Crossing into English as a Sociolinguistic Practice in the Language of Finnish-speaking Adolescents

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MA Thesis
May 2008

Tämän pro gradu -tutkielman tavoitteena on tutkia suomenkielisten nuorten kielessä esiintyvää kielenylitystä (engl. language crossing) englantiin. Tutkielmassa luodaan katsaus kielenylitykseen sosiolingvistisenä ilmiönä kaksiosaisen aineiston valossa. Toinen osa aineistosta on kerätty kyselylomaketutkimuksena 13–16 -vuotiailta tamperelaisnuorilta. Tässä tutkimuksessa selvitettiin yhtäältä elisitaatiotestillä, missä määrin kielenoppaat käyttävät annettuja englanninkielisiä ilmauksia puhuessaan suomea ja toisaalta puhetilanteen ja keskustelukumppaneiden vaikutusta kielenylityksen käyttöön. Aineiston toinen osa taas koostuu *Suosikki*-lehden verkkosivujen keskustelupalstalta kerätystä, n. 45 000 sanan laajuisesta tekstikorpuksesta. Tekstikorpuksen avulla halutaan nähdä, minkä verran englantia nuorten kielessä esiintyy ja minkälaisina esiintyminä.

Tutkielman viitekehyksenä toimiva kielenylitys on koodinvaihtoa sellaiseen kieleen, jossa puhujalla ei ole täyttä kompetenssia. Kielenylitys on siis koodinvaihtoa ilman kaksi- tai useampikielisyyden edellytystä. Tässä tutkimuksessa keskitytään erityisesti vakiintumattomiin kielenylitystapauksiin, ts. englanninkielisen ilmauksen käyttämiseen, vaikka vastaava suomenkielinenkin ilmaus on olemassa.

Kyselytutkimuksen perusteella vaikuttaa siltä, että kielenylitys englantiin suomalaisnuorten puheessa ei ole kovinkaan yleistä. Tutkimus osoittaa myös, että kielenylitys on tunnusmerkitön valinta vain epämuodollisissa puhetilanteissa, joissa kaikki keskustelukumppanit ovat nuoria. Tekstikorpuksessa vakiintumatonta kielenylitystä oli 1,08 %:a kokonaissanamäärästä. Vaikka korpuksen kielenylitystapaukset luokitellaan tässä tutkimuksessa kuuteen kategoriaan, on ilmeistä, että englannilla on nuorten kielessä enimmäkseen stilistinen tehtävä. Kielenoppaiden englanninintaito vaikuttaa olevan suhteellisen hyvä, mikä mahdollistaa englannin kielen produktiivisen ja innovatiivisen käytön.

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1. Introduction

Language change is often seen as deterioration by the speakers of the language. This is why in Finland, every now and then, we see angry letters to the editor in newspapers about how young people are using the Finnish language in a despicable way. It seems that nowadays English is seen as the main culprit corrupting our language, which manifests itself in the language of the media and young people. From a linguistic point of view, the situation is not at all dreary. Actually, it is quite important to emphasize that "[b]ilingual language use is purely and simply language use, just like monolingual language use. Hence it makes little sense to distinguish between 'monolinguals', 'bilinguals', 'trilinguals' or otherwise numbered 'linguals'" (Jørgensen 2005: 394). As Hiidenmaa points out, languages do not die because a speaker forgets to use suffixes properly or because speakers get poor influences from the media or because a speaker uses an improper, colloquial register in a public speech (2003: 59). In actual fact, all natural languages are constantly changing. Aitchison argues that "[l]anguage, then, like everything else, gradually transforms itself over the centuries" (1981: 16). Time changes everything and there is no reason why language should be an exception to this rule. Yet it is somewhat disheartening for a linguist to see "large numbers of intelligent people condemn and resent language change, regarding alterations as due to unnecessary sloppiness, laziness or ignorance" (ibid.).

The research tradition known as sociolinguistics has basically emerged from the observation that linguistic variation can be explained through social variables, such as age, gender, education, ethnicity, religious background and simply the speech situation itself (Lehtinen 1999: 151-152). It may, thus, be said that social context has an effect upon language and that through observing language in particular contexts and taking social variables present in those contexts into account, variation in language can, at least to some extent, be explained.

The aim of this thesis is to look at the use of English in the language of teenaged Finnish-speakers through the framework of language crossing. Language crossing is a special form of code-switching, where speakers use a code or a language to which they do not have unhindered access or in which they are not fully competent (Rampton 1997: 2). This will be elaborated on in chapter 2.1. It is assumed here that age is a remarkable factor in the use of English within Finnish discourse in the sense that adolescents are more prone to cross into English than other age groups. In this study, language crossing is seen to contain both expressions which have fully maintained the English phonology and orthography and also expressions which have been altered to fit into the Finnish phonology, orthography and/or inflectional system. Traditionally both types of instances could be defined as anglicisms, which are "word[s], idiom[s], or characteristic feature[s] of the English language occurring in or borrowed by another language" (Dictionary.com unabridged), but since this is not a study on lexicon but rather on variation and language change, it is more useful to treat these cases as language crossing.

Jørgensen argues that "[m]ost of the adolescents and adults in the industrialized world who are considered monolingual probably also have some knowledge of varieties of languages other than their own" (2005: 392). This means that despite being monolingual, they are able use words and phrases from other languages in discourse. Crossing is employed as a linguistic tool to e.g. supplement vocabulary or to achieve certain communicative effects.

As mentioned, I have made the distinction to focus on expressions which have maintained either their English pronunciation or spelling (or both) quite well. Translation loans, which are expressions borrowed from English and simply translated into Finnish (e.g. *sähköposti* 'e-mail') will not be included in the analysis since, while they are anglicisms, they cannot be seen as language crossing. Also, well-established terms borrowed from English (e.g. *linkki* 'a link', *profiili* 'a profile'), which have gained a status as a part of modern Finnish

lexicon are excluded from the analysis. This is also the case with some fairly recent loans (e.g. *blogi* 'a blog'*, stringit* 'a g-string'). Such expressions do not necessarily have a firm ground in the Finnish lexicon. They are, however, widely used and, more importantly, often the only expressions available for the extralinguistic entities they are depicting. In this study main focus is given to expressions to which there is a Finnish alternative available and deliberating as to what the reasons for choosing an English expression might be. Proper names are naturally omitted from the analysis. I will return to the criteria used in the analysis of the data in more detail in chapters 3 and 4.

The data used is this study is derived from two sources. The first part of my data was gathered as a questionnaire study among 13–16 -year-old Finnish-speakers in Tampere, more specifically students of Tampereen normaalikoulu. In the questionnaire the adolescents were given 14 English expressions adopted into Finnish at different times and through different mechanisms and they were asked to report on how often they use the expressions given. Furthermore, they were asked to give examples of sentences in which those expressions could be used and to specify the types situations and interlocutors with whom crossing occurs. The questionnaire will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3, but the main hypothesis here is that expressions which were popular among adolescents about 15 years ago no longer are. Young people adopt linguistic innovations easily and can therefore usually be thought to be on the cutting edge of what is new in language.

Secondly, an approximately 45,000-word corpus was gathered from the message board of a Finnish youth magazine *Suosikki*. The corpus covers discussion taking place over an approx. 10-month period and it comprises randomly chosen discussion threads. The analysis of this corpus will primarily focus on lexical features. However, the approach will be mainly sociolinguistic using the framework of language crossing. The main aim is to see whether Finnish teenagers use English expressions when corresponding Finnish expressions

are available as well and furthermore, if this is the case, to see in what ways this type of crossing is used. While in principle anything can be adopted by one language from another, usually vocabulary is more easily borrowed than structure (Thomason 2001: 69). When the typological differences between the two languages are big – which is the case with Finnish and English – non-basic vocabulary is usually the first feature to be borrowed (ibid.). English can be thought of as a fusion language, which means that even though affixes and inflection are used to some extent, they are usually merged into the stems of the words in such a way that the constructions are relatively opaque (Häkkinen 1994: 46). Finnish, on the other hand, is more of an agglutinative language, in which words are heavily inflected and affixed (ibid.). Where in English it is common to express relationships between linguistic entities with separate words (e.g. prepositions), in Finnish that is accomplished with endings.

This study focuses only on finding out whether Finnish-speaking adolescents use language crossing and if so, to what extent. Speculations on the reasons for language crossing will, however, be looked at as part of the theoretical framework for the study in spite of the fact that the informants themselves were not asked about their language attitudes or possible reasons for choosing English expressions in certain contexts. Obtaining this information would have been quite possible, but given the scope and purpose of this study I found it superfluous. Hence, relying on theories generated by linguists in previous studies will suffice.

Sociolinguistics studies the relationship between language and society and, according to Rampton (2005: 4), there is a belief in sociolinguistics that "human reality is socially constructed... and it is extensively reproduced and *created anew* in the socially and historically specific activities of everyday life". Language plays an enormous part in constructing human reality, since it is one of the most important (if not the most important) vehicles of communication at our disposal. Thus, studying variation on the basis of social variables helps us see the different ways people have of constructing reality. Traditionally age

has been seen as one of the major sociolinguistic variables influencing language use. Fortman argues that "language plays a significant role in defining adolescent social identity" (2003: 104) and that "young people learn to define themselves, at least in part, through verbal interaction with others" (ibid: 105). I believe that young people do have this tendency to use a specialized language when communicating with each other and, in some cases, with other people as well. I am not arguing that this is the result of an active process but rather something inherent for adolescent language. According to Bauer, the way to see ongoing language change is studying variation (1994: 12). She also argues that "there is one guide to variation that almost always indicates change in progress: it is complaints by purists about the deterioration of the language" (ibid: 20). This certainly holds true for the use of English expressions in within Finnish discourse. However, I expect to find that the amount of English used by Finnish adolescents is quite small and that their vernacular is primarily used in interaction with other young people. This is because of the speakers' inherent concept of language's indexicality, which will be discussed in chapter 2.2. Furthermore, it is impossible to say whether language change is taking place or not by simply looking at the language of one group of informants. Language change could be detected by conducting synchronic studies to look at the language of different groups of informants or by conducting diachronic studies to see how the language of the same informants changes over the years. That, however, is not the aim of this study and therefore this study does not shed light on whether language change is taking place or not.

The theoretical framework used in this study will be presented first, after which I will move on to introducing the study and analyzing its results. All but one examples used in the introduction of the theoretical framework have been taken from the data gathered for this study. The one exception is from a column in the newspaper *Aamulehti*. The example sentences are all in Finnish, for which I have provided English translations. The translations

turned out to be something of a challenge, since coming up with an accurate translation and maintaining the tone of the original utterance was sometimes difficult to achieve. Therefore it must be noted that the translations are merely approximate ones provided for the convenience of possible non-Finnish-speaking readers.

2. Theoretical framework and background

2.1 Language Crossing

Language crossing is a term introduced by Rampton (1997:2), who saw code-switching as too broad a term to cover all types of uses of other languages in discourse. He studied the use of Panjabi words and expressions among adolescents of Anglo and African-Caribbean descent and the use of Creole among adolescents of Anglo and Panjabi descent (2005: 28). His main focus was on how the outgroup uses of these languages related to the relationship between race and class and on how language crossing practices could be construed as cultural politics (ibid.).

Rampton's definition of code-switching is rather similar to what Auer sees as code-alternation (2005: 266). According to Auer "code-alternation... covers all cases in which semiotic systems are put in a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this sign as such" (quoted in Rampton 2005: 266). In the case of this study, Finnish and English are juxtaposed in such a way. Language crossing is thus one particular type of code-switching. It is a practice of using a language variety that belongs to another group. The phenomenon is widely recognised by linguists, though they seem to disagree about what to call it. Myers-Scotton talks about borrowing (1997: 228), Wardhaugh refers to code-mixing and metaphorical code-switching (1986: 102-103) and Kamwangamalu uses the term code-crossing (2002: 188). I find Rampton's term most useful for the purposes of this study, since one language can contain several codes, which makes the term code-crossing somewhat too ambiguous. For instance, a very famous sociolinguistic study on code-switching conducted by Blom and Gumperz in Norway dealt with switching between Ranamål and Bokmål which are both varieties of Norwegian (1986: 411).

As already mentioned, many monolingual speakers have some access to other languages from where they can adopt words or expressions even though communicating in that language would be impossible. According to Jørgensen "items from virtually any language or dialect can be drawn into a conversation which do not 'belong' (or more precisely, are not perceived as belonging) to the variety which a speaker is currently using" (2005: 393). Using such items indicates that the speaker is introducing beliefs, values, or stereotypes and believes that they are shared by the interlocutors (ibid.). This aspect of language crossing will be examined more in chapters 2.2 and 2.3 below.

Rampton notes that language crossing is one kind of a contextualization cue, which speakers use to signal various aspects of context (e.g. mood, participant roles, identity) (2005: 266-267). Contextualisation cues also require participants of a conversation to do some inferential work as they try to establish the changes in the contextual framework (ibid.). Two types of contextualization cues are of particular importance: in discourse-related alternation the participants need to make sense of a switch "by interpreting it as marking out a different addressee, a new topic, a distinct narrative segment", whereas in participant-related switches participants can settle for attributing the switch to the speaker's own linguistic preference and/or proficiency (Rampton 2005: 268). Language crossing is a sociolinguistic practice, in which speakers move outside the language varieties they normally use and briefly adopt codes to which they do not have easy and full access (Rampton 1997:8). Example [i] illustrates a typical instance of language crossing, where the speaker crosses from Finnish to English for the nominal phrase *some serious damage*.

> [i] Se aiheutti some serious damage siellä.
>   (She/he/it caused some serious damage there.)

It has now been accomplished that language crossing does not have bilingualism as a prerequisite. Therefore, there must be other reasons for the incorporation of the other language into discourse. "Many of the language practices involved [with language

crossing]… are broadly aspirational, with the participants moving towards codes and identities that are prestigious and powerful", Rampton explains (ibid.). Vermeij, however, sees language crossing working in an opposite direction: she notes that "it can be argued that crossers show no respect for the cultural ownership held by the associated group... [and] cultural elements associated with another group may even be used to degrade the members of that group" (2004: 141). Somewhat problematic in Vermeij's view is the concept of cultural ownership and whether it can be disrespected by using the group's language. This will be further discussed in the following chapter when the concepts of situational and metaphorical code-switching are introduced.

