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Karo Junell

ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHES IN FINNISH YOUTUBE VLOGS

Playful attitudes and casual evaluation

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This thesis explores code-switching from Finnish to English in the Youtube vlogs of young Finns. The aim is to determine how English is used in expressing different attitudes and in positioning them on the dialogic field. Vlogs of seven well-known Finnish Youtubers are examined through discourse analysis based on Martin and White's (2005) appraisal theory.

Through education and the media, English has spread into the everyday use of young Finns, even in situations where all participants share Finnish as a native language. A significant portion of Finns under the age of 25 who use English at least every month report using the language for expressing emotions. Despite this finding, there is a significant lack of research that combines the study of code-switching and the study of emotional expression. Youtube vlogs are a worthwhile context for this type of study because of the reach and influence popular Youtubers have on their young followers' social and linguistic realities. English-speaking media offers us new scripts to use for expressing emotions and attitudes, which is why this thesis explores how young Finns utilize English resources to express their own attitudes and to acknowledge those of others.

The results indicate that English is used both in the expression of positive and negative attitudes, alongside Finnish. Negative attitudes expressed in English tend to be more casual and fleeting than those expressed in Finnish, while positive attitudes in English may not read as sincere and authentic as Finnish ones. Attitudes that were potentially face-threatening for the audience were softened through English, which appears to carry the association of casual fun and play. English code-switches tend to highlight and emphasize the attitudes with which they co-occur, and this strategy appears to be favoured in situations where the speaker wants to emphasize the contrast between two attitudes.

Key words: code-switching, language alternation, evaluation, attitudes, Youtube, vlogs

Tutkielma käsittelee koodinvaihtoa suomesta englantiin suomalaisten nuorten Youtube-vlogeissa. Tavoitteena on selvittää, millä tavoilla englantia käytetään erilaisten asenteiden ilmaisemiseen ja positiointiin dialogisella kentällä. Tarkastelu kohdistuu seitsemän tunnetun suomalaisen tubettajan vlogeihin ja metodina toimii Martin & Whiten (2005) evaluaatioteoriaan pohjautuva diskurssianalyysi.

Englanti on noussut median ja koulutuksen kautta suomalaisten nuorten arkikäyttöön myös konteksteissa, joissa kaikkien osallistujien äidinkieli on suomi. Merkittävä osa englantia kuukausittain käyttävistä suomalaisista nuorista ilmoittaa käyttävänsä kieltä tunteiden ilmaisemiseen, mihin nähden koodinvaihdon ja tunneilmaisun yhdistävää tutkimusta on vielä huomattavan vähän. Aineistona toimivat Youtube-vlogit, sillä tubettajien mielipiteet ja asenteet vaikuttavat etenkin nuorten seuraajien sosiaalisiin ja kielellisiin maailmoihin. Englanninkielinen media antaa käyttöömme uusia tapoja pukea sanoiksi tunteita ja asenteita, joten tutkielma pyrkii selvittämään, miten englantia hyödynnetään omien asenteiden ilmaisuun sekä toisten asenteiden huomiointiin nuorten suosimassa kontekstissa.

Tulokset osoittavat, että englantia käytetään sekä positiivisten että negatiivisten asenteiden ilmaisemiseen suomen ohella. Englanniksi ilmaistu negatiivinen asenne on usein rennompi ja tilapäisempi kuin suomeksi ilmaistu, kun taas englanniksi ilmaistut positiivinen asenne ei välttämättä välity kuulijalle yhtä aitona kuin suomeksi ilmaistu. Potentiaalisesti yleisöä loukkaavaa asennetta saatettiin lieventää englannin käytöllä, joka näyttää yhdistyvän rentouteen ja hauskanpitoon. Englannin käyttö asenteen ilmaisun yhteydessä nostaa asenteen huomioarvoa, ja koodinvaihtoa näytetään käytettävän usein tilanteissa, joissa halutaan korostaa kontrastia kahden asenteen välillä.

Avainsanat: koodinvaihto, kielenvaihtelu, evaluaatio, asenteet, Youtube, vlogit

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1 INTRODUCTION

Like in other Nordic countries, people in Finland tend to have remarkably high English skills. Several studies argue (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2010; Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 368; Jodar-Sanchéz & Tuomainen 2014) that English is becoming rather a second language than a foreign language to Finns, despite the lack of an official status in the country. English has gained its prestige and importance in Finland through the cultural and communicative capital it brings as the language of business, education and global communication, but it is also used in situations outside of these domains – situations where switching languages becomes a choice rather than a necessity. Finland as a whole has had no external pressures or absolute requirement to take English into its curriculum: no colonisation by English powers, and even today, no significant waves of immigration, compared to other European countries (Jodar-Sanchéz & Tuomainen 2014: 100). The population remains fairly homogenous and Finnish-speaking, yet the perceived value of knowing English in the everyday persists.

To put it simply, part of being a Finn is to know English – especially for young Finns, who grow up surrounded by English media, games, advertisements, and the internet, and who are formally educated in the language as early as from the second grade. A comprehensive, nation-wide survey by Leppänen et al. (2011) outlines the multiple ways in which Finns are exposed to and use English daily, in various everyday situations. Especially the two youngest generations reported using English not only in professional and educational contexts, but also during their free time in the domains of *home, friends* and *hobbies* (2011: 48). For teenagers, the connection between using English and interacting with the media appears clear in their own self-observations and reported attitudes (Leppänen et al. 2009: 1084–5). Further studies have explored the use of English in different youth-oriented mediascapes, or 'YOUTHSCAPES' (Leppänen 2007), such as blog texts, fan fiction, video game playing sessions and online chats. In these contexts, Finns who share a common native language – and, therefore, grounds for mutual intelligibility – still find a use for English in their shared

discussions and created content. Young Finns use English as an additional resource for creating meanings and building identities. This means that even among non-native speakers with no historical ties to the language, English is making its way from global to local significance, and from public to private usage (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2008).

This thesis examines a genre of speech existing at the verge between global and local, and between private and public: the speech of Finnish Youtubers, who make diary-like videos of their private life and opinions on a global public platform, for a local Finnish audience. These vloggers frequently insert English code-switches into the Finnish matrix language, the native language common to all speakers in the data set, and indeed between most users of this particular youthscape, the Finnish Youtube community. Using Finnish as the sole language of the videos would, therefore, hardly reduce their intelligibility to the audience, and the switches appear not to appease an international audience, either, as they make up only a fraction of the material.

Previous findings of English code-switching in Finland suggest that structurally, most code-switches consist of formulaic material such as tags, phrases, and 'Anglo-American cultural scripts' such as *you know, that's it,* or *no can do,* inserted amidst Finnish material (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2008: 34). Some of these commonly used English phrases are explicit cultural references, while others are less specific. What most of these switches appear to have in common, however, is that they express an attitude or feeling. Some research has touched upon the connections of emotions and language choice in bilinguals (Pavlenko 2008), but in the context of Finnish youthscapes, code-switching has mostly been treated as a means of constructing a TRANSLOCAL identity, i.e. membership of a group that functions both locally and globally (Leppänen 2007). Therefore, I will be examining code-switching as a means of expressing attitudes and evaluation, with the help of APPRAISAL THEORY (Martin & White 2007), a framework that differentiates evaluative language into emotional AFFECT, ethical JUDGEMENT and aesthetic APPRECIATION.

Although Youtube videos and vlogs are monologic in form, they engage in dialogue with their audience (Frobenius 2014) and other texts, both past and present. The process of aligning oneself and one's opinions in relation to past and future opinions is called ENGAGEMENT (Martin & White 2007: 92). Thus, while examining the attitudes expressed via code-switches, I will also discuss how these attitudes are positioned in relation to prior and future material on the dialogic field, and whether the switch to English serves a function in this process.

Following a functional theory of code-switching, developed by Auer (1984, 1998) and based on Gumperz' work (1982), this thesis is built on the foundation that insertional code-switching is driven both by PARTICIPANT-RELATED and DISCOURSE-RELATED motives (Auer 1984). In other words, each switch signals something about the speaker, constructing their identity, or about the discourse situation, framing and contextualizing it. These functions will be discussed as IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION and CONTEXTUALIZATION, respectively. Evaluative code-switches, i.e. code-switches that express an attitude, can be argued to have both participant-related and discourse-related functions. In fact, evaluation itself, as in the attitudes and stances expressed by the speaker, can be argued to be both participant- and discourse-related, as on the one hand, the speakers construct their identities through their opinions and attitudes, and on the other, they also express attitudes other than their own, and a switch in codes may contextualize the attitude as belonging to someone else.

To sum up, the questions explored in this thesis are:

1. How do young Finns use English to express attitudes in their Youtube vlogs?
2. How do young Finns use English to position their attitudes in relation to others' attitudes in their Youtube vlogs?

The importance of researching language use on Youtube is similar to what Pahta & Taavitsainen describe as their agenda for researching written mass media (2010: 5): both are visible and influential societal forums, and thus function as important contributors to sociolinguistic change. Youtube can be said to influence especially young people's linguistic and social realities, as they have leaned away

from mainstream broadcast media towards streamlined media services, where they can choose the content they want to consume.

Androutsopoulos (2013: 210) discusses how bilingualism between the national language and English resources from the media is arising all over Europe. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the documentation of a larger phenomenon of how English cultural scripts absorbed from the media influence how we express attitudes and feelings through language. Focus will be on what kinds of attitudes English is used for, and whether there is, for example, a tendency to express serious, genuine and strict attitudes in one language, and playful, casual and more malleable attitudes in the other. Attention will also be paid to whether certain affective, i.e. emotional, reactions are more readily expressed in English rather than in Finnish, and why that might be.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter, to provide sufficient context, I will elaborate on the issues and theories relevant to my analysis and topic at large. First, some ramifications on code-switching will be discussed, in order to clarify what type of switching is investigated, and in which terms. We will examine the interplay of English and Finnish, specifically, and discuss what previous research has to say about English in Finland, especially in the hands of the younger generations. Two main functions of code-switching will be discussed, with examples from Finnish contexts. The second theory section lays out the main framework applied to the analysis: the appraisal framework by Martin & White (2005). In the third theory section, we will inspect past research that has also combined the study of attitudes and code-switching: either through the appraisal framework (Baumgarten & Du Bois 2012) or through psycho- and sociolinguistic methods that focus on affect (Pavlenko 2008, Bock 2008). And finally, in the fourth theory section, we will discuss three key aspects of Youtube vlogs as a genre, explaining why this genre is interesting study material for engagement and evaluation.

2.1 Code-switching

Code-switching refers to alternation between languages – or subsets of languages, such as dialects – in a single conversation, text, or passage of speech (Gumperz 1982: 56). In some cases, one of the codes can be identified as the predominant one that builds the base of the conversation, while the other is used more sparingly for specific functions. These hierarchical positions are referred to as the MATRIX LANGUAGE and the EMBEDDED LANGUAGE, respectively, and the embedded language items tend to be assimilated with the features and constraints of the matrix language (Myers-Scotton 1993; 2001: 23).

The Matrix Language Model may, however, create a too simplified a picture of code-switching, and of language contact situations in general. The criticism towards this model, as explained by Gardner-Chloros (2009: 167), argues that insisting on finding a hierarchy between the languages used in all code-switching situations reflects a bias of monolingualism as the normal state of being.

Gardner-Chloros (2009: 165) posits that compared to the Matrix Language Model, which imposes hierarchy and separates codes into two distinct systems, the perspective favoured on the field nowadays includes more shades of grey: code-switching is seen to exist on a continuum of language interaction phenomena in general, together with borrowing, convergence and creolization. What is of interest on this continuum is how bilingual people make use of the resources available in their individual linguistic repertoires. Situations of code-switching are considered 'interlingual spaces' (Leppänen 2007: 152), showcasing 'natural, unmonitored speech par excellence' (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 167), where an individual can utilize all their linguistic resources freely, and where the rules of any single system have less power of restriction. Altogether, code-switching is seen here as a malleable grey area where languages interact with fewer restrictions than in monolingual situations, so despite using the terms *matrix* and *embedded*, the situation is not as clear-cut as 'language B assimilates to the rules of language A.'

Acknowledging the criticism, these terms can still be argued to make a meaningful distinction in cases where the difference in frequency is clear and explicit, such as with the current data set. In this thesis, the term code-switching is used to refer to alternation between two languages, Finnish and English. Finnish functions as the matrix language into which English words, phrases and sentences are embedded.

However, these English instances have differing levels of integration. And although we are interested here in the *interactional* dimension of code-switching, i.e. what a code-switch is used *for* instead of what grammatical rules it follows (Auer 1984: 1), it is necessary to point out that the level of integration into the matrix language can affect how 'foreign' or 'separate' the code-switch is treated by its speakers, and therefore, can alter its functions and meaning potential. English code-switches amidst spoken Finnish tend to create a continuum where, on one end, we find syntactically and morpho-phonologically assimilated loan words, and on the other, unassimilated English phrases, which are placed intersententially at the border of Finnish syntactical units.

As Kalliokoski (1995: 4) explains, there is debate in the field over where to draw the line on this continuum: how to distinguish loan words from nonce borrowings and code-switches, and whether drawing such lines is meaningful in the first place. Some linguists (cf. Stroud 1992, in 1995: 4) suggest that such distinctions are meaningless since the meaning potential of a code-switch lies precisely in its structurally ambiguous form between the two languages. While keeping this in mind, a line nevertheless had to be drawn in order to collect a functional data set. For the needs of this thesis, code-switching refers to using *unestablished* English material that has not yet been included in the KOTUS online dictionary of standard Finnish (2020) as established loanwords, and therefore still registers as foreign and separate from the Finnish code itself. As Matras (2009: 112) explains, 'established borrowings are often the only expression in the language representing the particular concept,' whereas code-switches acquire their interactional value specifically through being an alternative manner to express something that could have been expressed in the default language.

Research into code-switching tends to diverge on two further points that are relevant here. The first is that when studied through discourse analysis and other macro-level qualitative methods, the codes' meanings are derived from 'outside the conversation,' from external connotations we associate with those varieties and the people using those varieties (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 166). An example of this kind of *external meaning* analysis would be Gumperz' (1982) concept of the 'we'-code and 'they'-codes. However, conversation analysts and other micro-level researchers (e.g. Auer 1984, 1998) argue rather for the importance of *local meanings* and effects created by the act of switching languages itself – in other words, which languages are juxtaposed matters less than *how* they are juxtaposed and to what effect (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 166). Both types of analysis and levels of meaning can co-exist, and while this thesis attempts to give room for both, it does lean more towards the latter point of view.

The second point that some researchers find hard to agree on is whether a certain degree of language competence in the L2 is required for one to be called bilingual, and, furthermore, whether

being bilingual is a requirement for code-switching. For the needs of this thesis, I will focus on the participants' FUNCTIONAL BILINGUALISM: the person's actual usage of their linguistic ability, instead of abstract measurements of competence, academic performance, or linguistic background in the family (Baker 1996: 11–2). In this sense, all speakers in the data set are bilingual by virtue of being able to use both Finnish and English in their everyday communication, even though they would likely not identify themselves as bilinguals in the common layman sense of the word. Functional bilingualism concerns the practical production and reception of a second or foreign language in everyday events, and focuses on questions such as who uses the language to whom, about what, in which situation, and to what effect (Baker 1996: 12). As will be discussed in the following section, situations where English can be utilized are multiple and frequent in Finland. This is true especially for young vloggers who consume English-speaking media and whose interests and hobbies qualify them as members of at least one international community of shared interest: vlogging. In the context of this thesis, what matters are the practical uses and functions of English among Finnish teenagers and young adults.

As Matras explains (2009: 112), the functional dimension of code-switching 'treats prototypical instances of codeswitching as conscious and discourse-strategic,' used to create conversational effects. Following Auer (1984), the functions of code-switching can be roughly divided into two: *discourse-related* and *participant-related*. In other words, a code-switch always signifies something about the conversation, or about the speaker. Discourse-related switching may, for example, organize the conversation by sequencing activities, shifting the addressee or topic of conversation, or repairing past material, whereas participant-related switching concerns itself with the speaker, their linguistic preferences, identity, and style (1984: 24). In this thesis, these two types of code-switching are discussed in terms of contextualization and identity construction, respectively. In the following section, we will first cover some of the currently influential research into Finnish-English

bilingualism in Finland, and then move on to explore Finns' code-switching in terms of the two main functions.

