

“Knowing different languages is an
advantage, but I wish the current
supremacy of English would falter”

Attitudes Toward Finnish-English Code-Switching

Oivi Laukkanen
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Faculty of Arts
University of Helsinki
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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract <p>Tutkielman tavoitteena on kartoittaa 50-vuotiaiden ja sitä vanhempien suomalaisten asenteita suomi–englantikoodinvaihtoa eli suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittamista kohtaan. Tarkoituksena on selvittää, ovatko osallistujien asenteet keskimäärin positiivisia, negatiivisia vai neutraaleja, vaikuttaako jokin osallistujien taustatekijöistä heidän asenteisiinsa sekä minkälaisia koodinvaihtoon liittyviä ajatuksia ja uskomuksia he ilmaisevat. Tutkimuksen teoriapohjana toimivat koodinvaihtoa ja asenteita koskevat teoriat sekä aikaisemmat tutkimukset koodinvaihtoon kohdistuvista asenteista ja englannin kielen roolista Suomessa.</p> <p>Tutkimus toteutettiin monimenetelmä tutkimuksena, eli siinä sovellettiin sekä määrällisiä että laadullisia menetelmiä. Aineisto kerättiin sähköisellä kyselylomakkeella, johon vastasi 141 henkilöä. Lomakkeen määrällisessä osiossa osallistujia pyydettiin arvioimaan, missä määrin he ovat samaa mieltä suomi-englantikoodinvaihtoa käsittelevien väittämien kanssa, valitsemalla vaihtoehto viisiportaiselta Likert-asteikolta. Lomakkeen laadullisessa osiossa heidän tuli vastata kuuteen avoimeen kysymykseen aiheesta. Kyselylomakkeen viimeinen osio koski osallistujien taustatietoja.</p> <p>Aineiston määrällisen analyysin keskeisin tulos on se, että osallistujien asenteet ovat keskimäärin hieman neutraalin puolivälin alapuolella, toisin sanoen hieman lähempänä negatiivista kuin positiivista. Osallistujien joukosta löytyy kuitenkin yksilöitä asennejatkumon molemmista ääripäistä: sekä henkilöitä, jotka suhtautuvat suomi-englanti-koodinvaihtoon todella negatiivisesti, että henkilöitä, jotka suhtautuvat siihen todella positiivisesti. Osallistujilla, jotka kertovat sekoittavansa suomea ja englantia omassa puheessaan, on selkeästi positiivisemmat asenteet kuin niillä, jotka kieltävät sekoittavansa näitä kieliä.</p> <p>Aineiston laadullisen analyysin myötä selvisi, että osallistujat liittyvät koodinvaihtoon monenlaisia merkityksiä, joihin lukeutuvat muun muassa nuoruus, korkeakoulutus, trendikkyys ja rentous. Osallistujien mielestä koodinvaihtoa esiintyy tyypillisesti työympäristössä, epävirallisissa tilanteissa sekä mediaa ja kulttuuria käsittelevissä keskusteluissa. Koodinvaihdon taustalla oleviksi syiksi osallistujat ehdottavat esimerkiksi ilmaisun rikastamista, laiskuutta suomenkielisen vastineen keksimisessä, suomalaisten verrattain hyvää englannin kielen taitoa, englannin kielen globaalia valta-asemaa ja suomen kielen väheksymistä. Lisäksi monet osallistujat pitävät koodinvaihtoa ärsyttävänä, toivovat suomen kielen säilyttävän elinvoimaisuutensa englannin kielen valta-asemasta huolimatta ja korostavat sitä, että on tärkeää pyrkiä välttämään suomi–englanti-koodinvaihtoa, mikäli kaikki keskustelun osapuolet eivät ymmärrä englantia sujuvasti.</p> <p>Vaikka tutkimukseen vastasi melko suuri määrä ihmisiä, tämä osallistujajoukko oli jokseenkin normaalista poikkeava esimerkiksi koulutustason suhteen: neljällä viidestä oli korkeakoulututkinto. Lisäksi huomattavan suuri osuus osallistujista, kaksi viidestä, oli asunut ulkomailla elämänsä aikana. Näin ollen tuloksista ei voi tehdä kaikkia suomalaisia yli 50-vuotiaita henkilöitä koskevia johtopäätöksiä. Tutkimusta voisi siis kehittää esimerkiksi pyrkimällä tavoittamaan edustavamman otoksen suomalaisista.</p>			
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1. Introduction

In this study, I look into the attitudes that people in Finland, in particular those who are 50 years of age or older, hold toward Finnish-English code-switching. Code-switching, in a nutshell, is the act of alternating languages within a conversation (Matras 2009: 101). Another key concept, the term *attitude*, is defined as an evaluative orientation or disposition, including cognitive, affective, and behavioral elements, to react in a certain way to a social object (Garrett 2010: 20, 23). Thus, this thesis sets out to explore the thoughts and feelings that the participants associate with Finnish-English code-switching and the way they reflect on their own attitudes. In this survey study, these objectives are pursued through a mixed methods approach.

The age range of the participants serves as a particularly interesting premise for the analysis as people in the older generations in Finland generally have relatively little experience with and proficiency in the English language. This is in sharp contrast to younger generations in which good English skills are common. A National Survey on the English Language in Finland found that many Finns aged 45 and above had not studied English at all, and that older people rated their own English skills considerably lower than younger people. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 94, 97). Language skills naturally affect language attitudes, which makes this difference between age groups an important aspect to consider in an analysis of attitudes toward code-switching. For example, if a person does not understand English at all, they might respond negatively to Finnish-English code-switching simply because it causes them to have trouble understanding what is being said.

Attitudes toward code-switching have been researched in different contexts around the world (Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis & Finnis 2005; Dewaele & Li 2014; Montes-Alcalá 2000; Yim, Clément & Pitts 2019). The results of such studies have varied considerably, which is likely at least partly due to differences in target populations and contextual factors, but age has been a meaningful variable in many of the studies. Therefore, I am interested in looking into the variable of age in this study. In Finland, attitudes toward English and code-switching have been researched to some extent by Leppänen et al. (2011), but Finnish-English and Swedish-English code-switching were not differentiated in their study, which calls for research focusing on attitudes toward Finnish-English code-switching specifically. Therefore, the present study could be considered an attempt to fill a gap in the literature. The aforementioned studies have laid the groundwork for this thesis and inspired the research questions that are pursued, and thus this project is also an attempt to contextualize my results with respect to previous findings.

My motivation for choosing this line of inquiry for my MA thesis traces back to my BA thesis investigating Finnish students' attitudes toward code-switching, namely to the questions that were raised but left unanswered in the process of conducting the research project. In the present study, I intend to gain a more holistic understanding of the nature of the attitudes by asking the participants more open-ended questions in order to elicit their beliefs, ideas, and interpretations as seen from the vantage point of the participants themselves. However, since I believe that the data I have gathered on the participants in this particular demographic group can prove fruitful and interesting in itself, and also due to methodological differences, the purpose of this study is not to compare the results to those of my previous thesis but to focus, first and foremost, on analyzing the attitudes of Finnish people over the age of 50.

1.1 Research Questions

The present study contains three main research questions My research questions are the following:

1. Are the attitudes of Finnish people over the age of 50 toward Finnish-English code-switching for the most part positive, neutral, or negative?
2. Are any background variables associated with either more positive or more negative attitudes?
3. What kind of thoughts and beliefs do the participants express in relation to code-switching and people who code-switch?

I am inclined to hypothesize that there would be notable variation between individual participants, but that when considering the participants' attitudes as a whole, they would be closer to the negative end of the spectrum. In addition to the three main research questions, I briefly compare my findings to previous research in Chapter 6.

2. Background

In this chapter, I present the theoretical background of this study. I begin my discussion of theoretical concepts and issues that are central to studying Finnish people's attitudes toward Finnish-English code-switching by addressing language contact and bilingualism, definitions of code-switching, and how the language situation in Finland, particularly concerning English, can be described in relation to the aforementioned concepts. Then, I discuss attitudes in general and language attitudes in particular. After covering the core concepts, previous studies on attitudes toward code-switching are examined, particularly with regard to the effects of age and gender.

2.1 Language Contact and Bilingualism

Language contact, which is the necessary starting point for code-switching, is essentially the process in which speakers of different languages come into contact with each other. This results in bilingualism and other more or less intertwined phenomena, which again lead to code-switching. (Field 2002: 1-2). Bilingualism can be conceptualized in many ways, but I will rely here on the wholistic view of bilingualism. According to Grosjean (2008: 13-14) who supports the wholistic view, the bilingual is not the sum of two monolinguals but an integrated whole, and since bilinguals tend to use different languages in different domains and with different people, their communicative competencies in each language will develop to fit different needs and purposes. This means that the bilingual's communicative competencies in each language are not identical. Hence, we might look at code-switching simply as the creative act of combining these complex competencies that have accumulated during the course of the bilingual's life. Additionally, Grosjean suggests that bilinguals navigate on a situational continuum from monolingual mode to bilingual mode, bilingual mode meaning a speech mode in which, among bilinguals who share the languages in question, mixing languages is considered the norm (2008: 17).

If we look at language contact in Finland, the most prominent issue is probably the fact that Finland is officially a bilingual country: the official languages are Finnish and Swedish. Finnish is the dominant language, but Swedish has historically been highly influential, and it is still the first language of a notable minority. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 17). Before Finland became independent in 1917, it was a part of the Russian Empire for approximately a century, and during this period the Russian language came into contact with the national languages of Finland. Both Swedish and Russian are, in this case, examples of contiguous language contact because the speech communities live in the same or adjacent geographical space (Peterson 2017: 123). Contiguous language contact is considered the traditional and more intuitive form of language contact, as the communities that speak different languages are in physical face-to-face contact. English, however, is an example of

foreign or non-contiguous language contact, which means that it is nonnative to Finland and often serves lingua franca purposes (Peterson 2017: 117-118, 123).

2.2 Definitions of Code-Switching

Code-switching is essentially the act of alternating languages within a conversation. It is close in meaning to and sometimes lumped together with another language contact phenomenon, borrowing. While there is no clear consensus among linguists on how to define the distinction between code-switching and borrowing, one widely accepted definition is that in code-switching, the foreign linguistic structures and forms that are employed in conversation are still considered foreign, whereas in borrowing, they are imported from the donor language into the recipient language, consequently being accepted as part of the of the recipient language and losing some of their foreignness. (Matras 2009: 101, 146). However, for the purposes of this study, it is not necessary to classify and distinguish the phenomena of code-switching and borrowing in a way that could be set in stone. Instead, I approach the concept of code-switching more broadly as a phenomenon that involves the mixing of two or more language varieties, thus acknowledging that code-switching and borrowing are essentially two sides of the same coin. This approach is based on similar views postulated by Gardner-Chloros (2009: 13) and Matras (2009: 111), differing only in that the former proposes that the line between code-switching and borrowing is irrelevant while the latter claims that it is relevant but blurry. Reflecting this back to the main aim of my study, which is to be able to study the attitudes that people hold toward code-switching, it is of utmost importance to communicate the definition of code-switching to the participants in such a way that they apprehend the general idea of what is commonly called code-switching by linguists.

