“Hold on! Apua tulossa.” – ENGLISH PRACTICES AMONG FINNISH TWITTER USERS

Master’s thesis

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English

November 2015

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta - Faculty Humanistinen tiedekunta	Laitos - Department Kielten laitos
Tekijä - Author Mervi Nissinen	
Työn nimi - Title "Hold on! Apua tulossa." – English practices among Finnish Twitter users	
Oppiaine - Subject Englanti	Työnlaji - Level Pro gradu –tutkielma
Aika - Month and year Marraskuu 2015	Sivumäärä - Number of pages 89 sivua

Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Lähes kaikki suomalaiset osaavat englantia ja sitä pidetään suuressa arvossa niin tieteen, tekniikan, kaupan kuin populaarikulttuurin aloilla. Internetissä englanti on ollut aina tärkeä valtakieli, vaikkakin on nähtävissä, että pienemmät kielet saavat enemmän tilaa erityisesti sosiaalisen median suosion ansiosta. Sosiaalinen media on etenevässä määrin tärkeä osa myös suomalaisten jokapäiväistä elämää. Vuonna 2006 Yhdysvalloissa perustettu Twitter on sosiaalisen median sovellus, joka kerää suosiota jatkuvasti ympäri maailmaa. Suomalaisten käyttäjien määrä kasvaa koko ajan ja Twitter on nykyään näkyvä osa niin suomalaisessa mediassa kuin arkipäivän keskusteluissa.

Englannin kieleen liittyviä asenteita ja kielenkäyttöä muissa ympäristöissä on tutkittu jo melko laajalti, mutta suomalaisten englannin kielen käyttö sosiaalisessa mediassa on vielä suhteellisen harvinainen tutkimusala. Tämä tutkielma pyrki laajentamaan jo olemassa olevaa tutkimusta analysoimalla suomalaisten englannin kielen käyttöä Twitterissä. Joukko suomalaisia Twitterin käyttäjiä valikoitui tutkimukseen ja heiltä kerättiin yhteensä 478 twiittiä (engl. tweet) sekä 93 profiilitekstiä, joiden kielenkäyttö analysoitiin laadullisesti. Tutkimukseen liittyi myös määrällistä analysointia, jonka perusteella pystyttiin määrittelemään kuinka yleistä englannin kielen käyttö oli tutkittavien joukossa.

Tuloksista ilmeni, että englantia käytetään suomen kielen ohella niin itsenäisesti eri twiiteissä kuin myös koodinvaihtelussa. Noin neljässäkymmenessä prosentissa twiiteissä esiintyi vähintään joitain englanninkielisiä elementtejä ja noin neljäsosa twiiteistä oli kirjoitettu kokonaan englanniksi. Profiiliteksteistä ilmeni kuitenkin, että englantia käytetiin niissä huomattavasti laajemmin kuin twiiteissä. Suurin osa profiiliteksteistä oli kirjoitettu kokonaan englanniksi ja vain 18 prosenttia niistä sisälsi pelkästään suomea. Twiiteissä englantia käytetiin monilla luovilla tavoilla niin koodinvaihtelun osapuolena kuin itsenäisesti. Koodinvaihtelua ilmeni twiiteissä niin lauseen sisäisinä kuin ulkoisina vaihteluina sekä lisäksi käännöksissä ja lainauksissa. Lyhenteet sekä erityisesti Twitterille tyypilliset tunnisteet (engl. hashtag) esiintyivät myös aineistossa usein. Tutkimuksessa ilmeni myös, että englantia käytetiin erityisesti, kun puhe oli kansainvälisistä aiheista, kun taas suomea suosittiin, kun puhuttiin paikallisista aiheista. Henkilökohtaisista aiheista puhuttaessa käytetiin melko tasaisesti kumpaakin kieltä.

Asiasanat - Keywords
English in Finland, code-switching, social media, Twitter

Säilytyspaikka – Depository
Kielten laitos

Muita tietoja - Additional information

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1 INTRODUCTION

The presence of English on the internet has long been uncontested and English has had free range to spread throughout the modern world thanks to new innovations in computer and mobile technologies. In the early days of the internet, it was feared that English might take its toll on smaller languages by replacing them and thus threatening national identities (Warschauer, El Said and Zohry 2002: 1). However, it can be argued that English is actually a vital lingua franca of technology, science and popular culture, and as such should be celebrated and not feared. Currently it seems that English is happily co-existing with other languages online. What people who fear the effect English might have on smaller languages are overlooking is the nature of the internet to expand continuously when new content is added. The internet is in fact aiding the spread of any language that internet users want to use, and actually now that more and more countries are advancing and adopting new technologies, the language palate of the internet is more and more varied (Internet World Stats 2014).

English has a major role in online social media applications, because the majority of them originate from English speaking countries, such as the United States. Also, if the users of a social media site want to connect with a larger audience, they need to communicate in English. Commenting and sharing are key features of almost any social media site and English is used fluently and naturally as a part of their online identity, especially by young people, or the so called *digital natives* (Prensky 2001).

In Finland, English is the most popular choice for first foreign language (Kumpulainen 2010: 55) and nearly 70 percent of Finns reported having at least moderately mastered English (Leppänen et al. 2011: 103). Most Finns could be considered practically bilingual. English is valued as an important global language in Finland and it is used in many areas of everyday life, but Finnish is still the main language of communication between Finns. However, particularly young people use English more often and especially in new media contexts. For them, using English is also a way to express their identities as well as connect with the outside world (Leppänen et al. 2011:

163). Code-switching is a natural phenomenon where two languages are mixed in the same utterance or conversation (Grosjean 1982: 145). For bilingual people, using both languages is a natural way to take advantage of the language resources available to them.

Twitter is an online microblogging service that allows users to post short messages called *tweets* to people who have chosen to subscribe to their feed. Globally, Twitter has 320 million monthly active users and 80 percent of users are based outside of the United States (About Twitter 2015). In Finland, Twitter is also very popular and besides individuals from all walks of life, it is also used by many companies, organisations and institutions. In November 2015, there are approximately 354,000 Finnish Twitter users according to Nummela's (2015) Suomi-Twitter site which constantly calculates and updates the number of Finnish users.

The present study combines the themes of using English online, social media and bilingual practices with the local aspect of Finnish users on Twitter. So far, this seems to be quite a unique frame of research, not accounting for an interesting article by Kytölä & Westinen (2015) which focused on a Finnish footballer's use of "gangsta" English on Twitter and the metalinguistic discussion it elicited on a Finnish football forum. The actual aim of the present study is to find out how Finns use English on Twitter, if different topics affect the language choice and what could be the reasons behind the use of English.

The aim of the present study was inspired by my own use of Twitter. Personally, I write tweets in both Finnish and English, as well as used code-switching occasionally in my Finnish tweets. I knew that some people used only one or the other of the two languages, but I wanted to find out more about the language use of Finns on Twitter. Unfortunately, it seemed that there was not too much research done on language choices or code-switching on social media sites by Finns at the time, and the present study strive to fill that gap in research.

The structure of the present study is as follows: Chapters 2 to 5 describe the theoretical framework of the study and Chapters 6 to 8 are focused on the present study. In

Chapter 2, the role of English on the internet as well as in the Finnish context is examined. Bilingual practices and the central phenomena surrounding the issue of code-switching are introduced and discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 deals with computer-mediated communication and social media, and particular focus is placed on code-switching in computer-mediated communication. Chapter 5 is devoted to thoroughly describing Twitter, first from the more technical point of view and then moving on to the actual usage of Twitter. Previous research, although still sparse, is presented next and then Twitter is connected to the local aspect, namely the use of Twitter by Finns. The research design of the present study, including the research questions, data and methods of analysis, is discussed in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 presents the analysis the data accompanied with multiple examples from the data. Finally, a summary of the findings, evaluation of the present study and suggestion for further research are provided in Chapter 8.

2 ENGLISH GLOBALLY AND LOCALLY

The present study examines the usage of English by Finnish users on Twitter. This aims to provide a fresh perspective to the study of the use and role of English in Finland as it is approached from the point of view of a relatively recent social media environment, namely Twitter. In this chapter I will first discuss the role of English on the internet more generally, discussing the spread and status of English as well as the potential effect it has on smaller languages. I will then discuss the role of English in the Finnish context focusing on the history and spread of English in Finland as well as Finns' uses of and attitudes towards English to provide a thorough account of the current language situation in Finland.

2.1 English on the internet

As a world widely recognised lingua franca of business and technology, English is currently arguably also the dominant language on the internet. According to W3Techs (2014) English is used as the content language of the main page of 55.7 percent of the top 10 million most visited websites. Second and third place are held by German with 6.1 percent and Russian with 5.7 percent, making English by far the number one language of, at least, the top most visited websites on the internet. However, there are some problems with these figures as they do not take into account the fact that many websites offer different language versions or are downright multilingual. For example, the largest free encyclopaedia with user created content, *Wikipedia*, is available in nearly 300 languages (Wikipedia 2015). Additionally, the survey only covers the top most visited 10 million top websites when different estimates put the total number of websites between 300 million and one billion.

Looking at the numbers of internet users by language shows a different account of the language situation on the internet as well as reveals something of the future of languages online. Currently according to Internet World Stats (2014), there are just over 800 million English speaking internet users which represents 28.6 percent of the

total number of internet users; however, it is important to keep in mind that there are approximately 360 million native-speakers of English and that these figures are estimates and include non-native speakers of the language. Chinese is a close second with 649 million users and 23.3 percent of the total number of users. Besides the sheer volume of users, a more interesting factor is the growth of the number of users of a particular language. For example, from the year 2000 to 2013, the number of English speaking internet users increased by 468.8 percent, an impressive number, but hugely shadowed by languages such as Arabic with 5 296.6 growth percent, Russian with 2 721.8 percent and Chinese with 1 910.3 percent (Internet World Stats 2014). These figures show that although English is still the most used language online, the case may be very different in the future. In many developing countries, the internet is only now gaining more popularity as a medium of communication, and more and more people are accessing internet regularly; whereas most of the English-speaking world is already comfortable using the internet and cannot compete in volume with speakers of other languages. However, even though in the future, many other languages might surpass English in popularity on the internet, it does not mean that there are less English-speaking users, only that there is more variety in languages used online.

The role of English in relation to smaller local languages has been a controversial topic for quite some time. For example in Finland, globalization and the spread of English into everyday discourse can be seen as potential threats to the existence of Finnish language and culture (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 9). The public discussion tends to gravitate towards being concerned about how English could potentially impoverish Finnish and how Finns are in danger of losing their own language in areas such as corporate world, science and education (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 10). The same fear of how English could threaten the existence of smaller languages was voiced in the early days of the internet (Warschauer, El Said and Zohry 2002: 1). However, by its very nature, the internet is open and infinite and as such, it can support a boundless amount of information and communication. Therefore, instead of it being an avenue for English to spread and oppress other languages, it provides users of smaller languages from all around the world a relatively inexpensive way to communicate in

their chosen language. Studying the use of both the local language and English can reveal important information about the relationship of the two languages as well as what might become of their future co-existence. Consequently, the present study attempts to shed light on the matter in the Finnish context by examining the uses of Finnish and English on the social media site Twitter.

2.2 English in Finland

In this chapter, I will discuss the role of and attitudes towards English in Finland. I will briefly present the history of English in Finland and then proceed to discuss the uses of English in the present day Finland in various domains of life. A large part of this chapter deals with Finns' attitudes to language contact situations between English and Finnish, such as code-switching and borrowing, but mainly because code-switching is at the core of the present study.

Officially Finland is a bilingual country with two national languages, Finnish and Swedish. Native Swedish-speakers account for about five percent of the population. There are also several official minority languages in Finland: three Sami languages, Finnish Sign Language, Karelian language and Romani. However, in practice Finland is largely a monolingual society in many domains at least. Swedish-speaking Finns are usually proficient in Finnish so traditionally there has not been a need for a vehicular language between different language groups in order to communicate (Leppänen et al. 2011: 17).

Several factors have influenced the spread and popularity of English in Finland. The number of people with a foreign mother tongue living in Finland has increased steadily over the past decade or so, with an estimated 290,000 foreign-language speakers in Finland at the end of March 2014, representing 5.4 percent of the total population and just exceeding the number of native Swedish-speakers (Statistics Finland 2014). According to another survey by Statistics Finland (2013), in 2013, English was the fourth largest group of foreign-language speakers, with 14 666 speakers after Russian (62 554 speakers), Estonian (38 364 speakers) and Somali (14 769 speakers). However, according to Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 16), unlike with

other foreign languages, the increasing usage of English is not only due to the growth in the number of English-speaking immigrants. Other factors that were important in the spread and soaring popularity of English in Finland have their roots in the post-war Finland. The political climate after the Second World War left Finland more open to western values and American culture, of which the English language was a symbol (Leppänen et al. 2011: 17). Globalization, multicultural interaction and new information technologies, as well as reforms in education, all lead to even further interest in English in Finland and established its role as an important international language.

The importance of English is recognised in education by students and educators alike. Pupils are required to study both national languages, Finnish and Swedish, as well as one foreign language. Since the late sixties, English has been by far the most popular choice for first foreign language; in 2009, 90 percent of pupils chose English as their first foreign language (Kumpulainen 2010: 55). In theory it is possible to avoid studying English during the nine compulsory years of education; however, in the 2000-2001 school year, 98 percent of secondary school pupils studied English, proving that knowledge of English is recognised as a valuable skill (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 6). The significance of English is also recognised in secondary and higher education as teaching in English is provided throughout all levels of education (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 339).

English is present in Finns' lives from education to business and entertainment. Encountering English in Finland is an everyday occurrence, especially via mass media and entertainment as well as forms of popular culture (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 5). According to Leppänen et al. (2011: 160), although not all Finns use English actively every day, they do still encounter it often, for example when listening to music, watching films or TV and browsing the internet. A large portion of TV shows and films are in English and practically all of have subtitles instead of being dubbed (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 339) which has likely helped some Finns learn English as well as become more accustomed to it. Although English is used less frequently in working time than free time, there are many examples when English is used in

business life. As an illustration, some international companies with branches in Finland as well as bigger national companies use English in different situations, such as Nordea, the largest financial services group in the Nordic countries, which has adopted English as their official language (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 7). Moreover, some Finnish companies, both national and international have English names or slogans (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 8). However, the use of English in professional settings is still generally relatively rare and mainly reserved for international contexts. English is still often used only when it is actually necessary for communication and it is not used interchangeably with Finnish. Ultimately, although Finns encounter English often, it has not replaced Finnish in Finns' mutual interactions (Leppänen et al. 2011: 162).

Finns have a positive and pragmatic attitude towards English and it is considered the most important foreign language and even more important than the other national language, Swedish (Leppänen et al. 2011: 162). Attitudes towards English are more relaxed than in some other European non-English speaking countries and Finns do not regard English as a threat to Finland's national languages or the Finnish culture in general (Leppänen et al. 2011: 159). However, some language policy makers are concerned that Finnish language is in competition with English in many domains of society, such as science, academic publishing and higher education (Leppänen et al. 2011: 159). Regardless of these concerns, generally Finns are confident that Finnish language and culture are not threatened by English.

