"MÄ KOITAN OLLA KUTSUMATTA NIIT *INFECTEDEIKS* KOSKA ANGLISMI":

Code-switching in Finnish online gaming videos

Master's thesis

Essi Myllärinen

University of Jyväskylä

Department of Languages

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Videopalvelu YouTubessa julkaistavista *Let's Play*-pelivideoista on tullut muutaman viime vuoden aikana todella suosittuja niin Suomessa kuin muuallakin maailmassa. Pelivideot yhdistävät YouTuben yhteisöllisyyden ja yksilön mahdollisuuden luoda sisältöä videopelien interaktiivisuuteen ja elokuvallisuuteen. Tutkielmani keskittyy suomalaisen nuoren miehen tekemiin pelivideoihin, joissa pelataan vuonna 2013 julkaistua toimintaroolipeliä *the Last of Us* ja samalla kommentoidaan videopelin tapahtumia. Videopelin toimintakieli on englanti: mm. pelin valikot, dialogi ja ohjeet ovat englanninkielisiä. Videoissa pelaaja kommentoi pelin tapahtumia suomeksi, mutta käyttää puheessaan myös runsaasti englanninkielisiä ilmaisuja ja insertioita. Tätä kielen vaihtelua kutsutaan koodinvaihdoksi.

Tutkielman tarkoituksena oli selvittää, millaisia koodinvaihdon muotoja pelivideoissa esiintyy ja millaisia merkityksiä ne luovat YouTuben vuorovaikutusympäristössä. Tutkimus kattaa 27 videon sarjan, jossa peli pelataan läpi ja samalla kommentoidaan sen tapahtumia ja osallistutaan pelin sisäiseen dialogiin ja vuorovaikutukseen. Lisäksi tutkimuksessa haastateltiin videoiden tekijää ja videoista tehtyjen litteraattien perusteella häntä pyydettiin analysoimaan omia kielivalintojaan videoissa.

Tutkimuksen teoreettinen tausta on Peter Auerin (1999a ja 1999b) näkemyksestä koodinvaihdosta merkitysten luojana vuorovaikutustilanteessa. Tutkimusmateriaali osoittautui erittäin hedelmälliseksi koodinvaihdon ja tutkimuskysymysten kannalta. Tutkimusmateriaalissa koodinvaihto toimi mm. jäsentämällä toimintaa ja pelaajan roolien vaihtumista ja erilaisissa kirjoitetun ja puhutun materiaalin toistoissa. Koodinvaihto oli selkeästi läsnä myös pelimaailman sanastossa, jota pelaaja upotti insertioiden tapaan puheeseensa. Tutkimuksen perusteella pelimaailman ja koodinvaihdon välillä vallitsee yhteys jaYouTuben pelivideoiden genressä onkin paljon potentiaalista materiaalia tuleville tutkimuksille.

Asiasanat – code-switching, video games

Säilytyspaikka – Depository Kielten laitos

Muita tietoja – Additional information

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

Ever since the launch of *Pong*, video gaming has changed and transformed from small-scale niche hobby to a leisure activity that reaches people all around the world, disregarding sex, age or socioeconomic status. The general attitude towards gaming has changed, as well: as Kangas and Lindén (2010) summarize, gamers are no longer overweight, antisocial young boys, but instead the average age of gamers has risen over the years and women are increasingly interested in video games. According to the ISFE consumer study (2012), 60% of the Finnish online population, ages 16 to 64, had played a game in the past 12 months, 51% of them being male and 49% female. The top three words associated with gaming were "entertaining", "good at providing escapism" and "immersive" and 32% of the respondents had bought a game within the last year. (Videogames in Europe: Consumer study, 2012: 3-10)

As gaming has become increasingly popular, playing interactional videogames has quickly become a more and more important leisure activity among Finnish youth. As gaming has increased its popularity, especially among young boys, it has even been claimed that video games are about to override television as the most popular youth media. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2008: 136) Hence, as Piirainen-Marsh points out, gaming can be seen as one of the main contexts where Finnish youth encounters English in their everyday life.

Along with the increased popularity of gaming, game studies has established its status as a multidisciplinary field of academic study that looks at gaming-related social and cultural phenomenon with different approaches, such as psychology, sociology, media studies and cultural studies. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2008: 136). According to Myers (2014: 331-335), recent trends in game studies have included game-centric study of the unique functions of video games, study of video game players and video game contexts, such as studies on virtual worlds and the culture of video gaming. In addition, Myers mentions that a large portion of studies considering video games are market-driven and focus on revenue. (Myers, 2014: 331-335) According to Piirainen-Marsh (2008: 136), recent game studies have focused on for example the textual, narrative and aesthetic elements of games, gaming communities and the individual experience of gaming, for example from the point of view of language learning. However, Piirainen-Marsh mentions that so far there is very little knowledge on gaming as a social activity; how

the interaction between the gamer and the game is constructed and what kind of linguistic and interactional resources are used when playing a video game.

In addition to gaming being increasingly popular within the general public, its implications can be seen in other media, as well. Game-related topics are discussed in news articles and gaming can be seen as a vital part of other social media platforms, YouTube, a social media video publishing platform providing the users access to free videos, being one of these. One of YouTube's largest and most popular genres is gaming videos (Hongisto, 2014) and they have recently gotten increasingly popular also in Finland. In this study I will look at a set of Finnish gaming videos published on YouTube and observe and analyze the language use in the videos.

The discourse of video games is multimodal. Games usually consist of events where the game-created reality includes video, audio and textual discourse. These features conduct and navigate the game and instruct the gamer - hence making the gamer a vital part of the gaming events. The gamer engages in interaction with the game by interpreting visual and linguistic messages and making choices based on those cues, some of them happening very quickly and at the same time. The gamer's interpretations and choices are guided by, in addition to multimodal messages, for example instructions or dialogue that are usually in English, therefore making English elements a vital resource of interaction in the gaming activity. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2008: 137)

The purpose of this study is to look at a series of gaming videos posted on YouTube by a Finnish male gamer and observe and analyze patterns on code-switching between Finnish and English. In his videos he plays the PlayStation 3 game *the Last of Us* (2013) and simultaneously makes live commentary and narrates the events of the game. The main language used in the videos is Finnish; the videos are clearly targeted at a Finnish audience, regarding that the video descriptions, titles and general spoken greetings and introductions are all in Finnish. However, despite the main spoken and written language use being in Finnish, a large number of English elements are used in the videos as well. While commenting on the events of the video game, the gamer switches back and forth between Finnish and English, hence creating a very interesting linguistic universe in the videos.

Video and computer games are a part of a fast growing international industry that affects a large amount of people globally. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2008: 138) According to

Hjorth (2011: 127), the sudden increase in the popularity of gaming devices such as Nintendo Wii and mobile gaming has made games a part of the global popular cultural imaginary. Even though the linguistic cues in games can be seen as a part of the English-dominated international gaming discourse and culture, the activity of playing a game is always a local activity where the participators contribute to the interactional activity, for example by making in-game choices and negotiating meanings. Using English elements in the otherwise Finnish speech activity shows how the English game shapes the speech context and the structures of interaction. In addition, the linguistic choices show how the participants in the gaming activity build a common understanding of the game and the events in the game. By making linguistic choices the gamers negotiate meanings, shape the context of the game and analyze the structures of interaction. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2008: 138-139)

Code-switching and the use of English in gaming instances has been studied on several occasions. (E.g. Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh, 2009; Piirainen-Marsh, 2010; Uuskoski, 2011, Suominen, 2014). However, as these studies show, the gameplay occasions have always been "live" in a sense that the players are sitting in the same room or are otherwise in spoken interaction and the study focuses on the interaction between the players. Hence, the implications of YouTube as a platform for this kind of gaming activity have not been studied. The set-up of the data in this study is somewhat different than in those introduced previously: the data in this study consist of one person instead of multiple people and the assumed interaction happens in a one-way direction, almost like a performance. The gamer sits alone in his room, playing the game and recording his gameplay, but he is also aware of the fact that, once he uploads the video online, it might be viewed by thousands of people. According to Auer (1999a: 1), code-switching means the alternation of two or more languages in a conversation. However, the videos looked at in this study are made by a single person performing to an assumed audience of the videos. Hence, one of the questions regarding the study is if publishing videos on YouTube is, in fact, only one-direction communication, or possibly two-way interaction.

2 BACKGROUND

The background section of the study will first look at YouTube as a media platform and then focus on the genre of videos looked at in the data. As the topic of the current study is code-switching, it is important to define what code-switching is in terms of the study. A short overview of the theoretical background of the study will act as the foundation for the analysis of the study in later sections. In addition to looking at code-switching as a field of study, the background section of the study will provide an overview of recent studies that are relevant for the current study. These studies look at code-switching and gaming and the use of English in Finland.

2.1 YouTube, gaming videos and *Let's Play*

YouTube is a massive platform for videos. Originally founded in June 2005 for the purpose of removing technical barriers to the widespread online sharing of videos (Burgess and Green, 2013: 1-8), the website has grown in the nine years of its existence into one of the most influential social media platforms in western culture. What makes YouTube especially interesting as a media platform is its construction and development: Most of YouTube's content cannot be described as "traditional media", but instead most of the content on the website is user-created, meaning videos that are not published by media industries and related profession. Even though traditional media companies have infiltrated YouTube's user-mediated content, music videos and movie trailers being an example of this, user participation is still a very prominent factor of the website's success. As Burgess (2008: 1-8) sums up, YouTube's success is created by participation and interaction. For example the so-called *viral videos* are usually user-created and gain their huge popularity by the audience watching the video and sharing it. As Koski (2011: 15) points out, there have been many speculations why YouTube has grown so huge in its popularity and one of the possible reasons for this is the easiness of uploading and sharing a video. According to Burgess (2008: 1-8), an understanding of the dynamics of the viral video may contribute to a better understanding of how the emergence of user-created content is reshaping contemporary popular culture.

According to Koski (2011: 16-25), YouTube videos that are both constructed of premade and self-made material act as performances that showcase their creators' personal style and skills and, in addition, interact with other videos. Fagerjord (2010: 190-199) describes digital performances as a common language or a shared

environment where different medias and genres can be freely combined in new ways and thus possibly create totally new genres. With the aid of fairly simple computer devices, millions of people are able to copy elements of digital mass culture and use these elements to create new cultural elements. Fagerjord calls this phenomenon *remix* and points out that YouTube itself is a remix - a media platform that unites a video gallery, a commenting system, a social network and a system that facilitates file sharing. In addition to mixing genres, Fagerjord describes YouTube as a platform for mixing power relationships: before the internet, only money and power allowed one to widely share their material, but nowadays video sharing on YouTube is equally easy to individual people, too. As Burgess and Green (2013: 103-108) describe, YouTube was launched without actually knowing what it was for, which is possibly a reason behind its huge success. Moreover, as YouTube is loosely managed and a large entity with a huge amount of content, it can be whatever the various participants make it or want it to be. In addition, Burgess and Green describe YouTube as the platform for shaping and reshaping participatory culture, thus being a part of defining the future of media culture.

Gaming videos are one of the biggest growing genres on YouTube. Yle News (Hongisto, 2014) reported that the popularity of YouTube's gaming channels is increasing rapidly. According to Yle News, four of the most popular YouTube channels worldwide are gaming channels and the amount of their subscribers tripled during the years 2012-2013. Some of the most subscribed people on YouTube include gamers such as PewDiePie (Felix Kjellberg) (15 million subscribers by 1st November 2013), Tobuscus (Toby Turner) (total of 12.5 million subscribers on three channels by 25 October 2013) and CaptainSparklez (Jordan Maron) (6 million subscribers by 1st December 2013) (List of the most subscribed channels on YouTube, 2014) In the gaming videos the gamers video record themselves playing a videogame, and while playing, they talk to the video audience. (Paldanius, 2014). Usually the video includes footage of the gameplay and another, smaller video window showing the gamer.

The variety of gaming videos on YouTube is vast, due to the endless amount of contributors to the genre. In this section a specific sub-genre of gaming videos called *Let's Play* will be discussed. As described by McConnell (2014), this unlikely sub-genre of gaming videos has become immensely popular across the network and contributed the creators with successful YouTube channels and profit. In a *Let's Play*, instead of publishing plain gameplay footage, as is done in YouTube's "walkthrough" videos, a

Let's Play also involves spoken and written commentary and narration and sometimes also video footage of the player. As the main purpose of a "walkthrough" video is to provide a straightforward video of how the game is played from the start screen to the ending credits, a *Let's play* involves interactive commentary and reactions by the player. In "walkthrough" videos the main objective is to finish the game with minimal errors, backtracking and repeating, and thus they are often edited to achieve this. However, *Let's Play* videos usually share a more personal approach to the gaming experience. According to Sotamaa, a game researcher at the University of Tampere interviewed by Yle News (Paldanius, 2014), there are three general categories of YouTube gaming videos: some gamers make cinematic, visually attractive videos, others want to show how quickly a puzzle in the game can be solved and yet others integrate copious amounts of humor and talking into the video. It is important for the video makers to add something personal to the event of gaming and sometimes this might even result as not playing according to the rules, but rather inventing something of their own, Sotamaa reports.

When looking at the genre of gaming videos on YouTube, it is noteworthy that game developing companies embrace the popularity of gaming videos on YouTube and do not insist on deleting them even though video game footage is used in the videos. Instead, according to Yle News (Hongisto, 2014) they benefit from the internet celebrities such as PewDiePie playing their games, as in this way the video games get free publicity through YouTube. Hence, Google, the current owner of YouTube, is planning to increase the number of quality gaming videos on YouTube and Walt Disney Corporation has paid 950 million dollars for the ownership of Maker Studios, one of YouTube’s largest production and sharing networks. (Hongisto, 2014) As YouTube was formerly mostly known for amateur videos, it is remarkable what a huge business revolves around its users nowadays. According to McConnell (2014), YouTube's *partner program* allows popular YouTube gamers to make money by playing games online and as Yle News (2014) reports, some of the most popular YouTube video contributors already earn a six-digit yearly income solely from YouTube.

As it usually seems to happen, whatever is popular in the US, will soon be popular in Finland. Using and sharing on YouTube is becoming increasingly popular in Finland, however, as in Finland the field of gaming videos is dominated by under 20-year-old boys, outside Finland gaming videos are made by slightly older users and the field is not

as male-dominated as in Finland (Paldanius, 2014). According to the listing on 15 most subscribed Finnish YouTube accounts, about half of them are somewhat related or fully focused on video gaming. (Kärkkäinen, 2013)

When looking at the trend of uploading video game commentary videos on YouTube, one might wonder why it is so immensely popular to watch someone else play a video game. According to McConnell (2014), the goal of making a *Let's Play* video is not to get laughs or get viral hits or even to compete with other video makers, but instead the videos are made out of passion towards gaming and watching others play. In addition, the more popular the game, the more popular the YouTube channel. (McConnell, 2014)

A Finnish YouTube user Aleksi Koli, interviewed by Yle News (Ahjopalo, 2014), thinks that *Let's Play* videos interest those people who already own the game or are planning to buy it. He explains that watching someone else play the same game makes the viewer identify with the gamer. In addition, the viewer can decide by watching the video if the game is worth buying. Koli himself has uploaded almost 300 gaming videos with Finnish commentary on YouTube and they have been watched about 12 million times. Ahjopalo suggests that had he done the commentary in English, the number of views would have been higher. In his videos in addition to commentary, Koli also provides critique, tips and reviews of the game. According to Ahjopalo, this kind of reviews might have an effect on the viewers' willingness to buy the game, hence making the genre of gaming videos increasingly important for both game developers and advertisers. According to Sotamaa, cited by Paldanius (2014), the gaming industry sees gaming videos as excellent advertisements and some developers are very interested in collaborating with the video makers and engaging in a dialogue about the game. Sometimes the gaming video has affected the contents of the game, Sotamaa reports.

As YouTube has not yet been in existence even for a full decade and the emergence of gaming videos in YouTube has only happened very recently, the amount of studies and articles about this particular genre in YouTube is still very small. However, the sudden popularity of gaming channels has recently been embraced by the media, especially due to the channel owners' big paychecks and millions of subscribers. In this chapter the basic concept of YouTube as a platform and *Let's Play* videos as a genre have been introduced to provide further understanding of the data in this study.

2.2 Code-switching

The current study's main theoretical background is based on the study of code-switching. In this chapter some of the main concepts of code-switching are introduced. As will be discussed in the chapter, code-switching is a largely studied phenomenon and the field of study includes many different approaches to it. (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 7-9) This chapter attempts to provide an overview of the field of study and its main concepts.

The beginning of the studies on code switching dates back to the 1950s and 1960s when code-switching used to be an interest of only a few specialist researchers. After the publication of many pioneering and now classic studies on the syntactic and the sociolinguistic aspects of bilingual speech in the 1970s, 1980s and especially the 1990s saw a great interest in the study of code-switching. Moreover, the subject of code-switching has changed from a niche-type special interest of a few researchers into a matter that touches on very fundamental linguistic issues, such as Universal Grammar, the formation of group identities and verbal behaviour as creating ethnic identities and boundaries. (Auer, 1999a: 1) As Gardner-Chloros (2009: 9) puts it, the increasing interest in the study of code-switching required the realization that code-switching was not only a quirky, meaningless, isolated language phenomenon, but a fairly widespread way of speaking.

In his study, Auer (1999a: 1) focuses on code-switching as verbal action, defines code-switching is "the alternating use of two or more 'codes' within one conversational episode". According to Auer, code-switching can be roughly divided into two main dominant perspectives: either the studies focus on sociolinguistic or the grammatical aspects of code-switching. The study of code-switching is not something that can be defined as being linked strongly to a certain specific approach to linguistic study; instead, it touches on many different areas of linguistics and hence constitutes a vast and varied field of study. According to Gardner-Chloros (2009: 9-10), most studies on code-switching have eventually focused on three main approaches: sociolinguistic/ethnographic descriptions of code-switching situations, pragmatic/conversation analytic approaches and grammatical analysis of code-switching. However, Gardner-Chloros (2009: 7-9) sees the fragmentation of the field of code-switching as disadvantageous, since none of the disciplines can provide a

complete picture of the field of code-switching. By including the viewpoints of sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, grammatical and acquisitional perspectives and pragmatics, code-switching can be taken at face value and considered as the multifaceted phenomenon it is, instead of seeing it as a means of testing theoretical positions. She suggests that code-switching should be seen as a rounded phenomenon and considered it as a whole, instead of looking at one specific element of the phenomenon.

