

UNIVERSITY OF VAASA

Faculty of Humanities

Department of English

Pentti Johannes Sumuvuori

“Chillii!!!!...catchattiin Fishiä ja kinkeiltiin:”

English Borrowing and Code-Switching in a Finnish Student Newspaper

Master's Thesis

Vaasa 2006

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**VAASAN YLIOPISTO****Humanistinen tiedekunta**

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**TIIVISTELMÄ:**

Tämä tutkielma syntyi osana Englannin laitoksen projektia, joka tutkii englannin vaikutusta opiskelijoiden kieleen Vaasan yliopistossa. Sen liikkeelle panevana voimana oli Suomessa laajalti käyty keskustelusta englannin ja suomen kohtaamisesta ja seurauksista vuosituhannen vaihteessa. Tutkimus lähestyy aihetta sosiolingvistiikan, tarkemmin sanottuna kontaktilingvistiikan näkökulmasta. Sen keskiössä on koodinvaihto ja lainaus englannista suomeen Vaasan Ylioppilaslehdessä vuoden 2003-2004 vuosikerrassa.

Tutkimuksen peruskysymyksinä ovat kontakti-ilmaisujen rakenteellinen jakautuminen, niiden “liputtaminen,” eli pääasiassa typografinen merkitseminen, ja funktiot. Kontakti-ilmaisujen rakenteellinen jakautuminen ryhmiin, sekä ryhmien frekvenssit, kertovat ilmaisujen sopeuttamisesta suomeen ja englannin ja suomen välisestä rakenteellisesta valtasuhteesta. Kontakti-ilmaisujen mahdollinen liputtaminen liittyy kieliympäristön normeihin odotetusta kielestä kussakin kontekstissa. Funktioanalyysi tarkastelee kontakti-ilmaisujen transaktionaalisia, tyylillisiä ja symbolisia vaikuttimia ja perustuu kussakin tapauksessa mahdottomien ja epätodennäköisten funktioiden pois rajaamiseen.

Suomi on lehdessä selkeästi dominoiva kieli ja kontakti-ilmaisut ovat pääosin sen rakenteille alisteisia. Koodinvaihtoja ja kielten risteymiä käytetään säännönmukaisesti ja huomaamatta, ja ne seuraavat tiettyjä laina-alaisuuksia. Kontakti-ilmaisujen funktiot ovat monipuolisia ja ne esiintyvät usein rinnakkain. Selvää enemmistöä ilmaisuista käytetään kuitenkin niiden tarkkuuden ja semioottisen sisällön vuoksi, kun taas esimerkiksi elitistisiä ja statukseen liittyviä tai kielitaitoa korostavia funktiota ei löytynyt.

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**AVAINSANAT:** Finnish-English borrowing and code-switching, contact linguistics



## 1 INTRODUCTION

The language contact between English and Finnish in Finland began after the Second World War, and today, English has a central position in Finland influencing its education system, popular culture, and economic life (Batterbee 261). According to some, English has gained the status of an official language in Finland in every respect but legal (Phillipson 25). Evidence of such a status is copious. The importance of English to Finnish economic life is demonstrated by the fact that most Finnish corporations on the Helsinki Exchanges Main List in 2002 had English as their corporate language (Kankaanranta 21). Further, the influence of English has been intense in popular culture, particularly fashion, music, and entertainment (Jalonon 253). In television entertainment, over 40 per cent of all material on the four national television channels is of British or American origin (Batterbee 262). Moreover, English is taught and used extensively in the Finnish education system, as nearly all (99 %) of upper secondary school graduates in 2005 had studied English for 7 to 9 years (Tilastokeskus, "Lukiokoulutuksen"), and an increasing number of courses in Finnish universities are offered in English (e.g. Batterbee 266-267). This language contact situation has created concerns about the status and future of Finnish, and some fear that it leads to narrowed use of Finnish, and that a social elite proficient in English may emerge (e.g. Hiidenmaa 79-83).

This thesis aims to examine the situation from the point of view of the supposed future "elite," investigating how English influences written student discourse. Namely, this study examines English *borrowings* and *code-switches* in eight issues of the student newspaper *Vaasan Ylioppilaslehti*<sup>1</sup>. The term *contact expression* is used in this study as a generic term for expressions originating from some other code than the main code of a text or conversation, switches between codes, or coalescence of two codes into a third. The term, thus, includes all forms of borrowings, code-mixes, and code-switches, and replaces the politically loaded terms as *Anglicism*, which have connotations of pro-English linguistic imperialism (e.g. Pennycook 76) and enforce the idea that English is

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<sup>1</sup> Hereafter also *VY*.

the dominant language by definition. In addition to contact expression, the more specific terms borrowings and code-switches are used when the distinction between the two can be made: borrowings refer to expressions adopted from one language to another (Halmari 48; Muysken 189), while code-switches are switches between two linguistic codes (Halmari 1), in a single conversation or text (Swann et al. 313).

The three research questions of this study are:

- 1) What are the frequencies of structural forms of contact expressions in the student newspaper? The forms are classified into *English islands*, *cross expressions*, *adapted borrowings*, and *calques*. The classification is based on the morphological<sup>2</sup>, syntactical, and orthographical features of the expressions. English islands are English in all three features and stereotypically multiple word English code-switches. Cross expressions, such as “catchattiin” ‘we caught’ (Veso), have structural features of both languages and are either unadapted borrowings<sup>3</sup> or single word code-switches. Adapted borrowings, such as “baari” ‘bar or pub’ (Laukkanen J, “Kanslian uusi”), and calques, such as “uutisryhmä” ‘newsgroup’ (“Vaalikuulutus”), are Finnish in all three features. The frequencies of these forms provide information on how English influence is divided structurally, on the level of integration of English in the material, and on the structural power dynamics of the languages.
  
- 2) Are the contact expressions *flagged*? In the present study, flagging refers to marking a contact expression with determiner-like elements or typographical markers, such as quotation marks, to signal that the expression flouts the sociolinguist norms of the situation. The presumption is that, if a code or a contact expression is invariably flagged in a text, it is not the expected choice in that context. For example, if all English islands are enclosed in quotation marks in a text, while Finnish expressions

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<sup>2</sup> A morpheme is a lexical unit that can not be analysed into smaller units. As an example, the morphemes of “incoming” are “in,” “come,” and “ing.” (Oxford English Dictionary, “morpheme”).

<sup>3</sup> In Finnish studies such unadapted borrowings are known as “citation loans.”

are not, English is not the expected code in that context, and the use of flags is an acknowledgement of the norm.

- 3) What are the possible, likely, or dominant functions of the expressions found in the material? The main categories are *transactional*, *stylistic*, and *symbolic* functions. An expression has a transactional function if its use is motivated by its communicative content, clarity, or efficiency. Stylistic functions are motivated by aesthetics, and symbolic functions by emotional effect and construction of identities. This study does not provide any universal answers, but in contrast, it offers the possible or dominant functions of each occurrence of a contact expression. The aim is to statistically explain, how different functions are distributed in the material.

Research into language contact phenomena include studies of both spoken and written code-switching. Important studies for the present study's analysis of structural forms are those of structural limitations and features of borrowing and code-switching (e.g. Myers-Scotton, *Duelling Languages*; and Helena Halmari, *Government and Codeswitching*). Helena Halmari researched code-switching and borrowing of Finnish American bilinguals, using Myer's Scotton's model. According to her, no universal syntactical constraints exist in English-Finnish code-switching, and sociolinguistic and "other factors" may override syntactical constraints, because the languages differ in their internal structure. ("Government and Codeswitching"<sup>4</sup>).

Another set of studies which have influenced the present thesis are those of Holmes' (1992-2004), Holmes' and Stubbe's (2003-2004), and Kelly-Holmes' (2005) studies of functions of code-switching. For example, the research by Holmes and Stubbe of spoken code-switching and its functions in New-Zealand workplaces has given the classification of transactional, syntactical, and symbolic functions used in this paper. The concepts of linguistic fetish and stigma used in the present study derive from the work of Kelly-Holmes on multilingual advertising. According to her, different languages and their associations with cultural stereotypes were used in advertising to

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<sup>4</sup> An abstract of the book, available online.



associate products with with cultures that have “expertise in the relevant area” (37). For instance, German was used in car advertisements, while French was used in association with food products (40-54).

One of the most recent studies of written code-switching is Carla Jonsson *Code-switching in Chicano Theatre*. Jonsson studied power-, identity-, and style related Spanish-English code-switching in three plays by Cherrié Moraga (19-20), and her study suggests that code-switching serves creative, artistic, and stylistic functions, and may act as a response to power relations (252-253). Creative written code-switching can also be used to construct identities, as McClure found in her study of Assyrian-English Internet forums (187).

At the time of writing this study, contemporary Finnish research on English-Finnish language contact includes that of the VARIENG research team, which focuses on the variation and change in English, including the spread of English in Finnish society (“Aims of the Research”). Another research project is ELFA, which studies English as an academic lingua franca in intercultural contexts (“Welcome to the ELFA”). Popular, general overviews of English influence on Finnish include, among others, Hiidenmaa (2002) and Kantonen (1998).

## 1.1 Material

The material of this thesis consists of all Finnish and English texts, advertisements excluded, of eight issues of the student newspaper, *Vaasan Ylioppilaslehti*, published in the academic year 2003 - 2004. The material contains 635 different contact expressions in 1338 cases<sup>5</sup>. English sentences and phrases, such as “Beats me!” (Rinta-Kanto), were included in the material automatically, as were those cited in etymological dictionaries<sup>6</sup> that have an English root, such as “seksi” ‘sex’ (Mustamaa). If an expression was not

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<sup>5</sup> In this thesis, “case” refers to an occurrence of an expression. For instance, “video” is one contact expression that has eleven cases in the material.

<sup>6</sup> The etymological dictionaries used were *Nykysuomen Sanakirja* and Häkkinen’s *Nykysuomen etymologinen sanakirja*.

cited in the dictionaries, it was compared to the corresponding English, German, Latin, Greek, and Swedish expressions<sup>7</sup>. If the closest equivalent in the written form and semiotic content was English, the expression was included in the material as a contact expression. If its form was exactly same in one or more of the other languages, the expression was excluded as ambiguous. For instance, since the closest equivalent of “meppi” (Miettola, “Julkkikset valtasivat”) is the English acronym “MEP” (Member of European Parliament), it was included in the material. In contrast, since “media” used in the same text has the same form in English, Swedish, and German, which all have the same Latin root, the expression was excluded.

Also, proper nouns that incorporate contact expressions of English origin, such as “Seaside Jazz Club” (Laukkanen, “Viisi vuotta”), were included, although most studies leave them out of their material altogether (e.g. Kovács 2001. Poplack 1980; Gumperz 1982; Myers-Scotton 1983, 1987, 1992, 1993, 2000; Lauttamus 1990; Halmari 1997; Holmes 2000).

## 1.2 Method

The three research questions of the present study approach English-Finnish contact expressions from three points of view. The purpose of the first question was to investigate the structural integration of English in the material. The structural classification of contact expressions was determined by the morphological, syntactical, and orthographical analysis of the expressions. *English islands* (e.g. “Beats Me!”) are English on all three levels, while *cross expressions* (e.g. “deadlinet” [Kohonen, “Valheella on”]) have both Finnish and English features. *Adapted borrowings* (e.g. meppi”) and *calques* (e.g. “sähköposti” [“Vaalikuulutus”]) are Finnish on all three levels. The difference between them is that, at least, one of the morphemes of the former is borrowed from English and adapted to Finnish orthography, while none of the morphemes of calques have an English phonological or orthographical source, but

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<sup>7</sup> The sources were *Oxford English Dictionary* (from now on *OED*), *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, *MOT* “Englanti 4.6,” *MOT* “Ruotsi 2.0a,” *MOT* “Saksa 2.0a,” and *MOT* “Ranska 2.0.”

instead, their semiotic content has been borrowed. Calques are sometimes called *loan translations*.

The second research question concerned the possibility that certain contact expressions were flagged because they flouted the sociolinguistic norms of the situation. The characteristics that were considered as possible flags were determiner-like objects, quotation marks, boldface, underlining, and uses of italics or parentheses. These features were not considered as flags automatically, but the contact expressions that were marked by such characteristics were compared to both domestic expressions and other contact expressions in the same text. If only the contact expressions were marked, they were considered as having been flagged. As an example, if only English islands were enclosed in parentheses in a text, they were considered as flagged. If no congruence was found, and for instance, domestic expressions appeared with similar markers, some other reason than flagging was seen to be the reason for the use of the markers..

The analysis of the functions of the contact expressions, which was the focus of the third research question, was concerned with transactional, stylistic, and symbolic functions. Expressions with transactional functions were seen to be motivated by the content and efficiency (*communicative* function), the clarification of a more ambiguous expression or repair of previous communication (*discourse management* function), or problem solving and learning (*heuristic* function). Stylistic function were seen to have a poetic function motivated by aesthetics. Symbolic functions were either affective or social. Affective function was seen to be motivated by emotional effect, for instance humour, and social function by construction of an identity.

The analysis of the functions had two principal stages. The first was to examine whether or not an expression had alternatives in the data or in the selected dictionaries<sup>8</sup>. The presumption was that, if a contact expression did not have an alternative, a writer had little choice, and consequently, the communicative function dominated. In contrast, if a

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<sup>8</sup> Häkkinen's *Nykysuomen etymologinen sanakirja*, *Nykysuomen Sanakirja*, and the *MOT* dictionaries "MOT Englanti 4.6," "MOT Kielitoimiston sanakirja 1.0," "MOT ATK-sanakirja 4.0."

contact expression had a domestic alternative, the likelihood of symbolic and stylistic functions increased. Furthermore, if an alternative existed in the dictionaries but was not found in the data, the alternative was not likely to have been the expected choice in the context of *Vaasan Ylioppilaslehti*, thus increasing the probability of stylistic and social functions.

At the second stage, the contact expressions that had one or more alternatives were analysed for orthographic, phonetic, linguistic, textual, and contextual evidence:

- a) If all alternatives of a contact expression were longer than the contact expression, a communicative function (efficiency) was interpreted to be likely. If all alternatives were significantly longer (>50%), a communicative function was seen to dominate.
- b) If an alternative was found in the text, or was referred to, and the contact expression could be seen to clarify that alternative, discourse management function was considered likely or dominating, depending on the textual evidence.
- c) Similarly, an alternative was referred to in the text, and it related to problem solving or learning, a heuristic function was considered likely or dominating.
- d) If a contact expression was connected to the text via its orthographic or phonetic structure (i.e. rhyme or assonance), a stylistic function was interpreted to be likely or dominating.
- e) If a contact expression could be interpreted to construct a particular identity, and evidence of that identity could be found from the context, a social function was judged to be likely or dominating.
- f) If the expression could be interpreted to convey an emotion or instigate one (e.g. humour by punning denoted by linguistic evidence), an affective function seen to be likely or dominating.

### 1.3 *Vaasan Ylioppilaslehti*

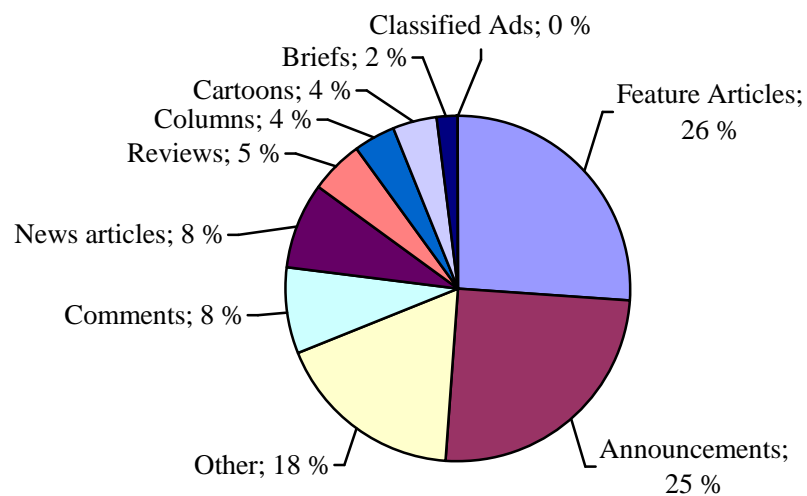
*Vaasan Ylioppilaslehti* is a tabloid-size student newspaper of 20 to 30 pages, issued eight times in an academic year with a circulation of 2500 to 3000 copies. The paper is distributed without charge on the campus area of the University of Vaasa, and its main readership is the university's students. Most editors of the volume 2003-2004 were, at the time, students of the university, and their status ranged from paid staff, such as the Editor-in-Chief, to visiting editors and trainees. Texts were also submitted by, for example, local and national politicians, and members of the university staff. (Klemola, phone interview).

VY was chosen as the material for the present study, because it is expected to display the influence of English on student language and contain a large number of heterogeneous contact expressions with diverse functions. The annual issues contain a variety of texts from more formal and study related to more informal texts on a mixture of topics, varying from music, partying, and other non-study related issues to studies and political affairs at the university. Also, during Klemola's period as an Editor-in-Chief, the editors of the volume "were relatively free to make decisions concerning the language of their texts" (Klemola, "Re: Vaasan"). The directions the editors were given concerned mainly titles, because human interest titles were preferred to strictly factual and formal ones. (Klemola, "Re: Vaasan"). A case in point is the title "Nyt surffata voi vaikka vessassa" 'Now You Can Surf [in the web] Even in the Loo' (Järvinen) of an article on the university's new wireless network.

Furthermore, creative use of contact expressions was can be expected, not only because most editors were Finnish-English bilinguals, but because of the policies of the editor-in-chief of the volume 2003-2004. The content of the texts was the first priority, and the format and layout only of secondary importance. Language issues third, and, according to Klemola, "language standards defined by a good journalistic style were a concern mainly for the most formal articles" (Re: Vaasan"). These language-related concerns included mainly corrections of grammatical and punctuation errors. More informal columns were given greater freedom in style, and the most humorous texts, such as

cartoons and the most informal columns, were given complete freedom in language matters. For instance, in the material of the present study, word play was not only allowed but “welcomed in the gonzo articles” (i.e. in the most informal feature articles). (Klemola, “Re: Vaasan”). It could be expected that the different texts will display such creative and artistic use of two codes that has been reported by several researchers, including Carla Jonsson and Helena Halmari, among others.

The texts in *VY* were categorized according to their *genres*, defined as established categories of texts of a certain discourse community which stereotypically have the same structure, content, and form (Swales 48-58). Thus defined, the genres in *VY* fell into news articles, brief news articles, feature articles, columns, comments, reviews, announcements, classified ads, and cartoons. The relative distribution of these genres is illustrated by the following figure:



**Figure 1:** Percentages of genres in *VY*.

The figure shows the emphasis of *VY* on human interest texts, as the proportion of news articles and brief news articles is relatively small (10%) compared to the percentage of feature articles, cartoons, columns, reviews, and announcements (the majority of which are student club announcements on leisure-time activities) that form the majority of the texts (64%). The category *other* contains relatively short fragmentary texts: information

boxes, table of contents, lists, and other short texts, such as header notes<sup>9</sup>. All the above genres, as well as the concept of genre itself, are elaborated in the following section as a part of the discussion on the various contexts embodied in a student newspaper.

The different genres found in *VY* give a comprehensive view of student discourse. A student newspaper, written for the students by the students provides ideal research material for the study of both long- and short-term contact phenomena. This thesis is constructed so that after the following discussion on contexts, the theoretical background will be discussed. The theory section begins with a discussion on the fundamental differences between borrowing (long-term influence) and code-switching (short-term influence) and then proceeds to the structural classification used in the present study. The last issues of the theory section are flagging and functions of contact expressions. The section on findings proceeds in the same order as the theory section, from general findings to structures and frequencies, flagging, and lastly, functions of contact expressions in *Vaasan Ylioppilaslehti*.

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<sup>9</sup> A header note is a descriptive note on top of a page describing the contents of that page. The notes do not exceed the length of one sentence.

## 2 CONTEXTS IN A STUDENT NEWSPAPER

“Study of loan words per se out of context is a relic of the past” (Eastman 1).

Understanding the context in which contact expressions are used is essential in analysing them, for language users do not rely merely on the linguistic traits of an utterance when conceiving meaning (Gumperz, *Discourse* 5). Therefore, the meaning of any single contact expression varies in the different micro (e.g. text level) and macro contexts (e.g. genres) where it occurs. For example, the motivations behind a code-switch in an interview published in *VY* depend on such micro contextual features as whether the code-switch is used by an exchange student or a native Finn. Furthermore, a contact expression, such as “creizi” (Veso), that has an established alternative in Finnish, is likely to carry different associations depending on whether it occurs in a formal announcement of the student’s union or in a cartoon.

This section discusses the micro- and macro contexts of contact expressions in a student newspaper. These contexts include the newspaper as a whole, the genres of the texts, their topics and contents, and the texts themselves as a string of sentences with internal grammatical and structural constraints. If a music album review is taken as an example, the contexts of a contact expression include: 1) the sentence in which the expression occurs, 2) the text in which the sentence is embedded, 3) the topic of the review and its specialised terminology (concert or record review, rock or classical music etc.), 4) the genre of music reviews, including its traditions, style and form, and finally, 5) the student newspaper, formed by policies and readership constraints. These contexts can be examined according to three principal concepts: *communication*, *communication event* and *genre*.