The term *digital native* has been coined to describe the generation of young people who are born during or after the introduction of digital technologies, such as the computer, internet and mobile phones (Prensky 2001). For this generation, online communication is a natural and integral part of their live and they use the internet fluently and in multiple innovative ways. As was previously discussed, English is still a dominant internet language and even though the content on the internet is increasingly multilingual, there is still a need to use English to access more information. Therefore it is natural for young, internet-savvy people to use and value English and the same phenomenon can be identified with young Finns' uses of and attitudes towards using

English. For instance, the survey by Leppänen et al. (2011) showed that young people write in English more often than other population groups, especially in new media contexts. Additionally, almost 80 percent of young people regarded English at least moderately important, compared to 60 percent of total respondent (Leppänen et al. 2011: 65). Clearly, English plays a big part in young people's language repertoire, social relationships, interests and is also a way to express their emotions and identities (Leppänen et al. 2011: 163). Much of this is to do with the strong presence of English in youth cultures and the rapid development and spread of information technologies and especially new media. Young people are already accustomed to using the internet and English as means of communication and consequently, it is no surprise that English has such an important role even in a largely monolingual society like Finland.

Mixing two or more languages, or code-switching, is a natural part of bilingual communication and also a major focus in the present study, therefore it is important to understand Finns' opinion on it. According to the survey by Leppänen et al. (2011: 139-140), Finns attitudes towards mixing English and their mother tongue are neutral or positive with young and well-educated people being the most comfortable with mixing their languages. Languages are mixed most often in informal spoken communication with friends, peers and colleagues among highly educated people, whereas in writing, language mixing is more infrequent. Language mixing is used as a linguistic resource or a stylistic device to maintain and create identities rather than making sure one's meaning is understood. Overall, Finns react generally positively to language mixing and use it subliminally as a means of self-expression in spoken language. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 139-140).

All in all, English plays an important role in Finnish society and Finns are eager to learn and use English throughout their day to day lives. The importance of English is recognised in education, as well as in business life. In general, Finns have a relaxed attitude about English and especially among the younger generations, it is a natural way to communicate and express identity. For young people, or the so-called digital natives, using English in computer-mediated communication is just a natural extension of the available language resources. Additionally, code-switching is used

often subliminally as a linguistic resource in spoken language by the practically bilingual Finns. Because of the role of English in Finland, it is interesting to study the use of English by Finns in new media platforms, such as Twitter. By looking at the use of English on Twitter by Finns, the present study aims to give an overview of the ways in which Finns use English and help understand why English has such a major role in Finland.

3 BILINGUAL PRACTICES

The major topics in this chapter are bilingualism and code-switching as a bilingual practice. Code-switching is traditionally defined as the alternate use of two or more languages, or codes, in the same speech event and it is a naturally occurring phenomenon in language contact situations among bilingual speakers. Gumperz (1982: 59) defines code-switching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems." Grosjean (1982: 145) expresses it more simply as "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation." Both of the quotes describe a phenomenon where two languages or dialects are mixed together either within the same speech event, sentence or even word. For example, in the case of the present study, code-switching is defined as the use of two or more languages within the same tweet on Twitter.

In the early days of code-switching studies in the 1950s and 1960s, code-switching was of interest to only a handful of specialist researchers, but after some ground-breaking studies in the 1970s (see for example Blom and Gumperz 1972; Poplack 1980), code-switching has gained much more popularity as a research topic (Auer 1999: 1). In the past it has been considered a corrupt use of language, whereas currently it is thought of as skilful manipulation of various language resources by bilingual speakers. The present study will view code-switching as an integral part of social interaction. Furthermore, the present study looks at ways in which code-switching occurs in online communication among bilinguals.

As code-switching occurs among people with a command of two or more languages, it is important to discuss bilingualism and bilingual practices to fully understand why and how bilinguals switch from one language to another. The present study will also present some of the history behind code-switching studies, as well as some newer perspectives and suggest some alternative terms to describe the phenomenon, such as language alternation. The views on code-switching adopted in the present study will

also be presented and justified in the following chapter. Lastly the focus will be on code-switching in bilingual computer-mediated communication situations as it is also the focus of the present study.

3.1 Bilingualism

Bilingualism has been often described in the light of language proficiency, and the definition of who is a bilingual differs considerably from one researcher to another (Romaine 1995: 11). Generally, researchers agree that a bilingual is someone who has some level of proficiency in two or more languages. The question remains, however, to what extent does one need to know the languages to be considered bilingual. The definitions vary from one extreme to the other, from Bloomfield's (1984: 56) rather strict description of bilingualism as the native-like command of two languages to Diebold's (1964: 505) much more flexible view that a person can be considered bilingual even though they are not able to produce meaningful utterances in another language. In the present study, bilingualism will be considered from the point of view of language competence and the limit of a bilingual will be placed somewhere between Bloomfield's and Diebold's definitions. However, as Mackey (1968: cited in Romaine 1995: 11) mentions, it is somewhat unnecessary and frankly impossible to determine the exact point at when a person becomes bilingual and as a result he views bilingualism simply as the alternate use of two or more languages. From the point of view of the present study the previous definition is accurate enough. Furthermore, some researchers prefer to use the term *multilingual*, as it, in their view, is a more appropriate term to describe someone knowing more than two languages, since *bi*lingual can be interpreted to mean someone who only knows *two* languages. However, since in the present study the number of languages one knows is not relevant, I have decided to use the more traditional term, bilingual, to describe people with knowledge of two or more languages.

In Finland, the concept of bilingualism is a somewhat problematic one. As discussed previously, although the majority of Finns speak two or more languages, the Finnish society is largely monolingual in practice. Additionally, according to Leppänen et al.

(2011: 47), 84 percent of Finns considered themselves monolingual even though 90 percent had studied some language other than their mother tongue. This seems to indicate that Finns have a more traditional understanding of bilingualism where one should have almost native-like command of another language before being called bilingual. This is also in accordance with Wei (2000: 5), who says that people brought up in a monolingual society often see bilingualism as a special quality reserved to only a few people. Nevertheless, the present study will consider Finns as bilinguals whether Finns as a nation agree or not.

3.2 Code-switching

Whenever bilingual people communicate, they face a choice of which language to use. Often the choice is dictated by the social context and the individual speaker does not actually have a choice in the matter, whereas sometimes, the speaker chooses, consciously or not, to use more than one language. The issue of code-switching is therefore very interesting, because the speaker has chosen more than one language in which to communicate, expecting the other participants to know the languages, as well as appreciate the added meaning that the code-switch must entail. However, it is important to understand that often the choice is not made consciously, and the language user might not even realise that he or she is using two languages. In the rest of this chapter, code-switching studies as well as the phenomenon in general will be presented and discussed in more detail.

The terminology surrounding the issue of code-switching can be quite problematic since the terms often overlap and are used differently by different researchers (Milroy and Muysken 1995: 12). Code-switching and *code-mixing* are sometimes used interchangeably by researchers, although some try to make a distinction between them (see for example Auer 1999; Boztepe 2003; Kachru 1983) while others try to distinguish between code-switching and *borrowing* (see for example Boztepe 2003; Myers-Scotton 1992). *Lexical borrowing* is a term used to describe words, phrases or grammatical structures that at some point have been borrowed into a language's lexicon (Haspelmath 2009: 36). However, this definition can be quite problematic,

since it can be difficult to say when exactly the word has become a part of the lexicon. The term code-switching will be used throughout the present study to refer to all instances of a speaker using two different languages in the same speech event, or more specifically, a writer using two languages in the same text.

Some researchers also argue that *code* should not be used to talk about language and have suggested *language alternation* as a substitute for code-switching. Although it can be argued that language is more than just a code, code-switching is still a traditional term used to describe the phenomenon. Unlike language alternation, code-switching also includes switches between different registers and styles, and they are, although not in focus here, also an important aspect of code-switching.

Blom and Gumperz (1972: 424-425) were the first to distinguish two kinds of code-switching based on the reasons that lead to the user switching codes: *situational* and *metaphorical* code-switching. Situational code-switching happens when the participant reacts to a change in the social situation by switching language or dialect (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 424). For example, an informal Finnish chatter among English students might switch very quickly to a more formal English conversation when a professor appears and joins the interaction. On the other hand, metaphorical code-switching refers to changes in the topic or subject matter (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 425). In this case, speakers might switch to English when they are talking about a phenomenon that is closely related to for example American youth culture. In the present study, the focus will be on metaphorical switches, as the actual situation remains the same throughout the *conversational event*, or Twitter namely.

Gumperz (1982: 131) focused on language use and talked about how code-switching is an additional resource for bilingual speakers. He also suggested a number of conversational functions that code-switching can have such as: quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification and personalization versus objectivization (Gumperz 1982: 75-84). Of these, the first three are relatively easy to identify as functions of code-switching. Quotations are used for reported speech, addressee specification refers to code-switching to different languages

according to the recipient's language proficiency and interjections are used as sort of sentence fillers or tags (Gumperz 1982: 75-78). Reiteration and qualification are somewhat similar in nature. Reiteration means when the same message is repeated in a different language as a clarification or when meaning is added by translating the utterance somehow differently into another language, and qualification means when something in what has been previously said needs to be qualified or clarified in another language (Gumperz 1982: 78-79). Lastly, the contrast between personalization and objectivization relates to code choices embedded into, for example, the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, speaker involvement or distance from the message, and whether the talk is about personal opinion or general knowledge (Gumperz 1982: 80). Although these are not entirely unquestionable categories, they do give an understating of the multiple functions that can be seen in code-switching. For a thorough review of the problems in Gumperz's (1982) theory, see for example Botztepe (2003).

Different types of code-switching can be distinguished based on where in the sentence or utterance the switch occurs. When the switch is situated at the sentence or clause boundaries, meaning that one separate sentence is in one language and the next in another, it is called an *inter-sentential switch* (Romaine 1995: 122). Here is an example of inter-sentential code-switching from the data of the present study: "@KajKunnas: *Masala ohitettu. Kohta Espoo. Hold on @MinnaKuukka ! Hold on! Apua tulossa*." (Passed Masala. Soon in Espoo. Hold on @MinnaKuukka ! Hold on! Help is on the way.). Inter-sentential switches require minimum effort on the part of the speaker, because the switch is independent from the grammar of the surrounding language. When, on the other hand, the switch occurs within the sentence boundaries as an integral part of the sentence or utterance, it is called an *intra-sentential switch*, for example: "@OskariSaari: *Aika huikeita vaiheita oli tänäkin vuonna behind the scenes*" (There were some pretty awesome developments behind the scenes this year too). Intra-sentential switches require more linguistic awareness in order for them to work, especially from the grammatical point of view, and they can be considered a more 'intimate' type of code-switching (Poplack 1980: 589). Occasionally switches also occur with the boundaries

of a single word, meaning that the new word will have elements of two languages (Romaine 1995: 123). For example, the English word 'platform' has been inflected accordingly to fit the otherwise Finnish sentence: "@MikaelJungner: *Liikevaihto tulee jatkossakin sisällöistä mutta kate tehdään kyllä netin platformeilla*" (The revenue will continue to come from the content but marginal profit will be made on platforms on the internet). There are also switches called tag-switching, which means adding a tag in one language to an utterance in another language (Romaine 1995: 122). Here is an example of tag-switching from Poplack (1980: 589): "*Vendía arroz 'n shit*" (He sold rice and shit). Tag-switches require little knowledge of either language and can move around freely in the sentence without violating grammatical rules (Poplack 1980: 589).

For decades, research on code-switching in general has been plagued with the concept that if a speaker mixes two languages it means that they must have an inadequate command in both languages (Milroy and Muysken 1995: 3). The basis for this particular idea is that the other language is used to fill in the gaps created by insufficient knowledge of the first language. However, in the face of sociolinguistic evidence, such theories cannot be maintained anymore (Milroy and Muysken 1995: 3). Gardner-Chloros (2009: 180) point out that the reasons behind the ideology that code-switching is harmful are political, aesthetic and cultural factors, not in fact linguistic. Recently, the focus in bilingual and multilingual studies has moved on to studying the ways in which language users take advantage of the different language resources available to them (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010: 241). Consequently, it is interesting to consider code-switching from the perspective of it being a form of verbal strategy showcasing the linguistic resources available to the individuals and the way in which these resources are capitalised in a joint effort to arrive at a shared understanding (Heller 1988: 3). From this point of view, code-switching is seen as a skilful manipulation of the available language resources. Even monolingual speakers take advantage of registers, accents and word choices to position themselves in the social world, so it is only logical that the use of different languages by bilinguals is an extension of the same goal (Bailey 2007: 257). Bilingual speakers have wider language

resources from which to draw from and can therefore create meaning in many interesting and unique ways.

Research on code-switching has diverged into two directions that are separate and distinct, but still complementary to one another: grammatical/syntactical and discourse/pragmatic (Romaine 1995: 121). The former approach is mainly concerned with the structure of code-switching and all the grammatical aspects, such as syntactic and morphosyntactic features, whereas the latter is more interested in finding out how meaning is created and what kinds of social and discourse functions code-switching serves (Boztepe 2003: 3). In the present study, I am more interested in the social aspect of code-switching and I will attempt to understand what is being added to the communication by means of code-switching. For the purposes of the present study, the form, or the syntax of the individual instances of code-switching is not in focus, although occasionally it too can provide interesting information about the structure of code-switching.

According to Heller (1988: 2), in order to fully understand all of the functions, implications and reasons for code-switching, instances of code-switching need to be situated within the greater context of the linguistic resources of the surrounding community. This is to say that instances of code-switching that are removed from their context do not have any meaning as such and analysing them from the functional point of view would be futile. Consequently, in the analysis of the present study both the immediate context of the instances of code-switching, as well as the surrounding general environment, are taken into consideration. The linguistic resources of Finns are discussed in Chapter 2.2 and should be taken into consideration when looking at the findings of the present study.

The aim of the present study is to look at code-switching as a language resource and find out the ways in which code-switching between English and Finnish happens on Twitter. Therefore, the approach to code-switching adopted in the present study will be from a sociolinguistic perspective, meaning that I will attempt to look at the language choices made from the point of view of context, metaphorical situation and

the pragmatic side of code-switching. The grammatical and quantitative aspects will be kept to the minimum and code-switching will be viewed as a manipulation of language resources to achieve certain conversational aims.

4 COMPUTER-MEDIATED COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL MEDIA

In the present chapter, some of the key terms and characteristics of computer-mediated communication will be defined and discussed. It is essential to keep in mind that computer-mediated communication is not a single genre, but a general term to describe a vast and highly diverse medium of communication that is simply mediated by computers and similar electronic devices connected to a network (Baron 2008: 12). I will also present some previous research on computer-mediated communication. Additionally, I will talk about social media and social networking sites as a means of creating new or maintaining and displaying existing social connections. At the end of the present chapter, I will discuss code-switching in the context of computer-mediated communication.

4.1 Defining computer-mediated communication

Computer-mediated communication is an umbrella term that means all communication that is mediated via computers. Therefore, it is vital to keep in mind that any definition of computer-mediated communication cannot apply to all forms of interaction carried out on the internet. Herring's (2007) acclaimed faceted classification scheme offers a way to characterise different online modes according to various medium-related features as well as social factors. So with the help of Herring's (2007) scheme, in the present chapter, I will be looking into some of the categories of the scheme that are most relevant to the present study and helpful in understanding what computer-mediated communication is all about.

The exponential growth and spread of the internet means that much of the research on it and computer-mediated communication is already outdated or focused on areas that are not as relevant anymore as they once appeared to be. Also other tendencies are too oversimplify and give online phenomena overly broad terms, for example naming all groups of people interacting online as communities or thinking that

language on the internet is single genre (Herring 2004: 338). However, even outdated research can offer interesting historical and documental information, as well as demonstrating how fast and in such unexpected ways the internet and computer-mediated communication is developing.