Based solely on my observations as a Finnish-speaker it seems that language crossing is particularly emblematic of young people in the process of redefining their identities. Integrating another language into a vernacular possibly creates a sense of movement across social and ethnic boundaries. As Cutler puts it, "most often [language crossing] involves momentary, ritualised instances of outgroup language use" (2002: 1). According to her (ibid.), crossing is part of a complex process of self-assembly in which speakers signal their orientation towards the different voices they adopt.

In her study on language crossing in Dutch street-talk, Vermeij discarded English from her analysis and argued that using English within Dutch conversation could not be seen as language crossing, because "[t]hrough media and education, English has become widely available to all and does not demarcate a particular social group" (2004: 142). I, however, feel that language crossing can be seen as a broader linguistic phenomenon and that, in fact, media and education provide an image of English and its speakers, which can be thought of as the 'social group' that the language belongs to. In this study, the informants certainly briefly adopt a code, in which they are not fully competent. In my opinion, this suffices to fill the definition of language crossing and therefore the term and framework can be employed here.

2.1.1 Double-voicing and situational and metaphorical code-switching

An important feature of language crossing is the assumption that the interlocutors will understand the terms without further elaboration (Kunzelmann 2004: 3). Crossing has linguistic, stylistic and sociolinguistic functions, which are often difficult to separate from each other, because they motivate particular language features simultaneously.

The concept of double-voicing is a feature of dialogism originally introduced by Bakhtin. According to Rampton "[double-voicing] is used to describe the effect on the utterance of a plurality of often competing languages, discourses and voices" (1997: 11). In other words, speakers use someone else's discourse for their own purposes. Double-voicing provides "additional insight into the way that speakers and writers construct their perspectives on the social worlds they inhabit" (Menard-Warwick 2005: 535). In Bakhtin's opinion all utterances are responses to previous utterances and they anticipate future responses and, being a literary scholar, he argued that authors double-voice characters representing particular social groups by interweaving a variety of languages (ibid.). The concept of double-voicing has, however, proved to be useful in linguistics as well (e.g. in studying narratives) and Rampton (1997) has used it to elaborate the linguistic concept of metaphorical code-switching.

There are several different types of double-voicing, two of which are uni-directional and vari-directional double-voicing (Rampton 1997: 11). In uni-directional double-voicing "speakers themselves go along with the momentum of the second voice, though it generally retains an element of otherness which makes the appropriation conditional and introduces some reservation into the speaker's use of it... [and] at the same time, the boundary between the speaker and the voice they are adopting can diminish" (ibid.). Similarly, in vari-directional double-voicing the speaker "again speaks in someone else's discourse, but introduces into that discourse a semantic intention directly opposed to the original one (ibid.)".

Metaphorical and situational code-switching are concepts introduced by Blom and Gumperz (1986: 424–425). Gumperz sees code-switching as a "discourse phenomenon in which speakers rely on juxtaposition of grammatically different subsystems to generate conversational inferences" (1982: 97). Situational code-switching is narrowly constrained by social norms and there is a direct relationship between language and the social situation, whereas in metaphorical code-switching there is no significant change in definition of participants' mutual rights and obligations (Blom and Gumperz 1986: 425). In other words, in situational code-switching there is a change in the social situation, which brings about the code-switch. In metaphorical switching no such change can be detected. Rampton notes that "metaphorical switches have been characterised as typically brief and intrasentential, initiating or 'bringing about' new contexts, while on the other, situational switches are often seen as larger, longer and responsively tied to contexts that are relatively fixed and 'brought along'" (1997: 9). According to Gumperz, the signalling mechanism involved in metaphorical code-switching is a shift in contextualization cues not accompanied by a shift in topic or another similar context marker (1982: 98). Rampton offers slightly different definitions for the two types of code-switching: "'situational' code-switching can be seen as a relatively routine contextualisation cue, in which speakers introduce (and recipients accept) a new but fairly familiar and accessible definition of the situation" whereas "metaphorical code-switching denies the recipient an easy footing for subsequent interaction... it involves a violation of co-occurrence expectations which makes it difficult for recipients to end their search for meaning in the relatively neat solutions normally achieved with ordinary discourse" (ibid: 10).

As language crossing frequently contradicts "the world of daily life in common with others" it can primarily be seen as metaphorical code-switching (ibid.). But not all metaphorical code-switching operates in the same way, which is why it is necessary to narrow

down its definition. Rampton suggests the following: firstly, it would be better to use the term 'figurative code-switching' as a broad label and an opposite to situational code-switching and use the term 'metaphorical code-switching' for a subtype of figurative switching and secondly, Bakhtin's notions of uni- and vari-directional code-switching can be used to distinguish different types of metaphorical code-switching (ibid: 10–11). Thus, the subtypes of figurative code-switching are metaphorical code-switching (uni-directional double-voicing) and ironic code-switching (vari-directional double-voicing). Uni-directional double-voicing (or metaphorical code-switching) occurs when the speaker goes along with the force of the second voice, which means that the second voice is used to reinforce the original utterance (ibid: 11). Accordingly, vari-directional double-voicing is usually employed when speakers want to make a distinction between themselves and the other discourse, often with a mocking or ironic tone. The relationships between different types of code-switching are illustrated in figure 1 below.
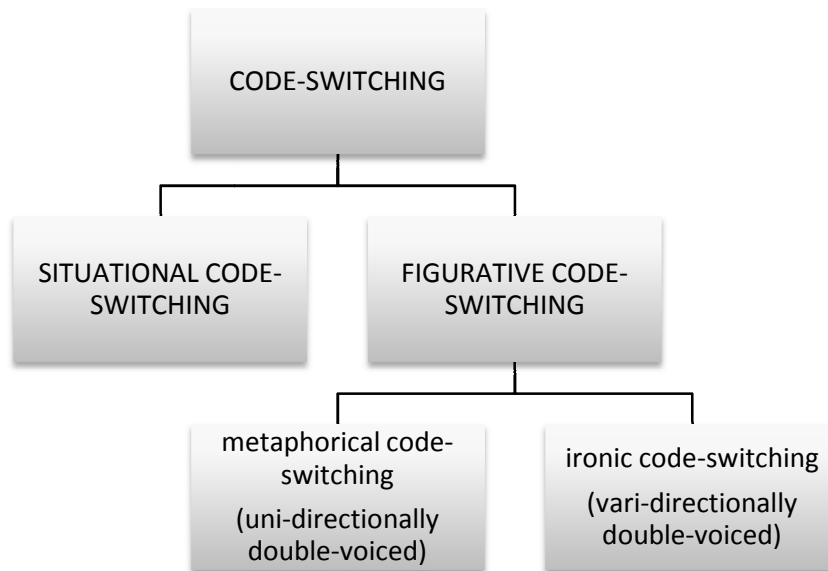
Figure 1. Relationships between different types of code-switching (Rampton 1997: 12).

Vari-directional code-switching is often used when mocking someone else's speech. A typical example of mocking the way English is used within Finnish conversation is from a column by Jyrki Lehtola, which appeared in *Aamulehti* on 27 April 2008:

> [ii] Hän on frendi, josta tuli ulkoministeri ja kaveri, joka puhuu samaa englannin ja suomen sekoittavaa siansaksaa kuin we all do tajuutsä.
> (He's a friend, who became the foreign minister and a guy who speaks the same gibberish mixing English and Finnish as we all do, you know.)

The vari-directionality of the sentence above becomes even more clear when read in its original context, which is standard newspaper Finnish.

Similarly, an example of uni-directional code-switching is from the *Suosikki*-corpus. In the sentence the writer is using an English expression in earnest.

> [iii] Vastustan kyllä kaikkea muutakin lokerointia, SO DON'T LABEL ME
> (I'm opposed to all other kinds of categorizations as well, SO DON'T LABEL ME)

Naturally, only the speakers themselves actually know whether they are using code-switching uni- or vari-directionally, which means that we can only make interpretations about the nature of code-switching. It is, however, usually quite easily deduced from the context in which code-switching is used.

2.2 Indexicality

Scotton argues that "all linguistic code choices are indexical of a set of rights and obligations holding between participants in the conversational exchange" (1988: 152). This means that speakers have an inherent knowledge of what code choice is the proper one in conventionalized exchanges. A conventionalized exchange is "any interaction for which speech community members have a sense of 'script'", e.g. service exchanges, peer to peer informal talks, doctor patient visits and job interviews (ibid.). Johnstone and Kiesling note that "the repeated use of different variants in different selfpresentational styles associated with

locally relevant social groupings can cause particular variants to become semiotically associated with particular ways of being and acting" (2008: 7).

If it is assumed that language crossing only occurs in certain types of socio-cultural exchanges (e.g. young people talking to each other) it suggests that language crossing is indexical of a conventionalized exchange. But not all indexicals work in the same way. In fact, indexicality can work on three different levels. Johnstone and Kiesling explain:

> "During the first stage... community members have not noticed the first-order indexical correlation between form and demography, perhaps because they have only heard one variant of the variable used. They thus cannot make use of the correlation to interpret others' speech or project social identity. Second-order indexicality occurs when people begin to use first-order correlations to do social work. For example, because monophthongal /aw/ is distributed the way it is, someone who has been socially and/or geographically mobile enough to have experienced this distribution may hear monophthongal /aw/ as suggesting that the speaker is from southwestern Pennsylvania and/or working-class and/or masculine. Accordingly, people who can use this feature variably may use it less when they are trying harder to sound educated or cosmopolitan, or more when they are trying harder to sound like working-class men or like other Pittsburghers. Labov refers to linguistic forms that do this kind of work as 'markers.' For various reasons, not all first-order indexical correlations come to do second-order sociolinguistic work." (2008: 10)

If speakers use language crossing in all discourse regardless of context and see it as part of standard language use, crossing would be a first-order indexical. Similarly, and this is most likely the case, speakers are able to distinguish between situations where crossing can be employed and where it is an obviously marked choice. Second-order indexicals can, thus, link phonetic and lexical form with social meaning (ibid.). It is important to keep in mind, however that these social meanings are in no way fixed but vary between speakers. For instance, a thick rural accent may sound uneducated to some, plainspoken to others and for some people it may have no social meaning at all.

Third-order indexicality refers to a second-order indexical which has come to have another indexical meaning, when "a subset of its features come to be perceived as meaningful according to another ideological schema" (ibid: 9). For instance, in Johnstone and Kiesling's

study /aw/ becomes a third-order indexical "when it gets 'swept up' into explicit lists of local words and their meanings and reflexive performances of local identities, in the context of widely circulating discourse about the connection between local identity and local speech that reflects and reinforces a schematization in which language varieties are naturally linked to places" (ibid: 11). Less precisely said, each level of indexicality is, to some extent, a meta-level interpretation of the previous one. In discussion about language crossing as indexical of adolescent discourse, crossing would gain a position of third-level indexicality.

In studying language variation it has often been assumed that correlation between a linguistic variant and a demographic categorization is "sufficient evidence that there are meaningful second-order indexical links that allow speakers and hearers to use these variants to perform and interpret social identity work", when in fact it only suggests possible interpretations about social variation (ibid.). While acknowledging this is important, these possible interpretations should, nonetheless, not be entirely overlooked as they can provide a basis for and act as a starting hypothesis in further research. Correlations should be seen as meaningful and put under more scrutiny to see, if the initial assumption points in the right direction.

2.3 Markedness

According to Crystal, markedness is an analytic principle in linguistics where pairs of linguistic features are seen as oppositions and thereby given values of positive (marked) or neutral/negative (unmarked) (2003: 282). For instance, most English nouns have a formal feature marking plural. Therefore, the plural can be seen as marked and the singular as unmarked (ibid: 283). If there was no sense of such directionality, both features would operate in parallel and thus *dog* could be seen as the singular form of *dogs* rather than *dogs* as the

plural form of *dog*. Crystal argues that there is, however, an intuitive preference to the latter, which means that here the plural form is the marked feature (ibid.).

In sociolinguistics codes can be seen as marked or unmarked. In a certain context (or in a conventionalized exchange) using the expected variable or code is an unmarked language choice, while using an unexpected one is a marked choice. For instance, when the president of Finland gives her new year's address, she is expected to use a rather formal variant of spoken Finnish, which is the unmarked choice in that context. Were she to use a heavy dialect or slang, the choice of variant would be clearly unexpected and the choice a marked one. According to Myers-Scotton "making the unmarked choice in a conventionalized exchange is a negotiation to recognize the status quo as the basis for the present speech event, since it is indexical of the rights and obligations balance, which is expected, given the salient situational factors" (1988: 156). Similarly, making marked choices in conventionalized exchanges signal speakers' dis-identification with the expected (ibid.).

Speaking of language varieties as either marked or unmarked roughly assumes that language choices can be seen as a dichotomy. However, it is important to note that markedness is more of a continuum and that speakers usually operate with degrees of markedness, not categorical distinctions (ibid: 154-155). This means that some language choices are seen as more marked than others and that the same choice is not necessarily as marked for some speakers in the same conventionalized exchange as it is for others (ibid.). It is also important to note that not all speech situations are conventionalized exchanges, which means that in such unconventionalized situations it is not clear what the unmarked choice would be (ibid.). In such exchanges interlocutors have all choices of linguistic code open to them and all choices are exploratory and intended as candidates to become the unmarked choice.

It seems clear that using language crossing is a linguistic choice that bears quite a bit of markedness in many speech situations, as it is certainly frowned upon e.g. in written language and also in some spoken language situations as well as it is seen as being against the norms of standard language. Myers-Scotton notes that "norms determine the relative markedness of a linguistic code for a particular exchange, given the association of the code with a specific rights and obligations set" and that "speakers are free to make any choices, but how their choices will be interpreted is not free" (ibid.). Again, the president is free to give an address in thick dialect, but the normative expectation of language in such a situation and how using dialect will be interpreted would most likely make the language choice heavily marked.

