa Leppänen were used as complementary parts of the analysis.

9.1 Findings of the present study

The findings in the present study indicate that English is used regularly alongside Finnish. English emerges in the fashion context and also is involved in the blogger's specific style of writing. The English elements in the data of the present study mostly represent language mixing, i.e. a specific style that is meaningful as a whole and the

type of language mixing is *insertional,* i.e. the English elements are added to the Finnish discourse. However, there are several instances of insertional code-switching that are used for empatic reasons or to elaborate further some matter occurring in the same context. As the study of Montes-Alcalá (2007) show, code-switching is a natural resourse of bilingual's communication. In her study of Spanish-English bilingual blogs code-switching was applied to express emphasis on a specific matter or elaborate something. She also found out that switching was done for lexical items, which is also the case in the present study. In the study of Leppänen (2007), language alternation was used for illustrating the fandom and as a stylistic resource. A similar concept emerges in the present study as the expertise in fashion industry and belonging to the global fashion context are expressed through English.

The use of English in the fashion blog Dirty Pretty Things is an essential part of discourse. The English elements are often modified according to the rules of Finnish language. They are often adapted to Finnish spelling for stylistic reasons. There are instances where a word imitates the Finnish spelling because it represents an element of Finnish youth language, or spoken language/slang. Finnish case endings are also added to English words to adapt them to the Finnish discourse. New hybrids are also developed by combining Finnish and English words together (e.g. *over-knee-sukat*). English is used for playing with language which shows the writer's creativity and advanced skills in English (e.g. *shoeeegasm*).

Single word level switches in Dirty Pretty Things often represent adjectives and nouns that are fashion-related. Some of them were more or less established fashions terms that are recognized globally (*in, hot, chic*). There were also instances of new creative terminology that involved combining elements from street language and slang items (*killer-plattarit, winner*). English expressions that involved the use of street language emerged in the blogger's discourse of her personal style. In some of these cases, the influence of Anglo-American culture was visible. For instance, "*hot mama*" and "*Check this hot shit out babes*" clearly represent colloquial use of English, characteristic to present day Anglo-American culture. Self-irony and sarcasm are also expressed through English. The youth language in Finland involves elements from the English language, and some instances emerged in this study as well.

English was also used to play with the language and for highlighting the informal tone of the discourse. A good example of this kind of language-play is the new expression "*SHOEEEGASM!*" which is completed with the expression "*Me wants!*". Both of these expressions demonstrate the blogger's innovative ways of using the English alongside Finnish. Common terms for fashion blogs emerged in the discourse as well (e.g. today's outfit, must, gotta-get and so on.). In contrast to other Finnish fashion blogs, in Dirty Pretty Things these terms were expressed through English, which leads to a claim that the blogger's wants to demonstrate belonging to a global sphere of fashion blogs.

Switching and mixing that emerged in the clause/full sentence level mostly represented different conclusions and emotional expressions. English was used to elaborate the preceding matter or surrounding idea, as well as for emphatic reasons.

English expressions are usually not translated in Finnish, thus it is assumed that the audience understands the terminology. In many cases, English elements represent expert language in fashion and high fashion jargon which include commonly known terminology. Moreover, it can be assumed that this type of blog is read by fashion devoted people and thus they are familiar with the terminology and vocabulary that is likely to occur. The reason why English elements are not translated might be that usually there are no accurate equivalents fot them in the Finnish language. Fashion jargon is mostly English based and the terminology is rather established on the global scale. English is also often chosen instead of Finnish because it sounds "cooler".

The majority of language alternation in the fashion blog represents shared terminology of fashion. English is the dominant language of fashion industry through many mediums such as advertising, fashion magazines and websites, and television. Furthermore, fashion blogging has become very popular and it has gained remarkable attention recently. Hence, fashion blogs are involved in the spread of special knowledge on fashion and the expert terminology that belongs to it. Fashion bloggers together form "communities" although they are not necessarily defined or clearly established. Their shared interest in fashion can be seen in the topics that they choose and the fashion blog categories that they represent. Fashion blogs share

multiple features such as descriptions of daily outfits, comments of high fashion shows and references to other fashion blogs.

In the present study, an expert identity is constructed through the use of a specific kind of English. The blogger illustrates belonging to both local and global fashion contexts through her writing. The local settings emerge in the blogger's choice of writing primarily in Finnish. The English insertions embedded in the Finnish discourse represent the global settings. The bloggers tends to write about high fashion which mostly requires the use of English.

English is an important communicative resource for the blogger. It is not only involved in demonstrating her expertise and knowledge but it is also a stylistic resourse. By using English, the blogger develops a personal and unique style. English expressions bring color to her discourse and show her creativity and innovativeness.