Backus and Dorleijn (2010:76-77), in an attempt to further explore other consequences of language contact, such as loan translations, define code-switching as the use of overt material from language B in language A discourse. The overt material can be anything from single morphemes to entire sentences and they divide the material into two rough categories. Firstly, alternational code-switching means the alternation of language material in two languages in bilingual discourse. This means that the speaker alternates between two languages in a bilingual setting, creating full sentences with both languages. Secondly, code-switching can be insertional, where the speaker uses material from another language, the Embedded Language (EL), in bilingual discourse. The foreign material, for example single words still obeying the form and function of the EL, is embedded into clauses that can be recognized as the Matrix Language. However, Backus and Dorleijn (2010:76-77) emphasize that when code-switching turns into established parts of the lexicon or grammar of the borrowing language, we are no longer speaking of code-switching, but borrowing or loan translation.

In addition to defining the field of code-switching, Gardner-Chloros (2009: 4-5) also provides reasons why studying code-switching is important. To begin with, she points out that the study of code-switching can act as a window on understanding speech and language. The investigation of *why* and *how* people use code-switching can provide us with insights into other aspects of language and interaction. Firstly, on a functional level, different varieties of language are used by bilinguals as a means to convey meanings beyond the superficial meaning of the words. Similar variation is done by monolinguals, as well, by switching between dialects, registers, levels of formality and intonations, to name a few. Secondly, the use of different varieties of language in a particular community can act as a marker for group identity. Hence, the study of code-switching in relation to the sociolinguistic environment can provide us with an understanding of identity formation, group identities and bilingual expression. Thirdly,

the patterns of how languages are switched in speech acts can explain how language is processed and produced in the brain. Finally, the analysis of code-switched speech can provide us with knowledge of which words and morphemes are more prone to be combined and which are resistant to the combination. (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 4-5)

The study of code-switching touches on almost all speakers around the globe and the field of study is very multifaceted with different approaches and methods. However, one of the most interesting viewpoints to code-switching is speakers' attitudes. As the study of code-switching often involves field work for gathering data, these data also provide very interesting insights into the attitudes towards code-switching by speakers. Gardner-Chloros (2009: 15) sums up these attitudes with the help of three different interesting viewpoints: firstly, speakers sometimes state that code-switching is done due to laziness. The speakers admit, for example, that they are not bothered to find the expression in the second language but instead use the more familiar form of their mother tongue. Secondly, some systematic studies on code-switching show that generally people are not proud of using code-switching in their speech. Regular code-switchers seem to disapprove of it and the use of code-switching is seen as linked with a laid-back attitude towards authority, for example. Thirdly, people living in for example bilingual communities, are generally aware of their use of code-switching, but they tend not to be fully aware of the extent of code-switching in their own speech acts.

In terms of code-switching in language interaction and interference in language change, code-switching is often seen as the most likely source of loan words in a language and hence a reason for language change. However, in some cases code-switching in language interaction is not seen as an aspect of language change, but rather opposed to borrowing and thus simply alternation of two varieties of language. (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 30) According to Gardner-Chloros (2009:30-31), a common discussion in the study of code-switching is if single-word code-switching is borrowing or not. Insertions of single nouns in a different language seems to be the most common type of code-switching, mostly due to the interchangeable nature of nouns; in other words, nouns are freer of syntactic restrictions than other word classes and thus easier to insert in speech acts. In addition, the prevalence of single word switches is due to the fact that they are easily accessible to lower levels of language competence. However, there are no reliable ways of defining if single-word switches are loan words or code-switching. Nevertheless, Gardner-Chloros states that loan words start as code-switches and

gradually develop into loan words if used frequently enough. Even though nouns are the most frequently code-switched words, it does not mean that other word classes are beyond the restrictions of code-switching. Instead, in some studies other grammatical word classes were more frequent in code-switching. (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 30-31)

Auer (1999b: 309-313) describes the language alternation, that is sometimes interchangeably called language alternation, code-switching, code-mixing and so forth, to spanning out on a continuum of three cases, labelled as code-switching (CS), language mixing (LM) and fused lects (FL). On the other end of the continuum is code-switching, where the juxtaposition of two languages, or codes, carries a local meaning to the participant. On the other polar extreme, fused lects are the fusion created by mixing two codes into one. According to Auer, in code-switching the contrast between different codes, or languages, is meaningful and acts as contextualizing either some aspects of the situation or some feature of the speaker. Therefore, code-switching is a metapragmatic comment on the ongoing interaction and hence a contextualization strategy.

Auer (1999b: 313-314) divides code-switching into two categories: alternational and insertional code-switching. Alternational code-switching means speech acts where two codes are used alternatedly and the switching carries a local meaning that contextualizes the interaction. Insertional code-switching, however, means single words or phrases that are inserted into a surrounding passage of the other language. In both instances, it is typical that the "other-languageness" of the insertion or alternation is noted by the participants. Additionally, in both cases there are prosodic cues and verbal markers that might mark and underline the code-switching, such as extra emphasis, preceding pauses, metalinguistic comments and hesitation.

Language alternation can be studied from a variety of different viewpoints, as discussed above. Auer (1988: 208-209) summarizes the three main viewpoints as the grammatical approach, the macro-sociolinguistic approach and the conversation analytic approach. Auer argues that both the grammatical and the macro-sociolinguistic perspectives are restricted by the rules of the approach and do not provide a full understanding of the process of code-switching. Therefore, Auer prefers the conversation analytic perspective, as it allows the study to look at the interactional value and the meanings that are created by code-switching as a conversational activity.

In this study I will use Auer's view (1999b) as the theoretical base for the analysis, because Auer's definition of code-switching is the most beneficial for the current study. Auer (1999b: 310) defines code-switching as a locally meaningful event by the participants and the juxtaposition between two codes creates social and interactional meanings in the interaction. In addition, Auer sees code-switching as either discourse-related switching or participant-related switching: Discourse-related switching acts as a contextualization strategy, a way of indexing the situation, and participant-related code-switching means code-switching due to for example different language preferences or competences. As the current study attempts to discover the meanings that code-switching in the data creates, Auer's definition of code-switching as a constructor of local meanings is the most beneficial for the study.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to present and describe the field of code-switching. As mentioned earlier, the field of code-switching is fragmented into different approaches all looking at code-switching from slightly different perspectives and focusing at the phenomenon with different methodologies. Hence, providing a full overview of code-switching is a challenging task. However, the illustration of some of the key factors in code-switching is essential for the current study.

2.2.1 Code-switching in gaming

According to Piirainen-Marsh's study (2008), code-switching acts as a contextual cue in a video gaming instance. The English elements are used in for example speech acts where gamers make game-related choices, create interpretations of the events in the game and shift between the real word and the game reality. Hence, the use of English elements in the speech acts is a way to create different participation frameworks and discourse identities. A participation framework is the relationship between the participant of the interaction and the ongoing event, action, topic etc. The relationship is affected by, for example, the participants' institutional roles and previous knowledge or experience of the topic. A discourse identity means each participant's status in relation to the speech activity. The participation framework is not constant, but changes with every speech act, as the roles and statuses of the participants change. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2008: 136-139) Piirainen-Marsh reports that in previous studies on code-switching, it has been shown that code-switching is often used as means to redefine the situation, by

for example marking different transitions in action, topic or mood. However, these studies have mainly looked at spoken interaction in everyday conversations.

According to Piirainen-Marsh (2008:143-144), recent study of code-switching has focused on the use, functions and local meanings of two or more parallel languages in interaction. From the point of view of conversation analysis the definition of code-switching has been narrowed down to the alternation of two languages or language varieties that carry a social or interactional meaning. Code-switching is seen as a conversational resource that on the other hand reflects the construction of speech acts and on the other hand structures, modifies and renews the context. In her study, Piirainen-Marsh reflects to studies on multilingual playing or learning activities where the participants use linguistic resources to perform a certain task. According to studies done on multilingual playing activities, it is typical that the languages used in the activity have strict roles. For example, in situations where the children were bilingual speakers of Swedish and Finnish, both languages had different tasks in the spoken activities. For example Finnish was used to portray imaginary characters and Swedish was used in other interactional activities. (Green-Vänttinen 1996, cited by Piirainen-Marsh) Hence, the choice of a language is strictly related to the activity present. Therefore the choice of a language has an important role in structuring the interaction. In conversation analysis, code-switching is often seen as the alternation between two or more languages or variants of language where the participants themselves orientate to the difference between the two or more "codes" by for example using them as contextual cues and marking the codes as different with paralinguistic means. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2008: 144)

2.2.2 Attitudes towards code-switching in Finland

As mentioned earlier, studies have shown that the general attitude towards code-switching is not very positive. According to Gardner-Chloros (2009:15), code-switching is often seen as lazy language use, something that the speakers are not proud of and, in addition, not fully aware of the extent they do code-switching. Hence, one could assume that this is the case in Finland, too. The following chapter will provide a short overview of a survey done in Finland by Leppänen et al. (2009) about uses of, attitudes to and perceptions of English in Finland and special focus will be drawn on attitudes towards instances of code-switching. The chapter will describe the role of code-switching

between Finnish and English in Finland, thus providing background information for the current study.

As the role of English has become increasingly prominent in Finland in the recent decades, its growing role of importance has lately interested researchers. In 2007 a large-scale national survey on Finns' uses of, attitudes to and perceptions of English in the 2000's was conducted by Leppänen et al. (2009) The research was conducted by collecting data with the help of an extensive questionnaire covering different aspects of language use, such as Finns' attitudes towards English and language mixing, their daily contact with English and predictions of the assumed role of English in the future. The data set consisted of 1,495 responses. According to the study, English has a strong presence in Finland. In addition to being the most widely studied language and the most commonly used foreign language, Finns also assess their own skills in English as quite good. It is also worth mentioning that Finns do not see the increased use of English as a threat to their mother tongue; instead, they perceive the competence of English as a valuable asset and an essential resource in the multicultural and globalizing world. (Leppänen et al., 2009: 6)

A part of the survey looked at language mixing in depth and revealed what kind of experiences of and attitudes the respondents had towards mixing their native language and English. The section of the study concerning language mixing aimed, in addition to looking at the attitudes, at mapping out how often and in what kind of situations the respondents mix their mother tongue and English. According to the study, code-switching is rather frequent, which is rather interesting due to the fact that in a public discussion it has often been seen as a threat to the native languages pureness. The survey shows that Finns' attitude towards code-switching is in general very positive. (Leppänen et al., 2009: 115-128)

The respondents were also presented with an imaginary example of a conversation between a married couple. In the conversation the speakers mixed their native language with English elements, such as loan words, and the respondents were asked to evaluate their understanding of the conversation. It appears that code-switching as itself is not a barrier for understanding, as 86% of the respondents thought that the conversation was fully understandable. Differences between age groups were visible, as under 45-year-old respondents saw the example as clearly more understandable than over 64-year-olds. However, even though being the demographic group with least studies in English, the

majority of the oldest respondents still reported to at least partially understand the conversation. Therefore, it seems that English has somehow filtered into their lives, as well. (Leppänen et al., 2009: 116-117)

Using the same example conversation, the respondents were asked about their attitude towards this kind of language mixing. More than half of the respondents reported to have a positive attitude towards code-switching between their mother tongue and English, but a third of the respondents had a negative perspective. Younger respondents were more prone to have a positive attitude than older, which can be traced back to their more frequent contact with said code-switching. (Leppänen et al., 2009: 117-118)

In addition to their views on code-switching, the respondents were asked to estimate how much they mixed English and their native language both in speaking and writing. Also in this part of the study age differences were visible in the results: Language mixing was clearly more frequent among young respondents than it was among older ones. In addition, according to the study, people living in larger cities were more prone to use code-switching than those living in the rural area. The respondents who admitted in code-switching in spoken or written language, reported to mostly use code-switching with friends, coworkers and a spouse. In addition, they rarely reported of doing code-switching when talking to their relatives or parents. (Leppänen et al., 2009: 119-122)

In addition, the researchers wanted to map out the reasons for doing code-switching. The most frequent reply was that it happens unconsciously, which shows that English elements have become a rather natural part of the everyday language use of Finnish people. Another popular reason for doing code-switching was specific professional language or terminology that was found difficult to be translated. The least popular answer was that otherwise the respondents wouldn’t be understood, from which we can interpret that code-switching is rather used as a means of expressing oneself than to ensure mutual understanding. (Leppänen et al., 2009: 123-124)

The study conducted by Leppänen et al. (2009) clearly shows that code-switching between the respondents’ mother tongue and English was, in addition to easily understandable to most, also received positively in general. To the respondents, English elements are no longer foreign elements but instead have become a natural part of Finnish language use. However, one must bear in mind that there still were respondents who experienced the example text as incomprehensible, mostly among old and

uneducated respondents. However, even though the public discussion has sometimes presented language mixing as a threat to the native languages in Finland, the respondents had a generally positive view on English being a part of their everyday language use. (Leppänen et al., 2009: 127)

According to the survey by Leppänen et al. (2009), code-switching was more frequently used in spoken language than written language. This difference can at least partially be explained by the fact that the norm of monolingualism dominates written contexts more than spoken languge. In addition, written language requires often more planning and consideration than spoken language. The study shows that young people were more prone to use code-switching in their spoken language, which shows that to them English is a more natural resource of expressing themselves. It appears that the younger respondents do not see English in spoken language as a foreign element, but instead a feature of shaping their language use and a means of expressing their identity in speech. As code-switching was rarely mentioned as a tool for facilitating understanding, it is not necessary for interaction; the mother tongue is capable enough to convey meaning. Instead, the English elements can be useful for creating social and cultural meanings and they can be used for stylizing and self-expression. (Leppänen et al. 2009, 127-128)

In this chapter Finns' attitudes towards and uses of code-switching have been described and discussed shortly. The survey shows that on the contrary to a general belief and discussion in media, Finns have a fairly positive attitude towards code-switching. In terms of the current study, the most important findings of the study were firstly, that code-switching was often so unconscious that it was seen as a natural part of everyday language, and secondly, that code-switching is a means of expressing oneself verbally and creating social and cultural meanings. In the current study, code-switching is often done unconsciously and regarded as a part of everyday speech. Moreover, in the current study code-switching is also often used as a means of self-expression and because of stylistic choices. Hence, the survey shows that the observations made from the data are not a single case, but instead follow the general pattern of Finns' attitudes towards the phenomenon.

2.3 Previous studies on the use of English and gaming

As described in the previous sections, gaming and academic interest towards gaming are both relatively new phenomena. Therefore, there is not a large number of studies made

on a similar topic as in the current study, i.e. code-switching in a gaming instance. However, to properly illustrate how the connection between the use of English and video games has been studied previously, in this chapter I will present some studies concerning the use of English in Finnish gaming environment. This section aims at showing how video games are seen as an important factor in today's language use in Finland and how this phenomenon has been studied.

2.3.1 Uuskoski (2011): Playing video games: A waste of time… or not? Exploring the connection between playing video games and English grade

Even though the effects of media on language learning have been studied, gaming has not received similar attention until very recently. An attempt to fill in this gap was constituted by Uuskoski (2011) in his Master's Thesis for University of Helsinki. Inspired by his personal experiences as a gamer, he wanted to find out if playing video games has an effect on students' grades on English. Uuskoski mentions that he has often heard Finnish people pinpointing video games as one of the main reasons for their English skills. Therefore, he conducted his research in an urban upper secondary school in Southern Finland, using a sample of 495 16- to 20-year-old students from two schools. The students filled out a questionnaire regarding their grades and their use of computers and other media and the results were analyzed to find out if there is a connection between language skills and gaming, and if the genre of the game affects the results.

The results of Uuskoski's research were fairly straightforward. His study clearly shows that gaming and success in English have a connection: the students who played a lot of video games had higher English grades than those who did not. In addition, the correlation between the English grade and gaming was affected by the type of games the students played: role-playing games were most notably connected to high English grades. What is noteworthy, the results were not only statistical, but the informants also felt themselves that gaming had had an effect in their language skills. The students who were very active gamers mentioned improved vocabulary the most often, but also listening, comprehension skills, reading, writing and even speaking were improved by gaming, according to the students. In addition, their higher English grades could not be explained by any other factor, such as general academic success or higher socio-economic background. However, those students who reported that gaming had

improved their language skills, were also more prone to be engaged in other extramural English activities, such as listening to music, watching movies or reading blogs. Still, gaming appeared to be the single best predictor for higher English grades. (Uuskoski, 2011: 56-57)

A rather surprising result of Uuskoski's study (2011: 56-57) is that out of the sample group, boys had significantly higher English grades than the girls in that group. In addition, the boys were reported to play more video games and engage in other extramural English activities, all of them connected to higher English grades. In addition, boys were a more homogenous group than girls in Uuskoski's study. However, even though there were differences between girls and boys, Uuskoski's study still proves that a connection between language learning and video games exists, and more importantly, the students themselves acknowledge the effects of gaming on their language proficiency. Even though Uuskoski's study is not looking at the language use while playing games, it provides noteworthy background information for the current study. Uuskoski's study shows that English and gaming are tightly related, possibly mostly due to the world of gaming and electronics often being in English. Hence, Uuskoski's study might provide a reason why an enthusiastic gamer would be eager to use English in their spoken language in a gaming activity.