According to Gardner-Chloros (2009: 121), people are not always aware of their own code-switching: in fact, the selection process behind code-switching behavior is largely unconscious and therefore it is very difficult to determine whether or not someone code-switches just by asking them about it. Apparently, it is common for bilingual individuals to be unconsciously drawn to exploit their full linguistic repertoire (Matras 2009: 128-129), which would also indicate that code-switching is not always done with deliberation. These notions complicate the process of assigning intricate ulterior motives for code-switching: it might not be that a speaker is trying to achieve any particular goals or portray themselves in any particular ways by code-switching. All things considered, it is interesting that a phenomenon that can go unnoticed so easily can at the same time elicit strong attitudes, emotions, and opinions.

2.3 The Language Situation in Finland

During the course of the last 60 or so years, the role of the English language in Finland has changed drastically from being considered simply a foreign language among many others to being considered a virtually indispensable language for communication in many contexts both internationally and in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2011: 15-16). Leppänen et al. (2011: 17) attribute this sociolinguistic change to processes of globalization, westernization, and urbanization in post-war Finnish society. According to Leppänen et al. (2011: 19), the role of English in Finland has further strengthened in the 21st century due to “economic and cultural globalization, the development of information and communication technology, and transnational cultural flows”, not to mention the influence of the education system: English is taken as the first foreign language in school by the vast majority of students. As my participants are above the age of 50, the role of English in Finland would have been very different when they were children compared to what it is now. For example, until being displaced by English in roughly the mid-1960s, when many of my participants were schoolchildren, German was the most common foreign language to take in school (Leppänen et al. 2011: 18). This is certainly visible in my data, since more than one fourth of the participants report to know German (see Section 3.3 below). I hope to find out if experiencing this change has had an effect on how they perceive the spread of English in Finland.

Focusing solely on the current situation, the English language has a significant role in Finnish society. In Finland, knowledge of English seems to be particularly imperative in contexts that are considered international, such as business, science, and youth culture (Leppänen et al. 2011: 167; Haarmann & Holman 2001: 256; Leppänen 2007: 150). According to Taavitsainen and Pahta (2008: 37), English has become a natural part of language resources in Finnish public discourse: it is used in articles in major newspapers, signs in public spaces, and even formal political speeches. Additionally, Leppänen et al. (2011: 63) report that as much as 80 percent of their respondents encountered English in their everyday surroundings. According to Leppänen et al. (2011: 143, 163), while their participants still view English primarily as a foreign language and find it unlikely that it would become an official language of Finland in addition to Finnish and Swedish, they do believe that, in the future, English will become more visible in the urban environment, and that its overall importance in Finland as well as the amount of English lessons in basic education will increase.

It is also important to consider why, despite Swedish being the other official language of Finland, Finnish-English code-switching seems to be more prevalent than Finnish-Swedish code-switching. One possible reason for this might be related to the fact that most Swedish-speaking Finns are also proficient in Finnish, which means that the Finnish-speaking majority can manage without

Swedish, which in turn has led to a situation in which Finland is, in practice, mostly built on the linguistic foundation of monolingualism (Leppänen et al. 2011: 17). If we compare this notion to the rise of the importance of English in Finland, it becomes clear that people in Finland encounter English more often in their daily lives than they do Swedish (Leppänen et al. 2011: 162). If English is more visibly present in the society, it makes sense that there would also be more visible Finnish-English language contact phenomena like code-switching. Despite all this, Finnish-Swedish code-switching is long-established and common among Swedish-speaking Finns (Leppänen et al. 2011: 129).

2.4 Attitudes

According to Garrett (2010: 20), attitudes are psychological constructs, more specifically evaluative orientations or dispositions to react in certain way to social objects. Although there is controversy around the structure of attitudes, they are often thought to comprise of three components: cognition, affect, and behavior (Garrett 2010: 23). Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003: 6-7) suggest that language attitudes (i.e. attitudes toward linguistic varieties) affect both the way we respond to other language users and the way we modify our own speech so as to be seen in a particular way. Essentially, attitudes are grounded in commonsensical ideas that we are socialized to, often unconsciously (Garrett 2010: 35). Attitudes vary in terms of stability and durability, but, according to some, language attitudes are thought to be among the durable due to the fact that language is acquired relatively early in the lifespan (Garrett 2010: 29-30). It is supposed that these factors are at play in all attitudes, including attitudes toward code-switching. Finally, it is generally difficult for people to make a distinction between attitudes toward a language variety (in this case the practice of Finnish-English code-switching) and attitudes toward people who use it (Garrett, Coupland & Williams 2003: 12), but I think that it is not necessary to try to distinguish between these concepts in the present study as I am approaching the topic from a relatively broad perspective.

Attitudes are highly abstract and thus can be difficult to measure reliably, but there are two main strategies that are often applied in studies. Direct measures of attitudes are based on asking the participants up front about their attitudes and relying on their self-evaluations, whereas indirect measures of attitudes are based on inferring the participant's attitudes from their answers without explicitly asking them to evaluate their attitudes (Garret, Coupland & Williams 2003: 16). As the participants of this study were asked directly what they think of a certain linguistic phenomenon, this survey could be defined as a direct measure of language attitudes. A direct measure was chosen primarily because it would guide the participants to focus on code-switching specifically instead of paying attention to other linguistic elements in the sample sentences. Consequently, distortion of the results would be expected to be reduced, at least regarding the question of what exactly the subject

of the participant's attitudes is. The issue of the reliability of my results is further discussed in Chapter 6.

2.4.1 Attitudes Toward Code-Switching

Traditionally, code-switching has been a socially stigmatized practice, seen as a result of a lack of education or a lack of proficiency in one or both languages, and even as an indicator of illiteracy (Montes-Alcalá 2000: 218). It has been disapproved of on the grounds of linguistic purism, insecurities about one's non-standard language use, and perceiving one or more of the languages involved to be under threat and thus requiring protection from outside influences. Negative attitudes have been commonly held even by people who code-switch themselves. However, it seems that code-switching is gradually becoming more accepted in many contexts. (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 81-82). An example of code-switching being generally accepted and cherished among a certain context or community can be found in Montes-Alcalá's (2000) study of young college-educated Spanish-English bilinguals in California. For example, most of the participants claimed that code-switching reflects their identity and that it "sounds pretty" when someone mixes Spanish and English (Montes-Alcalá 2000: 222-223).

The topic of attitudes toward code-switching has been approached from a general angle by Dewaele and Li (2014). In their study, the participants as a group represented numerous different nationalities around the world and also spoke dozens of different languages as native and foreign languages (Dewaele & Li 2014: 240-241). Essentially, this study is an attempt to summarize the general phenomenon of attitudes toward code-switching with no particular regard for context-dependent cultural and linguistic factors that affect attitudes in specific settings or with respect to specific language pairs. To name a few examples, it was found that participants were more likely to have positive attitudes toward code-switching if they had certain personality traits (high levels of Tolerance of Ambiguity and Cognitive Empathy, and low levels of Neuroticism), if they were involved in certain prior and current linguistic practices (growing up in a bilingual family and in an ethnically diverse environment, and currently working in an ethnically diverse environment), if they had lived abroad, and if they fell into either the lowest or highest categories of education level (Dewaele & Li 2014: 244, 246). In this thesis, I do not attempt to look into how personality plays into attitudes toward code-switching, but I do intend to investigate the effects of a person's linguistic history or language repertoire as well as the effects of sociobiographical factors.

It should be noted that there is considerable variation in the results of studies on attitudes toward code-switching that have been conducted in different contexts around the world. As found in

a study of Cantonese-English code-switching conducted in a bilingual community in Toronto, Canada (Yim, Clément & Pitts 2019: 479), code-switching can elicit a conflicting mix of positive and negative emotions: the participants associated code-switching with pride of their culture, but also with feelings of being excluded from Chinese group membership since code-switching would cause others to label them as born and raised outside of China as well as deem their Cantonese language skills to be weak. Similar ambivalent attitudes have been reported by other studies too, for example by Chen's study of Cantonese-English bilinguals who have returned to Hong Kong from overseas (2008: 57): the deauthentication and delegitimation of the returnees' ethnic and cultural identity as Hong Kong Chinese is partly based on how the locals (i.e. those who have not lived abroad) view their linguistic practices such as copious code-switching.

A study of code-switching in the London Greek Cypriot community found that lower levels of education, younger age, and belonging in the lower occupation groups were associated with more positive attitudes toward code-switching. Overall, the participants seemed to hold mostly neutral attitudes toward code-switching and thought that it was a common practice in their community. (Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis & Finnis 2005: 70-71). In their analysis of the attitudes toward code-switching along with other aspects of the language situation of the London Greek Cypriot community, the authors place a lot of weight on the advantage and prestige that is associated with the English language (Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis & Finnis 2005: 77). I expect that this prestige associated with English might be play a part in results of the present study too, since it also came up in the answers the participants of my BA thesis provided. This notion of prestige is very much related to the unique position of the English language in Finland, which is discussed above in Section 2.3.

In Finland, attitudes toward code-switching have been studied by Leppänen et al. (2011). The study indicates for instance that more negative attitudes toward Finnish/Swedish-English code-switching are associated with the highest and lowest education levels, as well as with older age. It is suggested that the highly educated and those who are the least educated are critical of codeswitching for different reasons: the former would be primarily concerned about the purity of their mother tongue while the latter would be less familiar with code-switching and hence disapprove of it. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 139). However, more than half of the participants reacted positively to code-switching (Leppänen et al. 2011: 130).

In the studies that I discuss in this section, the effects that level of education has on attitudes toward code-switching seem to vary a lot from one study to another. Therefore, I think it is relevant to try to find out in this study whether education level seems to have an effect on attitudes toward code-switching in the case of the Finnish-English language pair, and if so, whether a lower or higher

level of education is more associated with positive attitudes. Dewaele and Li (2014), Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis and Finnis (2005), Leppänen et al. (2011), and the present study do however use different categorizations of education levels which makes it somewhat problematic to compare them.

2.4.2 The Effect of Age on Attitudes

It has been indicated in some studies that age is a significant factor connected to the nature of attitudes toward code-switching, but whether older age is tied to more positive or more negative attitudes seems to be dependent on contextual factors, as there are examples of both cases in the literature. Dewaele and Li (2014: 246) report that older people had more positive attitudes than younger people, but Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis and Finnis (2005: 70) and Leppänen et al. (2011: 139) found the opposite connection: older people had more negative attitudes. I am inclined to base my expectations for this study on the latter option – that is, older people being less approving of code-switching – because the study by Leppänen et al. (2011) was conducted in roughly the same context that I conduct mine, suggesting that there could be some similarities in the results.