2.4 Phonological and morphological differences between English and Finnish

Finnish and English have rather different phonological and morphological systems, which is reflected in the spelling and pronunciation of English words in Finnish. Finnish can be seen as a synthetic or an agglutinative language and English as more of an analytic one. The main difference between these two types of languages is that in analytic languages words are usually invariable and syntactic relationships are expressed by word order, whereas in synthetic languages words usually consist of more than one morpheme (Crystal 2003: 23-24). These categories are not clear-cut, but different languages contain different degrees of analyticity or syntheticity. Finnish makes very little use of e.g. prepositions and uses suffixes and inflections instead. This is the reason why, when borrowing words from other languages, Finnish-speakers often have to add certain elements to them in order to make the new words fully functional within the system of Finnish.

> [iv] Se oli scarya
> (It was scary)
>
> [v] …jos täydelliseksi pönttöilyksi ja flamewariksi menee.
> (… if it becomes utter stupidity and flamewar.)

In example [iv] the additional -*a* in the end of *scary* is the suffix for partitive forms and therefore must be used in this particular context. In example [v] the suffix –*ksi* added to *flamewar* is needed to produce the transitive form required in this context.

Filipovic notes that "the pronunciation is determined on the phonological level according to the similarity and dissimilarity of the phonological systems of English and the receiving languages" (1996: 6) and continues by saying that "[overall] adaptation depends primarily on the similarities and differences between the linguistic systems of the donor and receiver language" (ibid: 7).

> [vi] …hei kamoon ny.
> (…hey come on now.)
>
> [vii] oumaigaad. mastsii.
> (Oh my god, must see.)

In examples [vi] and [vii] the speakers have chosen to use spellings reflecting Finnish orthography and thus digressing from the original English spelling. The pronunciation is relatively close to the English one.

Myers-Scotton argues that "code-switching is defined as the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation, *without prominent phonological assimilation of one variety to the other*" (1988: 157, italics mine). When phonological and/or morphological assimilation are involved, traditional linguistics would see the phenomenon as borrowing (ibid: 159). Myers-Scotton elaborates:

> Distinguishing code-switching form borrowing presents another problem. Trying to resolve this problem on a structural basis, considering degree of assimilation, yields no useful results. First, assimilation is a gradient, not categorical, concept, and can provide us only with a continuum as a metric for evaluation. Second, while an expected hypothesis is that borrowed morphemes are more assimilated into L1 [the borrowing language] than switched morphemes, what about the many clearly established borrowings which show little assimilation?... Third, what about the relative weight of phonological assimilations vs. morphological assimilation? One may not or may not be accompanied by the other. (ibid.)

In her study on code-switching in Eastern Africa Myers-Scotton noted that there are no easily detectable categorical structural criteria identifying the boundaries between borrowing and code-switching (ibid.). The examples below from the *Suosikki*-corpus illustrate the phenomenon. In example [viii] below there is neither phonological[1] nor morphological assimilation present, whereas in example [ix] both are present. In example [x] the phrase *first person* has been affixed with the Finnish ending for the elative case and thus only morphological assimilation has taken place. This, however, requires some interpretation, since the pronunciation of the phrase cannot be seen from the written form. It is nonetheless very likely that the speaker would use an (more or less) English pronunciation here, where the spelling has maintained the original form.

> [viii] On se ihan söpö ja jotenki lahjakas I think.
> (He's cute enough and kind of talented I think.)

> [ix] Nevöhöörd (in reference to a celebrity, of whom the writer has never heard)
> (Never heard)

> [x] ..., ja näin unen samasta näkökulmasta, eli first personista tietty…
> (… and I had the dream from the same perspective, that is first person, of course)

The examples above show different degrees of phonological and/or morphological assimilation with only [viii] having the original English form. Yet it would make little sense to say that [viii] is a case of code-switching or language crossing and that [ix] and [x] are instances of borrowing. Perhaps there is little sense altogether in juxtaposing borrowing and code-switching, since the two concepts can clearly coexist and they serve somewhat different purposes. Code-switching is a concept mainly used in sociolinguistics and borrowing in comparative and historical linguistics.

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[1] Detecting phonological assimilation in an altogether written corpus is somewhat equivocal, since only the writer can know what the actual pronunciation would be. The examples provided here were chosen as instances where as little uncertainty as possible regarding phonology would be found.

2.5 Language and identity

A linguistic interaction is always influenced by its participants. Who a person is in an interaction is a context-defined sum of his/her social background: in some exchanges age is important, in others gender and in some exchanges particular attention is paid to status in a certain hierarchy in a community (Hämäläinen 1982: 140). All participants bring along their social backgrounds, which can be dismantled into sets of attributes, which make up an individual's identity (ibid: 141). In different contexts a different representation of such attributes emerges; these representations are called situational identities (ibid.) Situational identities are not always clear beforehand, since the participants of a conversation may not even know each other, which means that identities usually unravel as the exchange progresses (ibid.)

Downes argues that "the manner in which what is said is pronounced conveys social meanings about the speaker and their relation to both hearer and larger social structure" (1998: 272–273), which implies that language and identity are always closely intertwined. Utterances are also actions, which is why they are sometimes called acts of identity (ibid: 273). Acts of identity will be discussed more closely in chapter 2.5.1.

According to Kramsch, "there is a natural connection between the language spoken by members of a social group and that group's identity" (1998: 65). In this sense, judging by linguistic features speakers identify themselves and are also identified by others as members of social groups. This group identity is, of course, not a natural fact but a cultural perception (ibid.). Tabouret-Keller argues that "a person's identity is a heterogeneous set made up of all the names or identities given to and taken up by her" (1997: 316). He continues to state that the link between language and identity is often so strong that a single feature of language use suffices to identify someone's membership in a given group (ibid: 317). Such single linguistic

features which can make distinctions between speakers are called linguistic shibboleths. Language features are the link which binds individual and social identities together.

According to Hogg and Abrams, language and communication are thought to be social for three main reasons: 1) they occur between people; 2) they are predominantly about people and 3) they are consensual rule governed social products of a language community (1998: 190). They note that "[w]ithout speech and language social influence would be unbelievably restricted, and without communication it would not exist at all" (ibid: 187), which renders it necessary that, in addition to traditional sociolinguistics, social psychology be interested in language as well. The social psychology of language as well as the concepts of identity and social identity will be discussed in chapter 2.5.2.

Auer argues that one of the most recent trends in sociolinguistics has been the interest in social identity, which is the result of many linguists' "dissatisfaction with variationist sociolinguistic models in which linguistic heterogeneity is 'explained' through correlations with pre-established social categories such as socioeconomic status or ethnicity" (2005: 403) Social identity is seen as a useful mediating concept between language and social structure. Auer explains:

> On the one hand, [the concept of social identity] allows one to see interactants as being involved in linguistic 'acts of identity' through which they claim or ascribe group membership, or more precisely, through certain speaking styles (which usually incorporate certain linguistic 'variables'). On the other hand, membership categories can be regarded as constituting members' knowledge and perception of social structures (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998). Thus, instead of correlating social structures (say: 'gender') with linguistic variables, linguists begin to focus on interactional exchanges in which a sociolinguistic style is employed to claim/ascribe membership in a particular group. (ibid.)

Duszak argues that human social identities tend to be "indeterminate, situational rather than permanent, dynamic and interactively constructed" (2002: 3).

2.5.1 We-/they-code

As Tabouret-Keller puts it, language acts are acts of identity (1997: 315) and "boundary functions of language imply the possibility for individuals to be both in their own group and out of others' groups" (1997: 320). On the other hand, it is quite natural for people to make a distinction between 'us' and 'others' (Duszak 2002: 1). This means that we are constantly comparing ourselves with others to find our alignments and affiliations. One of the sociolinguistic functions of code-switching and language crossing is the we-/they code originally introduced by Gumperz (Kunzelmann 2004:5). By using a certain variety of language it is possible for a group to distinguish themselves from others and, consequently, for individuals to define themselves in terms of belonging to certain groups (i.e. social identities). This sense of inclusion and exclusion naturally derives from various sources, both linguistic and non-linguistic. Similarly, group boundaries are often seen as fuzzy rather than rigid and on a continuum of ingroupness – outgroupness, making the us – them distinctions highly elusive in discourse (Duszak 2002: 3).

A we-code can be achieved by using unusual vernacular words, which are not part of general language and which are likely to be misunderstood or not understood at all by most people. Tabouret-Keller states that "social groups need not be defined beforehand; it is the existence of the individual that is the basic postulate" (1997: 323). Thus, this question might be raised: to what extent is group identity a matter of choice, and what are the conditions for admission to a defined group? (ibid: 322)

Making a distinction between 'we' and 'they' is not an unproblematic one. As Sebba and Wootton paraphrase Gumperz:

> the association of 'we' and 'they' with particular codes 'does not directly predict actual usage' in a given instance. Furthermore, it is by no means certain that the 'we' – 'they' distinction is meaningful in all bilingual minority communities. In addition, some minority groups within a larger society may be relatively easy to identify, whether by external criteria or through their own ascription, while others are not. The complexity of the relationships between minority groups and

mainstream society on the one hand, and the two (or more) languages involved on the other, mean that the 'we-' and 'they-' codes cannot be taken as given in any particular situation. (1998: 262)

It seems clear by now that linguistic variation should never be accounted to or explained by only one factor. With the we–they code particular attention is due, since it is quite easy to import one's own views and presuppositions about group membership; it is possible for people who would formally seem to be members of a group to actually feel excluded from that particular group. All this does not, however, mean that the entire concept of the we–they code should be discarded. For instance, if, in the case of this study, adolescents were to use language crossing only when communicating with other adolescents in informal situations, it would be quite logical to say that it is an ingroup variety used by young people. Nevertheless, it would be narrow-sighted to explain the phenomenon entirely in this way.

2.5.2 The social psychology of language

The social psychology of language (SPL) is a subdiscipline of language and communication sciences which looks at and characterizes language behaviours as determined by the ways in which participants of interactions construe themselves and how they negotiate their understanding of the situations they are in (Giles and Fortman 2004: 99). Much theorizing in SPL has been about understanding how speakers adjust their language features and styles to fit each other. This is often referred to as the communication or speech accommodation theory, which will elaborated upon in the following chapter.

According to Duszak, social identities are "products of categorization processes that fulfill the human needs of organizing experience for future access and use (2002: 2). Identity theory and social identity theory are two perspectives "on the social basis of the self-concept and on the nature of normative behaviour" (Hogg et al 1995: 255). The difference between the two theories is that identity theory is "a microsociological theory that sets out to explain

individuals' role-related behaviours" and social identity theory is "a social psychological theory that sets out to explain group processes and intergroup relations" (ibid.). Of the two, the social identity theory has been used in sociolinguistics to explain e.g. the nature of code-switching and language crossing. The theory was developed by Tajfel and Turner and it explains the development of individuals' social identities in connection with their social environment (Fortman 2003: 105-107). It assumes that individuals relate to one another in terms of memberships of different social groups rather than as individuals and that individuals derive their identities from affiliation in certain groups. According to Hogg et al., the basic idea of the theory is that a social category into which one falls and with which one feels affiliation, "provides a definition of who one is in terms of the defining characteristics of that category – a self-definition that is a part of the self-concept" (1995: 29). "Each of these memberships is represented in the individual member's mind as a social identity that both describes and prescribes one's attributes as a member of that group", they elaborate (ibid.). This theory is especially applicable to young people, whose identities are in the process developing. Fortman notes that during adolescence group boundaries are often seen as inflexible or closed, which implies increased status for group members (ibid: 106).

2.5.3 The communication/speech accommodation theory

The communication (or speech) accommodation theory put forth by Giles is closely related to the social identity theory. It deals with how individuals modify their language in relation to their interlocutors' language use by using linguistic strategies as a means of expressing values, attitudes and intention towards each other in an attempt to maintain positive social identity (Fortman 2003: 107). Such strategies are divergence, convergence and maintenance. Together these three have been entitled approximation strategies (Williams 1999: 153). Convergence occurs when speakers move their communication and language closer to their

interlocutors' speech, which can express ingroup solidarity or personal affiliation (ibid. 152). Motivations for divergence obviously include a desire to show distinctiveness from the interlocutor. "Divergence occurs when people communicatively emphasize the difference between themselves and their interlocutors", Williams explains (ibid.). Of these two strategies, convergence is usually responded to favourably, whereas divergence may be seen as emphasizing a social identity negatively attributed and evaluated by recipients (ibid.). For instance, a gang member may use ghetto slang in communication with non-gang members to emphasize his/her gang membership, even though the slang is likely to be perceived negatively by outgroup people. The third approximation strategy, maintenance, is the vaguest and most difficult to detect of the three. According to Williams speech maintenance is a style, which "can be cross-situationally constant (i.e. neither convergent nor divergent)... [and] in many circumstances perceived by recipients as somewhat socially 'divergent'" (ibid: 153).

Young people often show such strategies perhaps more openly than adults, because they are "limited in social experience and insecure in their social identities" (Fortman 2003: 108). With adolescents group affiliations and social identities determine communication behaviour more than individual characteristics. Fortman argues that "adolescents are particularly rigid in their communicative expectancies of others" and that fierce protection of group boundaries may explain variation in teenagers' language attitudes over the years (ibid.). Myers-Scotton notes that the best predictor of an individual's use of code-switching are the linguistic norms of the community, which override individual abilities (1997: 219).

All this does not, however, mean that the individual becomes invisible. Johnstone states that "[i]n one way or another, culture provides individuals with ways of orienting as individuals: ways of identifying themselves and others, ways of valuing and evaluating themselves and their actions" (1996: 7). Perhaps constructing one's social identity happens by seeing oneself as an individual, who is a member of a group – being individualistic like

everyone else. With language this happens naturally. As Johnstone says "one person's language is different from another's because each individual has a different set of linguistic memories and each makes different generalizations on the basis of what he or she hears" (ibid: 8).