Language in a student newspaper differs from spoken communication in that, instead of phonological and prosodic features, it relies on orthography. Moreover, the information flow is premeditated and unidirectional. It is, however, also based on the same principles as spoken communication in that all communication is “a social activity requiring the coordinated efforts of two or more individuals” (Gumperz, *Discourse* 1).



When a message prompts a response, even if it is only in the mind of the receiver, communication is at play. Text are constructed not only by the author but also by the reader(s), and even in the written form they elicit reactions as spoken texts do.

Communication is not a unbroken string of utterances. Instead, it contains distinguishable episodes varying in their topics and participants. According to Saville-Troike:

Communication in societies tends to be categorized into different kinds of events rather than an undifferentiated string of discourse, with more or less well-defined boundaries between each, and different behavioural norms (often including different varieties of language) appropriate for each kind. (141)

Consequently, communication can be divided into *communication events* that have their own norms constraining linguistic behaviour in them, including styles and code-choices. In a student newspaper, communication events are the various individual texts (i.e. articles, header notes, table of contents, etc.), whose boundaries are marked by features, such as the layout, author, and topic. For instance, the boundaries of an article are formed by the empty space and, possibly, by the border line, surrounding it. Further, the beginning of an article is always marked by a title, and, in some cases, also by a lead (an introductory paragraph). The following illustrates different communication events on a page in *Vaasan Ylioppilaslehti* 2004 (3):

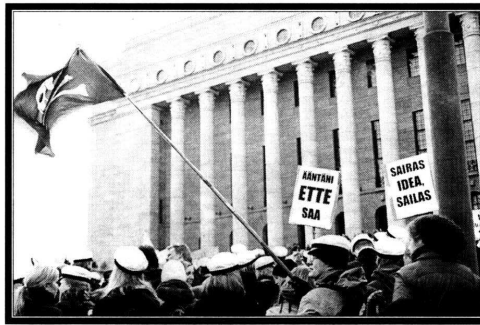
[Kampuskohisee]

# Yliopistoyhteisö ei kannata seitsemän vuoden rajausta

1

■ Suomen ylioppilaskuntien liitto (SYL), Tieteentekijöiden liitto, Professoriliitto ja Yliopistojen ja tutkimusalan henkilöstöliitto ilmaisivat julkilausumalla 18.3.2004 vastustavansa opetusministeriön esitystä rajata yliopisto-opiskelijoiden opinto-oikeus. Opetusministeriön virkamiestyöryhmän esityksessä yliopisto-opiskelijoiden opintoaika rajattaisiin 7 vuoteen. Julkilausuman allekirjoittaneiden liittojen mielestä opintoaikoja voidaan lyhentää esimerkiksi lisäämällä opetusresursseja ja parantamalla opintojen suunnittelua henkilökohtaisilla opinto-suunnitelmillä. Liitot eivät kuitenkaan hyväksy, eivätkä pidä tarkoituksenmukaisena opetusministeriön esitystä opinto-oikeuden ajallisesta rajaamisesta.

Yliopistoyhteisö näkee ongelmana opiskelijat, jotka läsnäoloilmoituksesta huolimatta eivät suorita opintoja. Näiden opiskelijoiden tilanne ja opiskelijastatus tulee ottaa erityistarkasteluun. Opiskelijoilla on vapaus opiskella, mutta myös vastuu valmistua.



Julkilausuman allekirjoittivat liittojen puheenjohtajat Oskari Nokso-Koivisto, Antero Puhakka, Tapani Pakkanen ja Päivi Kumpulainen.

Tekojal Ylioppilaat eivät tyytynyt pelkkään sanahelinään, vaan vaativat hallituksesta ja puolueilta tekoja. Ylioppilasliike näkee passiivirekisterin rajauksia parempana vaihtoehtona.

## Niemi-lilahihti yliopiston hallintojohtajaksi

■ Vaasan yliopiston hallintojohtajaksi valittiin hallintotieteiden tohtori, dosentti Anita Niemi-lilahihti. Hän aloittaa tehtävänsä ensi syksynä. Anita Niemi-lilahihti on suorittanut hallintotieteiden tohtorin tutkinnon Vaasan yliopistossa 1992.

Tällä hetkellä hän on määrätty professori julkisjohtamisen laitos- ja Niemi-lilahihtien tutkimusalueiden johtajaksi ja demokratia, vertaileva paikallishallinto ja -talous sekä ympäristöpolitiikka. Hän on osallistunut koulutuksen suunnitteluun ja kuntajohtamista selvittäneisiin hankkeisiin Vaasan yliopistossa ja valtakunnallisissa työryhmissä. Hänellä on myös paljon luottamustehtäviä.

## Varastovuokraus mahdollista ensi-kuukaudeksi

■ Vaasassa jo vuonna 1999 kokeiltu so-luasuntojen varastovuokraus on mahdollista tulevana kesänä VOAS:n kaikissa so-luasunnoissa. Varastovuokrauksen ajatuksena on, että so-luasuja voi huhtikuun loppuun mennessä tehdä varastovuokraus-sopimuksen asunostaan, jolloin hän luovuttaa asunon avaimen VOAS:n toimistoon sovituksi ajaksi ja maksaa tältä ajalta vuokraa puolet normaalista summasta. Sopimuksen voi tehdä touko-elo-kuun ajaksi, kuitenkin vähintään kahdeksi kuukaudeksi. Näin toisella paikkakunnalla kesän viettävä opiskelija voi pitää asunonsa ja säästää vuokratuloissa. Valitettavasti varastovuokraus ei koske yksioita tai perheasuntoja. Vielä ei tiedetä jääkö varastovuokraus pysyväksi mahdollisuudeksi. Tähän vaikuttavat tulevan kesän sopimusmäärät ja kokemukset.



## Heikkilä uuden jaoksen puheenjohtajaksi

Pauliina Wiksten

Ylioppilaskunnan vastaperustetun kehitysyhteistyö- ja ympäristöjoaoksen puheenjohtajaksi on valittu Tarmo Heikkilä. Heikkilä on 25-vuotias viidennen vuosikurssin opiskelija, joka on vaihtanut tietotekniikan opinnoista hallintotieteelliseen tiedekuntaan opiskelemaan aluetiedettä. Heikkilällä on ennestään kokemusta VYY:n toiminnasta edustajistosta sekä

talousvaliokunnasta. Kiinnostus kehitysyhteistyö- ja ympäristöasioihin on syntynyt ajan kuluessa, Heikkilän mielestä uusi jaos on omainen tuomaan yliopistossakin vallalla olevan tulosajattelun rinnalle pehmeämpiä arvoja. Jaos on tähän mennessä pitänyt yhden kokouksen, ja tulevaisuudessa tarkoituksena on kokoontua kerran kuukaudessa. Kokouksiin ovat tervetulleita kaikki asiasta kiinnostuneet.

## Vaasalaiset yrityspöytäkirjat loppukilpailuun

■ Vaasan alkukarsinnoista jatkoon pääs-syt neljännen vuosikurssin tuotantotalouden opiskelijoista koostuva joukkue on voittanut T.I.M.E.S. (Tournament In Management and Engineering Skills) yrityspöytäkirjan semifinaalin Lyonissa, Ranskassa. Joukkueen muodostavat Suvi Kela, Matti Puttonen, Anton Räsänen ja Petteri Saarinen. Saarisen mukaan joukkue oli iloisesti yllätynyt voitosta kilpailussa, etenkin koska se poikkesi paljon alkukarsinnoista mm. tuomaristoltaan. Seuraavaksi joukkue matkaa Saksaan Hampurissa 29.3.-3.4.2004 pidettävään loppukilpailuun kohtaamaan viiden muun semifinaalin voittajajoukkueet.

[GallUppi]

## Mielenosoituksen mielekkyys

6

Helsingissä pidetty opiskelijoiden suurmielenosoitus on yliopiston käytävillä talleavien mielestä päällimmäisenä, kun puheeksi tulee mielenosoitukset yleensä. Mielenosoituksen vaikutusmahdollisuuksista ollaan täällä yksimielisiä, mutta tuoreimman tapauksen tarkoituksenmukaisuudesta osataan olla kahta mieltä.

Tiina Leinonen Erika Eerola

### Olli Nyssölä kauppatieteet 2. vuosikurssi



– No, kyllä mielenosoitus saa huomiota. En ollut mukana Helsingissä, koska en ole varma oliko se perusteltu mielenosoitus. Siitä kerrottaessa ei esimerkiksi mainittu, että asumistuen katto nousee. En ole ollut mukana missään mielenosoituksessa. Niitä järjestetään aika vähän täälläpäin.

### Raila Lassila kauppatieteet 2. vuosikurssi



– Mielenosoitus on toimiva keino, jos siellä on tarpeeksi jengia, niin kuin nyt oli. Ei olisi ollut paljoa hyötyä, jos siellä olisi ollut joutain sata typpiä. En ollut osittamassa mieltä, koska oli silloin toissa. Vuosi sitten oli osittamassa mieltä Irakin sotaa vastaan.

### Petteri Kiiskinen tietotekniikka Otaniemi 2. vuosikurssi



– Tässä tapauksessa mielenosoitus oli ainoa vaikutuskeino. Eduskunnan oli tarkoitus kommunikoida opiskelijajärjestöjen kanssa, mutta kuulin, että kommunikatio oli olematonta. Käsitäkseni tania mielenosoituksella ei ollut tarkoitus vaikuttaa, vaan se oli tarkoitettu lähinnä herätyskeinoksi. Itse en ole ollut mielenosoituksissa.

### Sari Lehtinen gig@ 4. vuosikurssi



– Ei pidä ajatella, ettei mielenosoituksesta olisi mitään hyötyä. Mielestäni se on hyvä keino saada näkyvyyttä. En päässyt mukaan Helsingin mielenosoitukseen, koska minulla oli juuri sinä päivänä kursstyon esittely. Syksyllä olin mukana jakamassa porkkanoita, mutta en tiedä oliko se varsinaisen mielenosoitus.

Picture 1: Examples of communication events.

The numbered texts in the picture demonstrate the different communication events. The news articles (events one to five) are framed by a line as a section of similar communication events, and given a general title on the upper left corner as “**KampusKohisee**” ‘Campus Hums.’ The brief news articles (events two to four) are separated by an empty space, and their beginning is marked with a specific title and a square bullet. Event one, the news article “Yliopistoyhteisö ei kannata seitsemän vuoden rajausta” ‘The University Community Does Not Support The Seven Year Limit’ is separated from the brief news articles by a line. Similarly, event five, “Heikkilä uuden jaoksen puheenjohtajaksi” ‘Heikkilä appointed as the chairman of a new section,’ is placed in a rectangle distinguishing it from the brief news articles. Event six is framed by a line to separate it from the section of news articles and given a general title “**GallUppi**” ‘Gallup poll.’ The event is further specified with the title “Mielenosoituksen mielekkyys” ‘Meaningfulness of demonstration’ and its beginning marked by a lead “Helsingissä pidetty opiskelijoiden suurmielenosoitus...” ‘The great student demonstration held in Helsinki...’ in bold. The event contains quotations from interviews, which are regarded as parts of the same communication event in this particular context. Event seven is a header note.

Communication events, such as the ones in Picture 1, are also a part of another type of context, the *genre*. In addition to being an established category of texts that share a similar structure (page 13), the genre of a text is also constituted by its *style* (Leitner 195). Style is created by the choice of linguistic alternatives (Bell 240), and an important factor in determining appropriateness of different language varieties to different communication events (cf. Saviile-Troike 141). Also contact expressions are choices and, therefore, part of the style of a text.

Different styles carry different social connotations and meanings (Bell 240). Style can be used to establish, for example, immediacy or distance, subjectivity or objectivity, and factuality or dramatization (Leitner 195). For example, if music reviews in VY were to contain frequent switches to English instead of indigenous alternatives, while book reviews would utilize only one code, their style, and subsequently genre, would be seen

to be different. As a result, the genre of reviews could be further categorized into sub-genres with different norms regarding code-choices.

The following samples illustrate possible stylistic differences between two genres and communication events: music reviews and editorial articles. The first is from an album review “Harmitonta beibepoppia” ‘Harmless Babepop’:<sup>10</sup>

Ihan kiva, mutta. Mitähän tästä nyt sanoisi? Helsinkiläisviisikko Nerdeen uudella *Diamond Station*-lätyllä ei ole mittaa kuin reilu puoli tuntia, mutta sekin riittää. Levyn aloittava hittisingle *Broken Glass* on nimensä mukaisesti särkynyttä lasia: kimaltaa välillä kauniisti, mutta ei toimi käytännössä. (Ruuhonen and Kemppi, ”Harmitonta beibepoppia”)

Pretty nice, but. What’s there to say about this? The Helsinki quintet Nerdee’s new *Diamond Station*-platter isn’t longer than half an hour but even that’s plenty. The hit-single “Broken Glass” that starts the disc is broken glass as its name says: glimmers now and then, but doesn’t work in practice.

The second example is from an editorial article and comments the results of an election:

Toivottavasti keskustelun huumassa eivät vain unohdu opiskelijoita koskettavat arkisemmat huolet ja omaa yliopistoa koskevat asiat. Esimerkiksi opiskelijoiden käytössä on aivan liian vähän ehjiä tietokoneita ja tulostaminen on jo todellinen ongelma kampuksella. (Klemola, ”Valta on”).

Hopefully, the everyday problems of students and issues concerning our own university are not forgotten in the heat of the discussion. For example, students have far too few working computers in their use, and printing is already a real problem at the campus.

In the music album review, colloquial expressions, such as “läty” ‘platter,’ are used instead of more formal, such as “äänite” ‘recording.’ Also, the sentences in the review are shorter and simpler than in the editorial article. For instance, the review begins with a three word verbless remark, while the editorial begins with a complete 15-word sentence. In addition, the style of the review is subjective and dramatizing (e.g.

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<sup>10</sup> Contact expressions are in Courier type to avoid confusion, as boldface and italics are used in some originals.

“glimmers now and then, but doesn’t work in practice”), while the editorial article employs a more objective, factual and distant style. In other words, they are unequal contexts for contact expressions.

In the student newspaper *VY*, the genres include *news articles*, *brief news articles*, *feature articles*, *columns*, *comments*, *reviews*, *announcements*, and *cartoons*. A news article is a concise report containing new information on a recent event that emphasize factual features (Kuutti 77). The details are given in order of importance and the text is expected to be neutral in tone, although sport news, for example, may include colourful comments (Appendix 1). News can include comments and opinions of possible interviewees, but the author can express his/her explicit opinions only in a separate commentary article. (Kuutti 242). News articles in *VY* concern only the university and the student community, while larger scale domestic and world news are reported only if they are of a special importance to the student community. Lastly, brief news articles are short news articles confined to one paragraph in length (Appendix 2).

Feature articles contain human interest material, and although they may be based on a news event, they are more general and timeless in content than news (Kuutti 13). Human interest material emphasizes issues that interest the readers but are considered less important than those in the news articles. Such material is also called *soft news*. (Kuutti 53-54). As the previous section established, feature articles are a major genre in *VY*, which had a policy of emphasizing human interest material not only in the texts, but also in their titles. Similarly to news articles, the personal comments of the author are typically separated from the main text (Appendix 3).

Columns are perceptive articles on topical issues, published regularly, and often ironical, ridiculing, and humorous in style. Typically the author writes with his or her name, not under a pseudonym. The writers’ opinions are usually implied rather than stated openly. (Kuutti 97). This genre has an established form, as the text is typically laid out as a column (Appendix 4). In comparison with news and feature articles, columns usually provide more possibilities to language play due to their more informal, often humorous, style. The difference is, however, determined by editorial policies. A

case in point is *VY*, which welcomed word play not only in columns, but also in the most informal feature articles.

Comments are argumentative, topical texts expressing an explicit opinion. They may introduce a new opinion or reply to another text. (Kuutti 98). The usual forms are *letters to the editor* (Kuutti 148) and *editorial articles*, the latter of which are traditionally written by the Editor-in-Chief, and represent the official stance of the publication (Kuutti 180). These texts display a stance more explicitly than, for example, columns (Kuutti 148, 180). *Polls* are included in comments in this study, and in *VY* are laid out as a narrow column (Appendix 13). As a context of contact expressions, comments in a student newspaper are a heterogenous genre. While letters to the editor are written by a variety of writers outside the editorial staff on a variety of topics, editorial articles represent the formal line of the paper on topics that are deemed important enough to draw the attention of the Editor-in-Chief. Thus, the expected language choices between the sub-genres of comments vary between the most formal and the most informal. The section of letters to the editors in *VY* begin with the title “KampusKeskustele” ‘campus talks’ (Appendix 5), and the editorial articles always contain the picture of the editor-in-chief (Appendix 6).

Reviews are critical, subjective texts (Kuutti 77). In a Finnish student newspaper, if analogy is drawn from *VY*, reviews are written on films, books, concerts, theatre productions, television programmes, exhibitions, and music recordings. They are likely to contain a large number of contact expressions, since, as the introduction established, cultural imports from Britain and United States has been intense in Finland for over half a century. In *VY*, music album reviews contain a picture of the record and a rating (Appendix 7).

Announcements are short messages, content and style of which is determined (with restrictions) by the announcer (Kuutti 57). In a student newspaper, announcements are submitted by students, different student organizations, and university staff, as these groups form its main audience. In *VY*, announcers are dominantly student clubs advertising various leisure-time activities. As a result of informality, the announcements

may contain a large and diverse mixture of contact expressions. The announcements are typically short and always begin with the name of the announcer (Appendix 8).

Lastly, cartoons are humorous and/or satirical drawings (Kuutti 194). Cartoons in a newspaper contain fewer linguistic elements than other genres, because their focus is on visual communication (Appendix 10). Consequently, they also contain fewer contact expressions than other genres. At the same time, their style is relatively informal due to their humorous nature.

The styles of these genres is also partly determined by their audience, since writers design their texts according to their audience. Writers are aware that their readers are not passive receivers, but control their input of media messages and read critically (Bell 240-244). For instance, as Leitner sustains, the difference in design is the distinguishing factor between public, popular interest oriented media (such as student newspapers) and other more formal contexts, such as law texts (189). In other words, the choices of languages, varieties, and styles are designed so as to comply with or flout social norms. Writers may choose to avoid taboo expressions, for example, to when designing a text for a conservative audience. Also, political correctness and avoidance of bias in matters of race, gender and ethnic politics is a part of designing texts (Leitner 194).

Authors' more or less conscious decisions concerning the design of their messages, including code-choices, correlate with the social parameters of the audience (Leitner 194). In the case of VY, the audience is the student community, and a decisive parameter from the point of view of the present study is the multilingualism of that audience. In the Finnish context, university students are dominantly multilingual, as they have studied English for over seven to nine years, as the introduction established. Accordingly, the multilingualism the audience can be expected to affect the design of the texts in VY.

Furthermore, an important part of the design of a student newspaper is that its language choices should be as unambiguous as possible. The reasons for this is the unidirectional flow of communication. The communicative content flows from the writer to the reader,

but not back, and any co-ordinating efforts of the participants are impossible (House and Rehbein 3). The reader is deprived of interaction (excluding feedback through letters or phone etc.). As a result, tools for managing discourse, such as requests for clarification, can not be used, and writers need to act accordingly, making as unambiguous choices of expression as possible.



### 3 LANGUAGE CONTACT

The changes that occur in languages in a contact situation can be diverse and have profound consequences. A language may borrow vocabulary, the way English has borrowed the expression “media” from Latin (*OED*), or more recently, the way Finnish has borrowed “Internet” from English. Such influence can be seen to enrich the receiving language, especially when the new vocabulary expresses new ideas and technologies. The influence may also concern other structures of the language, such as morphology and syntax. Eventually, if the two or more languages merge into a new code, a new language emerges as a *creole* (Swann et al. 313). Alternatively, if the languages do not merge, *language shift* may occur, and one language is gradually replaced by another, usually of a higher social status. In the extreme case, such shift may lead to language extinction. (Kovács 21-22).

The languages may also co-exist in a contact situation, and bilinguals may switch between languages without necessarily merging them, so that the effects of language contact are not as extensive as a language shift or creolization. An example of the resulting code-switching can be drawn from Finnish-American bilingual’s speech cited in Halmari:

Yhen tytön isoisä had told her a story

A girl’s grandpa had told her a story (137).

In the example, a switch occurs between the Finnish expression “Yhen tytön isoisä” and the English expression “had told her a story.” Although the switch occurs within a sentence, the two codes are not merged into a third, because both codes retain their own syntactical, morphological, and lexical elements. “Tyttö” is inflected for Finnish genitive case into “tytön” and “story” is preceded by the indefinite article, for instance. In order for a third code to emerge, it must be definable, and syntactical, morphological, or lexical features specific only to that third code must appear, so that it could be differentiated from the other two codes.

In a contact situation, whether the languages co-exist or the other dominates, borrowing also occurs. The borrowed words may be adapted into the receiving language's phonological and orthographical system, the way "campus" has been adapted to "kampus" (e.g. Heikkilä), or they may remain in their original form, a case in point being "radio" (e.g. Urmas, "Bo heitti"). Further, the semiotic content of an expression may be borrowed independently from the phonological or orthographical form, resulting in a calque, such as "kotisivu" 'homepage' (e.g. "Ylioppilaskunnalle uudet").