2.1.1 Presence of English in young Finns' lives

English is in such wide use across domains in Finland that several linguists have called it the country's unofficial second language. Some consider this transition to be quite recent and still on-going, and credit it to the emerging bilingualism in young people (Jodar-Sanchéz & Tuomainen 2014: 98), while others describe the transition as having started from the 1950s:

> … [In Northern Europe,] the sociolinguistic situation in the post-World War II period of globalization and European integration has undergone a gradual, large-scale shift, with English emerging from a traditional foreign language to a new kind of second language, a resource language used extensively in both private and public discourse.
> (Pahta & Taavitsainen 2010: 1–2)

Leppänen & Nikula (2007: 339) add that in Finland, especially, English and the Anglo-American cultures and values were welcomed with open arms so as to distance Finland from its former rulers, Russia and Sweden. As a result, English has since been used in various domains, including business, education, research and the media, from where it has trickled down into Finns' language use in their private everyday lives. Information technologies, the media, and the multinational entertainment industry are mentioned as the three main agents responsible for spreading English into people's private lives, and English is often found to be used in situations where people interact with these three domains (Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 367).

Despite many European nations having adopted English into the role of an 'additional second language' alongside the native language, the language has been 'domesticated' into a resource in different ways depending on the group of speakers and context of use (Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 365–7). Even inside a single country, the functions, motivations, realisations, and situations of use for English vary in the hands of different groups, which calls for more research situated in specific contexts. In the case of this thesis, it is the specific context of young Finns on an interactive social media platform.

A national survey conducted in 2007 by Leppänen et al. (2011: 114–5) revealed that out of the four age groups under investigation (ages 15–24, 25–44, 45–64, and 65–79), Finns under 45 years were more active users of English than those over 45. Out of these active users, the older group's (25–44 years of age) language habits were strongly driven by their occupation, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Managers and experts, for example, were more active users of English than healthcare workers, and for experts, reading English literature constituted more of their use than it did for managers. Although one might expect the domain of education and levels of academic success to function as a similar shaping force for the younger group's language habits, what actually rose to characterize the habits of the 15–24-year-olds was 'the productive side' of using English: 'writing stories and poems, writing on the internet, expressing negative feelings, and speaking with Finnish-speaking friends' (2011: 114). Both groups under 45 reported listening and reading English in their private life (e.g. domains of *home, hobbies* and *friends*; 2011: 59), but the youngest group also writes and speaks the language, even when the situation does not necessarily call for it. In other words, young Finns may very well share a common native language and still find English useful for communicating with one another. As Leppänen et al. (2011: 24) suggest, '… English may be one of the everyday languages that Finnish young people (or at least some of them) need and use without experiencing the communication as distinctively "foreign."'

English-speaking media does not necessarily appear that foreign, either – or, at least, its presence is considered the norm. In a study of how young Finns make sense of the role of English in their lives, Leppänen et al. (2009: 1085) describe how Finnish adolescents

> … seem to take the media-saturated nature of their lives for granted: There is a sense of normalcy associated to media presence, as well as to the constant flow of English into their everyday lives brought along by the media in general and by music in particular, as it is almost invariably consumed in English.

When asked for examples of contexts where English is used and observed in their lives, the teenagers reported situations where they interact with the digital world and the media (2009: 1084). For example, online activities such as e-mail, information retrieval, reading and writing on blogs, forums

and other websites, and interacting with English games and online shops were mentioned, as well as more traditional forms of media such as TV, radio, DVDs, CDs and music in general (2009: 1084–5). Perhaps, then, young Finns see English as such an integral part of new media and the internet that while creating content of their own to online media platforms, using English seems only natural.

Leppänen & Nikula (2007: 365) consider code-switching in these situations particularly important, raising the roles of Finnish adolescents and young adults into the limelight, as it is 'in the context of youth cultural activities (such as boarding, music cultures, fan activities, games, IRC, weblogs, and webzines) that the use of English alongside Finnish becomes particularly motivated and socially significant.' In these contexts, English is chosen locally instead of institutionally, and for reasons other than practical necessity. In the following sections, we will focus on two of these reasons: contextualization and identity construction.

2.1.2 Discourse-related functions: Contextualization

Contextualization, in broad terms, 'comprises all activities by participants which make relevant, maintain, revise, cancel… any aspect of context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence' (Auer & Di Luzio 1992: 4). Contextualization guides the listener's interpretation by making those aspects of the context salient that are crucial in order to correctly infer the meaning the speaker wishes to imply. One way to reshape and draw attention to aspects of context is through code-switching. The aspects of context can be, for example, the genre or tone of the conversation, the roles of the participants, the topic, speech act, or the relationship between the speaker and what is being said (1992: 4). Evaluation falls under the last point mentioned here. Code-switching for means of contextualization is usually, in Auer's (1984) terms, discourse-related switching, as it functions to organize the discourse and brings forth aspects of the situation instead of aspects of the speaker.

To give an example, Finnish teenagers have been observed to use English in the context of video gaming for various contextualization purposes (Leppänen 2007: 155–7). In a gaming situation,

the use of English terms in an utterance specifies its reference as belonging to the virtual game world, thus contextualizing the topic, and directing the speaker's comment at the game rather than at the real world surrounding the players. Switching languages creates a contrast, and in this case, it is used to contrast the real and virtual worlds. Other aspects of context that sometimes require a clarifying contrast may be, for example, whose voice is speaking (the player as themselves or as their character), or whether the utterance is genuine or ironical. English is not always necessary to create these effects, simply one way of doing so (along with, for example, facial expressions, intonation and voice quality).

Furthermore, context can also be renewed and affected by using resources reminiscent of other established contexts, thus bringing parts of said context to the current situation – an intertextuality of contexts, so to speak. By using a phrase, accent, or other characteristic associated with a recognizable context, one can draw those associations to the situation at hand. Popular culture is full of references like these, from Homer Simpson's catchphrase to the deep male voice announcing the stereotypical American movie trailer. By drawing on these voices of the media, one can reshape the context by adding the flavour of certain media scripts – whether it is the serious flavour of a news report or the humour value of a sitcom reference. Pahta & Taavitsainen (2010: 7) find that most of the English switches used in Finnish written media texts and advertisements consist of these 'prefabricated life-script phrases.' For example, 'wedding announcements make use [of] conventionalized expressions in English or Anglo-American cultural scripts by which young couples can evoke appropriate images of parallel well-known love stories.' And since most Finns consume English media regularly, at least 7 hours a week, absorbing its cultural references and phrases (Moore & Varantola 2008: 140), they have a pool of English resources to draw from.

English (especially American) also tends to carry with it the context of advertisements. Advertising in Finland is one context where English has been found to be often used for image creation, 'in an emblematic, symbolic way to conjure up an image of something young, trendy,

fashionable and dynamic' (Pahta & Taavitsainen 2010: 6). It is also common that 'enterprises associated with beauty enhancement, sex, gambling, alcohol, music and information technology are more inclined to use English in their names', note Moore & Varantola (2008: 135), who make a connection between English and capitalist advertising: 'the more a particular business hopes to entice people to buy their products, the more likely it is that English is used.' As many Youtubers advertise different products and services, their sponsors and their own channel on their videos, I expect this context to be drawn on in the data.

The final context and association I want to mention that can be brought about by using English is the context of informal spoken language. Pahta & Taavitsainen (2010: 8) note that English switches give the text a colloquial tone, resulting in a register that resembles spoken language. Mixing and switching is found more often in spoken than in written language, in most language pairs where switching happens, and so too in Finland. In other words, the mixture of English and Finnish is so common in informal speech that it becomes its own code, denoting its own context, which can then be utilized and evoked in media texts.

2.1.3 Participant-related functions: Identity construction

Different ways of speaking can be used to express and negotiate the identity of the speaker, and this includes code-switching. According to Auer (1984), code-switches that serve no discourse-organizing function serve instead to signal something about the speaker's personal preferences for language use, including the style and identity they wish to perform. Following Bucholtz & Hall (2005), identity exists in and is recreated continuously through interaction, and it is done through 'the social positioning of self and other' (2005: 586). This includes both more fixed demographic group memberships as well as more fleeting, interactional positions and stances in relation to other people (2005: 592). The ways in which English is used to position the speaker as for or against certain attitudes, or for or against certain people, function as examples of participant-related switching. The ways in which all language is used to these effects qualifies as identity construction.

Pahta & Taavitsainen (2010: 9) highlight the need for further research on how young Finns use English for 'identity work to negotiate meanings and a sense of belonging', making this a topic worth investigating. Jodar-Sanchéz and Tuomainen (2014: 98, 132) agree and go as far as to claim that some young Finns use English more in the ways of a 'language of identification' than a 'language of communication.' In contrast to using English as a Lingua Franca, a language of communication with a strictly utilitarian motive, English in the hands of these Finns is argued to act more like a language of identification. These terms come from House (2003: 560), who describes a language of identification as a register that holds both an affective-emotive quality, as well as the cultural capital to define a group and its members. This would mean that using English is necessary to express some part of the speaker's identity, and that it attends to the speaker's emotional and personal needs, not just social and cognitive ones (Jodar-Sanchéz and Tuomainen 2014: 160–1). Against such a background, it will be interesting to focus on the emotionally expressive language choices of young Finnish bilinguals.

Using English as a means of building one's identity does not, however, mean that the person identifies as 'partly English.' As Moore & Varantola remind (2008: 147), English hardly belongs to a single group or nationality anymore, and has begun to denote identities beyond nationality. When Finns themselves are asked, a striking majority (84%) do not identify as bilingual, despite their relative fluency in and frequency of using English (Leppänen et al. 2011: 47). Even young Finns, of whom a slightly higher percentage did identify as bilingual, still express a highly critical attitude towards speaking English 'incorrectly', with a Finnish accent, as they feel that speaking English is something to perform and succeed in (2011: 89). As Leppänen et al. (ibid.) explain,

> In this sense Finns do not see English as 'belonging to them'. They still treat it essentially as a foreign language, one used with an adopted 'foreign' identity. In this respect Finns differ from many speakers of established World Englishes, for whom English has become one of their own languages, and for whom their own way of using the language and their own accent is acceptable in terms of displaying their ethnic and national identity.

Altogether, this is telling of how the goal for Finns appears not to be to domesticate English into a Finnish version of itself, but instead its use lies in its foreignness, in the possibility of the switch and contrast created by the juxtaposition of two codes. Instead of signalling a new type of national identity, code-switching functions as a tool for expressing other aspects of one's identity.

Leppänen (2007) argues that young Finns use English to navigate identities that fluctuate between local and global, such as membership of a subculture that functions both locally in Finland, and globally around the world. In such subcultures, such as skating, fan fiction, music, games, etc., material is often provided both in the local language as well as in English, and mastery of the English terminology denotes higher status and membership in said subculture (2007: 157). As many instances of English in the current data, however, appear to be more universal expressions of attitude instead of being domain-specific, this must not be the only identity work at play.

One might even entertain the thought that knowing how and when to code-switch 'appropriately' functions as a group identity marker and a foundation for solidarity among young Finns in general. Both Taavitsainen & Pahta (2003) and Leppänen (2007: 151) note the trend of how 'the choice and use of English is also increasingly a key aspect of youth language.' As was mentioned earlier, this tendency has been picked up by the media, where English is often used in attempts to portray a youthful, trendy, fashionable and dynamic image (Pahta & Taavitsainen 2010: 6), and to give the text the colloquial tone of spoken language (2010: 8). We might therefore conclude that, at the least, somewhere in the Finnish cultural consciousness lies a stereotype of a young, trendy, and fashionable type of Finn, who speaks in a mixture of English and colloquial Finnish. This stereotype can then be drawn into different situations and applied for the self or the other by using elements of this style.

2.2 Appraisal framework

This chapter will introduce the main theoretical approach for my analysis: the appraisal theory by Martin & White (2005). APPRAISAL means determining the value of something, and as such, the

appraisal framework refers to evaluative language, i.e. linguistic resources that express emotional, ethical, and aesthetic value statements. These value statements are called ATTITUDES, and the framework considers how attitudes are expressed, amplified, targeted and sourced (2005: 9). In this thesis, the terms *appraisal* and *evaluation* will be used interchangeably for the process of giving value to things, while the term *attitude* will refer both to the internal mental state (sometimes differentiated as *stance*) and its realisation as a linguistic value statement. In Martin & White's own words (2005: 1), appraisal theory pertains to 'the subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate.' Such stances can be, for example, approval or disapproval, enthusiasm or disinterest, support or criticism.

Furthermore, the ways in which attitudes are expressed signal how common and easily acceptable the speaker considers these attitudes to be among people in general (2005: 93). In other words, attitudes can be *positioned* in relation to other possible attitudes on the same topic. For example, by introducing one's attitude with adverbs such as *naturally* or *obviously*, the speaker frames their attitude as one that is usually agreed upon, and even considered 'normal' and 'common sense' in the social spheres they engage in. In doing so, they dismiss any alternative viewpoints one might have on the topic. Therefore, appraisal theory is concerned with 'the linguistic mechanisms for the sharing of emotions, tastes and normative assessments,' and how these texts construct 'communities of shared feelings and values' by contributing to the collective norms of what is valued and what is not (2005: 1). In other words, we are not discussing merely the particular views of individual Youtubers, but the mechanisms these Youtubers use to frame their views and attitudes as shared and accepted by their audience. Appraisal is one of the main instruments in a social media influencer's toolkit, through which they can affect their particular cultural spheres.

Martin & White (2005: 7) have developed their theory on the basis of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), a branch of linguistics that regards language as a social semiotic system. This means that SFL considers language a system of signs whose main purpose is to transfer meaning from

one person to another. SFL, as a functional theory, is concerned with the functionality of language, i.e. *how* and *for what* language is used. In other words, it focuses on what types of choices people actually make to codify meaning, instead of the theoretical possibilities inherent in a particular language. To keep the combination of theoretical frameworks coherent, the approaches selected for code-switching and bilingualism were also functional in nature, as outlined in section 2.1.

In its effort to understand how meaning is transferred through language, SFL divides meaning into three levels, and appraisal theory explores one of these levels specifically. The *ideational* level consists of resources used to express events and concepts, the *interpersonal* level consists of resources for negotiating social relations, interactions, and feelings, and the *textual* level consists of resources that bind the two former levels together into a flow of information, a text in its widest sense (2005: 7). Appraisal theory is located on the interpersonal level of meaning. This means that attitudes exist as separate from the ideational factual content that they evaluate, i.e. from the truth-value propositions of the utterances.

While levels of meaning refer to the abstract semantics behind a text, our focus is on the concrete expressions of evaluation, and these can be found on all levels of linguistic description. The overall stance of a text is not usually expressed in one single place, and attitudes can be expressed through various linguistic constructions and strategies. In this thesis, the motive is to explore the evaluative effects of code-switching as one such strategy.

According to Martin & White (2005: 8), SFL studies tend to concentrate on the levels of phonology, lexicogrammar, or discourse semantics. They situate the study of appraisal, for the most part, on the uppermost discourse level, because in order to comprehend the evaluative meanings in a text, the text has to be considered holistically, as a whole, including its meanings ‘beyond the clause’ (2005: 8–10). The attitudes and the overall stance accumulate throughout the text as the sum of its various evaluative resources (2005: 18–9). Phonological aspects such as intonation and voice quality, and lexicogrammatical choices on wording and information structure all have the potential to express

evaluation – but one has to look beyond these levels at the full picture to understand the overall attitude portrayed by the text (2005: 12). In practise, appraisal theory functions mainly on the level of discourse analysis. As such, it is subject to similar limitations as other discourse analytic approaches, limitations that will be returned to in chapter 3.

To summarize, appraisal theory is a qualitative discourse level approach that focuses on how people express their feelings, judgements, and appreciations, and in doing so, partake in the construction of what their social spheres value. The theory consists of three domains – the expressing, grading, and positioning of value statements – which will be shortly explained in the following sections. The first domain, ATTITUDE, refers to the expression of values based on emotions, ethics, and aesthetics, and is the focal point of the theory. The other two domains function to support the expression of attitudes by, firstly, clarifying their degree of intensity (GRADUATION), and secondly, by sourcing and positioning them (ENGAGEMENT).