2.6 Features of adolescent language

Adolescent language is a user-related language variety: its use is governed not by the situations and contexts it is used in but rather by its users (Quirk 1990: 99). This does not, however, mean that adolescents are not able to vary their language to some extent according to situation. On the contrary, it is expected that adolescents use a somewhat different type of language with e.g. friends than they do with their teachers. Yet there are certain features of adolescent language that seem more or less salient. According to Norrby and Wirdenäs, adolescent language is often seen as "highly emotional, expressive and dramatic" (2003: 247) and a digression from the standard, adult way of speaking. Kristiansen argues that there is always authority involved with language use and that

> …there will always be… domination and power [involved] by virtue of institutionalised relations and structures, and ideology. With respect to language variation, most modern societies have developed what James and Lesley Milroy in their book on Authority in language (1985) call the 'Standard ideology' — i. e. the belief that there is one correct or best way of speaking the language, which people ought to strive for, to avoid ridicule and discrimination. A crucial factor in maintaining and propagating the Standard ideology is what the Milroys call the 'complaint tradition' — i.e. the activity of complaining about wrong language, bad language, misuse of language etc. (2003: 282)

As I have already established, this complaint tradition is alive and well in the Finnish society. There is little linguistic reasoning behind argumentation that Finnish should remain stagnantly Finnish. It can be historically explained with Finnish nationalism and the struggle the Finnish language has gone through to achieve its status as a multidimensional civilized language. But from a purely linguistic point of view, "there is little difference in principle between varying

one's own language (shifting registers, crossing into different dialects) and using items from stylized Hollywood German or switching codes from Spanish into Inuit... Bilingual language use is no dark mystery employed by subversive language polluters determined to destroy the national tongues of Denmark, Sweden, or France" (Jørgensen 2005: 394). Condemning young Finnish-speakers' language as corrupted by English is also undermining their linguistic competence. Why would adolescents be significantly less competent in using different registers of language than other speakers?

According to Macaulay, "the examination of stylistic variation has been used as a way of identifying language change, with the assumption that style-shifting reveals the covert norms that govern whether or not speakers will or will not adopt new forms entering the community" (2005: 158). Features of adolescent language may be indicative of ongoing language change, but they should not always be seen in that way (Andersen 2001: 311). Some linguistic innovations may be age-graded, which means that adolescents wish to "signal non-adherence to the norms of a different group [most likely adults], even if the innovations do not have long term effects" (ibid.). Innovations of adolescent language can thus be linguistic change in progress or expressions and manifestations of identity and in-group membership.

In interaction with others (as opposed to written language) adolescents use language variation to perform different functions: by switching between standard language, youth language and different dialects in conversation adolescents signal changes in action, with rising intonation a speaker provides background information and tends to his/her interlocutor in the exchange and by imitating other speakers adolescents may form groups and also mock others (Routarinne and Uusi-Hallila 2008: 10). Young people and especially young women are efficient distributors of linguistic innovations (ibid: 30).

2.6.1 Age-grading

Andersen notes that linguistic phenomena typical for young speakers (or age-driven variation) can be explained from two perspectives: cross-generational differences may imply ongoing language change, but they may also be indicative of age-grading (2001: 312). He elaborates:

> [I]nnovative linguistic behaviour may also be symptomatic of speaker groups who wish to signal non-adherence to the norms of a different group, even if the innovations do not have long term effects. More specifically, adolescence-specific features may be manifestations of ongoing language change, provided that the innovative behavior has long term effects on language, but it may also be indicative of the developmental characteristics of this age group and of its expression of social identity and ingroupness. Hence, linguistic innovations may reflect language change or age-grading, and explanations for innovative behaviour may be found with reference to either phenomenon. (ibid: 312–313)

It seems that some linguistic phenomena are more age-preferential that age-exclusive (ibid.). It is, for instance, possibly more likely for younger generations to use English expressions within Finnish speech than their parents' generations simply because they have had more contact with the foreign language.

As regards the scope of this study, it is impossible to determine whether the frequency or quality of language crossing is an adolescence-specific feature of language that will diminish with time or if it is a persistent feature of the informants' language. That would require a follow-up study in about ten years with the same informants to see how their language has changed. Based on my own experience as a Finnish-speaker, the use of crossing in my own idiolect diminished after passing adolescence.

2.7 Features of e-language

As the *Suosikki*-corpus was collected from the message board of the Suosikki website, it is necessary to shed some light on the genre of language used in Internet discussions, or e-language. In their study of language used in chat rooms and one-on-one chats, Al-Sa'di and Hamdan found the following features to be typical for e-language: short sentences (less than

six words), word truncation, cyber-orthography and other processes of word formation in cyberspace and taboo words (2005: 411–419). According to Al-Sa'di and Hamdan "[o]ne of the similarities between e-English and spoken English... is that in e-language there is immediacy and directness of speech, for one writes not for the public, as in the case of most types of writing, and not for a relative or a pen-pal who will reply after several days or even months, as in the case of personal letters (ibid: 420).

Chat language (or language used in chat rooms on the Internet or on TV) is a form of language combining elements from both spoken and written language (Kuorilehto 2003: 6). Kuorilehto notes that in chat language there are very few instances of non-finite clauses, nominalizations or heavy attributive constructions, which are typical for written language (ibid: 7). The sentence constructions are not, however, adopted from spoken language either, since in spoken language sentences tend to be somewhat meandering; in chat language sentences usually comprise simply a main clause and a possible subordinate clause (ibid.). Also typical for all e-language is the use of interjections and emoticons to express affect.

Message boards are closely related to Internet chat rooms as a forum, but the discussion there is not as rapid as it is in chat rooms and the participants of the conversation are not all present (or online) at the same time. This difference is also reflected in the language use. Hyvönen notes that on message boards the premise is that the discussion threads remain online and that the participants can return to re-read and continue on past discussions (2008: 186). Because posting on message boards is less rapid in tempo than chat rooms, participants are more able to pay attention to the language they use. This makes the language of message boards closer to standard language than language used in chat rooms (ibid: 187). Nonetheless, message board language contains many of the features of e-language: use of emoticons is frequent, words are often shortened or truncated and generally the language used is less normative than in standard language containing many elements of

spoken language (ibid: 187–188). Based on this it is safe to say that message board language is something of mix between spoken language and standard written language. It cannot be treated as spoken language due to its written format, but treating it solely as a form of written language would be unfruitful for sociolinguistic analysis.

2.8 Previous studies

Providing a comprehensive account of the previous studies conducted in the field of sociolinguistics which have attributed to the framework used on this current study is a very complicated task, since the field itself is incredibly varied. This is why I will shortly present only few earlier studies, focusing on the groundbreaking ones and the ones either conducted in Finland or otherwise close to the scope of this study. Many of the studies presented here have already been referred to earlier on in the text and similarly, many of the studies referenced in this thesis will not be introduced here.

The first studies on language crossing were naturally conducted by Rampton, who coined the term. As already noted in chapter 2.1, his original study used ethnographic research into adolescent friendship groups in the South Midlands of England and focused on the use of Panjabi by adolescents of Anglo and Afro-Caribbean descent, the use of Creole by Anglos and Panjabis and the use of stylized Indian English by all three (Rampton 2005: 18–19). Obviously, studies dealing with the phenomenon now called language crossing have been conducted before the term was introduced by Rampton. One of the most famous, and one to have influenced Rampton's work profusely, is Hewitt's *White Talk, Black Talk* published in 1986 (Rampton 2005: 19). Hewitt studied adolescent social life in South London and created an ethnographic description of the ways in which white youths developed the use of English-based Caribbean Creole in their interaction with black and white youths (ibid.).

Language crossing is a form of code-switching, which means that many of the studies conducted in the field of code-switching have contributed enormously to the study of language crossing. One especially deserving of mention is Blom and Gumperz's work on the meaning of linguistic choice in a Norwegian community (Blom and Gumperz 1986: 407). The outcome of their study was "an understanding of social constraints and linguistic rules as a part of a single communicative system" (ibid.). Similarly worthy of mention is the work done by Giles in developing the communication accommodation theory discussed in more detail in chapter 2.5.2.

The influence of English or anglicisms in Finnish have been studied only to some extent. Sajavaara et al. (1978) studied the influence of English on modern Finnish; Kunzelmann (2004) did a comparative study on English expressions in Finnish and German magazines. Moore and Varantola (2005) brush upon the effect English has on spoken language, especially with adolescents. The study of anglicisms in Europe in general has tended to focus primarily on lexicography. This type of analysis has been particularly popular in Germany (e.g. Schlick 1984, Leutloff 2003) and France (e.g. Rey-Debove 1987, Gesner 1997). In both those countries anglicisms are an even bigger source of anxiety than they are in Finland. According to Fink, in France, Poland and Slovakia there are even statutes to prevent English from polluting the national languages (2001: 33). Salzmann, who studied anglicisms in Czech, noticed that "English loans have never managed to gain a foothold in the core of Czech lexicon, finding acceptance only in semantic domains serving less essential or peripheral cultural needs" (1989: 54).

Young people have different kinds of needs for language than, say, their parents or grandparents do. Moore and Varantola wonder

> [how present-day] colloquial Finnish [would] survive without yes, please, well, OK, whatever, sorry, thanks, anyway, about and f*** off? Easily no doubt in the language of the older generation, while the younger generation would have a hard time thinking of suitable domestic replacements. English words such as

> OK, sorry and please are also particularly apt additions that fill a real gap in Finnish. (2005: 142)

Young speakers are also very much influenced by television and other media, which are most likely the main route via which English elements find their way into Finnish. Consequently, this is where research on the influence of English on Finnish is now starting to focus. Toriseva has studied the presence of English in skateboarding slang used in a Finnish skateboarding magazine *Dekki* (Toriseva 2008: 170). Her study looks at the various functions English has in the language of skateboarders. Toriseva is part of a research project VARIENG (the Centre of Excellence for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English) which is a joint project between the universities of Helsinki and Jyväskylä looking at "language as a social and discursive phenomenon, processes of linguistic change and variationist typology in a number of local, temporal and social contexts" (Varieng Jyväskylä website). Especially the Jyväskylä research team focuses on matters close to this study, e.g when, where and by whom is English used in Finland; how does English come into contact with Finnish and what range of ideological meanings is associated with English (ibid.).

3. The questionnaire study

3.1 The informants

To gain more insight on the way language crossing is used by Finnish-speaking adolescents, a questionnaire survey was conducted among 62 students aged 13–16 at Tampereen normaalikoulu in the spring of 2008. Because the informants were underage, their guardians were sent consent forms (see appendix 1). Parental consent was required in order for the answers to be used in this study. Approximately 20 answer sheets were left unanalyzed because of a missing parental consent form. In addition, two answer sheets were discarded, because the informants' first language was something other than Finnish and the focus of this study is particularly on Finnish-speakers.

The group of informants consisted of 39 girls and 23 boys. Partly due to this disproportionality the results will be reported in percentages, even though doing quantitative analysis of such a small representation is somewhat dubious. Six of the informants (10%) were 13 years old, 23 (37%) were 14 years old, 12 (19%) were 15 years old and 21 (34%) were 16 years old.

In addition to age and gender, the informants were asked their first language and the number of years they had studied English. As already mentioned, two informants were excluded from the analysis on the basis of their first language not being Finnish. The distribution of the extent of informants' English studies is shown in table 1 below.

	4 years	5 years	6 years	7 years	8 years	>9 years
boys	4	4	11	3	1	0
girls	8	13	7	10	0	1
all	**12**	**17**	**18**	**13**	**1**	**1**

Table 1. Distribution of years of studying English among informants

As can be seen from the table, most respondents have studied English for five or six years and only two for eight years or more. It needs to be noted here that the informants were not given instructions on how to answer if they had studied English for e.g. 4.5 years. This may have caused some variation as some respondents may have answered 4 years and some 5 years. Nonetheless, for the purposes of this study this error is minor and does not affect the results or the analysis.

3.2 The questionnaire – methods used

The questionnaire (see appendix 2) consisted of three questions:

(1) The informants were given a set of English expressions and asked how often they use them within Finnish discourse. They were also asked to give examples of sentences in which they would use the given expressions.

(2) The informants were asked in what type of situations and contexts they use English expressions like the ones presented in above.

(3) The informants were asked with what type of interlocutors the expressions given would be most likely used.

The three parts of the questionnaire will be discussed in more detail below.

3.2.1 Given expressions

The function of this part of the questionnaire was to act as an elicitation test in finding out whether certain English expressions are actually used by adolescents within Finnish discourse. The informants were given 14 different English expressions (or their Finnishized versions) and asked to report their use of the term on a scale of never – seldom – occasionally – often. In addition, an alternative 'I don't recognize the word' was offered. The scale was not defined more precisely (e.g. frequency of term used in a day or a week), since the amount of

using language differs between speakers. Thus, the informants themselves got to define how often seldom, occasionally or often is for them. They were not asked to elaborate on their definitions.

The 14 expressions were chosen based on my own linguistic introspection as a former adolescent and a bona fide user of language crossing into English. Using intuition as the basis for a study may be a slippery slope, but intuition and linguistic introspection can be used as a starting point in sociolinguistic study. Johnstone distinguishes between two types of intuition: the first being intuition in the Chomskyan sense (i.e. direct access to our own linguistic competence via introspection) and the second one being "intuition as informal, unsystematic, unconscious reasoning: the sense that you know what is going on without being able to say exactly how you know" (2000: 76). This second type of informal and unsystematic reasoning has been the basis of choosing the 14 expressions for the elicitation test. I am unable to pinpoint the moment I have heard these expressions used for the first time or when they have entered my idiolect. I have, however, been using them for years now and wanted to see if they are being used by adolescents today. Johnstone argues that sociolinguists' intuitions about their own speech may sometimes be a useful way of arriving at hypotheses that can then be tested (ibid.).

Expressions from different word groups were chosen for the elicitation test as well as words which have been adopted into Finnish through different mechanisms. The explanations for the expressions presented below are, again, based on my experience and intuition as a Finnish-speaker. The informants were also asked to give examples of sentences in which these given terms would be used. Those example sentences will be discussed along with the results in chapter 3.3.