The distinction between borrowings and code-switches appears definite considering the above examples, but the distinction is not always unambiguous. The distinction between "had told her a story" and "kampus" is definite, because "kampus" is an orthographically adapted with an established status in the Finnish lexicon (Häkkinen), in other words, it is Finnish, while "had told her a story" is English. The difference between borrowing and code-switching is therefore, that the latter requires the use of two languages, while the former requires only one.

However, some unadapted phrases and single-word expressions are more complicated. A case in point is the difference between "jatsin" and "evergreenejä" below:

Perinteisen jatsin lisäksi soitetaan evergreenejä ja elokuvasävelmiä.  
(Laukkanen S, "Viisi vuotta")

In addition to traditional jazz, evergreens and movie tunes are played.

While "jatsi" is orthographically adapted into Finnish and considered an established borrowing (Häkkinen), the status of "evergreenejä" is ambiguous. Code-switching studies have revealed that such expressions are not necessarily borrowings but are possibly switches to another language, even though they might be inflected by the main language<sup>11</sup> of the utterance (Myers-Scotton, "Comparing" 23). In the above example, the inflection is the partitive case (-jä) of "evergreenejä." This uncertainty in distinguishing single word code-switches from borrowings is discussed further in section 3.1.

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<sup>11</sup> The language used dominantly in a situation (Verdoodt 34).

When languages co-exist in a contact situation, flagging may accompany code-switches, both single word akin to “evergreenejä” and longer. Traditionally, flagging refers to the use of determiner-like objects before code-switches (Kovács 69). The following example is from Halmari (84):

Se oli semmosesta landistä.

It was about such a land.

In the example, the English noun “land” is preceded by the flag “semmonen” ‘such.’ In written texts, a language user may also flag an expression typographically (e.g. using quotation marks or parentheses). The use of flags will be discussed in section 3.3.

The functions of contact expressions, whether borrowed from a language dominant in some cultural area, or code-switched in a situation when languages co-exist, are the last major interest of the present study. The foundational premise is that code-switching and borrowing can not be assigned a single reason (e.g. elitism or “showing off”), because language is not a simple case of cause and effect, but it has a symbiotic relationship with a large number of social factors (Le Page 32). Consequently, contact expressions may be motivated by a multitude of functions that depend on a variety of changing social thrusts. In one situation, an expression may be used to display a regional identity (Holmes 42), while in another the same expression may be used, for example, to clarify a previous statement (Holmes and Stubbe 135). The section 3.4 will discuss the different functions examined in this study.

### 3.1 Borrowing and Code-Switching

Although contact expressions can be, in theory, divided to borrowings and code-switches, the distinction is not possible to make in practice. This section discusses two opposing models, the continuum and the binary model, in order to justify the present study’s stance that the continuum model is more practical from a researchers viewpoint.

The continuum model holds that code-switching and borrowing may be related phenomena, and that, in some cases, an expression that has originally been a code-switch gradually becomes a borrowing<sup>12</sup> (Poplack and Meechan 200). In contrast, the binary model argues that code-switching and borrowing are two distinct phenomena<sup>13</sup> (Poplack and Meechan 200).

To recall the definitions, code-switching is switching “back and forth between languages” (Swann et al. 313), and it may also occur between dialects, styles and registers (Wardhaugh 101-103). Borrowing is “incorporation of lexical elements from one language in the lexicon of another language” (Muysken 189). In borrowing, a foreign expression transforms into a domestic one. On the basis of these definitions, it is possible to distinguish between borrowings and code-switches on the theoretical level. From the point of view of a language user, when a person code-switches, he or she must have knowledge of two or more languages, while when a person uses borrowings, knowledge of only one language is required (the language which has incorporated loanword). At the same time, a researcher can not always make the distinction between the two in practice, as Eastman sustains (3).

According to the continuum model, certain expressions enter the receiving language by first being infrequently used code-switches that gradually gain popularity and finally get established in the receiving language vocabulary as *core borrowings* (Myers-Scotton, “Comparing” 21). A case in point is the frequently used expression in the material of the present study, “bändi” ‘band’ in the sense of “company of musicians” (e.g. Kohonen, “Vesku ei”). Core borrowings often have an established domestic alternative (Myers-Scotton, “Comparing” 21), which in the case of “bändi” would be “orkesteri.” The continuum model also maintains that some borrowings enter the receiving language abruptly as *cultural borrowings* (Myers-Scotton, *Duelling* 169). These borrowings usually fill a *lexical gap*: when a new invention or concept is adopted, its original name is implemented as well (Eastman 4). An example of a cultural borrowing in the material

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<sup>12</sup> Maintained by e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993 and Treffers-Daller 1991.

<sup>13</sup> Maintained by e.g. Muysken 1987 and Poplack et al. 1988.

of the present study would be the adoption of “Internet” to the Finnish lexicon (e.g. Vierula, “Kun kone”).

The continuum model has gained popularity in code-switching studies (cf. Lauttamus 10 and Jacobson 2). One reason is that with it, researchers can view the syntactical possibilities of code-switching differently than with the binary model. A case in point is interference between syntactical systems. According to the binary model, the process of code-switching involves:

meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must consciously or subconsciously process as strings formed according to the internal rules of two distinct grammatical systems,... (*Discourse* 66)

The claim of the binary model, thus, is that when a speaker switches codes, he or she always changes the syntactical system. The continuum model allows, not only the possibility the change, but also the option of syntactical interference (Myers-Scotton, *Duelling* 54). For example, when the main language of a communication event can be determined, it is generally the main language syntax that applies in intrasentential code-switching, resulting in syntactical interference, as the switched items are regularly inflected by the main language (Myers-Scotton, *Duelling* 54). A case in point is the following code-switching in Kiswahili/English:

wewe ulikuwa umejikunja kwa corner u-na-m-time tu.

you had folded yourself in a corner (and) you were just ‘timing’ her.’  
(Myers-Scotton, “Comparing” 23).

The example displays two English switches, “corner” and “time,” while the word order is Kiswahili. Also, the latter switch is inflected according to Kiswahili grammar: “u-na-m-time” (2<sup>nd</sup> person singular-progressive-her-time) (Myers-Scotton, “Comparing” 23). A similar case is the following example from *Vaasan Ylioppilaslehti*:

Männä vuonna toimintaa oli ihan creiseyteen asti, meinaa catchattiin Fishiä, kinkeiltiin ja ihmeteltiin miten Chillli järjestö Veso oikein onkaan. (Veso).

Last year we had action like crazy, I mean we caught [caught] Fish, did all sorts of kinky stuff, and marvelled how Chill club Veso really is.

“Fish,” which occurs in the material only once, and has a Finnish alternative “kala,” is inflected for the partitive case (–iä). The possibility that such single lexeme impregnations that have a domestic alternative are code-switches, not borrowings, is supported also by Gysels (48), while Poplack and Meechan, who use the binary model, refer to such cases as “nonce borrowings” (“Patterns” 200). Nevertheless, such cases prove to be problematic for the binary model, especially if no inflection is required in the circumstances, which emphasizes the benefits of the continuum model. The following example is from Fongbe/French discourse:

Éné conséquences sociaux wé nyí chômage mé.

These are the social consequences. (Poplack and Meechan 221).

The above example can not be explained using the binary model. On the one hand, the model maintains that such French constructions as “consequences sociales” can not be categorized as borrowings, because their “modification structure” is French (Poplack and Meechan 221). On the other hand, the binary model claims that these constructions can not be categorized as code-switches, because their “grammatical [they lack a French determiner] structure differs from their lexifier language, their internal constituency is highly limited and the return to Fongbe takes place immediately after the NP [noun phrase]” (Poplack and Meechan 221). As a result, Poplack and Meechan consider these cases as a distinct phenomenon from code-switching, borrowing, and nonce borrowing, and label them as “unknown” (220-221).

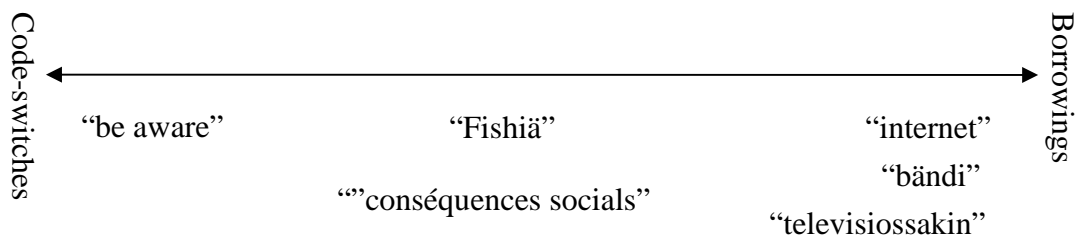
The continuum model explains such “unknown” expressions as code-switches that may be in the process of entering the main language as core borrowings, and places them in the middle of the continuum (Myers-Scotton, “Comparing” 28). In the present study, the position of an expression on the continuum is seen to depend on its morphological, syntactical, and orthographical features. If all three features are Finnish, the expression is at the borrowing end of the continuum, as in “televiiossakin” ‘also in television’ (e.g.

Urmias, “Tommin leffassa”). In contrast, if all features are English, the expression is a code-switch. A case in point is “be aware” in the following example:

Keväällä teemme vierailuja yms kivaa, joten be aware!

During the spring we’ll do visitations and etc. fun, so be aware!’ (VSDO)

The expression “be aware” is not orthographically adapted, and furthermore, it is not inflected by the Finnish syntactical system, which would require the partitive case (–si) here, as in “be awarellasi.” Although single-word code-switches usually receive main language inflections, multiple-word code-switches necessarily do not, because “peripheral and formulaic” switches emerge with “relative freedom” in the main language (Eastman 2). Thus, the position of the above examples on the continuum is as follows:



**Figure 2:** The continuum model.

Figure 2 shows that while cultural borrowings (“internet” and “televios”) and core borrowings (“bandi”) are at the borrowing end of the continuum and are integrated into Finnish, the code-switches (“be aware”) are in the opposing end and are not integrated. Certain expressions (“Fishia” and “conséquences sociales”) are in the middle of the continuum, and they may or may not become established as part of the recipient language.

A complicating factor is that not all borrowings display phonological or orthographical adaptation (Myers-Scotton, “Comparing” 31). This is illustrated by the Finnish word

“radio” (e.g. *Urmas*, “Bo heitti”) that has retained its original written form in Finnish since it was introduced into the language at the beginning of the twentieth century (Häkkinen). Other cases are those which do not require adaptation, such as “video” (e.g. Vierula, “Kun kone”). These expressions are compatible with the Finnish phonological and orthographical system in their original English form and, thus, there has been no need for adaptation. The position of these borrowings on the continuum is difficult to determine on the basis of phonological or orthographical evidence alone.

As far as the classification of these borrowings is needed in the present study, unadapted expressions that comply to Finnish syntactical system (e.g. “catchattiin” and “evergreenejä”) are placed in the middle of the continuum, unless etymological evidence registered in the dictionaries is available to situate them at the borrowing end (e.g. “radio”). Unadapted expressions that follow English syntax, such as “Be aware,” are placed in the code-switching end (e.g. “be aware”).

### 3.2 Forms of Contact Expressions in Written Language

Depending on the position of contact expressions on the continuum, that is, when they fall on the basis of their morphological, syntactical, and orthographical features into English islands, cross expressions, adapted borrowings, and calques. English islands are morphologically, syntactically, and orthographically English expressions, such as “had told her a story” in *Halmari* (137). Cross expressions are syntactically Finnish, but their morphological and orthographical structure is ambiguous, as in “Fishiä” which has a Finnish the suffix (-ä), while the orthography of its content morpheme (“Fish”) is English. Adapted borrowings<sup>14</sup> are morphologically, syntactically, and orthographically Finnish, such as “kampuksella.” The three structural features of calques (e.g. “kotisivut” ‘homepages’ in ) are also Finnish, but unlike in the case of adapted borrowings, their

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<sup>14</sup> Jonsson calls these “words that are adapted phonologically and morphologically” as hybrid words (114).



content morphemes (“koti” ‘home’ and “sivu” ‘page’) are translations, not adaptations of English morphemes.

These categories are derived from the Matrix Language Model, which provides the tools the present study employs in its analysis of the syntactical and morphological status of contact expressions. The *Matrix Language* (ML) is the dominant language “involved in code-switching,” and it provides the syntactical frame into which expressions from another language (the *Embedded Language*, EL) are attached (Myers-Scotton, “A Lexically” 235). In some cases it may be impossible to determine the main language if both languages have an equal role (Gardner-Chloros 362). If the ML can not be determined, expressions in the event are categorized as a “third code,” as Jacobson defines them (59).

According to the *Matrix Language Hypothesis*, the ML provides the “grammatical frame” of an utterance in which a single lexeme or idiomatic expression from an EL is attached. The ML provides the “syntactically relevant” morphemes (*system morphemes*), such as syntactical inflections (*The System Morpheme Principle*), and the morpheme order is that of the ML (*The Morpheme Order Principle*). (Myers-Scotton, *Duelling* 6-7). For instance, if Finnish is presumed to be the ML, the first sentence of the following examples is possible, whereas the second is denied by the System Morpheme Principle and the third by the Morpheme Order Principle:

1. Allowed: Nämä phraset ovat keksittyjä.  
These phrases are invented
2. Denied: Nämä ilmaisut ovat keksittyed  
These phrases are invented
3. Denied: Did tämä help sinua ymmärtämään?  
Did this help you to understand?

The past participle (-ed) in the second example is provided by English, not Finnish, and it, thus, violates the System Morpheme Principle. Similarly, the morpheme order in the third example is English, not Finnish, thus violating the Morpheme Order Principle.

The ML Model provides three structural forms of code-switching. *Matrix Language Islands* (ML Islands) are utterances that follow the Matrix Language morpheme order and consist only of Matrix Language content morphemes (prototypically nouns, verbs etc.) and system morphemes (prototypically inflections and prepositions). *Embedded Language Islands* (EL Islands) are utterances that follow the Embedded Language syntax and morpheme order and consist only of Embedded Language morphemes. *Matrix Language + Embedded Language Constituents* (ML+EL Constituents) occur in utterances that consist chiefly of Matrix Language morphemes and usually of a single Embedded Language lexeme that follows the Matrix Language morphosyntactic frame. (Myers-Scotton, “Comparing” 23). Thus, in the following sentence,

Tämä lauseke on suomea, wherease this phrase is English.

This phrase is Finnish, whereas this phrase is English.

the first clause is an ML Island, and the second clause is an EL Island, if Finnish is taken to be the Matrix Language. An example of an ML + EL Constituent would be:

Tämän lauseen koodinvaihto kategorisoidaan ML+EL Constituentiksi.

The code-switch of this sentence is categorized as an ML+EL Constituent.

In the sentence, the expression “ML+EL Constituentiksi,” which is an Embedded Language impregnation, is inflected for Finnish translative case (-ksi) and the word order is Finnish, hence the sentence contains an ML + EL constituent, not a switch from ML Island to an EL Island.

In the ML Model, adapted borrowings, since they are a part of the ML vocabulary, appear only in ML Islands. Unadapted borrowings are sometimes ambiguous, because,

as the previous section established, they can not always be distinguished from code-switches (namely those in ML+EL Constituents). The present study categorizes such ambiguous unadapted borrowings and code-switches as cross expressions that are positioned in the middle of the code-switching and borrowing continuum. The table 1 illustrates the resulting structural categorization used in this thesis, and the distribution of the categories on the continuum from code-switches to borrowings:

**Table 1:** Structural forms of borrowings and code-switches.

Category of Form:	Orthography:	Morphemes:	Syntax:	Continuum:
English island	English	English	English	Code-switch
Cross expression	English	$\geq 1$ English	Finnish	$\updownarrow$
	English	Finnish	Finnish	
Adapted borrowing	Finnish	Finnish	Finnish	Borrowing
Calque	Finnish	Finnish	Finnish	

As can be seen from Table 1, all features of English islands are English, and they are placed at the code-switching end of the continuum. Cross expressions, then, occur in sentences which are syntactically Finnish, and their orthography follows the English original. They are either a part of an ML+EL Constituent or ML Islands, depending on whether their morphemes are English or Finnish. If they have one or more English morphemes, as in “Fishiä,” they are closer to the code-switching end of the continuum. If the morphemes have entered the Finish lexicon as in the case of “radio,” they are closer to the borrowing end. The reason for distinguishing these two subcategories of cross expressions is that cases like “radio” can be categorized as established borrowings using etymological evidence, whereas their structural analysis alone would not provide sufficient evidence to make that judgement. Adapted borrowings are placed at the borrowing end of the continuum and have only Finnish structural features, although their content morphemes have an English root adapted into Finnish orthography.

Calques are also placed at the borrowing end of the continuum and have only Finnish structural features, but their content morpheme has an etymological root in English.

A further structural classification of code-switches can be based on sentential composition. *Intersentential* code-switching is switching between sentential structures (Treffers-Daller 143). In other words, an English sentence follows or precedes a Finnish sentence. In such a case, the code-switch is an intersentential English island. *Intrasentential* code-switching occurs inside a sentential structure (Treffers-Daller 143) and involves either a cross expression (e.g. “Fishiä”) or an English island. An example of an intrasentential English island is:

Tiätsää missä suomalaiset get fucked up koska ne teki...

You know the Fins get fucked up 'cause they made... (Halmari 158)

In the example, “get fucked up” is an intrasentential English island, as it’s system morphemes are English. According to Milroy and Muysken, *extrasentential* code-switching refers to code-switched interjections in an utterance (8). These interjections “do not belong tightly to the sentence,” as Kovács phrases it (63). In this study, the concept is expanded to include the literal meaning: switching outside sentential structures. For instance, English exclamations without a sentential structure are extrasentential code-switches, as “what” is in the case:

**What?** Pitää ottaa uusintatesti? (Länkinen, “Koukussa?”)

What? You have to take the test again?

Since English sentences require a “constituency structure” that includes a verb phrase and usually a noun phrase (Wardhaugh 139), “**What?**,” imitating a spoken exclamation of surprise, does not have a sentence structure. Extrasentential switches are not necessarily elliptical one-word sentences as in the above example, and may contain several words.

### 3.3 Flagging and Markedness

In the above example an extrasentential code-switching, the interrogative “**What?**” was printed in boldface. Such typographical marking is possibly a way of *flagging* an expression. Although some researchers restrict flagging to the use of determiner-like elements that precede code-switching (e.g. Kovács 69), in this study, the scope of flagging is extended to include typographical signs, such as quotation marks, italics, boldface, parentheses, and/or other layout devices that separate borrowings and code-switches from the rest of the text. This expansion has resulted partly from the written mode of the research data, which has been spoken language in the flagging research cited in the present study. While some assign flagging primarily to non-fluent switching in general, as Kovács observes (69), this thesis focuses on the specific possibility of non-fluent switching that certain expressions are flagged, because they contradict the norms of the communication event.

As a theory of norms this study uses the markedness-theory. *Markedness* describes the level of deviation from the expected linguistic choice: in a said communication event, certain codes and/or linguistic forms are the norm; they are *unmarked*, while deviations from these norms are *marked* uses of language (Myers-Scotton, “Code-Switching” 231). If Finnish is expected in a communication event, it is the unmarked choice, whereas if a speaker or writer chooses English instead, he or she makes a marked choice. However, there is no absolute difference between marked versus unmarked, for markedness is a scale (Myers-Scotton, “Code Switching” 63-64).

Marked choices are usually interpreted as a statement of some kind, stereotypically as declarations of a status difference. Similarly, unmarked choices may be interpreted as statements of solidarity. (Goyvaerts 73). However, there is no reason to believe that an expression that is interpreted as marked is necessarily intended as such (and vice versa). The reason is, that language users have different language competences, and they might have differences in their *Rights and Obligations Sets*.

Rights and Obligations (RO) Set is the set of rules that determines the expected choice of code. It dictates what forms and codes a language user can, and should, use in a particular context in order to maintain an unmarked code. (Goyvaerts 73). As a result, when a speaker chooses a marked code, that choice “will be interpreted as a dis-identification with the expected RO balance” (Goyvaerts 73). The RO Set is continuously renegotiated, and utterances either change the RO Set, changing the expected code, or maintain the established norms. The RO Set does not determine the chosen code, but the markedness of that code. (Myers-Scotton, “The Negotiation” 116-117).

The premise of the present study is that a contact expression may be flagged in a certain communication event because it represents a marked choice in that context, and that the same expression may not be flagged in another communication event, if the RO Set of that context is different. Flagging may not occur, because in multilingual contexts embedded expressions may be included in communication events “regularly and unremarkably,” as Eastman expresses it (1). In certain communication events code-switching can represent the unmarked choice, whereas maintaining a single code can be marked.

Another premise of the present study is that, if a language user wishes to flag an expression to state its marked status, the flags must be used only with that expression or the relevant structural category. If no correlation between markers and a contact expression is established, its markedness can not be established either. A working example is the guideline given by the *MLA Handbook* for students writing their theses that, “in general, all foreign words” should be underlined or italicized (Gibaldi, 95). In the case of “**What?**” (Länkinen, “Koukussa?”), the boldface is likely to be a flag if cross expressions and English islands are also bolded. If, however, the boldface is also used in connection with indigenous Finnish words, some other reason than markedness of English is more likely to motivate the use.