2.2.1 Attitude

Appraisal theory groups attitudes into three types: *affect, judgement,* and *appreciation* (Martin & White 2005: 35). In short, these categories can be understood as emotions, ethics, and aesthetics, respectively. While affect is rooted in the emotional reactions of an individual, judgement and appreciation are based on so-called institutionalized emotions, the shared values of a community (2005: 45), which individuals then reflect back to their own life.

Affect deals with negative and positive feelings, and with the emotional bodily reactions associated with these feelings (2005: 42, 49). To name examples, this category covers feelings of (un)happiness (joy, love, sadness, and hate), (in)security (confidence, trust, anxiety, and fear) and (dis)satisfaction (curiosity, respect, boredom, and displeasure) (2005: 49). Affect evaluates topics in terms of 'this feeling targets this topic,' e.g. *Jane hates reading.* The focus is on the experiences of conscious participants, usually human individuals, whose emotional reactions form the evaluation. The trigger of this emotion, or what is being reacted *to,* is the target of evaluation.

Judgement, in turn, evaluates people and their behaviour, and how well they measure up to society's expectations. Judgement consists of ethical evaluations of what is *good* or *bad*, based on the norms and principles of what is socially *esteemed* or *sanctioned* in the speaker's society (2005: 42, 52). Matters of social esteem revolve around a person's normality, capability and tenacity. The standards for esteemed behaviour are typically negotiated and learnt orally through discussions and gossip amongst various social circles. Martin & White (2005: 52) argue that 'sharing values in this area is critical to the formation of social networks (family, friends, colleagues, etc.).' Matters of social sanction, however, are more crucial for societies to function, and concern truthfulness and propriety, i.e. how to be honest and proper. Failure to follow the standards of veracity and propriety may result in penalty or punishment, as socially sanctioned behaviour is typically defined and upheld through written codes such as rules, laws, and religious doctrines (2005: 52). As Martin & White put it, the distinction is 'a question of who we turn to for help – too much negative esteem, and we may need to visit a therapist; too much negative sanction, and a lawyer may need to be called in' (2005: 53).

While affect targets anything that triggers emotional reactions, and judgement targets people's behaviour, *appreciation* targets 'things:' people's creations, performances, and ideas, for example, and also natural phenomena (2005: 56). The value of these things is assessed according to their impact, quality, composition, and other variables that are considered important on the field that the evaluated thing belongs to (2005: 56). For example, a move that is considered *talented* in soccer might be less so in cricket, and while *authentic* subjective expression might be important for arts, academic literature tends to be valued according to its *analytical* and objective qualities, instead. In other words, appreciation is about the field-specific criteria and assessment needed to measure the value and worth of things. Appreciation is sometimes formalized into different awards, prices, grades, grants, and so on (2005: 46).

All attitudes can be realised linguistically through various different word classes and grammatical structures. To give a few examples:

(a) **realisations of affect**: *to cry, to laugh; anxiety, confidence; angry, impressed*

(b) **realisations of judgement**: *to bully, to indict; oppression, freedom; weird, trustworthy*

(c) **realisations of appreciation***: to excel, to fail; professional, amateur; unfocused, tasteful*

Sometimes an evaluative statement may belong to several of these three categories, such as when a judgement or appreciation triggers an emotional response, or when an emotional response implies judgement or appreciation. To distinguish cases like these, Martin & White (2005: 60–70) offer guidelines which will not be explained here in detail, but whose gist is that the categories are distinguished by who or what is credited as the source of the attitude (the appraiser) is and what is appointed as the target (the appraised) (2005: 61).

2.2.2 Graduation

Attitudes can be of varying intensity or degree. Being *annoyed* or *outraged* both express the same affect, anger, but on different levels of intensity. Graduation is the process of scaling the volume of one's attitudes up or down, and thus showing how invested one is in those attitudes (Martin & White 2005: 39). It involves linguistic resources that function as so-called 'hedges,' 'downtoners,' 'boosters,' and 'intensifiers' (2005: 94).

Graduation is typically done by toggling the FORCE of the attitude with strategies such as word choice, comparative or superlative morphology, repetition, tone of voice, exclamations and so on (2005: 37). When the attitude is not easily gradable in terms of 'stronger' and 'weaker' force, the attitude may instead be graded through FOCUS, which means that the object of evaluation is regarded in terms of how prototypical versus peripheral it is in its category (2005: 37). For example, the positive judgement of someone's mannerly behaviour, *what a gentleman,* can be graded into *a true gentleman*, *kind of a gentleman* or even *a poor excuse of a gentleman* – all in terms of how prototypical of a gentleman this person is being. Like Martin & White's own stance on the matter (2005: 39), graduation will be considered here as a supportive resource to expressing and positioning attitudes, thus explored in a minor role during the analysis.

2.2.3 Engagement and Positioning

With engagement, we acknowledge that our attitude on a certain topic is not the only existing one. Each attitude exists on a dialogic field together with other people's attitudes. Engagement refers to the linguistic resources that speakers use to acknowledge other possible attitudes towards the evaluated topic, and to align themselves in relation to them, as agreeing with, disagreeing with, or simply recognising them (Martin & White 2005: 92–3). In this way, the speaker engages with other voices inside their own text. In its simplest form, this can be done by expressing the attitude of someone else, or by directly addressing a certain text's or person's attitude, but there are more subtle manners as well. Some examples from Martin & White (2005: 100) are presented below in Table 1.

Attitude	**Positioned attitude**
The banks have been greedy.	1. *In my view* the banks have been greedy. 2. *There is the argument though* that banks have been greedy. 3. *Callers to talkback radio* see banks as being greedy. 4. *There can be no denying* the banks have been greedy. 5. The banks *haven't* been greedy.

Table 1: *Examples of engagement*

The four types of presenting an attitude are to simply *entertain* it as one possibility out of many (example 1), to *attribute* it to someone else or to common 'hearsay' (examples 2–3), to *proclaim* it (example 4), or to *disclaim* it (example 5) (2005: 97–8). In other words, to entertain is to acknowledge one attitude while leaving room for alternative ones, to attribute is to distance the attitude from the text by signalling it comes from an external source, to proclaim is to align oneself with the attitude and leave no room for alternative attitudes, and to disclaim is to reject the attitude. While engagement, especially with direct address to particular people's attitudes, is similar to the concepts of intertextuality and contextualization in that it can tie multiple texts into a network, it focuses specifically on the alignments and 'sides taken' for or against these other texts, not on the combination of their actual propositions.

Acknowledging alternative voices works in both directions: voices that have come before your own and voices that will come in response to your own, once it has been put out into the world. For simplicity's sake, I will call these PAST and FUTURE ORIENTED ENGAGEMENT, respectively. Martin & White (2005: 93) call future engagement simply the 'anticipatory aspect' of engagement, and explain that the way an attitude is presented signals an anticipation of whether the attitude 'can be taken for granted for this particular audience, … is in some way novel, problematic or contentious, or … is likely to be questioned, resisted or rejected.'

In many cases, such a distinction between past and future engagement is difficult to make, unless a specific person or group is being directly addressed. The reason I want to differentiate these two aspects is in the nature of Youtube vlogs themselves and in the unique relationship vloggers have with their audience. This discussion will be continued in section 2.4., but here it suffices to say that with future engagement, I wish to explore how vloggers acknowledge the possible reactions of their audience, and with past engagement, how they address the voices of other vloggers.

In short, engagement is positioning one's attitude on the dialogistic field of other people's attitudes, both existing and imagined. In these terms, an *attitude* becomes a *value position,* a point on a map of alternative viewpoints. Speakers 'present themselves as recognising, answering, ignoring, challenging, rejecting, fending off, anticipating or accommodating actual or potential interlocutors and the value positions they represent' (2005: 2). How strongly they align themselves with or against other viewpoints can be scaled through means of graduation (2005: 94).

2.3 Code-switching as means of appraisal

In this theory section, some previous research that combines the study of attitudes and study of code-switching will be briefly explored. Such research in a Finnish context appears not to have been conducted yet. While the creators of the appraisal framework, Martin & White (2005), focus on appraisal in monolingual written language, Bock (2008) studies spoken interviews and testimonies of multilingual individuals in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Council (TRC). Similarly,

Baumgarten & Du Bois (2012) explore appraisal in spoken German-English codeswitching among German-American and American-German immigrants. And finally, findings on how language choice and emotionality affect each other will be discussed (Pavlenko 2008).

2.3.1 Contrast and emphasis

Bock (2008) argues that code-switching serves as an important evaluative resource in multilingual situations. Her study is situated in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Council (TRC), where witnesses relay and relive their experiences in testifying for cases where human rights have been violated. Bock explores how code-switching and two other strategies (direct quotes and using present tense for past events) are used by these witnesses to position the audience in relation to the events and people that they describe.

Her findings state that, firstly, code-switching is used to create contrast between characters in a recounted story. In her otherwise English retelling, a testifier uses Afrikaans to quote the police in situations where their behaviour has been brutal and inhumane, and in doing so 'position[s] them for moral condemnation. It is a distancing mechanism - a way of constructing the police as "the other"' (2008: 12), and to emphasize the difference between them for the audience. Only some of her interactions with the police are recounted in Afrikaans, so the switch also serves to highlight these interactions in particular, marking the condemned behaviour of the police officers as the focus of the story, and the high point of the story's dramatic tension (2008: 12). Furthermore, the switch signals the testifier's rising emotional involvement and immersion in the story (2008: 10).

Baumgarten & Du Bois (2012: 43) study what function code-switching serves when talking about and evaluating absent third parties, i.e. people not present in the conversation, like the police officers in the testimony just discussed. Their study takes place in Germany and the US, where immigrants from both countries were interviewed both individually and in groups. The participants were observed to use code-switching in situations where differences between the speakers' native and host cultures were discussed, to underline the contrast between the two. In one specific example

(2012: 55), 'the interaction between appraisal and positioning acts construct a contrast between American and German ideas of what constitutes "normal" and "proper" behaviour and how to react to negative life-experiences.'

Baumgarten & Du Bois (2012: 48) also note that the content of the code-switch itself may not be overtly evaluative, in that the other-language item itself may not always consist of evaluative words, but the switches 'acquire evaluative meaning from their context of occurrence.' They argue that code-switches have the 'signalling capacity' to emphasize the co-occurring evaluation, whichever type it is (2012: 64). In both these studies, then, code-switching is used to contrast and differentiate two entities, and to emphasize evaluations.

Furthermore, Baumgarten & Du Bois (2012: 47) also point out the persuasive potential of this strategy, observing that '[code-switching] foregrounds the speaker's subjective perspective in discourse, makes explicit the speaker's assumption of common ground with the interlocutors, and invites them to share the speaker's point of view.' Understanding switches requires knowledge of the cultural or group-specific connotations of the phrases and words that are switched into, and using them successfully in a group builds rapport and group solidarity (2012: 63).

2.3.2 Emotional impacts of first and second languages

Previous studies on bilingualism and emotion suggest that a person's mother tongue is most closely tied to their emotions and emotional experiences, and that when people are shown the same evaluative statements in two languages, the emotional impact is stronger in one's native language (Pavlenko 2008: 156). This can be seen, for example, in studies done on bilingual therapy patients, who have preferred recounting difficult emotional experiences in their L2 and evaluated doing so as easier, safer, and more distant. Altogether, Pavlenko (2008: 156) demonstrates that weaker emotional impact does not mean the L2 would simply not be used for emotional expression – instead, language choice can be used as a contextualization cue for the degree of emotional intensity.

The connections between language and emotion are mostly due to the affective socialization we receive in our L1 as children, when we learn what causes emotions, how and when to express them, and what happens after such expressions (2008: 151). In a classroom setting, such socialization is rare and minimal. If an L2 speaker has a chance for secondary affective socialization in an L2 community or with an L2-speaking partner, for example, the emotional impact of the second language may grow stronger (2008: 158–160).

In Leppänen et al. (2011: 113), 51% of 15–24-year-old Finns who use English in their free time at least on a monthly basis, reported using English for expressing negative emotions, and more than one third reported using it for expressing positive emotions. One partial explanation for the high rates of negative emotional expression in the L2 could be that, according to Pavlenko (2008: 157), swearing and using taboo words in the L2 is easier than doing so in the L1 for many people, as the emotional impact of L2 swear words feels less intense. For strong negative emotions such as anger and pain, however, the mother tongue appears to be the more favoured choice of expression for most people (2008: 159).

Matras (2009: 68–70) explains how some areas of second-language acquisition require, or, at the least, become facilitated through emotional identification with the language, its users or its contexts of use. Especially areas of expression that are related to emotions, such as prosody, appear to be more easily adopted for learners who have yet to undergo puberty, and whose affective socialization is still underway. For older learners, whose socialization is complete, whose identities are more stable, and brains less flexible, the manners of expressing emotion in their native language, and the identities associated with those expressive styles, often persist and influence the L2 (ibid.).

Finns routinely start learning English before puberty, at the age of 8 or 9, when their affective socialization is still ongoing. However, when English is acquired in a classroom setting, there is less focus on learning the accepted ways of expressing emotion in this language as there would be if the L2 was learnt in a more emotion-oriented environment, such as at home from one's caretakers

(Pavlenko 2008: 157). It is therefore most likely that Finns on average do not get proper affective socialization in English, but rather learn how this language is used for emotional expression through schooling and the media.

2.4 Youtube vlogs as a genre

In order to explore the evaluative functions of code-switching in Youtube vlogs, I will raise three important aspects of Youtube vlogs as a communicative context: audience design, bricolage and authenticity. But first, to give a definition to the type of material under discussion, vlogging, or video blogging, refers here to a form of asynchronous computer-mediated communication, which consists of slice-of-life videos by a single person. These videos are uploaded to an online platform, from which they can be viewed and interacted with by the platform's users. A vlog, then, is a singular video blog entry, often in form of a monologue video 'tailored to a non-present audience,' and to which its viewers can react asynchronously, i.e. not in real time, through written comments or by making their own response videos (Frobenius 2014: 59). Vlogs are said to have originated in Youtube, and they still hold their place as the most frequently viewed, subscribed, and uploaded type of content on the platform (Burgess & Green 2009). Some vloggers specialize on a specific subcategory, such as video games, music, or make-up, but the videos' slice-of-life nature still places them in the same category with the usual 'talking head' type of diary vlog (Ellis 2018: 9:53).

The video hosting site Youtube is still currently the most popular platform for vlogging. In Youtube, registered users can control their own webpages (*channels*), where they can create and curate their own content. Other users are able to follow (*subscribe to*) these channels in order to get notifications of their new content. Youtube is a prime example of a participatory website, where every user is offered the chance to participate in creating and sharing content, and giving meaning to it (Walther & Jang 2012: 6). When watching a video, the content created by the Youtuber (the video) is presented in connection with content generated by other users (comments, related videos), and

surrounded by aggregated statistics of users' behaviour (views, likes). This juxtaposed presentation emphasizes the platform's social and interactive aspects (2012: 2–6).

Vlogs' importance can be seen, for example, in how they have been called "the emblematic form of Youtube participation" (Burgess & Green 2009: 53). The verbal message of a vlog tends to be its main attraction and takes priority over the visual aspects of the video (Hautakangas 2008: 22). The speech material in vlog videos is usually monologic, as vlogs tend to feature only one main speaker, and the non-present audience is incapable of interrupting (Frobenius 2014: 60). Monologues are, however, by definition, directed at an audience, which separates them from soliloquies, where a speaker simply talks to themselves. Frobenius argues that one of the most characteristic features of Youtube monologues is, indeed, designing the message for a future audience, in a way that will prompt the viewers to respond to and interact with the video and the vlogger (2014: 59). In other words, vlog monologues are made with an imagined audience in mind, and therefore parts of its content are inherently dialogic, in the sense that they are designed to function as a basis for future interaction (2014: 61). This future oriented engagement will be discussed further in chapter 2.4.1, in the guise of audience design.