- **cool**

  Cool is a relatively common adjective used in language crossing from Finnish to English. *Cool* is used "as a general term of approval: admirable, excellent; *esp.* sophisticated, stylish, 'classy'" (OED Online). *Cool* has been adopted as a quotation loan, because it has maintained both its orthography and its phonology (pronounced approximately [kuːl] in Finnish).

- **damage**

  Damage is a noun which, in Finnish, is spelled in its original form, but pronounced according to the Finnish phonology, approximately [dʌmʌge]. This would suggest that *damage* has been adopted into Finnish in its written form through, e.g. video or computer games, where sometimes the amount of damage caused to the players is shown on the screen.

- **damn**

  Damn is an interjection used in Finnish in a similar way as in English i.e. "to express anger, irritation, contempt, or disappointment" (American Heritage Dictionary). *Damn* has also maintained its original pronunciation and is pronounced in Finnish [dæm] or [dæːm].

- **dissata**

  Dissata is a Finnishized version of the verb 'to diss, to disrespect'. Verbs are often incorporated into Finnish by adding the suffix –ata/-ätä, which is an easy way of making loan verbs fully functional within the Finnish morphosyntax. *Dissata* has been borrowed from African American Vernacular English.

- **duh**

  According to the *American Heritage Online Dictionary*, *duh* is an interjection used "to express disdain for something deemed stupid or obvious, especially a self-evident remark". It is originally imitative of an utterance attributed to slow-witted people (ibid.). In Finnish it is pronounced [daː] and also often spelled *daa* or *daah*. *Duh* is used often vari-directionally in English and the expression has maintained its vari-directionality in Finnish as well.

- **fuck/fucking**

  Fuck is used in Finnish both as an interjection and as a verb. *Fucking* is similarly used as an adjective. The Finnish pronunciation of these words is very close to the original, approximately [fʌk] and [fʌkɪŋ].

- **kingi**

  Kingi ('king') is probably the oldest one of the 14 expressions in the elicitation test to be used in Finnish. It can even be found in the basic dictionary of Finnish (Suomen kielen perussanakirja 1990: 484), where it is said to be a colloquial reference to a leader or a boss. The word is, however, used differently in Finnish than it is in English. According to Green, *king* can be used with a suitable noun or verb to express the best of something (e.g. surfer king, bowling king) or, in Australian English, as an adjective or an exclamation as a synonym for excellent or wonderful (e.g. It was so king!) (2000: 696). In Finnish, *kingi* is only used to refer to people and usually it appears as a predicate noun (e.g. *Oon kingi*). The exact translation would be 'I'm the king' but a more accurate one in tone would

be 'I'm the man' or 'I'm the bomb'. *Kingi* is pronounced [kɪŋŋɪ] according to Finnish phonology.

- **old school**
  Old school is an expression adopted from rap music, where it refers to the early days of the musical style (Green 2000: 806). Young people started to use the term in Finnish in the late 1990's and early 2000's when rap music became more popular in Finland. The expression is usually spelled in its English form and pronounced [əuld skuːl] or a condensed form [əulskuːl]. *Old school* can be used in reference to almost anything considered old-fashioned or passé.

- **propsit**
  Propsit ('props') is also an expression adopted via rap music from African American Vernacular English. The original expression is short for *propers* or *proper respect* and is used to show support or admiration (to give someone props for something). In Finnish the expression is used in an identical way.

- **rulata/rulettaa**
  Rulata and *rulettaa* are Finnish versions of the verb *to rule*. Again, the Finnish verb is formed using the suffix –ata or the more complex construction –ttaa. The verb is used in Finnish to express admiration to someone or something considered excellent (e.g. *Tää bändi rulaa!* 'This band rules!').

- **sexy**
  Sexy (pronounced [seksy]) is used as an adjective in Finnish in a similar way as in English.

- **skillssit**
  The plural noun *skillssit* ('skills') is used in the same way in Finnish as it is in English, i.e. to refer to someone very talented at something. The pronunciation of *skillssit* is [skɪlːsːɪt].

- **tuunata**
  The verb *tuunata* ('to tune up') is rather widely used in Finnish and it is not only typical for adolescents but for adults as well. *Tuunata* is used in the meaning 'to make adjustments to something, to improve something, to modify' (e.g. *Mun täytyy tuunata mun laukku* 'I have to modify my purse').

- **volume**
  The Finnish language actually has a loanword for 'volume', namely *volyymi*. For some reason, the English word *volume* (pronounced [vɒlume]) is often used in reference to sound volume. *Volume*, like *damage*, has maintained its original spelling, but it has been completely intergrated into Finnish phonology and is treated as a three-syllable word. This is probably because the word has been introduced to Finns on electronic devices and thus gained a Finnishized pronunciation.

3.2.2 The role of context and interlocutors in language crossing

The other two questions on the questionnaire dealt with contexts and interlocutors which facilitate the use of language crossing among adolescents. If language crossing is seen as a marked language choice (see 2.3) it can be expected that the use of language crossing in governed by the context of the exchange and its participants. Similarly, if language crossing is thought to be indexical of a conventionalized exchange taking place among adolescents (see 2.2), there must be factors in the situation itself making the exchange conventionalized.

In the questionnaire the informants were asked in what types of situations they use language crossing. The following six options were presented: when talking (face to face or on the phone); on the Internet (chat rooms, instant messaging, message boards): in e-mails and letters; in school tasks (exams, reports); in classroom situations; in other situations (please specify). These were thought to cover all possible situations in which language is used, particularly when the option for 'other situations' was given.

In a similar manner, informants were presented with nine possible groups of interlocutors with whom language crossing might be used. The groups were: friends; siblings; parents; teachers; relatives of the same age; older relatives; previously unknown persons of the same age; previously unknown adults; other (please specify). In retrospect it seems that it would have been a good idea to broaden the scope of the category 'relatives' to include all adults the adolescents were previously acquainted with, since it is quite clear that adolescents can be acquainted with adults other than their parents, teachers or relatives. It can, however, be assumed that this flaw in the questionnaire does not skew the results very much since some respondents used the option 'other' to disclose this type of information. It needs to be nonetheless noted that the results might have been somewhat different had this flaw in the questionnaire been corrected.

3.3 Results of the questionnaire study

3.3.1 Use of given expressions

When calculating the results of the given expressions section of the study, it turned out that despite given instructions to answer all questions on the questionnaire, some respondents had left blanks on their answer sheets. Because of this an extra category 'answer missing' was created to the tables and figures in order to keep the amount of respondents the same throughout.

Within this group of 62 informants, the categories with most answers were 'not used' and 'used seldom'. As shown in figure 2 below, there are no big differences to be found between boys' and girls' answers. Trying to find correlation between respondents' age or the number of years of studying English and the answers turned out to be unfruitful and was therefore not pursued.
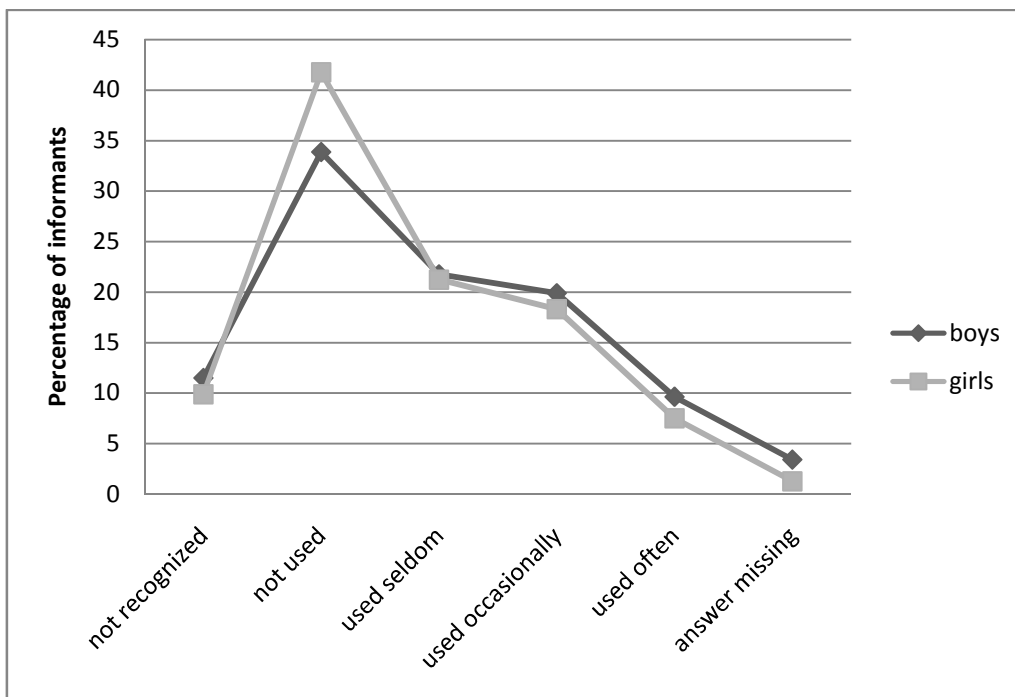

Figure 2. Use of expressions given in the questionnaire among informants

The biggest difference seen in figure 2 between boys and girls is that girls seem to be slightly less inclined to use given expressions. It is, however, quite questionable to make such conclusions, since the number of informants if small and the difference between boys and girls not very big ('not used': boys 34% vs. girls 42%). Since, in general at least, there seems to be no differences between boys and girls in the ways given expressions are used, gender differences will not be looked at further.

Distribution of answers for all the given terms is presented in table 2 below. With each expression the most frequent answer has been bolded. Of the 14 expressions none have 'used often' as the most frequent answer, *volume* has 'used occasionally' as the most frequent answer and *cool*, *damn*, *kingi* and *sexy* have 'used seldom' as the most frequent answer. With *kingi*, however, 'not used' has the same percentage of answers. Of these five expressions, *cool* also has a rather high percentage (32.3%) of 'used occasionally', as does *volume* of 'used often' (27.4%). *Volume* is used at least occasionally by 66.1% of the informants.

	not recognized	not used	used seldom	used occasionally	used often	answer missing
cool	0,0	17,7	**41,9**	32,3	8,1	0,0
damage	12,9	**62,9**	11,3	9,7	1,6	1,6
damn	6,5	27,4	**30,6**	22,6	11,3	1,6
dissata	12,9	**38,7**	21,0	21,0	4,8	1,6
duh	27,4	**46,8**	9,7	8,1	4,8	3,2
fuck/fucking	0,0	**32,3**	16,1	30,6	21,0	0,0
kingi	1,6	**35,5**	**35,5**	22,6	4,8	0,0
old school	6,5	**75,8**	6,5	8,1	1,6	1,6
propsit	41,9	**43,5**	6,5	3,2	0,0	4,8
rulata/rulettaa	4,8	**43,5**	32,3	16,1	1,6	1,6
sexy	0,0	29,0	**37,1**	19,4	9,7	4,8
skillssit	27,4	**41,9**	8,1	11,3	4,8	6,5
tuunata	4,8	**30,6**	27,4	21,0	14,5	1,6
volume	0,0	17,7	16,1	**38,7**	27,4	0,0
all	10,5	**38,8**	21,4	18,9	8,3	2,1

Table 2. Distribution of results for use of given expressions.

Thus, with the other given expressions the most common answer is 'not used', although in the case of *propsit* the percentage of 'not recognized' is rather high as well, 41.9%. That is also the case with *fuck/fucking*, where 30.6% of the respondents reported the term to be 'used occasionally' and 21.0% said it to be 'used often', thus 51.6% use *fuck/fucking* at least occasionally. All other given expressions are used more seldom or not at all. *Propsit* is not reported to be 'used often' by any of the informants.

All informants recognized four of the given expressions: *cool*, *fuck/fucking*, *sexy* and *volume*. The most common of these expressions not recognized by the informants was *propsit* with 41.9% of the respondents answering 'not recognized'.

3.3.1.1 Example sentences of given terms

Table 2 above provides information about how frequently the informants use the given expressions, but it sheds no light on the way the expressions are actually used. To gain some insight on the manner language crossing is used with these particular expressions, the informants were asked to give examples of sentences they would use the given expressions in. The 62 informants provided 124 example sentences altogether. All respondents did not come up with examples and the ones who did, usually came up with more than one. *Old school* was the only expression for which none of the informants gave an example. Thus, it may be said that this part of the questionnaire was very successful. Only some examples of each of the expressions (excl. *old school*) will be presented here. The sentences below represent most of the sentence types used as examples by the informants. The list of all example sentences can be found in appendix 3. In the questionnaire the informants were also asked to provide alternative ways of spelling the given expressions, if they would use a different spelling themselves. The alternative spellings are given below after each expression. Some informants

slightly misunderstood the task and provided Finnish translations of the expressions instead of

actual alternative spellings. These instances were not included in the analysis.

- **cool** (alternative spellings: kewl)
    1. Vähän oot cool.
    (You're so cool.)
    2. Vähän coolia!
    (That's so cool!)
    3. Toi on cool paita.
    (That's a cool shirt.)

- **damage** (alternative spellings: dmg)
    4. Damage!
    5. Se aiheutti some serious damage siellä.
    (He/she/it caused some serious damage there.)
    6. ottaa damagee
    (to get damaged)

- **damn** (alternative spellings: dääm, dämn)
    7. Voi damn, tänää on kokeet.
    (Oh damn, we have a test today.)
    8. Dämn se meni huonosti.
    (Damn that went badly.)
    9. Dääm!

- **dissata**
    10. Ok, te vaan dissaatte sitä!
    (Ok, you're just dissing him/her/it!)
    11. Mä dissaan tota paitaa.
    (I'm dissing that shirt.)
    12. Taas mua dissataa.
    (I'm being dissed again.)

- **duh** (alternative spellings: daa, daa'h)
    13. Siis daa! En tod mee!!!!
    (Well duh! I'm so not going!!!!)
    14. No, hei duh, etkö sä nyt sitä tienny
    (Well duh, didn't you know that)

- **fuck/fucking** (alternative spellings: fakk, f***)
    15. no voi fuck.
    (oh fuck.)
    16. Hei fuck you!
    17. Watta fakk!
    (What the fuck!)
    18. w.t.f.
    (short for *what the fuck*)

- **kingi**
  19. Sä oot ihan kingi.
     (You so are the man.)
  20. Joo se luulee olevansa joku kingi, mikä pelle.
     (Yeah, s/he thinks s/he's the bomb, what a clown.)