2.3.2 Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh (2009): Language policy in the making: an analysis of bilingual gaming activities

As most of the mainstream video games are in English by default, and rarely translated into small languages, such as Finnish, they create a new dimension of media content available in our daily lives. Possibly contrary to general beliefs, Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh (2009: 264) describe gaming as a combination of different media, such as game-related discussion forums, gaming magazines, gaming websites and naturally gaming itself. This multimodal medium provides gamers with plenty of different resources for gaming-related content, as the environment for gaming spreads out to other mediums. As not all of these are translated into smaller languages, those interested in gaming are basically required to use English as their main language while playing or taking part into other gaming-related activities.

In their study, Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh (2009: 292) examine gaming from a sociolinguistic point of view, where gaming is seen as a multilingual medium that involves language policing and communication practices. In the study, they look at how

informal language policies are negotiated by young people in the context of electronic gaming. Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh (2009: 265-281) observed two 13-year-old Finnish boys who were playing Final Fantasy X, a popular video game including both action-packed playable scenes and narrative, movie-like scenes. The spoken interaction of these two boys was observed in several gaming sessions. The video game is in English and it has both spoken and written input, such as voice-over narrative, written instructions and menus. What they found out from the observation was that the two boys used frequent prosodic repetition to comment on the different registers of speech the game characters had. For example, one of the boys points out that one of the characters has an "Arnold Schwarzenegger" speech style and illustrates this by mimicking the character. These interactions show their appreciation and awareness of different registers and speech styles, an important part of language proficiency. In addition, the language processing is not only based on input, since the boy also produces spoken language by mimicking.

As can be seen from the results of the study, games are not as passive entertainment as one might think. In fact, Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh (2009: 280-281) argue that gaming does involve different kinds of interaction, and can be seen as social action. Game-playing can be interactive in a way that the gamer communicates with the game or with other players, or both. According to Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh, game-playing is always a multimodal activity that involves the usage of both voice and body movements to negotiate meaning. This involves also linguistic choices, such as bilingual language use, because they are used to make sense of the game and participate. In general, as the gaming world is strongly dominated by large-scale languages such as English, a strong involvement of language skills is needed from those willing to be a part of that world.

2.4 Previous study of code-switching in gaming

In this chapter some recent studies of gaming and code-switching will be introduced. As already mentioned earlier, not many studies have been done on code-switching in gaming instances, as the topic is still rather new. However, this chapter attempts to show what kinds of studies have been made of the similar subject and what was found out. In addition, the chapter attempts to show what was learned from the previous studies and could be taken advantage of when conducting the recent study.

2.4.1 Piirainen-Marsh (2010): Bilingual Practices and the social organization of video gaming activities

A recent study by Piirainen-Marsh (2010) looks at bilingual practices in a co-operative video gaming situation where 2-4 Finnish adolescents are playing a console-operated video game produced in English. The study uses the conceptual and methodological framework of conversation analysis to determine how bilingual language practices happen during the gaming activity. The study focuses on the social and sequential aspects of language choice and language alternation. In her study, Piirainen-Marsh looks at a collaborative game-playing activity where the players use both Finnish and English in coexistence in their speech while playing. In the co-construction of languages, the study subjects mainly used their native language, Finnish, while communicating with each other and English when drawing on the language of the game. However, the final results of the study show that the coexistence of two languages in the speech act is not a very straightforward language process, but instead a more complex one. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2010: 3012-3028)

The field of bilingual language use is vast and wide with different focuses and study patterns. --- According to Piirainen-Marsh (2010: 3012), the recent study on bilingual language use has focused on viewing languages as having permeable boundaries between different varieties, or codes, instead of seeing them as distinct, bounded systems. Piirainen-Marsh's study is based on the interactional paradigm of language use and is aimed to find out how the players orient the co-presence of two languages in the setting of the video game, using their own bilingual language skills and resources to coordinate their interaction while playing.

Similarly to any other type of discourse, game-playing has to be looked at according to its own paradigms and principles based on its technologies and discursive activities (Piirainen-Marsh, 2010: 3013). Even though it might not seem like that, game-playing is not only an individual, solitary activity where no communication takes place, but, instead, it can be seen as social interaction. According to Piirainen-Marsh (2010: 3013-3014), it can be defined as a complex social activity that is mediated by technology. The players interact with the material structure and the resources provided by the game, e.g. making choices based on what is seen on the screen. The act of game-playing consists of multiple communicative modes: the game is realized via animation, visual design,

music, text and sound, creating a complex combination on semiotic resources attended by the player. In addition to engaging with the game world, the player can also be a part of verbal communication if there are several players engaged in the same game-playing activity. These multiplayer activities engage the players in communicating meaning, organizing and negotiating gameplay through collaborative action. Together the players co-construct their gameplay experience. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2010: 3013-3014)

In her study, Piirainen-Marsh (2010) found that in a collaborative gaming activity the participants accomplished a particular kind of bilingual order of interaction that was shaped by the technologically mediated activity. In addition, the choice of language was not only organized sequentially but also by the game's semiotic structure that organized interaction. Piirainen-Marsh points out that even though on a superficial level it might seem like the setting of the study presents a clear distribution of languages, Finnish being the interactive language and English the operative language of the game, it is, in fact, a more complex mix of language resources. Moreover, the language practices are intertwined with the material and contribute to different actions emerging from the social play. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2010: 3027)

According to Piirainen-Marsh (2010: 3027), bilingual resources were embedded in the activity on several levels. For instance, the participants coordinated their attention to certain semiotic features of the game, built situated interpretations, made in-game choices and co-construct the game-playing experience based on the scenes and events of the game. The analysis of these bilingual instances showed that systematic orientation to the emergent objects in the game was done by the deployment of technical terms, vocabulary and structures borrowed from the game. For example, this was done by reading aloud and reproducing terms on the screen, which, according to Piirainen-Marsh, the participants did to recontextualize their interpretations of the events. In addition, the analysis of the data showed that code-switching between Finnish and English served a function of organizing the gamers' participation and managing transitions between activities. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2010: 3027) The study shows that the coexistence of two languages in a social gaming activity does not mean that another language is used in a clearly identified task. Instead, the language choice is determined by what makes sense locally in the game-playing activity and therefore meaning is co-constructed through talk while being intensely involved with an action-packed game. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2010: 3027)

2.4.2 Vuorinen (2008): English elements in the spoken discourse of Finnish teenagers playing an English video game

Another rather recent study conducted at the University of Jyväskylä discusses a topic rather similar to the current study. A Master's Thesis by Petri Vuorinen (2008) looks at a gaming situation involving two adolescent boys playing a co-operative video game and communicating whilst playing the game. The study aims to describe how English elements are used in the communication concerning the gameplay and to do that, Vuorinen (2008: 45-46) focuses on what kind of English elements can be identified in the gamers' interaction, how they use these elements and why they do this. A special attention is paid to code-switching and the meanings conveyed via it. In his study, Vuorinen utilizes both linguistic analysis and principles of conversational analysis.

The results of Vuorinen's study show that the gamers' interaction involves a large number of English elements. Most of the elements found in the communication are insertions, in which an English element is used within and in the middle of a Finnish utterance. In addition, quite a few English loan words, mostly specific words from the game itself, were identified in the results. In addition, the gamers relied on code-switching. In these occurrences the spoken language momentarily changed from Finnish to English and, by doing this, the gamers usually wanted to communicate their own interpretations of the setting of the game or to refer to something that had already happened or will happen in the game. In addition to all of these occurrences of English elements in the data, Vuorinen points out that the operational language of the game is English, requiring the gamer to have decent skills in English and in problem-solving to be able to proceed in the game at all. In conclusion, Vuorinen (20008: 73-75) argues that interactive playing of an English video game stimulates the gamer to use English in a diverse manner. The in-game events and its interactive nature create a situation where the gamer can naturally benefit and use their previous language skills.

In his Master's Thesis, Vuorinen's research questions treat "English elements" and code-switching as two separate aspects of the analysis, mostly due to difficulties in defining code-switching. (Vuorinen, 2008: 45) Even though the present study is rather similar in data and methods, it will only look at instances of code-switching, as opposed to Vuorinen's thesis. In the conclusion of the study, Vuorinen points out that it would have been interesting in terms of his study to have a chance to interview the participants. He proposes that going through a transcript of the data with the participants

might have provided a better insight to the analysis and also to the definition of code-switching in this case. (Vuorinen, 2008: 75) Therefore, when choosing the data for the present study, the video publisher was immediately contacted and asked for permission for an interview to extend the analysis of the data further.

2.4.3 Suominen (2014): ”Rollaa nyt woundsei ensin ja katotaan sitten miten käy” – koodinvaihtoa pöytäroolipeleissä

The studies introduced in the previous sections have slightly different approaches but all of them look at video games as the main data. In this section, I will introduce Suominen's Master's thesis which observes code-switching in a tabletop role playing game. According to Suominen (2014: 2), both linguistic and cultural studies on role playing games have been increasingly popular as role playing games have emerged from people's living rooms to the outside world and computers. As the genre consists of different platforms and styles, Suominen focuses his study to code-switching instances in a tabletop role playing game event.

According to Suominen (2014: 3-4), code-switching and role playing games are naturally linked to each other, since most of the rule systems for role playing games are only written in English. Hence, as Suominen describes, the role playing instances include language use in an informal situation where the operational environment has a different language than the main communication language is. In his study, Suominen attempted to find out what kind of environment the tabletop role playing instance is for language mixing and why is code-switching done. In addition, he discussed what kind of interactional and structural means of code-switching was used in the gaming situation and if the interaction was focused on contextual code-switching or mixed code. The data consists of audio recordings of two different groups' gaming events. Suominen uses Auer's (1999b) definition of code-switching as the theoretical background for his study. In both of the events the group consisted of Finnish people who were playing a campaign in a tabletop role playing game. Instances of code-switching in the recorded data were transcribed and thus analyzed. (Suominen, 2014: 14-15)

In his study, Suominen (2014: 57-60) discovered that the data was very fruitful for the study of code-switching, mostly because the game's main operational language was English. According to Suominen, code-switching was used to mark the transitions between the off-game world and the fantasy world. In addition, insertional code-

switching was often done when referring to specific game-related vocabulary that was in English in the reference material. The informants also used code-switching for contextualizing the events in the game. This also included the responsiveness of code-switching: a reply to an utterance was said in the same language, hence maintaining the same context.

Even though the focus of the current study is in a video gaming event, Suominen' study provides a valuable point of view with his study. Suominen' study shows that despite the gaming event being slightly different from video games, the participants still use code-switching in a similar manner, for example to contextualize the event and in gaming-related insertions. However, Suominen points out that the nature of a tabletop role playing games allows the participants to use language more than in video games, as the role playing game is mainly directed and organized by speech. It appears that despite the differences in platforms, code-switching is tightly knit with gaming instances.

In sections 2.3 and 2.4 I have attempted to illustrate how the connection between gaming, code-switching and the use of and competence in English have been studied recently. As the phenomenon is a rather new topic for research, a large number of studies have not yet been conducted. Therefore, to properly illustrate the topic of the current study, also research on language use and gaming was included in this section. From the summary of these studies it can be concluded that gaming and the use of English are tightly knit together in Finland. As the games often operate in English in terms of rules, instructions and in-game dialogue, it also appears to affect the gamers' language use.

Based on the observations presented in different studies, the gaming instances include the use of English in for example insertions of gaming-related vocabulary and as a device for contextualizing the event. The gamers use different codes for organizing the game-playing event and imitate the in-game dialogue to show their appreciation. For example these observations and the methods used in the studies introduced in this chapter act as an inspiration and guideline for the current study. As the current study looks at a slightly different gaming instance, a performance on YouTube instead of a recording of a natural game playing event, everything presented in the previous studies is not applicable for the use of the current study. They have acted, however, as a suggestion and foundation for the current study's set-up and conduction.

3 SET-UP OF THE STUDY

3.1. Research questions

The main research questions of the present study can be formulated as follows:

1. What kinds of instances of code-switching can be found in the data?

2. What kind of meanings does the use of different codes convey?

3. What is the purpose of code-switching in the data according to the gamer?

The first two research questions are aimed at the initial analysis of the data. In the analysis the code-switching instances found in the data are divided into categories and analyzed within the categories. In addition to identifying and recognizing instances of code-switching in the video data, it is also essential for the analysis to discuss what kind of meanings these instances convey. Question 3 focuses on the analysis of the interview conducted with the gamer and on providing further information and reasoning concerning the choice of language and use of code-switching obtainable from the gamer himself. Together, these three questions aim at obtaining an all-round understanding and analysis of instances of code-switching in the data.

3.2 Collection and general characterization of the present data

3.2.1 Gameplaying activity

The data selected for this study consists of 27 videos published on YouTube during the year 2013. As *Let's Play* videos are a rather new phenomena, these videos were one of the first longer *Let's Play* series made in Finnish and thus were selected as the data for the current study. The videos are a series of gameplay videos varying from 10 to 30 minutes in length. The videos are available on YouTube, where the data was collected in the end of the year 2013. The data was collected by first watching through all the 27 videos and making notes of recurring patterns and interesting instances of code-switching. After the initial observation of the data set, shorter stretches of the videos were observed more closely and then transcribed for the analysis. As the data was rather large in video material, transcription of the full data was not considered essential, but

instead by focusing on the recurring patterns, shorter stretches of the data were chosen to be transcribed and hence analyzed.

The Last of Us is a video game developed by the video game developer *Naughty Dog* and published by *Sony Computer Entertainment*. The action-adventure survival horror video game was released in June 2014 for the PlayStation 3. In the video game the player controls a character called Joel, who is assigned to escort the teenage girl Ellie across the post-apocalyptic United States. The player is supposed to use different firearms and improvised weapons to survive, and attack enemies that are zombie-like creatures infected by fungus. The player plays in the third-person perspective and mostly controls Joel, moving through a post-apocalyptic environment filled with enemies. The game involves both action-packed combat scenes and periods without combat. These periods usually involve English game dialogue, picking up items from the environment and solving puzzles. (The Last of Us, 2014) All of the game texts are in English, including, for example, dialogue, subtitles, game menus and information notifications.

The videos cover a full playthrough, meaning the full gameplay from the beginning to the end credits, of the video game *The Last of Us* (2013) accompanied by the player's spoken commentary on and narration of his gameplay experience. Every video marks an episode in the playthrough: in the beginning of every video the player greets the audience and welcomes them to watch another episode and in the end he mentions that it is the end of the episode and says good-bye to the audience. In the first video the player states that this is a "blind" playthrough, meaning that he has not played the game before and hence does not know what he is about to encounter. In the videos, the main video window is dedicated to the actual gameplay footage, but there is also another small video window showing the player himself (see Picture 1). In *Let's Play* videos this small video window is usually referred to as a "facecam", referring to a camera targeted towards the player to show his/her reactions. The use of facecam appears to be especially popular in horror game *Let's Plays*, since the reactions to the game are as vital part of the video as the gameplay itself. In the current study the "facecam" is a similar tool to video recordings of the players in studies about gaming instances (e.g. Piirainen-Marsh, 2008). The "facecam" provides for the study the gamers' reactions, gestures and facial expressions, adding to the analysis of spoken interaction.

The YouTube channel from which the data was extracted is not dedicated to single-player videos only, but it also has a substantial number of videos with two or more players collaborating in the same gameplay and engaging in dialogue with the game and each other. Even though a study on collaborating gamers' interaction in different gameplay activities could have been extremely fruitful and interesting, the series of *The Last of Us* gameplay was chosen as data in this study for several reasons. Firstly, it was the only longer series of systematic gameplay of the same game in a chronological order in the channel when the data was chosen – most of the videos on the channel were shorter, more edited clips of different games being played. The choice of only one game allowed the research to be more constant in terminology, descriptions and other technical matters, because different games might not share the same terminology and controls, to name a few. Secondly, the series chosen was the only one with a constant use of the facecam. The additional video footage of the gamer himself helped the formation of the transcript and provided further interpretation to the gamer's utterances, as described above, in contrast to the use of audio commentary on the gameplay video. Thirdly, the selection of only one gamer in the videos narrowed down the problems with ethical matters, since the permission for research could be asked from one single person. In addition, the transcription of audio-only commentary by several people would have been a rather demanding task, taking into account the fairly poor audio quality and recurrent overlapping speech in the multiplayer videos on the channel.

The publisher of the videos is a 25 years old Finnish male student of a University of Applied Sciences, onwards referred to as "J". His mother tongue is Finnish and in addition to Finnish he speaks English, started at the age of 9, and Swedish, started at the age of 13. J assessed his English skills to be very good, almost similar to a native speaker. This was based on his step-father being a native English speaker and thus resulting in English being spoken frequently at home. In addition, J had spent six months in the UK around the ages 17-18. J reported his Upper Secondary School English grades to being around 9 (10 being the best grade). In addition to studying in a University of Applied Sciences, J also works with selling mobile devices and telephone subscriptions. He reported that his YouTube channel originally started in 2011 as a useful device for showing his horror gaming videos to his friends, as YouTube was an easy, and one of the few free, platform for sharing videos to multiple people. He first started playing horror games such as *Amnesia* and slowly the videos gained more and more viewers.

Picture 1 Screen caption of the video footage

According to the gamer, the videos were not scripted at all, apart from the in-game plot. This means that he did not plan the discourse and possible topics of discussion beforehand but instead talked about whatever was interesting in the game at the moment. The videos were shot in short sessions, as the game is rather long; however he finished recording the full gameplay in a week. Even though the videos were not scripted beforehand, the gamer mentioned that he made external notes of certain recurring jokes and events in the game to keep the series of the videos consistent for the viewer. The editing and publishing of the first videos in the series was done while the videos were still filmed, but according to the gamer, the comments on earlier videos were somewhat overlooked upon publishing since he wanted to avoid spoilers of the upcoming plot and the effect of *backseat gaming*, where viewers end up advising the gamer too much and ruining the entertaining value of playing a game. Moreover, he found the immersion in the game as a very important aspect while filming the video, which will be discussed in more depth on several occasions in later sections. While making the videos almost nothing was censored: According to the gamer, profanities or inappropriate speech were not censored at all, but the only occasions when the video was cut was in instances where he died in the game and had to redo a sequence.