As computers and the internet are still a relatively recent development in the whole of human history, terms to describe the study of communication via computers have not yet established themselves and there is still some debate as to which ones most thoroughly describe the phenomenon. The term **computer-mediated communication** (or CMC) gained popularity in the 1980s (Barnes 2003: 11) and is still a popular choice to describe the phenomenon, as well as the title of a distinguished journal, *The Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*. Later, other terms, such as *electronically mediated communication* (EMC) and *digitally mediated communication* (DMC) were coined to include communication through mobile phones and other devices that, although technically computers, are not necessarily thought of as such (Crystal 2011: 2). Furthermore, Crystal (2011: 2) advocates his own term, *internet linguistics*, as a suitable candidate to describe the study of language on the internet. Additionally, the term *digital discourse* was put forward by Thurlow and Mroczek (2011). For the purposes of the present study, I have chosen to use the traditional term computer-mediated communication as it is the most widely accepted term and does describe the issue thoroughly enough.

Much of computer-mediated communication is text-based communication; however, the conversations are often informal and have many characteristics similar with spoken language (Herring 1996: 3). Having said that, computer-mediated communication is by no means a homogenous genre and there is variation even within the different forms of it, such as e-mail, forum posts, blogs and chat (Herring 2001: 612, 2004: 338). More importantly, computer-mediated communication is now increasingly multisemiotic with many social media sites even based on complex visual and auditory elements (Kytölä 2016: 385). The different semiotic elements available to users affect the language in numerous ways. Absent visual and aural cues, such as facial expressions, body movements and vocalisations are replaced with elements of

spoken language, emoticons and acronyms as well as many multimodal elements such as pictures, video and audio (Barnes 2003: 91). These constraints and other affordances of computer-mediated communication make it such a characteristic way of communication.

The distinction between written and spoken elements in computer-mediated communication is not entirely unproblematic as for various reasons it is seen as a blend of both written and spoken communication. For example, according to Georgakopoulou (2011: 1) computer-mediated communication mixes elements associated with spoken interaction such as "immediacy and informality of style, transience of message, reduced planning and editing, rapid (or immediate) feedback with properties of written language, e.g., lack of visual and paralinguistic cues, physical absence of the addressee, and written mode of delivery". Foertsch (1995: 301) suggests a continuum view where forms of computer-mediated communication can be placed on a line "between the context-dependent interaction of oral communication and the contextually abstracted composition of written text." As an additional aspect, Georgakopoulou (2006: 550) proposes that we look at computer-mediated communication not so much from the point of view of *written* versus *spoken* aspects but more from the perspective of *mediated* versus *face-to-face* discourses. This would allow further exploration of the issues of contextual dimensions such as physical co-presence and sharing of an immediate context (Georgakopoulou 2006: 550). Still, the line between mediated and face-to-face can be blurred with technologies that allow users to speak to each other face-to-face, but through computer-mediated applications, such as Skype or FaceTime.

One of the important features of computer-mediated communication is the issue of synchronicity of participation. Asynchronous systems do not require that the participants are online at the same time in order to send or receive messages, whereas synchronous systems entail that the users be logged on at the same time within the same system (Herring 2001: 614-615). Email, forums, blogs and parts of social network sites are examples of asynchronous systems where the message is sent and stored until the receiver can access the service and read the message. Instant messaging on social

network sites and chat are examples of synchronous systems. Baron (2008: 15) points out however, that it is not always useful to consider asynchronous and synchronous communication as opposites; they are actually better defined on a continuum where the only genuinely synchronous communication is where a person can be interrupted by the other, such as telephone conversation or face-to-face speech.

Another distinction can be made by defining the scope of the intended audience of the communication on the lines of whether the communication is *one-to-one* or *one-to-many* (Baron 2008: 14). In one-to-one communication, the message is intended to reach just one recipient whereas in one-to-many, the same message is sent out to many recipients. These lines can however be blurred when, for example, a user writes on another user's profile page on a social network site or posts. The post becomes semi-public and although it could strictly speaking be meant as one-to-one communication, it becomes one-to-many, as usually anyone who has access to the user's profile page will be able to see the post and in some cases, even comment on and share the post. Now that collaborative projects and user-generated content have become more and more common, also *many-to-one* and *many-to-many* are viable options to describe computer-mediated communication, and should be taken into consideration when studying the intended audience of the communication.

Another feature that can be used to classify different online modes is persistence of transcript (Herring 2007: 15). It refers to how long messages are stored in the system after they have been sent and/or received. In email, for example, the default is that messages are stored until the receiver deletes them. On forums, the posts are also stored indefinitely, but can be deleted by the moderator of the forum, as well as the writer of the post. (Herring 2007: 15). Opposing the norm, a popular messaging application called *Snapchat* is founded on the idea that the user can send a picture or a video accompanied by texts to a controlled group of people and set a time limit on how long the message, or "snap", is viewable for the recipient. Persistence of transcript can affect which kinds of messages and what content the users are willing to send to each other, for example, sending potentially embarrassing content is easier on Snapchat, because the user knows the content will be automatically deleted.

The length of the messages is another classification characteristic. In many cases, such as a forum post or an email, the length is virtually unlimited, only depending on social factors, such as that a very long post on a forum might get overlooked as other users might not have the interest to read it. However, many chats have a limit to how long a single message can be (Herring 2007: 15). Regarding the present study, it is interesting to note that Twitter imposes a limit to the size of the message. More discussion on Twitter will follow in Chapter 5.

The previous descriptions of features of computer-mediated communication are of interest to some extent; however, it is vital to remember that as computer-mediated communication is not a genre of communication, general descriptions of it should be kept to a minimum, especially as the focus is on a minor part of all communication online. What is important is to look at different platforms that enable communication and examine the ways those particular platforms affect the language used, as is the goal of the present study. The communication that is under analysis in the present study is computer-mediated; however, it is essential to keep in mind that it is also *Twitter-mediated communication*, so to say. Taking into consideration the general description of computer-mediated communication, a more focused look on communication mediated by Twitter is discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2 The social internet

Leaving behind its traditional roots as a mere source of information and a medium for communication, the internet has evolved into an expanding multimedia platform that allows and even encourages users to participate in the creation of content by sharing, (co-)creating and (co-)editing digital content (Raguseo 2010: 1). The technologies that enable users to generate new or modify existing content are grouped under the name *Web 2.0* and can be used to add value to existing websites, like the user-generated reviews on the online shopping site Amazon.com, or use content entirely contributed by the users (Ochoa and Duval 2008: 19). These advances are not just technological developments, but also have an effect on social, political, educational and cultural spheres (Raguseo 2010: 1). Together, these social technologies have created a new way

to use the internet, universally dubbed as social media. Social network sites are an interesting part of social media and they bring along new and interesting areas of research.

Social network sites are online platforms where users can create a profile, connect with other users and view and manage those connections (boyd and Ellison 2007: 211). Profiles are linked through accepting friend requests and the resulting connections are visible on the users' profiles, making the existing social networks visible for the participant to see (Lange 2007: 362). These connections are usually integrated as a part of the profile and displayed as vital information on the user's self-presentation (Donath and boyd 2004: 72), so in short social networks are a way to conceptualise social groupings and interactions (Merchant 2011: 5). However, even though networking is at the core of social network sites, it is not the main focus of many of the sites (boyd and Ellison 2007: 211). It is important to keep in mind that using social network sites for making new acquaintances has a more minor role than using them for displaying and maintaining already existing social connections with people who are already part of people's existing (offline) social circles (boyd and Ellison 2007: 211; Merchant 2011: 6).

The earliest site that can be recognised as a social network site was SixDegrees.com launched in 1997 and closed in 2000 (boyd and Ellison 2007: 214). According to its founder A. Weinreich (as cited in boyd and Ellison 2007: 214) one of the problems of the site that it was ahead of its time and the users' networks were not online in such numbers as they are today and after adding a "friend", there was not much else to do. Around the end of the 1990s to the beginning of the 2000s, several sites began allowing users to create personal profiles and add other users as friends (boyd and Ellison 2007: 214). From 2003 onward, the number of social network sites grew exponentially with different sites for different interests and purposes, such as *Dogster* for people with a passion for dogs and *Couchsurfing* which helps travellers find lodging with other users (boyd and Ellison 2007: 216). Eventually as the popularity of the user-generated content phenomenon grew, sites with a more traditional focus on media sharing began taking on features of social network sites (boyd and Ellison 2007: 216).

With more and more people being able to access the internet on their mobile devices, an area of online social networking has developed called microblogging (Williams, Terras and Warwick 2012: 384). Microblogging means writing short messages online on a social network site and reporting on one's movements, thoughts and actions (Lee 2011: 111), as well "commenting on, responding to, and amplifying the impact of current events" (Williams, Terras and Warwick 2012: 385). Currently the most popular example of a microblogging service is Twitter (http://twitter.com/) (Yus 2011: 135) to which Chapter 5 is devoted.

4.3 Code-switching in computer-mediated communication

As discussed previously in Chapter 3, code-switching is a natural phenomenon of human interaction, and therefore it happens in all modes of communication, including, as anticipated, in computer-mediated communication. In the following section I will be looking into features of code-switching that are typical or interesting in the context of computer-mediated communication. As mentioned throughout the present study, we must be careful not to generalise computer-mediated communication as a type of communication, and instead remember to take into consideration that it encompasses all sorts of communications that are simply mediated by networked computers and thus will differ from each other vastly.

Traditionally code-switching has been studied mostly in spoken communication and not so much in written communication presumably because, as mentioned by Gumperz (1982: 64), code-switching occurs most frequently in informal *speech*. However, as discussed in the chapter on computer-mediated communication, the line between what is considered written or spoken interaction is contested by interaction in online environments. Therefore, the traditional frameworks for code-switching studies, such as the conversation-analytic approach can prove to be problematic. These limitations however are well documented in computer-mediated communication literature (Beißwenger 2008; Herring 1999).

Although there has been some interest in studying code-switching in computer-mediated communication since the mid-1990s, it still remains under-researched and

marginalised in many fields of research (Androutsopoulos 2013: 667). However, taken into consideration the pervasiveness of online interaction worldwide and the increasingly multilingual and multicultural society we live in, it would be foolish to ignore the many insights code-switching in computer-mediated communication can offer to different research fields. Studying code-switching in computer-mediated communication will also update our previous knowledge and assumptions about code-switching. Many researchers have fortunately realised the vast opportunities provided to study code-switching and language choice online. For example, Warschauer, El Said and Zohry (2002) reported that young Egyptian professionals used English as a common language in their formal work related discourse, and code-switched between Arabic and English in their informal emails and chat. The social media site *Facebook* has also inspired great many researchers to study code-switching among different language users: see for example, Seargeant, Tagg and Ngampramuan (2012) on Thai-English code-switching; Cunliffe, Morris and Prys (2013) on Welsh-English code-switching. An excellent overview of studies on code-switching in computer-mediated communication can be found in Androutsopoulos (2013). The present study aims to complement and add to the existing research by looking at code-switching on Twitter between English and Finnish.

Compared to spoken conversational code-switching and written code-switching, code-switching in computer-mediated communication has its specific characteristics that establish it as a new domain of multilingual communication. For example, even though code-switching in computer-mediated communication is written text, it differs from other types of writing in numerous ways, such as being intended for a particular recipient, often being a part of a multiparty conversation and used frequently with other semiotic resources, such as images and videos (Androutsopoulos 2013: 684). These characteristics set code-switching in computer-mediated communication apart from code-switching in other types of written discourse. The question of authenticity is often contested with written code-switching, especially fiction; however, considering code-switching in computer-mediated contexts will eventually lead to the

understanding that written code-switching can be just as authentic as spoken code-switching (Androutsopoulos 2013: 685).

Planning is an aspect of computer-mediated communication that makes it distinct from other types of communication. For example, in spoken conversation, speech is received by the hearer as soon as it is uttered, whereas in many cases of asynchronous modes of computer-mediated communication, there is a clear gap between the production and the reception of a message (Androutsopoulos 2013: 685). The planning time can also have an effect on the code-switching practices. It can be said that the code-switching is less unconscious, especially in modes that allow the user more time to focus and edit their message. Planning also relates to the various lengths of the messages in online communication. As mentioned earlier in section 4.1, some network sites, like Twitter, limit the number of characters per message which means that the message needs to be planned more carefully to fit the allowed perimeter. This sort of pressure to carefully plan the message can either lead to the writer not wanting to use any of the space for code-switching, or, which is obviously more interesting from the point of view of the present study, to the writer using code-switching in creative ways that might have not occurred to them in spoken communication (Androutsopoulos 2013: 685-686).

In conclusion, computer-mediated communication offers a large ground for research in different fields, not least in linguistics. The present study focuses on Twitter-mediated communication and its characteristics which are discussed in the following chapter. Additionally, the present study combines computer-mediated communication with code-switching and aims at providing more insight into how code-switching is used in written texts in online environments.

5 TWITTER

In this chapter I will be discussing the social media site Twitter. First of all, I will explain the main features of Twitter, starting from a functional point of view. Secondly, I will deploy Herring's (2007) faceted classification scheme to describe Twitter, by first briefly listing the medium-related factors of the scheme and then going into more detail about the situational factors. Thirdly, I will discuss the uses of Twitter and then present some relevant previous research done on Twitter. Finally, I will place Twitter in the Finnish context and talk about Finnish users of Twitter.

5.1 Twitter's functions

As mentioned earlier in section 4.2, Twitter is a microblogging service that allows users to send short messages or *tweets* to other users who have subscribed to follow their tweets. Twitter can be accessed through any web or mobile browser as well as several mobile applications. Many news sites, blogs and other social media sites also have enabled Twitter, meaning that any user can share their content straight to their Twitter followers. Twitter is not merely a platform for microblogging, but also has characteristics similar to social network sites, such as the creating a profile and connecting to other users (Williams, Terras and Warwick 2012: 387). By default the profiles are public, and although they are possible to set to private, most users leave their profile public.

The main functions of Twitter are to send and read short messages called tweets. The tweets are up to 140 characters long and besides text, can contain pictures, videos and links. Users can choose to follow other users, meaning that they can subscribe to getting other user's tweets posted on their main page in reverse chronological order. As soon as new tweets are posted the Twitter feed can be refreshed. (Discover Twitter 2013).

There are several features that ease interaction between users. To direct a message to another user or to mention them in the post, @ sign is place before the user's name. If

the username is the first word of the tweet, only the people who follow both the sender and receiver will see the tweet on their main page. Placing a hashtag (#) in front of any word or phrase makes it into a link and anyone who searches for the word or phrase will find all tweets that use the particular hashtag. Retweeting is a feature where a user forwards someone else's tweet to their own followers by either using the retweet icon, or copying the text and publishing it with the acronym "RT" and the original author's username. Uses can also mark tweets as favourites. This is done to send a positive notification to the author of the tweet, or just to mark the tweet for future reference. Users can also send direct messages (DM) to each other. DMs are only visible to the two participants and are stored and displayed separately from the main Twitter feed. (Discover Twitter 2013).

At the time of writing in November 2015, Twitter has over 320 million active users monthly and half a billion tweets are sent daily (About Twitter 2015). From its launch in 2006, Twitter has grown rapidly and as of November 2015 is the ninth most popular internet site in the world and eight in the United States (Alexa 2015) and the second most popular social networking site in the world after Facebook (eBizMBA 2015). As mentioned earlier in this section, users can access Twitter through the main website or external applications on their mobile devices, such as tablets and smartphones, and in fact, according to About Twitter (2015), 80 percent of active users are using Twitter on their mobile device.