- **propsit**
  21. Propsit sulle.
     (Props to you.)
  22. Mun pitää vielä tehdä propsit yhteen pukuun.
     (I still have to make the props for a dress.)

- **rulata/rulettaa** (alternative spelling: rulez)
  23. sää rulaat
     (you rule)
  24. Meen pelikauppaan rulettaan.
     (?I'm going to the game store to rule.)

- **sexy**
  25. vähän sexyt
     (those are so sexy)
  26. Laura on sexy.
     (Laura is sexy.)

- **skillssit** (alternative spellings: skillit, skill)
  27. Ei oo skillejä.
     (No skills.)
  28. Ei oo skilliä.
     (No skill.)

- **tuunata**
  29. tätä vois vähän tuunata.
     (this could be tuned up a little.)
  30. Taidan tuunata kenkäni.
     (I'm thinking of modifying my shoes.)
  31. Mennäänks tuunaan pyöriä?
     (Do you want to go tune up our bikes?)

- **volume** (alternative spellings: voluumi, volyme)
  32. laita volumee lisää
     (turn up the volume)
  33. Pistä sitä volume pienemmälle!
     (Turn that volume down!)
  34. No tää on semmonen mikä antaa voluumia hiuksiin.
     (Well this is one of those things that add volume to your hair.)

These example sentences and what they tell us about the way the given expressions are used

will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.4.

3.3.2 Situations in which language crossing is used

My original hypothesis was that language crossing is an unmarked linguistic choice in only some speech situations, which would suggest that it is most likely to be used in those situations. This assumption is supported by the results of the part of the questionnaire where the informants were asked about the types of situations they in which would be likely to use crossing. The results are presented in figure 3 below. It seems clear that language crossing is most likely used in talking face to face or on the phone, in Internet conversations (chat rooms, instant messaging, message boards) and in text messages sent on mobile phones. Only two informants said they use crossing in school assignments.
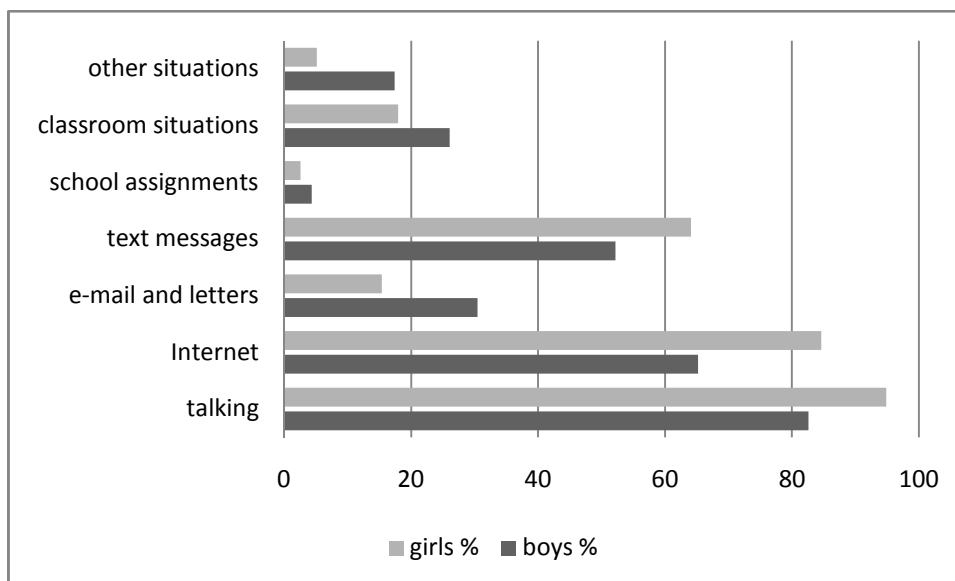

Figure 3. Types of situations in which informants use language crossing.

Six informants used the option 'other situations', which they all specified as some type of a sports practice. It should also be mentioned here that some respondents had also used the option for 'other situations', but their specification was 'with friends' or something similar. All these informants had also stated that they use language crossing when talking. Since the

interlocutors with whom language crossing is used were asked in the following question, these answers for 'other situations' here were disregarded in the analysis.

3.3.3 Interlocutors with whom language crossing is used

Based on the questionnaire data, it seems that there are certain speech situations where adolescents are more prone to use language crossing than in others (see previous chapter). The use of language crossing does not, however, depend solely on the situation of the speech exchange but also on the participants of the exchange. Figure 4 below shows the distribution of the interlocutors with whom the group of informants is likely to use language crossing.
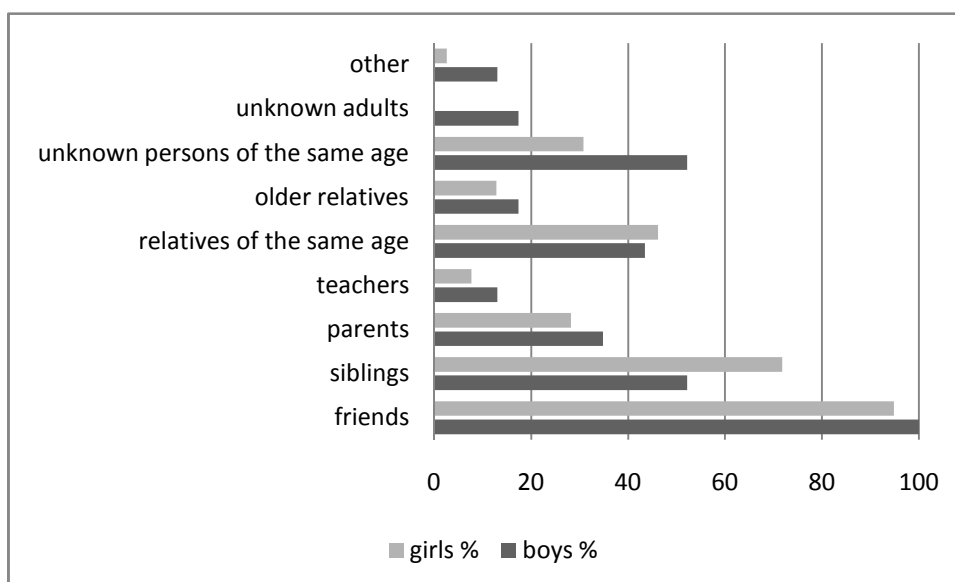

Figure 4. Interlocutors with whom informants use language crossing.

Figure 4 clearly shows that language crossing is mainly used in interaction with friends. Also siblings, relatives of the same age as the informants and previously unknown adolescents are interlocutors with whom crossing seems to be a relatively unmarked choice. The option 'other' got four answers, three of which were specified as a coach and one as younger relatives.

3.4 Analysis

Language crossing and citation loans sometimes appear to be an ephemeral linguistic phenomenon. Expressions are trendy for a short while after which they are forgotten. This may partly be due to the fact that adolescents are likely to use language crossing and thus part of the phenomenon could be explained by age-grading (see chapter 2.6.1).

The example sentences presented in 3.3.1.1 shed light on some things. Firstly, it was somewhat surprising to find words like *kingi* and *sexy* still used by adolescents. They were used already 10–15 years ago when I was an adolescent and I believe they were used even earlier on. Obviously 10–15 years is usually considered a short period of time when looking at language variation and change, but it should also be kept in mind that in 15 years two generations of adolescents enter and exit their teenage years. If an expression is passed on from one generation to the next, it can hardly be seen as a trendy expression of the kids today.

Secondly, the spelling of *skillssit* has apparently changed and is now *skillit*. This is an interesting development, since usually when Finnish borrows a plural word from English, the plural suffix *–s* is also borrowed (e.g. *shortsit* 'shorts', *bootsit* 'boots'). With the word *skillit* the plural *–s*has been dropped and now only has the Finnish plural suffix *–t*. The vowel *-i-* is added to the last syllable to ameliorate pronunciation. The inflectional system of Finnish causes many loanwords to gain an extra vowel at the end, if the original word ends in a consonant (Dufva 2005: 120).

The semantic field of *dissata* seems to be a bit broader in Finnish than it is in English, at least on the basis of these data. Green defines the verb *to diss* in the following way:

> 1. to disrespect
> 2. to disparage, to attack verbally
> 3. to denigrate someone in public to the extent that it makes that person feel bad
> 4. to deliberately break an appointment or date without consulting the other party. (2000: 336)

Thus it seems that in English *dissing* is usually aimed at a person. It would also be possible to show disrespect to a lifestyle or a genre of music (*He was dissing hip hop)*, but showing disrespect to a shirt (see example sentence 11) would be very non-standard use of language. It is also possible that sentence 11 is only typical for that informant's idiolect and that the semantic field of *dissata* is the same in Finnish as it is in English.

Tuunata clearly has a very broad semantic field in Finnish, as can be seen in sentences 29, 30 and 31. To put it simply it can be said that *tuunata* can be used to describe making almost any types of changes, improvements or adjustments to anything. The opposite case of a very narrow semantic field is with *volume* which is almost exclusively only to refer to sound volume. Sentence 34 is an exception, since *volume* is used there to refer to hair. The spelling *voluumi* is, however, very close to the Finnish word *volyymi*, which is used when talking about hair. In the elicitation test I was specifically looking uses for the word *volume* [vɒlume], which was only used in reference to sound volume in the example sentences.

Sentence 24 with the word *rulettaa* is a bit puzzling and it is a bit unclear to me what the informant wants to communicate. This is very atypical use of the word *rulettaa* which usually appears without adverbs of place as in sentence 23. All other expressions were used as were expected, although it is surprising that *cool* is nowadays also spelled *kewl*.

As regards the situations in which and interlocutors with whom language crossing is used, it can be said that with this group of informants crossing is generally an unmarked language practice in informal situations and in interaction with friends, siblings and other adolescents. Adolescents appear to be skilful language users who are very able to modify their language according to the speech situation they are in. Because these adolescents only use language crossing in certain socio-cultural contexts, it can be suggested that language crossing is indexical of a conventionalized exchange (see chapter 2.2) between peer adolescents. Moreover, language crossing seems to bear second-order indexicality, since the

speakers themselves are aware of the language practice and, in Johnstone and Kiesling's words, use it to do social work. Again, it needs to be noted that such far-reaching conclusions cannot be made on the basis such a small amount of data. These data can only be used to make conclusions about these informants.

The questionnaire data also shows that, at least in the case of the given expressions, they are not very commonly used as the most frequent answer was that the expressions are 'not used'. It also needs to be noted that the quantitative results of the questionnaire study may be slightly misleading, since some of the informants misunderstood at least some aspects of the study. There is a chance that some informants reported to use certain English expressions when, in fact, they use a Finnish expression. A case in point is an informant who reports to seldom use the expression *old school*, offers *vanha koulu* as an alternative spelling for the expression and provides the following example sentence: *Toi on mun vanha koulu* ('That's my old school'). Here it seems that the informant does not use the expression in an idiomatic sense but rather in its strict denotative meaning. But, because this is all merely guessing, the answers provided by this particular informant were included in the calculations done on the basis of the questionnaire study. This was the only instance where an informant used a Finnish expression in an example sentence, so it is quite unlikely for the results to be enormously misleading. However, it needs to be kept in mind that not all informants provided example sentences and therefore the quantitative results should be seen only as indicative of the frequency with which the given expressions are used.

4. The *Suosikki* study

4.1 The corpus

The questionnaire study provided some information on how language crossing is used and also on the use of certain given expressions. What still remains in the dark is the kind of language crossing adolescents use in authentic conversation. This is where a second set of data was required. The data used in this part of the study was gathered from the message board of *Suosikki* magazine (located at

 http://uusi.suosikki.fi/main.site?action=app/forum/group_show). This data was chosen on the basis of its convenient availability online and its suitable demographic structure. Language used in message board conversations has many similarities with spoken language in spite of its written format (see chapter 2.7). Spoken language tends to contain more non-normative features which makes it more interesting than written language from the point of view of this particular study, which is focused on unestablished language crossing. The data consists of four randomly chosen topic categories. Categories related to music were, however, automatically excluded, because they might skew the data in the sense that discussions about music are most likely to contain more language crossing than discussions of other subjects. Messages included in the data were posted on the message board during a ten-month time period from the beginning of January, 2006 to the end of October, 2006.

The four categories chosen were "Pissikset" (Chav girls is probably the best translation for this); "Sekaläppä" (Miscellaneous topics); "Suosikki, netti ja lehti" (Suosikki, the website and the magazine) and "Uutiset ja juorut" (News and gossip). All discussion threads in these four categories were included in the analysis. Because the data comes from an internet discussion forum, there is no information available on all the message group members' age or – only the ones' who have volunteered the information. Thus, this analysis

will only focus on the language of the whole group. Because the target audience of *Suosikki* is pre-teens and teenagers, it is assumed that primarily the same age-group uses the message board as well. The ages of members who had given out the information certainly supports this argument, as most of them were 12–17 -year-olds.

The main point of interest in this study was to look at unestablished language crossing (i.e. language crossing with words not part of established Finnish lexicon). This led to the exclusion of a good deal of crossing from the analysis. Among these excluded words were even relatively new loanwords, such as *blogi* 'blog' and *avatar* 'avatar', since these words are quite neutral in tone and basically just new names for new inventions. Other excluded words were music genres (*pop*, *rock*, *heavy metal*, *rap* etc.) and their derivatives, some computer terminology (*koodarit* 'coders'*, bitti* 'byte'*, linkki* 'link'*, fontti* 'font'), *shoppailu* 'shopping' and its derivatives and *fani* 'fan'. On the other hand, some rather old expressions were included in the analysis, because in spite of their lengthy presence in the language, they have not gained an established or widely accepted status in it. Such words were e.g. *tsekata* 'to check out', *digata* 'to dig someone or something', *cool*, *frendi* 'friend' and *luuseri* 'loser'.