Since the focus of the study is specifically on videos made and published by one single person, this involves making sure that the data collection and analysis are conducted in an ethically sound manner. Hence, the identity of the gamer will be hidden so that his right to privacy is protected. His full name will not be published and he will be referred

to with the alias "J". Additionally, in screen captures of the data his face have been blurred to ensure that he remains anonymous and unidentifiable. However, the matter of hiding a YouTube personality's identity has raised some questions about concealed identities in the public social media. For example, Lange (2008: 372-378) has looked at this identity dilemma in depth, focusing on YouTube personalities and she describes this rather unusual occurrence of identity hiding as "publicly private and privately public". With this she means that while YouTube micro celebrities can be hugely popular, have thousands or even millions of subscribers and post hundreds of videos of themselves online every week, they might still be extremely protective about their "real" identities, such as addresses, full names, occupations and phone numbers.

In the interviews by Lange (2008: 372-378), the interview participants wished to retain their anonymity because they feared that being famous on YouTube would compromise their professional identity or that the revelation of their true identity would expose them to stalkers. Hence, even though being hugely popular and somewhat open about their lives online, it appears to be rather typical that YouTube performers conceal a certain part of their identity from the audience, thus maintaining relative anonymity. According to Nissenbaum (2004, as cited by Lange 2008: 376), an individual requires some privacy to be able to self-actualize and advance oneself. The partial anonymity is needed to save a part of oneself from outside scrutiny. Hence, the "publicly private" youtubers cloak themselves in an online character, an identity they have created to represent themselves in the YouTube community, but keep some parts of their true identity hidden from that representation. Hence, in this study the gamer is not referred to by his own name, but instead an alias, and his pictures are blurred, to ensure that the current study focuses solely on the gameplaying activity and not his personal life.

3.2.2 Interview data

The current study consists of two sets of data: the set of videos on YouTube and an interview of the gamer. Upon the initial observations of the data, an idea of gaining a more personal viewpoint of the data was developed and hence the gamer was contacted and asked to give an interview based on the data. As suggested by Vuorinen (2008: 75), the analysis of transcribed spoken data could prove to be increasingly interesting if the research also included an interview with the speaker. The gamer in the videos was contacted in an early phase of the research and he agreed to an interview. The aim of the

interview was not to work as a separated element in the research, but to provide further understanding to the analysis and to explore another viewpoint to the data. In this section I will describe how the interview data was collected and illustrate some background information that came up the interview.

The interview was conducted in July 2014 in Turku, Finland. The interview was recorded with an audio device for later analysis of the data. Before the interview, I did an initial analysis of the transcribed extracts of the data to prevent the interview from affecting my initial observations and analysis. Then, based on these observations of the data, a set of interview questions were constructed and transcribed examples of all the categories were chosen for the interview.

The interview consisted of two parts: The first part focused on gathering general background information about the gamer and the process of making the videos. For example, such information as the gamer's linguistic background and education was mapped out in the first part of the interview. The first part of the interview consisted of six general question sets that can be seen below. The interview was conducted in Finnish, but the questions below are translated into English:

1. How old are you? What is your education? How many years have you studied English? How would you assess your own language skills? Have you lived abroad or in an English-speaking country?

2. What kind of audience do you think your YouTube videos have? (E.g. the viewers' demographics, age, nationality, spoken languages and interest in gaming)

3. Did you plan the recording sessions beforehand, for example by thinking of topics to talk about and reading user comments on the previous videos?

4. Did you think of your choice of words and vocabulary? If yes, why do you think that happened?

5. In what kind of situations do you think you switched codes? What triggered the change between Finnish and English?

6. Do you do similar kind of code-switching in your everyday speech, such as with friends and relatives? How would you self-assess the amount of code-switching in your speech outside computer-mediated communication?

The interview was planned as a semi-structured interview to allow the interviewee to bring up new ideas as the questions were discussed. A semi-structured interview is very open in its style: the open questions provide structure and a systematic approach to the interview, but allow flexibility and makes the structure fairly loose. (Gillham, 2000) The six question sets provided acted as guidelines to structure the interview, but free discussion was encouraged. The choice to use a semi-structured interview pattern proved to be very fruitful for the interview as the interviewee was very interested in taking part in the analysis and was eager to discuss his language use both in gaming and outside the gaming world, providing the study with a very interesting additional point of view.

The second part of the interview consisted of looking at finished transcripts of extracts of the data and letting the gamer do a self-reflective analysis of the code-switching visible in the examples. The analysis of extracts of the data by the speaker himself provides the current study with an element of comparing and contrasting the initial analysis. When doing qualitative analysis, the results can always be objective, which is why another point of view provides a possibility to a more versatile analysis. In addition, as for example Gardner-Chloros (2009: 15) has pointed out, people are generally unaware how much code-switching they do in their everyday speech acts. Similar results were also found by Leppänen et al. (2009: 123-124): most Finnish respondents said that code-switching is often done unconsciously and it is something they rarely notice doing. The discussion about the instances of code-switching with the speaker provided a possibility to find out if the frequent code-switching in the data was done on purpose to create certain meanings and as a tool for self-expression, or if it simply was an unconscious mechanism of speech.

In the preliminary analysis, when discussing code-switching in general, he reported of mixing Finnish and English in everyday language frequently, also outside gaming world. According to J this is a recurring habit of his and it is also very typical for his group of friends. Additionally, according to him they all “have the same fault” of mixing English in their everyday speech, especially when gaming. However, when describing the use of code-switching in everyday speech, J mentioned that in the outside world he attempts to tone down mixing English into his otherwise Finnish speech. This is done mainly to ensure that the listener understands the message. As an example J mentioned his work in customer service: If he was to mix English in the sales speech

targeted at for example an older customer, they would not understand the English words mixed into his speech and would be left confused.

As Leppänen et al. (2009: 116-117) found out, elderly Finns are less prone to understand frequent code-switching, even though it is not a barrier for understanding. Therefore, according to J, he has to “turn off” code-switching at work and in other situations that require formal speech. However, he still pointed out that in normal life code-switching is a permanent, usually unconscious part of his speech and it is sometimes difficult not to do it. When discussing the editing phase of the videos published in YouTube he mentioned that it is always rather surprising to listen to one’s own speech and hear the structures and expressions used.

3.3 Methods of analysis

3.3.1 Conducting the analysis of the code-switching in the gameplay activity

As the data set is rather large, with 27 videos of video footage, some selection had to be done to be able to study the data in a more detailed way. To achieve this, all the videos were first watched through to obtain a full understanding of the data set and to observe the patterns of code-switching. Then, based on the observations I made during the first watching, shorter stretches of the videos were chosen for closer observation and transcribed for the final analysis. This selection was done by observing recurring patterns of code-switching and making notes of interesting instances in the data. Based on the initial observations of recurring patterns of code-switching in the data, a set of categories was then constructed for the analysis. The initial observations showed that despite the rather large number of instances of code-switching, most of the instances seemed to repeat certain pattern - thus forming categories of similar types. During the initial observations, these tentative categories were related to gaming vocabulary, exclamations and profanity and imitation. Upon closer observations of the data, these observations were divided into six categories: code-switching in immersive gaming events, gaming-related vocabulary in insertions, repetition of written instructions, imitation of character talk, exclamations and trash talk and metadiscourse. After selecting the categories, the data set was watched through again to select representative examples of all the categories to be transcribed and analyzed more closely.

The examples thus chosen were maximum of two minute long stretches of speech chosen from the data and they were transcribed following the conventions of conversation analysis (See appendix) As there is only one gamer present in the gaming activity, the game character dialogue and in-game visual information are even more crucial for the activity than in a gaming activity with two or more players, since the gamer's focus is not drawn to other gamers and thus the in-game dialogue is in greater focus. Hence, an effort was made to transcribe the in-game dialogue in as much detail as possible. In the transcriptions the gamer's speech acts are marked with "J" and other non-playable characters' speech (onwards referred to as NPCs) is marked with their names. The game dialogue was also included in the transcriptions because the speech acts in the data often revolve around the in-game dialogue and thus including it was crucial for the analysis. Whenever necessary, in-game visual information and for example J's expressions and gestures were also included in the transcription to provide a full description of the events. In addition, the analysis section will include screen captures of the videos to illustrate some elements of the data.

The purpose of the study is to describe the code-switching between Finnish and English in the video data. The alternation between two languages will be analyzed as the speaker's linguistic choices which develop their meaning in the interactional event. The main theoretical background for the study is in Auer's (1999a and 1999b) definition of code-switching as a contextualizing strategy and meaningful commentary on the ongoing interaction. Auer sees code-switching from a conversation analytical perspective where code-switching has interactional value and it creates meanings in the conversational activity. Similarly, in the current study, the attempt is to find out what kind of meanings the categorized instances of code-switching create in the gameplaying activity.

3.3.2 Conducting the analysis of the interview of the gamer

The interview is analyzed by following the conventions of content analysis. As Krippendorff (2004: 18) puts it, content analysis as a research technique allows the research to make valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use. In addition, content analysis is a beneficial tool for analyzing non-structured or semi-structured interview data. As opposed to structured interviews where the results are formed as predefined question-answer pairs, open-ended interviews allow the discussion to flow

freely, which results in more unexpected data. The analysis of this data often requires the researcher to use the methods of content analysis to analyze the data. (Krippendorff, 2004: 27)

As the current interview was conducted in a semi-structured manner, the conversation was rather free-flowing. After the interview, using the recorded data of the interview, the points made in the discussion were divided into categories, following along the lines of the categorization of the video data. The categories are code-switching in immersive gaming events, gaming-related vocabulary in insertions, repetition of written instructions, imitation of character talk, exclamations and trash talk and metadiscourse, and these categories will provide an overview of the most typical instances of code-switching found in the data. In addition to the analysis of the video data, the six sections will also include an analysis done by the gamer. In the following chapter, my analysis of the categorized extracts and the categorized discussion from the interview are paired up in a manner that the section first introduces my initial analysis and then discusses the points made in the interview. In the interview the gamer was shown transcribed extracts of the data and asked to analyze the code-switching instances from his own point of view. The analysis by the gamer will be provided in the end of the section, in a chronological order since the initial analysis was done before doing the interview with him. As already stated, the purpose of the interview was not to be a separate, unconnected section of the study, but to accompany the initial analysis and to show how the speaker himself relates to the extracts of the data.

4 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The detailed qualitative analysis of the transcribed elements of the data are presented in this chapter. Based on initial analysis of the data set, the transcribed extracts have been divided into six different categories: code-switching in immersive gaming events, gaming-related vocabulary in insertions, repetition of written instructions, imitation of character talk, exclamations and trash talk and metadiscourse. The analysis of the instances of code-switching is presented as follows: In each category, I present transcribed extracts of the data and describe the event in more detail and identify the instances of code-switching. Next, I discuss and analyze the function and meaning of these instances based on my observations of the data. To add another dimension to the analysis, each category will also include analysis done by the gamer himself. The analysis was done in the interview and his comments and analysis are summarized based on the recording of the interview.

4.1 Code-switching in immersive gaming events

In this section I will illustrate and analyze how the game's immersive properties affect the gamer's way of speaking. *Last of Us* appears to be a very engaging video game and affects the gamer's position towards the events in the game. In this section the motivation for doing code-switching is assimilation with the playable character and thus the switch between Finnish and English acts as a signal for the gamer's changed role in the interaction.

Picture 2: The gamer's stunned reaction to a death in episode 1

From the very beginning of the first video in the data it is very apparent that the game is very engaging and it involves the emotional attachment of the player. In the first video, a central, young character is shown dying after an action-packed scene and it clearly evokes emotions in the player: as can be seen in Picture 2 above, he looks stunned and worried, stays quiet for a while and hides his face in his hands, even though the character has been introduced only less than 15 minutes ago. The game appears to be very immersive, involving the gamer mentally in the events in the game, which appears to affect his language, as well. As the game becomes more intensive and engages the gamer more deeply, he starts to respond and talk to the game and its characters in English as if he was talking through the character he is currently playing as. In this case English seems like an obvious choice, as the dialogue in the game is in English, too. The following extracts show some examples of the dialogue between the game and the player.

Example 1

Tess:	damnit (.) plank fell down
J:	kappas (1.0) mitäs nyt tehdään
Tess:	Be a dear would you?
J:	[*oka:::y*
Joel:	[I'll get it

J: *since you asked so nicely* (.) mihi me se xxx joo

Tess: here (.) pass it to me

J: *suck it to me* ((smiles)) (1.0) ota siitä

Joel: It's a bit heavy

J: *@It's a bit* [*heavy baby@*

Tess: [I think I can handle it=

J: *=Are you sure?*

Joel: Alright

J: *Be right there Tess* (3.0) whoah (4.0) noin

Example 2

J: Jos päästäs näkee vähä *actionii* lisää

Tess: Over here Joel=

J: *=I'm right fucking next to you* ((shakes head)) niiku metrin päässä pelle ((clears throat)) ja lisää *chest high walls*

Tess: More of Robert's guys

Enemy: [How do you know they're coming

Joel: [Shit I see 'em

Enemy: Two of our guys died trying to take Tess out (1.0) I guarantee that she and Joel are on their way here right now to get Robert

Joel: Je [sus we shouldn't a taken this job

J: [Jahas joko päästään tappamaan joko saa tappaa

Enemy: Not our call let's spread out and around in here [make sure no one's creeping

Tess: [Nice and quiet, Texas

((Text on the screen: Stealth allows you to take out your foes without using ammo))

J: *Stealth allows you to take out your foes without using ammo* (.) *no shit* (8.0)

((sound of Tess killing an enemy))

Tess: Move up move up

J: *I'm a- I'm right here I moved up*

In example 1 the player is solving a puzzle and simultaneously interacting with an NPC called Tess, with whom the main character Joel has been romantically involved. When the characters attempt to cross a gap in their route, the plank meant for crossing falls down. The gamer wonders in Finnish what they should do next. Tess asks Joel to pick up the plank, to which both the gamer and Joel almost simultaneously respond positively, J now switching into English ("*oka:::y ... since you asked so nicely*") . When Joel hands Tess the plank, he warns Tess that the plank is heavy. This utterance is repeated by J with exaggerated imitation of Joel's accent. When Tess assures that she can handle the weight, both Joel and the gamer respond in English with different utterances ("*Are you sure?*" and "*Alright*"). When Tess proceeds over the gap, the gamer tells Tess that he will be right there and starts crossing over the gap and switches back to Finnish with a remark "noin"; which is a signal of completing the action.

In example 1 it can clearly be seen that the gamer switches from Finnish to English when speaking "in character". Finnish is used for general discussion of what is going to happen, but switched quickly to English when responding to an utterance said by an NPC. The gamer seems to assimilate himself with the character he is playing as and begins to contribute to the conversation not as himself, but as Joel. The assimilation with the character he is playing at and the immersion to the game's events appear to trigger code-switching.

In example 2 the gamer is following the NPC Tess who was recently introduced in the game. They sneak through an area and listen to other NPCs', their enemies', conversation. J begins by speaking Finnish ("Jos päästäs näkee vähä *actionii* lisää") and he wonders if there will be an action scene soon in the game. However, whenever Tess targets her speech to Joel, J's active character, he immediately switches into English and replies as if he was the character, referring to Joel with the personal pronoun "I". He appears slightly frustrated with Tess giving him orders and directions and replies with annoyed remarks "*I'm right fucking next to you*" and "*I'm a- I'm right here I moved up*".

Also in example 2, J seems to alter his spoken language according to his role: whenever he is narrating the gameplay as himself, he speaks Finnish, but an utterance by an NPC targeted to Joel triggers the switch to English. The use of English seems to mark the change in his role from an outside narrator to an active participator in the game's events, which is visible in for example in situations where J refers to himself with the personal

pronoun "I", when he actually means Joel. A similar pattern can be seen in the following extract:

Example 3

Ellie:	Hey (.) what about over there
Joel:	yeah that looks like a way in
J:	Mmh (2.0) mennääs tästä sitte (2.0) vai mennäänkö (.) koitetaa
Joel:	unhh it's rusted shut (.) we'll have to find another way=
J:	=*also there's a padlock*=
Ellie:	=maybe we can get over it
J:	*or maybe we can push it open with this fucking car* (.) *that's right here conveniently* (.) eikö (8.0) *well I'm out of ideas*

In the extract above J encounters a shut gate and what appears to be a dead end. The in-game characters Joel and Ellie talk about possible ways to cross the obstacle to which the gamer seems to agree and wonders in Finnish if he can get through ("mennääs tästä sitte (2.0) vai mennäänkö") while Joel attempts to open the door. When Joel points out that the door is rusted shut, J joins the conversation first by pointing out that there is a padlock keeping the door shut and then suggesting if it would be possible to push it open with an abandoned car, remarking that it is conveniently placed right next to the gate. He then attempts to interact with the car, unsuccessfully, and switches back into Finnish with a wondering "eikö" ("no?"). The next utterance *"well I'm out of ideas"* is again in English and seems to be spoken in character. This can be deduced from his style of speech: the final English utterance in the extract is said with a thick accent that seems to imitate Joel's way of speaking. In addition, the final comment about being out of ideas seems to signal an end to the imagined conversation he was participating with Joel and Ellie.