2.4.3 The Effect of Gender on Attitudes

Gender has also been determined as a significant factor in some studies on attitudes toward code-switching. Dewaele and Li (2014: 246) and Leppänen et al. (2011: 130-131) both found that female participants had more positive attitudes toward code-switching than male participants. Interestingly, Dewaele and Li (2014: 248) bring up the general tendency in sociolinguistics to find that women speak more standard-like than men. Code-switching, which is typically considered a non-standard linguistic feature, seems to be an exception to this common rule, at least on the basis of these studies. Being female was also associated with more positive attitudes toward code-switching in my BA thesis on the attitudes of Finnish students, so it is interesting to find out whether the same applies to older Finnish people.

This chapter has offered a brief introduction to the theories of language contact, bilingualism, code-switching and borrowing, and attitudes that constitute the theoretical starting point for the present study. In the following chapters, then, the relatively broad understandings of both code-switching and attitudes act as cornerstones in the analysis of data. The discussion of the history and the current state of the language situation in Finland illustrates the environment which has shaped the language attitudes of the participants in this study. Naturally, the results and significance of this study can only be understood in relation to the linguistic context in Finland. Lastly, this chapter has

presented and briefly analyzed results of related previous studies and thus provided examples to which this thesis can be compared.

3. Materials and Methods

This chapter demonstrates the materials and methods of this mixed methods study. I begin by describing my data and how I collected it. After that, I introduce the survey used in this study and the participants. Finally, I present the methods of analysis, both quantitative and qualitative.

3.1 Data

The data for this study was collected through an online survey. The survey was circulated via email and participants were encouraged to forward the questionnaire to people they know who fit the criteria for participation and might be interested in being a part of the study. Thus, the study is an example of snowball sampling. Regarding ethical concerns, all of the participants were informed about what would be done with the data, and they gave the researcher their permission use it. The survey was also piloted before giving it to the actual participants. The survey was online in the spring of 2021, from February 14th to March 1st. During this two-week period, 141 responses were accumulated.

Since the survey included both questions eliciting answers in a numerical form and open-ended questions eliciting answers in a textual form, some of the data could be analyzed quantitatively and some qualitatively. I chose to combine different formats of data because it permitted a more holistic examination of attitudes toward code-switching. In addition to collecting data having to do with code-switching directly, I also asked the participants for general background information so I could analyze possible connections between sociobiographical variables and attitudes.

3.2 The Survey

The survey (for the full survey in Finnish, see Appendix) was a modified version of the survey I created for my BA thesis. The Likert-scale section of the survey was loosely based on a section of the questionnaire in Dewaele and Li (2014) and adapted to fit the context of Finnish-English code-switching in Finland. In the beginning of the survey, the phenomenon of code-switching was briefly explained to the participants. I believed this was necessary to ensure that the participants understood what type of language use they were to react to in answering the questions. I presumed that most of the participants would not understand the term code-switching (or *koodinvaihto* in Finnish), so the phenomenon was referred to as ‘mixing Finnish and English’ (or *suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittaminen* in Finnish) in the survey. The definition of code-switching was illustrated with three sample sentences found on Korp (Borin, Forsberg & Roxendal 2012) in the Suomi24 corpus, which consists of internet forum data from one of the major forums in Finland. Here, for the sake of clarity, instances of code-switching are in italics and English translations are provided below the sentences that were used in the questionnaire:

- ”Mikäli kyseessä on kuitenkin kutsumusammatti, niin *go for it!*”
“Nonetheless, if it is your vocation, then *go for it!*”
- “*What’s the problem* tässä kuviossa?”
“*What’s the problem* with this situation?”
- “Tämä on se karu totuus, *deal with it.*”
” This is the harsh truth, *deal with it.*”

I selected these particular sentences as examples of code-switching because the code-switches in them are closer to the code-switching end of the spectrum, if we consider code-switching and borrowing to be the opposite ends of a continuum (for details, see Section 2.2 in this paper). In other words, I chose instances of code-switching that are longer than a single word and have not been morphologically integrated into Finnish in order to emphasize the contrast between Finnish and English. Examples of borrowings that are more established in Finnish might have fallen into the gray area of whether it is code-switching or already a fairly stable part of the recipient language, which in this case is Finnish.

After the sample sentences, the participants were asked to what extent they agree with five statements about Finnish-English code-switching. The participants were asked to choose an option on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all, 2 = not especially, 3 = so-so, 4 = quite a lot, 5 = very much). The statements were the following:

- Suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittaminen on merkki puutteellisesta suomen kielen taidosta.
Mixing Finnish and English is a sign of a lack of proficiency in Finnish.
- Suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittaminen on ärsyttävää.
It annoys me when people mix Finnish and English.
- Suomen ja englannin kieliä sekoittamalla voi ilmentää monikulttuurista identiteettiä.
By mixing Finnish and English, one can display a multicultural identity.
- Suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittaminen antaa ylimielisen vaikutelman.
Mixing Finnish and English is a sign of arrogance.
- Sekoittamalla suomen ja englannin kieliä voi ilmaista itseään paremmin.
Mixing Finnish and English is a way to express oneself better.

These five statements approached different aspects of attitudes toward code-switching in order to reinforce the accuracy of the measure. The same aim was pursued by having some of the statements

represent a positive attitude (statements number 3 and 5) and some a negative attitude (statements number 1, 2, and 4).

Subsequently, the survey continued with six open-ended questions. The participants were asked what kind of a person they would imagine might speak this way, in what kind of situation they would imagine someone might speak this way, if they themselves mix Finnish and English and what they think about their own code-switching, why do they think people speak this way, what aspects do they think affect their own attitudes toward mixing Finnish and English, and lastly if they had something else to say on this matter. In the final section of the survey that focuses on background information, the participants were asked to state their age, gender, level of education, first language(s), whether they speak other languages, where they are from, where they live now, and whether they have lived abroad.

3.3 Participants

The participants of this study were Finnish people over the age of 50. The participants' ages ranged from 50 to 76 years old. The average age was 59 years old. The gender distribution of the participants does not represent the general population accurately as only 31 percent of them were male and 69 percent female. The education level of the participants was also unusually high: as much as 81 percent had a degree from higher education, including universities and applied universities. Roughly four out of five people having a university degree is definitely not representative of the general Finnish population, let alone the generations born more than 50 years ago. For example, we can compare these figures to the average of 32 percent of Finns over the age of 15 having a tertiary degree in the year 2019 (Official Statistics of Finland 2020). It is very interesting indeed that the survey attracted such a highly educated demographic. Naturally, this skews the results of the present study so that the findings reflect primarily the views of the highly educated. Table 1 presents the percentages of each education level. While only person out of the 141 participants had a primary or lower secondary education, eight people were on the highest education level, that is, they had a doctoral or equivalent degree. Most of the participants had either upper secondary, bachelor's, or master's degrees, and the percentages for these groups were 18.4 percent, 31.2 percent, and 44 percent, respectively.

Table 1. Level of education

Primary or lower secondary education	1	0.7 %
Upper secondary education	26	18.4 %
Bachelor's degree	44	31.2 %
Master's degree	62	44 %
Doctoral or equivalent degree	8	5.7 %
Total	141	100 %

When asked about their first language(s), nearly all of the participants, 96 percent to be exact, stated that Finnish was their only mother tongue. Of the six exceptions to this rule, five reported that in addition to Finnish, they had another first language or even three first languages in total. English, Swedish, and Portuguese were mentioned. Finally, one person's mother tongue was Hungarian.

The most common foreign languages among the participants were English and Swedish. English was spoken by 70 percent and Swedish by 69 percent of the participants. German (38 %), French (21 %), Spanish (11 %), Russian (10 %), and Italian (6 %) were also common. Furthermore, each of the following languages was mentioned by one or two participants: Danish, Karelian, Norwegian, Chinese, Turkish, Estonian, Japanese, Dutch, Korean, Romanian, and Indonesian. However, as much as 12 percent of the participants reported that they did not speak any foreign languages in addition to their first language, Finnish. The percentage of people whose sole language was Finnish was higher than I expected, and I imagine it could have an effect on attitudes toward code-switching: to understand code-switching, one has to understand more than one language, and not being able to understand and follow the conversation might result in a negative attitude. The potential effect of lacking language skills seems even more relevant with regard to the large amount, almost a third of the participants, who do not speak English. Nonetheless, the fact that English, Swedish, and German are the three most common foreign languages seems to fit quite effortlessly the picture of the language situation in Finland which is painted in Section 2.3 above. The participants have received their primary education in the period when German was the most popular foreign language in schools, so it makes sense that such a large proportion of them would speak German. The widespread proficiency in Swedish is connected to the official status it has in Finland.

The participants were from all over Finland: many from small towns and rural regions, but there were also 20 participants who were born in Helsinki, the capital of Finland. Other localities that were the birthplace of more than three participants included Oulu (8 people), Kajaani (8 people), Vuolijoki (7 people), Turku (5 people), Kuhmo (4 people), and Tampere (4 people). Additionally, one person was born in Romania. In contrast, the participants' current places of residence were for the most part clustered in some of the biggest cities in Finland. Almost two thirds of the participants currently lived in either Helsinki (31 %), Oulu (12 %), Espoo (11 %), or Vantaa (9 %), all of which are among the five most populous municipalities in Finland. Espoo and Vantaa are part of the metropolitan area surrounding Helsinki, so 51 percent of the respondents currently lived in the Capital Region. There was only one other town that more than three participants currently lived in: Hyvinkää, which was the home of 5 respondents.

Many of the participants had also lived abroad. A surprisingly large group, 42 percent of them, had lived in another country at some point in their life. The period of time spent living abroad ranged from a couple of months to 27 years, and some participants had lived in several countries. The most common countries to have lived in were the United Kingdom (12 people), the United States (11 people), Germany (11 people), Sweden (10 people), France (7 people), Canada (6 people), Norway (3 people), Russia (3 people), the Netherlands (3 people), Spain (3 people), and Australia (3 people). It is interesting to note that the four most common countries to have lived in correspond with the three most common foreign languages spoken by the participants. Furthermore, each of the following countries was mentioned by one or two participants: the Soviet Union, Italy, Hungary, Mexico, China, Switzerland, Spain, Ukraine, Japan, the Philippines, New Zealand, Peru, Poland, Zambia, Senegal, Brazil, Israel, India, Indonesia, Austria, Chile, and Malaysia.