5.2 Classification of Twitter

As discussed earlier, Herring's (2007) faceted classification scheme is a comprehensive way to describe a social media site, and therefore I will be using it to illustrate various aspects of Twitter. The scheme has two parts, medium-related and situational factors, which are comprehensively explained in Herring (2007: 10-23). In this section, I will first briefly list the medium factors in a table form and then go through the situational factors in more detail.

5.2.1 Medium factors

Medium factors of the classification scheme describe the technological features of the computer-mediated system that is under analysis (Herring 2007: 11). Below in Table 1, the medium factors are listed and Twitter is described using the table. For a detailed explanation of the different terms, see Herring (2007: 13-17), but here, for the sake of brevity the detailed descriptions of the different medium factors has been excluded from the present study.

Table 1. Medium factors (adapted from Herring 2007: 13).

Synchronicity	asynchronic
Message transmission	message-by-message
Persistence of transcript	all tweets are stored indefinitely, users can delete their own tweets
Size of message	140 characters
Channels of communication	mainly text, can also be picture or video
Anonymous messaging	users can be anonymous or post with their actual identity, public figures can have their identity verified
Private messaging	possible
Filtering	possible, users choose whose tweets they see and can block other users
Quoting	= retweeting, which is a very popular way to resend someone else's tweet to one's followers
Message format	newest messages appear on a user's feed as soon as they are posted, replies are often grouped together with the oldest tweet first, each tweet is accompanied by the user's name and avatar, as well as a time stamp

Some of the factors listed in Table 1 are described in more detail in section 4.1, here I have just given a brief listing of the various medium-related factors, and hope to have given a clear overview of the different functions of Twitter according to Herring's (2007) classification scheme. Next I will discuss the situational factors in greater detail, because I believe they offer more valuable information in order to better describe Twitter.

5.2.2 Situational factors

The situational factors describe the situation or the context of the communication as a social phenomenon (Herring 2007: 11). The situational factors listed by Herring (2007: 18) included aspects such as: participation structure, participant characteristics, purpose, topic or theme, tone, activity, norms and code. In this section I will discuss the ones that seemed most relevant in order to understand Twitter's social aspects.

The participation structure on Twitter is one-to-many by default. If a user mention's another user by using the reply feature, or just typing the username with @, the message could be construed as one-to-one. However, other users who follow the mentioned user will be able to see the tweet. True one-to-one communication on Twitter happens only via private messaging. It is also interesting to note about Twitter's communication structure that following other users is not necessarily reciprocal, meaning that if user Z follows user X, X does not have any obligation to follow user Z back. Therefore, the balance of participation can be quite distorted. Some users might not have any followers, but follow a large number of other users, whereas some public figures for example have millions of followers, but only follow a few themselves. For example, Kwak, Lee, Park and Moon (2010: 593) found that nearly 70 percent of users are not followed by any of the people they follow.

As Twitter is semi-anonymous in the sense that users do not need to log any personal information, it is somewhat difficult to find accurate information about the user demographics of Twitter. However, according to Hubspot's infographic (2015), 77 percent of Twitter accounts are outside of the United States, with 33 percent of users from Asia Pacific, 24 percent from Europe, 12 percent from Latin America and seven

percent from Middle East and Africa. Young and middle-aged adults make up for the largest age group on Twitter, with 37 percent of users being 18 to 29 years old and 25 percent being 30 to 49 years old. Over 50 year olds make up 22 percent of Twitter users and under 18 year olds 16 percent. (Hubspot 2015). People from all backgrounds use Twitter, but it is most popular among college-educated urbanites (Duggan et al. 2014).

The purpose of Twitter depends very much on the user. Some use it just socially to share personal daily occurrences, and maintain social connections, some use it to read about current events and share news stories with their followers, some use it to promote their business or agenda. These goals are pursued by different activities that can be performed on Twitter, namely writing your own original tweet, retweeting someone else's tweet, posting content from other sites to Twitter, marking a tweet as a favourite, following users and sending private messages to other users.

The topics discussed on Twitter range from cutting edge technological advances, to upturning unjust governments to funny cat videos. On 9 October 2015, for example, the top five trending topics worldwide on Twitter are about a new single about to be released by a popular boy band, the new Nobel Prize Winner, people wishing happy birthday to John Lennon, another boy band announced a new tour and a new iPhone being released in India. These topics would also suggest that the general tone of Twitter is usually quite casual and informal. However, as will be discussed in section, 5.3, Twitter is used in serious contexts as well, as evidenced by its involvement in the so-called Arab Spring.

The factor of norms is divided into three types of norms in Herring's classification scheme: norms of organization, norms of social appropriateness and norms of language (2007: 21). On Twitter, norms of organization play a much smaller role than norms of social appropriateness and language. Although other users can and do flag inappropriate content, and accounts can be banned, it is the social conventions that mainly govern the content on Twitter. The norms of social appropriateness are of course dependent on the social norms and regulations that affect the users in offline contexts as well and as such users can have very different understanding of what is

appropriate content and what is not. An infamous example of misinterpretation occurred in 2010 when a Twitter user who posted a tweet threatening to blow up a British airport if the bad weather grounded his flight, was arrested, charged and found guilty of sending a menacing message, but later won his third appeal against the conviction (Beckford 2012). This shows that the norms applied to Twitter might not always the ones accepted in offline life. Norms of language can be seen for example in the use of many acronyms as well as hashtags. Also, Twitter's limitations on the number of characters per post has had its effect on the language of the tweets. Often the text is constructed in the manner that there is not anything that is not absolutely necessary for the understanding of the message. URLs are often abbreviated by using sites such as *Bitly* (http://bit.ly) where anyone can put any long URL and it shortens it to better fit in the tweet.

Code is one of the most interesting factors of Herring's classification scheme (2007) from the point of view of the present study. Although Twitter's interface is supported in over 35 different languages, there is no rule as to which language one should post tweets in. In 2011, 51 percent of tweets were written in English (Hong, Convertino and Chi 2011: 519) whereas in 2013, only 34 percent were in English (Statista 2013). In 2011, other languages that accounted for over five percent of tweets were Japanese, Portuguese and Indonesian (Hong, Convertino and Chi 2011: 519) and two year later they were Japanese, Spanish, Malay, Portuguese and Arabic (Statista 2013).

5.3 Using Twitter

To explain certain language choices made on Twitter, it is important to understand *why* people use Twitter in the first place. As Twitter is in fact a micro*blogging* service, the reasons why it is used are similar to those of blogs, for example sharing daily experiences, opinions and commentary as well as maintaining an online community (Java, Song, Finin and Tseng 2007: 57). Furthermore, Twitter is used to report on news and sharing and searching for information (Java et al. 2007: 63). However, it is vital to keep in mind that over the past nine years of its existence, Twitter has gained a

massive number of new users who all bring their own ideas of how Twitter can be used into the mix.

Although originally designed for personal use, Twitter is not only used by private people as a means of broadcasting their daily activities, but also by non-profit organizations, governments, institutions, corporations and media to promote their goals and spread news (Muralidharan, Rasmussen, Patterson and Shin 2011: 175). Dörk, Gruen, Williamson and Carpendale (2010: 1129) present the notion of *visual backchannel* to describe the social phenomenon where microblogs such as Twitter are used as digital backchannels during all kinds of events and happenings, such as political speeches, sporting events and natural disasters. In essence a backchannel is "supplementary media running in parallel to some main form of communication" (Zappavigna 2012: 32). It offers the users a way to communicate with other people experiencing the same situation, be it a presidential election, a conference, natural disaster, or simply a weather phenomenon (Zappavigna 2012: 4).

An example of Twitter being used as a successful backchannel would be during the times of civil unrest in 2011 in Middle Eastern countries, dubbed as the Arab Spring. A report by Salem and Mourtada (2011) gives empirical evidence that activists using Facebook and Twitter to successfully organise protests and spread awareness of the unjust acts of the government did have a critical part in the developments of the event in the Arab countries in the early 2011. The report (Salem and Mourtada 2011) also maps out the usage of Facebook and Twitter during the first quarter of 2011 and shows that there was a massive increase in the usage of both social media sites as well as clear spikes in the number of daily tweets and usage of popular hashtags coinciding with events that were happening in the Arab countries. For example, in Egypt, the volume of the hashtag #jan25 went from around 10,000 to over 25,000 within a couple of days when President Mubarak left office on 11 February (Salem and Mourtada 2011: 20). The use of social media during the Arab Spring proves that the way we use social media is always changing and meeting the demands of the times.

5.4 Studying Twitter

The fact that Twitter is very open and messages are easy to search makes it an ideal dataset for researchers from all kinds of disciplines to study (Williams, Terras and Warwick 2012: 385). Furthermore, the novelty and surging popularity have also made Twitter an interesting and emerging research area. In this chapter, I will present some previous research on Twitter, largely based on the recent and quite extensive survey by Williams, Terras and Warwick (2012) that charted and classified over a thousand academic papers. However, it should be noted that Twitter is still a quite recent development and plenty of research is being conducted at the moment and any research tendencies reported here might still be evolving greatly.

The characteristics of Twitter make it an intriguing platform for linguistic study. The limitation of characters of tweet creates interesting data to study how meaning is made in constrained contexts (Zappavigna 2012: 27). Especially from the point of view of code-switching and language choice in general, the limited characters of a tweet make the choice of language and even specific words more meaningful, because the choice of words has to be made more carefully to fit the limitations imposed. Therefore, the choice to use English instead of Finnish is in a way less random, and has more significance, making it a valuable aspect to study. The present study attempts to shed light on the possible reasons that Finnish people have for choosing to use English in their tweets.

Owning to the open and public nature of Twitter, it is easy to collect tweets into text data which in return can be analysed using textual analysis (Luoma 2013: 17) which makes Twitter an ideal platform for research from many different fields. However, the text in the tweets is not the only feature of Twitter that has been studied, as proved by Williams, Terras and Warwick (2012: 389) who identified four aspects in focus in the papers that studied Twitter: *message*, *user*, *technology* and *concept*. For example, the main focus of the present study is on the *message*, i.e. code-switching in the tweets. Papers focused on the *user* examined users' identities, such as looking at the followers and profiles. The present study is also partly focused on the user since the users' profile texts are also part of the analysis. Papers focused on *technology* looked at the

technological side of Twitter, such as the user software, and lastly, papers focused on the *concept* were, for example, introductory overviews and discussion pieces (Williams, Terras and Warwick 2012: 389). Consequently, although the technology and concept of Twitter are explained, they will not be in focus in the present study. According to Williams, Terras and Warwick (2012: 394) the message was the aspect that has been studied the most, with 61 percent of the papers examined in the survey focusing on the message.

Williams, Terras and Warwick (2012: 395) found research from many different domains and grouped them into thirteen broader categories. The largest domain was *geography* with 91 out of 575 papers being related to geography in some sense. 44 papers were focused on linguistics. When the domains were combined with the four aspects discussed in the previous paragraph, Williams, Terras and Warwick (2012: 398) reported that 80 percent of the papers within the domain of *linguistics* were focused on the message. The only other domain where the message was more in focus was the domain of emergency where 91 percent of the papers were about the message (Williams, Terras and Warwick 2012: 398).

The results reported by Williams, Terras and Warwick (2012) prove that Twitter has been studied within several different fields of research with foci in different features of Twitter. The results also show that although there are some studies on Twitter with a linguistic point of view, there is still much room for advancement in the field of linguistic studies on Twitter. As the survey by Williams, Terras and Warwick (2012) only focused on giving a general overview of the research on Twitter on global level it did not go into detail about the various approaches within the field of linguistics studied in the papers. The present study gives valuable insight into the uses of English by bilingual users from the local perspective, namely Finnish Twitter users. This will deepen the understanding of uses of different local and global languages on new media platform and develop the already existing research on both Twitter and language mixing or code-switching.

5.5 Twitter in Finland

The usage and popularity of Twitter in Finland can be difficult to define precisely due to several factors, such as differences in counting the users, language choice and whether passive users are included in the number. For example, The Finnish Twitter Census (2013) reported that there are approximately 64,000 Finnish speaking Twitter accounts of which 26,000 are considered active, meaning that the user has posted something in the past 30 days. As the study was language-based, it excluded all otherwise Finnish accounts that used any other language, such as English or Swedish. Nummela (2013a) utilises a different system for calculating the number of Finnish Twitter users, and reports that there are approximately 260,000 active users. At the moment of publishing the present study, the number has climbed up to 354,000 active users (Nummela 2015). In the number Nummela (2013a) has included Finland-based users who do not tweet in Finnish as well as those users who newer tweet, but actively read other people's tweets. Clearly the numbers reported by The Finnish Twitter Census (2013) and Nummela (2013a) differ greatly and declaring a number of Finnish users is extremely problematic.

When compared with the numbers of total number of accounts and active users for Sweden (300,000/160,000) and Norway (230,000/110,000) (Finnish Twitter Census 2013), it is obvious that Twitter has not yet gained similar popularity as in two of our neighbouring countries. Interestingly however, Alexa (2015) reports that Twitter was the 12th most popular website in Finland and 11th and 13th in Sweden and Norway respectively, showing that Twitter was visited nearly as often from Finland as from Sweden and Norway. However, it needs to be remembered that measuring the relative popularity of Twitter between different countries is quite problematic since many users access Twitter via the mobile application and therefore would not count for the popularity of the web site. Nevertheless, according to Nummela (2013b), in the beginning of 2013, new active accounts were being created at a record high rate, with even three times more accounts created than at the same time previous year.

The popularity of Twitter is a growing phenomenon and an interesting one to study; however, the focus of the present study is to look at language choices made by some

Finnish users. Both Nummela (2013a) and The Finnish Twitter Census (2013) included only accounts that used mainly Finnish in their calculations, proving that Finnish is the main language used by Finns on Twitter. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that many users choose to use other languages as well. As already previously discussed, Finns value English and use it in many areas of their lives and it is therefore only natural to assume that English is used also on Twitter on regular basis. The present study specifically aims to analyse the relationship between English, Finnish and Twitter as well as interpret some of the reasons behind the specific language choices.

6 RESEARCH DESIGN

In this section I will detail the process of analysis of the present study. I will define the aims of the study and give the research questions that the study aspires to answer. Following this, I will explain the procedures of the data collection and the process of analysis of the data of the present study. Lastly, I will discuss the chosen research methods and look at how the present study utilises them in the analysis.

6.1 Aims and research questions

The purpose of the present study is to look at the ways in which Finnish Twitter users use English in their tweets. The aim is threefold; firstly, I will be examining how English is used in the tweets, meaning what kind of structures are used, for example, are the English words or phrases mixed with Finnish, or do entire tweets appear in English. Secondly, I aim to find out when English is being used. For example, are there similarities between the topics of the tweets that have English in them, or do the same people tweet always in Finnish or always in English. Thirdly and finally, I will attempt to find out the possible reasons and motives behind the language choices largely based on the observed use of English in the tweets.

The aims can be summarised into one main question:

How is English used by Finns on Twitter?

which is guided by two supplementary questions that direct the analysis:

In which contexts is English used?
What motivates the language choices?

The present study is mainly qualitative in nature, but will also have quantitative elements in place. I will attempt to answer these questions by analysing the languages used in a sample of tweets by Finnish Twitter users using qualitative methods; however, to get a fuller understanding of the amount and frequency of English on

Finnish Twitter, a quantitative element is also present, meaning that I will briefly examine the statistics of the languages found in the tweets.