Some modifications had to be made into the data. This was done to ensure that the word count of the corpus would reflect reality as well as possible. All emoticons were removed and words that were highly likely to have been spelled together by mistake were separated. Also, spaces were added to punctuation, if they were missing, for the same reason of keeping the word count realistic. Other possible spelling mistakes which did not affect the word count were left untouched.

4.2 Methods used

The data was gone through with the criteria stated above and all instances of suitable language crossing were marked. Each English word was counted as an instance, even though many words were in fact were parts of multi-word constructions. The number of instances was then compared to the total number of words to see what percentage of the corpus consisted of unestablished language crossing.

It is interesting to also find out what kinds of expressions the teenagers used. To do that, the instances, which were thus far only examined quantitatively, were taken under closer qualitative analysis. This analysis was not restricted to the instances themselves but also their collocations.

4.3 Results of the corpus study

In the corpus of 44,972 words there were 484 instances of unestablished anglicisms and language crossing. The results are presented in table 3.

	words	instances	percentage
Pissikset	11,825	119	1.01%
Sekaläppä	19,399	221	1.14%
Suosikki, netti ja lehti	9,805	123	1.25%
Uutiset ja juorut	3,943	21	0.53%
Total	**44,972**	**484**	**1.08%**

Table 3. Instances of language crossing/word count.

These results show that the amount of unestablished anglicisms in the data is relatively small, 1.08%. The least instances were found in the "News and gossip" -category (0.53%) and the

most were found in the category for discussions about the *Suosikki*-magazine and its website (1.25%).

Table 4 shows the average amount of messages/discussion thread and the average amount of words/message in each category. This analysis was done to see, whether the length of the threads or the length of individual messages in any way influences the amount of language crossing used.

	threads	messages	messages/thread	words/message
Pissikset	32	462	14	26
Sekaläppä	13	979	75	20
Suosikki, netti ja lehti	24	484	20	20
Uutiset ja juorut	12	191	16	21
Total	**81**	**2116**	**26**	**21**

Table 4. Distribution of discussion threads.

In the "Miscellaneous topics" -category there were 75 messages/thread on average, whereas in the "Chav girls" -category there were only 14. There were, however, no significant differences in the average lengths of individual messages and in the entire data the average length of a message was 21 words.

Due to the relatively small amount of language crossing found in the data there was little reason for doing further quantitative analysis. One possibility would have been to look at what the distribution of different word classes was in the data, but qualitative analysis of the instances was found to be more fruitful. The qualitative analysis will be discussed in the following chapter.

4.4 Analysis

A more detailed look at the data showed that the language crossing occurring in the data could be roughly divided into the following categories:

- abbreviations
- exclamations and affirmations
- nominal constructions
- adjective constructions and adverbs
- verb constructions
- clauses and sentences

Sample lists of each category are provided in appendix 4. It needs to be noted that these lists are in no way comprehensive and their function is merely to show what kinds of features were present in the corpus.

4.4.1 Abbreviations

There were surprisingly many instances of English abbreviations. To a large extent this can be explained by the vast majority of them being especially well suited for chat language and text messages (e.g. *btw* 'by the way', *irl* 'in real life', *lol* 'laughing out loud', *omg* 'oh my god', *wtf* 'what the fuck').

> 35. Ihan vaan btw, onko pakko puhua tuollaiseen alentavaan sävyyn aina?
> (Oh btw, do you always have to speak with such a condescending tone?)

Interestingly, there were instances where the abbreviations *btw* and *omg* were spelled *beeteewee* and *ooämgee*. It is quite clear that the function of using these words is no longer the saving of time and space and their nature as acronyms is a bit vaguer. The tone of the words changes a bit when they are 'spelled out'. The *ooämgee* form was particularly used in a mocking, vari-directionally double-voiced tone:

> 36. OOÄMGEE LOORDI VOITTI EUROVIISUT NYT TOSIPALJON
>   FANIKAMAA SILLE!!

(Omg, Lordi won the Eurovision Song Contest now get him lots of fan
merchandise!!)

The vari-directionality of example 36 became evident in the context it was used even if it is

not evident in the sentence itself. This could indicate that either using the expression at all or

at least in the 'spelled out' form is not a linguistic feature considered desirable by adolescents.

4.4.2 Exclamations and affirmations

English exclamations and affirmations were well represented in the data. It is quite common

in Finnish to use the English affirmative *okay* (or its more Finnish variant *okei*). It is,

however, surprising to find instances of exclamations such as *gosh* and *geez* or *aww* and *eww*

in otherwise Finnish conversation. This seems to be a relatively new phenomenon in Finnish

and particularly well adopted by adolescent speakers.

Interestingly, the phrase *oh my god* only appeared in the forms *oumaigaad* and *ou

mai gaad* (and also in the aforementioned abbreviated forms). This phrase was used both uni-

and vari-directionally double-voiced. The same Finnishized spelling was used in *thänk god*

and *ziisus*.

37. oumaigaad. mastsii.
(oh my god. must see.)

38. ni johan on ROK. ou mai gaad...
(then that makes it ROCK. oh my god…)

An exclamation which only occurred in vari-directionally double-voiced contexts

was *daa* (the Finnish spelling of *duh*, other spellings found in the corpus were *daah*, d44).

This was one of the characteristics the participants mentioned as essential for being a chav

girl or *pissis*. It was most often used together with the Finnish adjective *ihku* (colloquialism

for *ihana* 'wonderful', other spellings ihQ and ihg). It is apparent, e.g. on the basis of the

questionnaire data, that *daa* is also being used in earnest by Finnish teenagers. In this data

there were, however, no instances of it. Perhaps the ones who do use it were too timid to use it

openly, because the general attitude seemed to be very much against using this particular exclamation.

There was only one instance of an English swearword (*fuck*) found in the corpus. This was fairly unexpected, since using English swearwords seems to be very common amongst young Finnish-speakers. In the questionnaire data 51.6% of the informants said to use *fuck* or *fucking* at least occasionally. A possible explanation for the absence of swearwords in the corpus is that the *Suosikki* message board is a moderated one. This means that there are assigned moderators on the message board whose task it is to make sure that the conversation remains decent and that the language used does not contain profanities. In other words, swearwords are most likely to be removed very quickly from the message board.

4.4.3 Nominal constructions

The category of nominal constructions was very varied, but three different types of nominal constructions were found. The first type was in all its simplicity quotation loans from English. Instances of this were e.g. *attention whore, the American century, query string, baby* and *dude*. There were also quotation loans which had gained inflectional Finnish elements: *flamewariksi, shoutboxissaan, bohot*. Some English lexemes ending in a consonant had received a final vowel: *bugi, threadi*.

In some cases the quotation loan from English was spelled in a way that reflects its pronunciation in Finnish phonology. This type of nominal construction was represented in the data by e.g. *peipit* 'babies*', noubadi* 'nobody', *pleissi* 'place'. In these cases it is left ambiguous whether the speaker wishes to be funny when using such a spelling or whether the spelling is used in earnest.

The third type of nominal construction present in the data was compound nouns, of which one part was in Finnish and the other in English. This type of compounds are e.g.

huvicornerissa 'in the fun corner', *sättäilykeskustelu* 'a chat conversation' and *wannabe-pissis* 'a wannabe chav'.

In addition to the classification presented above, I would like to point out that it was a little surprising to find older expressions (e.g. *frendi* 'a friend', *pointti* 'a point', *luuseri* 'a loser') being used by teenagers today. This may be yet another indication of the fact that colloquial loans are not as ephemeral in nature as they are thought to be.

4.4.4 Adjective constructions and adverbs

Adjective constructions were much less frequent in the corpus than nominal constructions. English adjectives were primarily used as attributes with Finnish nouns: *original-aihe* 'the original topic', *normal tyyppi* 'the normal character'. Adjectives occurring on their own were *sexy, cool* and *hot*, which are not uncommon in present-day spoken Finnish. The adjectives *scary* and *spooky* were used in a rather exceptional and interesting way:

> 47. Se oli scarya.
>   (It was scary.)

> 48. se on muutenki niin spooky pleissi.
>   (it is such a spooky place in other ways as well.)

Some English lexemes are used in Finnish as adjectives even though in English they do not have that use. In my data such lexemes were *yes* – or more specifically its Finnish form *jees* – (example 49) and *rock* (example 50). It is acceptable to use the noun *rock n' roll* as an adjective in English as well. Finnish seems to have merely taken the process one step further.

> 49. raskas sarja on aina jees
>   (the heavy weight league is always very OK)

> 50. …ni johan on ROK.
>   (then it's very rock n' roll)

Moore and Varantola argue that

> [t]he adaptation of English 'yes' to Jees or jess has evolved, resulting in these forms now having gone on to lead their independent lexical lives. In addition to the ordinary affirmative sense of jees and the exhilarated jess, jees is used in an adjectival sense, more or less as a synonym of OK — somebody or something can be ihan jees ('quite OK'/'very OK') — or ihan jees tyyppi ('quite an OK guy'). (2005: 142)

A new innovation found in the corpus was the adjective *nolife*, which is used in reference to an antisocial or otherwise not very outgoing person. There are certain English adverbs which have gained some footing in spoken Finnish. These adverbs are *out*, *forever*, *every day* and they were found in the data as well.

4.4.5 Verb constructions

Verb constructions in the data were even less frequent than adjective constructions. Most verb forms were quite old expressions such as *tsekkasin* 'I checked out [something]', *tsättäilevät* 'they are chatting', *oon blondannu* 'I've bleached [my hair]'. A more recent loan *offailla* 'to go off topic' was relatively frequent, which can probably be simply explained by the tendency of the discussion on message boards to go off topic.

4.4.6 Clauses and sentences

There were several instances of English clauses and even complete sentences in the data. In the cases, where an English clause appeared together with a Finnish one, it was almost always in a sentence-initial (example 40) or a sentence-final position (example 39).

> 39. Multa ette pissikset ainakaan suosiotanne saa, sorry guys.
> (Any of you chavs shouldn't expect to get any respect from me, sorry guys.)

> 40. Don't feed trolls, hei kamoon ny.

There was only one instance where an English sentence appeared in a sentence-medial position (example 41). In addition, there was one sentence where the phrase *good luck*

occurred in the middle of the sentence (example 42). In example 40 the phrase *kamoon* 'come on' appears in a sentence-medial position as well.

> 41. … se on varmaan siks että saa liittää juttuunsa kuvan jos haluaa tai jotain, I don't know, mikä järki?
> (…it's probably there so that you can attach a picture to your story if you want to or something, I don't know, what's the point?)
>
> 42. Mut sanon Good Luck niille jotka kans joutuu tekee töit pissisten kans.
> (But I say good luck to those who have to work with chavs.)

There were various instances of English sentences occurring on their own (examples 43, 44 and 45).

> 43. Whip that code, Suosikki!
>
> 44. I'm not coming.
>
> 45. Nirvana, you are so dead!

The phrase *you are so dead* is something of an idiom in English and does not really have a good Finnish equivalent, which may explain its occurrence in the data. The other two examples, on the other hand, could well be expressed in Finnish and the motivation for using English must lie in the prestige often awarded to the English language.

In certain English sentences in the data it was quite evident that the speaker does not have a very good command of English, which can be seen in example 46. The assumption here is that the speaker was reaching for the clause *I don't know* or *I don't wanna know*. Another possible explanation is that this is simply an instance with a typo.

> 46. Jos jotain muuta, niin I donna now.
> (If it's something else, then I don't know/I don't wanna know.)

4.5 General findings

In addition to the information about different types of language crossing presented above, the corpus data reveals two main things: firstly, language is crossing is not very common in the message board language of Finnish adolescents. Because it has already been established that

adolescents are most likely to use language crossing when interacting with each other in informal context, it was expected that in the corpus unestablished language crossing would have been more frequent. It needs to be kept in mind that here this can only be said of this particular corpus, since making generalizations about message board language as a genre would require much more data to be examined.

Secondly, the corpus reveals that even though not very commonly used, language crossing is, nevertheless, a very productive linguistic practice, which can convey not only meaning but also overt and covert attitudes towards other participants or towards the other language – in this case English. At least in this corpus the participants seem to have a relatively good command of English and are also quite skilled in using the two languages side by side. In her study Toriseva found some functions of using the English language in a Finnish skateboarding magazine, some of which are applicable to the *Suosikki* corpus (2008: 174). She notes that most of the functions of English are implicit, which means that they are produced throughout discourse (ibid: 175). One such function is the creating of a certain kind of image, being international, cool and relaxed at the same time (ibid.). In skateboarding language the frequent use of English is to some extent also explained by the ingroup nature of the discourse (ibid: 177). This can be applied to the *Suosikki* corpus as well: the participants of the discourse are thought to have roughly the same experiences and view of the world, which makes the use of an ingroup language feasible.

5. Conclusion and implications for further study

Given the scope and purpose of this study, making far-reaching conclusions about how English is used as a part of everyday Finnish by using the data of this study would be somewhat presumptuous. Some general observations can, however, be made. The fact that the data is derived from two different sources and, most likely, different groups of informants gives more plausibility to conclusions made from this study. It is possible that same informants have contributed to both sets of data, since the informants of the questionnaire study are also members of the target audience of *Suosikki* magazine and its message board. The probability for that eventuality is nonetheless small.

The seemingly small amount of instances of language crossing found in the *Suosikki* corpus was at first a bit surprising. However, there are some matters which might explain the small amount of instances, at least to some extent. Relatively strict criteria were used to classify instances of unestablished language crossing, which led to the exclusion of expressions which would be considered language crossing from a strictly phonological and/or morphological point of view, but which have established their status as part of modern Finnish lexicon. A large portion of (established) Finnish vocabulary consists of loan words, the origins of many of which have become opaque to speakers of modern Finnish. In this light the 1.08% total of instances of unestablished language crossing/word count no longer seems so small.