3.4 Methods of Analysis

As mentioned above, the methods of analysis used in the present study include both quantitative and qualitative ones. Quantitative methods were used in calculating the answers to the Likert scale questions and in comparing the results of these calculations to the background variables of the participants. The scores of the Likert scale questions of each participant were added up to a total attitude score. The maximum total attitude score, 25, would indicate a very positive attitude toward Finnish-English code-switching, while the minimum, a score of 5, would indicate a very negative attitude.

To accomplish this, the scores of statements number 3 and 5 were added as they were, while the scores of statements number 1, 2, and 4 were reversed. Using these individual total scores, a mean

total score was calculated. Additionally, average scores were calculated for each statement. Based on these calculations, it was examined if any of the background variables would have a significant connection to the attitude scores.

In the qualitative portion of the study, techniques of thematic content analysis were applied. The open-ended questions were analyzed by looking for similarities in the answers to see if there were any recurring themes or notions in the participants' views. The participants' responses were placed in themed categories, the purpose of which was to streamline the analysis of a large amount of textual data. Eventually, there were 3-6 thematic categories for each of the six open-ended questions. The recurring elements were also observed side by side with the numerical data in order to see how the underlying ideas associated with code-switching in the qualitative data were reflected in the quantitative results. The answers to the open-ended questions were also sifted through to find answers that would be illustrative of the participants' views generally and of each thematic category, in the participants' own words, and these were chosen as examples to be discussed in more detail.

4. Results

In this chapter, the results of this study are presented. First, I present the quantitative results, discussing the scores for each Likert scale statement, the total attitude scores, and the connections between total attitude scores and background variables. Then, the qualitative results are exhibited by going through the thematic categories for each open-ended question and demonstrating them with examples.

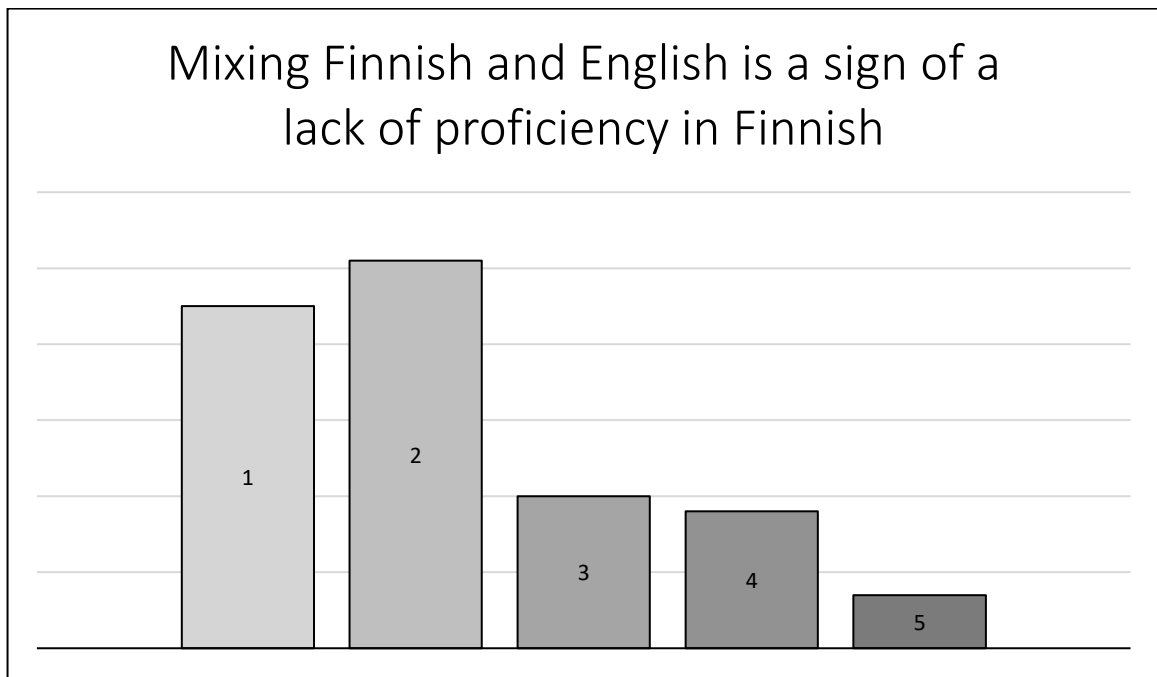
4.1 Quantitative Results

In this study, the quantitative analysis pertains to the first part of the survey in which the participants were asked to choose, on a five-point scale, to what extent they agree with five statements about Finnish-English code-switching. My hypothesis was that the participants' attitudes would be closer to the negative than the positive end of this spectrum, which technically turned out to be the case: even though the mean total attitude score is very close to the neutral midpoint of the scale, it is slightly on the negative side. The overall valence of the participants' attitudes can also be seen in the scores for each statement separately.

4.1.1 Scores for Each Statement

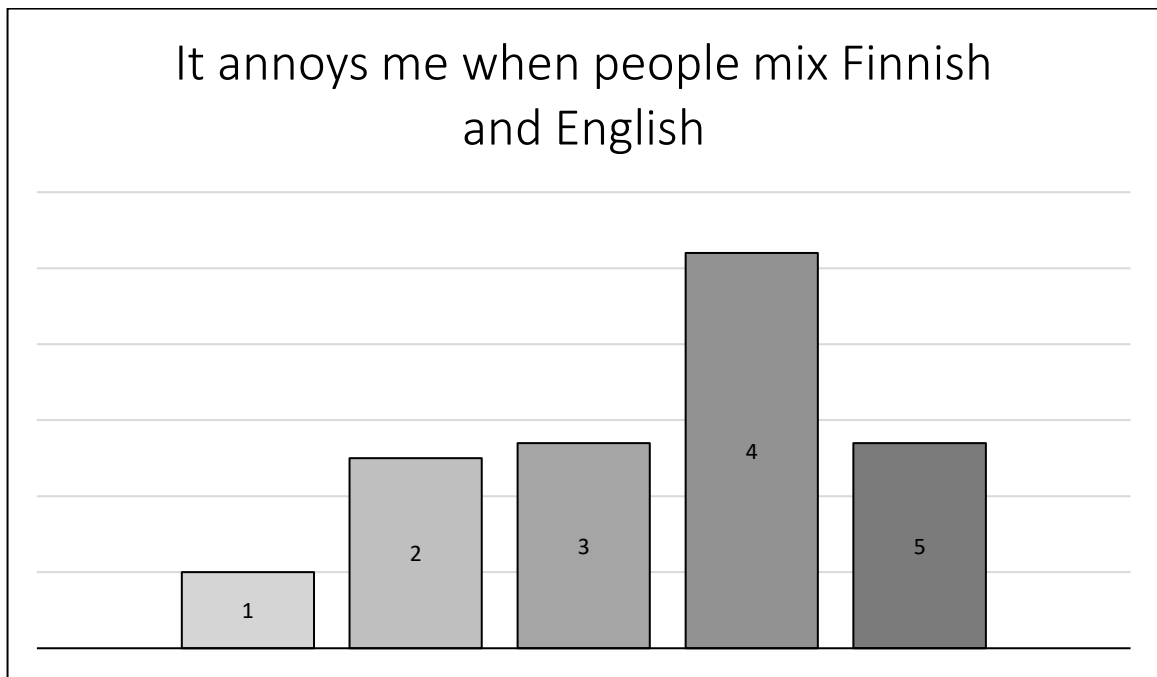
The scores for each individual statement fall on the scale of 1 to 5, which means that a score of 3 would be the neutral middle. Agreeing with statement number 1: *Mixing Finnish and English is a sign of a lack of proficiency in Finnish* would be indicative of a negative attitude toward Finnish-English code-switching. Figure 1 presents the distribution of the scores for the first statement. The average score for this statement is 2.23, which means that most of the participants do not agree with the idea of code-switching being a sign of a lack of proficiency in Finnish. As Figure 1 demonstrates, 2 and 1 are by far the most commonly chosen points on the scale.

Figure 1. Scores for statement number 1



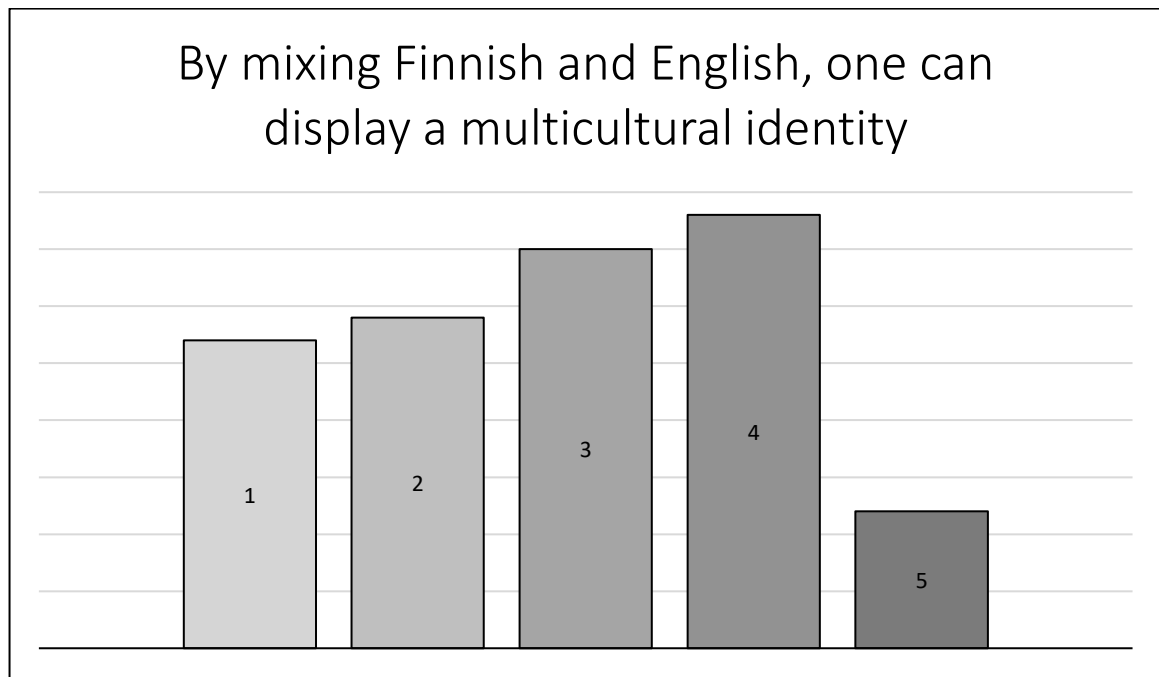
However, a larger amount of the participants agrees with statement number 2: *It annoys me when people mix Finnish and English*, which also indicates a negative attitude. As we can see in Figure 2, the most commonly chosen point on the scale is clearly 4, while the least commonly chosen point is 1. The rest of the options are chosen by roughly equal amounts of participants. As the average score for this statement is 3.43, the majority of the participants do feel annoyed by people around them mixing the two languages. The difference between the scores for statements number 1 and 2 reflects an interesting nuance in the nature of the participants' attitudes. Even if the average participant finds code-switching somewhat annoying, this annoyance is not necessarily related to the common belief (see Section 2.5) that code-switching is a manifestation of the speaker being simply unable to stick to one language due to insufficient language skills.