It can be seen in examples 1, 2 and 3 that J appears to categorize speech acts with code-switching depending if he is speaking "as himself" or in character: the meaning of code-switching in these three examples is to signal if J is speaking as himself, an outside spectator, or as Joel, an active participator in the game's events. Observations about the surroundings and general wonderings of what is going to happen next are spoken in Finnish, as they are targeted to the imagined audience or to the speaker himself, whereas English is used whenever J wishes to contribute to the NPCs' conversation and speak in the role of Joel. As Joel is the main character in the game and the player sees most of

the game from his perspective, Joel's point of view seems to be the most familiar to the gamer. The familiarity of Joel's perspective to J will be discussed later in this section. As the game progresses, he appears to absorb more of Joel's motives and attitudes and feel a closer immersion to the character, as can be seen in the following examples:

Example 4

J: Eii perrkele jos ne on *banditтei* (3.5) *I swear* (2.0) *to the fucking gods themselves* (.) emmä nyt kerkee kuuntelee tommost (6.0)

Ellie: Watch out!=

J: =Mi- ei toi oo reiluu ELLIE VITTU (6.0) *HOW MANY TIMES* (.) *do I fucking gotta tell you* ***to stay the fuck away*** *from my way* (3.0) kui monta kertaa toiki on nytte (6.0) ((shakes head)) *jesus Ellie* (2.0) hhhhhh

Example 5

J: Joku liikku jossai (3.0) varo (4.0) varo

Ellie: nothing useful=

Joel: =Ain't nothin' here but a bunch of medical mumbo-jumbo

Ellie: hh I don't get it

Joel: Looks like they all just packed up and left in a hurry

((a crashing sound))

J: Paitsi [joku

Ellie: [Maybe not all of em

Joel: Stay close

J: Hei (.) *don't wait stop don't don't no!* (2.0) *you can't go up there* (2.0) ai okei ne olikii hissejä (.) älä nyt perhana (.) Ellie (2.0) >Ellie EllieEllieEllie< ei ei älä mee (1.0) *don't* (4.0) *don't!* (.) *Ellie what the ff* (5.0) *the fuck you doing* (.) *Ellie stop* (.) *stop* anna mä meen edeltä (2.0) *for fuck's sake* me ei ees tiedetä onks ne hyviksii (7.0) *get d- ELLIE*

The two examples seen above illustrate the immersion of the gamer into Joel's character. In both of the extracts J starts to speak in Finnish, discussing the events in the game to the assumed audience. However, in both examples the game character Ellie acts carelessly; in the first example she runs in front of the gamer's character and causes him to make a mistake in the combat scene and in the second one she wanders off in a threatening situation, leaving J behind. In these events the gamer switches from Finnish to English and aims the English utterances directly at Ellie. This can be seen from the

repeated use of her first name and that the gamer addresses Ellie as “you”. In the first extract he appears genuinely upset that Ellie caused a mishap in the fight scene and scolds her for doing so. In addition, he emphasizes his frustration with Ellie by switching back to Finnish and lamenting about her recklessness. This time he uses a demonstrative *“toi”* (“*that*”) to signal that he is no longer talking to Ellie but rather to himself or the audience.

Throughout the game it is emphasized how important it is that Ellie stays alive and consequently this engages the gamer to take part in protecting her, too. Therefore, when she acts daringly in a threatening situation, the gamer seemingly gets anxious about her safety and tries to guide her. In the beginning of example 5 he points out in Finnish that he hears threatening voices and they should be careful. Also reacting to the voices, Joel tells Ellie to stay close but she does not listen to him. When this happens and Joel remains silent, the gamer seems to take up Joel’s role and continues to advice Ellie in English with increasing intensity. The switch to English serves as a signal of a changed position from an outsider commentator to an active participator in the game’s events.

In the extracts can be seen that whenever the gamer engages in the game’s narrative immersion, he starts to contribute to the conversation between the in-game characters. Whenever it happens, he also switches to English, signaling that the remark is targeted at the game’s character instead of the audience. In the interview, J was asked to look at these examples and analyze the mechanisms of code-switching in examples 1, 4 and 5. When asked about his role in the videos he commented that he had two roles; as himself, an outside commentator who looks at the game from the other side of the computer screen, and as Joel, the character he was playing as. He explained that mostly he attempted to entertain the audience, as the bottom line is that there are people who will watch the video and they have to be provided with good, entertaining material. This can be seen in the ongoing commentary, evaluation and jokes that are present in J's speech throughout the data. In addition, the constant speaking and entertaining allows J to express himself in different ways and, for example, have different roles.

However, J also described some of the instances as him being the “inner voice” of Joel. In these instances he would speak in English and attempt to project what might be going on inside Joel’s head. Additionally, he emphasized that his role was constantly fluctuating between speaking with Joel’s voice and contributing to the storyline and dialogue, and speaking with his own voice and entertaining the audience. However,

interestingly, when discussing the section where he was forced to play as the secondary character Ellie, J mentioned that he did not feel like he was speaking with Ellie's "inner voice", but instead as himself. In the part where he was playing as Ellie he did not feel the immersion into the playable character equally strong as to with Joel previously in the game. He assumed that this was due to Joel being closer to his own identity: Joel is a middle-aged man, which opposed to teenage girl Ellie was apparently an easier role to assimilate oneself with. In the instances where J was playing as Ellie, he did not feel like actually "being" Ellie, but instead just the one who is controlling the character and an outside commentator.

As can be seen from examples 1-5 above and the analysis of the interview data, *the Last of Us* is a very immersive video game. The action-packed gameplay and engaging plot cause the gamer to get attached to the in-game character and experience an immersion with the game's world. In terms of code-switching in the current study, immersion in the in-game world and assimilation with the playable character causes J to switch to English. In these instances, code-switching acts as a marker for signaling J's point of view: whenever he speaks Finnish, he positions himself as an outside spectator of the game's events, and a switch to English signals that he is an active participator in the game's events and projects Joel's possible inner thoughts. However, as can be seen in some of the following examples, even though code-switching through immersion is a very typical pattern in the data set, there are some exceptions where he also speaks Finnish to the NPCs. This shows that as J himself pointed out, he often does code-switching unconsciously without actually choosing the language, but instead speaking in a way that it feels natural to him.

4.2 Gaming-related vocabulary in insertions

In this section I will present examples of the data where the gamer uses code-switching in instances where he inserts English gaming-related vocabulary in otherwise Finnish utterances. The following examples will include code-switching by English gaming-related insertions and the insertions are mostly strictly related to technology, gaming or the game in question in particular. It appears that in the following examples code-switching is often motivated by the familiarity of the English-speaking vocabulary and J's personal motivation to leave certain elements without Finnish translation.

Code-switching in the data does not only consist of longer utterances, as in previous section; instead some of them are only short one- or two-word insertions within the otherwise Finnish utterances. According to Gardner-Chloros (2009: 30-31), insertions are often nouns due to their interchangeable nature and freedom of syntactic restrictions. Accordingly, the insertions in the data are mainly nouns, consisting of for example item names and other gaming-related words, but some other types of insertions, such as verbs can be found from the data, as well. Many of these single-word utterances appear in situations when the gamer finds items and discusses their use. The use of single-word insertions appears to be the most prominent in situations where the gamer is "looting", collecting items from the surroundings. Often when a single-word insertion is included in an otherwise Finnish utterance, the English word is also shown on-screen, for example in an item directory. Therefore the gamer adapts the English term into his speech instead of making the effort of translating it into Finnish.

The use of game-related vocabulary seems to be very prominent for the spoken game-related discourse. The player seems to be more accustomed to using the English vocabulary instead of making the effort of translating the terms into Finnish. Sometimes the vocabulary is read out loud from the screen, hence making the use of English vocabulary more appealing. In addition to the apparent "easiness" of using English than translating the words into Finnish, some terms might not even have a Finnish equivalent, at least in the gaming discourse. It appears that these words are regularly used as insertions in the otherwise Finnish discourse, since the English words are more accurate and the Finnish equivalents might have never received appreciation in the gaming world.

Example 6

J: Turpa kiinni Ellie mä selitän (.) Mä heitin suoraan sitä päin suoraan siis *manual* heitolla suoraan sitä päi, mut ei, täytyy olla *auto*heitto muuten ei kelpaa (1.0) vitun *autotargetti* (2.0) mä tajuu miks tälläsii peleihi pistetään *autotargetti* ku (.) ihmisten täytyy vaan oppii os- oppii perhana (2.0) osumaan

In the previous example the gamer is annoyed by the game's physical reality; he attempted to throw an item towards a certain point but missed, and is now explaining his frustration to the viewers. The speech act is asserted as an explanation by stating so: *"Turpa kiinni Ellie mä selitän"* (*"Shut up Ellie I'm explaining"*). In this case J speaks Finnish to the NPC, which shows that even though he often switches to English when

speaking to the in-game characters, he is not always constant with the choice. The following utterance, however, is directed to the viewers and the spoken language is Finnish. When J explains what went wrong in the previous game sequence, he systematically inserts English words in the otherwise Finnish utterances. Such words as *manual* (heitto) and *autotarget* are specific game-related vocabulary and is seamlessly inserted within the Finnish sentences rather than translated into Finnish. A similar sequence can be seen in the example below:

Example 7

J: Ooksä tosissas? (1.0)

((Looks at the camera and gestures with hands))

J: Miksei ne ollu siellä *to begin with* mistä niitä tulee? (2.0) vitun (.) siis tää on n nää on niin sanottuja *blind spot spawneja* kun mä en kato sinne suuntaan tai ole lähellä sitä aluetta sinne vaan yksinkertaisesti ilmestyy näit saakelin munapäitä (4.0) hehh miksei ne voi olla siellä (.) *to begin with* minkä takii ne pitää *spawnata* jälkeenpäin (3.0) ja tehdä täst pelist xxx siis tää kaveri ei ollu tässä ku mä tapoin sen yhden (.) mikä kahdeks-

Similarly to the previous extract, also this sequence shows the gamer intensely frustrated with the game's logic. He directs the speech clearly towards the viewers by looking at the camera and gesturing with his hands and complains in Finnish about the game spawning more enemies. Similarly to the previous example, also in this sequence the gamer uses English insertions within the Finnish speech act. *Spawn* or *blind spot spawn* are specific gaming-related vocabulary and therefore inserted in English. However, the gamer appears to be aware of the specific nature of the vocabulary since he immediately switches back to Finnish to explain what a *blind spot spawn* is. This gives out an impression that the gamer thinks of himself as more gaming-knowledgeable than some of his followers, as he finds it necessary to explain an English game-related term out in Finnish.

Example 8

J: Mä kyl voisin käyttää ton *health packin* ku mul on nii helvetin vähän helaa (3.0) Kiitos. (2.0) Tosin se oli mun ainut *health packi* et (.) <kiitos *random> quick time eventti* oven takaa sieltä

Example 9

J: *Cmon* yks *ducttape* (2.0) ei (.) ei (.) olikse *ducttape* (.) ei se näyttäny yhtää *ducttapelta* (.) ei *fuck* (.) se oli *alcohol* tehdään *alcohol* tehdään *molotov cocktail* miksen mä tehny miks mä tein *molotov cocktailin* enkä *first aidii*

Example 10

J: Oisko niitä räägejä nyt ku saatana meikä a meikää ampu sellanen viiskytkaliiberinen tykki tuolla pihalla (1.0) piti käyttää kaks saatanan (.) *med kittii* tän paskan takii (1.0) paskan jonka sä aiheutit peli!

Picture 3: A view of the crafting menu

Certain vocabulary in the game appears to be the reason for consistent code-switching. When collecting items the gamer can see their assigned names in the game menus and different written prompts. Therefore the gamer is aware of the exact English names assigned to different items and frequently uses them. In the three extracts above the gamer systematically switches from Finnish into English whenever he mentions a collectible or craftable item in the game, such as *health pack*, *duct tape*, *alcohol* and *Molotov cocktail*. He refrains from translating the words into Finnish but rather switches between the two languages whenever an item name is required. In addition, in the first example he also mentions a *random quick time event* as a reason for him losing a lot of health. This is also an example of special gaming-related vocabulary that he refrains from translating but rather uses the English version as an insertion in the sentence. However, even though he refrains from translating the words, he often inflects the words according to Finnish morphology. In utterances such as “Mä kyl voisin käyttää ton *health packin*” (example 8) and “miks mä tein *molotov cocktailin* enkä *first aidii*” (example 9), the insertions have been inflected with Finnish genitive and partitive case

suffixes: coctail**in**, pack**in**, aid**ii** (a colloquial version of “aid**ia**”). The words are inflected according to the Finnish inflection paradigm to fit the English insertions better to an otherwise Finnish utterances style.

The vocabulary related to gaming is very specific for the genre, consisting of words concerning technology and war-craft, such as weapons and military gear. In Europe, games are often localized into bigger Central European languages, but in smaller language areas, such as Finland, localization is a much less typical phenomenon, mostly due to its costs. (Neuvonen, 2008) The world of gaming has adopted the use of English words globally and even though there is an increasing number of video games that are localized into smaller languages, the main language of gaming is still English. According to Karvonen and Karvonen (2014), the impact of English-speaking culture is very strong in the world of gaming, and for example decisions concerning marketing are often done according to the most important marketing areas, meaning the English-speaking world. Hence, the same vocabulary, for example words such as *non-playable character/NPC, autotarget* and *first person shooter/FPS* to mention few, are used almost all over the world in the same context, the meaning and use of the words remains constant and understandable for all the gamers in the sphere of influence of the English-speaking world.

In the interview examples 8, 9 and 10 were shown to J and he was asked to give a personal analysis of the code-switching instances. From the transcripts, he noticed that he always used the English names of the in-game objects, such as *duct tape* and *health pack* and refrained from translating them into Finnish. According to J, this was done to ensure that the viewers understood what he was talking about, which he admitted to being slightly funny, as if he thought his viewers would not be able to understand if he called the item *teippirulla* (*duct tape*). However, he clearly preferred to use the English words of different items or objects in the game, as if they were proper nouns for the items instead of common nouns.

As could be seen in the previous paragraph, the game’s vocabulary is often the reason that triggers code-switching in J’s speech; He sees the use of English item names as an important device for his viewers to understand what is being discussed. However, it is not only the vocabulary specifically related to this game that is often inserted in English; as can be seen from the examples 6,7 and 8, the gamer inserts gaming-related vocabulary such as *quick time event, autotarget* and *blind spot spawn* in English very

consistently throughout the data. According to J, this kind of vocabulary is universal to almost all games: From *the Sims* to *Counter Strike*, certain gaming-related English vocabulary is used in all games to some extent, some even in television shows. As J pointed out, this kind of vocabulary is very typically used in English due to its specific connections to the gaming world. As an example, he mentioned that most probably a Finnish gamer would rather say "*Mun peli lägää*" ("*My game is lagging*") instead of "*minulla on hidas vastikeaika*" ("*I have a slow response time*"), because the word *lag* is so tightly knit to the world and vocabulary of gaming. In addition, he pointed out that this kind of vocabulary is often acquired from other gamers and one might not even think of a Finnish equivalent for the word since the English one is so frequently used.

In J's Let's Play videos of *the Last of Us* also the subtitles are in English, in addition to the English dialogue and menu texts. In the comment section of the first videos can be found several comments by Finnish viewers who suggest turning on the Finnish subtitles and possibly changing the game audio into Finnish dub, to which other users commented that they should probably learn English rather than ask for Finnish subtitles or dubbing. For example, comments such as "Rauski laita suomen tekstit!" ("Rauski turn on the Finnish subtitles!") and "Ja muute Rauski miks et laita tätä suomen kielelle mul on tää peli ja suomen kielellä" ("And by the way Rauski why won't you put this in Finnish I have this game and in Finnish") received comments that were appalled about their lack of English skills and assured that the English version was much better. In the interview J reported that the choice of using English dialogue and subtitles was both intentional and unintentional. He initially chose English as the main language of the game, but upon reading comments requesting Finnish subtitles he checked the game menu. However, the game was the UK version, hence not including Finnish as one of its languages, which made the option of using Finnish impossible.

In addition to not being able to choose Finnish for the game audio or even the subtitles, J pointed out that even if it had been an available choice, he most probably would have stuck with English nevertheless. He mentioned that he rarely likes the Finnish translations of games and tries to avoid them whenever possible. Additionally, according to J the translations would probably give him a laugh or two but would also annoy and distract him. He reported that in for example the popular game *Counter Strike* the Finnish translations were ridiculous to him and did not feel natural to the game environment and therefore he did not choose to use the translated game. In

general, J reported of being afraid that the translation would be so badly done that it would break the immersion. It is interesting how J clearly assumes that the Finnish localization of the game would indubitably be worse or poorer than the English one without even seeing the Finnish version. This might be due to gaming world being so English-centered that Finnish seems out of place in that world.

It has not been until recently that games have been massively localized to smaller languages such as Finnish. According to Taarluoto (2011: 32-33), as Finland is a significantly smaller market area than larger European countries, such as Germany and France, where games are often fully localized, only very few games are fully translated into Finnish. However, the localization and translation of video games has lately grown in popularity, and as previously only children's games were translated, currently even large-scale PG-18 games, such as *the Last of Us*, have been fully localized. (Taarluoto, 2011) However, full translations of games have until recently been rather rare and therefore might appear distant or even unnecessary to gamers with basic competence in English. Even though the discussion over the choice of language in subtitles, menus and dialogues might appear unnecessary or trivial at first, it is still evident that J made a conscious decision when choosing the languages and thus portrays a certain linguistic value judgment by choosing English dialogue, game menus and subtitles to a Finnish gaming video. By making this choice J, even though possibly unconsciously, makes a statement that he values English more as the game's language and prefers to avoid Finnish translations.

4.3 Repetition of written instructions

In section 4.2 the main justification for the use of English insertions was that the vocabulary is very strictly gaming-related and therefore the gamer appears to be more inclined to use them in English rather than translating them into awkward Finnish versions. The following examples will include code-switching by English gaming-related insertions, as well, but the justification will be slightly different. In these examples the gamer inserts English elements into otherwise Finnish stretches of speech and the insertions are mostly strictly related to technology, gaming or the game in question in particular. However, it appears that the code-switching is motivated by written prompts and instructions on the screen.