### 3.4 Functions of Contact Expressions

Code-switches and borrowings may serve a number of motivations. On the one hand, all code-switches and borrowings have a referential function because they are semiotic signs. On the other hand, an *act* of switching from one code to another or *choosing* a borrowing instead of a domestic equivalent may also have a function. If a writer opts for an English island or a cross expression although it would be possible to convey the same referential content using an indigenous expression, that choice may be read as a message. The message may be a statement of a higher social status, solidarity, group identity, or other social message, so that the code-switch has a social function (Holmes 237).

However, switching from one code to another is not always motivated by social goals. This is a relatively recent discovery, as “the most frequently used” theories<sup>15</sup> of code-switching of the past tended to see the use of a single code as the norm, and code-switching as a deviation that requires explanation (Swigart 87). More recently, it has become accepted that also code-switching may be the norm in certain contexts, and that the languages may be in an equal relationship, so that switching from one to another is as significant social statement as maintaining a code (e.g. Jacobson 5; Swigart 88).

When a contact expression is chosen instead of a domestic alternative, it may be that the writer is not aware of any alternatives, thus decreasing the possibility of a social function. In addition to the motivations of the language user, the interpretation of the reader(s) has a central role in assigning functions to contact expressions. It may be the reader, not the writer, who is unaware of alternatives for a contact expression, and, as a result, the possible social message (e.g. statement of identity) is not mediated. Also, the overall language choices in a communication event affect the interpretations of contact expressions since the choices of one writer affects the consequent choices of the same and other writers in the context, as Auer maintains (162-163). In sum, it is the

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<sup>15</sup> Swigart mentions Heller’s 1988, Myers-Scotton’s 1988, and Poplack’s 1979.

interpretations of the readers and motivations of the writers that combine in the functions of contact expressions.

### 3.4.1 Categories of Functions

The main categories of functions in the present study are *transactional*, *stylistic*, and *symbolic* functions. These categories are not mutually exclusive, for expressions may have both symbolic and referential functions simultaneously, as Kelly-Holmes maintains (25). The following table derived from Holmes and Stubbe (135) illustrates the functions and their motivations:

**Table 2:** Possible functions of contact expressions.

Category:	Motivation:
Transactional functions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ communicative function</li> <li>▪ discourse management function</li> <li>▪ heuristic function</li> </ul>	referential content and efficiency clarification and repair problem solving, learning, and directive
Stylistic functions	aesthetics and style
Symbolic functions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ affective function</li> <li>▪ social function</li> </ul>	emotional effect identity or image construction

In table 2, transactional functions refer to the motivation of conveying informative content, and it includes the *communicative*, *discourse management*, and *heuristic* functions (Holmes and Stubbe 135). The motivation in the communicative function is transmitting referential content accurately and efficiently. In other words, a writer may seek clarity by choosing a less ambiguous alternative, or shortness by selecting a time and space efficient alternative (e.g. Grice 27; Holmes 286). If a contact expression does not have alternatives, writers have little choice in choosing it, and, as a result, the communicative function of the expression dominates. A case in point is “blues” (e.g. Hautamäki, “Kaupunginorkesteri”), which does not have an alternative in Finnish. Also, if a contact expression has an indigenous alternative, but the alternative is not as



specific as the contact expression, the dominant function of the expression is likely to be communicative. This is illustrated by the contact expression “formula” (Haapakorva), which denotes a specific type of a race car, that has less precise Finnish alternatives, such as “kilpa-auto” ‘racing car.’ Also, if a contact expression is shorter than its alternatives, communicative function is likely to be important because the expression is more effective in terms of space and time. An example is “kampus” (e.g. Klemola, “Voimien kanavointi”) that has the alternative “yliopistoalue” (the borrowing is 7 characters shorter).

The second category of transactional functions, discourse management function, includes *clarification* and *repair* strategies (Holmes and Stubbe 135). For instance, in:

...joukkue on voittanut T.I.M.E.S. (Tournament In Management and Engineering Skills) yrityspelin semifinaalin... (“Vaasalaiset yrityspelin”)

...the team has won the T.I.M.E.S. (Tournament in Management and Engineering Skills) business game semifinals...

the code-switch in parenthesis, “Tournament...Skills,” clarifies the acronym “T.I.M.E.S.” In this case, both expressions have transactional functions: the acronym has a only a communicative function, as a proper noun, it does not have an alternative, and the code-switch enclosed in the parenthesis has a discourse management function as it explains the acronym (clarification). Such clarification is closely related to communicative function, as the clarity of the message is a central feature, but clarification differs in that a reference to another expression in the discourse is made. Repair strategies, then, are similar to clarification but a communicative error has already occurred. In written texts, a possible case would be a comment to a previous communication event correcting an erroneous use of an expression.

The third category of transactional functions is the *heuristic* function: problem solving and language learning. The problem may be, among others, the negotiation of the unmarked code (Holmes and Stubbe 135). A specific instance of heuristic code-switching was recorded by Willis Edmondson in French-English classroom code-

switching in a UK context. He found that code-switching could be used to serve a specific directive and heuristic motivation. Teachers switched from French, which was the language being taught, to English for disciplining the pupils. The pupils were told, in English, to speak French, and this confined French for pedagogical purposes, while English was the code for managerial purposes. (161-162).

The motivation in *stylistic*<sup>16</sup> functions is choosing an expression or code because of its form and aesthetic features. The form may be, for instance, stylistically appropriate for a formal or an informal text, as in the examples from the editorial article and the popular music album review discussed in section 2 (e.g. “lätty” ‘platter’ instead of “äänite” ‘recording’ in the review). When the motivation is aesthetics, the expression may be used because of assonance, rhyme, onomatopoeia, or similar poetic reasons.

Finally, *symbolic* (also known as *metaphoric*) functions include the affective and social functions. When an *affective* function is dominant, the emotional effect is emphasized instead of the referential. An expression may be used for a dramatic effect to call attention to an utterance (e.g. using a marked code), provocative effect (using a stigmatized choice for a confrontational result), or humoristic effect (e.g. punning or ironical use)<sup>17</sup>. For instance, the title “Mayday, May Day” (Niemelä) is a pun based on the forms and contents of the expressions. “Mayday” is a distress call, and “May Day” is a springtime festival. *Social* functions, then, construct images and identities. Each code has its set of social associations, and discoursers draw on these associations in their choices and interpretations to convey their identities (Holmes 49). This will be discussed in more detail in the section that follows.

### 3.4.2 Identity and Image Construction

The social functions of contact expressions are often motivated by identity and status construction: a writer may construct his or her identity via a choice of a particular

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<sup>16</sup> Stylistic function is also known as the *poetic* function (Holmes 286).

<sup>17</sup> Kelly-Holmes assigns these possibilities to code-switching (10), and there is no reason to believe that they do not apply to language choices in general.

contact expression or, on a larger scale, a code. As Tabouret-Keller asserts, “the link between language and identity is often so strong that a single feature of language use suffices to identify someone’s membership in a given group” (317). The markedness-model (Eastman 6), and the notions of “convergence” and “divergence”<sup>18</sup> (Holmes 255, 282), also emphasize the identity associations of codes, especially those related to power or solidarity. Additionally, contact expressions may be used in *language display*, that is, codes may be used to demonstrate symbolically the language competence of the language user (Kelly-Holmes 12).

The term *image* construction is also used in this paper in addition to *identity* construction, because in written communication media, such as VY, writers are not in a direct, spontaneous contact with their audience. They construct an image for the text, rather than an identity for themselves. Nevertheless, the term identity construction is applicable when authors or interviewees are conspicuously present as personalities in their texts, and even more so, if they can be interpreted to consciously draw attention to themselves as personalities.

The main argument of identity construction is that individuals construct their utterances to resemble the language of “those of the group or groups that they wish from time to time be identified with” (Le Page 28). At the same time, linguistic traits do not have an unchanging bond with identities, but such bonds are constantly renegotiated (Auer 284). As a result, in one communication event a writer may use a contact expression to accommodate towards their audience, while in another the same contact expression may create distance, depending on the norms of the contexts. Also, a writer may choose a contact expression that connects him/her with a group outside their audience without wanting to distance themselves from their audience. A writer may choose contact expressions that are associated with, for example, snowboarders, to construct an image for the text without necessarily alienating non-snowboarder readers.

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<sup>18</sup> *Speech convergence* refers to speakers’ polite strategy of accommodating their speech towards their addressees (Holmes 255-258). *Divergence* refers to distancing from the language norms of the addressees to gain overt prestige. Overt prestige refers to statements of difference in social status. (Holmes 237).

The features of an identity or image created by a choice of code are diverse and may include informality, solidarity, formality, distance, power, and/or regional identity, among others. More specifically, a minority language (*we-code*) is often associated with solidarity, while formal codes (*they-codes*) are typically associated with “out-group relations” and power (Gumperz, “Communicative” 66). If a code excludes one or more addressees, it may encode social distance and power. This is known as *elite closure* (Eastman 6). However, code-switching does not necessarily construct an elite identity because code-switches and borrowings are not necessarily “something elite” (e.g. Kelly-Holmes 19). For instance, in the context of a university, such groups as “the humanists” and “the economists” have specific identities that may be marked by specific choices of expression, but such identities are not necessarily power related in-group behaviour. Also, using more than one code may also reveal multiple identities and create an indefinite interpretation of the identity. This is also related to power, as ambiguity creates power (Eastman 6). Lastly, an identity may be constructed using *emblematic* switches, that are statements of specifically ethnic or regional identities<sup>19</sup> (Holmes 42).

Additionally, the concepts of *linguistic stigma* and *fetish* can be used to describe identity- and image-related code choices. These terms originally derive from Marxist terminology and traditionally denote cultural phenomena in general. The term stigmatization is conventionally used in relation to non-standard varieties, especially phonological ones, which are widely considered in society as less prestigious (Milroy and Milroy 52). In the context of the written medium, linguistic stigma can be defined as a negative quality connected to a linguistic choice, which is, then, interpreted by the reader as the less prestigious and desirable one. As writers design their texts more carefully than a spontaneously speaking language user, writers are more likely to avoid stigmatized choices than speakers. This avoidance may lead to the use of a contact expression that is a euphemism of a taboo or otherwise marked, stigmatized expression. Thus, euphemisms have a symbolic function because they are concessions to norms, and are likely to create an identity or image that avoids social stigma.

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<sup>19</sup> This phenomenon is also known as *crossing* (Rampton 59).

In contrast, when a code is fetishized, its “use-value,” namely referential content, becomes obscured by its positive symbolic value<sup>20</sup> (Kelly-Holmes 22). For example, the choice of a particular language may construct an image for a product through fetishization when individual words take other than denotational meanings. Such fetishization of codes may go so far that “words function more in terms of form than informational content.” (Kelly-Holmes 23-24). In advertisements, for example, code-switches may be used for visual effect, while the central information is conveyed in a domestic language. The way English is presented is imperative: is the context monolingually English, or is it a multilingual one in which English is a part of a “hybrid” that facilitates fetishization (Kelly-Holmes 65). Even if an expression is no longer a part of English lexicon, but has been borrowed and adapted into Finnish, it may retain some of its original associations, fetishes, or it may have new ones. Some borrowings may be borrowed “because certain types of contact situations promote desire to identify with the Embedded Language culture or at least aspects of it” (Myers-Scotton, “Comparing” 29). This idea is very close to such concepts as emblematic code-switching, but unlike emblematic or affective code-switching, fetishization includes lexical borrowing (Kelly-Holmes 25).

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<sup>20</sup> As in the case of fetishization of commodities, where the use value of goods becomes secondary to their symbolic value.

4 CONTACT EXPRESSIONS IN *VAA SAN YLIOPPILASLEHTI*

The present study examined the contact expression of English origin in all texts, advertisements excluded, in eight issues of the student newspaper *Vaasan Ylioppilaslehti*. The issues varied in length from 20 to 30 pages, and contained analysed 591 communication events. The genres of the events varied from formal study-related texts, such as news articles and editorial articles, to very informal texts, including columns, cartoons, and feature articles, style of which was described by the Editor-in-Chief as “gonzo” (Klemola: “Re:Vaasan”). Determining the main language was unproblematic in all communication events of the data, and there were no cases of a third code merged from English and Finnish. In 589 of the 591 communication events the main language was Finnish. One text changed the main language between Finnish and Swedish (an announcement by the student club Justus presented the same information first in Swedish and then in Finnish), and in one communication event, the main language was English (a feature article, “Alien Race,” written by three exchange students).

The contact expressions varied considerably in form and distribution, including established borrowings used in all genres, to multiple-word code-switches that were not used in the most formal articles. If proper nouns are included, there were 635 contact expressions which appeared in 1338 cases. If proper nouns are excluded, there were 403 contact expressions in 874 cases. The proportion of proper nouns was, thus, relatively large as they formed approximately one third (35 %) of all cases. Most of these proper nouns appeared outside sentential structures in lists of parties, concerts, activities, and commercial benefits available for students as names of companies, pubs and clubs<sup>21</sup> (Appendix 12).

The most frequent contact expression was “kampus” ‘campus’ with 53 cases, not an unpredictable finding in a student newspaper. The expression was found on its own, as

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<sup>21</sup> An example is provided by Appendix 12 (p. 95).

well as a part of compound words, such as “kampusmuotispeciali<sup>22</sup>” ‘campus fashion special’ (“Tässä lehdessä”) and “kampusalueen” ‘campus area’ (“Hymy hyytyy”). It was used in 44 different texts, including a variety of genres ranging stylistically from formal, such as editorial articles, to informal feature articles and announcements. A case in point is the title of a feature article on student club t-shirts:

Kevään väreissä: Kuuma katumuoti. Kampus-collection 2004 (Vierula, ”Kevään väreissä”)

In Spring Colours: Hot Street Fashion. Campus-Collection 2004.

The style of the article is informal, as it contains short verbless phrases such as “Kuuma katumuoti” ‘Hot Street Fashion’ and further, its topic refers to an informal, extracurricular aspect of student life. A more formal context is exemplified by Klemola’s editorial article on the election of the student representative body (“Valta on”):

opiskelijoiden käytössä on aivan liian vähän ehjiä tietokoneita ja tulostaminen on jo todellinen ongelma kampuksella.

students have far too few computers at their disposal, and printing is already a real problem on the campus.

The sentence structures of the editorial article are more formal than those of the feature article, and also the topic is a more formal, study related, aspect of student life.

The proper noun “Club 25” (a music club in Vaasa, where popular concerts are held frequently) rated second with 44 cases. In contrast to “kampus,” most of its cases were limited to a specific genre, as 41 was found in lists of concerts. The third most common expression was “bändi” ‘band, a group of musicians’ with 32 cases. The cases of “bändi” were distributed only to the more informal genres, such as album and popular concert reviews, interviews, and feature articles presenting a band. The following illustration is from Urmas’ review “Bo heitti jatsin romukoppaan” ‘Bo Threw Jazz into the Litter Basket:’

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<sup>22</sup> “Speciali” is a Swedish borrowing (Häkkinen).

levyn ykkösraidasta haaveillaan jonkin sortin *hittiä* – huh huh! ... Säälä vain, että hyvän *bändin* piti lähteä...

the number one track of the record is dreamed to become some kind of a *hit* – uh-uh! Such a pity that a good band had to go...

The informal style is embodied, for example, by the informal exclamation “huh huh” ‘uh-uh,’ expressing negative amazement.

Ten contact expressions appeared with a number of variants. For example, “rock” (e.g. Tehomaa) had such alternatives as “rokki” (ibid.) and “rocki” (e.g. Hautamäki, “Kaupunginorkesteri”). The different forms were often used the a same communication event, including Kemppi and Rousu’s musical review, which has “rock” in the ingress (“Notre Damen”):

*rock*henkiseen Notre Dame musikaaliin.

to the *rock*-spirited Notre Dame musical

and “rokahtava” in the main text:

luomaan musikaaliin yllättävän *rokahtavan* vireen.

succeeded to create a surprisingly *rock* tone.

This suggests that both structural forms, the cross expression “rock” and its adapted alternatives, were interchangeable alternatives in these communication events.

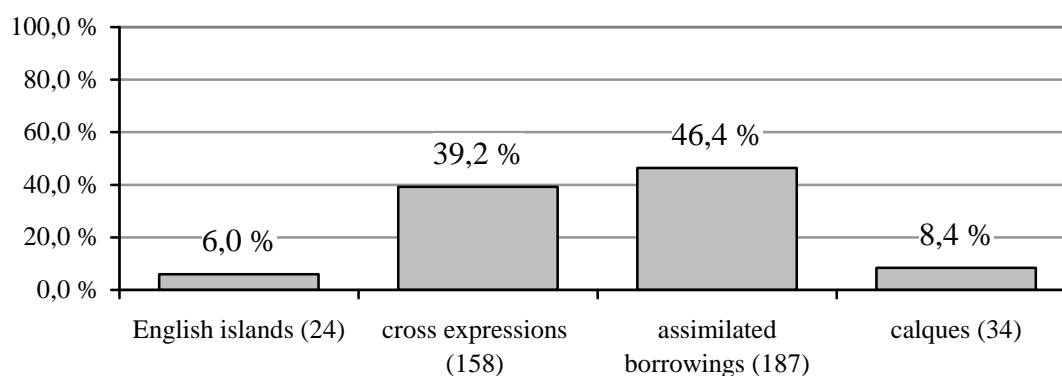
#### 4.1 Structural Forms in *Vaasan Ylioppilaslehti*

The 635 structurally different contact expressions (e.g. “rock” is structurally different than “rokki”), were categorized to English islands, cross expressions, adapted borrowings, and calques. As established in section 3.2, English islands are code-switches that follow English syntax, morphology, and orthography. Cross expressions,

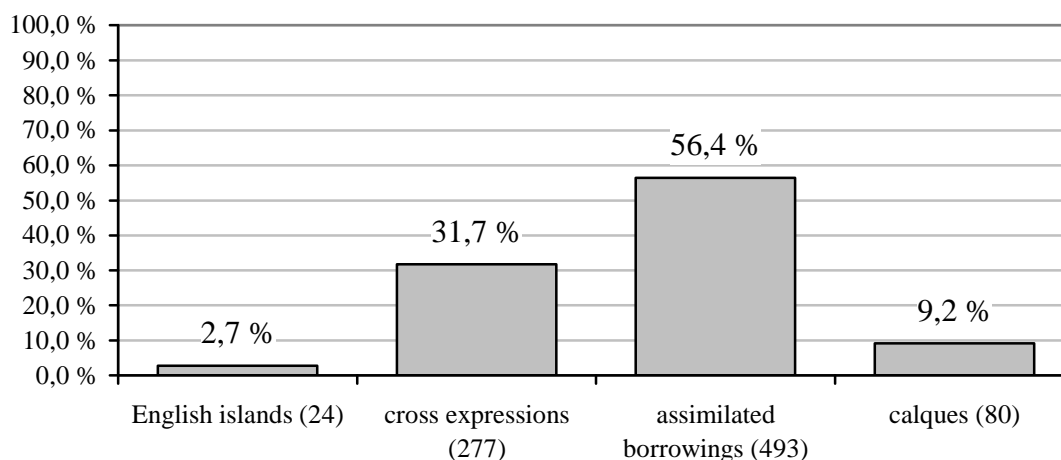


then, follow Finnish syntax, but the orthographical form of at least one of their morphemes is English, as in “backstagea” ‘backstage[+separative]’ (Valjakka, “Haluatko järkkäriksi”) and “birdiä” in “vappubirdiä” ‘May Day bird/babe [+separative]’ (“Vappuheila hakusessa”). Adapted borrowings have only Finnish morphological and syntactical features, and they are orthographically adapted. Calques, such as “sähkökitara” ‘electric guitar’ (Hautamäki, “Marzin”) are translated borrowings.

Although contact expressions were found throughout the borrowing and code-switching continuum, most contact expressions (54,8%) were integrated into Finnish on all structural levels and would be placed in the borrowing end of the continuum. The integration into Finnish also became evident from the low number of English islands, and additionally, from the high number of compounds formed of contact and domestic expressions. The following figures illustrate the percentages of structural categories. The Figure 3 illustrates the proportions of different structural forms, with proper nouns excluded, from the total of 403 contact expressions, and the Figure 4 illustrates the proportions of the cases, in which the different forms occurred, from the total 874 with proper nouns excluded. The absolute number of contact expressions in a category are shown in parentheses.



**Figure 3:** Structural forms with proper nouns excluded.



**Figure 4:** Cases with proper nouns excluded.

The numbers show that each English island was unique since there were as many different English islands as there were cases of occurrence. Entirely unintegrated forms, English islands, were also the smallest category (2,7%), whereas the three integrated categories, cross expressions, adapted borrowings, and calques, formed the majority (97,3%). Adapted borrowings were the largest category, as nearly half (46,4%) of the contact expressions were adapted, and they also formed the majority (56,4%) of cases. Additionally, an adapted borrowing was used more often, 2,64<sup>23</sup> times, than a cross expression, which was used 1,75 times. The difference is statistically significant<sup>24</sup>, that is, the difference is not due to chance. Furthermore, if an expression had variants, a cross expression and an adapted form, the latter was more common<sup>25</sup>. The average frequency of a calque was 2,05, but the number must be approached with reservations because two calques appeared so frequently that an arithmetic average became an impractical parameter. In section 4.1.4 calques are discussed in more detail.