Vloggers also refer to past material in their speech, causing their texts to be in dialogue with other texts, such as the speaker's own prior work, other people's vlogs, pieces of news or pieces of media. All discourse is, of course, dialogic in this sense, as every opinion and statement takes part in a conversation to which past authors and speakers have contributed, but with Youtube vlogs this intertextuality is perhaps more visually salient and therefore routinely acknowledged. Several vloggers may express their views on the same subject, inspired by one another, which creates a network of individual viewpoints around a common topic. These different contributions then appear in connection to one another through the Related Videos section on the website's interface. Hautakangas (2008: 21) discusses these networks of individual experiences and opinions in Youtube, framing them with Hartley's (2008: 19–21) ideas of the value-chain of meaning: how in a postmodern

culture, meaning and truth of a matter are found not through empirical means or critical reading, but through combining multiple perspectives and opinions. In other words, the meaning of a text is no longer inherent in the text itself, but in the hands of its audience, who by reacting to the text and sharing that reaction participate in shaping its meaning. Youtube, therefore, is a grand example of how people construct their own 'truths' about current topics through a multiplicity of everyday views on the subject. The co-creation and reshaping of meaning will be discussed in terms of BRICOLAGE (Hautakangas 2008: 21; originally from Lévi-Strauss 1966) in more detail in section 2.4.2, and it will be linked to the past oriented engagement from appraisal theory. The popularity of this kind of multifaceted discourse and the value placed on an individual's personal opinions makes Youtube a fruitful environment for researching evaluations.

Like regular blog entries, vlogs tend to revolve around the speaker's personal life, experiences, and opinions. They function as a public diary of sorts, where the speaker expresses their thoughts and evaluations as an individual, not as a representative of a group. Hautakangas notes (2008: 9) that despite celebrating the concept of co-creation, participatory cultures and websites still tend to strongly emphasize individuality and independence as its building blocks. Even while a vlogger is discussing topics of a more general level than their personal life, such as politics, or best practices for applying make-up, a disclaimer is often included that the opinions and instructions provided are only the result of an individual experience, and that the speaker is not a professional or an authority on the subject. Framing oneself as 'ordinary' despite having expertise on a subject is typical of the vlog genre, as Youtube personalities that lie somewhere between amateurship and professionalism, the 'ordinary experts,' appear more relatable, approachable, and authentic to the audience than esteemed media professionals (Tolson 2010: 281, 283). Altogether, what viewers appear to want and expect from Youtube is material that is more down-to-earth, transparent and 'authentic' than broadcast media – something that shows people as people, real, ordinary, and on the same level. Authenticity,

identification with the audience and how this is used to position one's attitudes are discussed further in section 2.4.3.

2.4.1 Audience design: Prompting participation

Videos are uploaded to Youtube so that people may see them – in other words, in hopes of gaining an audience. Vloggers regularly emphasize that communication with other people is their main reason for vlogging in the first place (Frobenius 2014: 59). On an online platform as popular and unrestricted as Youtube, vloggers have little idea who actually makes up the audience that follows them. Some viewers are regular followers, others have happened to watch one of the vlogger's videos by chance. Some vloggers are more aware of their audience than others, and take the audience into consideration while talking – addressing them, involving them and interacting with them. The audience is, therefore, strongly present in a typical vlog, despite being absent during the vlog's production.

AUDIENCE DESIGN is a theory of how speakers change the way they use language 'primarily for and in response to their audience' (Bell 2001: 143). It is a sociolinguistic framework that follows in the footsteps of speech accommodation theory (2001: 141–3), and as such, it is based on the notion that different groups of people speak differently, and that speakers may show solidarity or distance to one another by shifting their manner of speaking closer or further away from the style of their recipient. Audience design originated in Bell's studies in 1984 on how radio hosts shift their speaking styles when there is a change in who is addressed or listening (2001: 139). Like Youtubers, radio hosts have an invisible, non-present audience, so they are incapable of seeing who is listening at the moment of the message's delivery. Shifts in the audience constellation, then, are rather the consequence of who the speaker *thinks* is listening, and which of these people the speaker chooses to direct their message to. The speaker may shift their style to address this specific part of the audience. The baseline becomes 'how certain people speak and how they are spoken to.' Audience design regards even style-shifts that are based on a change of topic (i.e. which could also be read as

contextualization cues) as originating from the audience that topic is associated with, and how one would speak to them.

Frobenius (2014) studies audience design in vlogs, shedding light to how vloggers assign participant roles to their viewers by acknowledging them through various strategies. These include terms of address (e.g. *Youtubers, you guys*), directives and directed language (e.g. *leave a comment*), questions (e.g. *how are you guys doing*), voicing the audience, whispering, gestures such as pointing, and categorization (2014: 59). Frobenius argues that these 'involvement strategies' keep the viewers immersed and active because they have to decode which of the comments are directed at them, and which at other people (2014: 59). In other words, viewers have to recognize which participant role they are being assigned at each moment: the vlogger may talk *to* them, as ratified addressees and bystanders, or ignore or even talk *about* them, as unratified overhearers and eavesdroppers (2014: 60).

With strategies of audience design, vloggers create a feeling of 'co-presence' with the audience (Tolson 2010: 280) and fill their monologue with constructed dialogue in order to 'converse' with their non-present audience on the video. The speaker may create conversational turns which are either left unanswered – left for the audience to react to in the privacy of their homes – or which the speaker answers themselves, as themselves or as an imagined viewer. Perhaps this is part of the reason why vlogs are celebrated for their 'emphasis on liveness, immediacy and conversation' (Burgess & Green 2009: 54), despite not being live or immediate at all, nor able to engage in a balanced real-time conversation. Referring back to section 2.2.3 on engagement, this type of constructed dialogue is a prime example of engagement in action.

Regardless of how 'authentic' the conversation sounds, in reality, the vlogger holds all the cards in constructing any dialogue, as they voice all participants of the conversation. Whether these voices are imagined or based on actual feedback received from the audience, the vlogger still chooses which comments to respond to and how to frame them. In many ways, they are able to position not only

themselves in relation to different members of the audience, but also to position audience members in relation to each other.

Frobenius (2014: 64) discusses an example where a vlogger has gained a number of new followers and in discussing this, she splits her audience into three parts and positions them in various ways. She first addresses her regular followers and positions them on her own side with the phrase *let's talk to the new people*, her newer followers. To these new followers, she talks about a third group of viewers, people who have left negative comments on her videos (*people lolling all over the place*). The vlogger establishes three groups: we, as in the vlogger and her regular following who are doing the talking, the new followers, who are being addressed, and *people lolling,* who are being condemned and talked about in third person.

> By assigning participant roles only to people who somehow abide by the vloggers rules, and leaving others unaddressed and only talked about, out of the in-group 'we', vloggers can construct the illusion that the viewers included in the in-group agree with the speaker, while the out-group does not say anything in their defense. (Frobenius 2014: 65)

In other words, involvement strategies typical to vlog monologues may also function as positioning devices to the vlogger's evaluations. In this example, the vlogger evaluates a certain category of viewers negatively, and positions her attitude as the accepted norm, shared by the addressed audience.

As this thesis attempts to uncover how English is used in expressing attitudes and in positioning them, audience design becomes an important aspect of the vlog genre for two reasons. Firstly, there is the question of whether code-switching between Finnish and English counts as a style shift. If it does, is the vlogger addressing a particular part of the audience when switching into English? Or is using English for particular functions in itself a *characteristic* of a style – for example, the style of young, urban Finns? Secondly, vlog monologues are designed to prompt interaction from their future audiences, which is interesting in the light of the appraisal framework's future engagement. As discussed in section 2.2.3, speakers position their evaluations onto the dialogic field when they acknowledge the existence of other attitudes. In vlogs, the speaker may position themselves in relation to other vloggers' attitudes (past engagement) as well as in relation to the responses they anticipate

to receive from their viewers (future engagement). Vlogs not only anticipate future reactions, they explicitly ask for them.

2.4.2 Bricolage: Network of evaluations

The second characteristic of Youtube vlogs that is worth discussing is their interconnectivity – their place amidst a network of texts. Each page in Youtube makes up a collage of various people's content. As a social media, Youtube emphasizes social connections and the presence of other people, and vloggers acknowledge this presence while crafting their content. On a smaller level, many individual Youtube videos are collages of small snippets, scenes and cuts, where a cacophony of voices, images and references are combined to make a point. BRICOLAGE originally refers to a type of creative process comparable to improvised collage-making: 'selecting the fragments or left-overs of previous cultural formations and re-deploying them in new combinations' (Johnson 2012: 355). Hautakangas (2008: 21) discusses bricolage in the internet and in Youtube, noting how the very act of retrieving information from the internet is in itself an act of bricolage, a recombination of pieces from several sources. Most importantly for the current topic, however, is the collage of videos evaluating the same topic, and whose attitudes combine to form the collective opinion towards that topic.

Hartley (2008: 19–35) discusses a shift that has taken place gradually through the ages, down what he calls the VALUE CHAIN OF MEANING. Before knowledge and information was as readily available to the common public as it is now, meaning was considered to reside in the author. Authorial intent was what mattered, and only by considering what a text was originally meant to say did it gain its meaning. Later, when the public learned to read, meaning was thought to reside in the text itself. Authorial intent mattered less than what the text actually managed to say, and this meaning was only available through critical reading and literary analysis. Only those who knew *how* to read reached the true meaning of a text. And finally, in post-modern times, Hartley observed the tendency to find meaning no longer in the text itself, but in its reader and receiver, and their individual reading experience. The meaning and "truth" of a text rested in its reception, and only its audience could

decide and form its ever-changing value. From this perspective, the ability to not only read but to write one's own interpretation of what was just read became important (2008: 26–7).

While these three types of reading do co-exist, and one can find examples of all three even in Youtube, the latter point of view, 'the active audience tradition' (Hartley 2008: 11), is very much trending online. Youtube, after all, emphasizes individuality and broadcasting one's opinions to the world. The discussion around a common topic and its significance *create* its significance, and in a way, become an extension to the original topic (Hautakangas 2008: 22). This multi-faceted, prismatic extension of networked opinions can then be used to 'gauge the opinion climate around a particular issue, which then influences the viewers' own opinions, or at least their willingness to express those opinions' (Walther & Jang 2012: 7–9). Evaluations and attitudes towards anything *matter* and have an effect on what they evaluate, if this perspective is taken.

This atmosphere causes vloggers to routinely position their attitudes and views in relation to other Youtubers and what has been said or will be said, which makes engagement a worthwhile subject to explore in this genre. Furthermore, the value placed on regular people's opinions in this genre gives vlogs powerful influence on shared norms and values. This effect may be especially strong on young audiences, as they have been observed to consume less broadcast media – whose messages and values are at least somewhat monitored – in favour of streamlined choose-your-own media platforms (Sweney 2017), where they may gravitate towards more radical messages and influencers.

2.4.3 Authenticity: The relatable and real creator

In a spectacularly self-aware video essay, Youtuber Lindsay Ellis (2018) discusses how Youtube is 'the medium of authenticity,' and moves on to explain, and demonstrate, how most of that authenticity is, in fact, manufactured. The 'reality' that Youtube promises its viewers is exactly what Hartley (2008: 26) describes as the characteristic creative form of the postmodern era: 'factual and fictional performance that promise some element of transparency, universality, participation, and interactivity

with the audience.' There is a sense that Youtube offers the viewer something more 'real' as it 'strips away the polished façade of television' (Ellis 2018: 7:10).

There are three strategies of building an authentic image that appear relevant to the topic of this thesis. Firstly, the linguistic choices to signal a casual, everyday context and atmosphere. Secondly, the linguistic choices to signal membership of the same group as your viewers. And thirdly, the linguistic choices to express sincere emotions.

Tolson (2010) studies how vloggers construct a rhetorical authenticity in their videos and turn their 'ordinariness' into a selling point. The linguistic strategies he mentions for doing so include the use one's regional accent, colloquial phrases, spontaneous interjections, and inventive expressions of personal feeling (2010: 281). Furthermore, even when the finished vlog video is carefully edited and polished, minor flaws such as stumbling over one's words or having difficulty with pronunciation are often left in, as this appears more natural, casual, and authentic than speech that is fully polished and articulate.

In Finland, as mentioned before, mixing and switching to English is seen as a feature of casual and colloquial everyday speech, especially among young people. Vloggers may wish to add (or leave) this flavour into their speech in order to appear similar and relatable to the audience, and thus gain their favour. It has been noted that on websites where, for example, restaurants or professors are rated, ingroup similarity between readers and writers has powerful persuasive potential (Walther & Jang 2012: 7). The same is most likely true also between viewers and vloggers. Evaluations made by in-group people who the viewer identifies with affect the viewer's judgement more powerfully than evaluations by people they consider as belonging to other groups. Therefore, by emphasizing ingroup solidarity with their audience, vloggers position their attitudes as more palatable and more easily approved.

On her video essay, Ellis (2018) makes a compelling argument that what Youtubers actually sell is the affect their videos evoke – an emotional response that the audience comes back to re-

experience. She argues this is a form of emotional labour, a term coined by Hochschild (1983), and that more discussion should be directed at 'the emotional burden of maintaining the affect associated with the creator's brand' (Ellis 2018: 27:05). According to Ellis (2018: 28:55) and Tolson (2010), it is important for influencers that the audience thinks they know them, and find them accessible and authentic.

> The premium of authenticity is predicated on maintaining that the affect is convincing. The challenge for creators is to maintain the illusion for their followers of feeling like they *do* know this creator, when in reality, they only know the *affect,* the construct, the side of the creator that the creator – most likely without their making a conscious decision to do so – has decided it is most beneficial for you, the audience, to see.
>
> (Ellis 2018: 29:06–29:30)

Considering what was discussed in section 2.3.2, where it was noted that one's first language is more closely connected to ones emotions, I would hypothesize that in a genre that places this much value on authenticity and sincere emotional expression, there is a division of labour between the two languages based on the factor of (in)sincerity.

To sum up the section of Youtube vlogs as a genre, we can conclude that Youtubers and their viewers are tightly knit together, as vloggers think of their audience while creating their content, prompt the viewers to engage in dialogue, let others build on and reshape the meaning of the original vlog, and frame themselves as relatable, casual, and authentic through various means, including linguistic choices. In a sense, there are three levels to consider when voicing one's attitudes on a Youtube video: the individual level, where the creator crafts their content and identity, the one-to-one level, where the creator attempts to create (the illusion of) a personal and intimate bond with their viewer, and the collective level, where the creator utilizes and acknowledges other people's attitudes and contributions to the same and related topics.

3 PRESENT STUDY

The study at hand is a qualitative sociolinguistic study on Finnish-English code-switching. Using discourse analysis and the framework of appraisal theory, this thesis aims to demonstrate how young Finns utilize these two languages in expressing attitudes on their Youtube vlogs. In other words, the focus is on the concrete realisations and interpersonal functions of code-switching in this specific genre and demographic.

3.1 Research questions

1. How do young Finns use English to **express attitudes** in their Youtube vlogs?
2. How do young Finns use English to **position their attitudes** in relation to others' attitudes in their Youtube vlogs?

3.2 Data set

The data for this study consists of roughly 5 hours of spoken material from 7 Finnish Youtubers in total (Table 2). These Youtubers were chosen from the top ten most viewed and subscribed Finnish vloggers listed on the site *Vlogit.fi* at the time of data collection, in April–June 2019. Roughly 45 minutes of material per person was originally collected from all top ten vloggers who create their content in Finnish. However, as three of these ten vloggers appeared to use English minimally or not at all, focus was redirected to the seven remaining ones who do. This exclusion was done because the objective is to explore *how* English is used to express and position attitudes, not *by whom* or *how often*. That being said, all three excluded vloggers (Herbalisti, eeddspeaks, and ZoneVD) were over 25 years of age, and one specialized in more educational, essay-like content than the rest. How factors of age and the subgenre of vlog content affect code-switching and appraisal could potentially be explored in further studies.

The material was collected from popular vloggers because their linguistic habits have a larger audience to influence, and popular vloggers tend to be more conscious of their audience, acknowledging its size and their own impact, at least when interviewed (Puukka 2019). For these

reasons, the appraisal and engagement strategies these vloggers use can be argued to be, if not more calculated, at least more significant in terms of their reach.

Youtube channel	**Name**	**Code used**	**Number of videos**	**Duration (h)**
Roni Back	Roni Bäck	RB	4	0:48:09
mmiisas	Miisa Rotola-Pukkila	MM	4	0:45:02
Deata	Mikael Hertell	D	4	0:47:23
Pinkku Pinsku	Pinja Sanaksenaho	PP	4	0:45:16
mariieveronica	Veronica Verho	MV	3	0:43:53
Tume	Tuomas Kukkonen	T	5	0:44:17
MiskaMH	Miska Haakana	MH	3	0:41:08
Total			**27**	**5:15:08**

Table 2: *Vloggers*

All vloggers in the data set are native Finnish speakers. Their ages range from 16 to 25 at the time of data collection (born 1993–2002), with vlogger PP as the youngest at 16 and the others at 21–25. All of these vloggers have gained recognition and appearances in some of the more traditional forms of media, including television, radio, and film. Several have received awards for their efforts and have been placed high on listings of the most influential media personas in Finland (Seppälä 2019), as well as listings of the most financially successful media personas in Finland (Hallamaa 2019). Many of these vloggers' channels also include guest appearances from well-known Finnish celebrities, which is telling of their reach in terms of professional social circles and contacts.