Example 11

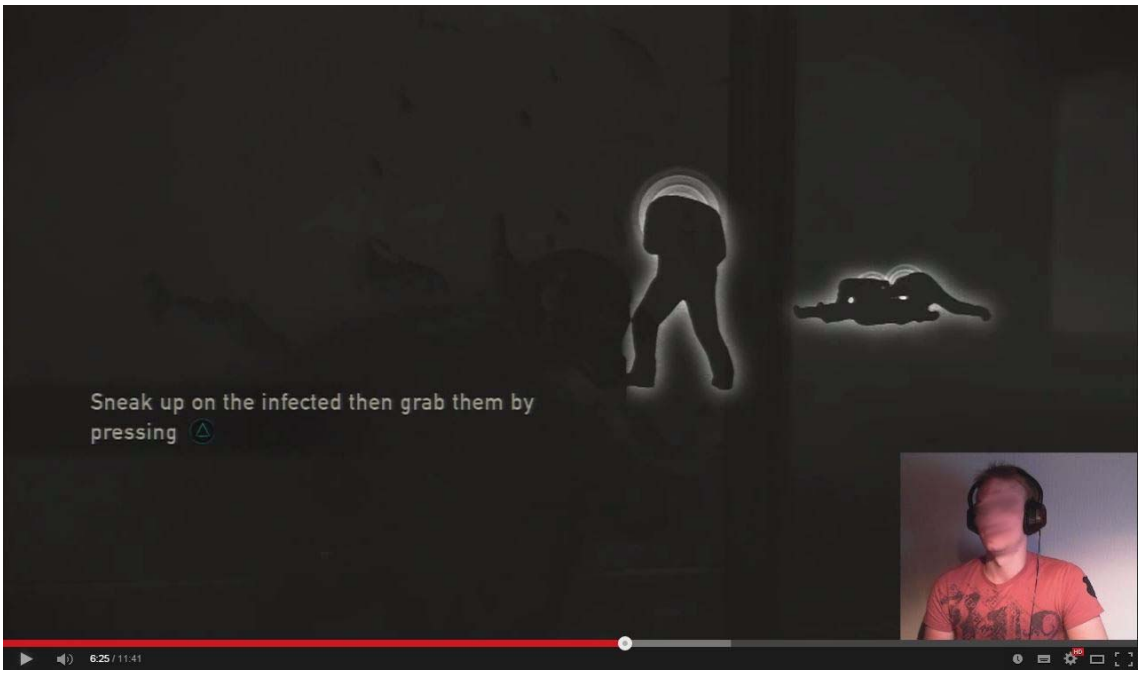
J: Pist se valo pois valo pois (2.0) valo pois (2.5)

((A prompt on screen: “Hold R2 to focus Joel’s hearing”))

J: *focus Joel’s hearing* (3.5) ↑aha (.) okei nää on kaikki kyl jotai hulluja (2.0)

((A prompt on screen: “Sneak up on the infected then grab them by pressing △”))

J: *Grab them by pressing* (.) aha eli mä kuulen noi seinien läpi

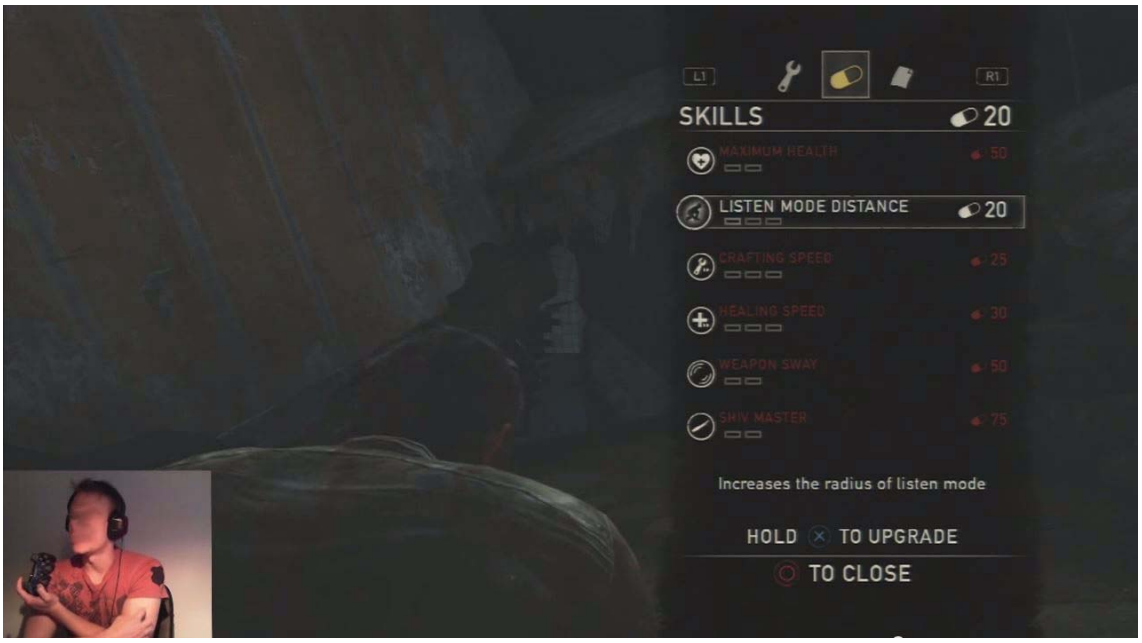


Picture 4: Written instructions on the screen

The example above is from video number two, hence from the very beginning of the game where the gamer is still learning the controls and rules of the game. In the beginning of the extract he is struggling with turning off the flashlight in his character’s hand and is discussing this in Finnish. He is interrupted by a written prompt on the screen (“Hold R2 to focus Joel’s hearing”), which he then reads and repeats in English (“*focus Joel’s hearing*”) and tries the advised action. The action results in him seeing enemies through the wall, on which he then comments in Finnish. Soon another prompt appears on the screen (see picture 4) and similarly to the previous prompt, J again reads out loud a part of the advice in English. Upon reading the instructions he appears to understand the meaning behind the two prompts, which he then explains out loud again in Finnish. J actively switches back and forth with English and Finnish, using Finnish to explain and discuss the game’s technical elements and English to read out loud the given instructions.

Example 12

J: Onksmul nyt tarpeeks pillerii mullois *listen mode distance* (1.5) mä kyl mielummi odotan toho (3.0) melkei *shiv masterii* tai *maximum healthii* mihi on vähän kyllä aikaa kieltämättä (3.0) ei noista muista taidoista en mä koskaa *craftaa* siinä vaiheessa ku mä oon taistelutilanteessa.



Picture 5: A view of the skills menu

In *the Last of Us* the player can collect pills from the game's surroundings and use them to gain different skills or upgrades for the character (see picture 5). In the extract above the gamer is wondering in Finnish if he has already collected enough pills to gain an upgraded skill. He speaks in Finnish, mostly pondering to himself or to the audience, but every time a different skill is mentioned, he switches into English. The insertions such as *listen mode distance* and *shiv master* are the names of the skill upgrades that can also be seen on the screen. Again, it appears that the instances where the gamer discusses his actions and choices to himself or the expected audience, he uses Finnish mostly consistently, but when the name of a specific element of the game can be seen in the screen, he seems to be more comfortable to insert it in English rather than to attempt to produce a Finnish translation.

Example 13

J: Mä tarviin *plierin* (1.0) miten ehh hh hh miten *scrap metal* auttaa tähän *bowin reload speediin* (4.5) ((hides face in hands, heavy breathing)) ei hh ei hh epäloogisuus (.) aivoni (.) miksi hehehh okei *rangeen* ja *draw speediin* ehkä mut vittu *reload speediin* ↑*real are you serious?* (1.0) okei noit mä en voi ees *upgradeata* (2.0)°pistetää nyt sit se *reload speed*° eiku

pystynks mä ((coughs)) *holsterin* kans (.) seis (.) pistä se takaisin (.) hei (.) *I need* ps eehh (.) *fuck* (2.0) *secondary holster*

In *the Last of Us* the player is sometimes given an opportunity to upgrade his weapons with different items that can be collected throughout the game (see picture 6). In the example above the gamer has found a crafting table and has looked at his inventory and possible upgrades for the weapons. Apparently the game's logic for elements needed for the upgrade seems irrational to the gamer, which he expresses by exclaiming in frustration. As in other examples provided previously, the discussion over the game's logic is in Finnish, as it is targeted to the audience. However, as the crafting table menu is visible to the gamer, he consistently inserts the names of weapons and upgrades in English instead of translating them into Finnish. Words such as *scrap metal, bow, reload speed* and *holster* are consistently inserted to the speech in English. In addition, the consistent use of English names for the game's elements appears to trigger the use of English in general level, resulting with J inserting English elements such as "*Real? Are you serious?"* and "*I need...*", which are not game elements but rather added utterances to the otherwise extended use of English.

Example 14

J: Tähän mennessä ollaa hiiviskelty clickereiden ja juoksijoiden ohi (.) me ollaan saatu tällänen jänskä *pamphlet*ti minkä mä tosiaan huomasin hh missä tota (.) näkyy odotas *military pamphlet* missä näkyy nää erilaiset err hirviöt eli *do not let them swarm you runners do not let them swarm you* sit on *stalkers* sellasta me ei olla vielä nähty (.) ainakaan tietääkseni hh ei olla ainakaan nähty sit on *stage 3 of infection clicker* ei näe mut jumalauta ne on koviksii hahah sit on tää neljäs *mystery infected* mitä ei olla vielä myöskään tavattu mä en tiedä ollaaks me stalkkerin ohi menty jossai vaihees tai jotai mut tota (1.0) clickereistä en ainakaan ty- huivittu (2.5) *speaking of which*

In the extract above the gamer has achieved a pamphlet with pictures of the different kinds of enemies available in the game. He discusses the pamphlet in Finnish, directing the speech to the audience, which can be seen from the way he narrates the previous events and presents the newfound information: "tähän mennessä ollaa hiiviskelty clickereiden ja juoksijoiden ohi (.) me ollaan saatu tällänen jänskä *pamphlet*ti" ("So far we have sneaked past clickers and runners (.) We have gotten this interesting pamphlet") As he presents the new information to the audience, words visible in the information sheet, such as *military pamphlet, clicker, stalker* and *runner*, are consistently inserted into the Finnish speech in English. The code-switching works as a

signal to the vocabulary that is derived directly from the game, as opposed to the explanation and discussion done in Finnish.

In the beginning the game naturally gives new information more frequently, as the player might not be aware of the different actions available in the game. However, even after the beginning where crucial survival information is given, the game consistently prompts different notifications of for example new upgrades and achievements. Often when a prompt or notification like this is displayed on the screen, J stops playing for a short while and reads the text out loud. This can be seen in the following examples:

Example 15

J: Tääl ei kyl oo mitää kato jotai (2.5)

((Prompt on the screen: ”Molotovs Upgraded! Eplosion Radius is now 1.5x wider”))

J: *explosive radius* (.) *molotov upgrade* jee (2.0) enemmän liekkejä (3.5) *what is that* (4.0) *that is sugar* (4.0) kiitosss (2.0) ja matka jatkuu (2.0) tännepäin

Example 16

J: Näköjään mullon mullon *scissorit* täynnä (3.0) ja mullon *shivit* täynnä (2.5) mullon alkoholit (5.0)

((A notification is displayed on the upper right corner of the screen with a chime: “You have earned a trophy. Let’s gear up”))

((J stops and looks at the screen))

J: *That’s new* hahhahhaha tää on mun ensimmäinen *achievementti* minkä mä oon saanu koko helvetin pelissä

Picture 6: A notification of an achievement in the upper right corner

In the two examples above J is inspecting his surroundings in the game, trying to find useful items, when a written prompt on the screen informs him that he has achieved an upgrade or an achievement. He speaks in Finnish, discussing the availability of items at that moment. However, similarly to the other examples presented in this category, he rather consistently uses English insertions whenever discussing special items in the game, such as *shivs*, *molotovs* and *achievements.* Even everyday items such as *scissors* and *sugar* get inserted in English rather than translated into Finnish, even though one might think they would be easily and quickly translatable. This shows that the gamer sees these elements as specific items in the game rather than as their real-life correspondents. However, the word *alcohol* has been translated in the second example, whereas in example 9 it was inserted in English. This shows us that even though the insertions appear as rather consistent, the consistency is not applicable to all instances. In addition, the word *alcohol* might be easier to translate into Finnish *alkoholi* since the words are rather similar in form, especially when compared to the word pair *scissors – sakset*, which was not translated.

The act of reading out loud appears to partially be a means of narrating and entertaining the assumed audience of the videos, as the gamer reads out loud English instructions written on the screen and quickly translates them into Finnish, hence signaling the translated speech as targeted towards the audience. In addition, the spoken repetition of

written instructions seems to also act as evaluation of the instruction, similarly to the repetition of spoken utterances.

In the interview, J was asked to look at the examples where he reads written instructions out loud and to analyze these sequences. Upon inspecting the examples, J mentioned three reasons for reading out loud text that is visible for the viewers, as well. Firstly, he pointed out that he often reads written instructions and other prompts for the audience's sake: The text might be too small or the viewer might not notice that there was a new text prompt, so to ensure that the audience keeps up with the game's events, he reads the text out loud in English. Additionally, he mentioned that he does not directly translate these texts into Finnish, because he believes that the audience is capable of understanding English. However, he rather explains or comments on the new instructions etc. in Finnish to discuss them further. Secondly, he pointed out that the video would not be very entertaining if he only read the instructions silently in his head. Firstly, the viewers might not realize that they were also supposed to read something and secondly, the main idea in the videos is to narrate the events. Additionally, he said that people would rather listen to a text than read it by themselves.

Thirdly, J mentioned that reading the text out loud was also a device for understanding for him: As the act of gaming and recording at the same time is rather demanding, it might sometimes be difficult to keep up with the game's storyline and events. Thus, repeating written instructions verbally was a means to process the new information for J. For example, this process can be seen in the example 11: J partially repeats the written prompt "Sneak up on the infected then grab them by pressing △" in English and after that discusses the new information in Finnish. Additionally, upon seeing the extract, J wanted to point out that the Finnish comment was specifically ironic, since he is rather surprised by the newly found supernatural skill. Hence, the Finnish commentary following the English repetition of the instruction acts as a way for J to express his opinion and to discuss the new information.

In example 14 J discusses the different types of enemies in the game. He looks at a paper including all the different types of "infected" and even though discussing this in Finnish, continuously says the types of different enemies in English. When discussing this in the interview, J reported of making a conscious choice of calling the enemies with their English names rather than translating them into Finnish, such as *clicker* = 'nakuttaja', *runner* = 'juoksija' etc. However, he mentioned that at some point he

thought that the names would be easily translatable, but he did not want to translate them. This relates back to his choice of not translating different item names in the game, but rather calling them with the English names to ensure the audience understands. J pointed out that the Finnish word for *runner* (“juoksija”) has a different connotation than the English one and that if using the Finnish word, the viewer might not understand that he is referring to the enemy called “runner”, not just an NPC who is running.

In this section, the repetition of written instructions in terms of code-switching has been discussed. In the data, J is very prone to repeat instructions that appear on-screen in English, even though if he had been speaking Finnish before. Reading out loud written instructions appears to be a device for processing and evaluating the new information. In addition, by reading out loud written prompts, J makes sure that the viewers notice the newly found information and by then switching back to Finnish and explaining the information again, he ensures that the viewers have understood what is going on and can also discuss it himself.

4.4 Imitation of character talk

In the previous chapter I discussed the repetition of written instructions and other texts that are not said or read out loud by any in-game character. The following section will also discuss a certain type of repetition: imitation of speech. The difference between these two chapters is that the previous one focused solely on process of reading out loud written texts, however, this chapter focuses on repetition of utterances by in-game characters. As can be seen in the following examples, code-switching the prosodic repetition and imitation of speech acts carries a different meaning than reading out loud written instructions.

The gamer often repeats and imitates the utterances said by the characters in the game, sometimes mockingly. According to Piirainen-Marsh (2010), the repetition and imitation by players is a display of their engagement with the game. In addition, repetition often acts as means of explicitly evaluating some aspects of the unfolding scene and comment on it. Moreover, this kind of “prosodic repetition” signals the player’s appreciation of the target of the commentary. (Piirainen-Marsh, 2010: 3024) In the videos, the gamer often repeats instructions and directions spoken by the game characters, thus allowing himself to assess and evaluate the directions and plan his next action in the game.

Example 17

Tess:	It’s right around this corner c’mon=	
J:	=Aha se on *right around this corner* noni hyvä eli siellä	[me ollaa lähes
Joel:		[Keep moving kid
J:	*Keep moving kid*	

In the example above J is following the NPC character Tess and acts according to her directions. When Tess says *“It’s right around this corner”*, J discusses the given directions and in the otherwise Finnish utterance inserts an imitation of Tess’s English utterance. After that, Joel says “*Keep moving, kid”* to Ellie, which J immediately imitates precisely, including an imitation of Joel’s accent and intonation. The imitation of Tess’s utterance acts as means of discussing and processing the new information, which can be seen in the following Finnish discussion of the directions: “Aha se on *right around this corner* noni hyvä eli me ollaa lähes siellä” (“Aha it is right around this corner ok good so we’re almost there”). Instead, the imitation of Joel’s instructions to Ellie (“Keep moving kid”) acts more as showing J’s immersion with Joel’s character.