All structural forms complied to a set of structural rules of the Matrix Language Model. This indicates that in the language contact situation in VY, English is subordinate to

<sup>23</sup> An arithmetic average.

<sup>24</sup> If  $\alpha = 5\%$

<sup>25</sup> This can not be deducted from the figures three and four, but was calculated separately.

Finnish. Cross expressions were used logically and consistently according to the Finnish syntactical system, and in all cases of possible intrasentential single word code-switches, including English proper nouns, the morpheme order was Finnish, and the system morphemes (e.g. suffixes) were also provided by Finnish. For instance:

Tarkennus Ville Luoman kirjoitukseen Diploma Supplementin käytöstä.  
(Cuccinotta)

A Correction to Ville Luomas writing on the use of Diploma Supplement.

In the example, the cross expression “Diploma Supplement” receives the Finnish genitive case (-in), and the morpheme order is Finnish. There were no instances in which the language providing the relevant system morphemes was different than the language providing the morpheme order. This applied not only to Finnish, but also to multiple word code-switches, English islands.

#### 4.1.1 English Islands

Although English islands were the most conspicuous form of English influence, but not in number. The syntactical, morphological, and orthographical English form of the islands facilitated their conspicuousness as the main language of VY was Finnish. However, in numbers the islands were very rare, as they formed only 2,7 per cent of all cases of contact expressions. None of the 24 English islands appeared more than once, and none occurred in the most formal texts, such as editorial articles, comments, news, or brief news articles. The islands were conspicuously a feature of the more informal communication events, such as non-study related feature articles, columns, and reviews. Nine English islands were intrasentential code-switches. The following example is from a music recording review:

Syvällisyyttä on tästä turha hakea, muttei se ole tarpeenkaan ”cos’ It’s Only Rock’n’Roll And I Like It.” (Valjakka, ”Teinit trendsettereinä”)

There's no point in looking for any profound content from this one, but again, it's not necessary, "cos' It's Only Rock'n'Roll And I Like It."

The code-switch is the intrasentential English island containing a popular English phrase "It's Only Rock'n'Roll And I Like It." The deciding features in categorizing the case as an English island are the use of a syntactical morpheme (e.g. conjunction "cos'"), English word order, and content morphemes. A similar case was used in a student club announcement, in which an English island was joined with a Finnish island using the Finnish connective conjunction "ja" 'and:'

Liity gigaan ja "Follow the white rabbit." (Gig@)

Join Giga and "Follow the white rabbit."

Although the capital "F" has been used, as if the code-switch "Follow the white rabbit" would start a separate sentence, the conjunction "ja" combines the island, as an intrasentential switch, with the preceding Finnish island. The reason for the capital letter can be found in the literature and science-fiction origin and in the symbolic function of the island, which are discussed further in section 4.3.

Four islands were extrasentential switches, such as "Semi in!" in the feature article on student club t-shirts:

Rennon reteä hämäläinen asennepaita tuottaa varmasti sopivan määrän hellus-reaktioita. **Semi in!** (Vierula, "Kevään väreissä")

The happy-go-lucky Hämäläinen shirt, full of attitude, is quaranteed to trigger a decent number of cuddly-reactions. **Semi in!**

"Semi in!" does not have a sentence structure, because it does not have the necessary constituents (e.g. a verb phrase, discussed in section 3.2). Also, like most extrasentential code-switches in VY, the switch is an exclamation. Another typical extrasentential island is "What?" in the following example, starting a column on drinking and alcoholism (boldface is used in the original):

**What?** Pitää ottaa uusintatesti? Tätä [Alcohol Disorder Test] ei pelata kuin Talousneroa—oikeat vastaukset kun eivät olisi niitä totuudenmukaisia. (Länkinen, “Koukussa?”)

**What?** I have to take the test again? This [Alcohol Disorder Test] is not played like the quiz Talousnero [Financial Genius]—since the correct answers would not be the truthful ones.

Again, the English island “What?” is elliptical and does not include a verb. It functions as an introductory exclamation to the Finnish question, “Pitää ottaa uusintatesti?” ‘I have to take the test again.’

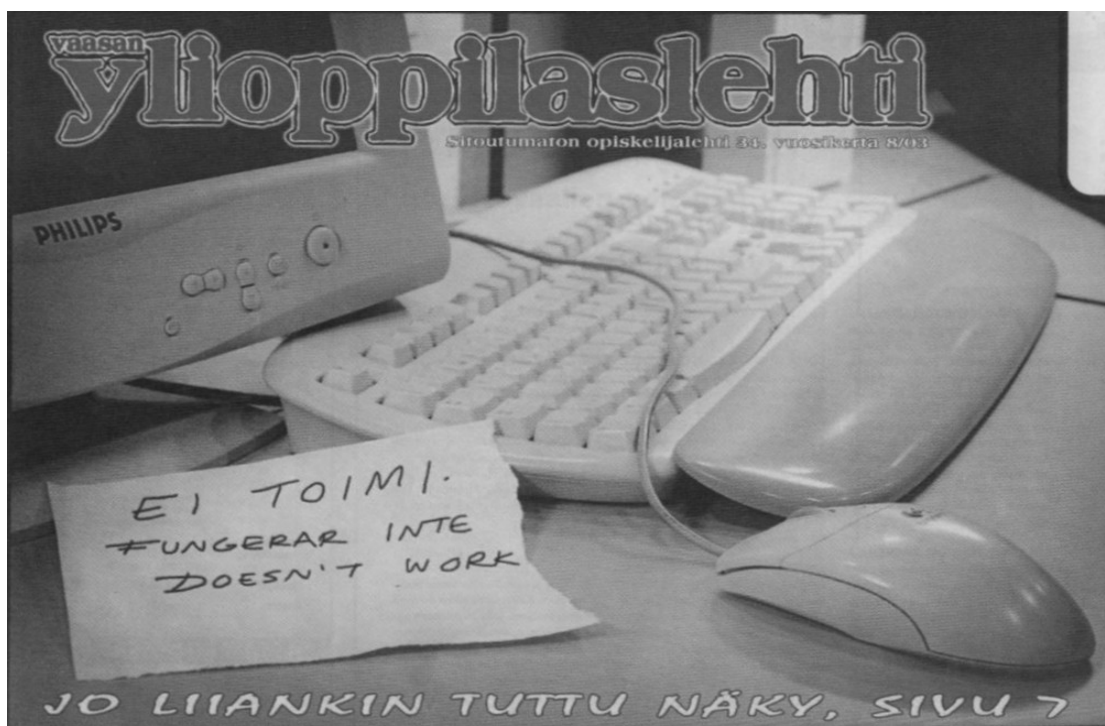
Only two cases of intersentential English islands were found, both of them from a feature article interviewing two employees of a night club in Vaasa, “Rebecka ja Luigi in Love” (Ruuhonen and Kemppe). The article also contains several *intrasentential* English islands, including “in Love” in the title. As an example, one of the intersentential code-switches is a comment, given by a female interviewee, on the negative aspects of being recognized after she had modelled for an advertisement:

varsinkin tytöt puhuu selän takana. Puhukoot. I couldn't care less!  
Mä olen pohjimmiltani kiltti maalaistyttö...

especially girls talk behind my back. Let them talk. I couldn't care  
less! In my heart, I'm a good country girl...

The English island, “I couldn't care less,” is an intersentential code-switch, since it is not inside a Finnish sentence and it contains a verb and a noun phrase.

In the classification of one of the code-switches, determining the main language required contextual analysis of the communication event. The following picture was found on the front page the issue 8, 2003, illustrating a feature article on the state of the computer classes in the university:



**Picture 2:** Trilingual code-switching.

In the picture two, the note beside the keyboard repeats “doesn’t work” in Finnish, Swedish and English. On the one hand, if the note is seen as the communication event, this case has three Matrix Languages that are in an equal relationship, and the communication event does not have a single main language. On the other hand, if the communication event is the picture, it has a main language. The Finnish phrase on the bottom of the picture, which translates as “already a too familiar sight, page 7,” is a part of the communication event (picture) containing the note. Consequently, the bottom phrase together with the note and the rest of the picture form a single communication event. If the three languages would be equal in this communication event, also the bottom phrase would be given a Swedish and an English translation. Since this is not the case, the main language of the event (picture) is Finnish, and it contains an English and a Swedish island.

#### 4.1.2 Cross Expressions

Nearly all cross expressions were single word, and they appeared in all genres. Cross expressions were also the most multiform category, and their location on the continuum from code-switches to borrowings (and as a result, integration into Finnish) varied greatly. In all cases, the content morpheme was English or identical with the English original, and the possible system morphemes were Finnish. While the majority of the expressions (88 %) appeared only once and were either very close to the code-switching end or somewhere in the middle of the continuum, some that occurred relatively regularly, were very likely or clearly borrowings. Of the expressions that occurred regularly, the three most common were the nouns “rock,” “radio,” and “video.” “Rock” was the most frequent with 12 cases, “radio” and “video” were the second most frequent with 11 cases both. They also formed compounds, such as “radiotoimittajan” ‘radiojournalist’ (Mäkynen). The etymological evidence indicates that these three cross expressions are at the borrowing end of the continuum. All three nouns are cited in etymological dictionaries as “established borrowings” (e.g. Häkkinen, “rock,” “radio,” and “video”).

Also, evidence of adaptation process of cross expressions was found, which indicates that Finnish is the dominant language in the situation. For example, such adapted borrowings as “rokki” and “rocki” were found, and although no variants for “radio” and “video” occurred, it can be argued that the expressions do not require adaptation. A similar case with “rock” was “jazz.” Certain communication events contained the original English spelling “jazz” (e.g. Mäki), while others had the adapted form “jatsi” (e.g. Laukkanen, S, “Viisi vuotta”).

In contrast to the above expressions, the majority of cross expressions were ambiguous as to whether they could be classified as borrowings or code-switches. A case in point is the adjective “crazy” in the feature article by Ruohonen and Kemppe:

hyvä kaveri, crazy, oikea ilopilleri (“Rebecka ja Luigi”)

a good mate, crazy, really funny

The expression “crazy” is not cited in etymological dictionaries, it has Finnish alternatives (e.g. “hullu”) in *VY*, and it is not adapted. Therefore, the data contains no definite evidence to determine whether this, and similar expressions, are English code-switches or unadapted borrowings. However, since adapted alternatives were found, such as “creizi” (Veso), it is likely that “crazy” is a code-switch in the process of becoming a core borrowing, so that the form “creizi” is already in the borrowing half or end of the continuum. The position of “crazy” in the code-switching half of the continuum is supported by contextual evidence, as “crazy” occurred only once in single communication event that contained several code-switches, including the only two intersentential code-switches in the data.

An example of a cross expression located in the borrowing half of the continuum is “helpdesk:”

Jos koneet eivät toimi ja esimerkiksi tulostimesta on muste vähissä, tulisi tästä ilmoittaa atk-keskuksen helpdeskiin. (Vierula, “Kun kone”)

If the machines do not work, and for example printers are low in ink, the helpdesk of the IT-centre should be informed.

The unadapted expression “helpdesk” is inflected for the Finnish illative case (-iin), and thus a part of Finnish syntactical structure. Dictionaries offer Finnish alternatives “käyttötuki” ‘operation support’ and “opastuspuhelin” ‘guidance phone’ (e.g. *MOT*), but those were not used in *VY*.

In addition to the 144 single word cross expressions, fourteen cross expressions enclosed more than one word. One of them was “Most Valuable Player:”

Maalivahtimme **Markus Mesimäki** valittiinkin turnauksen Most Valuable Playeriksi, Manner kertoo. (Klemola, “Opiskelijoiden jääkiekon”)

So our goal keeper **Markus Mesimäki** was nominated as the Most Valuable Player of the tournament, Manner says.



The English phrase, “Most Valuable Player,” is a title given in a student ice-hockey tournament. Since it is inflected for the Finnish translative case (-ksi), but not adapted, it is a cross expression. As in the cases of “jazz” or “internet,” it does not have an established, translated, or adapted alternative in the data. Therefore, as no etymological evidence was available either, the cross expression could not be definitely determined as either Finnish or English, and it can not be definitely placed in any one position on the continuum accurately.

All English proper nouns within syntactical structures were categorized as cross expressions because they were always incorporated into a Finnish sentence structure and received Finnish system morphemes if the syntax required it. A number of proper nouns resembled English islands in their internal structure, but at the same time they were incorporated into Finnish syntactical structures. The following example from a record review incorporates a name of a band, “Children of Bodom<sup>26</sup>.”

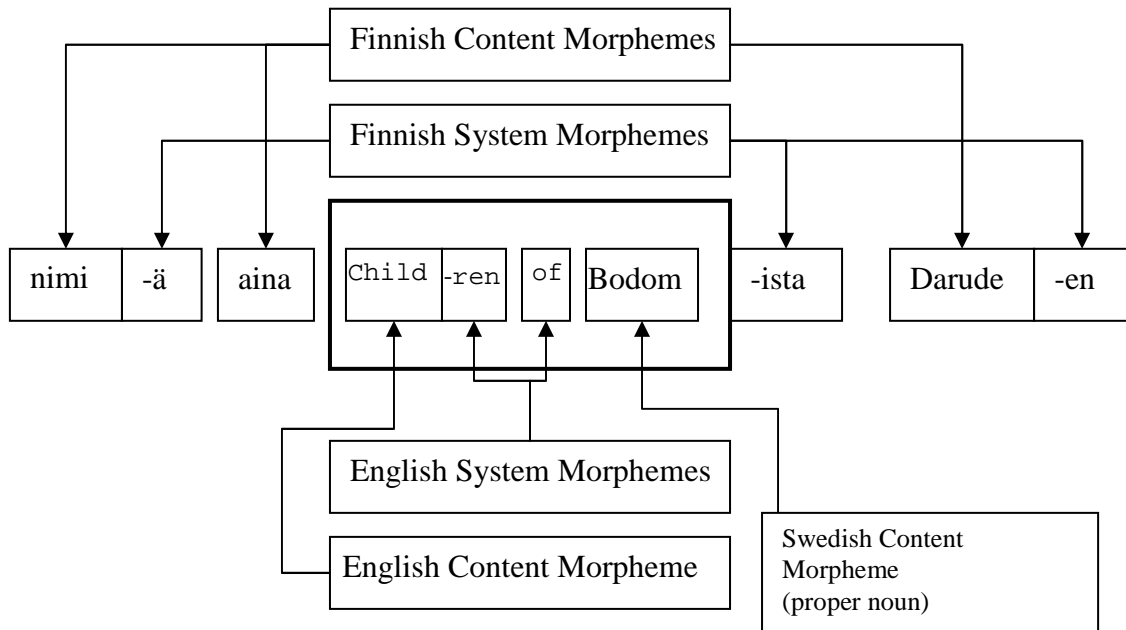
Tarjolla on suomalaisen musiikin tunnettuja nimiä aina Children of Bodomista Darudeen. (Matilainen, “Piikkinä lihassa”)

The record offers well known names of Finnish music from Children of Bodom to Darude.

Since the proper noun is inflected for the Finnish elative case (-sta) and the required phonological extension (-i), it is a cross expression. The conclusions that were drawn from such cases were that: 1) proper nouns behaved structurally like cross expressions, adapted borrowings as they followed Finnish syntax and received Finnish system morphemes, if required. 2) At the same time, they formed internal English structures that resembled English islands, illustrated by the following figure:

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<sup>26</sup> “Bodom” is a Swedish proper noun.



**Figure 5:** The structure of English proper nouns.

Figure 5 shows that an English structure “Children of Bodom” is embedded in the Finnish syntactic structure, “nimiä...Darudeen.” On the sentence level, the multiple word English expression behaves like a single word Finnish expression: all relevant system morphemes, such as the inflection for the Finnish elative case (-sta), are attached to the end of the entire proper noun. At the same time, English syntax applies inside the proper noun, it follows the English morpheme order and uses English system morphemes, such as the preposition “of.” As a result, the expression resembles an English island, but is not one. All English proper nouns found in the material followed this structural system.

Similarly, when English proper nouns formed compound words and word unions with Finnish expressions, the relevant Finnish system morphemes were attached to the last content morpheme in the compound, as in:

Winter Frisbee Trophy –kiekkogolfkisalla (WWW)

with Winter Frisbee Trophy discus golf contest

In the example, the inflection for the adessive case (-lla) is attached to “kiekkogolfkisa” ‘discus golf contest.’ Similarly, in “*Walkie Talkie* –levyn” ‘*Walkie Talkie* record’ (Miettola, “Matkamusiikkia pidemmille”) the inflection for the accusative case (-n) is attached to “levy” ‘record.’ It is likely, that these compounds have are motivated by the prevention of inflecting the English expression and producing such complex constructions as described in the Figure 5 (in addition to their clarification function discussed in section 4.3).

However, certain proper noun compounds were motivated by more creative reasons than prevention of inflecting an English expression. A case in point is “Sting,” which appeared in a record review not only in its original form, but also as a part of a compound word “Sting-hempeilyä” ‘Sting-sentimentality,’ and as an adjective “stingimäinen” ‘like Sting’ or ‘Stingy’ (Urmas, “Sting löysi”). The compound retains the capital letter, while the adjective does not, and as a result, the adjective is categorized as an adapted borrowing, while the compound word is a cross expression.

English acronyms, such as “WWW” (“Ylioppilaskunnalle uudet”) and “ESN (Erasmus Student Network)” (ESN), appeared frequently and were classified as cross expressions. However, the regularity of acronyms was due to the frequent appearance of “www” (10 cases). Acronyms also formed compounds like “WLAN-teknologialla” ‘with WLAN technology,’ (Järvinen, “Nyt surffata”) and “www-sivuilla” ‘on www-pages’ (“Ei GOOM-risteilyjä”). Such compound structures as “WLAN-teknologialla” are likely to have the same structural function as proper nouns, in addition to their other functions.

#### 4.1.3 Adapted Borrowings

The general reason of Adaptation- Finnish dominance

As could be expected, the structural behaviour of adapted borrowings was identical to other Finnish expressions. While most adapted borrowings (86,8 %) appeared only once in the data, some were relatively frequent. The most common were “kampus” ‘campus,’ with 53 cases, and “bändi” ‘band,’ as in “a group of musicians” with 32 cases. “Rokki” ‘rock’ was third with 11 cases. All forms of adaptation, vowel and consonant changes

and additions, were found in the material. A typical case of adaptation was the addition of the final “i” as in “soundi” ‘sound [of a band]’ in Matilainen’s concert review (“Homopoppia kaikhallissa”). The addition of the final vowel is likely caused by the rarity of consonant endings in Finnish lexicon.

Other typical cases were a vowel change from “a,” when pronounced /æ/, to “ä,” as in “späm” ‘spam, trash mail’ (Alatalo); and a consonant change from “c” to “k,” as in “disko” ‘disco’ (Länkinen, “Vaasan Funk”). Also creative adaptations occurred. A case in point is the title of Ala-Kyyny’s movie review, in which “message” was rendered according to the Finnish orthographical system to resemble the English phonological form. The result is “Mesidz” (Ala-Kyyny). Additionally, adaptation was found to affect capitals, a case in point being “internet” (cf. English ‘Internet’) Lastly, adapted borrowings were distributed throughout genres, as were cross expressions.

#### 4.1.4 Calques

Like other structural categories, most calques (93,3 %) occurred only once in the data. However, two calques occurred so frequently that the arithmetic average (2,05) of the category became relatively high compared to its modal score variable (1), and, thus, impractical. “Sivu” ‘page’ when referring specifically to a WWW-page, and “sähköposti” ‘electronic mail,’ were both found in 20 cases, together forming half of all the cases of calques.

Calques often formed a part of a compound, such as “verkkosivu” ‘net page’ (Gorschkow). All calques in the material were word for word translations, such as “uutisryhmä” ‘newsgroup,’ “sähköposti” ‘electronic mail’ (“Vaalikuulutus”), “rullaluistelu” ‘rollerskating’ (Laukkanen, S, ”Poltetta löytyy”), and “h-hetki” ‘h-hour’ (Laukkanen, J, “Teekkarikulttuuri tekee”).

#### 4.2 Flagging in *Vaasan Ylioppilaslehti*

In code-switching studies, flagging usually refers to the use of determiner-like expressions before an expression because of non-fluent switching. In the present study, it also includes typographical features that “flag” an expression, such as quotation marks, boldface, italics, or parentheses, effectively separating the expression from the rest of the text because of sociolinguistic reasons. A total of 123 cases were marked and narrowed down as possibly flagged expressions. However, flagging was very rare in the material, as four cases of the contact expressions were actually flagged (0,3% of the total 1338). Since flagging was exceptional, contact expressions were the unmarked choice in almost all communication events. Of the five cases, markedness of the code was a factor in four: two of these were English islands, one a cross expression, and one an adapted borrowing. No causal relationship between the formality of the communication events and flagging was found, which may be due to the small number of flags. The flags in *VY* were quotation marks and italics, and there were no instances of determiner-like elements.