Additionally, in order to find out who uses English on Twitter, I will be also briefly looking at the use of English and code-switching in the profile texts of the users chosen for the present study. The profile text is a brief description of the user's persona on Twitter and common topics include work, hobbies, interests and general information about the user. Often the users will also mention which language they will use for their tweets which is one of the reasons why the texts were included in the study. Analysing the languages used and mentioned in them will provide additional information about the language choices made by Finnish Twitter users which in turn will tell us something about the way Finnish people use and value English in social media contexts. The same research questions that were used when analysing the tweets, were also applied to the analysis of the profile texts.

6.2 Selection and collection of data

The present study aims to give a comprehensive interpretation of the ways in which English is used by Finns on Twitter by examining the alternation between Finnish and English in Finnish Twitter users' tweets. However, considering the vast number of Finnish users on Twitter and the limits of a master's thesis, it serves well to choose only a sample of Finnish Twitter users' tweets to analyse. The users were chosen from a list of the top one hundred Finns on Twitter compiled by Hirvonen, Tuominen and Tebest (2013). The list consists of three top one hundred lists: *the most followed*, *the most recommended* and *editor's choice*. The compilation, called #SuomiTop100, was put together using data from The Finnish Twitter Census (2013) and Nummela's (2013a) survey of Finnish Twitter users. For the analysis, I chose the editor's choice list because it contains users from different backgrounds and with different interests and presumably would offer the most variety as regards the topics of the tweets.

There were hundred people on the editor's choice list by Hirvonen, Tuominen and Tebest (2013), divided into the following categories: active citizens, media, society, business, education, social media, entertainment, music and film, sports, and humour.

Many of the people on the list were public figures in their different fields. Four users were excluded from the study: three because the profile mentioned in the list had been deleted (@eliaskoskimies, @realmikasalo and @MikaVayrynen4) and one because it did not contain anything other than retweets (@KatriK). One user (@AnonymousFin) had posted only three tweets, but other users were more active. The users on the list had between 50 300 and 2 500 followers at the time the list was originally compiled in June 2013. Few of the users had not posted tweets actively at the time of the collection of the tweets, but as the date on which the tweets were posted is irrelevant to the present study, older tweets were also included in the analysis.

As there are different types of tweets in the data, such as retweets and replies to other users, I had to consider which ones I would include in the analysis of the data. As I am interested in the ways in which Finnish users use English themselves in their own personal tweets, I have included only tweets that I deemed original to the user. For example, a popular way to circulate news and other interesting tweets is retweeting another user's tweet to one's followers. These retweets were not included in the data as I did not consider these as original products of the user and in my opinion these would not provide relevant information for the analysis. Additionally, tweets that were only re-posts of news stories or published from other sources, such as the popular photo-sharing application *Instagram* were also excluded.

Another issue that I had to consider were replies to other users. Replies are usually always original to the author, but if they are direct replies, meaning that the username is first, they are not shown on the person's followers' feed. These types of replies are therefore only seen by the two or more people communicating and anyone who follows them both. I decided to exclude these types of replies as I wanted to focus on tweets that the user addressed generally to their followers instead of one specific person.

The data collection process was quite straightforward. Five latest tweets from each user (except from one user who only had posted three tweets) were saved into a text file and sorted into three groups according to the language(s) used in the tweet: tweets

with no English elements, tweets with some English elements mixed with Finnish or other languages, and tweets with only English elements. I named the categories: No English, Some English and Only English. Additionally, the brief profile texts from each profile were saved and divided into the same categories. The tweets and profile texts were collected during the last few weeks of November in 2014, although many of the tweets were posted at earlier times.

Some ethical concerns need to be discussed whenever data is collected from a social media site. On Twitter, the users can choose whether their profile is private or public. By default, the profiles are set to be public, and many users choose to keep it so. All of the profiles that were included in the present study were public so I could access them without subscribing to their tweets or logging in on Twitter with my own profile. Therefore I did not need to ask for consent from the user to use their tweets in the present study. Additionally, in the examples I decided to include the username of the individual who had posted the tweet because anyone reading the present study could search for the tweets on Twitter and discover the name of the original poster.

6.3 Methods of analysis

The present study is a qualitative with a sociolinguistic approach. In the analysis, I combined content analysis with computer-mediated discourse analysis. In combining the mentioned approaches I aimed to achieve a thorough understanding of the questions at hand and employ the best qualities of the different methods. In the next sections I will be discussing computer-mediated discourse analysis and content analysis and present their individual merits and qualities and further justify why both methods of analysis were used in the present study.

6.3.1 Computer-mediated discourse analysis

Owing to its novelty and fast growing popularity, computer-mediated discourse has received a considerable amount of attention from researchers of different fields during the last few decades. Considering just the linguistic aspects, computer-mediated discourse has been approached from pragmatic, conversation and discourse analytic,

sociolinguistic, genre analytic, and ethnographic perspectives and as such, methods and key concepts have been borrowed from various research traditions (Androutsopoulos and Beißwenger 2008: 1). Therefore critical reflection on the challenges of applying research methods to new settings is partly lacking; however, new frameworks for research are already appearing, such as Herring's (2004) approach to computer-mediated discourse analysis which will be in use during the present study.

According to Herring (2004: 339) computer-mediated discourse analysis (henceforth CMDA) is an approach that "applies methods adapted from language-focused disciplines such as linguistics, communication, and rhetoric to the analysis of computer-mediated communication" and it is informed by a linguistic perspective as online behaviour is viewed from the point of view of language and language use. CMDA is not a single method that can be applied to any study, but rather it provides a set of methods with which to make observations and interpretations based on empirical analysis (Herring 2004: 342).

6.3.2 Content analysis

Content analysis is used to systematically and objectively analyse the content of written data (Kyngäs and Vanhanen (1999), cited in Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 103) but can also be applied to spoken, signed or multisemiotic data. This method aims to provide a condensed and general account of the phenomenon and it can be used even with unstructured data (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 103). This makes content analysis ideal for the purposes of the present study, because the data is quite unstructured and the focus is on arriving to a general conclusion instead of a detailed analysis of every aspect of the data. Compared to discourse analysis, content analysis aims to find the meanings in the data, whereas discourse analysis exposes how meaning is created in the data (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 104) consequently making it particularly suitable for the present study, as it is already known *how* meaning is created: by code-switching.

Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009: 95-98) present three different analytical approaches that can be taken with content analysis: *data-bound*, *theory-bound* and *theory-guided* analyses, of which theory-guided approach is selected as the approach of the present study. The distinction between the three can be seen in the ways how the theory describing the phenomenon guides the collection and analysis of the data, and the reporting of the results (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 98). In the data-bound approach, the whole process of analysis is not influenced by the theory at all and all conclusions are purely gathered from the data. On the contrary, theory-bound approach is frame worked by an existing theory and the study is aimed at testing the theory in a new context. The theory-guided approach can be seen as being somewhere between the other two. It is connected to earlier theories, but it is not intended to testing the theories and the items that are analysed can be freely selected from the data, keeping in mind the theoretical framework. For the purposes of the present study, the theory-guided approach to content analysis the most suitable, because of its flexibility and openness for interpretations. Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009: 97) discuss theory-guided analysis as being abductive, meaning that the analysis connects the theory with the observations, mixing together the deductive and inductive approaches and coming to new, inspired conclusions.

7 ANALYSIS

The detailed qualitative analysis of the findings is presented in this chapter. The data can be divided into two parts: the profile texts and the actual tweets. In this chapter I will first look at the profile texts somewhat briefly, and then focus more on the actual tweets.

The data consisted of 478 tweets that I divided into three categories according to the presence of English in the tweets. The first, and by far largest category included all tweets that had no English elements in them, 276 in total. This accounted for 57.9 percent of all tweets. Second category consisted of tweets that had some English elements mixed in with other languages and included 85 tweets altogether, which was 17.6 percent of all tweets. 117 tweets that had only English in them made up for the final category which accounted for the remaining 24.5 percent of all tweets. For clarity, these categories will be referred to as No English, Some English and Only English throughout the rest of the present study.

There were only a few cases where languages other than Finnish or English were used. Swedish was used in eight tweets, so in about 1.7 percent of all the tweets. Swedish is the first language of 5.3 percent of Finns (Statistics Finland 2014), so the amount of Swedish on Finnish Twitter is clearly not representative of the number of Swedish-speakers in Finland. Additionally there were two tweets that used Russian and Sami. In one tweet about a Finnish TV-show's episode about Russia, a Russian word was added in the end of the tweet. Another tweet about an article on a Lapland based newspaper contained a headline in Sami. As the focus of the present study is on the use of English by Finns on Twitter, I will not go into any more detail about the occurrences of other languages in the data.

In the analysis I will be providing relevant examples of the data to illustrate the findings. I will present the whole tweet as an example with no changes made in the orthography or punctuation. For brevity, I will omit the links and pictures so often included in the tweets by marking [link] or [picture] in their respective place. A

description of the link or the picture will be provided in cases where knowing the omitted content is relevant to the understanding of the example. Emoticons and emojis are also used frequently on Twitter, so they also appeared in the data. Emoticons are made from symbols on one's keyboard, such as using a colon and a parenthesis to form a smiley face, whereas emojis are small cartoon pictures that can be added to messages on many platforms, including Twitter. In the examples, I have included any emoticons that were part of the original example, but emojis are replaced by [emoji] for clarity. A translation of the tweet when appropriate is provided under the example in parenthesis. The name of the user who has written the tweet will be presented at the beginning of the example accompanied by @ sign. Since all the tweets collected for the data of the present analysis were originally posted publicly, there is no need to censor the identity of the writer.

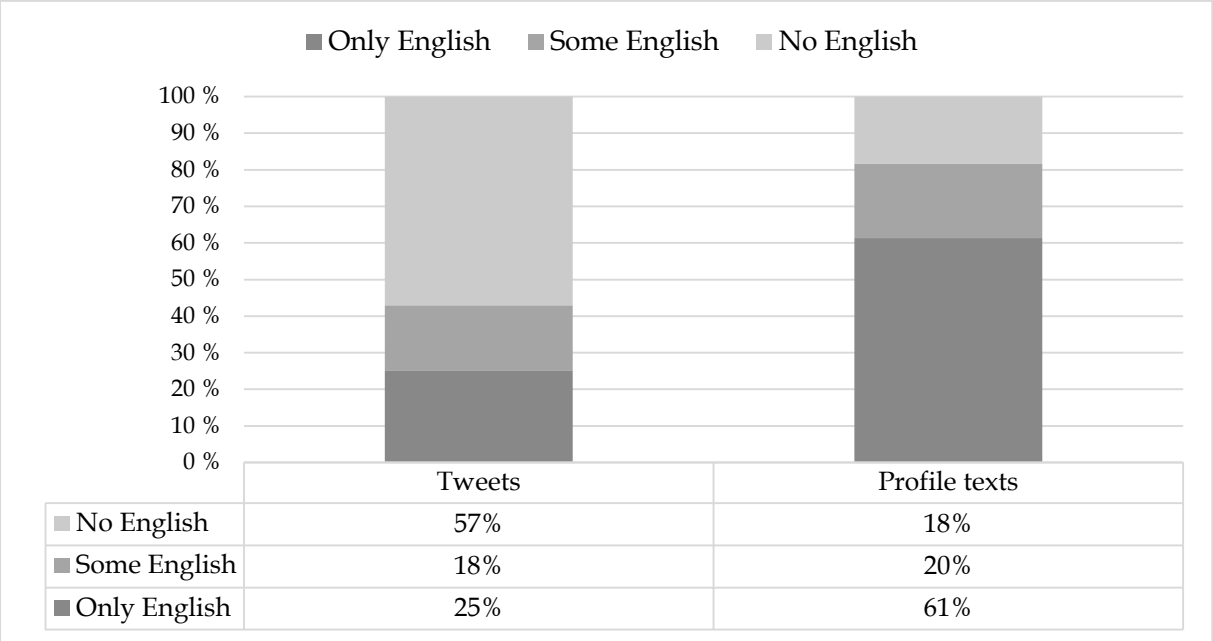
7.1 Profile texts

The profile texts of each user were also analysed in the present study. The text is up to 160 characters long and is used to describe one's persona on Twitter. Users usually include information about their work and other interests as well as other social media accounts they are affiliated with. Also, users often mention which languages they will be writing their tweets in, which is quite interesting from the point of view of the present study, since the focus is on language use of Finnish Twitter users. In this chapter I will present some interesting aspects from the profile texts that can help to understand the language choices that Finnish Twitter users make.

The profile texts were divided into the same groups as the tweets: the ones with no English elements, the ones with some English mixed in with other languages and the ones with only English elements. For clarity, these groups are called No English, Some English and Only English. The texts were collected at the same time as the tweets by viewing the user's profile page and copying the texts into a file. Of the 96 users that were included in the study, 93 had written a profile texts. Majority of the profile texts were written in only English, with 57 profile texts making up for 61.3 percent of the texts. The No English and Some English categories had very similar results, 17 tweets

(18.3 percent) did not contain any English elements and 19 tweets (20.4 percent) contained code-switching between English and other languages. Besides English and Finnish, other languages were used very rarely: only two texts included translations in Swedish and one had a quote in Latin.

There was a clear difference in the amount of English used in the profile texts compared to the amount of English used in the actual tweets. The differences in the percentages are illustrated in Figure 1 below:



	Tweets	Profile texts
No English	57%	18%
Some English	18%	20%
Only English	25%	61%

Figure 1. Percentages of English in the tweets and the profile texts

As can be seen in Figure 1 above, the percentages of English in the tweets and the profile texts are almost reversed. In the tweets, the biggest category was tweets that included no English elements, whereas in the profile texts, the majority of them were written in English only. In both data groups the two smaller categories were roughly the same sizes, creating an interesting contrasting pattern of English use between the profile texts and actual tweets on Twitter.

These results seem to clearly indicate that English seems to be the lingua franca of the profile texts on Twitter. Preferring English in their profile texts, the users are likely to presume that non-Finnish speaking people are going to read them and therefore they

write it in English. In many profile texts, the users specifically say that they will be tweeting in Finnish, yet the text is in English. In all probability, these types of users will want non-Finnish speaking people be able to understand their profile texts to get an understanding as to who they are, even though they might then not be able to understand any of their tweets. The profile text is a way to tell potential followers what to expect to see in the tweets and a common practice is to mention languages that one is likely to use in their tweets. In the following examples, the users explicitly acknowledge the languages they are likely to use in their tweets:

(1) @PaulaSalovaara: Journalist. Tweets in Finnish, Swedish and English . rsb.fi

(2) @andrewickstroem: comedian/actor and what not. Lite på svenska/vähän suomeksi/ sometimes in English
(Little bit in Swedish/little bit in Finnish/sometimes in English)

(3) @petterij: IT-professional, non-fiction writer, columnist, speaker etc. Interested in internet, mobile, opera, infosec etc. Tweets mostly in Finnish. PGP ID 9F31FC66

(4) @OskariSaari: F1, floorball, general bs about stuff. Tweets mainly in finnish, sometimes in english.

In all of the examples above, the users distinctly mention the languages they are going to use. Interestingly, example number 2 is the only one in which the languages of the tweets are referred to in the actual languages in question. In the other three examples the users have chosen to write in English, probably assuming that anyone who would read the profile text would understand English.

Other users referred to their bilingual status indirectly by translating their profile text into different languages. In the following two examples, the user has written the same content in different languages:

(5) @pekkasauri: Helsingin apulaiskaupunginjohtaja. Biträdande stadsdirektör i Helsingfors. Deputy Mayor, City of Helsinki.