Example 18

J:	Ah ah ((laughter)) nussiiks ne tuol tai jotai (9.0) *yeah I need stuff give me stuff*	
David:	There’s gotta be a way out of here	
J:	((exaggerated accent)) *There’s <u>gotta</u> be a way <u>out</u> of here* (1.0) eihä tääl oo mitää (6.0) jaha!	
Ellie:	Geez (.) Looks like somebody already fought those things and lost	
J:	Juusto *cheese*	
David:	Ah Lord I’ve been lookin’ for these boys	
J:	((lower voice)) *I’ve been lookin’ for these boys* (.)	[it’s the Dalton gang
David:		[Doesn’t matter. Grab their gear. I’m gonna look for an exit
J:	Mä *grabaan gearii* som satan tääl on vaa- jumalauta tääl on vaik mitä (1.0) oo pistoolipatruunoita kans (.) *nice nice nice*	

In the example above J is currently playing as Ellie, the secondary character in the game. He is following a NPC character called David and they are about to embark in an action scene. At this point, David is a rather new character to J and apparently inspires him to imitate his utterances. After two of David's lines, J immediately imitates his utterances with an exaggerated accent and different-pitched voice. Even David's third line ("*Grab their gear"*) gets imitated, although not similarly to the previous ones, but as Finnish hybrid words ("mä grabaan gearii")

Example 19

J:	Pitäkää silmät tarkkana (.) Pysykää huurteisina
Joel:	You find anything over there?
Tess:	No
Joel:	Keep looking
Ellie:	Should I (.) do anything?
Joel:	You just stay close to her for now
Ellie:	Roger dodger
J:	((Exaggerated)) *Roger dodger* hehe *over nodger* mä otan tän pullon (10.) pullo (2.0) on paras

In the example above J is speaking Finnish, inspecting a new area in the game and looking for loot while the NPC characters converse in the background. Ellie asks if she should do anything, to which Joel responds by telling her to stay close to Tess. Ellie's answer to this is an ironic "*Roger dodger*", which J seems to find funny and thus switches to English and imitates with exaggeratedly, continuing with "*over nodger"* to rhyme with the previous words. After the imitation he quickly switches back to Finnish and discussing the items he has found from the surrounding area.

When giving an initial analysis of the possible instances of code-switching, J mentioned that he most probably used English frequently when repeating dialogue. According to him, there are multiple reasons why he repeats stretches of dialogue in his videos. Firstly, he mentioned funny or different accents as triggers to imitation. In *the Last of Us* the characters have generally rather standard American accents, but J mentioned that sometimes he imitated Joel to mock his "American hillbilly accent". This could be seen in several instances in the data set. Secondly, he mentioned sarcasm and mockery also

when it comes to instructions and directions given by in-game characters. As an example he mentioned, that when an NPC character was to give an instruction, such as “Press X to jump”, which J would fail to follow, he would repeat the instruction with a mocking voice. Therefore, the repetition of in-game spoken discourse served as means for assessing and evaluating the utterances while proceeding in the game.

In this section I have presented and analyzed instances where the gamer uses code-switching in imitation of the in-game dialogue. In some cases, code-switching is triggered by utterances that seem to be funny for the gamer, for instance due to a funny accent, and they are repeated for comic relief. In addition, in some cases the repetition of spoken interaction is done because of the same reason as repetition of written instructions in the previous chapter: the repetition of an utterance allows the gamer to process the given information and evaluate it while imitating.

4.5 Exclamations and trash talk

In this section I will discuss code-switching in situations where the gamer reacts to surprising events with exclamations and trash talks at the NPC enemies in the game, since both of these recurring instances appear to trigger code-switching in the gaming video data. Wright et al. (2002) argue that multiplayer gaming events challenge and reproduce the rules of our everyday social interaction. They define trash talk in gaming as a subcategory of insult/distancing talk, within the same group with for example taunting talk, insults, pissed off talk, exclamations and surprise. Following their categorization, also in this study both trash talk and exclamations have been included in the same category. In this chapter, the term *trash talk* is used to describe events where the gamer boasts to, threatens and insults the in-game enemies. Sometimes the trash talk includes figurative, crude language and profanities and it is aimed at intimidating the enemy.

As already mentioned the game is rather immersive and seems to emotionally attach the gamer to its events. In addition, the game is also in some parts very action-packed and intense with fight scenes and shooting. The gamer reacts to these sudden action events very strongly and raises his voice whenever the action is very intense. Whenever there is a very intensive fight scene, the gamer reacts with loud exclamations and curse

words. Even though it is not exclusively done in English, it appears that often when being surprised with an attacking enemy, the gamer switches into English and uses profanities and English exclamations to show that he is, indeed, slightly panicked and surprised by the amount of action.

Based on the observations on the videos, the gamer seems to be rather prone to swearing and other offensive language use, this being a rather typical example of gaming-related language. However, it is noteworthy that the player rather systematically uses English as the main language for swearing and trash talk. The instances including English trash talk also show the player's awareness of himself performing to an audience, as he apparently attempts to come up with funny comebacks and trash talk the enemies in the game.

Example 20

J: MITÄ *where'd you come from?* (5.0) Ei se mitää sä kuolet (.) *I'ma get you* (1.0) *I'ma get you* (.) hui (3.0) *I'ma get you* hhehe (4.0) *I'ma get you* (1.0) *I'ma get you* hhehe *@I'm coming for you@* (9.0) mä arvasin et se kääntyy sen takii mä en käyny sinne hmh mä en lähteny sen perää (.) mä arvasin et se kääntyy (1.5) *alright boy* (.) *see this is going to go down* (.) *real easy* (2.0) *I am gonna* ***choke you to*** (.) ***death***

In the previous extract J is surprised by a sudden appearance of an enemy. He loudly exclaims in Finnish but then quickly switches into English to ask the enemy "*Where'd you come from?*", signaling that the English utterances are now targeted at the NPC enemy. This is enforced by the repeated "*I'ma get you*" and the following quick switch back to Finnish when J starts explaining, now directing it to the audience, that he knew that the enemy was about to turn and therefore he did not follow him. This change in orientation is clearly signaled by the use of demonstrative "se" ("*it*") when referring to the enemy, as opposed to the previous English utterances where the enemy was referred to as "*you*". After justifying his actions in Finnish, J switches back to English and addresses the enemy with "*alright boy*" and threatens to choke him to death. The trash talk and threatening utterances are targeted directly at the enemy and this is signaled by the switch into English.

Example 21

J: Kaheksakyt tapettu (1.5) ja oisko tää kaveri kasiykköne (2.5) *will you do me the honors (.) of dying* (4.0) *oh yes (1.0) easy pickings* (3.0) ((smiling)) *too easy* (2.0) kauan mul on aikaa menny (.) kymmene minuuttii (.) *not*

bad not bad timing (2.0) mm okei no tääl ei hirveest ollu mitään täs talos (.) seuraavaks olis kasikaks ja kasikolme

In example 21 a similar pattern can be seen. J says that he has already killed eighty enemies and starts counting the enemies he encounters. He states this in Finnish and targets this to the audience, which is signaled by referring to the enemy ahead with "tää kaveri" ("*this guy*"). However, when J begins trash talking to the NPC enemy, he immediately switches to English, signaling the change in position with the switch. He now refers to the enemy with the personal pronoun "*you*", which shows the changed position from an outside spectator to an active participator. When J has successfully eliminated the enemy he switches back to Finnish, wondering how much time he has already spent recording. Again, the code-switching signals the change in orientation and lets the viewer know that the utterance about time is not anymore targeted at the enemy, but rather to the audience or even J himself.

Example 22

J: Tuuksä tuuksä vielä? (2.0) *I dare you* (.) *I double dare you*

Bandit: °Goddamnit (.) where did he go [where are you you motherfucker°

J: [*I'm righ- °I'm right here*° (2.0) *Right here you <u>piece</u> of <u>shit</u>* (2.5) *Guess who's next* (2.0) *you've been a pain up my ass for too long* (3.0) *where'd you go* (2.0) °*where'd you go*° (2.0) ((singsong voice)) *where did you go* ((whistling))

The previous extract is from a situation where J sneaks in a building full of enemies and attempts to attack them without the other enemies noticing. Although J starts the utterance in Finnish and directs his speech to the enemy, he quickly switches to English when he begins the trash talk with "*I dare you*". The utterance "*I dare you. I double dare you*" is a line from the movie *Pulp Fiction*, also included in a threatening scene where a character is trash talking to another. Be the reference to the famous movie intentional or not, the register is similar to the movie; attempting to threaten the enemy with an arrogant utterance. As the enemy wonders out loud where Joel is, J answers him in English ("*I'm right here*"), targeting the speech to the enemy, and continues trash talking.

Example 23

J: *Fuck* loppu patruunat aseesta numero yksi (2.5) *running low on ammunition* (2.0) kaks [vihollist (2.0)

Bandit: [Stick your head out of shade

J: *I'm gonna stick my fist up your ass* (3.0) *oh what's wrong? can't find me?=*

Bandit: =Let's get this over with=

J: *=Yeah let's let's fucking get this over with* (.) *HOW DID YOU NOT FUCKING DIE* (1.5) °*really*°

In the example above J is in the middle of a fight scene and discusses in Finnish the amount of ammunition he still has left for the remaining enemies and how many enemies there are left. The bandit is looking for Joel, and as he cannot see him, the bandit shouts at the hidden enemy to come away from the shade, to which the gamer answers in English with a rather harsh remark: "*I'm gonna stick my fist up your ass*". The bandit then exclaims "*Let's get this over with!*", immediately followed with the gamer, still in English, repeating the same utterance with added profanity and attacks the bandit. The attack, however, is not sufficient to eliminate the enemy, to which J reacts with a loud exclamation, still in English, to show his disbelief towards the game's logic. This exclamation is targeted towards the enemy, which can be seen from the use of "you" instead of "he", giving the impression that the NPC himself is responsible for the illogical patterns of the game's mechanic.

The trash talk seen in the extracts above is harsh and impolite and swearing is not avoided. However, the profanity in the speech acts has an importance; Trash talk is used to intimidate and to show the enemy that he is not afraid. Even though in the case of this study the gamer is not actually interacting with live people, the trash talk serves a similar purpose. J is immersed with Joel, the character he is playing as, and assumes his role in the interaction and acts as he was actually talking to the enemies in the game. In addition, one must bear in mind that whilst playing the game, J is also attempting to entertain the assumed audience of his videos, which might affect the choice of register. At least one of the trash talk sequences is a direct quotation from a movie character and the other trash talk sequences follow a similar pattern, possibly acquiring inspiration from movies and television shows. The change of register whenever trash talk is involved shows that the trash talk is mainly done to entertain the audience and to create a certain mood to the event in the video. As can be seen from the previous examples, the gamer is more prone to use English swear words than Finnish ones when using them in the game commentary. One might suggest that swearing in English distances the

speaker from the profanity of the words, but the gamer also swears rather freely in Finnish. However, as the in-game discourse involves a rather large amount of swearing, it still appears that the gamer might find English swear words more appropriate to the context of the game commentary, especially in intense events.

When I was suggesting to J a preliminary analysis of the possible instances of code-switching in the data, he mentioned his tendency of reacting to surprising and scary events in the game with English exclamations and profanities. He said that it is very typical of him to initially react in English if something in the game surprises or scares him. According to him, it is easier to swear and do trash talk in English. He reported that it is somehow softer to use profanities in English than in his mother tongue Finnish and he feels that if he swears in the videos in English he will not get into trouble for teaching his younger viewers curse words. Upon seeing the examples of different incidents of trash talk, he said that there is a similar pattern in the examples: Doing trash talk is easier in English due to several reasons. Firstly, he mentioned that it would be difficult to come up with trash talk in Finnish since he has done it so much in English. Secondly, he thinks that trash talk generally sounds better and more natural in English. Thirdly, he pointed out that swearing and trash talking would sound very offensive in Finnish, and as he does not really *mean* the things included in the trash talk, it would easily sound too harsh. Therefore, according to J English softens the message and the audience might not get upset about the harsh choice of words.

When discussing the transcribed examples including trash talk, J mentioned that in gaming situations he often does trash talk in English because it feels more natural. This might be due to the NPCs also speaking and doing trash talk in English, which then triggers him to reply in English. In example 22 the enemy talks to Joel "*Where are you motherfucker*", to which J replies in English with the same register of trash talk. When looking at this example, J jokingly mentioned that naturally he answered in English because the bandit speaks English; if he had answered in Finnish, the bandit would have not understood him. However, the joke bears a meaning, since from it can be seen that J seems to adapt the game's spoken register and imitate it when speaking "in character", thus replying in English when spoken to in English. This was also mentioned by J himself: According to him, while playing *the Last of Us* he imitated the register of the game world and attempted to speak in a similar manner. Instead, if playing a children's

game he might have not used equally harsh language when talking to the NPCs. In addition to discussing trash talk, J reported that similarly to the examples about immersion, the sequences with trash talk were also meant as Joel's inner dialogue rather than his own words. Equally to using English when doing trash talk, placing the trash talk to Joel's perspective works as a device to distancing himself from the trash talk's harshness.

4.6 Metadiscourse

The final section of analysis will include instances where the gamer discusses his own language use. Even though he uses English in many different ways, code-switching does not appear to be very pre-planned, especially in situations where the game is very hectic and J does not seem to monitor his speech too much. However, even though code-switching in some studies reported as being made unconsciously and without noticing (e.g. Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 15), the data provides some examples where a certain consciousness over the choice of words is present. This discussion of word and language choice is categorized as metadiscourse. Hyland (2005: 14) defines metadiscourse as text or speech acts which discuss the speaker or writer's stance towards the content or the receiver. In other words, metadiscourse is speech about speech, discussion and reflection of what has been said or written. In this chapter, metadiscourse is used to describe instances where the gamer discusses and evaluates his own language use. Occasionally, the gamer discusses his language choices in the data: this can be seen in wondering how a word should be translated or even justification over a choice of certain vocabulary, as can be seen in the following two examples:

Example 24

J: Noni (1.0) er (1.0) alkoholi ja *rag* (1.5) niistä saadaan *first aid kitti* (3.0) alkoholista (.) ja jostai vitun *räägistä* (.) mikä on *rag* suomeks joku vitun liina (.) alkoholi ja liina (2.0) *no* ((laughter)) eii kyl siihe vähä enemmä varmaa tarvitaa

Example 25

J: Mut toi tota niin kuten mä olin sanomassa ni mä en nyt sit koitan olla kutsumatta noita zombeiksi koska porukka suuttu mulle siitä err mä kutsun niit örveltäjiks hirviöiks (.) mä en voi kutsuu niit *infectedeiks* mää varmasti teen sen vahingossa pari kertaa mut mä koitan olla kutsumatta niit *infectedeiks* koska:: anglismi. Ja tartunnan saaneita on ihan helvetin vammanen sana.

In the first example the gamer is crafting a first aid kit and discussing what items are needed in the making, questioning the game logic with laughter. In doing so he translates the vocabulary into Finnish, thus targeting his speech to the audience. However, he inserts the word *rag* in English because he does not at first recall a translation. However, he then asks to himself what a *rag* is in Finnish and upon figuring out the translation he continues in Finnish to mock the in-game logic.

In the second example the gamer engages in contemplating the word choices he makes. Apparently the viewers of the video series have not agreed on his choice of calling the in-game enemies *zombies* and he discusses alternative vocabulary. However, he points out that he will rather call the enemies with a Finnish translation than to use the word *infected*, because according to him it is an Anglicism. This statement shows us that he appears not to value extended use of Anglicisms, or English words used within Finnish sentences, but would rather use specific Finnish vocabulary. It appears that according to the gamer, an Anglicism is something to be avoided in Finnish speech, but instead another word should be chosen to avoid borrowing too much from another language. As can be seen from the other examples discussed so far, this is a rather interesting statement considering that the gamer mixes English and Finnish rather freely.

Even though the gamer is rather frequent in mixing English and Finnish together while speaking in the videos, the code-switching appears not to be a completely unconscious procedure; the gamer seems to consider his choice of words and every now and then questions these choices and discusses what words he should use, which can also be seen in the two following examples:

Example 26

J: Rupeeks tääl tulee ilta taas justhan oli yö (.) vai nouseeks se aurinko vast (1.5) kuinka minä ilmansuunnat katson (4.0) *How do I* (3.0) *air directions* eli ilman suunnat *air's directions* (.) ((ironic voice)) tässä oppii lapset samalla englantia (.) ilmansuunnat ovat on englanniksi *air's directions*

Example 27

J: Eli me ollaa viemässä tota skidiä tonne (.) yhtee *butterfly* mestaan missä sit ilmeisesti on jotai lääkäreitä jotka vieläkin koittaa tehdä *curea* eli tota (.) *curea* heheh eli siis err *vaccine* ttu mä en osaa suomee enää (.) koittaa tehdä lääkettä sitä tota tätä infektiota varten tai jonkinlaista tollasta en tiedä se jää nähtäväksi

In the first example the gamer is wondering what time of the day it is in the game's universe. He is confused if it is evening again because he thinks it has just been night.

Then he thinks that instead of sunset it might actually be sunrise and wonders how he could see the cardinal directions. All this discussion is done in Finnish, but he then repeats the question in English: "*How do I* (3.0) *air directions*", translating the Finnish word "*ilmansuunnat*" (literally: air's directions), but getting stuck with the choice of words. He then continues in Finnish, targeting this to the audience. Self-mockingly he points out that "one can learn English from this", emphasizing the fact that he did not know the word *cardinal directions* but instead used a literal translation of the Finnish word. From this it can be deduced that he is, at least partially, aware of the use of English insertions and that his attitude towards the code-switching is slightly critical.

In the second example the gamer is explaining the game's plot to the audience. This is done in Finnish, similarly to other sequences where the gamer explains events or logic. However, the gamer experiences sudden difficulties with speaking only Finnish and inserts the English word *cure* in the middle of the sentence. He then gets seemingly puzzled with attempting to find a Finnish equivalent for the word, repeats the word in English and uses another insertion, *vaccine*, to fill in the gap for a Finnish word. He finally remembers the Finnish word and says it with an emphasis to highlight that this is indeed the word he has been looking for. In addition to the confusion with the choice of words he exclaims in frustration "*-ttu mä en osaa suomee enää*" ("*fuck I can't speak Finnish anymore*"). This is highly interesting in terms of the current study. The gamer appears to be frustrated with his own use of mixing English and Finnish and using a rather high amount of English in the videos, which shows that he is, indeed, aware of at least some of the language choices he makes while narrating the videos. In addition, the point made about not being able to speak Finnish anymore is interesting. It appears that he uses English so much that he is actually starting to forget his own mother tongue and instead inserting words from his second language. It seems that the gamer is so immersed with the game's English-speaking world that he is having difficulty describing it in Finnish.