The first case of flagging was found in a feature article on the history of May Day:

Tämä päivä oli nimeltään “moving day”, joka oli yleinen työpaikan vaihtopäivä, (Toiviainen, “Ylioppilaiden ja”)

That day was called “moving day,” which was a common job changing day,

“Moving day” was the only contact expressions in the communication event. The Finnish alternative, “vappu,” was frequently used in the article, and without quotation marks. As none of the other expressions in the article were enclosed in quotation marks, and also, “moving day” was the only contact expression, its likely that it was flagged as a marked code-switch.

The second case of flagging has been already discussed in the context of the structural analysis:

Syvällisyyttä on tästä turha hakea, muttei se ole tarpeenkaan ”cos’ It’s Only Rock’n’Roll And I Like It” (Valjakka, ”Teinit trendsettereinä”)

It’s useless to search for any profound content from this one, but again it’s not necessary, “cos’ It’s Only Rock’n’Roll And I Like It”

As the structural analysis established, the English island contains a popular culture phrase. Since none of the Finnish phrases in the text were enclosed in quotation marks, it is likely that the quotation marks in this case have a double function. 1) They enclose a quotation of a popular culture phrase, but they also 2) flag an island that is not the expected language choice in the communication event.

The third case was an italicized cross expression “Diploma Supplement” in Ville Luoma’s column “Känsäinvälisyyttä:”<sup>27</sup>

nettisivuilla<sup>28</sup> mainitaan valmistumisen yhteydessä *Diploma Supplement* (tästä eteenpäin *DS*).

the web pages mention *Diploma Supplement* (hereafter *DS*) in the context of graduation.

No other expressions than the cases of “Diploma Supplement” and its acronym “DS” were italicized in the column. It is likely that cross expressions were the marked choice in this communication event because the only cross expression, “Diploma Supplement, was consistently italicized. Additionally, the possibility that the italics were used to emphasize the topic of the column is not likely, because other columns by Luoma, or other writers, did not employ italics for such emphasis (cf. example from Toiviainen in the next paragraph). The italics were not an aspect the lay-out either since the italicized cross expressions did not have a regular position in the lay-out of the column (cf. Appendix 4 and the upcoming analysis of Länkinen’s column). However, the cases of “Diploma Supplement” were not flagged in other communication events.

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<sup>27</sup> The title is a pun, merging the Finnish expressions for “Internationality” and “Between Calluses.”

<sup>28</sup> “Netti” ‘net/internet’ is an adapted borrowing.

The fourth case of flagging was found in a feature article on a sex festival. The flagging there was not, however, related to the markedness of the contact expressions. The event contained the following sentence:

Olisihan se ihan kiva päästä näkemään vähän ‘pinkkiä’ taas pitkästä aikaa.  
(Tehomaa)

It would be quite nice to get to to see a bit of ‘pink’ again after a long time.

The adapted borrowing “pinkki” ‘pink’ was used twice in the article as an euphemism for genitals, both cases enclosed in single quotation marks. Because the other borrowings in the article, such as “porno” ‘porn,’ “seksi” ‘sex,’ “dildo,” and “strippari” ‘stripper’ were not flagged, the contact expressions can not be considered to represent a marked choice in the communication event. Nor is it possible that “pinkki” was flagged as a colloquial expression or an euphemism either because other euphemisms were not flagged (e.g. “käsitöitä” ‘handwork’ for masturbation’). The likely reason for the single quotation marks is that it was flagged to emphasize its sexual metaphorical meaning rather than the literal.

Of the 123 cases that were suspected to be flagged, one case of quotation marks and 82 cases of boldface were lay-out related. For instance, each paragraph in Länkinen’s column “Koukussa?” began with boldface words, such as:

**Audit-testi on hupaisa testi.** Vastoin odotuksiani...  
**Ensimmäiseen,** alkoholin käytön...  
**What?** Pitää ottaa uusintatesti?...

**Audit-test is an amusing test.** Contrary to my expectations...  
**For the first,** alcohol use...  
**What?** I have to take the test again?...

Since boldface is used to emphasize the beginning of a paragraph, regardless of language, it was considered to be lay-out related and not a case of flagging.

One case of quotation marks and 24 cases of italics marked proper nouns, as in the case of an italicized track title, “Surfing On a Rocket:”

sellaisia biisejä kuin *Surfing On a Rocket* (Miettola, “Matkamusiikkia pidemmille”)

such tracks such as *Surfing on a Rocket*

Such italicization was a standard typological feature in the music reviews of VY, used to mark track and album titles irrespective of the code.

Seven cases of quotation marks enclosed a direct quotation. Three cases of quotation marks and two cases of parentheses enclosed a clarification of an acronym, as in “ESN (Erasmus Student Network)” (ESN). Two cases of parentheses enclosed English islands which were not used to clarify other expressions. Both were found in the same article by Ruohonen and Kemppe (“Rebecka ja Luigi”), and both were used to enclose a parenthetical expression (they provided additional, secondary, information to the main clause). Therefore, the cases could not involve flagging. Additionally, the article displayed similar code-switches and cross expressions without flags, including the only two intersentential code-switches in the data.

#### 4.3 Functions in VY: Transactional, Symbolic or Both

Contact expressions in VY displayed a great variety of functions. The functions were classified into three main categories: transactional functions are motivated by referential content and efficiency of communication, stylistic functions by poetic motivations, and symbolic functions by emotional and social motivations. Both transactional functions and symbolic functions were present in the students’ discourse, often simultaneously. At least in 37 per cent of all cases had both transactional and symbolic functions, though the number is likely to be higher depending on interpretation. The dominant transactional function was communicative, which means that expressing the informative content accurately and efficiently was the main motivation in those cases. The second subcategory of transactional functions, discourse management (clarification and repair of previous messages) was scarce, and no cases of the heuristic function (teaching and



problem solving) was found. Symbolic functions were dominantly metaphorical choices of expression to construct different images and identities. Also, one case of emblematic switching, stating a regional identity, was found. Affective switches to create emotional effects were also present, mainly in punning, ridicule, and other forms of humour. In contrast to most studies on borrowing and code-switching (e.g. Jonsson 2005; Myers-Scotton 1995), no cases of power related language choices could be established, as none of the cases of identity or image construction created an identity or image stating a power or status difference. Stylistic functions often accompanied symbolic functions in the more informal communication events.

Symbolic and stylistic functions were more likely in English islands than in cross expressions and borrowings. This is indicated by the finding that, while all English islands in the material could have been expressed in Finnish to convey the same referential meaning, 55 per cent of cross expressions, 46 per cent of adapted borrowings, and as many as 91 per cent of calques did not have an alternative in the data or the alternatives were less specific<sup>29</sup>. Further, the majority did not have alternatives in the dictionaries used in the present study. If an expression did not have an alternative or its alternative was less precise, the writer had less choice, and consequently, the possibility of a symbolic or stylistic functions decreased. If, however, an alternative expression of equal length and specificity existed, symbolic and stylistic functions were likely to be dominant. A case in point is the use of “deadline” instead of the Finnish ‘aikaraja’ or ‘määräaika,’ in the following extract from a feature article on plagiarism in the university:

Samanaikaiset deadlines eri opintojaksoilla ja ajanpuute ylipäätään aiheuttaa tämän. (Kohonen, “Valheella on”)

It is caused by coinciding deadlines of different courses and lack of time in general.

Since language efficiency functions can not be regarded as dominant in the example (the indigenous alternatives have exactly same referential content and length) the

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<sup>29</sup> Proper nouns excluded.

dominant functions must be symbolic or stylistic. Also, the Finnish alternatives of “deadline” appeared in a variety of other communication events, thus emphasizing the symbolic or stylistic function in the above example. Symbolic and stylistic functions were interpreted to be likely or dominant in at least 74 per cent of all cases of English islands, 45 per cent of cross expressions, 54 per cent of adapted borrowings, and 9 per cent of calques<sup>30</sup>.

In all but one of the proper nouns, the transactional function was interpreted as dominant, because proper nouns do not have an alternative. While, for instance, the owners of English brand names may have associative and social reasons for choosing English names for their products, the writers of VY have little choice but to use those names. Thus, in the context of VY, the transactional function dominates. This is illustrated by the following excerpt from a list “Alennuksia opiskelijoille” ‘Discounts for Students:’

**Giggling Marlin**, Vaasanpuistikko 18: Kuukauden *shot* opiskelijakorttia näyttämällä 3 e. (Eerola)

**Giggling Marlin**, Vaasanpuistikko 18: The *shot* of the month 3 e by showing your student card.

While the proprietor of the night club “Giggling Marlin” could have chosen a Finnish name to convey the same referential content, the writer of the communication event in VY has no choice but to use the English proper noun. Translating the name into Finnish could have been read as a joke, and while that would have been possible in the context of such genres as columns or cartoons, it could not occur in the context of lists of parties and events (Appendix 12). Only one case of a translated proper noun was found, in the context of pop album review, and that will be analysed in section 4.3.3.

Unlike with the proper nouns, other contact expressions often displayed multiple simultaneous functions. A case in point was the cross expression “shot” (Eerola). As a form of a drink it has alternatives in Finnish, such as the adapted form “shotti” or the

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<sup>30</sup> Proper nouns excluded.

indigenous expression “näkäräinen.” Therefore, the transactional function of “shot” is likely to be accompanied with stylistic and symbolic functions.

In what follows, the transactional functions are discussed in further detail. Transactional functions were divided to communicative, discourse management, and heuristic functions. Communicative function refers to conveying informative content accurately and efficiently, discourse management function to clarifying or repairing a previous message, and heuristic function to problem solving, learning, and giving directions.

#### 4.3.1 Transactional Functions

The main function of contact expressions was communicative function, which is motivated by content, accuracy, and efficiency of expression, was interpreted as dominant in cases when no alternative existed for a contact expression, or the alternative was less specific or significantly (>50 %) longer. In total, if proper nouns were excluded, communicative function was interpreted to be dominant in none of the English islands, 55 per cent of the cross expressions, 47 per cent of the adapted borrowings, and 91 per cent of the calques. These expressions had no indigenous, adapted, or translated alternative.

In all cases when the dominant function of a cross expression, an adapted borrowing, or a calque was transactional, the expression denoted an adopted invention or phenomenon. Of these cultural borrowings, the largest groups were technology<sup>31</sup> and music<sup>32</sup> related terms, such as the acronym “WWW” and its compounds (e.g. Järvinen, “Nyt surffata”), and “soul” (Länkinen, “Vaasan Funk”). A further example is “kasarirumpufillejä” ‘eighties drum fills’ (Järvinen, “Viuhdettä vappuetkoille”), which includes the adapted cultural borrowing “filli,” denoting a short drum solo to fill a space at the end of a vocal or instrumental phrase.

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<sup>31</sup> 44% of cross expressions and 29% of adapted borrowings classified as cultural borrowings.

<sup>32</sup> 14% of cross expressions and 24% of adapted borrowings classified as cultural borrowings.

Most technological terms were related to computing, such as “domainit ‘domains,’ “webbisivu” ‘web-page’ and “serveri” ‘server’ (Laukkanen, J, “Erään johtamisen”). The above three borrowings have been given calques in a Finnish computing dictionary by Kotus (*MOT*), but these calques were not used in the material. This suggests that the adapted borrowings were the unmarked choice in the communication events in *VY*.

Some expressions had alternatives, but the communicative function, nevertheless, dominated or was interpreted to contribute because the alternatives were longer or less specific. In total, 90 per cent of the cross expressions and 35 per cent of the adapted borrowings were shorter than their alternatives. An example of a case in which the shortness of expression was a dominant feature is the acronym “DL” for “deadline,” which appeared, among other texts, in the table of contents of the newspaper:

SEURAAVA DL 17. HELMIKUUTA (“Vaasan Ylioppilaslehti,” all issues)

The next DL 17. of February

The alternatives of “DL” are “aikaraja,” “määräaika” and “takaraja,” which do not have a similar acronym in the data or in the sources of this thesis. The acronym is, thus, significantly (75%, 77%, and 75% respectively) shorter than the alternatives. The cross expression “deadline” also occurred thrice in the material, but in those three cases the communicative function was not dominant because “deadline” is as long and has the same referential content as “aikaraja.” The tendency towards shortness of expression was particularly evident in such condensed texts as table of contents, not only in the choice of expression, but in the overall form, including the use of relatively short sentences and bullets ( Appendix 11).

In some cases, both features of the communicative function, specificity and shortness of expression were significant. A case in point is the adapted borrowing “soundi” ‘sound:’

Uuden soundin etsiminen kuuluu räikeimmin levyn kakkosraidalla (Urmas, “Sting löysi”)

The search for a new sound is loudest on the second track...

Firstly, “soundi” is significantly (55%) shorter than its alternative “äänimaailma.” Secondly, it is more specific than its other alternative “ääni,” because “soundi” refers to the sound and playing style of the band, while the alternative “ääni” does not denote a playing style but has more general senses such as “tone,” “noise,” and “voice.” However, not all cases of “soundi” in VY were more specific than the indigenous alternatives:

“Mitä soundimaailmaan tulee niin vähätkin syntetisaattorit ovat vaihtuneet suurimmaksi osaksi särökitaroihin” (Arvinen)

‘What comes to the sound world, the few synthesizers have largely changed to distorted guitars’

In this case, the communicative function of “soundi” in “soundimaailmaan” can not be dominant, because the alternative “äänimaailmaan” would have formed a shorter expression with approximately the same referential content, thus increasing the likeliness of stylistic and symbolic functions.

The transactional function of discourse management appeared in two English islands and three cross expressions. All cases were clarifications of acronyms as in the following example:

Verkko on toteutettu WLAN-tekniologialla (Wireless Local Area Network). (Järvinen, “Nyt surffata”)

The network is implemented with WLAN-technology (Wireless Local Area Network).

In the example, “Wireless Local Area Network” clarifies “WLAN.”

No cases of the third transactional function, heuristic function, was found. Two verbs were found in imperative mode in English islands, but neither is an order or a direction in the context of their communication events. An example can be drawn from the

feature article “World Social Forum: Toisenlainen maailma on mahdollinen”  
 ‘World Social Forum: Another World is Possible:’

Vastaan tuli useasti eri maiden delegaatteja, joiden poskiin joku oli kirjoittanut kajaalilla sanat “Bush Off.” (Gorschkow)

Delegates of different countries often came up, with the words “Bush Off” written on their cheeks with kohl.

As “Bush Off” is a quotation, it does not have a directive function in the context of this communication event, although it can be interpreted to have a directive function in its original context in the World Social Forum (though a symbolic function is more likely). The second imperative was an English island found in an announcement by Gig@, which will be analyzed in the following section, because of its symbolic functions.

#### 4.3.2 Stylistic and Symbolic Functions

Although all contact expressions, inherently, had a transactional function, and although that function was dominant in most cases, the possibility of symbolic and stylistic functions to construct identities or images, create emotional effects, or poetic effect, appeared frequently. Symbolic and stylistic functions were possible in all cases of English islands, 45 per cent of all cases of cross expressions, 53 per cent of all cases of adapted borrowings, and 9 per cent of all cases of calques. Stylistic functions were interpreted to be important in texts which employed islands and cross expressions frequently. Symbolic function was divided to the affective function, motivated by emotional effect, and to social function, motivated by image or identity construction. The first symbolic function, affective function, was evident in 16 per cent of all cases of English islands, three per cent of all cases of cross expressions, nine per cent of all cases of adapted loans, and three per cent of all cases of calques. Humour was the most frequent affective function (all other cases except the English islands). A case in point is found from a parodic column written in the form of eighteen personal ads, “Vappuheila Hakusessa:”

Kaukalossa viihtyvät akateeminen atleetti etsii vappubirdiä. WWW on jo scoutattu, black\_horse- kausikin on jo ohi ja tekis jo mieli hioo swingii. Nimim. "Hole-in-one" ("Vappuheila hakusessa")

An athelete who enjoy time in a rink is looking for a May Day-bird. WWW is already scouted, the black horse- season is already over and I'd like to get to polishin' my swing. "Hole-in-one"

The column's personal advertisements parody student stereotypes, and in the above example, the stereotype is an athlete who is hopeless at languages and very keen on sports, dating, and other extracurricular activities. The ridicule is built on grammatical errors (the use of plural case "viihtyvät" 'enjoy time' instead of singular), colloquial language choices, and frequent references to golf (e.g. "swingii" 'swing'). Punning is exemplified by the golf term "Hole-in-one" that has a sexual connotation in this context. The cross expressions and adapted borrowings in the advertisement also have a stylistic function, as they imitate the style of personal advertisements in Finland which often employ fresh English influences instead of Finnish established alternatives. For instance, the expression "black horse-kausi" is chosen instead of "talvi" 'winter' (Black-Horse is an underwear brand specialized in winter garments). Another example from the same column is:

Kuudennen vuoden tekniikan opiskelija etsii fingeroitavaa phuksia. "Mountataan yhdessä" ("Vappuheila hakusessa")

A sixth year student of technology searches a phreshman for fingering. "Lets mount together"

In this personal advertisement parody, the target of the ridicule is a computer enthusiast. The text employs computer terms, such as "fingeroida" 'finge' and "mountata" 'mount,' and an orthographical accommodation typical of internet chat rooms ("phuksi" from "fuksi" 'freshman'). In addition to the parody, the expressions "finger" and "mount" are puns. In computing, the former refers to "using a *finger* program to gain information on an e-mail address" (Helsingin Yliopisto, "Sähköpostiosoitteet"), but in this context it is also interpretable as a suggestion of foreplay. "Mountata" is a network command

(Myllymäki “Linux-verkon”) but also interpretable as a suggestion of an act of copulation.

Another motivation of the affective function, dramatic effect, was also found, but only in multiple-word code-switches (i.e. in 16 % of English islands), such as “What?” in Länkinen’s “Koukussa?” column, and “No shit!” in Lepoluoto’s critical feature article on the titles of university degrees, “Tutkintonimikehelvetissä:”

-No shit! En mä mitään proffan paikkaa hakenutkaan, Antti tilittää.

-No shit! I didn’t apply for a prof’s position, Antti groans.

“No shit” is an extrasentential exclamation, conveying the frustration of the graduate on being patronized that the work he applied is practical and down-to-earth.

The second symbolic function, the social function was interpreted to be either dominant, or at least likely, in 63 per cent of all cases of English islands, 40 per cent of all cases of cross expressions, 16 per cent of all cases of adapted borrowings, and 6 per cent of all calques. Social functions related to image construction were most conspicuous in student club announcements, as in the following example from Veso’s announcement:

Männä vuonna toimintaa oli ihan creiseyteen asti, meinaa catchattiin Fishiä, kinkeiltiin ja ihmeteltiin miten Chilli järjestö Veso oikein onkaan.

Last year we had action almost to the point of crazyness, I mean we caught Fish, did all sorts of kinky stuff, and marvelled how Chill club Veso truly is.

The excerpt contains a variety of adapted borrowings, such as “Chilli” [not a proper noun], as well as the cross expression “Fishä.” Because all the expressions have Finnish alternatives of equal length, communicative function can not be dominant (“creiseys” has an alternative “hulluus,” “catchata” has “napata,” “Fishä” has “kalaa,” “kinkeillä” has “rivoilla,” and “chilli” has “rento”). The image construction is evident, first of all, from explicit textual evidence: Veso is characterized as “Chilli järjestö” ‘a



chill organization,’ but also from implicit evidence. The choices of cross expressions and borrowings that maintain a close resemblance to their English originals instead of indigenous originals were found consistently in the announcement, while only infrequently in other communication events in VY. This implies, that the announcement constructed a particular image.

As it will be established, the image is regional, and thus, this Veso’s announcement contained the only emblematic switches in VY. Veso’s (“Vaasan Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta” ‘The Sourthen Finnish Student’s Association of Vaasa’) announcement can be seen to parody the dialect spoken by the urban youth associated with the southern metropolitan area of Finland. Thus, not only did the contact expressions had an affective function (parody), but also an emblematic function. Furthermore, this interpretation was strengthened by the similar announcements of “Puukkoo” (Western Finnish Student’s Association) and “Savo” (Eastern Finnish Student’s Association), which were written in western and eastern Finnish dialects.

Only two cases of social functions were interpreted to construct an *exclusive*, diverging, group identity. However, English was not perceived as a code of an elite status in these cases. A case in point is the announcement by a heavy metal music club Jyrä, which begins:

Sykkiikö sielusi raskaalle soundille? Tuntuuko etteivät hit-super-remix-idiotix –hitit ole sinun juttusi?

Does your heart beat for a heavy sound? Do you feel that hit-super-remix-idiotix –hits are not your thing?

The expression in the example does not exclude Finnish speakers but fans of “hit-super-remix-idiotix” hits. Thus, the expression is a parody of a they-code, namely, popular music lingua. In other words, the function of the expression is social closure (although it is not elite closure, as it is not status related).

The second case also constructed an exclusive group identity, but contrastingly, used a we-code. The announcement by the role-playing club Wyrm begins:

Ars Magica, Call of Cthulhu, Cyber Punk, D&D, Exalted, GURPS, Hårn, Paladium, Rifts, Robotech, The Riddle of Steel, Traveller, Twilight 2000, Vampire, 2300AD... Ovatko tuttuja nimiä tai haluatko tietää mitä ne ovat? Wyrm yhdistää roolipeleistä, LARPeista, miniatyyreistä ja muusta aiheeseen liittyvästä kiinnostuneet opiskelijat.