Figure 2. Scores for statement number 2



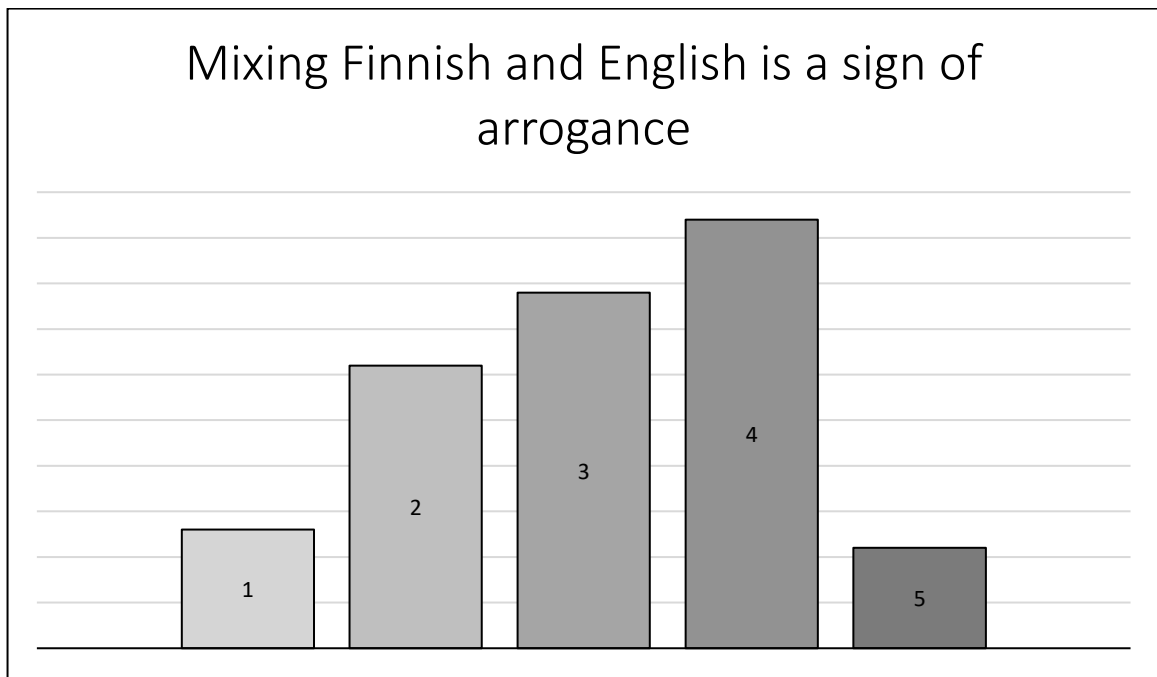
Statement number 3: *By mixing Finnish and English, one can display a multicultural identity* indicates a positive attitude toward code-switching. Figure 3 shows the distribution of the participants' answers to this question: the highest point of the scale (5) is only chosen by a small number of participants, but, interestingly, the second to highest point (4) is the most commonly chosen one. Considering how evenly the rest of the scores for statement number 3 seem to be distributed, point 5 on the scale looks almost like an anomaly in Figure 3. The average score for statement number 3, 2.85, is on the lower half of the scale but still very close to the middle. Therefore, despite the scores for this statement suggesting an attitude on the negative side, the average participant neither agrees nor disagrees very strongly with the idea that code-switching can be a tool express a multicultural identity.

Figure 3. Scores for statement number 3



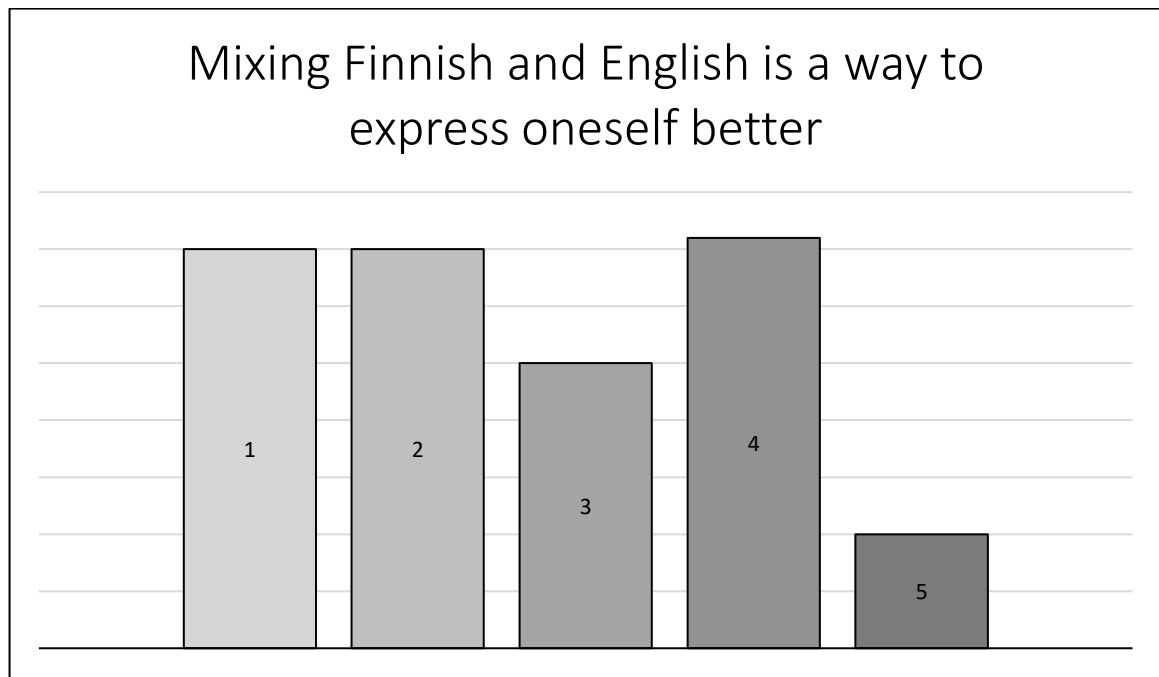
With the average score of 3.08, the answers to statement number 4: *Mixing Finnish and English is a sign of arrogance*, which indicates a negative attitude, add up to the most neutral result of the five statements. This means that the average participant does not associate code-switching with arrogance but does not exactly disagree with the notion either. Figure 4 presents the distribution of the scores along the scale of 1 to 5. There is a similar pattern of distribution in the answers to statements 3 and 4: the order from most to least commonly chosen option is 4-3-2-1-5, while the average score is very close to the middle. Since the scores for statements number 3 and 4 are so close to the midpoint of the scale, there is not much to be said about these dimensions of the participants' attitudes based on the numerical scores only. However, the participants discuss the issues of arrogance and multicultural identity in their open-ended answers, which is be analyzed below in Section 4.2 and further in Chapter 5 of this paper. I see this as an example of how quantitative and qualitative analysis complement each other in the present study.

Figure 4. Scores for statement number 4



Finally, statement number 5: *Mixing Finnish and English is a way to express oneself better* indicates a positive attitude toward code-switching. Figure 5 documents the answers to statement number 5. The most commonly chosen point on the scale is 4 but points 1 and 2 are chosen by almost as many participants. As Figure 5 shows, the least commonly chosen option is 5, once again. The average score for this statement is 2.65, which means that the majority of the participants disagree with the idea that Finish-English code-switching is a tool to enrich linguistic expression. The issue of whether it is better to express oneself using only Finnish or, when needed, both English and Finnish mixed together, is also discussed by several participants in detail in the open-ended answers. Indeed, the participants ended up readdressing in their answers all of the aspects of attitudes toward code-switching brought up by the researcher in the form of the five statements.

Figure 5. Scores for statement number 5



4.1.2 Total Attitude Scores

The mean total attitude score, on the scale of 5 to 25, is 14.72. It is only 0.28 below the neutral middle, so the average attitudes of this group of participants could perhaps be best described as neutral but leaning slightly more to negative than positive. The two highest scoring people among the 141 participants and hence the ones with the most positive attitudes have the score of 24, whereas three people have the lowest possible score of 5 meaning that they chose the most negative option for every statement.

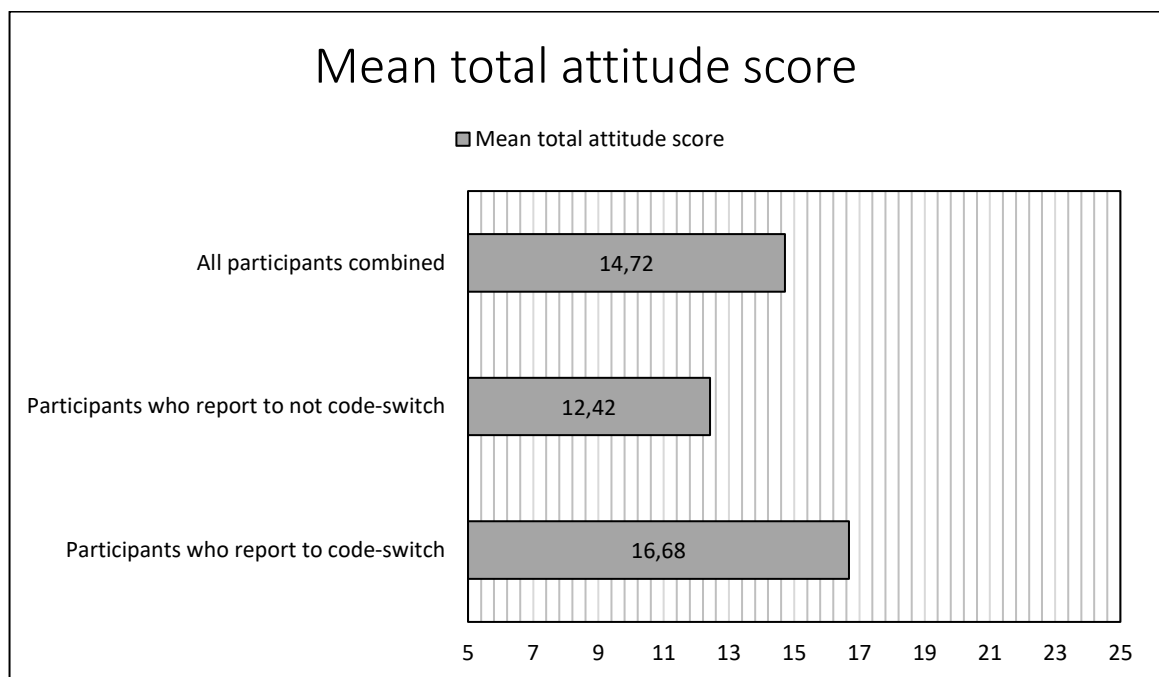
4.1.3 Background Variables in Relation to Total Attitude Scores

The background variables that were checked into in the survey do not seem to have particularly meaningful connections to the attitude scores. The differences in mean total attitude scores between men and women, those who have a university degree and those who do not, and lastly those who have lived abroad and those who have only lived in Finland turned out to be very small. Based on the results of previous research (see Section 2.4.3) I would have expected there to be a more noticeable difference between the scores of men and women, that is, that women would have considerably more positive attitudes toward code-switching than men.