A list of the videos selected can be found in the appendix. These specific videos were chosen manually, starting from the newest content at the time of collection, and searching mainly for vlogs where the speaker discusses a topic alone in front of the camera. These include *My Day* videos, which follow the speaker throughout their day, *FAQ* videos where the speaker answers questions received from the audience, *challenge* videos where the speaker has to showcase old pictures or diaries, and so on. Evaluation is present in virtually all natural language, and code-switching occurred in most content made by these vloggers, so the topics or subgenres of vlogs were not filtered further.

Videos where the vlogger appears together with a guest or a collaborator, however, were excluded: it was suspected that the interpersonal relations between the two speakers would arguably take the main linguistic stage on such videos and would thus outweigh the vlogger-audience relations we are interested in. This criterion caused the selection of videos collected from speaker D to include older material than what was collected from the other speakers, as this vlogger appears to rarely do whole videos alone. By extension, shorter clips in otherwise single-speaker videos where a vlogger speaks to another person on-screen, on the phone, etc., were treated as special cases, acknowledging that code-switches in these instances may instead signal something about the familiarity and other attributes of that specific relationship, of which the analyst can only theorize.

That being said, boundaries drawn on what qualifies as 'speaking alone to the audience' versus 'speaking to another person' are blurry, as vloggers include the conversations they have with other people on their videos intentionally, *intending* that the audience overhear them. Furthermore, many popular vloggers who *appear* to speak alone in their videos do have a production team, of whom someone may be behind the camera or otherwise involved in the situation, and which at times is made explicit only when the vlogger addresses the said person. Code-switches that were addressed to other people were mostly excluded, acknowledging however that the setup leads to some instances which address both the people in the room as well as the audience online.

3.3 Methods

All English material in the videos was transcribed, along with its surrounding context. This includes also English items that were morpho-phonologically assimilated to the surrounding Finnish material, as stated earlier in chapter 2. Code-switches that consisted of single lexical items were compared with the KOTUS online dictionary of standard Finnish (Kielitoimiston Sanakirja 2020), and items recorded in the dictionary were marked as established loanwords and thus excluded from the data. Proper nouns such as brand and product names were also excluded.

Passages where code-switching occurred were analysed with the help of Martin & White's (2005) appraisal theory, with a top-down approach comparable to discourse analysis. *Passage* here refers to a section of speech comparable to a paragraph in written text, that is coherent in form and discusses a single topic. Starting from the overall title and theme of the video, the main arguments of the videos were recognized, and passages marked for code-switching were analysed in terms of their relation to these main arguments. The central topic and proposition of the passage was recognized as well as the attitude(s) towards this proposition, and a similar approach was taken on sentence level in the utterances where English occurred. The type of evaluation and positioning present in the code-switched utterance was then compared to the surrounding evaluations in the passage.

English items were listed into a table in a way that includes both the actual realisation and the basic form of the word or phrase used, in order to keep track of what types of items were repeated most frequently in the data. For example, all the inflected forms *pränkki, pränkin*, *pränkistä* were catalogued under the item *prank.*

Where evaluation occurred together with code-switching, the source of evaluation (who), the target being evaluated (who or what), and the subtype of evaluation (affect, judgement, appreciation) were analysed. Whether the evaluation was negative or positive was also marked. To analyse engagement, notes were made of any visible positioning strategies (proclaiming, disclaiming, entertaining, attributing). Notes were taken on Finnish evaluative material, as well, where it appeared to be in contrast with the English material or appeared to otherwise shed light to the analysis.

As Martin & White (2005: 62) remind, analysis made on evaluation, save for the cases where attitudinal lexis 'tells us directly how to feel,' relies on the individual reading and interpretation of the analyst, and therefore, it is important to acknowledge that this analysis, too, is simply one of many possible interpretations. Furthermore, this reading is socially positioned according to the analyst's background, which, in this case, refers to the reading of a native Finnish student of linguistics, in a similar age range as the speakers.

4 ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will demonstrate how evaluative code-switching occurs in the current data set, while attempting to answer the research questions with the help of examples picked from the data. To recapitulate, the questions addressed are the following:

1. How do young Finns use English to express attitudes in their Youtube vlogs?
2. How do young Finns use English to position their attitudes in relation to others' attitudes in their Youtube vlogs?

4.1 General overview

Quantitatively, English material makes up only a small fraction of the linguistic material in the Youtube vlogs discussed. In other words, the L2 plays a minor role and performs specific functions next to the L1. With regards to structure, code-switches consist of English lexemes embedded in Finnish sentences, as well as English phrases and sentences embedded in otherwise Finnish passages. Some items have undergone morphophonological assimilation, especially single lexical items, while others retain their English form and pronunciation. Lexical switches appear to be more common, save for one speaker (D), who favours switching with whole phrases and sentences over single words, and also uses phrase and sentence switches more than the others.

In terms of position, phrase and sentence switches tend to appear at the sentence border, while noun, verb, and adjective switches retain the place their Finnish counterpart would take in a sentence. There also appears to be a discourse-related tendency to place English phrases at the end of a segment, to "provide a climax" via a summarizing remark – similarly to Pahta & Taavitsainen's (2010: 8–9) findings in magazine texts. Often this transition from one segment to the next is also accompanied by a visible cut in the video. In the transcripts, cuts are marked with two slashes (//). A further transcription key can be found in the appendix.

To give a rough sense of size, there are 410 code-switches to English in the whole data set. This number refers to the act of switching itself, not to the size of the English item that follows. With such

a small data set, quantitative results are not reliable and will therefore not be pursued, and any numbers given below should be considered merely illustrative. Table 3 and Figure 3 below illustrate the distribution of switches between the speakers.

Speaker	Material collected	Switches	%
RB	48:09 min	28	7
MM	45:02 min	21	5
D	47:23 min	83	20
PP	45:16 min	97	24
MV	43:53 min	35	9
T	44:17 min	83	20
MH	41:08 min	63	15
Total	**5:15:08 h**	**410**	**100**

Table 3: *Distribution of switches*

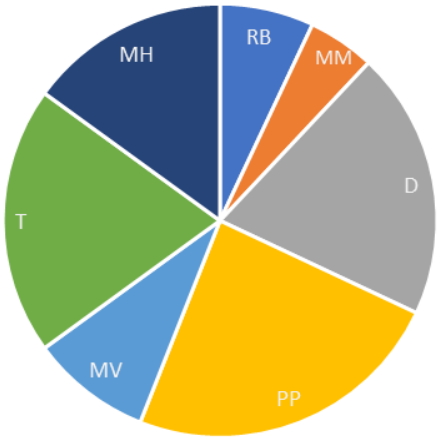

Figure 1: *Distribution of switches*

These rates are affected by factors such as whether speakers switch for multiple single words or for longer stretches at a time, which raise and lower the rate, respectively. Other factors include one's natural pace of speech, any edits made to it, as well as how many silent scenes are included in the videos. For a more accurate account of how much English versus Finnish occurs in spoken material, word counts could be utilized. Doing so, however, is outside the scope of this study. However, dividing the number of switches with the amount of material in minutes tells us that a switch occurs, on average, 1,3 times per minute (with the individual speakers ranging from 0,5 switches per minute to 2,1 switches per minute). These rates demonstrate the constant lingering presence of English on these videos, which indicates the vloggers expect their audience to understand the L2.

To illustrate items that were most widespread in the data, the ten most frequently occurring items that were used by at least two speakers are listed in Table 4 below. Items with small variations were counted under the same category (variations shown in parentheses), and intensifiers (such as the expletives *fucking* and *hell*) were counted separately of their context, as they were found inside

various different constructions. Items that reached the status of ten most frequent by virtue of a single speaker were deemed not worth mentioning here because they were nouns whose high count reflected only their status as the topic of the video (*prank* in an April Fool's video*, contour* in a make-up tutorial, and *airpods* in a product review). Only 24 items out of the total 230 were used by more than one speaker.

#	Code-switch	RB	MM	D	PP	MV	T	MH	Total	Speakers using
1	oh (my) (fucking) god	2		12	8	2			**24**	4
2	fucking			4	7				**11**	2
3	oh (hell) no			2	1	5		2	**10**	4
4	woah / wow	1		3			2	4	**10**	4
5	my week / my day		1		2		4		**7**	3
6	what the fuck (man)			1	5			1	**7**	3
7	(oh) yeah				2			5	**7**	2
8	description			2			4		**6**	2
9	nice						1	5	**6**	2
10	plan			1	1		1	2	**5**	4

Table 4: *Most frequent code-switches, used by min 2 speakers*

As we can see here, most of the top ten items are expletives and interjections, ambiguous as to the type of evaluation they represent outside of their context of occurrence. *Oh my god, woah* and *what the fuck* can highlight and emphasize both negative and positive attitudes of various types. While *oh no* and *oh yeah* have a clear negative and positive orientation, respectively, they provide no clues as to whether they evaluate behaviour, things, or simply express an emotional reaction, if the surrounding material does not specify the outburst. Martin & White (2005: 69) suggest we should treat interjections like these as 'outbursts of evaluation which are underspecified as far as type of attitude is concerned,' but these items can hardly be dismissed so easily in a context where the speakers have two languages at their disposal, and each of these items is available in Finnish, as well. There must be a reason for the switch.

The remaining items on the list are Youtube-specific vocabulary such as *my day* and *my week* (which were counted in the same category, as these diary videos differ only in the timespan covered

in the video), and *description,* which refers to the text beneath the Youtube video, where the vlogger often adds links to whichever material they are promoting or discussing. These lexical items serve to construct the vlogger's identity as a knowledgeable member of the Youtube community, and are not inherently evaluative.

And finally, the noun *plan* appears to be used in very much the same sense as the Finnish *suunnitelma,* aside from the tone of relaxed informality that the Finnish word lacks as the neutral default option. *Plan* is fully assimilated into the matrix language as *plääni, pläänинä, pläänеissä*, is used to refer to both short-term and long-term plans, and both to Youtube-specific and other plans.

This section has given an overview of the data set at large, of the distribution of code-switches between the speakers, and of its most widespread English items. This was done in order to illustrate, at the most basic level, how vloggers use English on their videos. In the following sections, we will look further into how English is utilized in the data to portray specific subtypes of attitudes, and specific subtypes of engagement.

4.2 Expressing attitudes

Most, but not all instances of code-switching in the data have an evaluative effect. A code-switch qualifies as evaluative when it occurs in a sentence with evaluative material (Baumgarten & Du Bois 2012: 48). Non-evaluative code-switches in the data consist mostly of discourse markers (*alright, let's go*) and Youtube-specific terminology *(my week* video, *meet & greet* fan meeting, *description*). Some other non-evaluative instances include English texts or titles which the speaker reads aloud, plus a few instances where a language item itself is the topic and object of evaluation (how to pronounce *burger king*, and how to reply to the query of *Hi, how are you* in the US).

With regards to the evaluative code-switches, then, there appears to be no significant tendency to favour one attitude subtype over the others (affect, judgement, or appreciation). This was to be expected in a data set of this size. The use of English appears not to correlate with positive or negative

evaluations, either, at least in a straightforward manner, as both are expressed in both languages by all speakers.

However, that is not to say that no patterns emerge from the data. Perhaps the main argument of this thesis is as follows. English, as the language of the media, is for young Finns associated with the notions of leisure and having fun, and this association, together with the notions of Pavlenko (2008) on the weaker emotional links between a speaker and their L2, results in a situation where Finns have the option of contextualizing their evaluations as 'fun' and 'not personal' through using English. This intensity-shift holds implications both for the expression and positioning of attitudes. We will first look into how English is used to express negative and positive attitudes, and then discuss what effects this language choice has for the different positioning strategies.

4.2.1 Negative attitudes

In this section, I will give examples on how a negative attitude of each subtype (affect, judgement, and appreciation) has been expressed in the data. To begin with, example (1) below comes from a *my day* video, a diary video where the speaker carries a camera with her throughout her day, narrating the schedule and events of her day. The video title translates to 'Artist's pass at the Linnanmäki amusement park,' drawing attention to the main event of her day, which is a *meet & greet* fan meeting on the stage of the popular amusement park in Helsinki. In the morning before her show, the vlogger struggles to choose her outfit and expresses her frustration.

(1) Mul on aivan järkyttävä vaatekriisi jo valmiiks. Mä tiedän mitkä housut mä laitan, mut paidasta ja yläosast ei mitään hajuu, koska mä meen illalla viettämään aikaa puistoon, ni tulee kylmä, mut nytten, tuol on lämmin! Joten, **I have no fucking idea** mitä vitsiä mä puen! //

(1) 'I have a totally outrageous clothes crisis already. I know which pants I'm gonna wear, but about the shirt and top (I have) no idea, because I'm going to spend time at the park in the evening, so it'll get cold, but right now, it's warm out there! So, **I have no fucking idea** what the heck I'm going to wear!' //

(PP1: *ARTISTIPASSI LINTSILLÄ*, 2019: 2:02–2:17)

Both the Finnish evaluation (*aivan järkyttävä vaatekriisi, 'a totally outrageous clothes crisis'*) and the English code-switch (*I have no fucking idea*) express the same negative affect: frustration, a mild form of anger. The expletive used in English (*fucking*) is strikingly coarse compared to the latter part of the sentence, where she chooses to use the family-friendly *mitä vitsiä, 'what the heck,'* instead of harsher alternatives. In fact, this vlogger appears to curse only in English in these videos, and favours especially the word *fuck* in its various forms. Referring back to how curses of one's native language are more tightly connected to one's emotions and therefore feel more intense (Pavlenko 2008: 157), it follows that L2 expletives would be used in a more casual and exaggerated manner, without feeling a similar rise in their impact.

It is possible that the vlogger is using the 'fun' and 'casual' tone of English to make fun of her own frustration (negative affect), framing it as something light-hearted and not to be taken too seriously, as the problem of choosing an outfit is a relatively minor one. This is certainly the case in the next example, which comes from vlogger MM's video where she lists her bad habits. One of them is her tendency to get annoyed easily, even over insignificant things, which sometimes prompts her *to rage* at her boyfriend.

(2) Tätä seuraavaa ei musta ehkä uskois koska mä oon aika positiivinen ihminen, mut mä ärsyynnyn ihan todella helposti. // Mä ärsyynnyn ihmisistä, mä ärsyynnyn… ihan, mitättömistä asioista, ja ja mä Tomaksellekin saatan jostain asioista ra – oikeen **ragettaa**! – silleen kunnolla, ja se on sillee – [Frown.] – et ”Ota iisisti et eihän toi, eihän toi oo mikään iso juttu”, mut… jos ärsyttää ni sit vaan ärsyttää. Ja, esimerkiks, jotkut ihmiset. Saattaa ärsyttää mua todella paljon. Ja mä oon ihan sillee [Gritting teeth:] ”Mä en mä en pysty, toi ihminen on niin ärsyttävä!” //

(2) 'This next one you maybe wouldn't believe of me because I am a pretty positive person, but I get annoyed really really easily. // I get annoyed over people, I get annoyed over… totally, insignificant things, and and over some things I might ra – like properly **rage**! – at Tomas, and he's like – [Frown.] – like "Take it easy that's not, it's not that big of a deal," but… if you're annoyed then you just are annoyed. And, for example, some people. May annoy me so much. And I'm all like, [Gritting teeth:] "I ca— I can't, that person is so annoying!"' //

(MM3: *ÄRSYTTÄVIEN IHMISTEN STALKKAAMINEN! | Mun huonot tavat,* 2019: 5:59–6:33)

In the first example, the code-switch occurred in the last sentence of this segment, before a cut in the video, recapitulating a point the vlogger had already made in Finnish (*ei mitään hajuu*). The code-

switch therefore served as a concluding remark, highlighting the main point of the passage. In example (2), however, the topic of being annoyed is repeated in various ways in both languages, and the English item is not the concluding one. It rather appears that the description the vlogger gives of herself *raging*, which involves her flailing her arms and acting out the scene, is the high point of dramatic tension in this passage, which is then immediately contrasted with her boyfriends laid-back attitude. The speaker is also smiling faintly during the code-switch, unlike while delivering the rest of the passage, which supports the conclusion that she is framing her outburst of anger as something ridiculous. When her anger is understood through the English emotional script of *raging* instead of the Finnish equivalent *raivota*, it is perhaps associated with media portrayals of anger instead of real-life ones. Not to mention the possible context of the humorous 'rage comic' genre which she might be drawing on.