(6) @PerttiJarla: Tekee Fingerpori-sarjakuvia, rakentaa autojen pienoismalleja. Makes the syndicated Fingerpori comic strip, builds model cars.

In the above examples, the text is translated verbatim, into Swedish and English in example number 5, and into English in example number 6. The fact that the exact same text is translated into different languages would suggest that the users value the different languages similarly and do not make a distinction as to what content should be offered in a different language. As is clear from the profile text, the user in example number 5 is the deputy mayor of Helsinki, and therefore the use of both official languages, Finnish and Swedish is expected of him, and English is probably used to reach also the potential international audience as well to acknowledge the many inhabitants in Helsinki who do not use neither Finnish or Swedish.

However, there were also examples where the different language versions of the description differed slightly and included content that was not presented in both languages. Such examples can be seen below:

(7) @spietikainen: Europarlamentaarikko. Member of the European Parliament. Tavoitteena yhdessä rakentaa Eurooppaa vakaammaksi, resurssitehokkaammaksi ja inhimillisemmäksi.
(Member of the European Parliament. - - The goal is to build a more stable, resource efficient and humane Europe together.)

(8) @linjaaho: Senior Lecturer @ Metropolia UAS. Työskentelen autoelektroniikan lehtorina Metropolia amk:ssa Helsingissä. Teen satunnaisesti myös toimittajan töitä.
(I work as an automotive electronics lecturer at Metropolia UAS in Helsinki. Occasionally I also work as a journalist.)

(9) @PauliinaMakela: 1st Twitter Queen of Finland since 2009. CEO of @Kindafi. Vuoden 2014 naistwiittajaehdokas. Some, robotit, @liverapo-a, kissat, DIY suomeksi. Married w/ @kato
(Female Twitter user nominee of 2014. Social media, robots, @liverapo, cats, DIY in Finnish.)

(10) @JussiPullinen: Journalist in Helsinki, Finland. Currently editor at @nytliite at Helsingin Sanomat (@hsfi). Interested in all things real and digital. Toimittaja.
(Journalist.)

In example number 7 the user has translated the first part verbatim, but added a Finnish sentence that describes her aims as a Member of the European Parliament. In example number 8 the user speaks of his work at the Metropolia University of Applied

Sciences in both languages, but mentions his work as a journalist in Finnish, presumably because he does it in Finnish media. In example number 9 the user lists specific topics that she will be tweeting about in Finnish. Interestingly, she mentions some aspects of herself in English, but other in Finnish, even though they are about the same topic, meaning that she says that she's the "Twitter Queen of Finland" in English, but also that she was a nominee for the Female Twitter user of 2014 in Finnish. In the final example, the user has only written one word in Finnish. It is unclear whether or not this is purely a stylistic choice or genuinely there to inform Finnish readers.

Furthermore, in some cases English and Finnish were used to convey entirely different meanings as can be seen in the following examples:

(11) @HeikkiOjala: Watchmaker - photographer - art engraver - computer expert - My hobby is old Saabs - 1 sijat SuomiTop100 #FF ja toimituksen valinta listoilla v. 2013
(First places on FinlandTop100 #FF and Editor's Choice lists in 2013)

(12) @PauliAS: Leader, publisher, author and dad. Sarjainnostuja. Interests include anticipatory, social and innovative leadership and media with attitude.
("a person who gets excited about things regularly", there is no direct translation of the word)

(13) @JaanaPelkonen: #Member of the #Finnish #Parliament and #Helsinki #City #Council. Huge #Eurovision #fan. Harrastuksena mm. juontaminen ;-)
(Hobbies include among other things hosting TV shows ;-))

(14) @tuija: I connect people and ideas / Head of Strategy, Finnish Public Broadcaster @Yleisradio #osallistuminen #arvoayhteiskunnalle
(#participating #valuetosociety)

(15) @EskoSeppanen: CEO. Uhkapeluri. Urheilujätkä. Maailmanmatkaaja. Ei unelmoi elämäänsä, vaan elää unelmaansa. Hyppää kyytiin. #EStravels #Betsafe
(Gambler. Sports dude. World traveller. Doesn't dream the life, but lives the dream. Jump on board.)

In example number 11, the user mentions his hobbies, interests and work in English and then his placement on the Finnish Twitter user lists in Finnish. Here the more

universal topics are discussed in English, but the more local subject is mentioned in Finnish. In example number 12 the user has only used one Finnish word in his profile text, *sarjainnostuja*, which could be interpreted as a play on words as it sounds and looks like the Finnish word *sarjamurhaaja* (a serial killer). Sarjainnostuja does not have a direct translation, but could be loosely translated as "a person who gets excited about things regularly". In example number 13, the user talks about her professional positions and about her interest in English, but mentions hosting TV shows as her hobby in English. This presentation of her work and interests is somewhat ironic, because she actually started out as a host in different TV shows, including the Finnish qualifications for the Eurovision song contest, but is now working only in the Finnish parliament and on the Helsinki city council. Her mentioning her hosting job could be then interpreted as a humorous reference to her past. The last two examples, numbers 14 and 15 are interesting especially compared to each other. In example number 14, the user mentions her job position in English, but the hashtags are in Finnish. In number 15 the main body of the text is in Finnish, English is used in the hashtags and in his title as a CEO. What is interesting is that both user have used hashtags in the opposite language of the main text in their profile text.

7.2 Tweets

As mentioned in the beginning of the present chapter, I started the analysis by dividing the data of 478 tweets into three categories called: no English, some English and only English. The first category was by far the largest and also of least interest in the light of the aims of the present study as the tweets in the category did not contain any use of English. I only analysed some of them to get an understanding of the topics that were talked about in them so I could compare them to the topics of the tweets that did contain English. The second category was the smallest, but also the most interesting because it contained plenty of content for the analysis, as it was the only one that contained code-switching between English and Finnish. The third category was also quite interesting, especially from the point of view of the topics that were talked about there, as they could explain whether or not there is a difference in which topics are discussed in English and which in Finnish. In the presentation of the

findings, I will not keep to these categories, but rather draw relevant examples from all of them to further explain the different patterns of language use that I found in the tweets.

In the following sections I will present the findings from the tweet data. The results are divided into several categories that tackle the different interesting phenomenon that were present in the data. First I will be looking at code-switching from the point of view of its location within the tweet, namely inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching. With this I aim to find out how involved the code-switching is in the data, whether or not it is simply just sporadic words, or if longer sequences were switched. Next I will present examples that show both translating and quoting used as a form of conversational code-switching. The next two chapters are about acronyms and hashtags, both of which are common phenomena in computer-mediated communication. Lastly I will be discussing the topics talked about in the tweets and compare the occurrence of different topics in the different groups of tweets. This is done to find out whether or not the topic affects the language choices.

7.2.1 Inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching

As mentioned before in section 3.2, code-switching can be divided into inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching. Inter-sentential code-switching refers to switches that occur outside sentence boundaries and intra-sentential to when the switch occurs within the sentence or a word. The tweets were analysed in terms of these two types of switches to see if either was more frequent than the other in the tweets and to see what kind of code-switching can be found in the tweets. In the actual texts of the tweets, there were slightly more instances of intra-sentential switches than inter-sentential switches, excluding code-switching that occurred in the use of different language in the hashtags of the tweet. The hashtags were excluded from this part of the analysis because they have very distinct conversational functions that will be discussed in more detail in their own chapter. In total then, there were 50 tweets that contained one or more instances of code-switching in the actual text of the tweet. Specifically, there were 22 cases of inter-sentential switches and 32 cases of intra-

sentential switches. In the next paragraphs, I will present some findings from each category of code-switching.

As inter-sentential switches occur outside sentence structures, they are usually longer instances of code-switching than just single words, which are more common in intra-sentential switches. They can be whole sentences, or interjections, but the main point is that they occur outside the sentences structures. Inter-sentential switches require less effort on the part of the language user, because the switches do not need to follow the grammatical rules of two languages. Below are a few examples from the data of inter-sentential code-switching:

(16) @HeikkiOjala: Huomenta ystävät - God morgon vänner - Good morning friends :)
(Good morning friends – Good morning friends)

(17) @HeikelaJussi: .@jtennila Let's fukin face it: me ei olla jalkapallojättiläinen, mut pitääkö sitä parkua omaa surkuaan jos tulee 50/50 matsissa pataan?
(we're not a football giant, but do we have to cry our sorrow if we get beaten in a 50/50 match?)

(18) @lottabacklund: That's right! VIHDOINKIN tulee jotain vastaukseksi jos laittaa googleen hakusanaksi Lotta Backlund topless [link] #Runeberg
(FINALLY there's a result if you google Lotta Baclund topless)

(19) @tanelitikka: (In Finnish): päivän parasta parodiaa. Lähinnä siksi että tämä kuulostaa niin realistiselta ja todelta: [link]
(Today's best parody. Mostly because it sounds so realistic and real.)

(20) @kittikatti: .@MiiaKosonen Woot? Nyt pitää huolestua - keinot ja aikajänne hukassa! #markkinointi #viestintä @TiinaAiraksinen @teamfinlandfi #kasvasuomi
(What? Now we need to worry – means and time span are lost! #marketing #communications @TiinaAiraksinen @teamfinlandfi #growfinland)

In the first example the user has translated his greeting into Swedish and English. Later on in the present study, there will be a chapter discussing translating in code-switching in more detail, but here the translation is used as inter-sentential code-switching. In many cases, English idiomatic expressions are used among otherwise Finnish texts, as can be seen in examples 17 (let's face it) and 18 (that's right). In

example number 17, the English sentence is used as a preface to the Finnish part and is functioning as an important part of the tweet, whereas in example 18 the English expression is more of an interjection. In example 19, the English bit is used as a sort of introduction to the tweet to mark that it is written in Finnish. All the other tweets of this particular user were written in English, so this is probably his way of clearly clarifying to his followers that this tweet will be in Finnish. In example 20 the interjection 'Woot?' originates from the online gaming community and is used as a term of excitement (Urban Dictionary 2015a), but in the present example, I believe it is the word 'what' spelled phonetically and used here as a marker for bewilderment.

Among the instances of intra-sentential code-switching, there were 20 nouns or noun phrases, five prepositions, three verbs and two adjectives, as well as two acronyms. Nouns are usually the most common word class used in code-switching, because they are the easiest to fit into a sentence without disturbing the grammatical integrity of the sentence. Below are two examples of nouns used to code-switch:

(21) @jussipekka: Elisan Astro Orava ottaa osaa spacevertising-trendiin. Lisää suomalaisia avaruuskampanjoita tulossa? #spacevertising #astroorava #elisa
(Elisa's Astro The Squirrel takes part in the spacevertising trend. More Finnish space campaigns coming up?)

(22) @hponka: Kiinnostavia tuloksia. Oliko näitä slidejä jossain saatavilla? #asiantuntijuusmediassa
(Interesting results. Were these slides available somewhere? #expertiseinmedia)

In the first example, *spacevertising* is a compound word made by combining the words *space* and *advertising*, and refers to the surge of interest in space travel that has been noticed by advertisers. Elisa is a Finnish telecommunications company that used a squirrel character going to space in their advertisement of how wide their mobile internet coverage is. In the example, the use of the English word *spacevertising* is quite relevant because it does not have an equivalent in Finnish, and it ties the tweet to the international phenomenon of spacevertising. In the second example, there is not such a justified reason to use the English word for *slide*, because it has a widely used and accepted equivalent that could have been used instead of the English word without

changing the message or style of the tweet in any way. Additionally, the second examples shows the word declined according to the Finnish grammatical case. This is common practice to better fit the English words into the Finnish sentence and could be seen throughout the data.

In Finnish, there are only a handful of prepositions and instead, nouns are declined in different grammatical cases. The following examples show English prepositions used in Finnish tweets:

(23)@soikkuu: Täällä with @MariaHidas [emoji] [picture]
(Here with @MariaHidas)

(24)@JasperPaakkonen: Aiheellista kritiikkiä @Energianeuvoja'lle toimituksen blogissa by @SuomenLuonto. Ympäristöpennisähkö on huijausta. [link]
(Justifiable critique to @Energianeuvoja in editorial blog by @SuomenLuonto. Environmental Penny electricity is a scam.)

Both of the examples exemplify the problem that Finnish grammar has in social media texts where another user has been tagged and is referred to in the text. Mentioning someone's username in a text in social media is usually done by adding @ sign in front of the username, thus creating a link to the user's profile. The username however needs to be spelled correctly in order for the linking to work. In example number 23, the Finnish translation would have been something like "Täällä @MariaHidas kanssa" or "Täällä @MariaHitaan kanssa". The first choice is grammatically incorrect because the username of the person is not declined, but when it is declined correctly in the second case, the mention would not work, because the username is not spelled correctly. Therefore, the user has decided to add the English preposition before the username and avoid the problem altogether. The same phenomenon happens in example number 24; the user has decided to avoid a grammatically awkward construct by using an English preposition. Another way to avoid the problem can also be seen in example 24 where the user mention's the profile of @Energianeuvoja. Here the grammatical case has been added after an apostrophe to the end of the mention and grammatical order is restored. However, this would not have worked in cases where the correct grammatical case is achieved by declining the stem of the word as

well as adding a suffix, as would have been the case in both example where the English prepositions were used in the above examples.

The three examples of verbs used in the data are all quite interesting, so they are all presented below:

(25)@KajKunnas: Tämä vaatii toimenpiteitä. @E_L_Crew herrakaksikko abandoned Minna. Taidan koukata studion kautta. #NäinEiMinnalleTehdäPojat
(This calls for action. @E_L_Crew's gentlemen duo have abandoned Minna. I think'll stop by the studio. #ThisIsNotWhatYouDoToMinnaGuys)

(26)@kati_sulin: #mlseminaari alkoi Vaisalan casella kuinka maantiet tweettaavat ja päättyi expedian julkkistweetiin. Digitalisoitumisen kirjo on laaja.
(#mlseminar started with Vaisala case about how roadways tweet and ended with expedia's celebrity tweet. Digitalisation's spectrum is vast.)

(27)@winninghelix: Virkamies was here: Heikkokuntoinen mummo kyytiin suojatieltä - taksille sakkoja: [link]
(A public servant was here: Frail old granny picked up from the pedestrian crossing – fines given to taxi driver)

The first two examples show how English verbs can be treated in two different ways when they are used in a Finnish sentence. In the first example, the English verb retains its spelling and conjugation, whereas in the second example, the verb is conjugated according to Finnish grammar rules. The first example is code-switching, but in the case of the second one, it could be debated whether or not the word *tweetata* could already be considered part of Finnish lexicon as a loan word. In the last example, the phrase 'was here' probably originates from the popular culture expression 'Kilroy was here', popular during the Second World War (Urban Dictionary 2015b), and later humorously written on walls, or pages of books to mark conquest. In this example, it is used to mock the involvement of parking officials in a case where a taxi driver stopped on a pedestrian crossing to help an old woman get into the taxi, but was fined for obstructing traffic. In this example, the familiar English phrase is used quite inventively to create meaning, and in this case, using a Finnish translation would not have necessarily had quite the same effect.

7.2.2 Translating and quoting

In some cases, the tweeter used translating to convey the same message in different languages. Gumperz (1982: 78) refers to this function of conversational code-switching as reiteration. In this chapter I will discuss the various ways translating was used in the data. Example 28 below shows two tweets written in succession by the same user:

(28)@RitaTainola: Prinssi Charles tänään 66v. Tapasin hänet ensimmäisen kerran 1978. Kuvasta voi nähdä, etyä vuodet ovat vierineet:-) [image]

@RitaTainola: #Prince Charles today 66yrs. I met him first time 1978 in Wales. Years have gone by as one can see in this photo:-) [image]

Here the same idea is expressed in in two consecutive tweets, first in Finnish and then in English. The tweets are nearly identical, except that in the English tweet, the writer has made the word *prince* into a hashtag, whereas in the Finnish tweet, the word for prince, *prinssi* is used just as a regular word, and in the English tweet, she also mentions that she met the prince in Wales.