However, the participants were also asked whether they mix Finnish and English in their own speech, and the answer to this particular question is the only one that seems to have any association

with the attitude scores. A slight majority of the participants, 54 percent, admit to code-switching. The mean total attitude score of the participants who said that they do code-switch is 16.68 while the mean total attitude score of the participants who said that they do not code-switch is 12.42. Figure 6 presents the mean total attitude scores of these two groups and the mean total attitude score of all participants.

Figure 6. Mean total attitude scores according to reporting to code-switch or not



Furthermore, the person with the highest total attitude score reported to code-switch in her own speech, whereas the three people with the lowest possible score all reported to not code-switch in their own speech. This seems to suggest that there might be a connection between self-reporting to mix Finnish and English and more positive attitudes toward this kind of language use, similarly to what I found in my BA thesis in which the participants were young students. Nevertheless, as mentioned in Section 2.5, even people who code-switch themselves often have negative attitudes toward code-switching, and this is also the case in my data: several participants who have a relatively low total attitude score still admit to code-switching. Some of them express that they try to avoid code-switching but inadvertently resort to it and subsequently feel bad about themselves (see Section 4.2.3 for a discussion of this phenomenon).

4.2 Qualitative Results

The qualitative analysis relies on the categorization of the open-ended answers and the inspection of examples that are representative of each category. The categories reflect the themes that came up in the answers the most, and hence going through all of them here is in pursuit of a wide-ranging understanding of what the participants think and how they feel about code-switching.

4.2.1 What Kind of a Person Would Code-Switch

The first open-ended question, *What kind of a person would you imagine might mix Finnish and English?* has to do with the stereotypes or that the participants associate with people who code-switch. The answers were classified into six thematic categories: “Young people and youthfulness”, “Educated people and those who work in multinational companies”, “Cool and trendy people”, “Laid-back people”, “People who consume media in English”, and “Bilingual and cosmopolitan people”. It is important to note that some of the answers were not put into any of the categories because, naturally, not all of them mentioned any of the major themes I found. This is true for all six open-ended questions: there were always a number of answers that did not fit into any of the categories.

The first category, “Young people and youthfulness” consists of answers that highlight either young age or trying to appear youthful as characteristics of a person who mixes Finnish and English. The age range of these young people is described as “teenagers”, “young adults”, “preteens”, “people who are younger than thirty”, and so forth. Answers talking about people who in reality are not that young anymore but try act like they still were or perceive themselves as such are also included in this category. Many participants associate things like insecurity, still being in the process of finding oneself, and living in a city with the age factor. Finnish-English code-switching is seen as something that is typical for younger people but not for the participants themselves or others in their age group. In Example (1), the idea of a young person being the prototype of a person who code-switches is compounded with the idea that people code-switch to prove their worth, or to appear better than others. Subtle undertones of contempt or disapproval for people who code-switch are clearly present in this example.

(1) Young people and youthfulness

”Nuorehko henkilö, jolla on hieman pätemisen tarvetta.”

”*A youngish person who has a bit of a need to prove their worth.*”

The category of “Educated people and those who work in multinational companies” encompasses all responses that center on education, work, and people who are surrounded by English

every day in these settings. Specialist terminology is dubbed as one of the main reasons for code-switching for educated professionals, especially in the fields of IT, business, and science. The fact that many companies located in Finland have English as the main language in the workplace is also brought up by a few participants. In Example (2), we see one participant's take on the effects of using English in the workplace.

(2) Educated people and those who work in multinational companies

“Henkilön, joka osaa hyvin molempia kieliä ja käyttää niitä usein. On kansainvälisessä työympäristössä tai ystäväpiiri on eri kielistä. On saattanut käyttää vaikka enemmän englanniksi ammattisanastoa, joten ei löydä nopeasti suomalaista vastinetta.”

“A person who knows both languages well and uses them often. They have an international working environment or a circle of friends who speak different languages. They might have used more specialist terminology in English, for example, so they can't find an equivalent term in Finnish quickly.”

In addition to describing how using English at work can lead to code-switching in other contexts, this participant discusses the effect of having friends who speak other languages than Finnish and mentions a good command of both languages as a precursor to code-switching. In my interpretation, this answer reflects a neutral attitude toward code-switching.

Many participants stated that people who code-switch are “cool and trendy” in one way or another. This category is represented in Example (3), in which code-switching is portrayed as something that people do to keep up with the times. Code-switching is seen as a “cool” way to use language and a person who code-switches is seen as someone who follows the current trends and is generally well-off in life.

(3) Cool and trendy people

“Menestyvän tyyppin, jolle on tärkeää ajan hermolla pysyminen puheessakin.”

“A successful person for whom it is important to keep up with the times in even in their speech.”

In some of the other answers classified under the rubric of “Cool and trendy people”, the negative meanings associated with trendiness are highlighted more: people who code-switch are seen as snobbish or trying too hard to be cool.

Some of the participants characterized those who code-switch as “Laid-back people”. Example (4) presents one participants' impression of what kind of people code-switch. This

participant believes that people are trying to achieve an aura of simultaneous relaxedness and intelligence by code-switching.

(4) Laid-back people

“Henkilön, joka haluaa antaa itsestään rennon, mutta älykkään vaikutelman.”

“A person who wants to come across as easy-going but intelligent.”

I suppose that assigning features like “laid-back” or “easy-going” to people who mix Finnish and English might have something to do with the cultural meanings associated with Anglo-American media and culture that is widespread in Finland. However, none of the participants whose answers belong in this category went into detail about what they perceived as possible origins of this specific characterization.

“People who consume media in English” is also, in this data, a common understanding of what people who code-switch are like. This category includes descriptions of people who keep up with the Anglo-American entertainment industry, play video games online, watch movies and listen to music in English, spend a lot of time online, or read news from English-language news outlets. In Example (5), it is emphasized that all kinds of people encounter English in the media landscape in Finland today. However, the participant also expresses a belief that young people are more immersed in this kind of culture.

(5) People who consume media in English

“Kaikenlaisten. Englanti on niin voimakkaasti esillä käyttämissämme viihdesisällöissä, että se myös helposti hiipii puheeseen. Toki nuoremmilla enemmän.”

“All kinds of people. English is so strongly present in the entertainment media we consume that it can creep into speech too. Naturally, it is more common with young people.”

The last category for this question is “Bilingual and cosmopolitan people”. First of all, although the term bilingualism is often considered to cover both concurrent or “early bilingualism” in which one acquires more than one language as a very small child and consecutive or “late bilingualism” in which one acquires additional languages later in life (Matras 2009: 61-62), the participants seem to count only concurrent bilingualism as bilingualism. Thus, the participants talk about bilinguals as a relatively marginal group, even though most of them do speak several languages. For instance, according to one participant, a bilingual might code-switch because “they don’t speak Finnish at home”.

In the responses belonging in this category, bilingualism is sometimes associated with cosmopolitanism. People who code-switch are viewed as “citizens of the world”. In Example (6), a cosmopolitan person is summed up as:

(6) Bilingual and cosmopolitan people

“Kansainvälisen, tiedostavan, uudelle avoimen.”

“Someone who is international, aware, open to new things.”

Being international, aware, and open to new things are usually considered positive qualities in a person. This example presents Finnish-English code-switching in a favorable light: people who code-switch are seen as progressive and modern.

4.2.2 In What Kind of a Situation Would Someone Code-Switch

The next question approaches the topic from a slightly different point of view: *In what kind of a situation would you imagine someone might mix Finnish and English?* Based on the answers, four thematic categories were formed: “Work”, “Informal conversations and joking”, “Conversations about culture and media”, and “Simply happening to think of the English word first”.

The category of work-related situations is somewhat self-explanatory and closely connected to the category of “Educated people and those work in multinational companies” from the previous question. If the participants imagine professionals speaking English and code-switching at work, it is only natural that they would also imagine the situation in which someone might code-switch to be related to work. The likelihood of encountering code-switching in the domain of work is phrased in Example (7) in a straightforward way:

(7) Work

“Mahdollisesti tiimipalaverissa tai työyhteisössä.”

“Perhaps in team meetings or in the work community.”

Many of the participants define the typical situations in which they would imagine someone would code-switch along the lines of “Informal conversations and joking”. They mention that code-switching can be used as a tool in trying to be funny and witty, and that code-switching in and of itself can be the punchline of a joke. Example (8) summarizes nicely the idea of informality as a common factor of situations in which people would code-switch.

(8) Informal conversations and joking

”Ystävien ja tuttujen ihmisten seurassa, epävirallisessa tilanteessa.”

”In the company of friends and acquaintances, in an informal situation.”

The answers in this category could also be interpreted to imply not only the premise that code-switching is funny and casual, but also that it might not be appropriate to code-switch in formal situations. As code-switching is a non-standard linguistic practice, it is often not considered appropriate in situations where people are expected to adhere to the norms and rules of a standard language variety.

Similar to the category of work-related situations, the category of “Conversations about culture and media” is inextricably tied to its counterpart in the previous question (“People who consume media in English”). In Example (9), a participant illustrates the point by explaining how code-switching can come naturally in a situation where a film is watched in English and afterwards discussed with others.

(9) Conversations about culture and media

“Vaikka yhteisen elokuvakokemuksen jälkeen, elokuvassa käytetty lause voi toistua puheessa.”

“For example, after a shared film experience, a sentence that was said in the film might be repeated in conversation.”

According to the participants, conversations about culture and media, in which code-switching is common, revolve around many different forms and genres. For instance, one participant mentions foreign YouTubers who speak English in their videos and teenagers who start using their catchphrases.

Finally, instead of naming specific types of situations, several people talk about something along the lines of “Simply happening to think of the English word first”. They emphasize that rather than depending on external factors, the situations where people would code-switch are determined by what happens in the speaker’s mind. The participants suggest that sometimes people cannot remember the Finnish expression fast enough or they might not be able to find a fitting Finnish expression at all. The participant in Example (10) sees code-switching as something that tends to happen accidentally if one is not concentrating.