Next, focus will be directed to expressions of negative judgement. Examples (3–5) come from a vlogger who, on several of his videos, evaluates himself and his behaviour as somewhat 'abnormal' or 'weird', turning it into the topic of self-deprecating jokes. These evaluations qualify as examples of negative judgement, focused on the social esteem of normality. In example (3) below, the vlogger sits in his car outside a Burger King drive-through, and while waiting for his rather unusual order, anticipates how his girlfriend will react to it. This turns into a general reflection on the quality of his videos as well as his own behaviour in creating this content, referring to his past videos in the process.

(3) Mä vannon et nää mun videot menee vaan niinku tyhmemmäst tyhmempään suuntaan et eka kissat saa päättää minkä raapimispuun ne haluu ja sit me mennään tekee Fortnite Glideril tommost ja nyt mä oon jossain Burger Kingis tilaas viittäkymment pihviä hampurilaisee. **Not normal, guys.** //

(3) 'I swear that these videos of mine just go into a more and more stupid direction like first the cats get to decide which scratching tree they want and then we go do that stuff with the Fortnite Glider and now I'm in some Burger King ordering fifty steaks to a hamburger. **Not normal, guys.**' //

(D2: *TILASIN HAMPURILAISEN 50 LISÄPIHVILLÄ!* 2018: 5:07–5:20)

A similar dilemma is discussed in example (4) below, which comes from one of the several make-a-song challenges on the vlogger's channel. In the video, the vlogger places his pet snake onto a musical

instrument, and uses the melodies the snake's movements create as the building blocks for a new song.

(4) Mä en tiedä miten mä kommentoisin tätä et niinku jos mä kertosin jolleki muille et minkälaisii videoit mä teen, // **How do you explain this?** //

(4) 'I don't know how to comment on this like if I would tell some other people what kinds of videos I make, // **How do you explain this?**' //

(D1: *MUN KURISTAJAKÄÄRME TEKI BIISIN!* 2019: 8:04–8:10)

Both of these passages construct the evaluation of 'weirdness,' and in both cases, the code-switches appear to be orient the passage or discussion more strongly towards the audience. In example (3), the vlogger addresses the viewers (*guys*) while summarizing and highlighting his judgement of abnormality with the switch. Had this been done in Finnish, both the judgement and his concern would likely appear more serious, while the reference to viewers would still build solidarity. Vlogger D does mention normality, weirdness, and being bullied for standing out quite often in his videos in Finnish, as well. Such mentions can be light-hearted and passing, too, but whenever the topic is discussed at length, the vlogger appears to do so in his L1. In comparison, these mentions in English appear to be done for the sake of humour, not to make a serious point.

In example (4), a further interesting point is how the speaker appears to subtly differentiate his viewers from people to whom explaining his videos would be difficult (*jolleki muille, 'to some other people'*), and his question with the generic *you* places both himself and the audience into the same position (*How do you explain this?*), as the question can be understood both as a rhetorical one and as a request for suggestions on how to explain his behaviour in 'normal terms.' In this sense, he constructs a group of people who misunderstand and judge him, and a group more sympathetic to his concerns and actions, positioning his followers in the latter. Although these evaluations can be interpreted as targeting his videos, which would qualify them as examples of negative appreciation, not judgement, the focus is still rather on how the content reflects on him as a person and how the recordings of his 'weird' behaviour would make 'some other people' misunderstand and judge him.

Moving on to negative appreciation, example (5) comes from a video where speaker D discovers what the surfaces in his house look like under a black light, i.e. an ultraviolet lamp. He mentions he has just recently cleaned the house thoroughly, and wants to inspect the quality of his job under the black light.

(5) Joten nyt me mennään pahimpaan eli vessanpönttöön. Jos järkytyt helposti tai ällöönnyt helposti ni nyt kannattaa kattoo poispäin koska… [Looks at the wall.] <Hyi vi**u tää vessa näyttää ihan kauheelt> vaik mä oon just pessy nää seinät. //
[Moves lamp next to toilet seat.] **Oh that's disgusting ohh my god** // mun pitää polttaa koko talo alas. // [Clip of a house on fire, police sirens on the background.] // Hei tää on yllättävän puhdas. [Moves lamp closer.] Eeeei ookkaan, olin väärässä. // **[**Scanning the walls.] **Ohh my God. So fucking gross.** //

(5) 'So now we'll move on to the worst (part), the toilet seat. If you get shocked easily or disgusted easily you're better off looking the other way now because… [Looks at the wall.] <Ew fuck this toilet looks horrible> even though I've just cleaned these walls.//
[Moves lamp next to toilet seat.] **Oh that's disgusting ohh my God.** I have to burn the whole house down. // [Clip of a house on fire.] // Hey this is surprisingly clean. [Moves lamp closer.] Nooo it's not, I was wrong. // [Scanning the walls.] **Ohh my God. So fucking gross**.' //

(D3: *DEATAN KOTI ON ÄLLÖ | ÄLÄ IKINÄ TEE TÄTÄ KOTONA!* 2019, 6:02–6:32)

These strong expressions of disgust, as emotional reactions evoked by the quality of something, qualify as a combination of appreciation and affect (Martin & White 2005: 61). Similar expressions of disgust in the L2 permeate all sections of the video that have been recorded under the black light (*oh my god, oh no, ew ew ew,* and *that is so gross*, to name a few). They are accompanied with similar expressions in Finnish (*hyi miten ällöä, tää on vaan niin ällöttävää*), and both are delivered in a highly expressive tone of voice. What is interesting in these instances is how the English reactions appear to come first*,* directly in response to what the vlogger is seeing. Such a fast and emotive reaction is surprising if we are to consider English in this context as a language that has no direct connection to one's emotions.

As mentioned before, 51% of frequently code-switching young Finns reported using English for 'expressing negative feelings' (Leppänen et al. 2011: 114). As demonstrated here, these vloggers are no different. English is used to express both negative affect, judgement, and appreciation. It can be used to make light of the negative attitude, and to highlight and emphasize the evaluation as

important and central to the passage, raising the dramatic tension of the passage. These functions can also co-exist. We also touched on how the code-switches can build solidarity with the audience and how they can occur as the first reaction to a situation. If we consider that English as the L2 functions to lower the emotional intensity the speakers feel when uttering (and listeners while hearing) these attitudes, it may be easier and safer to express negative feelings in this language. Finnish, in turn, is utilized for more sincere negative evaluations. The use of English signals that the topic, and the value position held for or against it, are not as serious as they would be in a strictly Finnish passage.

4.2.2 Positive attitudes

In this section, examples of how positive affect, judgement, and appreciation were expressed in the data will be examined. Some of these examples qualify for multiple categories simultaneously. Firstly, example (6) comes from a *get ready with me* video, a type of make-up video where the audience is invited to spend time with the vlogger as she does her make-up and talks about her upcoming plans. These videos are not meant to be followed step-by-step as make-up tutorials are, but the vlogger often discusses her own preferences, tips, and habits with regards to make-up.

(6) Sit mä otan taas Revolutionin paletin, täs on tämmösiä kiiltäviä poskipunia, mä oon ihan rakastunu tähän palettiin. Mä aluks olin sillee – [Sucks air through teeth.] – "Emmä oikeen tiiä", mut nyt mä oon ihan sillee **in love**. //

(6) 'Then I'll take the Revolution palette again, it has these shimmery blushers, I'm completely in love with this palette. At first I was like – [Sucks air through teeth.] – "I dunno," but now I'm completely like **in love**.' //

(PP4: *VALMISTAUTUMINEN MIITTIIN,* 2019: 10:36–10:46)

Here the vlogger voices positive affect (happiness, love) towards a make-up palette. The focus is on her feelings using the palette, rather than on the attributes of the palette. The code-switch repeats a sentiment that is first made in Finnish and highlights it. A contrast is also created between her past and present attitudes through the switch. In this case, Finnish is assigned the part of the past sceptic, while English is used to voice the more enthusiastic present-day reaction. This role assignment does not, however, hold in the rest of the text, as is evident from how Finnish is also used for expressions

of ‘love.’ In the rest of the video, things she expresses love for in Finnish include Youtuber Tana Paul’s make-up videos, the *get ready with me* genre in general, and recording videos home alone. In the code-switch instance, it is perhaps the presence of two opposing attitudes that both come from the same source (herself), and the fact that she has already mentioned ‘being in love’ in one language, which prompts the switch.

Secondly, example (7) comes from a video where vlogger MM lists her ‘weirdest encounters with followers.’ She is quick to soften the initial judgement of the title by explaining these stories are simply the most memorable ones, and not necessarily unpleasant. In her introduction to the video, the vlogger explains she had received stories from her followers of times when they had recognized or met her, and after gaining this insight on how her followers see her, she wanted to reciprocate by sharing some of her own memories of meeting fans. The following transcript is taken from a longer passage which discusses situations where fans have started crying upon seeing or hugging the vlogger. She approaches this topic carefully on a more general and expository level before telling the story of one particular follower, whose reaction had been to bawl to the extent that the vlogger had managed to speak only with the follower’s parents, not with the actual follower.

(7) Ja noi itkutilanteet on täysin **fine**, mi-mi-mitäpä sitä omille tunteilleen mahtaa, mutta… ne on mulle vaan sellasii hetkiä et sillon en kyllä oikein tiedä et mitä pitäis sanoo. Koska, jotenki, tuntuu et pitäis vähän niinku lohduttaa, mut sit ku ei hän oo surullinen ku hän itkee, vaan hän on niin iloinen, ja sit mä yleensä vaan niinku halaan ja oon silleen et hei – [Points twice.] – **You rock. All good.** Ja näi eespäi... Kuulostipa **smoothilta**.

(7) ’And those crying situations are totally **fine,** w—wh—what can you do about your own emotions, after all, but… for me, they’re the kinds of moments when I really don’t know what I should say. Because, somehow, it feels like (I) should like comfort (them) a bit, but they’re not sad while crying, they’re just so happy, and then I usually just like hug (them) and be like hey – [Points twice.] – **You rock. All good.** And so on… That sure sounded **smooth**.’

(MM4: *OUDOIMMAT KOHTAAMISET SEURAAJIEN KANSSA | mukbang*, 2019: 8:45–9:16)

This example is an interplay of affect and judgement, where emotions and the social rules of proper behaviour are discussed. In the recounted story, a young follower is expressing positive affect in an extreme manner (loud crying) that is very similar to a negative reaction, which leaves the vlogger

confused as to the proper course of action. In her retelling, she is balancing between her own discomfort and with being deliberately careful not to judge her followers' emotional reactions or the situation itself negatively. She assures the audience that these situations and reactions are *fine,* using the word in a similar sense as in the phrase *it's fine,* which can be used to respond to apologies. This comment appears to anticipate and dismiss the potential attitude of the audience that this kind of behaviour would not be considered fine. Therefore, this can be interpreted as the lack of such negative judgement, therefore in effect a positive judgement of normality. Only after this reassurance does the vlogger address her own insecurity (negative affect) over her capability of handling the situation properly (judgement of propriety). The course of action she chooses is to hug and compliment the follower (*you rock*), and to reassure them that no harm was done (*all good*). In other words, both positive affect and positive judgement are offered to the follower, while the vlogger concludes her passage with the ironical remark of how *smooth* her actions were, implying a negative judgement of social capability.

In sum, code-switches are employed in example (7) to express normality and propriety (*fine, all good*), ambiguous positive affect (*you rock*), and social incapability (the ironical *smooth*). The positive attitudes, however, take place in a context which in itself is somewhat unusual, and in which the vlogger has felt slight unease. The contrast of two languages partly emphasizes the duality of the situation. One of the switches also appears to be used to signal a direct quote from her past self, contextualizing the time of occurrence, regardless of which specific words or language she actually used at the time.

In the next example, as well, English takes place in a direct quote. Example (8) comes from the same video as the previous example, and in this passage, vlogger MM is re-enacting a scene where a fan had approached her as she was dining in a restaurant with her family. The fan asks for a picture with the vlogger, to which the vlogger's father (*vitsimiehenä,* 'as a jokester') replies that *he* will agree to a picture instead and gets into a pose next to the girl. The vlogger describes her reaction. (As

the scene includes various gestures, each utterance is placed on its own line in the transcript, with descriptions of the accompanying nonverbal communication.)

(8) Ja oikeesti, mun ilme oli tämä. [Covers eyes with hand.]
Se tyttö oli aivan paniikissa, että kuka tää hullu mies on. [Laugh, inhale.]
Sitte mun piti pelastaa tilanne sillee et 'Noniin iskä, morjes – [Mimes pushing him aside.] – **let me handle this**.
Ja sit otettiin kuvat ja – [Laugh.] – elämä jatkui.
Jos katsot tätä, sinä tyttö, niin toivottavasti et saanut mitään traumoja tästä. //

(8) 'And for real, my expression was this. [Covers eyes with hand.]
The girl was in total panic over who this crazy man is. [Laugh, inhale.]
Then I had to save the situation like "Okay dad, bye – [Mimes pushing him aside.] – **let me handle this.**"
And then we took the pictures and – [Laugh.] – life went on.
If you're watching this, you girl, hopefully you didn't get any traumas out of this.' //

(MM4: *OUDOIMMAT KOHTAAMISET SEURAAJIEN KANSSA | mukbang*, 2016: 3:19–3:34)

In this scene, the vlogger portrays herself as ashamed of her father's behaviour, judging him negatively. The follower is described as expressing confusion, panic, and insecurity, i.e. negative affect. As a contrast, the vlogger then describes herself as the 'saviour' of the situation, who is able to handle the situation effectively and professionally. She switches into English only for the latter part of the quote, so it likely does not function to signal past reference. What is signalled is perhaps a combination of expert identity, often associated with English (Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 367), and the softening of the dismissive behaviour towards her father. Furthermore, as this is a positive judgement of her own capability, the shift to the casual, playful language signals the speaker's low investment in this potentially boastful attitude.

Proceeding to expressions of positive appreciation, we will consider example (9) from speaker D. In the following scene, the vlogger has been sent a pair of headphones for testing and he has just opened the package and is showing the headphones to the camera.

(9) Uu! // Uu-uu! // Siis oikeest, kaikki kuulokkeet nykyään tuntuu et ne kuulostaa ihan samalta. // Yks mitä mä arvostan niin on se miten se on tehty // **Check this out!** // **Holy sh*t** noi näyttää hyvältä. // Niinku, joo, käyttäsin tämmösiä, kyllä, // [Headphones on.] Hauskintahan täs kuitenki on se että oli mulla mitkä kuulokkeet pääs tahansa ni mä näytän silti ihan yhtä

tyhmältä. Testataan ääntä nytte. // [Clip of headphones laying on the table, playing music.] // Ok(h)ei, me voidaan ainaki päätellä tosta, että, // <**it sounds really good**!> //

(9) 'Ooh! // Oo-ooh! // I mean really, all headphones nowadays it seems like they sound exactly the same. // One (thing) that I appreciate is how it's done // **Check this out!** // **Holy sh*t** those look good. // Like, yes, I would wear these, yes, // [Headphones on.] The funniest thing here is, however, that no matter which headphones I wear I'll still look just as stupid. Let's test out the sound now. // [Clip of headphones laying on the table, playing music.] // Ok(h)ay, we can at least deduce from that, that // <**it sounds really good**!>' //

(D2: *TILASIN HAMPURILAISEN 50 LISÄPIHVILLÄ!* 2018: 1:50–2:19)

The speaker is evaluating the headphones based on their appearance, sound, and apparently, how they have been made and how they are presented in the package. Code-switches occur when he draws the audience's attention to the headphones' appearance (*check this out*), intensifies his positive reaction to their appearance (*holy sh*t 'those look good'*), and concludes the passage with a positive evaluation of the overall sound quality (*it sounds really good*).