In example 28 the tweet was translated almost verbatim, but there were cases where the translation differed even more from the original as can be seen in example 29 below:

(29)@esapekkasalonen: Toivon hartaasti että eduskunta tulee tekemään valistuneen ja humaanin päätöksen ja äänestää sukupuolineutraalin avioliittolain puolesta.
(I sincerely hope that the Parliament will make an enlightened and humane decision and vote for the gender-neutral marriage law.)

@esapekkasalonen: Finland is the only Nordic country not to have introduced a gender-neutral marriage law. I sincerely hope the Parliament will change that.

In the above example, the user talks about the same issue in both tweets, but the contents is somewhat different in the two tweets. In the Finnish tweet he simply wishes for the Finnish Parliament to vote for the gender-neutral marriage law, whereas in the English tweet, he also states that Finland is the only Nordic country that does not have a gender-neutral marriage law. The additional information in the English tweet is probably there to inform non-Finnish readers of the situation in

Finland compared to other Nordic countries. These tweets suggest that the user has thought about his audience and realised that not everyone will have the same information, and that some things need to be explained more clearly to other readers.

Previous examples have shown translating used in two different tweets, but there were also examples where translating the message was confined in just one tweet:

(30)@HeikkiOjala: Huomenta ystävät - God morgon vänner - Good morning friends :)
(Good morning friends – Good morning friends)

Here the user has translated the same message in three different languages, probably in effort to greet all his followers equally. This practice was rare, most likely because of the limited number of characters per tweet, meaning that there is not space to translate longer messages in the same tweet.

Quoting is one function of conversational code-switching, and there were a few examples of quoting used in the data:

(31)@JasperPaakkonen: Jos ostatte uuden untuvarotsin, niin muistakaa varmistaa, että lapussa lukee "*traceable down*". Mainos kertoo miksi. [link]
(If you're buying a new down coat make sure that the label says "traceable down". The ad will tell you why.)

(32)@osulop: Suosikkijunani on just tää *undefined* 87 [picture]
(My favourite train is this undefined 87)

In example number 31, the users is clearly marking the element that is being quoted by placing inverted commas around it. In this case the quoting is quite necessary, because even though the phrase could well have been translated into Finnish, it would have not served its purpose of reminding buyers of down coats to look for this particular phrase as it most likely would not be translated in the actual product. In example number 32, the user has posted a screenshot from Finland's railway company's website that shows the page where one could book their seat in the train. In the picture, the page has not loaded properly and is showing the name of the train as "undefined 87". In both of these examples, the English elements are used because

it makes the message more clear and understandable and because there is not really a need to translate the elements into Finnish.

7.2.3 Acronyms

Acronyms are a common occurrence in online communication and some could also be found in the data for the present study. Below are a few examples of English language acronyms that were used alongside with Finnish:

(33)@petterij: "I would name my cat caSUA6c888dvZdCC#5! but I couldn't pronounce it." lisää LOL :-) –osastoa [link]
(more LOL :-) department)

(34)@jussipekka: .@terolahtinen perjantain kunniaksi klassikko liittyen aiheeseen. #TGIF [picture]
(in honour of Friday, here's a classic related to the topic.)

(35)@tomisaarinen: Kuulin, että olen menettänyt yhden seuraajan ja seurattavan. Valitettavasti lopullisesti. #RIP @villoks ja voimia omaisille.
(I heard that I've lost one follower and followee. Unfortunately for good. #RIP @villoks and condolences to the bereaved.)

(36)@jhiitela: Pat Quinn on kuollut. #RIP
(Pat Quinn is dead.)

In example number 33, the user is first quoting someone from the comments of the article that was linked in the tweet and then has added his own comment. LOL is an acronym for "Laughing Out Loud" and it is one of the most quintessential acronyms that is used in online communication. In example number 34, the user has posted a picture of an article where a disgruntled car salesman thinks that the whole internet should be blown up because it is interfering with his sales business. The article, which was published in 2009, reached cult status on the internet and is sometimes referred to when someone is having trouble adjusting to modern life or does not like using modern technology (Ala-Kivimäki 2015). In the case of the present example, @jussipekka posted the article in response to earlier conversation between him and @terolahtinen, where @jussipekka first posted a link to an article about how Finns are more impatient now when shopping for cars because of the internet. @terolahtinen responded to him by saying that the internet is actually really important in commerce,

to which @jussipekka then replied with the tweet in example number 34. The acronym in the example TGIF means "Thank God It's Friday" and is there to emphasise that it is in fact Friday. The acronym is usually used to celebrate the official end of the working week and the upcoming weekend. In examples number 35 and 36, the same acronym, RIP (Rest In Peace or in Latin Requiescant In Pace) in hashtag mode is used to mark the death of two people. Example number 35 is marking the passing of a Finnish civil rights activist and lawyer Ville Oksanen, and example number 36 of a Canadian ice hockey player Pat Quinn. In these two cases, as well as in example number 34, the acronyms are also used as hashtags.

7.2.4 Hashtags

Hashtags are used on Twitter to highlight the theme or topic of the tweet and make it searchable by other users. Altogether, just over 400 hashtags were used in the data of 478 tweets, which clearly indicates that hashtags are a vital part of the communication on Twitter. The present study looks at hashtags only from the point of view of language used in them, but there is much more to be studied with regards of usage and meaning of hashtags. In this section I will be presenting some of the interesting patterns found in the use of language in the hashtags in the tweets.

In many cases, the users had used a hashtag that was in the opposite language than their actual tweet, as can be observed in the following examples:

(37) @iirorantala: Miehet! Teidät on haastettu toimimaan tasa-arvon ja naisten oikeuksien puolesta. #HeForShe #OranssiPäivä [link]

(Men! You have been challenged to act on the behalf of equality and women's rights #HeForShe #OrangeDay)

(38) @tanelitikka: Soon to speak at #mediapäivä about startups, the methods, the attitude and how even corps can grow with these ideas. (#mediaday)

(39) @Wheelah: Veljeni luomus. MIND BLOWN. Lahjakas poika<3 #lamb #butternutsquashpure #veggies #sexonlegs #proudsister [picture]
(My brother's creation. MIND BLOWN. Talented boy)

(40)@RitaTainola: Ajatellaan tänäänkin asioista positiivisesti. Hymyillään, hymy ei maksa mitään ja saa muut ihmiset hyvälle mielelle. #smile #positivity
(Let's think positively today also. Let's smile, smiling doesn't cost anything and it gets people in a good mood.)

In example 37, the user has used two hashtags, both of which are associated with UN Women Finland, which is Finland's branch of the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women. The first hashtag is in English because it is the one used also by the international UN Women to talk about women's rights issues. The second hashtag is in Finnish because it refers to a campaign by UN Women Finland to raise awareness against domestic violence. Example number 38 has also a hashtag that is used to talk about an event. Here the user has written the text in English, but used the Finnish hashtag associated with the event that he is referring to. In examples 39 and 40, the users have written most of the actual text in Finnish, but the hashtags are in English. There is less functionality in the use of English hashtags in these two examples than there were in examples 37 and 38. In these examples the hashtags are not used to necessarily connect the tweet with an existing phenomenon or an event, but more as a stylistic device, or a conversational strategy to sum up the main themes of the tweet.

Hashtags are usually always placed outside the sentence structure, at the end of the tweet, making most of the code-switching in the hashtags inter-sentential code-switching. Only in a few cases the hashtags were placed as a part of the sentence as can be seen in the following examples:

(41)@annaperho: Mikä tää #someawards pukukoodi on? Ei kai sinne nyt voi missään iltapuvussa tulla klo 13.30? Mitä hähhiä? PS. Olen maalta @jussiylavaara
(What's this #someawards dress code? Surely you can't arrive in an evening gown at 1.30PM? What the what? P.S. I'm from the country side @jussiylavaara)

(42)@tanelitikka: Soon to speak at #mediapäivä about startups, the methods, the attitude and how even corps can grow with these ideas.
(#mediaday)

In these cases, the hashtags are integral parts of the sentence structure, and the sentence would not work if they were removed from them. This use of hashtags seems to be an uncommon practice, as in the data, most of the hashtags were placed as tags at the ends of the sentences.

In the data, there were some cases of English hashtags being used to talk about Finnish events. Below are a few examples of such usage:

(43)@silviamodig: Taiteen huippukokous lunasti ja ylitti odotukset. täynnä intoa ja ideoita. Kiitos kaikille järjestäjille, teitte hienon työn! #makeartspolicy
(The art summit claimed and exceeded all expectations. Full of enthusiasm and ideas. Thanks to all the organisers, you did a wonderful job!)

(44)@jyrkikasvi: Vaikuta ja #vaikutu seminaaripäivä jatkuu #someawards iltajuhlalla.
(Influence and be #impressed seminar day continues with #someawards soirée.)

(45)@jyrkikasvi: Onnea @alexstubb #someawardsfi #someaktiivi palkinnosta. Ensi kerralla revanssi ;)
(Congratulations @alexstubb for the #someawardsfi #someactive award. Next time rematch ;))

In the first example, the user is using the hashtag #makeartspolicy to refer to the Finnish Arts Policy Summit held in November 2014 in Helsinki. The second and third examples refer to the Finnish Social Media Awards, an event created to celebrate different social media personas and phenomenon, also held in November 2014 in Helsinki. Both of these events have chosen an English language hashtag to be used when talking about the events. Social Media Awards actually has two hashtags, as can be seen in the examples: #someawards and #someawardsfi. The latter was probably created to distinguish the event from international awards that might have the same name. The first part of the hashtag could also be interpreted to be in Finnish, since 'social media' is 'sosiaalinen media' in Finnish, so the abbreviation can also stem from Finnish.

The –fi suffix that was present in the examples in the previous paragraph was also added to some other hashtags:

(46)@Linnanahde: Hattua päästä. @Lempaalanpoika on kauheessa tikissä! #NHLfi #hattrick
(Tip my hat. @Lempaalanpoika is in such good shape!)

(47)Hieno päätös illalle! Loistoduunia @hjkhelsinki ! Onnea voitosta! Nyt voi mennä hyvillä mielin nukkumaan! #UELfi #HJK #mahtiduunia
(Great end to the evening! Great job @hjkhelsinki ! Congrats for the win! Now I can go to bed in a good mood! #UELfi #HJK #goodjob)

In both of the tweets above, international sports leagues have been made sort of local, by adding the –fi suffix when the users are talking about leagues, but with a Finnish perspective. In example number 46, the user is talking about a Finnish player in the NHL (National Hockey League) and in example number 47, the user is congratulating a Helsinki based football team for their win in UEL (UEFA Europa League).

Another interesting use of hashtags in the data is to create one's own hashtag to group one's own tweets together. Such use of hashtags can be seen in the following tweets:

(48)@EskoSeppänen: Yksi häkellyttävimmistä NHL-kokemuksistani. Florida Panthersin ottelutapahtuma. Hyvää yötä. #NHLfi #EStravels
(One of my most mind blowing NHL experiences. Florida Panthers' match. Good night.)

(49)@SaskaSaarikoski: Ukraina ei ole USA:ssa uutinen eikä mikään. Ei ihme, että Putin katsoo saaneensa maassa vapaat kädet. #USaska
(The Ukraine is not news or anything in the USA. No wonder that Putin thinks he's given free range.)

(50)@SaskaSaarikoski: It's a Veterans' Day in the US. That means: no irony, no ambiguity today. #USaska

In all of the example, the two users have used a hashtag created by themselves to mark all their tweets that fall under the same category, namely, travelling in the case of @EskoSeppänen and the United States with @SaskaSaarikoski.

7.2.5 Topics

The topics of the tweets varied from personal everyday occurrences to sports, politics, economy, IT, entertainment and media. Instead of looking at the specific topic of each tweet, I focused on the more general idea of the topics and instead focused on the locality of the topics. I started by dividing the tweets into categories based on whether they were about local or international issues. Additionally I identified tweets that did not belong to either category because they were about personal issues, such as greetings and personal anecdotes, as well as topics that were about global matters, and not specific to any particular locality. In the end, the four categories of topics were labelled International, Local, Personal and Global. With this division of the tweets, I aimed at finding out the general preference of topics in the different language use groups, and thus find out whether or not certain types of topics were more likely discussed in a specific language.

I analysed all the tweets that contained only English as well as all the ones that contained code-switching. A sample of 117 tweets from the category that contained no English at all was also analysed. I chose the first 117 tweets in the data to match the number of tweets that only contained English to be able to compare between the two categories but not to spend too much time analysing the tweets that did not contain any English. In total, the topics of 318 tweets were analysed and placed in the four different categories mentioned in the previous paragraph. In this chapter I will first present examples from the four categories and then discuss the findings in more detail.

Firstly, here are examples of tweets with a local (51) and an international topic (52):

(51) @jarnodudeson: Thanks for the tweets! got over 20 000 so we hosted last part of our Posse live tv broadcast naked! #mtvposse

(52) @haloefekti: Cameron took the wrath of many by describing his country as 'junior partner' in relationship between UK and USA in WW2 @fossforescent

The first example is by a Finnish TV personality talking about their TV show, so it is clearly about a local Finnish topic. The second example is about the British prime

minister's comment about United Kingdom's role in the Second World War, thus making it clearly about international issues.

In some cases it was difficult or impossible to place a tweet in either category, for example because the tweet was about personal issues, as can be seen in the example below:

> (53)@ER_Korhola: The gestation period of an elephant is 2 years. The gestation period of my #doctoral thesis has been 20 years. That's a lot of elephants.

Here the user is talking about her doctoral thesis, a topic that is not tied to any locality. There were also tweets that concerned both personal issues as well as local or international topics. For example below:

> (54)@akiriihilahti: Damn, I got short listed for Speaker of Year in Finland... feel free to vote someone else [link]

In the above tweet, the user is talking about him being nominated for a Finnish award. The award itself is by its definition a very local issue whereas the fact that he is referring to himself being nominated makes it about personal matters. These types of tweets were somewhat regular in the data, many of them were about celebrities talking about themselves doing something public in the Finnish context, such as talking about their performance on a TV show. Rather than creating a new category for every type of mixture of personal topics with others, I decided to continue with the four categories and place these mixed topic categories into one that would seem the most relevant. For example, in the end the tweet in example number 54 was placed in the personal category, because it can be interpreted that the tweet is more about the fact that he himself was nominated than about the actual award itself.

The fourth category was necessary because some tweets were not about local, international or personal issues, but instead talked about global subjects, or topics that would be relevant in both local and international level. For example in the next example, there are elements of both local and international issues:

> (55)@raesmaa: Oops, 8 reasons #Finnish people won't talk to you :) [link]

In the above example, the user has linked a humorous article published in an international travel website about Finnish personality. This tweet does not fall strictly under either category, because although it is about Finnish people, it is probably aimed at people who want to understand Finns' behaviour. However, Finnish people would also be interested in reading the link, so it also about local issues. Therefore the example had to be placed in the Global category. Another example from the Global category can be seen below:

(56)@annaperho: Vuoden typerin tekninen innovaatio-palkinto menee sille, joka keksi kosketushiiren ilman näppäimiä. #kiitos
(The award for the dumbest technological innovation of the year goes to whoever invented a touch mouse without buttons. #thankyou)

In this example the user is complaining about touch mice that do not have buttons and saying that whoever invented them should get an award for the dumbest technological innovation. This is clearly a global issue, because touch mice can be used by anyone around the world, so anyone can relate to the user's frustration. It could also be interpreted to be a personal issue, because it sounds like she has a negative personal experience with using a touch mouse. However, it is not explicitly referred to in the tweet, so therefore the tweet was placed in the Global category.