(10) Simply happening to think of the English word first

“Arkitilanteissa, kun ei keskity puheeseensa.”

“In everyday situations, when you’re not paying attention to what you’re saying.”

4.2.3 Thoughts on Own Code-Switching

Before answering the next open-ended question, the participants were asked to state whether or not they themselves code-switch. The following question reads: *If you answered “Yes” to the previous question, what do you think about your own mixing of Finnish and English?* Therefore, only 54 percent of the participants, those who reported to code-switch, answered this question. Nonetheless, I was able to form three categories: “Enriching vocabulary and expression”, “Aiming for ‘clean’ Finnish but resorting to code-switching”, and “Mainly for humorous effect”.

The first category, “Enriching vocabulary and expression”, is characterized by the idea of using code-switching as a stylistic device and a source of expressive power. Many answers in this category also put emphasis on situations where an English phrase seems more fitting and evocative than a Finnish one. Some participants point out that they code-switch because certain idioms sound better in their language of origin. In Example (11), spicing up the conversation with English words is compared to using words from Finnish dialects.

(11) Enriching vocabulary and expression

“Mieluummin vältän kuin suosin sitä, mutta välillä lipsahtaa höystämään puhetta kuten myös kotimaiset murre sanat.”

“I would avoid rather than favor it, but sometimes it slips out to spice my speech just like Finnish dialectal words do.”

In addition to the notion of seasoning and brightening up one’s speech with code-switching, Example (11) implies that code-switching is not ideal; it is not a serious offense but, if possible, it should be avoided. This aspect of Example (11) echoes the main constituent of the next category.

The next category, “Aiming for ‘clean’ Finnish but resorting to code-switching”, covers answers in which the participants state that they try their best to stick to Finnish but sometimes fail in the endeavor. Many of them say that feel annoyed with themselves if they have to resort to code-switching. One participant calls such an instance a “blunder”, which in my opinion captures the essence of this category. In Example (12), another participant says that when she catches herself code-switching, she feels annoyed and tries to find the right words in Finnish.

(12) Aiming for ‘clean’ Finnish but resorting to code-switching

“Sekoittaminen ärsyttää itseäni ja monesti pyrin korjaamaan sanat.”

“Mixing [the languages] annoys me and I often try to correct my words.”

In the last category for this question, English is used “Mainly for humorous effect”. The participants state that they code-switch because they find it funny and think that it is a great stylistic device to be used in joking. A couple of the participants describe their own code-switching as a kind of comic relief. Naturally, this category is connected to the category of “Informal conversations and joking” (See Section 4.2.2 above). Example (13) shows how one participant formulates her thoughts on the comic aspect of code-switching in her own speech. Moreover, the influence of movies, television series, and other media in English is once again brought up.

(13) Mainly for humorous effect

“Ajattelen, että se keventää puhetta ja tekee siitä leikillisempää. Elokuvista ja sarjoista on tarttunut kaikkia hauskoja sanontoja, joita tulee sitten viljeltyä puheessa.”

“I think that it lightens up my speech and makes it more playful. All kinds of funny expressions from movies and television series have stuck in my mind, and I then happen to use them in my speech.”

4.2.4 Why People Code-Switch

The answers to the question *Why do you think people mix Finnish and English?* were grouped into five categories: “Lack of respect for the Finnish language”, “Laziness”, “The prevalence of English in the Finnish society”, “Acquired proficiency in English”, and “Trying to appear trendy”.

The answers in the category of “Lack of respect for the Finnish language” seem to reflect strong negative value judgements of Finnish-English code-switching. In these answers, code-switching is seen as indicative of disrespecting the Finnish language, being ashamed of the Finnish language as well as Finnish culture, neglecting the responsibility to nurture one’s mother tongue, and the “Americanization of Finland”. In Example (14), a participant suggests that mixing Finnish and English stems from people not appreciating Finnish. This participant also mentions the fact that textbooks in higher education are often in English as one possible reason behind why people code-switch.

(14) Lack of respect for the Finnish language

“Ei arvosteta suomen kieltä ja sen ilmaisukykyä ja on totuttu käyttämään englantia monesti jo opiskeluajoina asti, kun esim. kurssikirjat ovat englanninkielisiä.”

“[Because] the Finnish language and its expressive capacity are not appreciated, and people have often become accustomed to using English ever since their student days because textbooks, for example, are in English.”

Some of the participants think that people mix Finnish and English because they are lazy. The the answers that I put in the category of “Laziness” demonstrate a view of code-switching as something that should be avoided, and if a person fails to do so, the slip-up is attributed to “sloppy” language use. Laziness is usually not perceived as a desirable feature in society, which is reflected in the answers in this category, but one participant has a rather approving stance on “lazy” code-switching: she thinks that it is lazy to “speak a hybrid language” but then states that, after all, language is supposed to be flexible and to change in the course of time.

Example (15) brings up several reasons for code-switching. First, the participant states that people code-switch out of habit, which seems like a relatively neutral observation since practically all of our choices in language use and life in general are connected to our habits. However, because the two other reasons this participant follows up with seem to have a disapproving tone, I suspect that she might be implying that it is a bad habit. Second, the participant expresses the belief that people code-switch because they have a need to pretend to be something they are not. Interestingly, this idea of code-switching being somehow pretentious is also mentioned by many other participants across the answers to all of the open-ended questions. Third, this participant voices the opinion that people code-switch because they cannot be bothered to think up an equivalent expression in Finnish in a way that summarizes the category of “Laziness”.

(15) Laziness

“Tottumus. Tarve esittää jotain. Laiskuutta etsiä sopiva ilmaisu suomeksi.”

“Habit. A need to pretend to be something you’re not. Being too lazy to find a suitable expression in Finnish.”

Many of the participants think that “The prevalence of English in the Finnish society” is the main reason behind code-switching. This theme, which is discussed in Section 2.3 above, seems to be a phenomenon to which the participants have paid a lot of attention. According to the participants, social media, television, advertisements, popular culture in general, globalization, and international commerce, among other factors, have resulted in English having a prominent role it has in the Finnish society of today. The answers in this category describe how being constantly exposed to English in everyday situations causes English words and phrases to wriggle their way into the speech of Finnish people. One person goes as far as to claim that due to “most Finns being within English’s sphere of influence”, code-switching has become “the new normal”. In Example (16), a participant emphasizes the inevitability of English pervading the Finnish culture and changing the way Finnish people speak.

(16) The prevalence of English in the Finnish society

“Englannin kielen ylivallasta, se tunkeutuu väistämättä kieleemme, sitä ei voi estää. Olemme kulttuurisesti niin lähellä englanninkielistä maailmaa nykyään, että kaikki vaikutteet tulevat sieltä ja jättävät jäljet kieleemme.”

“[Because of the] supremacy of the English language, it pervades our language inevitably, it cannot be stopped. Today, we are so close to the English-speaking world culturally that all influences come from there and leave their mark on our language.”

Some of the participants seem to believe that “Acquired proficiency in English” is the reason behind Finnish-English code-switching. In this category, the overarching ideas have to do with increasing international travel, immigration, and resources for global communication, as well as with the trend of more and more Finnish people learning English in school or working life, or through consuming entertainment media in English. Many of them seem to think that code-switching is a natural consequence of a large number of Finns speaking fluent English. Example (17) presents one participant’s thoughts on why people code-switch: while the participant thinks that it would be silly to just throw aside the Finnish language and switch to speaking English, she thinks people should not feel discouraged from making use of their full linguistic repertoire to express themselves as creatively as possible. In other words, she thinks that the reason why people code-switch is that they try to enrich their verbal expression, an idea which is also brought up by participants as an explanation as to why they themselves code-switch (see Section 4.2.3).

(17) Acquired proficiency in English

“Olisi aika hölmöä puhua kokonaan englantia, mutta toisaalta olisi sääli jättää käyttämättä englannin kielen hyvin tai hauskasti tai helposti erilaisia tilanteita kuvaavat ilmaisut.”

“It would be pretty silly to speak English completely, but at the same time it would be a shame to not make use of the English expressions that illustrate various situations well, or in a funny or effortless way.”

The final category for this question, “Trying to appear trendy”, consists of answers expressing the belief that people code-switch because they want to appear trendy, cosmopolitan, sophisticated, or just better than others in one way or another. Code-switching is attributed to vanity and ostentation. In Example (18), we see a typical instance of this kind of view of the reasons behind code-switching. It is clear that this participant associates Finnish-English code-switching with being pretentious and trying to appear better than others.

(18) Trying to appear trendy

“Halu olla kansainvälinen ja sivistynyt.”

“A desire to be cosmopolitan and sophisticated.”

4.2.5 Reflection on Own Attitudes Toward Code-Switching

The answers to the question *What aspects do you think affect your own attitudes toward mixing Finnish and English?* were grouped into six thematic categories: “Work or education”, “Experience living abroad or having foreign friends”, “Beliefs regarding the protection of minority languages”, “Love for one’s mother tongue”, “Lack of proficiency in English”, and “Age”.

The first category, “Work or education” reflects a theme that, as we have already seen, is present in answers to almost all of the open-ended questions. Many participants feel that their own attitudes toward code-switching have been affected, in either the negative or positive direction, by their professional career or the education they have received. It has to be noted that some participants do not specify the direction of the effect. Example (19) exhibits one of the answers that are ambiguous as to whether work or education has had a positive or negative effect on the participant’s attitudes. The participant in Example (19) believes that her job affects her attitudes toward Finnish-English code-switching because, at the workplace, she is surrounded by young people who code-switch a lot.

(19) Work or education

“Työskentelen nuorten kanssa ja näen ja kuulen mainittujen kielten yhdistelemistä päivittäin.”

“I work with adolescents and see and hear the languages [Finnish and English] being combined on a daily basis.”

In other answers classified in this category, participants mention things like working with foreign people, using English at work, and working in a field in which the specialist terminology is in English. One participant specifies that as a journalist, she has to pay close attention to the language in her writing.

The category of “Experience living abroad or having foreign friends” comprises a fairly heterogeneous array of answers. The bulk of this category consists of participants discussing having lived abroad – as so many of them have – and having friends who do not speak Finnish. One participant mentions that the fact that her children went to bilingual (Finnish-English) elementary and secondary school has made using both languages more natural in their family, which in my opinion also fits in this category. Additionally, one participant who has two first languages, Finnish and Portuguese, says his multilingual family background has had an effect on his attitudes. The participant in Example (20) does not go into detail about what exactly makes her background “internationally

inclined”, but it seems to me that this background has, even though it is not explicitly stated, made her attitudes toward code-switching more positive.

(20) Experience living abroad or having foreign friends

“Oma kansainvälisesti suuntautunut tausta.”

“My internationally inclined background.”