Ars Magica[...]Vampire, 2300AD... Are these familiar names or do you want to know what they are? Wyrm connects students interested in role-playing, LARP, miniatures and other related issues.

The announcement constructs an exclusive group identity of role-players and their club by using a number of role-playing game trademarks, most of which are English, such as “The Riddle of Steel.” In consequence, the code excludes non-role-players. The message is: “if you know what these are, you are one of us.” As a result, the dominant function of the proper nouns is to converge towards the role-playing audience as a “we-code,” while diverging from those not interested in the subject.

One of the most complex cases of image construction was in an announcement of the student club of multimedia studies, Gig@:

Liity gigaan ja “Follow the white rabbit.”

Join Giga and “Follow the white rabbit.”

The English island “Follow...rabbit” does not have a directive function in the announcement, although it is in the imperative. Instead, it functions as an element in the intertextual image construction. The phrase is an intertextual reference to Keanu Reeve’s character “Neo” in the science-fiction film *The Matrix*, and which in turn refers to Lewis Carroll’s tale *Alice in the Wonderland*. In Carroll’s story, Alice follows the white rabbit into the Wonderland (3). In *The Matrix*, Neo wakes up finding the phrase “Follow the white rabbit” on his computer screen, ultimately leading him into a future dystopia masked by a fake 1990’s world, “The Matrix” (Wachowski and Wachowski). In the context of the announcement, the phrase builds a complex image of the student

organization of multimedia and technical communication studies, Gig@, via a metaphore. If you join the organization, you will find both a wonderland and a dystopia.

Lastly, the most frequent identity or image constructed, also found in the above examples from “Vappuheila hakusessa” and Veso’s announcements, was connected to informal extracurricular life and closely connected to partying. This identity was constructed using informal tone, style and diction as opposed to the academic writing style:

Grillaillaan, chillillaillaan ja saunotaan! Tarjolla virkistysjuomia, virkistyskyrsää ja virkistysihmisiä. OPM, oma pyyhe mukaan. (Valiokunnat ja Jaostot)

Let’s grill, chill and go to sauna! Refreshment-drinks, refreshment-sausage and refreshment-people on offer. BYT, bring your [own] towel.

The style of the excerpt is informal, embodied by short incomplete sentences (the second sentence has no subject), and informal word choices (“kyrsä” instead of “makkara” ‘sausage’). The expression in the example, “chillaillaan,” has an equivalent of approximately equal length, “rentoudutaan,” therefore referential functions can not be dominant. If the association of this expression, evident from the Veso announcement already introduced, are taken into consideration, the main function of “chillaillaan” is likely to be identity or image construction. Additionally, the expression has a stylistic function as it rhymes with “grillaillaan.” Furthermore, contact expression like “chilli” and “chillata” had fetishes of informal social prestige.

#### 4.3.3 Fetishes and Stigmas

When a language choice is fetishized, its referential value becomes obscured by its symbolic value. For instance, a fetishized code is employed to create an identity or an image in a communication event even if it might result in a failure to communicate the referential content. A stigmatized language choice is, then, avoided because of its negative associations in a context. The fetishes and stigmas of contact expressions in VY can be expected to correlate with the social, political, and contextual status of English in

Finland and globally. It may be fetishized, for instance, as the language of cosmopolitans, as it is the current lingua franca in western countries and beyond, or it may be seen as a youthful choice as it is used increasingly in the student community.. Alternatively, in formal contexts it may be stigmatized if it is found unsuitable because of the very same reasons, that is, if Finnish is seen as the traditional, formal, code as opposed to the relatively new, cosmopolitan English.

Although the use of fetishes was possible in the majority of all cases, only implicational evidence of their existence was found. These fetishes were trendiness, youthfulness, informal social prestige, and technological expertise. The genres and styles in which these fetishes occurred were feature articles written in informal style, in addition to one announcement. No evidence that English had associations with cosmopolitanism or internationalism was found. However, since English is the current lingua franca (international language) in western industrial countries (e.g. Hiidenmaa 56-58), such fetishes may exist, though evidence was not found from VY.

The finding of technological expertise fetish was based on two observations. Firstly, most technological expressions were of English origin. Secondly, the identity construction of a stereotypical technology enthusiast in the personal advertisement in “Vappuheila hakusessa” implies a technological fetish.

Implicational evidence that English had such fetishes as trendiness and youthfulness was provided by the communication events “Rebecka ja Luigi in Love” and “Kevään väreissä: kuuma kampus-muoti specialiaali.” They employed several code-switches and cross expressions that have Finnish alternatives, and at the same time, their topic and content was centred on issues related to the trendiness and youthfulness. The interpretation is that the contact expressions were used partly because of their use value corresponding to the topic and content of the articles. Furthermore, Veso’s announcements gave implicational evidence that some expressions, such as “chilli” have a fetish of informal social prestige, albeit those announcements also parodied that fetish. Stereotypically, when “chilli” was found, the topic of the communication event concerned informal social events and the expression was used relatively frequently in those cases. The prestige is evident from such, although possibly ironical, statements as

“ihmeteltiin miten Chilli järjestö Veso oikein onkaan” ‘we... marvelled how Chill club Veso truly is’ (Veso). The frequent uses of code-switches and contact expressions in the said announcements can also be interpreted as language display, whether ironical or not.

Finally, the scarcity of code-switches and cross-expressions in the most formal articles can be explained with the notion of stigma. Firstly, although the communication events in the data displayed different RO Sets, there existed a consistency within genres. Editorial articles and other more formal genres contained no English islands and their dominant form of English influence was adapted borrowings. Therefore, their RO Sets were likely to be less tolerant to cross expressions and code-switches than the genres (e.g. music reviews, student club announcements) that displayed such forms more frequently. For example, the article “Vappuheila hakusessa” contains 18 borrowings and cross expressions, while most editorial articles contained only one adapted borrowing, although they are of approximately the same length. As a result, monolingual Finnish was the normative choice in the most formal articles, and using English in them was most likely stigmatized. On the basis of the material, the stigma is not associated with prestige, power or regional identity, but with the informality of code-switches and cross-expressions. Also, it is likely that cross expressions were more stigmatized than adapted borrowings, because 1) adapted borrowings were the largest category, 2) each adapted borrowing was used more often than cross expressions (the difference was statistically significant), and 3) if an expression had both adapted and unadapted forms, the former were more common (figures are given on page 46).

## 5 CONCLUSIONS

Overall, Finnish appeared in *VY* as the dominant language, whereas English was used mainly to enrich Finnish lexicon, in which cases the chief tendency was to adapt the borrowed expressions orthographically. English was also used to supply relatively short code-switches to construct identities, but that was relatively rare. It can be concluded that the authors in the student discourse were clearly aware of the social associations of English, and use those associations creatively and carefully to create not only a very varied collection of identities and images, but also to parody those identities. At the same time, a seminal feature of contact expressions was that their main function was to convey referential content accurately and efficiently. Overall, contact expressions were the unmarked choice in nearly all communication events, and in the most informal genres code-switches were incorporated in the sentence structures unobtrusively. However, the authors were clearly aware of the connotations of English in written language, as the most formal genres contained only adapted borrowings. Furthermore, the use of contact expressions was structurally consistent, as Finnish syntax was followed in all cases of borrowings and single-word code-switches, while multiple word code-switches followed English syntax. The following paragraphs will discuss the answers to the research questions of the present study, from which the above conclusions have been made.

The first question of the present study concerned the structural forms and frequencies of contact expressions in *VY*. The aim was to find, how English influence was divided structurally in the student discourse and what is the structural power relationship of the languages in the contact situation. The contact expressions that appeared in the student newspaper included all structural forms from multiple-word code-switches, English islands, to cross expressions, which were either single-word code-switches or unadapted borrowings, to adapted borrowings, and calques. Contact expressions were found in all genres of the newspaper, but English islands (e.g. “Be aware!”) were found only in the most informal texts, and the most formal texts contained only adapted borrowings (e.g. “kampus”).

The structural dynamics of the two languages in *VY* was clearly a case of a structurally dominant main language, Finnish, and a subordinate embedding language, English, and they did not merge into a third code. Instead, the use of the two languages was coordinated consistently. Single-word code-switches followed Finnish syntax and received Finnish system morphemes, and in multiple word code-switches, only English morphemes and morpheme order was used.

The frequencies of the structural categories revealed that contact expressions were dominantly integrated into Finnish. First of all, over half (54,8%) of contact expressions were integrated on all three structural levels, morphological, syntactical, and orthographical. The high level of integration was also evident from the low number of completely unintegrated expressions, English islands, and from the frequent compounds formed from contact and domestic expressions. The dominant position of Finnish syntactical structure was supported by the additional finding that all contact expressions, particularly cross expressions, were used according to a set of structural rules. Specifically, the Finnish morpheme order was followed in cases of single word expressions, and Finnish also supplied the relevant system morphemes (e.g. “Fishiä”).

Furthermore, the dominance of Finnish orthographical structure in the borrowing process was established by the finding that adapted borrowings were the largest category, and an adapted borrowing was used more frequently in average than a cross expression (which were the second largest category). Although contact expressions were located throughout the borrowing and code-switching continuum, and most cross expressions were in the middle of the continuum, there was a conspicuous tendency to domesticate the expressions. For instance, an adapted variant of a contact expressions was favoured instead of an unadapted, if one was available, the dominance of Finnish orthographical system. Also, some expressions were clearly in the process of becoming core borrowings, as they had both code-switched forms and adapted, borrowed forms. A case in point is “crazy” and its adapted variants in the material, “creizi” and “kreisi,” which have a domestic alternative “hullu.”

The features of English proper nouns was distinct from other contact expressions. Nearly all contact expression proper nouns were cross expressions, that had specific internal rules. On the sentence level, they complied to the Finnish morpheme order and received the relevant Finnish inflections that were attached to the end of the entire proper nouns. At the same time, English syntactical and morphological rules applied inside the proper nouns so that they resembled English islands.

The second question of the present study concerned flagging of contact expressions. That is to say, whether they were marked by determiner-like elements or typographical features to signal that the expressions flout the sociolinguistic norms of the situation and that the author is aware the norms. The scarcity of flagging (3 ‰) indicates, that contact expressions represented the unmarked, normative, choice of expression in most communication events. Only four cases of the total 1338 were flagged. The markedness of English was a factor in all those cases, on of which was an English island, one a cross expression, and one an adapted borrowing. No instances of flagging with a determiner-like element was found, and the typographical features used were quotation marks and italics.

The third question of the present study focused on the functions of contact expressions. The aim was not to give universal answers, but the statistically explain how functions, interpreted as either likely or dominant, were distributed in the material. The main finding of the functional analysis was that the contact expressions served a considerable variety of motivations. Both transactional (content, clarity, and shortness) and symbolic functions (expressing emotions and social constructions) were present in the material, often simultaneously, but transactional function was interpreted to be dominant in most cases. Namely, in cases when no alternative existed for the expression, or the alternative was significantly (>50 %) longer. The main transactional functions were communicative (i.e. they were motivated by content and efficiency), while discourse management (clarifying a previous expression) was scarce, and no heuristic functions (problem solving or learning) was found. Communicative function was interpreted to be dominant in none of the English islands, 55 per cent of cross expressions, 47 per cent of adapted borrowings, and 91 per cent of calques. The 55 per cent of cross expressions and the 47



per cent of adapted borrowings can be also categorized as cultural borrowings, as they denoted an adopted invention or a new phenomenon. Most of these cultural borrowings were technology or music related terms.

Although symbolic function (affective or social) was possible in most cases, and construction of images and identities was frequent, none constructed an elite status. Instead, the constructions in *VY* were various student-group identities, often accompanied by an affective function, and for instance, parodied the identities or images created. More specifically, symbolic and stylistic functions were possible in all cases of English islands, 45 per cent of all cases of cross expressions, 53 per cent of all cases of adapted borrowings, and 9 per cent of all cases of calques. Stylistic functions were interpreted to be important in texts which employed islands and cross expressions frequently, and they often accompany symbolic functions in the more informal communication events. The most common symbolic function was social, which was likely or dominant in 63 per cent of all cases of English islands, 40 per cent of all cases of cross expressions, 16 per cent of all cases of adapted borrowings, and 6 per cent of all calques. These cases constructed identities and images, usually non-exclusive, informal, non-study related group identities. However, two communication events constructed an exclusive identity using, the other using a we-code, the other ridiculing a they-code. Furthermore, one communication event constructed a regional image using a linguistic fetish. In contrast to most studies on borrowing and code-switching (e.g. Jonsson 2005; Myers-Scotton 1995), no of these cases of related to elite status were found in the material. Affective functions were found in 16 per cent of all English islands, three per cent of all uses of cross expressions, nine per cent of all uses of adapted loans, and three per cent of all uses of calques. Humoristic function was the dominant affective function (all other cases except the 16 % of English islands, which were used for dramatic effect).

Although the use of fetishes was possible in the majority of all cases, only implicit textual evidence of their existence was found. The fetishes were trendiness, youthfulness, informal social prestige, and technological expertise. No explicit or implicit evidence that English had associations with cosmopolitanism or

internationalism was found. Further, only one possible case of language display was found, and that was interpretable as parody.

Stigmatization of English was found to be a contributing factor in the scarcity of forms close to the code-switching end of the continuum, English islands and cross expressions, in the most formal communication events. Firstly, although the texts in the data displayed different RO Sets, there existed a consistency within genres. Editorial articles and other more formal genres contained no English islands and their dominant form of English influence was adapted borrowings. Therefore, their RO Sets were likely to be less tolerant to cross expressions and code-switches than informal genres displaying such forms more frequently (e.g. music reviews and student club announcements). In other words, such forms represented a marked choice in these contexts. However, on the basis of the material, the stigma was not associated with prestige, power or regional identity, but with the informality of code-switches and cross-expressions.

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## Appendix 1. News Article

# Yliopistoyhteisö ei kannata seitsemän vuoden rajausta

■ Suomen ylioppilaskuntien liitto (SYL) ry, Tieteentekijöiden liitto, Professoriliitto ja Yliopistojen ja tutkimusalan henkilöstöliitto ilmaisivat julkilausumalla 18.3.2004 vastustavansa opetusministeriön esitystä rajata yliopisto-opiskelijoiden opinto-oikeus. Opetusministeriön virkamiestyöryhmän esityksessä yliopisto-opiskelijoiden opintoaika rajattaisiin 7 vuoteen. Julkilausuman allekirjoittaneiden liittojen mielestä opintoaikoja voidaan lyhentää esimerkiksi lisäämällä opetusresursseja ja parantamalla opintojen suunnittelua henkilökohtaisilla opintosuunnitelmillä. Liitot eivät kuitenkaan hyväksy, eivätkä pidä tarkoituksenmukaisena opetusministeriön esitystä opinto-oikeuden ajallisesta rajaamisesta.

Yliopistoyhteisö näkee ongelmana opiskelijat, jotka läsnäoloilmoituksesta huolimatta eivät suorita opintoja. Näiden opiskelijoiden tilanne ja opiskelijastatus tulee ottaa erityistarkasteluun. Opiskelijoilla on vapaus opiskella, mutta myös vastuu valmistua.



Julkilausuman allekirjoittivat liittojen puheenjohtajat Oskari Nokso-Koivisto, Antero Puhakka, Tapani Pakkanen ja Päivikki Kumpulainen.

**Tekoja!** Ylioppilaat eivät tyytyneet pelkkään sanahelinään, vaan vaativat hallitukselta ja puolueilta tekoja. Ylioppilaliike näkee passiivirekisterin rajauksia parempana vaihtoehtona.

## Appendix 2. Brief News Article

## Varastovuokraus mahdollista ensi-kesänä

■ Vaasassa jo vuonna 1999 kokeiltu soluasuntojen varastovuokraus on mahdollista tulevana kesänä VOAS:n kaikissa soluasunnoissa. Varastovuokkauksen ajatuksena on, että soluasuja voi huhtikuun loppuun mennessä tehdä varastovuokaus sopimuksen asunnostaan, jolloin hän luovuttaa asunnon avaimen VOAS:n toimistoon sovituksi ajaksi ja maksaa tältä ajalta vuokraa puolet normaalista summasta. Sopimuksen voi tehdä touko-elo-kuun ajaksi, kuitenkin vähintään kahdeksi kuukaudeksi. Näin toisella paikkakunnalla kesän viettävä opiskelija voi pitää asuntonsa ja säästää vuokratuloissa. Valitettavasti varastovuokraus ei koske yksioita tai perheasuntoja. Vielä ei tiedetä jääkö varastovuokraus pysyväksi mahdollisuudeksi. Tähän vaikuttavat tulevan kesän sopimusmäärät ja kokemukset.

## Appendix 3. Feature Article Enclosing a Comment Box

# “Verissä kynsin taistellaan”

► Rockwerstaan ja Club 25:n kohtalo vaakalaudalla

Vaasalaisen musiikkielämän monitoimimies Eerikki “Eeka” Mäkynen on tuhtunut. Kaupungin nuorisotoimen ja Vaasan Elävän Musiikin Yhdistyksen (Welmu Ry) yhteistyössä ylläpitämää, bändien harjoitustilana toimivaa Rockwerstasta uhkaa kaupungin uusi asemakavasuunnitelma.

Anna Ruohonen & Emilia Kemppi

Kaupunginisten kannalta erityisen onlostuttavaa on että, welmulaiset saivat lukea asiasta Pohjalaisen sivuilta.

– Me ajateltiin että, mitä helvettiä tämä nyt on. Yhtäkkiä treenitiloja ollaan myymässä, tai pahimmassa tapauksessa purkamassa, Eeka tilittää.

– Nuorisotoimea lukuunottamatta päättäjät eivät tunnu ymmärtävän Werstaan todellista merkitystä. Werstas ei ole mikään lasten leikkitarha, vaan siellä soitetään tosissaan.

Rockwerstaan toiminnasta on arvaamatonta hyötyä myös kaupungin taloudelle. Klamydia-yhtyeen perustama levy-yhtiö Kråklund Records, jonka toiminta on pitkälti lähtöisin Rockwerstaan uumenista, tuottaa vuosittaisina verotuloina kaupungin kirstuun sievoisen summan rahaa.

## Vihainen kokous

Rockwerstaan tilanteesta päätettiin keskustella pikimmiten kriisikokouksessa, johon osallistui sekä kaupungin, että musiikkielämän vaikuttajia. Kävi ilmi, että jopa Welmun toiminta-ajatus oli toiselle osapuolelle hämärän peitossa. Kokouksen edetessä apulaiskaupunginjohtaja Heikki Lonka ymmärsi asian vakavuuden.



Taistoont! Eeka aikoo upottaa pitkät kyntensä kaupungin päättäjien nahkaan.

– Hän sanoi, että jos ja kun toiminta pystytään osoittamaan tarpeelliseksi, Werstasta ei myydä, vaan tilojen vuokraamista Welmulle jatketaan, Eeka kertoo.

Tällä hetkellä luvassa on kymmenen vuoden vuokrasopimus. Mitä tahansa saattaa kuitenkin tapahtua ennen kuin nimet ovat paperissa. Welmu onkin kerännyt Internetissä adressia Rockwerstaan sekä rockklubi Club 25:n puolesta. Allekirjoituksensa ovat antaneet monet musiikkielämän vaikuttajat ja nimiä kertyi parissa ensimmäisessä päivässä lähes kolmetuhatta.

– On hyvä tietää, että meillä on laajamittainen tukiverkosto, Eeka hymyilee.

## Kulttuurikeidas 25

Club 25:n toiminta liittyy saumatomasti Rockwerstaaseen. Treenitiloista maksetut vuokrat menevät klubin lainan maksuun ja toiminnan tukemiseen. Klubi on erityisen tär-

keä myös nuorisotoimelle, sillä kaupungin alaikäisille tarjoamat ajanviettomahdollisuudet ovat kiven alla. ”Kaksitosessa” alle 18-vuotiaakin voi kuunnella elävää musiikkia sisätiloissa iltaisin.

Mäkynen korostaa Welmu Ry:n taloudellista ja poliittista riippumattomuutta. Aatteellisen yhdistyksen toiminta pyörii vapaaehtoisvoimin – työtä tehdään suurella sydämellä. Rockklubi on korvaamaton areena myös muulle kuin musiikkitarjonnalle; onhan tiloissa järjestetty mm. taidenäyttelyitä ja teatteriesityksiä.

## Taistelu jatkuu

– Toiminnan jatkuminen on ollut pitkään epävarmaa ja nyt tilanne on erityisen vakava, sanoo Mäkynen.

Asemakaavaudistus jyllää myös Raastuvankadulla. 1990-luvulla klubikäyttöön muutetun vanhan kirkon julkisivu on suojelukohde, mutta talon muut osat eivät. Pahimmassa tapauksessa vain etuseinä saattaa jäädä pystyyn ja Vaasan kauppahallin tapaan vanha rakennus puretaan uuden tieltä.

Joensuun Popmuusikot Ry:n ylläpitämä rockklubi Kerubi oli parisen vuotta sitten samankaltaisessa tilanteessa kuin Vaasassa ollaan nyt. Tärkeää keikkapaikkaa ja musiikkielämän keskusta ei onnistuttu Joensuussa pelastamaan. Eeka ei halua kuitenkaan lähteä vertailemaan tilanteita ennen aikojaan.