Next I will present and discuss the findings of the different topic categories. Of the 318 tweets that were analysed and categorised according to their topic, almost half, or to be precise, 155 tweets were about local topics. The second largest group was personal topics with 83 tweets and third largest was international topics by 69 tweets. The category of global tweets was clearly the smallest with only 11 tweets. Additionally, between the different categories, there were also about 30 tweets that had a mixture of personal topics with local or international issues, but were nevertheless placed in an appropriate category.

Between the three groups of tweets; no English, some English and only English, there were a few significant differences in the distribution of the topics. Table 2 below illustrates the amounts and percentages of each topic category in the different groups of tweets:

Table 2. The distribution of the topics in the different language usage groups.

	International	**Local**	**Personal**	**Global**
No English (N = 117)	10 (9%)	83 (71%)	21 (18%)	3 (3%)
Some English (N = 84)	9 (11%)	56 (67%)	14 (17%)	5 (6%)
Only English (N = 117)	50 (43%)	16 (14%)	48 (41%)	3 (3%)
TOTAL (N = 318)	69 (22%)	155 (49%)	83 (26%)	11 (3%)

As can be seen in Table 2, the No English and Some English categories were the most similar, likely because of their similar language profile. The Some English category, although containing some English, as the name suggest, was still largely in Finnish, with English bits mixed in. That is probably why the two groups were so similar when looking at the topics. In both groups of tweets, the most popular topic category was Local, slightly more so in the No English group where 71 percent of tweets fell under the category, compared to 67 percent in the Some English group. The second largest topic category in both groups was Personal and third was International, leaving Global last. There were no significant differences in the percentages of the Personal and International categories between the No English and Some English groups.

The major difference in the distribution of topics can be seen when examining the topics of the tweets in the Only English group. Apart from the Global category, which has similar figures throughout the different groups, all the categories are represented very differently in the Only English group. The largest categories are International and Personal, with 43 and 41 percent respectively, leaving the Local category smallest with only 14 percent of tweets. This almost exactly opposite to the results of the No

English and Some English categories, where the main language of the tweets was Finnish.

These findings seem to clearly indicate that the choice of language of the tweet is tied to the topic of the tweet, meaning that international topics are discussed in English and local topics in the local language, which in the case of the present study was Finnish almost exclusively. Curiously, personal topics are also much more frequently talked about in English than in Finnish with over 50 percent of the tweets in the Personal category written in English only. This is a very interesting phenomenon and there seems to be no obvious explanation to it. Further analysis as well as samples that are compiled in a different manner would be needed to better understand why personal topics seem to be much more often discussed in English than in Finnish.

8 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter I will first discuss the results of the present study and present a summary of the main findings and the implications they have on the use of English by Finns on Twitter. Next I will evaluate the present study. This will provide an understanding of the limitations of the present study and how to view the analysis of the results in a larger scale. Finally in the conclusion I will offer some suggestions to further research on the topic in the future. I hope this will inspire further research into Finns use of English on social media by other researchers.

8.1 Main findings

Simply stated, the primary objective of the present study was to find out how, when and why do Finnish people use English on Twitter. The aim was to reach an understanding of the language profile of Finnish Twitter users by answering the three research questions that were:

How is English used by Finns on Twitter?

In which contexts is English used?

What motivates the language choices?

For the present study, 96 Twitter users were selected from a list compiled by Hirvonen, Tuominen and Tebest (2013) and five tweets from each person were collected in November 2014. As one user had only posted three tweets, the resulting data consisted of 478 tweets. The profile texts of each user were also collected at the same time. Three users had not posted a profile text, so the data of the profile texts consisted of 93 texts.

The present study took mainly a qualitative approach to analysing the data. The tweets and the profile texts were first divided into three groups according to the usage of English in them. The three groups were called: No English, Some English and Only English. This division helped to understand how much English was used by the users

and whether or not it mainly appeared independently or mixed in with other languages. The division also helped recognise different phenomena that were happening in the different language groups, as well as aided in the analysis of the topics of the tweets. In the next paragraphs I will further discuss the results presented in Chapter 7.

The findings presented in the previous chapter clearly show that English is the second most used language by Finns on Twitter after Finnish. Over 40 percent of the tweets collected for the present study contained at least some English elements. English was used both by itself as well as mixed in with Finnish in the tweets, although mixing of the two languages was not as common as either language used by itself. Other languages than English and Finnish appeared in the data very rarely.

In the profile texts the language distribution was very different from the languages of the tweets. The most common language used for the profile texts was English, with over 60 percent of the profile texts written in only English and 20 percent containing at least some English elements in them. Mixing English and other languages was slightly more popular than using no English at all. Using more English in the profile texts than in the actual tweets could indicate that the users view English as a good language to generally introduce themselves to the Twitter audience, even though they might then continue actually tweeting in only Finnish. The users' assumption is probably that most readers of their profile texts will understand English enough to know if they want start following their Twitter feed or not. Additionally, often the users specifically mentioned the language that they will be tweeting in.

Much of the analysis focused on the group of tweets that included some English elements mixed in with Finnish. The code-switching was analysed to find out how much of it was inter-sentential and how much was intra-sentential. With this separation, the aim was to find out how involved the switches were, meaning whether or not only few isolated words of English were used, or if the code-switching was more elaborate. Intra-sentential switches require more effort on the part of the language user compared to inter-sentential switches, because when switching

languages inside the sentence, both grammar of the languages used need to be taken into consideration (Poplack 1980: 589).

The analysis showed that there were 22 cases of inter-sentential switches and 32 intra-sentential switches, so the distribution of the switches was somewhat evenly matched. Inter-sentential switches were used in many ways, such as translations, clarifications and as interjections. Most of the intra-sentential switches were nouns and noun phrases inserted into the Finnish text. There were also few verbs, prepositions, adjectives and acronyms. Examples of intra-sentential switches were analysed and presented in the previous chapter to highlight the different ways the English elements were used in the tweets. In many cases, the intra-sentential switches were characterised by the melding together of the grammars of both languages, which is a sign of much linguistic awareness among the people who used this sort of code-switching. From the examples, it seems like Finns use English as a natural part of their language repertoire and mix it effortlessly with the Finnish grammar.

Translating and quoting are part of conversational code-switching and such, they also appeared in the data. These two ways of using code-switching are quite straightforward and require minimum effort because they do not need to be fitted into the grammar of another language. The motivation for using translating and quoting as code-switching is also quite easy to understand. By translating the same message, the user is trying to reach multiple audiences who speak different languages and is treating all of them the same, or at least similarly. As could be seen in the examples, sometimes the messages was slightly altered in the second version of the message, and as such, could be interpreted to be done in order to take into consideration the differences in knowledge of the different audiences. When the users quoted something in the data, the reasoning is most likely that they do not want to alter the original content and want to present it as is to their audience. On Twitter, quoting someone else on Twitter is done by retweeting their tweet to one's followers and is quite a regular phenomenon, but as retweets were excluded from the data, there were no examples of them here.

Acronyms and hashtags are two phenomena that are very obviously features of computer-mediated communication, and particularly the latter can be said to be a feature of Twitter-mediated communication. English acronyms were used quite naturally as part of Finnish tweets, both in inter-sentential and intra-sentential ways. They also occasionally appeared as hashtags. Hashtags were used very often in the data. In 478 tweets, there were over 400 appearances of hashtags. The use of hashtags varies from one person to the next. The original function was to add the # sign in front of a word to highlight the theme of the tweet and make it searchable. When looking at the data, it is clear that this is not the case anymore in many of the tweets. Some are of course still employing this usage, and for example all tweets that were connected with an event carried the same hashtag. However, sometimes the hashtags were clearly used humorously or as a stylistic device. In the examples, one could see that many Finnish tweets included an English hashtag, which would not be sensible if the only function was to make the tweet searchable, because most people searching for an English hashtag would not be able to understand a Finnish tweet attached to it. Therefore it seems that hashtags are used in many other ways as well, and not just as searchable topic words. The present study only scraped the surface of hashtag usage on Twitter, and much more research is needed in order to fully understand the linguistic, communicative and social functions of hashtags.

The topics of the tweets were analysed in a general level and divided into four categories that were: International, Local, Personal and Global. With this division, I aimed at developing an understanding of which topics were most commonly discussed without going into too much detail, and to find out whether or not the subject of the tweet was related to the language used in them. Therefore it was important to find out whether the tweets were about international or local issues and then compare the languages used in them.

Overall, in all of the tweets, most tweets were categorized into the Local category. The personal category was the second largest and International the third. Only a handful of tweets were placed in the Global category. Of the tweets in the Local category, 47 percent contained some English elements in them, although only 10 percent of all

Local tweets were written in only English. This means that 90 percent of the Local tweets were written either in Finnish (or Swedish) or contained code-switching between Finnish and English. In the International category, however, 86 percent of the tweets contained some English elements and 72 percent were written entirely in English. Only 15 percent of the International tweets contained no English at all, which compared to the 54 percent of Local tweets that also contained no English, is clearly indicative that English is preferred when talking about topics to do with international issues and Finnish when talking about local issues. In the Personal category, the language distribution was more even. 56 percent of the tweets were written in only English and 25 percent had no English elements at all in them. The rest were a mixture of Finnish and English. However, it is peculiar that so much English was used in the Personal tweets, because it would have been logical to assume that if users talk about local issues in a local language and international issues in an international language, they would also discuss their own personal issues in their own personal language. Perhaps Finns feel that English is also a personal language to them and they feel comfortable using it alongside with Finnish to talk about personal stories and events in their everyday life.

8.2 Evaluation of the present study

Overall, the present study achieved its goal quite well. The aim was to look at the use of English on Twitter by Finns, and especially find out how English is used, in which kinds of situations and what motivates the language use. In the end, the focus was more on the two former questions and the latter was based largely only on the interpretations of the findings. The last question is difficult to answer precisely without actually asking the writers themselves. Of course, interpretations can be and were made, but without actual knowledge of the reasons, they are mere educated guesses. However, given the scope of a master's thesis, the present study managed to give a good overall understanding of the ways in which English is used by Finns on Twitter.

Nevertheless, the present study did have some limitations that should be taken into consideration when viewing the results. First of all, the scope of the present study only allowed for a small sample of Finnish users to be selected for the study. The users were picked from a list made by Hirvonen, Tuominen and Tebest (2013) and included users from various backgrounds. Many of the users in the list were public figures in different fields, which could affect the language choices they made. Reproducing the present study with a different group of Twitter users could provide a different outcome.

Secondly, the size of the present study should be taken into consideration. Considering the growing number of Finnish Twitter users, the present study managed to only scrape the surface of the amount of tweets posted daily by Finns on Twitter. Only five tweets from each of the 96 user were selected for the analysis, which resulted in the moderate data of 478 tweets. Additionally, the profile texts of the users also provided interesting data for the study, although the results of English usage between the profile texts and tweets differed quite significantly. In future research, different sizes of data should be considered to get more a more varied understating of English usage among Finns on Twitter.

Thirdly, in many cases knowing the difference between what is considered code-switching and what is a loan word borrowed into the lexicon of the language proved very problematic. In the case of the present study, I took quite a lenient way of looking at the issue, and allowed many words to be considered code-switching instead of already being parts of Finnish lexicon. A different approach to the question might have resulted in a slightly different outcome, although there were only a handful of words that caused difficulties. Because languages are always fluctuating and changing, it is nearly impossible to say for certain what constitutes as code-switching and what should be considered borrowing.

8.3 Conclusion

Next I will discuss some issues that could be studied by anyone interested in the same questions that were presented in the present study. As new research on social media

is emerging constantly, some of the topics mentioned here could already be examined by the time this study has been published.

The language choices in the profile texts could be an interesting topic to study. Especially studying whether or not the same users who use English in their profile texts then continue writing their tweets in English, or if they switch to Finnish or other languages could further our understanding of language choices and what affects them. Also, even though it was also discussed in the present study, more research could be done on the explicit mentions of language choices expressed in the profile texts.

The topic of hashtags seems to be quite underrepresented in current research, which is unfortunate since it is such an important part of communication on almost any social media site nowadays. The data for the present study included just over 400 hashtags, which in a data of 478 tweets clearly shows that hashtags are used in almost every tweet. Not just mere means to search for content about a specific topic, hashtags were used in very creative and unique ways to add meaning, including as stylistic devices. Therefore hashtags should be studied more closely to fully understand why and how they are used. The social implications in the use of hashtags could give us valuable information on the language norms that influence the language used, not just on Twitter, but on other social media sites. [1]

Although the present study did look at the topics discussed in the tweets, there is still room for further research on the topics. The present study only looked at the topics in terms of large overall themes and their relation to language used. Further research could be done to discover more specific topics and how they affect the language choices, for example whether or not local politics are only talked about in Finnish. Additionally, further research could, for example, solve the issue of why it seemed like personal topics were discussed more often in English than in Finnish.

[1] For a very recent study on the linguistic functions of hashtags, see Zappavigna (2015).

Another aspect that could shed more light on the language choices made by Twitter users and especially the reasoning behind and attitudes towards it would be to interview users or to perform a survey, similarly to Valppu (2013) who studied the use of English on Facebook by Finnish students. In her study, she focused on Facebook users' attitudes towards people using English in general, as well as using it on Facebook. Doing a similar study on attitudes of using English on Twitter by Finns could provide interesting insight into language attitudes of today. Additionally, it could be interesting to compare the results of Valppu's (2013) study to a one made on Twitter or other social media site and see whether or not the language attitudes differ between various sites.

The topic of the present study will provide ample opportunities for further research anytime in the future. Social media will continue to be part of people's lives until the foreseeable future, if not as Twitter, but in some form or another. The present study could be reproduced on almost any existing or future social media platform, and as such, could provide interesting historical perspective on the development of English usage on social media by Finns.

The present study attempted to shed light on the ways in which Finns use English on Twitter on a general level. The main goal was to find out how English is used and in what contexts it appears, as well as consider some of the reasons behind the use of English. The study revealed that English is used both independently as well as mixed in with Finnish, but that the main language used by over half of the users was Finnish. It was interesting to note however, that in the profile texts, the users preferred English over Finnish, even though they would then write all of their tweets in Finnish. The study of the topics revealed that generally, tweets about international topics were written in English and local topics about Finnish, whereas personal topics were discussed in both languages, but mainly in English. As an example of Twitter-mediated language, hashtags appeared throughout the data in nearly every tweet. They were used in creative ways to connect the tweet to a certain topic, but more importantly, also as humorous stylistic devices with different communicative and social functions.

The results of the present study show that Finnish Twitter users use English naturally and effortlessly as part of their language competence alongside with Finnish in social media. English was used in creative ways both in the profile texts as well as in the tweets. Studying the language choices made by social media users provides interesting insight into the relationship between the different languages and the ways in which they are used to reach communicative goals. Especially in the context of Finland where English is the most important foreign language and used in many areas of everyday life, it is important to understand what kind of role it has in social media settings among Finns. Additionally, Twitter as a social media site seems to be now more popular than ever, so combining the use of English and the Finnish context with Twitter is a worthwhile research idea.

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