Technically, the vlogger is evaluating the product as a musician and a gamer, and has explained before the review that he has several pairs of headphones for gaming and making musing, but none for simple casual listening. However, in his evaluations, he offers no explicit criteria nor an expert's perspective as to what exactly makes headphones good or not, save for the remark that apparently most of them differ very little in sound quality. In fact, he rather appears to make the evaluation 'together' with the audience, playing music from the headphones so the audience can hear it, and including the audience in the process of deduction (*'**we** can deduce that' it sounds really good*). The vlogger may be hesitant to distance himself from the audience through signalling expertise. However, it also appears that between the vlogger's energetic exclamations and exaggerated voice quality, he remains somewhat unimpressed, and may be hesitant to express his full opinion. He expresses a rather sceptical attitude towards finding any significant difference between headphones to begin with, makes fun of his appearance while wearing them, and down-shifts the final statement with the phrase '*at least*' ('*we can at least deduce from that that' it sounds really good*). In conclusion, his use of English

emphasizes a positive attitude of appreciation, but in its full context, this tactic reads as somewhat uninvested and insincere.

As we have seen here, English has been be used in the data to highlight positive attitudes, at times contrasting them with surrounding alternative attitudes or with the unusual situation in which they occurred. English has been used to express positive judgement both concerning other people's behaviour and the speaker's own, and to express positive appreciation. By virtue of being more detached from the speakers' emotions, English can be used to portray positive evaluations in a casual and even exaggerated manner even in situations where the speaker is not too invested in the attitude. This can be useful for signalling an attitude that might read as boastful or face-threatening in Finnish. On the flip side, however, there is a risk of appearing insincere. In a genre that values authenticity so much, vloggers have to know the natural, unmarked way of alternating these languages – which attitudes to mark as fun and casual, and which as serious and sincere.

4.3 Positioning attitudes

In the previous sections, we concluded that both positive and negative attitudes of all subtypes are expressed in English in the data set, and analysed what the reasoning might be for using English in connection with these attitudes. In the following sections, we will move on to consider how English affects engagement with alternative attitudes – whether its presence affects how alternative voices are disclaimed, proclaimed, entertained, or attributed. At the end of this section, past and future oriented engagement in the data will also be addressed on a more general level.

Perhaps the clearest examples of positioning and engagement come from vlogger RB, who often discusses pieces of news on his videos that he found interesting. On this particular video, he talks about an April Fool's prank done by the singer Justin Bieber, which received backlash from the public. In explaining the situation, the vlogger acknowledges various points of view, and utilizes all four strategies in positioning his own attitude in relation to these other voices. Throughout the discussion, he alternates between the Finnish and English words for 'prank.' The example has been

divided into three parts (10a–c) to ease the reading and analysis. Positioning strategies are marked in brackets.

(10a) No kuitenkin, kaikista aprillipiloista mediahuomiota sai eniten Justin Bieberin aprilli***pränkki,*** // joka ainakin mun mielest oli tosi harmiton ***pränkki*** *[entertained]* mut jonkun takia monet pahotti siitä mielensä. *[attributed]* //

(10a) 'Well anyway, out of all the April Fool's pranks, the most media attention got Justin Bieber's April Fool's **prank**, // which at least in my opinion was a really harmless **prank** *[entertained]* but for some reason many (people) got upset over it.' *[attributed]* //

(RB1: *NASA maksaa 16500€ jos makaat sängyssä 60 päivää? Justin Bieberin aprillipila sai kritiikkiä!* 2019, 9:23–9:34)

The vlogger begins this passage by referring to all April Fool's pranks in general, using the Finnish word *aprillipila*, and raises Justin Bieber's prank into focus specifically, shifting to the hybrid form *aprillipränkki* in the process. On the first mention, the vlogger pronounces the English *prank* with an approximant /ɹ/, as if lifting the word directly from its foreign context, but on subsequent mentions, the pronunciation assimilates into the Finnish rolled /r/ and loses some of its foreignness. Altogether, it appears that the English *prank* has a more specific reference than the Finnish one and that it differentiates the disputed prank from other pranks.

The vlogger creates an opposition between his own evaluation of the prank as 'harmless' (positive judgement of propriety) and the evaluation held by many that the prank was upsetting and disrespectful (negative affect and judgement of propriety). His own attitude is introduced as simply one possible option ('*in my opinion'*) while the attitude of negative affect is attributed to many, but not all, people aware of the prank. In between clips transcribed in (10a) and (10b), the vlogger explains the prank consisted of three Instagram posts: two where Justin and Halsey Bieber are, allegedly, at the doctor's office for an ultrasound scan, and a third and final one where the finished ultrasound image depicts a puppy instead of a baby.

(10b) Mutta – [Sigh.] – niinku mä sanoin jotkut ihmiset sitte pahotti mielensä tästä ***pränkistä***, sen takia että heidän mielestään tää oli epäkunnioittavaa niitä naisia kohtaan jotka on saanu keskenmenon tai jotka // ei voi saada lapsia, *[attributed]* ja joo, mun mielestä noi kaks asiaa on ihan kamalia että niin voi käydä, *[proclaimed]* // mut ***come on*****!** Pitääkö tommosestaki pikku

pränkistä pahastua aprillipäivänä, *[disclaimed]* sinä yhtenä päivänä kun saa vähän pilailla ja kertoa jotain mikä ei oo totta. *[proclaimed]* //

(10b) 'But – [Sigh.] – like I said, some people then got upset over this **prank**, because in their opinion this was disrespectful towards women who have had miscarriages or who // can't have children, *[attributed]* and yeah, in my opinion those two things are completely horrible that they can happen, *[proclaimed]* // but **come on!** Do you have to get upset over such a small **prank** on April Fool's, *[disclaimed]* the one day when you're allowed to joke around a bit and say something that isn't true.' *[proclaimed]* //

(RB1: *NASA maksaa 16500€ jos makaat sängyssä 60 päivää? Justin Bieberin aprillipila sai kritiikkiä!* 2019, 10:21–10:46)

Before the vlogger even explains why some people considered this prank offensive, he has made his own attitude clear through sighing and distancing this opinion from himself through the phrase 'in their opinion.' While the speaker goes on to proclaim and agree with the negative affect towards the topic of miscarriages in general, the negative affect and judgement that targets the prank are promptly disclaimed. In shifting from the proclamation to the disclamation, the code-switch *come on* occurs, perhaps signalling a change of footing and drawing attention to what the speaker considers the relevant context: 'the one day' when pranking is allowed. He appeals to the general consensus of what April Fool's day is for, framing the prank in question as normal and to be expected in this context. Throughout the sections where he defends the prank as harmless, he refers to it with the English term, which perhaps strengthens the overall stance that the prank should not be interpreted as serious or personal.

In the third and final part of this example, we find another instance of the Finnish and English terms in opposition to one another. In a more general reference to pregnancy-themed pranks, the Finnish *aprillipila* is used, and when this type of prank is framed as frequently occurring and thus judged normal, the word choice turns into the English *prank.*

(10c) Sitä paitsi toi aprillipila että on "raskaana" on varmaan kaikista perinteisin ja yleisin ***pränkki*** mitä ihmiset tekee, *[proclaimed]* // et mäki näin somessa varmaan kymmene ihmistä jotka oli yhtäkkiä raskaana. ***WWHAT,*** ootsä RRASKAANA, aprillipäivänä **whaaa**? *[attributed]* //

(10c) 'Besides, that April Fool's prank that you're "pregnant" is probably the most traditional and common **prank** that people do, *[proclaimed]* // so that I too saw probably ten people on social

> media that were suddenly pregnant. **WWHAT**, are you PREGNANT, on April Fool's **whaaa**?' *[attributed]* //
>
> (RB1: *NASA maksaa 16500€ jos makaat sängyssä 60 päivää? Justin Bieberin aprillipila sai kritiikkiä!* 2019, 10:46–11:00)

To finish this passage, the speaker voices an imagined person reacting in a gullible and surprised manner to this type of prank, implying a negative judgement of the person's capability to detect obvious lies. English perhaps helps signal the start of a quote, but there are various other contextualization cues present as well, including a raised and exaggerated tone of voice, facial expressions, and gestures, that could signal that as well.

To conclude the findings that can be demonstrated through this single example, English occurred in connection with all four positioning strategies: entertaining, attributing, proclaiming, and disclaiming. The speaker appears to contrast the Finnish *pila* with the English-derived *pränkki* in terms of general versus specific, and in terms of neutral versus evaluated. The evaluation that *pränkki* appears to contribute to is the vlogger's positive judgement of the prank as 'harmless' and 'normal.' English is also used to shift from a proclamation to a disclamation, and from the speaker's own voice to an imagined person's voice.

In the following subsections, further examples on different types of positioning will be explored in connection to English. Based on this data set, code-switching appears to be used most frequently in connection to disclamations.

4.3.1 Proclaimed attitudes

The following example comes from a video which vlogger PP has made in response to her followers' comments that compare her to Emma Chamberlain, an American Youtuber who apparently shares some of her mannerisms. Throughout the video, the speaker makes clear that she does not like being compared or accused of imitating someone, and while watching Chamberlain's video, makes faces at the camera and points out faults in her make-up routine. In other words, she is portraying negative affect and appreciation in multiple ways. She explains having even intentionally misspelled

Chamberlain's name in the title of her video to provoke Chamberlain's fans to come and correct her. Despite all this, the speaker does endorse the attitude that Chamberlain is an accomplished and notorious Youtuber, which is a fact one 'can not get away from.' This phrasing acknowledges no possible alternative viewpoints to the issue.

(11) Moikkaa! Tässä videossa me matkitaan. Koska mulle sanotaan, et mä matkin jatkuvasti jotain tiettyä henkilöä! *[attributed]* // Mä haluan korostaa sitä koska… // mua ärsyttää se suunnattomasti. // Joten tota tänään me matkitaan Emmaa. // Hän on ikoni, me ei päästä siit yhtään mihinkään. *[proclaimed]* Legenda, ikoni… mitä Joona Hellman sanois… **fucking queen!** *[attributed and proclaimed]* //

(11) 'Helloo! In this video we will imitate. Because I get told that I'm constantly imitating some particular person! *[attributed]* // I want to emphasize that because… // it annoys me terribly. // So uh today we will imitate Emma. // She's an icon, we can't escape from it. *[proclaimed]* A legend, an icon… what would Joona Hellman say… **fucking queen!**' *[attributed and proclaimed]*

(PP3: *MATKIN EMMA CHEMBERLAINIA,* 2019: 0:31–0:51)

Proclamations expressed with the help of English are perhaps the most difficult to find in this data set, and even the one discussed here is a proclamation that doubles as a direct quote, thus an attribution. As Martin & White (2005: 135) discuss, attributions often serve another positioning role, depending on how the quoted material is presented. Here, the quote is in support of the attitude of positive appreciation towards Emma Chamberlain's skill and status.

Referring back to the issue of insincerity in expressing positive attitudes, one might run into a similar problem in using English to proclaim an attitude. Since to proclaim is to endorse and to agree with an attitude, and to limit the view to other possible attitudes, the meaning potential English has to signal low investment and casual attitudes may leave the proclamation half-hearted. However, the lack of examples may also be caused by the size of the data set.

As a further note on the video, the vlogger also evaluates Chamberlain as 'more next level' than she is (*nextimmäl levelillä*) in terms of skill and popularity, but maintains that they are 'both doing their own thing,' despite herself being 'just a small person here in Finland.' In effect, the vlogger is

positioning them both as members of the same translocal community, and asks her audience to respect them as equals, while endorsing the evaluation that Chamberlain is, indeed, more well-known.

4.3.2 Disclaimed attitudes

By negating an evaluation, one acknowledges the existence of that evaluation, and disclaims it. Thus the negated attitude is marked to exists in the dialogic field, but in opposition to the attitude claimed by the speaker. For instance, example (2) from speaker D (*not normal, guys*), discussed previously, demonstrates how English is used to disclaim the normality of the actions the vlogger has taken for the sake of his videos. Had he phrased this point as, for example, *totally abnormal, guys,* instead of an explicit negation, the instance would not count as a disclamation, according to Martin & White (2005: 73).

Example (12) below comes from a video where speaker PP repeatedly states how tired she is, supporting this argument with long shots of yawning and making coffee, and saying she has even fallen asleep without washing off her make-up, which, for a beauty vlogger, is a very negative evaluation of her condition. While walking through her room, she picks up a can of Red Bull energy drink, showing it to the audience.

(12) Siis kattokaa mihin mä sorruin eilen, mä join Red Bullin eilen. // Ei hirvee hyvä juttu, mut... **No can do**. //

(12) 'I mean look at what I succumbed to yesterday, I drank a Red Bull yesterday. // Not a very good thing, but… **No can do.**' //

(PP1: *ARTISTIPASSI LINTSILLÄ!* 2019: 1:46–1:52)

The speaker evaluates the act of drinking an energy drink as something '*not very good,'* something one should fight against instead of '*succumbing to*' it. She first expresses the negative judgement of her own behaviour in Finnish, then sets up a counter ('*but…'*) and code-switches to disclaim this attitude, framing her own actions as an unavoidable, necessary evil, a tool to fight off her fatigue, and simply not that serious of an offense. Here, again, English co-occurs with the attitude that something

is ‘not serious.’ Seeing as the speaker is a teenager still living with her parents, it is possible that her displays of staying up late, having a messy room, and not following the correct beauty routine or a healthy diet, i.e. her portrayals of consciously ignoring various social rules, are meant to construct a rebellious persona.

Example (13) introduces an English disclamation that directly addresses the audience in imperative form. For this video, vlogger MV has asked her followers to send pictures of tattoos they regret, and now evaluates and reacts to these pictures and to the stories attached to them. The example depicts perhaps one of her strongest reactions in the video, as she appears to sincerely empathize with the follower in question.

(13) Ei, eiii mul tulee ni—mul siis tulee niin paha mieli teiän puolesta! // Ku joku vaa voi mennä niin perseelleen. // Tässä tatuoinnissa lukee – [Sigh.] // – ”**Hey little fighter, things will get brighter**.” Hauska teksti mun mielestä eikä siinä mitään vikaa, eikä myöskään, öö, tatuoinnin omistajan mielestä. //

[Picture of the tattoo on screen.]

[Reading:] ”Toteutus on kamala eikä päästy ollenkaan yhteisymmärrykseen tatskaajan kanssa.” Kyseessä on kotitekijä. **Never go tu samwans houm tu get tattoo pliis!** ”Sanoin että fontt(h)i ois s(h)emmosta **handwritingia**, selkeä (h) ja helppolukuinen.” Tää on kaukana helppolukuisesta! // **Oh my god.** // Siis, niinku. Mitä noi KOUKEROT on? Miks tos on koukeroita? // Kyseinen ihminen pyytää helppolukuista tekstiä, ni ei koukeroita! // Ja näyttää sitä paitsi et tossa ei olis niinku yhtään välejä tos tekstissä, kaikki vaan putkeen. // Mä oon pahoillani. // Onneks ton saa peitettyä rakas ystävä. Onneksi, on olemassa hyviä tatuoijia, jotka tonkin saa joskus peittoon jos sitä halajat. //

(13) ’No nooo I feel so bad for you guys! // Cause some things can just fail so bad. // This tattoo reads – [Sigh.] // – ”**Hey little fighter, things will get brighter.**” A fun text in my opinion and there’s nothing wrong with that, also according to the, uh, owner of the tattoo. //

[Picture of the tattoo on screen.]

[Reading:] ”The execution is horrible and we didn’t come to an understanding at all with the tattooist.” (The person) in question is a home tattooist. **Never go to someone’s home to get tattoo please!** ”I said the font (h) could be a s(h)ort of **handwriting**, clear (h) and easy to read.” This is far from easy to read! // **Oh my God.** // I mean, like. What are those CURLS? Why does it have curls? // This person asks for text that is easy to read, so no curls! // And besides, it looks like there would be no spaces in that text at all, just all in one line. // I am sorry. // Fortunately that can be covered up, dear friend. Fortunately, there are good tattooists, who can cover up even that thing one day if that is what you wish.’ //

(MV2: *seuraajien kamalat tatuoinnit*, 2019: 12:30–13:09)

The passage begins with highly emotive expressions of negative affect and sympathy for the followers, followed by a description of the tattoo she is reacting to. Once the tattoo appears on screen, the vlogger quotes the follower's own evaluation of their tattoo, then looks back into the camera and raises the point that the tattooist responsible for this work works from home (as opposed to a professional studio), which appears to be used as a negative judgement of their skill and trustworthiness. It is possible that the follower has made this same evaluation in their story, in which case the vlogger aligns herself with this follower's attitude, but she does also extend this attitude to the rest of her audience as well, disclaiming the existing alternative viewpoint that one can safely get a tattoo from a so-called home tattooist. As this disclamation takes the form of an imperative, she appears to soften the command by using English, and furthermore, by pronouncing it with an exaggerated Finnish accent to add a humorous effect. As she is saying this, a word flashes on the screen: *internäsönal*, *'international'* in the same accent, poking fun of her switch and perhaps implying that she feels this advice is universal.