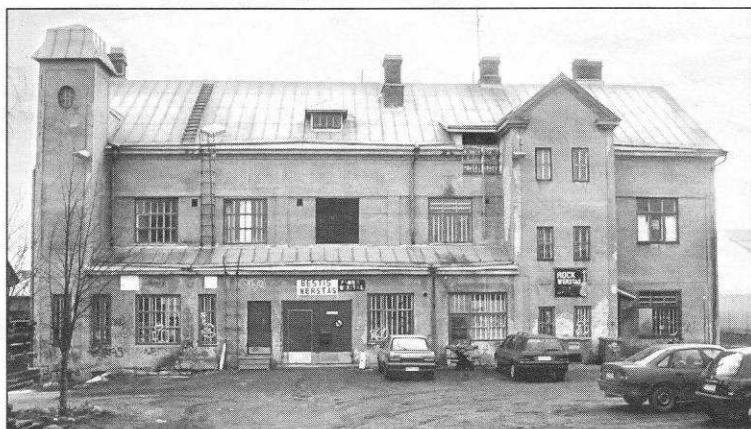
– Clubi ei ole vielä kaatunut, Eeka virnistää.

– Verissä kynsin taistellaan.

## Kommentti

Kuinka uskottavasti voi ajaa vaasalisten bändien asiaa elävänmusiikkiyhdistyksen toiminnanjohtaja, joka heiluu keskisormi pystyssä paikallisen bändin keikalla?

Stefani Urmas



Uhkana häätö. Rockwerstas on kymmenien bändien harjoittelupaikka. Treenikämpät ovat Vaasassa kiven alla, eikä uusia tiloja ole vielä luvassa.

## Appendix 4. Column

## [ViimeisetPisarat]



## Suomalaista juhlakulttuuria

■ **“May Day, vappu**, on Suomessa juhla, jota viettävät erityisesti haalareihin pukeutuvat opiskelijat. Vapunaattona kaupungit valtaa sula hulluus, johon kuuluvat eräänlainen kotikalja sima, ilmapallokauppiat sekä voimakas humalatila. Vappupäivänä ihmiset kerääntyvät perinteisesti ravintoloihin nauttimaan sillistä valmistetusta ateriasta.”

**Ulkomaalaisissa matkaoppaissa** Suomi kuvataan poikkeuksetta tuhansien järvien maaksi, jota vehreyttä 70 prosenttia pinta-alasta lohkaisevat metsät. Myyntivalteiksemme mainitaan aina joulupukki, sauna sekä maamme ylpeys Nokia. Vapusta eri oppailla on kuitenkin ihan omat näkemyksensä. Yksi opus kuvaa sen vapaasti käännettynä kuten yllä, toinen tekee vapusta traditionaalisen vaisun liputuspäivän. Eräässä turistiteoksessa vappu mainitaan kappaleessa ”Mitä matkustusajankohtaa Suomeen tulisi välttää”. Jossakin läpyskässä vappu kuitattiin karnevaaliksi, jolla ei ole paljoa annettavaa yli 25-vuotiaalle.

**Viimeisin selitys** taitaa olla oikeassa – ainakin, jos Vanhasen Matille ilmestyy hyvä haltija kolmine toivomuksineen. Lakkiiaisista pääsykokeisiin, marmoriportilta maisteriksi, aikaa kuusi vuotta. Kaksvitosenä tulee haalarin kuulua jo kaukaiseen menneisyyteen, hääkirkon olla varattuna ja mielellään vielä vekaratkin alulla. Silloin vapunaika taitaa merkitä juuri pelkkää siniristilipun nostoa, simanpullotusta ja vahvaa laskuhumalatilaa.

**Mutta takaisin sivuraiteille** ja kotiinpäin: Satunnainen Suomen-matkaaja takuulla yllättyi oululaisesta pääsiäispäivänvietosta, luottipa hän mihin matkoppaaseen hyvänsä. Tuskin mikään tietolähde kertoo kaupungin väen kerääntyvän keskustan kaduille ilakoimaan eläinaiheisine banderolleineen. Kulttuuriamme tuntematon kulkija taisikin käsittää, että Jumalan poikaa messutaan täälläpäin nimellä ”Kärpät”.

Tiina Länkinen

## Appendix 5. Comment (a Letter to the Editor)



**KampusKeskustelee**

### Tarkennus Ville Luoman kirjoitukseen Diploma Supplementin käytöstä

Panimme Vaasan yliopiston kansainvälisissä ja opintopalveluissa merkille viime Vaasan ylioppilaslehdessä käydyn keskustelun Diploma Supplementin käytöstä ja siitä, että sen yliopissamme saa vain erillisestä pyynnöstä. Voimmekin nyt ilolla kertoa vastineeksi kirjoitukseen, että Diploma Supplementin saa Vaasan yliopistossakin automaattisesti ilman erillistä pyyntöä.

Asia on ollut esillä vuodesta 1999 saakka, jolloin silloinen ylioppilaskunnan kv-vastaava Kirsi Tanski yhdessä kansainvälisten asioiden yksikön kanssa alkoi kysellä asian perään. Koska huomasimme yhdessä opintoihmisten kanssa, että asia on erittäin tärkeä ja jokaisen opiskelijan tulee saada Diploma Supplement ilman eri pyyntöä, teimme yhteisesti päätöksen, että jokainen tiedekunta jakaa valmistuville opiskelijoilleen DS:n automaattisesti vuoden 2004 alusta. Jatkossa yliopistojen uudesta opiskelijatietojärjestelmästä Oodista saadaan Diploma Supplement suoraan.

Näin siis menetellään ja toivommekin, että opiskelijat osaavat hyödyntää saamaansa Diploma Supplementiä esim. työnhaussa ulkomailla.

**Francesca Cucinotta, Kansainvälisten  
asioiden päällikkö, Vaasan yliopisto**

■ *Mielipidepalstan tekstit osoitteeseen [lehti@uwasa.fi](mailto:lehti@uwasa.fi). Voit kirjoittaa myös nimimerkillä, mutta liitä mukaan nimesi ja yhteystietosi. Mielipiteiden ohjemitta on 1500 merkkiä.*

[Pääkirjoitukset 28.4.2004]



RIIKKA KLEMOLA | PÄÄTOIMITTAJA

## Suvaitsevaisuutta, kiitos

■ **Vappu on taas käsillä**, se suurin ylioppilaiden juhlista. Vappu on varsinainen opiskelijakulttuurin juhla, koska vapun aika täyttyy monenlaisista tapahtumista ja tempauksista. Ylioppilaskunta ja sen lukuisat alajärjestöt kantavat kortensa kekoon onnistuneen vapun luomiseksi. On sitsejä, konsertteja, juhlia, näytelmiä, soutuja ja piknikkejä, vain muutamia mainitakseni.

Peräänkuuluttaisinkin erityisesti nyt vapun alla suvaitsevaisuutta opiskelijakulttuuria kohtaan tiukkapipoisuuden sijaan. Opiskelijakulttuuri on vahvasti läsnä ja tärkeä osa yliopistoyhteisöä. Se pitää omalta osaltaan yllä perinteitä tässä muuttuvassa maailmassa ja toimii yhteisön voimavarana. Vaasalaiseen opiskelijakulttuuriin on nyt myös saatu mukava lisä, kun teekkarikulttuuri tekee tuloaan. DI-tutkinnonanto-oikeutta yliopistoon on kinuttu jo vuosia ja nyt kun se saatiin, on se juhlapuheissa vilisevä suuri ylpeyden aihe. Mutta ovatko viralliset ta-

hot kaikessa pönäkkyydessään valmiita kohtaamaan teekkarikulttuurin ja vastaanottamaan myös sen lämpimästi, vai onko teekkarikulttuuri vain DI-koulutuksen epätoivottava lieveilmiö? Yliopiston tulee varjella toki imagoaan. Hämmentävää vain on, jos yliopiston tavoitekuvaan ei mahdu rikas opiskelijakulttuuri.

Viime vuonna yliopistossa viriteltiin arvokeskustelua, josta ei ole sen koommin kuulunut mitään. Arvokeskustelua varmasti virisi epämuodollisissa yhteyksissä ja tuolloin tuli itsekkin pohdittua erinäisissä kahvipöytäkeskusteluissa Vaasan yliopiston arvoja. Liian usein noissa keskusteluissa tuli kuitenkin esille, että Vaasan yliopisto on kovin yksiarvoinen ja kangistunut. Nämä ajatukset saavat liian usein eläviä esimerkkejä tuekseen. Onko tällainen arvopohja otollinen positiivisen imagorakentamisen kannalta?

Vaasan yliopiston imago on nähdäkseni

hyvin vahvasti sidoksissa Vaasan kaupungin imagoon. Jos Vaasan kaupunki on pikemminkin merellinen menehtyjä kuin menestyjä, sitä on myös Vaasan yliopisto. Siksi onkin hieman harhaista ajatella, että Vaasan yliopiston imago olisi pelkästään sen oman toiminnan tulosta. Toki yliopiston toiminta vaikuttaa eittämättä siihen liitettyihin mielikuviiin. Yliopiston imago on alueellisesti ja kansallisesti sen mukainen, millaista koulutusta täällä annetaan ja millaista tutkimusta tehdään. Aikaa ja energiaa tulisiikin panostaa juuri siksi koulutuksen ja tutkimuksen kehittämiseen, ja sillä saralla saavutettujen ansioiden esille tuomiseen, epäoleellisuuden kanssa puuhastelun sijaan. Annetaan opiskelijakulttuurin kukkien kukkia, vaikkeivat ne aina ihan salonkikelpoisia olisikaan.

Sen suurempia murehtimatta juhlikaamme vappua ilolla ja antaumuksella. Olemme kaikki sen ansainneet!



## Appendix 7. Review



Tiktak: Ympyrää ☆☆☆☆

## Hyvää ja kaunista kesämenomusaa

■ **Levyn kannessa** on viimeisen päälle hieno 60-luvun avo-Chevy ja Chevrn ympärillä kuusi nuorta ja kaunista tyttöä. Toisaalta tytöt näyttävät juuri siltä miltä tytöt American Car Show:ssa autojen ympärillä yleensäkin, mutta toisaalta asenne hämää. Ehkä toi on sittenkin rock.

Sama fiilis jatkuu läpi koko Tiktakin *Ympyrää*-levyn. Toisaalta musiikki kuulostaa oikeasti uskottavalta rockilta, mutta kuitenkin nuorekkaalta sellaiselta. Edu Kettusen käsialaa olevia sävellyksiä ei voi enää syyttää liiasta vaaleanpunaisuudesta ja karkinma-

kuisuudesta, vaikka monissa biiseissä vielä pidetäänkin kiinni ja heilutaan yhdessä. Välillä sitten ihmetellään teiniäitejä, pukupellejä ja volvo-perheitä.

Mitä soundimaailmaan tulee niin vähätkin syntetisaattorit ovat vaihtuneet suurimmaksi osaksi särökitaroihin. *Miltä tuntuu* -biisin alkuriffit tuovat mieleen Marilyn Mansonin liicht-version ja vola ja bassot tekee mieli kääntää isolle plussalle. Radiossa puhki soitettu Tänä yönä taivaaseen yksinkertaisesti toimii.

Ainoa miinus Tiktakin kuuntelussa on varttuneempien kanssaopiskelijoiden suvaitsemattomat kommentit: "Kehtaatsä oikeesti kuunnella tota. Mä olin jotain neljätoista, kun mä olin katto-massa noita jossain festarilavan reunalla."

Kokonaisuudessaan Tiktakin ei kuitenkaan tarvitse enää hävetä aikuisempia esikuviaan joistain kimmeleistä sitten puhumattakaan. Mutta eikö sitten mukamas haittaa, että Tiktak ei tee itse omia biisejään? Ei. Riittää, että Petra näyttää ja kuulostaa hyvältä.

Mikko E. Arvinen

## Appendix 8. Two Announcements

**Vaasan eteläsuomalainen osakunta**

Chillii!!! Uudet talttahampaat kirmaa Vaasaan ja chilleistä chilleimät tulee mukaan Veson toimintaan. Veso on viriili järjestö, joka on tarkoitettu kaikille, jotka on sitä mieltä et Espoo on chillimpi kuin Kerava. Keravalaisuuskaan ei kuitenkaan ole este. Männä vuonna toimintaa oli ihan creiseyteen asti, meinaa catchattiin Fishiä, kinkeiltiin ja ihmeteltiin miten Chilli järjestö Veso oikein onkaan. Heränneisiin kysymyksiin saa vastauksia muunmuassa PJ:ltä osoitteesta [janina.valkama@uwasa.fi](mailto:janina.valkama@uwasa.fi). Eli tervetuloa Vaasan eteläsuomalaiseen osakuntaan. Tavoitteeni on olla kaikista suurin, sanoi Mäykky kun ulos lähti, kertoo vanha sananlasku. Sinun avullasi me teemme Vesosta suurimman. Terveisin Tietotuspiälikkö Ruponen.

**Övertäjät ry**

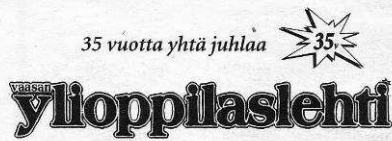
Vaasan yliopiston kieltenopiskelijoiden ainejärjestö Övertäjät ry toivottaa sinutkin tervetulleeksi opiskelijan kuivaa arkea huimasti piristävään toimintaan. Meillä on railakkaita juhlia moneen makuun, klassikkoina mm. pikkujoulubussiristeily ja sitsit. Elokuvaillat ja ö-lenkit rauhoittavat bile-elämän pyörteistä, ja viihdetoimintaa tasapainottaa todellinen vaikuttaminen opiskeluasioiden hyväksi: Övertäjät ry on Suomen Kääntäjäopiskelijoiden Liiton ja Suomen Opettajaksi Opiskelevien Liiton jäsen. Järjestölämme on myös toimiva käännöspalvelu. Kysy lisää: puheenjohtaja [henrietta.wikstrom@uwasa.fi](mailto:henrietta.wikstrom@uwasa.fi) tai hallitus [oe-hallitus@uwasa.fi](mailto:oe-hallitus@uwasa.fi) Tulehan rohkeasti mukaan tapahtumiin jo heti syksyllä!



## Appendix 10. Cartoon



## Appendix 11. Table of Contents

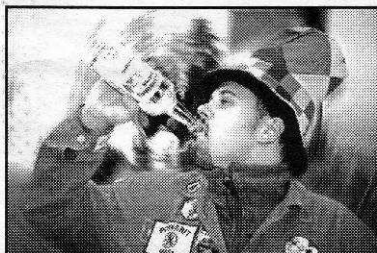


Sitoutumaton opiskelijalehti • 35. vuosikerta •  
Numero 4/2004 • Seuraava lehti ilmestyy 19.  
toukokuuta 2004 • Toimitus pidättää oikeuden  
m(u)okata saamaansa materiaalia • Toimitus ei  
vastaa tilaamattomasta aineistosta.

## SEURAAVA DL 11. TOUKOKUUTA

## [Tässä Lehdessä]

- 4 | Fabriikin kutsumaton  
asukki home saa häädön
- 5 | Opiskelijajärjestöt julkaisivat  
kunnallispoliittisen ohjelman
- 6 | Vaasan ylioppilaslehden  
juhlissa tunnelma katossa
- 10 | Puolalaisissa EU-jäsenyyss  
herättää ristiriitaisia tunteita
- 12 | Wappuliite: Miksi ihmeessä  
vappua oikein juhlitaan
- 14 | Opiskelijan survival-ogas  
kesäasumiseen
- 17 | Vaihtoehto opiskelulle:  
Muukalaislegiona
- 19 | Uusi tähti taivahalla  
kirikkaana loistaa: Irina



**Kannen kuva:** Mikko Arvinen  
(kuvan manipulointi Stefani Urmas)

## Appendix 12. List of Events



Haluatko tapahtumasi kalenteriin? Heitä menovinkit  
osoitteeseen Vaasan yliopiston ylioppilaskunta / yliop-  
pilaslehti, Wolffintie 34, 65200 Vaasa. Uusimmat meno-  
vinkit löydät myös ilmoitustauluilta. Ylioppilaslehti ei  
vastaa muutoksista.

## YLIOPPILASKUNNAN TAPAHTUMAT:

- ▶ **Raskain metalli** Ego-sali ke 28.4. klo 19.00 (Ramppi)
- ▶ **Sisit** Pursiseura ke 28.4. (NESU)
- ▶ **Akateeminen karaoke** D.O.M. ke 28.4. (Gig@)
- ▶ **Suomirock-bileet** Papin Nenä ke 28.4. (Gig@)
- ▶ **IESUn Wappubileet** Giggin Marlin ke 28.4.
- ▶ **Tappeliuksen patsaan pesu** to 29.4. klo 17.00 (PoPO)
- ▶ **Sisit** Cella Nova to 29.4. klo 20.00 (Hallinnoijat & Justus)
- ▶ **Eroottiset iltamat** Fontana to 29.4. (Tutti)
- ▶ **Vapousoudut** Hovioikeuden ranta pe 30.4.
- ▶ **Toppiuksen lakitus** pe 30.4. klo 18.00
- ▶ **VYY:n Wappubileet** Papin Nenä pe 30.4.
- ▶ **Vappuillit** D.O.M. la 1.5. klo 10.00 (VYY)
- ▶ **Teekkariikaste** Senaatikatu la 1.5. klo 9.30 (Tutti)
- ▶ **Soivappu** Vaasan rukoushuone la 1.5. klo 18.00

## KEIKAT:

- ▶ **KGB Party** Fontana, ke 28.4.
- ▶ **Lehtimäen Lehmipojat & Choose Life** Amarillo, pe 30.4.
- ▶ **Blake** Club 25, pe 30.4.
- ▶ **Diablo** Club 25, la 1.5.
- ▶ **Deep Turtle, Sabot, Pax Americana** Club 25, pe 7.5.
- ▶ **Flamenco-Go-Go** Club 25, to 13.5.
- ▶ **Peer Günt** Royal Night, to 13.5.
- ▶ **Jukka Tolonen, mukana Anssi Nykänen** Club 25, pe 14.5.
- ▶ **Mokoma** Club 25, la 15.5.

## KONSERTIT:

- ▶ **Kaup.orkesterin vappukonsertti** Kaupungintalo 30.4. klo 19.00
- ▶ **Kaup.orkesteri - Symphony In Rock** Kaupungintalo 6.5. klo 19.00

## NÄYTTELYT:

- ▶ **Kubik** Kaupungintalo Taidehalli, 20.4.-2.5.2004
- ▶ **Luontokuvia** Kaupungintalo Taidehalli, 6.5.-6.6.2004

## MUITA TAPAHTUMIA:

- ▶ **Vappumarkkinat** Kauppatori, 30.4.-1.5.2004
- ▶ **Vaasa Kuorofestivaali** Kaupungintalo, 19.5.-23.5.2004
- ▶ **Fosters Grid Girl kilpailu** Amarillo, la 8.5.

## Appendix 13. Poll (Comment)

[GallUppi]

## Mikä ihmeen Diploma Supplement?

Diploma Supplement on englanninkielinen tutkintotodistuksen liite, joka sisältää tietoa kotimaan tutkinnoista, oppilaitoksesta sekä koulutusjärjestelmästä. Se mahdollistaa kansainvälisen vertailun korkeakoulujen välillä. Tällä hetkellä Diploman saa yliopistosta erikseen pyytämällä. Kysyimme tiedetäänkö asiasta mitään ja halutaanko Diploma suomenkielisen todistuksen liitteeksi.

 Eeva Rinta-Kanto

**Lassi Kokko**  
johtaminen  
2. vuosikurssi



– En ole kuullut aikaisemmin Diploma Supplementista, mutta olisiko se jonkinlainen meriittitodistus? Ai ei ole, mutta englanninkielinen opintoseelvitys pitäisi kyllä ehdottomasti saada automaattisesti suomenkielisen todistuksen rinnalle. Jos hakee esimerkiksi jatko-opiskelemaan ulkomaille, niin olisihan se tosi hyvä.

**Jenny Vainio**  
kv-johtaminen  
2. vuosikurssi



– Minulla ei ollut mitään tietoa tällaisesta Diplomasta, mutta olisihan se hyvä, että saisi kansainvälisesti yhtenevät tutkintotodistukset ja siten olisi tasa-arvoisempaa maiden välillä. Kansainvälisen johtamisen opiskelijana maailmalle suuntautuminen on todennäköistä ja englanninkielinen tutkintoliite helpottaisi varmasti työnhakua.

**Jenni Ranta**  
talousoikeus  
2. vuosikurssi



– Beats me! En ole kyllä kuullut Diploma Supplementista aikaisemmin, mutta tekisihän sellainen erillinen todistus tutkinnoista vertailukelpoisempia kansainvälisillä kentillä.

**Timo Kankaanpää**  
viestintätieteet  
2. vuosikurssi



– Olen kyllä joskus kuullut puhuttavan kyseisestä Diplomasta, mutta en kyllä tarkasti tiennyt mistä siinä on kyse. Yhdentyvässä Euroopassa vertailukelpoiset tutkinnot olisivat varmasti paikallaan ja siksi ei olisi pahitteeksi liittää sellaista varsinaiseen todistukseen.