In present day Finland, English is used more and more alongside Finnish; it has become an important matter in Finns' communication. The use of English in the data of the present study supports this concept. A young blogger alternates regularly between Finnish and English in innovative ways. The use of English can partly be explained by the effect of English to Finnish youth language, which includes a variety of foreign elements especially from English. The blogger's interest in the Anglo-American culture is another important factor related to the language alternation in the blog. The creative and skillful use of English illustrates the blogger's orientation to Anglo-American context. Yet another significant reason for the use of English is also the fact that the blogger moves and later lives abroad. Her use of English is thus no longer limited to reading in English and listening to music but it is now a part of her everyday life. This obviously affects her language use and switching into another language happens subconsciously because the foreign language generally is the one that predominates in the speech.

9.2 Evaluation

In the present study, I faced the problem that the fashion blog Dirty Pretty Things represents abundant use of language alternation between English and Finnish. I had

to limit the number of examples taken from the 47 blog entries and hence, I was not able to analyse them all. I tried to gather the most relevant examples to represent each category in the analysis. Furthermore, I tried to provide examples of different types of language alternation, and examples that illustrate the concept of identity. It would have been interesting to analyze full entries related to a spefic category (i.e. categories defined by the blogger: street fashion, Bunka, Japanese fashion etc.).

Another difficulty that emerged in the analysis was to decide which English elements clearly belong to youth language or slang, and which ones represent "real" language alternation. In these occasions, I aimed at explaining that the use of these elements depends on the context and the person who is interpreting the discourse. Sometimes it was also difficult to distinguish code-switching from language language mixing because there were many cases where the use of English clearly represented language mixing in the full context but there were elements that could be considered locally meaningful code-switching. For example, some English expressions carried a clear discourse function that is characteristic to code-switching: *"Yahhoo, yahhoo, yahhoo!"* is an exclamation that appears in the opening part of an entry and could be interpreted locally meaningful. However, because the discourse in the full context illustrated abundant use of language mixing, the interjection cannot be condidered code-switching. There were also a few instances of code-switching that is done for emphatic reasons are the switches are highlighted with a special smiley. In these occasions, the surrounding passage often included language mixing but the use of smileys revealed the nature of code-switching.

It would have been interesting to interview the blogger to get her opinion on her writing. However, because the data was already too vast I decided to leave the idea. Initially, I wanted to compare the use of English before and after the blogger moved to Japan. It would have been interesting to find out possible changes in the use of English, for instance, whether the functions of code-switching and language mixing remain the same after moving abroad. Another interesting suggestion for further study would be to examine the blogger's identity before and after moving to Japan. She starts a new life in Japan, in a totally new culture and environment, which is likely to affect her identity.

9.3 Implications and conclusion

A significant implication in the present study is the skillful and regular use of English as a communicative resourse for a non-native speaker. In some occasions, the language that emerges from the blog could be considered "a fused lect", i.e. a relatively stable mixture of two (or more) languages. Leppänen (2007: 213) suggests that language mixing could be called "interlingualism", where the user is not necessarily aware of using foreign expressions. Instead, interlingualism is the user's linguistic reserve available in that particular context, and that is used for constructing specific meanings. Leppänen (ibid.) points out that an established interlingualism might turn into the fused lect. For a researcher it is important to ascertain the disctinction between code-switching, language mixing, and also interlingualism. Sometimes what a reasercher considers code-switching could be clear interlingualism for the language user. This can be difficult when examining written communication because it is not necessarily possible to communicate with the writer.

Another implication that emerges in the present study is the status of English in Finland. The regular use of English as a discourse practice by a non-native speaker is clearly related to the changing language situation both in Finland and globally. For a Finn, this demonstrates that English has become an important linguistic resourse and a discourse practice that is used alongside Finnish for a variety of purposes. However, English is not threatening Finnish, as it can be assumed from the results of the present study. Finnish remains the primary language of communications throughout the blog entries and it is never mixed with English in a way that it is difficult to distinguish which one is the main language of interaction. The blogger is not trying to replace Finnish by using English expressions. She develops a personal and unique style by adding English elements to Finnish discourse. She uses English for emphatic reasons, and elaborates her ideas in English. English is also used to create new hybrids and also to play with the language; a possibility that the use of two languages offers. In my view, the alternation between Finnish and English in the present study demonstrates the user's creativity and is involved in the development of her unique style of writing, as well as her expert identity construction.

The present study has highlighted the role of English in Finland, and especially in written discourse; how English is used as a communicative resource in a fashion blog, and how it is used for constructing an expert identity. It has pointed out the concept of blogosphere that is a growing matter of interest in present day Finland. Moreover, the present study has focused on fashion blogging that has gained remarkable attention in Finland in the past few years. This study has also taken into account the more global settings of fashion blogging, and the language use of a Finn who moves and later lives abroad. However, more research is needed on blogs because they represent the new innovative phenomenon that affects people's language use and communication significantly. Furthermore, more research on the use of English in fashion blogging is needed because it is a growing area of interest, and the Finnish context has not been studied extensively yet.

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