Her latter code-switch, *oh my god,* appears to signal disbelief and rather emphasizes the surrounding negative evaluations instead of introducing any new ones. As the remaining two are simply quoted material from the follower, they will not be analysed, although it is perhaps worth noting that the vlogger expresses no need to translate these switches, fully anticipating them to be understood by the audience. In the last part of the passage, the vlogger shifts to a slightly more formal register of Finnish as she offers an apology and comforts the follower with the possibility of a cover-up tattoo.

4.3.3 Entertained attitudes

A similar case of toning down potential rudeness with English occurs with speaker PP in example (14), as she follows a risky comment with a code-switch that expresses a dismissive, casual attitude. This code-switch frames the initial attitude as just her own, entertained one. In this video, prior to the example here, the vlogger remarks on various aspects of her beauty routine with a negative tone,

including the bad condition of her skin due to a new tanning lotion, her foundation not matching her skin tone, and a mistake of having accidentally applied colour correction powder on her eyebrow. All this accumulates to construct a negative evaluation of her skill and know-how with regards to make-up, and leads to the following comment.

(14) Mä en oo mikään meikkiguru, et jos te tulitte ettii meikkivinkkejä ni tää on väärä kanava sulle. Ihan niinku vaan… **just saying!** //

(14) 'I'm no make-up guru, so if you came looking for make-up tips then this is the wrong channel for you. Just like… **just saying!**' //

(PP4: *VALMISTAUTUMINEN MIITTIIN,* 2019: 4:28–4:35)

It is likely that the vlogger is constructing the identity of 'an ordinary expert' for herself, which Tolson (2010) has demonstrated to be a popular rhetoric in Youtube DIY-communities. This disclaimer emphasizes her ordinariness and disclaims any responsibility or intention to share tips for the audience. Ironically enough, this is exactly what she does on her videos. After this statement that evolved out of her self-actualizing discourse, the vlogger appears to realize the harshness of her words towards the potential members of her audience who are, indeed, watching the video in search of make-up tips, and makes amends with a code-switch into the casual *just saying.* This has the sense of *'no offense'* as well as opening up the possibility to interpret her attitude as just one possible one.

4.3.4 Attributed attitudes

Attribution with the help of English usually occurs with a direct quote, and the switch from one language to another helps signal the switch from one source to another, i.e. a change in who utters the phrase, whether that person is a real or an imagined source. In example (15), vlogger RB is scrolling through a website that showcases deserted Spanish villages that are for sale. He comments on the pictures, evaluating the condition of the houses. After expressing an attitude of negative affect towards the idea of going inside one of these battered houses he has deemed unsafe, he introduces the voice of an imagined real estate agent selling these houses with an overly enthusiastic attitude and a Spanish accent.

(15) Noniin! Joo! Ei ookkaa ehkä niin hirveen hyvän näköne. [Laugh.] // Tommonen pikku mesta, talot ei oo kyllä ihan 2019 valmistuneita… Okei tos on sentään kunnon katto, // Joo… Onks tää niinku yks näistä asunnoista nimittäin, tonne sisään mä en kyllä uskaltais mennä. [Laugh.] // ”**Yeah it’s a house no problemo go in go in very safe yees**.” [Thumbs up, smile.] //

(15) ’Alright! Yeah! It’s perhaps not terribly good-looking after all. [Laugh.] // A small little place like that, the houses sure are not quite from 2019… Okay that one at least has a proper roof, // Yeah… Is this like one of these apartments I mean, I sure would not dare go in there. [Laugh.] // ”**Yeah it’s a house no problemo go in go in very safe yees**.”’ [Thumbs up, smile.] //

(RB1: *NASA maksaa 16500€ jos makaat sängyssä 60 päivää? Justin Bieberin aprillipila sai kritiikkiä!* 2019, 6:26–6:48)

The attitude attributed to this outside voice is the opposite of his own, and it negates both his worries over safety and, apparently, over whether this shack actually qualifies as a house. Altogether, this utterance serves as a humorous depiction of an untrustworthy sales agent and functions to endorse (proclaim) the speaker’s initial evaluation. The switch not only signals the quote as separate from the rest of the passage, but also provides a more authentic voice to the imagined character – after all, were a Finnish person to go and meet this Spanish sales person, the interaction would most likely take place in English – and the Spanish accent provides the necessary contextualization cue for the listener to piece together what type of a situation the speaker is referring to.

4.3.5 Past and future oriented engagement

On a general level, it appears that engagement with the audience’s anticipated attitudes is mostly done in Finnish in the data set. Situations like these often include phrases such as *‘now before any animals activists out there start to get mad…’* or ‘*I know some of you must think…*’, and so on. Youtubers have their own strategies for handling relations with their audience, such as using the inclusive *‘we’* to include the audience in their experiences and evaluations, highlighting the shared knowledge between the vlogger and viewer, and engaging in constructed dialogue with the attitudes they imagine their audience to hold. For example, speaker T often uses the phrase *you know* to appeal to shared knowledge and to emphasize his followers are ‘on the same page’ with him, such as in example (16).

(16) Jälleen kerran on tullu uutta musaa ja aika paljonki ja tuttuun tapaan, tällä kanavalla reagoidaan uusiin biiseihin niin // **you know how it goes.** //

(T1: *Gasellien panobiisi ja Cledoksen uusi soundi,* 2019: 0:00–0:07)

Manners of direct address towards the audience include terms of both languages, such as *guys, bro, my man,* or even *fellow airpods owners* in English, and expressions such as *rakas ystävä, 'dear friend,' kuulkaas pojat, 'listen up boys,'* or the more neutral *katsojat*, '*viewers,'* and *ihmiset, 'people,'* in Finnish. While virtually every video includes a call-to-action of some kind, prompting the audience to interact in one way or the other, these phrases also appear in both languages (e.g. *smash that like* and *tykkää jos tykkäsit, 'like if you liked'*).

With regards to past oriented engagement, positioning moves in relation to past texts are perhaps most explicit on speaker RB's news videos which reference past texts such as news sources directly, and which we have already discussed. Otherwise, the past texts and voices that are most often referred to are comments and responses by the audience. Some mentions to other Youtubers' work do, however, occur. In his '50 steaks to a burger' challenge video, speaker D refers to a similar challenge done by the Youtuber Jaakko Parkkali, and at the end of his video, addresses this Youtuber directly, daring him to go one step further and order something even more excessive. Neither this dare, nor the request for the audience to spread this word so it reaches the person in question, are expressed, graduated, or positioned in English. As discussed in example (11), speaker PP also refers to a more accomplished, American make-up vlogger Emma Chamberlain, and quotes Youtuber's Joona Hellman's praise towards Emma, while retaining her own more negative disposition. This particular video comes closest to portraying dialogue between vloggers and engaging with the general opinion climate in Youtube, i.e. the type of bricolage discussed in the theory section. However, there are no examples of vloggers discussing the same issue and referring to each other's opinions, in this manner co-constructing the meaning of the issue in question. This lack of examples is most likely the result of which videos were chosen.

5 Conclusion

This thesis documents a qualitative study on how young Finns use English in their Youtube vlogs to express attitudes, and to position attitudes, as defined by appraisal theory (Martin & White 2005). Drawing from a combination of macro-level and micro-level theories on code-switching, it was hypothesized that English would affect the expression of attitudes by virtue of being the global language of the media, by virtue of being a code that is separate from Finnish, and by virtue of not being as closely connected to the speakers' emotions as their mother tongue is. In other words, it was expected that, firstly, English would be used to introduce casual and fun attitudes and cultural references, secondly, English would be used to contrast and highlight by virtue of the juxtaposition of two languages, and thirdly, that English would be used to express attitudes of low emotional investment.

Based on the data gathered from seven Finnish Youtubers, we can conclude that while an overwhelming majority of attitudes is expressed in the L1 only, English code-switches do occur in connection with all subtypes of attitudes (affect, judgement, and appreciation), both positive and negative. With regards to negative attitudes, English has the potential to frame them as casual, not serious, and worth laughing at. Therefore, negative evaluations in English can be easily exaggerated without alerting or upsetting the audience. However, for a language that is supposedly distant from the speakers' emotions, negative reactions in English occurred surprisingly quickly in direct response to the evaluated stimulus, often preceding Finnish reactions. As for positive attitudes, English often occurred in discourse environments where some type of contrast or opposition was present. This could be a contrast between past and present attitudes, between simultaneous but conflicting attitudes, between two evaluators, between two targets of evaluation, and so on. Situations where a positive attitude was applied to the self, English was used to signal low investment in this potentially boastful evaluation. An example was also discussed where English was used for potentially insincere positive evaluations, another form of low investment.

English code-switches were also found to occur in connection with all four positioning strategies. As before, code-switching occurs in places of contrast, conflict, and movement from one thing to the next. In the context of positioning strategies, one such place is when one positioning strategy ends and another begins, such as when another source's attitude is first partly proclaimed, after which certain parts or implications of it are disclaimed. In connection to disclamations, English can be used to soften this potentially face-threatening or rude statement. In doing so, the speaker may anticipate that some part of the audience has agreed with the disclaimed attitude and thus feels threatened. A similar toning down of potential rudeness was seen in the context of turning a disclamation into an entertained attitude. Where attitudes were attributed to other speakers by using English, they took the form of direct quotes – in other words, the switch of language signalled a switch in the source of the attitude, which created distance between the attitude and the speaker.

In terms of the appraisal framework, I would argue that code-switching functions as a supportive strategy for the expression of attitudes and engagement, and is in this sense similar to graduation. The choice of language serves to toggle the force of the attitude, and one’s investment in it, as other graduation strategies do. Attitudes expressed in L1 read as more serious and more sincere, and therefore also more risky and face-threatening to express. L2 attitudes, in contrast, carry less risk of face threats, as they are more detached from the emotions of both the speaker and the average viewer. This, however, allows them to be expressed in a more exaggerated manner. English therefore signals less emotional investment in the attitude, offering the reader a casual, malleable and playful interpretation.

As the scope and data set of this study are fairly limited, and its methods useful mainly for descriptive analysis of a small scale, similar research questions could be posed for a larger data set and more quantitative methods. An especially interesting question is the juxtaposition of serious and casual, sincere and insincere attitudes, and to uncover further evidence of the role English plays in this opposition, one might consider gathering a data set of monologues on serious and non-serious

topics, specifically. As for studies on who code-switches most in what context, factors such as speaker age and the topic or subgenre of the vlogs could be taken into more careful consideration.

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APPENDIX

A. Analysed videos

RB1: Bäck, Roni. [Roni Back]. 2019, April 6th. *NASA maksaa 16500€ jos makaat sängyssä 60 päivää? Justin Bieberin aprillipila sai kritiikkiä!* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ev6wc2Mj3Ek.

RB2: Bäck, Roni. [Roni Back]. 2019, April 1st. *Tämä lintu myytiin 1 252 000 eurolla! Mitkä olivat Mars-luotaimen viimeiset sanat?* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OttwkddpEgI.

RB3: Bäck, Roni. [Roni Back]. 2019, April 9th. *Nukuin yön itsetehdyssä PUUMAJASSA!* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZNBPp1JlnAM.

RB4: Bäck, Roni. [Roni Back]. 2019, April 12th. *Ensimmäinen kuva mustasta aukosta julkaistiin! Nuoret huijasivat McDonaldsin automaattikassaa?* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Fif8mmkVJI&t=330s.

MM1: Rotola-Pukkila, Miisa. [mmiisas]. 2019, May 31st. *VAIN TURISTIJUTUT.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iTOnLfp82So

MM2: Rotola-Pukkila, Miisa. [mmiisas]. MY WEEK: Epämiellyttävä viisaudenhampaiden poisto

MM3: Rotola-Pukkila, Miisa. [mmiisas]. ÄRSYTTÄVIEN IHMISTEN STALKKAAMINEN | Mun huonot tavat

MM4: Rotola-Pukkila, Miisa. [mmiisas]. 2019, June 6th. *OUDOIMMAT KOHTAAMISET SEURAAJIEN KANSSA | mukbang* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UJIhXeAjiBM.

D1: Hertell, Mikael. [Deata]. 2019, June 14th. *MUN KURISTAJAKÄÄRME TEKI BIISIN!* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oTTIPBGSek0.

D2: Hertell, Mikael. [Deata]. 2018, November 11th. *TILASIN HAMPURILAISEN 50 LISÄPIHVILLÄ!* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rbFa5dduxg8.

D3: Hertell, Mikael. [Deata]. 2019, October 28th. *DEATAN KOTI ON ÄLLÖ | ÄLÄ IKINÄ TEE TÄTÄ KOTONA!* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dM65KXqZuj4.

D4: Hertell, Mikael. [Deata]. 2018, October 13th. *MAAILMAN CRINGEIN LAPSI!?! | 300k TILAAJAN SPESIAALI*. Retreved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DDOhA-F4q28.

PP1: Sanaksenaho, Pinja. [Pinkku Pinsku]. 2019, June 1st. *ARTISTIPASSI LINTSILLÄ.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QpxRYdHP7is.

PP2: Sanaksenaho, Pinja. [Pinkku Pinsku]. 2019, June 8th. *ETTE VARMANA MUISTA TÄTÄ!* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pFEP7swz2Wg.

PP3: Sanaksenaho, Pinja. [Pinkku Pinsku]. 2019, May 25th. *MATKIN EMMA CHEMBERLAINIA.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4aImRwt5m3M.

PP4: Sanaksenaho, Pinja. [Pinkku Pinsku]. 2019, May 11th. *VALMISTAUTUMINEN MIITTIIN.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jaSgXfqpBBY.

MV1: Verho, Veronica. [mariieveronica]. 2019, June 13th. *maailman suurin kakku #verhokokkaa.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s6fXr-K0fw0.

MV2: Verho, Veronica. [mariieveronica]. 2019, May 29th. *Seuraajien kamalat tatuoinnit.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oAf-ufqI3VI.

MV3: Verho, Veronica. [mariieveronica]. 2019, May 15th. *mun tie treenaamiseen.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7EHpj4Zz8rw.

T1: Kukkola, Tuomas. [Tume]. 2019, May 17th. *Gasellien panobiisi ja Cledoksen uusi soundi.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bTZGggvXPF0.

T2: Kukkola, Tuomas. [Tume]. 2019, April 30th. *Älä osta airpodeja*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=avb4I-mUs3k.

T3: Kukkola, Tuomas. [Tume]. 2019, April 15th. *Voitko käydä salilla postaamatta siitä someen?* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SkZel_fvcr4.

T4: Kukkola, Tuomas. [Tume]. 2019, March 26th. *11 parasta tunnetta.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fTLJVUvoquw.

T5: Kukkola, Tuomas. [Tume]. 2018, December 24th. *10 vuotta Tumea.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PSldOsxl0_U.

MH1: Haakana, Miska. [MiskaMH]. 2019, May 17th. *SELVÄNÄ VS. HUMALASSA.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wz4UMoyh9Bw.

MH2: Haakana, Miska. [MiskaMH]. 2019, May 13th. *VOITIN SELVIYTYJÄT.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B6sPIIjwmk8.

MH3: Haakana, Miska. [MiskaMH]. 2019, February 15th. *TEIN SUURIMMAN TIKKARIN.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1MjFi3kDSpY.

B. Transcription key

,	short pause or slightly rising intonation
.	falling intonation, sentence border
//	cut in the video
[Laugh.]	sound effects, visual effects, and other relevant information on the video
(word)	words added to translations in order to facilitate the reading; technically missing from or only implied in the original Finnish text
[cursive]	positioning strategy
<word>	edited voice quality, e.g. slower, faster, high-pitched
bold	English material
wor—	interrupted word
WORD	raised voice
w*rd	word censored in the original audio
w(h)ord	laughter particles, spoken while laughing