Example 28

J:	Se on tota pitää liikuttaa se näyt- HEI he-hei *hey Steve* ((finds a note called "Firefly Orders"))
Joel:	Look at this
Ellie:	There's a Firefly logo on his arm (2.0) What if we get there and they're all dead

Tess: They won't be

((J reads the note))

J: [*Make sure the girl is well* [*fed and in good health*

Ellie: [But how do you know

Tess: [I know I just do

Tess: Look it's [gonna be fine

J: [*her safety is of the* [*utmost importance*

Ellie: [Ok

Tess: it has to be

J: hänen turvallisuutensa on *utmost importanssi* ((pronounced in Finnish))
olen hyvä suomentamaan minun pitäisi varmaan hankkia töitä siltä alalta

In the example above the discussion of faulty translations continues. The gamer observes his surroundings in the game and notices an item that might require to be moved by the gamer, to which he comments in Finnish. Then he notices a dead body, greeting him with an exaggerated "*Hey Steve!*" In the body he finds a note that says "Make sure the girl is well fed and in good health. Her safety is of the utmost importance". He reads the note out loud in English while the NPCs Ellie and Tess have a conversation in the background. Upon reading the note out loud, J continues to "translate" the note into Finnish. However, he does not translate the words *utmost importance* but instead turns them into English hybrid words with a Finnish pronunciation "*utmost importanssi*". After this he continues with stating with a slightly mocking tone that he is a very good translator and maybe he should get a job in the field of translations. Naturally, the comment is ironic since the translation is not a proper translation, but instead more of a rather rigid Anglicism. However, in this example it is noteworthy that the gamer clearly is aware of his tendency of translating the elements he says in English into Finnish quickly afterwards, and by mocking his own translations, he points out that he might not always be very good at it. It appears that he attempted to also translate the phrase "utmost importance" but failed to find a suitable Finnish equivalent, this resulting in a made-up Anglicism.

In the interview, J was asked to look at the examples with different meta-discussions and to analyze them. He reported that it was definitely interesting to look back to the things he had discussed, especially in terms of language choice. He had earlier mentioned that he rarely thinks of his choice of words and mixes Finnish and English

together rather carelessly, which is why it was rather interesting to both him and in terms of the research how he ponders about his word choice at times. However, he noted that the choice of words was not always a personal one: he reported that the discussion in example 25 was inspired by several comments he had received concerning what the enemies should be called. Upon receiving and reading comments he wanted to discuss his choices in the video, attempting to justify what the enemies should be called. In addition, he pointed out that the discussion about what the enemies should be called also reflected his attitudes about the possible Finnish translation of the game. In the Finnish subtitles "*infected"* might have been translated as "*tartunnan saaneet"* (literally: "*infected"*), which to J would have been a very poor translation. In the interview it was also discussed how he mixes languages in spoken interaction very freely but still wants to thoroughly discuss and refrain from using Anglicism, to which J commented "Tai sit mä oon vaa toi tiäks- *hypocrite*" ("*Or maybe I just am you know- a hypocrite"*). Interestingly enough, also this justification included an English insertion.

When discussing example 26, J wanted to point out that the remark about learning English was, in fact, ironic: He does not consider himself as a role model for younger viewers who are learning English. Instead, he reported that the remark about *air's directions* was imitation about faulty and poor translation and it was meant as a joke towards younger viewers who might actually think that *ilmansuunnat* translates into *air's directions*. Even though J himself refrains from thinking that he is a "role model" to his viewers, as the channel has hundreds of thousands of viewers, a certain part of the fan base might still think so.

In the interview, J mentioned that extract 27 is a very good example of him struggling with remembering words in one language and thus switching into another language. In the example he struggles with remembering what a vaccine is in Finnish and seemingly appears frustrated upon searching for the correct word. When discussing the example, he reported that this is very typical to his everyday language use. When discussing this specific incident, he mentioned that the video has, in fact, been cut slightly because upon struggling to find the correct word for *vaccine* he had to pause the game for a while and think of the correct word because he was so frustrated with not remembering it. As J does not attempt to translate all English words he says, it was rather peculiar that in this instance he was so set on finding the Finnish word. According to J, the reason for searching for translation was that the word *vaccine* might have been too difficult for the

viewers to understand, as it had not been mentioned in the game previously. However, the word *cure* was only said in English and not translated, as it had already been mentioned in the game dialogue and thus according to J would be a familiar word to the viewers.

The previous examples show that even though the act of code-switching in the data might appear unplanned and unconscious, some awareness and planning of the language use can still be found. J is clearly aware of his tendency to mix English into Finnish speech, which in some cases even bothers him, as seen in example 27's frustrated exclamation "-ttu mä en osaa suomee enää" ("*fuck I can't speak Finnish anymore*") Even though he mixes English and Finnish very freely, J is still aware of the choices he makes and chooses some words over others because he finds them better suited to the context.

5 DISCUSSION

The inspiration for the current study came from the lack of research on code-switching in video gaming events and the sudden increase in the popularity of Finnish gaming YouTube channels. For the current study, I chose a popular Finnish YouTube channel and from that channel a series where the gamer plays a survival horror role playing game *the Last of Us*. The current study aimed at identifying what kind of instances of code-switching could be found from the data and what kind of meanings these instances have. In addition, to add another perspective to the study, it also includes an interview done with the creator of the videos. The interview aimed at adding another point of view to the study and reflecting on the initial analysis.

In the current study, I first watched through all the videos in the data set to ensure a full view of the data. After that, I roughly categorized the instances of code-switching into six groups based on recurring patterns in the data. Within these categories, I chose short examples and transcribed them for further analysis. After the analysis of these examples was finished, the interview with the gamer was done, attempting to provide a more in-depth look at the data and another viewpoint to the instances of code-switching. The interview was constructed in a semi-structured manner to ensure the free flow of discussion and possible new ideas. In the interview, the gamer was first asked about, for instance, his linguistic background and the recording process of the videos in the data. This was done to gain a better understanding of the data and the gamer's linguistic skills. The second part of the interview included a self-reflective analysis of the transcribed examples by the gamer. The purpose of the interview was not to be a separate section of the study, but instead to act as a continuum to the analysis and aim to provide another viewpoint to the examples. The interview proved out to being extremely fruitful in terms of the study: J was motivated to do a self-reflective analysis of the data and the points risen in the interview were interesting and supported the analysis done before the interview. As Vuorinen (2008: 75) suggested, interviewing the creator of the videos was extremely helpful and added another dimension to the study.

The analysis of the data has shown that the data set consists of a vast collection of instances of code-switching between Finnish and English. Even though the mechanisms of code-switching are not thoroughly consistent along the course of all 27 videos, certain recurring patterns could be found. In the analysis of the data it can be seen that even though the mechanisms of code-switching might at first sight appear to be random,

certain patterns could be found. Based on initial observations of the data, these instances were divided into five categories: code-switching in immersive gaming events, gaming-related vocabulary in insertions, repetition of written instructions, imitation of character talk, exclamations and trash talk and metadiscourse. *The Last of Us* appears to be an extremely immersive game, engaging the player to assimilate oneself with the events of the game. The strong immersion, started in the very first minutes of the game, engages the player to assimilate with the character they are playing as, which can be seen in the data. J seems to assimilate strongly with the character Joel he was playing as and thus took part in the English conversations in the game dialogue. Along the progress of the game, J appeared increasingly involved with the plot and the emotions of his own character and also the NPCs following him. This involvement and strong immersion with the game's events could be seen in consistent code-switching into English whenever J was attempting to portray his character's inner voice or take part in the in-game conversation. The switch to English and back to Finnish signals the change in J's role: Whenever speaking English as if through Joel's mouth he signals his active participation in the game's events and, whenever speaking Finnish J signals that he is rather an outside commentator to the game's events.

The vocabulary revolving around the world of gaming and technology is generally dominated by English. Video games have not been extensively localized into smaller languages until recently (Taarluoto, 2011: 32-33) and therefore most gamers who are non-native English speakers have had to learn gaming mostly in English. This can also be seen in the data in multiple occasions since J consistently inserts English vocabulary, such as specific gaming-related words or item names specific to *the Last of Us*, into otherwise Finnish sentences. According to J, this was done to ensure the viewers' understanding of what was discussed, because if he had translated the words, the viewers might not have understood that he was referring to these specific items in the game. As J reported, certain gaming-related words are so embedded into the world of gaming that the gamers might not even know what their equivalent in Finnish might be. In addition, as J mentioned, this kind of words are often learned within the gaming community, thus making these English insertions the norm in the register of gaming. Therefore the use of English insertions when referring to certain items or phenomena might be more natural than artificial translations. As the localization of video games is becoming increasingly popular (Taarluoto, 2011), there might be a change in this with the new generation of gamers who will be used to fully localized video games.

In addition to being quite consistent with switching into English when referring to a certain item or gaming-related phenomena, J also often reads out loud written prompts and instructions visible in the game. In the beginning the written instructions visible in the screen are vital for progressing in the game, since they carry out important instructions of different actions possible in the game. Whenever these prompts show in the screen, J stops speaking, usually in Finnish, and reads the new information in English. After reading the information out loud, J often switches back to Finnish and either fully or partially translates the information and explains it. According to J, this served different purposes: Firstly, it acted as a narrative and entertaining element for the audience, since he thinks that people will rather listen to a text than read it themselves. Secondly, reading out loud acted as means to ensure that the audience also noticed the new information and kept up with the game's events. Thirdly, reading out loud instructions also helped J to understand and process the new information.

In the interview, even without seeing the transcribed examples of the data, J mentioned that he is very prone to reacting to surprising and scary events with English exclamations; according to J, it is very typical to him that his initial reaction is in English and only after that he continues with Finnish. This description was also visible in the data, where J often reacted to surprising and scary incidents with loud English exclamations and profanities. These instances involved immediate code-switching from Finnish to English to allow the expression of being surprised. When this was discussed in the interview, J reported that swearing in English is easier to him; Using a foreign language with profanities and swearing softens the message and makes him less guilty of using faulty language in popular videos. In addition, he reported that Finnish profanity carries a heavier meaning to him and thus he likes to switch to English whenever he wants to swear.

In addition to reading out loud written instructions, repetition of spoken utterances by in-game characters was very consistent throughout the data. The imitation was often done immediately after the character's utterance with slight or even heavy exaggeration of the character's intonation and accent. In some cases the function of the imitation was similar to the repetition of written instructions: Imitation acts as means to evaluate and assess given information. In addition, imitation was often done to show appreciation or mockery of the characters. According to J, he is into imitating different accents and styles of speech, and in the case of *the Last of Us*, the characters' strong American

“hillbilly” accents. The repetition of the active character’s utterances also shows the immersion and J’s willingness to participate in the in-game dialogue.

Even though in the interview J mentioned that he rarely notices himself doing code-switching, and in the data he often seemed to mix languages unconsciously, some awareness of the mechanisms of language change could be seen in the data. For example, J appeared to often get stuck with attempting to find a proper translation for an English word and commented on this mockingly with remarks such as “I can’t speak Finnish anymore” and “Maybe I should get a job in the field of translating”. The instances of self-awareness of language-mixing show that even though code-switching is often reported to be unconscious, and J emphasized that the video narration was not planned, some awareness and discussion over language change still exists. It appears that J does not appreciate the excessive use of Anglicisms in Finnish speech, but instead attempts to get rid of them if possible. This is rather contradictory with the observations of J mixing English and Finnish rather freely.

The data set of videos proved to be extremely fruitful and show a great variety of different instances of code-switching. Even though the act of code-switching often seems unplanned and unconscious, the data also shows instances where word choices and appropriate translations are discussed thoroughly. One of the most prominent triggers of code-switching from Finnish to English in the data is different item names, gaming-related terminology and written prompts including instructions. These are rather consistently inserted into otherwise Finnish speech in English, since their use appears to be more natural in English than in Finnish. In addition, the strong immersion in the game results in J taking part in the in-game dialogue and imitating utterances said by the game characters. In general, the act of code-switching is a very prominent theme throughout the set of videos.

According to the studies overviewed in this research, gaming and English are closely related to each other in Finland. Code-switching is to some extent an unconscious part of most Finns’ daily lives and even though it has been frowned upon in the media, the general attitudes towards mixing mother tongue and English are rather positive. (Leppänen et al., 2009: 127) However, different changes in our language use are important and need to be acknowledged, especially when they infiltrate our everyday media and become hugely popular. Languages change naturally over time, but the changes in our way of speaking should not be overlooked, since language acts as means

for understanding and contextualizing the surrounding world and is a prominent part of our everyday life.

As already mentioned previously the study, earlier studies on code-switching in gaming instances have included live recordings of gameplay and conversation (e.g. Piirainen-Marsh, 2008, Vuorinen, 2008 and Suominen, 2014), whereas similar instances on YouTube have not yet been studied. As the data set in the current study includes only one person narrating and commenting on the events, it is rather different from studies including two players at the same time. In the narration it can be seen that it is targeted as entertainment for the assumed audience, which naturally changes the style of speech slightly. As J reported in the interview, he was sometimes rather conscious of swearing and thus switched into English whenever using harsh language, thinking it had less strong impact than swearing in Finnish. In addition, according to J, he often felt that he was obligated to speak and entertain the audience, which resulted in more active speaking and narration than if he was playing the game without recording it. Therefore, the number of instances of code-switching also increased as there were more speech acts in general. This means that if J was playing the game alone, without recording himself, he would have possibly talked less as there would not have been a pressure for entertaining anyone. Hence, the act of playing games on YouTube is rather different when compared to a recording of a private gameplay session and therefore it was an interesting element in the study.

In the current study, I chose to carefully select only certain examples of the data, as opposed to transcribing all of the data and including it in this study. The selection was done to only focus on the essential elements of the categories as the study was qualitative, not quantitative. If this study were carried out further, more examples of the data could be included in the possible future study. In addition, one must bear in mind that as was found out in the interview, J has a bilingual background of having a native English speaker in the family, hence identifying himself as slightly bilingual. Naturally, this affects his language use and possibly increases the amount of code-switching between Finnish and English. Therefore, a possible future study could include another set of videos from another Finnish YouTube gaming channel, so that a comparative study could be done. In addition, studies on the attitudes towards code-switching could be incorporated in a future study.

In the end of the interview, J mentioned that it was an interesting experience to look at his own speech in a transcription and that after seeing the transcriptions he was more aware of code-switching in his own speech. However, he pointed out that he hopes this does not change his patterns of speech in the future, as he is now more informed. Moreover, he mentioned that code-switching between Finnish and English is “what makes him himself”, a unique personality both in real life and in YouTube and he wishes to keep that as a part of his personality. As mentioned in the survey by Leppänen et al. (2009: 127-128), the English elements can be useful for creating social and cultural meanings and they can be used for stylizing and self-expression. In a field like YouTube the element of self-expression and differentiation from other users is an important element and considered as an identifying factor in one’s language use.

6 CONCLUSION

The present study has attempted to identify and analyze instances of code-switching in YouTube gaming videos made by a Finnish young man. The recently very popular gaming videos merge YouTube's user-created material with the interactive and entertaining nature of video gaming. In these videos, the gamer plays a popular survival horror role playing game *the Last of Us* and, while playing, narrates and comments the events on the screen. The videos were uploaded in YouTube in 2013 and consist of a series of 27 videos with the full playthrough of the video game. The game's operational language is English: the menus, instructions and character dialogue are all in English. While making commentary on the game's events, the gamer constantly switches between Finnish and English. This study aimed at identifying these instances and analyzing what kind of meanings code-switching creates in the videos. In addition to the analysis of the transcribed video data, the study also includes an interview with the gamer. The interview aimed at adding another perspective to the analysis and discussing language choice in the videos on another level.

The data was very fruitful for the study: instances of code-switching were frequent and included a variety of different examples. The data was categorized into six groups: code-switching in immersive gaming events, gaming-related vocabulary in insertions, repetition of written instructions, imitation of character talk, exclamations and trash talk and metadiscourse. These categories were thus analyzed. In addition, the analysis includes commentary and reflective analysis by the gamer. The study shows that the process of code-switching was often done unconsciously and it was guided by the game's linguistic environment, for example when discussing item names or imitating character talk. However, the gamer appeared to be aware of some language choices, which could be seen in instances where he discussed his own language use. In addition, the language of gaming clearly affected the gamer's speech, both in gaming-related vocabulary and trash talk.

According to Auer (1999a and 1999b), code-switching is a phenomenon that creates meanings in the interactional activity and contextualizes the interaction. This could also be seen in the results of the current study: even though the gamer was speaking alone, he seemed to organize his speech with the change of codes. Utterances in Finnish and English often had very different functions and carried out different meanings in the interaction. As can be seen from other studies with a similar topic (e.g. Piirainen-Marsh,

2008, Vuorinen, 2008 and Suominen, 2014), gaming activities and code-switching seem to be closely connected and therefore likely to be a fruitful field of study for future research.

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APPENDIX

Transcript methods used in this study

english instances in J's speech acts:	tehdään *molotov cocktail*
unrecognized speech, garbled speech:	xxx
sound stretch:	ye::::::s
stress:	oh not to<u>day</u>
loud voice:	WHAT
emphasis:	what do you **mean**
cut-off sound:	I did the wa- I mean the shopping
voice quality:	@ animated voice@
	# breathy voice#
speech that is quieter than surrounding speech:	°yes°
speech that is quicker than surrounding speech:	>what I mean to say is<
slower than surrounding speech:	< well I need to think about this >
silences: and tenths	measured (if possible) in seconds of seconds, e.g. (0.5) (1.5) or (.) (for a very short gap)
breathing:	hh hhhh
laughter:	$laughing voice$
questioning intonation:	? (rising intonation at the end of a unit)
marked fall:	↓ (often within a word or phrase, e.g. that's un↓fair)
marked rise:	↑ (e.g. you did ↑what)
overlap:	A: Isn't this [nice B: [beautiful