It should also be kept in mind that the questionnaire study indicates a relatively high frequency of some English expressions, even though the general tendency of the informants of the study is to not use crossing very often. And, in my opinion, more interesting than finding out how much language crossing is used is the manner and functions in which it is used by adolescents. The questionnaire study quite clearly indicates that adolescents are more

prone to use language crossing when engaging in informal interaction with peers and least likely to use it with unfamiliar adults in more formal contexts. This means that in most contexts the speakers themselves would regard language crossing a marked choice. Or, from another point of view, the presence of language crossing in adolescent discourse is indexical of a conventionalized informal exchange among peers.

The *Suosikki* study, on the other hand, showed that even though the instances of language crossing were relatively easy to categorize, there were six different categories which comprise various different types of instances each. This means that in message board language of Finnish-speaking adolescents English has not been assigned specific roles or functions but it is rather used creatively and productively as a tool of stylization. The electronic medium from where the corpus was gathered explains why abbreviations like *omg*, *lol* and other characteristics of e-language are strongly present.

If at least adolescents are highly context sensitive when using elements of English in their Finnish discourse and altogether do not use language crossing very much, why do some Finnish speakers see the influence of English upon Finnish as horrifying? Dufva explains that linguists have always gone out of their way to assure outraged citizens that borrowing elements from contact languages is what natural languages do and have always done, but that especially in Finland language stirs up strong emotions since Finnish has been a multidimensional civilized language only since the 19th century (2005: 114). The Finnish national identity has, to some extent, been built on a national language, which makes it easier to relate to those who fear our language being threatened.

However, how detrimental using English is seems to depend on the ones using it. Academic language has always contained plenty of English, as has cooking vocabulary, computer vocabulary and even vocabulary of warfare. Dufva suggests that English elements used by adults and academia in particular are seen as more acceptable than language crossing

used by adolescents (ibid: 118). The youth, its manners and its language have always been a cause of nuisance to older generations without much linguistic reasoning behind it.

We can only speculate about whether the increasing amount of English within Finnish conversation is language change in progress or if this is just an instance of age-grading and adolescents wanting to differentiate themselves for adults. What we do know is that at the moment English is the language Finnish has by far the most contact with and it is also the source language of most new loanwords.

This study could be followed up on in ten years or so to see, if the informants of the questionnaire study still use the same English expressions as they reported to use in the elicitation test. It would also be interesting to see what types of example sentences they would come up with. Another way of detecting ongoing language change would be to get groups of informants of different ages and conduct a synchronous study. Also, people from all over the country would need to be included in the study for the results to be reliable. The *Suosikki* corpus could also be broadened to include different types of data from electronic sources (chat rooms, instant messaging conversations, different message boards).

The most interesting way of looking at adolescent language would, however, be to record spoken language in authentic interactions between adolescents. That would, obviously, be an enormous undertaking, since a large amount of data would be required to get a representative sample of speech from different types of contexts. It would, nonetheless, be rewarding to get a closer look at the way adolescents authentically use language (and language crossing) in interactions not mediated by an electronic forum.

From the point of view of social psychology, the existence of ingroup and outgroup languages is important for the development of an adolescent's identity, both social and individual. Because it can be assumed that adolescents in general have a good deal of contact with English-speaking media, it is only natural that English is used as a resource language for

new expressions to incorporate in ingroup adolescent language. One of the functions of an ingroup language is that it is mutually understood by group members but also that it is not understood by non-members. The language adolescents use when interacting with each other is not even supposed to be wholly understood by non-adolescents. On the basis of this study it can be said that Finnish-speaking adolescents use language crossing in an innovative and productive way and that they have a good enough command of English to be able to adopt expressions from English and incorporate them into the morphosyntax of Finnish. Using English in this way is a bit like adding foreign spices into Finnish food. I truly feel we need not worry about the future of the Finnish language. On the basis of this study, at least, it seems to be in good hands.

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APPENDIX 1: Parental consent form for participants of the questionnaire study

Hyvät vanhemmat

Olen Leena Rautjärvi, Tampereen yliopiston englantilaisen filologian opiskelija ja teen pro gradu -tutkielmaani suomalaisten nuorten tavasta käyttää englanninkielisiä ilmauksia eri yhteyksissä. Tarkoitukseni on kerätä osa aineistostani kyselylomakkeilla 13–16 -vuotiailta tamperelaisnuorilta ja toivon, että lapsenne voi osallistua tutkimukseen niin halutessaan. Tutkimuksessa tiedustellaan, käyttävätkö nuoret erinäisiä ilmauksia lainkaan ja jos, niin millaisissa yhteyksissä ja missä määrin. Aineiston lajittelemiseksi kysytään myös ikää, sukupuolta ja englanninopintojen kestoa.

Lisätietoa tutkimuksesta saa minulta (sähköposti: leena.rautjarvi@uta.fi, p. xxx xxx xxxx) sekä työni ohjaajalta ma. professori Mark Kaunistolta (sähköposti: mark.kaunisto@uta.fi, p. xx-xxx xxxx)

Ystävällisin terveisin,

Leena Rautjärvi

_____

_____ saa/ei saa osallistua kyselytutkimukseen englanninkielisten

Oppilaan nimi

ilmausten esiintymisestä suomalaisnuorten kielessä.

_____

Huoltajan allekirjoitus

APPENDIX 2: Questionnaire

Leena Rautjärvi
Tampereen yliopisto/englantilainen filologia

Vastaajan tiedot

sukupuoli: n ☐ m ☐
ikä: _____
äidinkieli:_____
Kuinka kauan olet opiskellut englantia? _____ vuotta

1. Kuinka usein käytät seuraavia sanoja/ilmauksia?

	vaihtoehtoinen kirjoitusasu/muoto	en tunnista	en käytä	harvoin	toisinaan	usein
cool	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
damage	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
damn	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
dissata	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
duh	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
fuck/fucking	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
kingi	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
old school	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
propsit	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
rulata/rulettaa	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
sexy	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
skillssit	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
tuunata	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
volume	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Millaisissa lauseissa käytät yllä olevia ilmauksia (anna esimerkkejä)?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. Millaisissa tilanteissa käytät yllä olevan kaltaisia ilmauksia? (valitse kaikki soveltuvat)

puhuessa (kasvokkain tai puhelimessa) ☐

internetissä (chat, Instant messaging, keskustelupalstat) ☐

sähköpostissa ja kirjeissä ☐

tekstiviesteissä ☐

koulutehtävissä (kokeet, aineet) ☐

luokkatilanteissa ☐

muussa tilanteessa ☐, missä:_____

3. Kenen kanssa käytät yllä olevan kaltaisia ilmauksia? (valitse kaikki soveltuvat)

kavereiden ☐

sisarusten ☐

vanhempien ☐

opettajien ☐

samaa ikäluokkaa olevien sukulaisten ☐

vanhempien sukulaisten ☐

tuntemattomien samanikäisten ☐

tuntemattomien aikuisten ☐

jonkun muun ☐, kenen:_____

Kiitos osallistumisesta!

APPENDIX 3: Example sentences from questionnaire study

cool (also spelled *kewl*)

vähän sä oot cool

Vähän coolia.

tosi cool!

No onhan se ihan cool…

Toi sun kuvas on tosi cool.

Vähän cool!

Cool!

Vähän oot cool

Vähän coolia!

vähä cool!

aika cool

Sun paita on cool!

Vähän oot cool.

aika cool

meitsi on cool niin cool

Vähän cool!

Oot niin cool et jäädyn.

Tosi coolia.

Toi on cool paita.

Vähän toi paita on cool.

damage (also spelled *dmg*)

Damage!

Se aiheutti some serious damage siellä.

…ottaa damagee…

damn (also spelled *dääm, dämn*)

damn, en saanu 10!

damn!

Oh, damn!

Ou damn.

OU DAMN! Hieno paita sulla!

No damn, mitä se nyt silleen?

Voi damn, tänää on kokeet

dääm!

Dämn se meni huonosti.

dissata

Mä dissaan tota paitaa.

Ok, te vaan dissaatte sitä!

Joo noni kiitti, tarviiko dissata?

Toi dissaa mua

porukka pystyy aina dissata!

Hei älä viitti dissata mua.

Matti dissaa Littusen tätiä.

taas mua dissataa

Älä dissaa mua.

Taas sää dissaat tota.

duh (also spelled *daa, daa'h*)

daa'h ollaanko vähän jeejee ihQQ

siis daa! en tod mee!!!!

No, hei duh, etkö sä ny sitä tienny

fuck/fucking (also spelled *fakk, f****)

no voi fuck.

fucking school.

fuck you!

Voi fuck.

Watta fakk!

Ou fuck!

w.t.f.

fuck you

fucking bitch

Fuck this sucks man.

What the fuck?!

hei fuck you!

Fuck you!

kingi

oon kingi

vähän oon kingi.

Oot aika kingi.

Joo se luulee olevansa joku kingi, mikä pelle.

Sä oot ihan kingi.

Se on kingi.

Miia on kingi!

propsit

Propsit sulle.

Mun pitää vielä tehdä propsit yhteen pukuun.

rulata/rulettaa

sää rulaat

Joku rulettaa.

meen rulettaan pelikauppaan

sexy

vähän sexyt

Jokin on sexy.

Melko sexy

Aika sexy

Laura on sexy.

Sexy paita!

Yoshiki on sexy.

Sexy kissimirri!

skillssit (also spelled *skillit, skill*)

Ei oo skillejä.

Ei oo skilliä.

tuunata

tätä vois vähän tuunata.

Tuunaan jotain.

Tuunataanko toi sun pyöräs?

Joo mä tuunasin ton yhden paidan.

Me ajateltiin tuunata toi kortti tänään

Mun pitäis tuunata mun vanhat farkut.

tuunaan mopoa

Matti on tuunannu mopoonsa.

Mennääks tuunaan pyörii?

Mä tuunaan pyörän kuntoon.

Taidan tuunata kenkäni.

volume (also spelled *volyme, voluumi, vol.*)

laita volumee lisää.

Pistä volumee pienemmälle!

laita radion volumea pienemmälle

laita volumea pienemmälle

Volumee lujemmalle.

Laita volume kovemmalle/hiljemmalle.

laita volumee vähän pienemmälle.

laita volume hiljemmalle

No tää on semmonen mikä antaa voluumia hiuksiin.

Käännä volumee kovemmalle!

Voikko pistää lisää volumee?

Laita vähän lisää volumee.

Pienennä radion volymee

pistä volumee lisää

Pistä sitä volumee pienemmälle!

Laita volumea kovemmalle!

Pistä volumee pienemmälle.

Vähän volumee lisää.

Pistä vähän volumee.

Pistätkö volumea isommalle?

Laittaisitko lisää volumee?

Laita volumee lisää!

Laita volumee pienemmälle.

Laita volumee isommalle.

APPENDIX 4: Examples of different types of language crossing found in the *Suosikki* study

Abbreviations and their full forms

4eva	'forever'
btw (also spelled beeteewee)	'by the way'
etc	'et cetera'
lol	'laughing out loud'
omg (also spelled ooämgee)	'oh my god'
uid	'user ID'
wnb	'wannabe'
wtf	'what the fuck?'

Exclamations and affirmations

aww (also spelled awww and awwh)	okay (also spelled okei and oukei)
eww	oujea (also spelled uujea)
fuck	oh my god (also spelled ou mai gaad)
geez	thänk god
gosh	woahh
hey	yay
jesh	yeah
nääh	ziisus
oh damn	
oh gay	

Nominal constructions

attention whore	moderointi
the American Century	nick (also spelled nikki, nicki)
baby (also spelled peipi)	noubadi
bimbo (also spelled binbo)	realitysarjojen
bohot	realityt
bugi	place (also spelled pleissi)
dude	pointti
edit	pikkuwinettäjä
fiilis	popula
first personista	privaviestiä
flamewariksi	query string
frendin	shoutboxissaan
fruittari/fruittis	skedetapahtuma
hottis	stailauksen
huvicornerissa	starat
jou jou –hemmo	threadi
luusereita	topikki (also spelled topic, topicci)
mode	truuhevareilla

tsätti (also spelled zätti, sätti chatti, chat)
vinettämiset
wannabe (also spelled wannabee)

Adjective constructions and adverbs

cool
evridei
forever
jees
livenä
lovely
nolife
nahkabyysät on hot
original-aihe
out
prettier
rock (also spelled rok)

scarya
sexy/sexier
simppeliä/simply
spooky pleissi
tää "normal" tyyppi

Verb constructions

aiheessa tsättäilevät eivät tykkää
blondannu
ei offailla tääl
I donna now

I think
jaa-a tsekkasin paikan
joka diggais mun bestiksestä
lets rok
moderoisin kovin mielelläni
nodnod

Clauses and complete sentences

- Multa ette pissikset ainakaan suosiotanne saa, sorry guys.

- On. And I hate her!

- So what?

- …vastustan kyllä kaikkea muutakin lokerointia. SO DON'T LABEL ME

- Mut sanon Good Luck niille jotka kans joutuu tekee töit pissisten kans.

- mut ei millää pahalla PISSIKSET nii I HATE YOU! Ja Good Luck.

- Don't feed trolls, hei kamoon ny

- Sininen on kaunis väri. I Like It.

- Whip that code, Suosikki!

- Kiva, ku tänään huomasin, et Suosikki, Demin ja ii2:sen sivut on uudistunu. I can't take it anymore!

- …se on varmaan siks että saa liittää juttuunsa kuvan tai jotain, I don't know, mikä järki?

- testamentti?! show must go on…

- Attention whore

- So??

- On se ihan söpö ja jotenki lahjakas I think.

- Jos jotain muuta, niin I donna now.

- vat ever lets rok

- I'm not coming.

- Eli here we are.

- oumaigaad. mastsii.

- You are sexy too, my lovely vaippa.

- You are so sexy my boy, but I think my dear Potta is sexier than you.

- Frank is sexier than you, and Palli is prettier than you, but my little lovely baby called vaippa, is sexier and prettier than you all monkeys!

- You are my wild baby, Potta dear.

- made in suomi's Chicago

- I'M NOT SALEM'S STOCKER!

- Nirvana, you are so dead!

- Bye, my darling! Love ya!

- Oh, damn!