In contrast, in a couple of the answers in this category, participants express a belief that *the lack of* experience living abroad or having foreign friends has had a negative effect on their attitudes toward code-switching. For instance, they mention living their whole life in extremely monolingual Finnish environments. One participant explains that mixing languages is not considered to “sound good” in the rural region of Finland where he is from.

The answers in the next category, “Beliefs regarding the protection of minority languages”, reflect effects in the negative direction. The participants discuss how their beliefs about the importance of protecting small languages from powerful global languages like English impact their attitudes toward code-switching. In Example (21), a participant references his appreciation of languages as an important aspect of why he holds a certain kind of attitude toward code-switching. He voices the opinion that Finnish should be cherished and kept safe from the influence of English, but at the same time acknowledges that language contact and consequent language change cannot be impeded.

(21) Beliefs regarding the protection of minority languages

“Arvostan kielten taitoja mukaan lukien suomen kielen taito; pienten kielten säilymisen kannata on syytä vaalia omaa kieltä; tosin ei voine välttyä kielenkäytön kehittymistä eikä niin ollen myöskään englannin kielen lisääntyvää vaikutusta suomen kielen puhekielisessä kommunikaatiossa.”

“I appreciate knowledge of languages, including knowledge of Finnish; from the point of view of preserving small languages, it is important to cherish one’s own language; though I suppose we cannot avoid the evolvement of language use and hence not the increasing influence of English on Finnish colloquial communication either.”

Another participant states that being a language teacher and valuing languages as separate is one factor that influences her attitudes. The answers in this category reflect anxieties and worries about the threat English poses to the Finnish language. Finnish is not an endangered language nor a minority language as it has around five million native speakers and is in a stable position as an official language of a country, but it is of course in no means immune to the possibility of English replacing

it in some domains if the spread of English intensifies. Still, the worries that the participants express here seem to be out of proportion in relation to the status of the Finnish language.

Some of the participants name a “Love for one’s mother tongue” as a factor affecting their attitudes toward code-switching. This category is characterized by the belief that everything and anything can be expressed in Finnish and that anglicisms should always be replaced with Finnish equivalent expressions. The participants also refer to the beauty of the Finnish language, the special place that one’s mother tongue holds in one’s heart, their love for Finnish literature, and the richness of expression in the Finnish language. Example (22) summarizes this category by combining the declaration of love to the Finnish language with a critical outlook on Finnish-English code-switching.

(22) Love for one’s mother tongue

“Rakastan äidinkieltäni ja suhtaudun kriittisesti sen muuttumiseen suomen ja englannin sekoitukseksi.”

“I love my mother tongue and I am critical of it turning into a mixture of Finnish and English.”

The category of “Lack of proficiency in English” includes answers that reflect the negative effects that not being fluent in English has on the participants’ attitudes. The participants describe their difficulties in understanding English and how it might cause them to be annoyed when someone code-switches a lot. One person mentions that German was his foreign language in school, implying that he is not as comfortable with English, which then affects his attitudes toward Finnish-English code-switching. Additionally, as we see in Example (23), one participant responds that while she personally does speak English, she wants to stand up for those who do not. In other words, this participant feels that her attitudes are more negative because of solidarity to people who are not proficient in English.

(23) Lack of proficiency in English

“Haluan olla niiden puolella, jotka eivät välttämättä ymmärrä englantia.”

“I want to stand up for those who might not understand English.”

The category of “Age” includes answers in which participants focus on how their age is reflected in their attitudes. Several participants say that the issue of attitudes toward Finnish-English code-switching is a “generational issue”, implying that older generations hold more negative attitudes. Participants also associate things like being used to communicating in Finnish only with their old age and negative attitudes. In Example (24), a participant discusses how when she was in

school, it was of great importance to be grammatically correct when speaking and writing in Finnish, so code-switching would not have been tolerated back then. The participant suspects that this ideal that she was taught in school still affects her attitudes.

(24) Age

“Ikä, oman opiskelutaustan vaikutus: esim. suomen kielen oikeakielisyyttä pidettiin tärkeänä.”

“My age, the impact of my educational background: for example, grammatical correctness in Finnish was considered important.”

Since older age affecting attitudes toward Finnish-English code-switching negatively was one of the presuppositions I had when embarking on this study, it is interesting that many of the participants do indeed think that being a member of the older generations has played a significant part in how their own personal views have formed.

4.2.6 Other Concerns

Finally, the participants were asked: *Is there anything else you would like to say on this matter?* A sizable portion of the participants chose to leave this question blank, but the ones who did have additional thoughts they wanted to share express views that are surprisingly consistent with each other. Based on these responses, three groups were formed: “Discussing specific instances of code-switching that they find annoying”, “Hoping that Finnish would not lose its vitality in the future”, and “The importance of being understood when code-switching”.

“Discussing specific instances of code-switching that they find annoying”, the first themed category for this question, includes a handful of answers that give examples of particularly annoying types of code-switching and related Finnish-English language contact phenomena. The participants are annoyed by code-switching and the use of English in advertisements, the names of companies, the names shopping centers, the names of restaurants, the menus of restaurants, the names of spas, and media, particularly “quality journalism”, to name a few. One of the participants describes such instances as ridiculous, uncouth, and upstart. Another participant expresses her frustration at awkward word-for-word translations of idioms. In Example (25), one participant voices her annoyance at TV shows and films being left untranslated, especially if it would not have been difficult to find the right words in Finnish.

(25) Discussing specific instances of code-switching that they find annoying

“En pidä siitä, että TV-ohjelmien ja elokuvien nimet on jätetty suomentamatta. Yleensä suomennos löytyy helposti.”

“I don’t like it when the names of TV shows and films have not been translated into Finnish. Usually the Finnish translation is easy to come up with.”

The answers categorized under the rubric “Hoping that Finnish would not lose its vitality in the future” reflect similar concerns than the answers in the categories of “Beliefs regarding the protection of minority languages” and “Love for one’s mother tongue” for the previous question: that the Finnish language will die out if it is not used in a versatile way in all arenas of life. Many of the participants mention the domain of science and academia and how they are worried that Finnish will cease to be used in universities and when talking about scientific subject matters. This concern is expressed in a condensed form in Example (26). The participant stresses the importance of keeping the Finnish terminology in different scientific fields up to date and hence ensuring that Finnish will continue to be used in this domain.

(26) Hoping that Finnish would not lose its vitality in the future

“Jatkossa olisi tärkeä varmistaa eri tieteenalojen termistöstä myös suomenkielinen käännös, muuten kielemme jää vain arkikäyttöön.”

“In the future, it would be important to ensure that there are Finnish translations of the terminology of different disciplines, otherwise our language will be reduced to informal everyday use.”

Additionally, some of the participants discuss being afraid that code-switching as well as poorly translated texts online could lead to the narrowing down of the expressive power of Finnish.

Lastly, some of the participants want to point out “The importance of being understood when code-switching”. In the answers I classified in this category, the sentiment seems to be that code-switching is perfectly fine if all parties can understand what is being said. The participants underline that this is often not the case, which results in inequality and some people being shut out of the discussion, whether big or small. This claim is supported by what was found in this study, namely that as much as 30 percent of the participants reported to not speak English. In Example (27) presents one participant’s thoughts on the matter: despite the fact that many people in Finland are fluent in English, it should not be assumed that everyone is. Rather, people should remember to take the interlocutor’s language proficiency into consideration and, if necessary, refrain from code-switching.

(27) The importance of being understood when code-switching

“Englanti on niin yleismaailmallinen kieli, että monella löytyy perustaidot ymmärtää kielten sekoittaminen arki kielen käytössä. Ehkä olisi vain syytä harkita tällaisen sekoittamisen

käyttöä lähinnä tilanteissa, jossa on epäily/olettamus vastapuolen kyvyistä ymmärtää sekoitettu kieli.”

“English is such a universal language that many people have the basic skills to understand when the languages are mixed in everyday language use. It’s just that maybe we should think twice about this kind of mixing in situations where there is a doubt or assumption about the interlocutor’s ability to understand the language that is mixed.”

In this chapter, I have presented both the quantitative and the qualitative results. I have attempted to visualize the quantitative data and describe the wide range of the qualitative data by offering examples of all the thematic categories. In the next chapter, these results are discussed further by addressing the research questions directly and condensing the results into a handful of main findings.

5. Discussion

In this chapter, the results of the present study are further discussed and interpreted, and the research questions proposed in the Introduction of this paper are revisited. The findings are also examined with respect to the theoretical background presented in Section 2. I begin by taking a general look at the findings and answering research question number 1: *Are the attitudes of Finnish people over the age of 50 toward Finnish-English code-switching for the most part positive, neutral, or negative?* Next, I discuss the connection between reporting to code-switch in one's own speech and more positive attitudes toward code-switching, and attempt to answer research question number 2: *Are any background variables associated with either more positive or more negative attitudes?*

The rest of the subsections answer research question number 3: *What kind of thoughts and beliefs do the participants express in relation to code-switching and people who code-switch?* by analyzing the major themes that came up in the analysis of data. The themes of age, work and education, media and culture, language proficiency, and respecting and protecting the Finnish language are covered. Finally, I take a closer look at the participants with the most negative as well as the most positive attitudes according to their total attitude scores. The purpose of this is to further illustrate the overall findings by studying the substantial difference between the two extremes.

5.1 Overview of the Nature of Attitudes

In the first place, to answer the question of whether the attitudes of the participants, who are Finnish people over the age of 50, are for the most part positive, neutral, or negative, we must study the quantitative results presented in Section 4.1. The total attitude scores are supposed to reflect the valence of the participants' attitudes on a scale of 5, indicating the most negative attitude, to 25, indicating the most positive attitude. Hence, a total attitude score of 15 indicates a neutral attitude. The mean total attitude score of all participants is 14.72, which is just below the neutral midpoint. I interpret this to mean that the participants as a group have, on average, somewhat neutral attitudes toward Finnish-English code-switching, leaning slightly more to the negative end of the spectrum. However, there is a lot of variation in the total attitude scores: three people have the lowest possible score of 5 while two people have the score of 24, and the rest of the participants' scores are scattered along the spectrum more or less evenly. These results are almost precisely what I hypothesized. That being said, other findings of the study proved more surprising.

The most unanticipated finding was the disparities in the participants' life experiences. What I mean by this is that I was surprised by the unusually high average level of education and the large number of participants who have lived abroad, but also by the relatively large percentage of them that

do not speak English and the smaller but still considerable percentage that do not speak any other language than Finnish. As English becomes more prevalent in Finnish society, these people are put in unequal positions. Will people who do not speak English end up marginalized in society?

Moreover, on the topic of the overarching results of this study, I want to present Example (28), which I also chose to include incorporate into the title of this paper. It is a very illustrative example of the mildly negative views on Finnish-English code-switching that most of the participants express. On the one hand, the participant seems to value language skills and think highly of people who can express themselves fluently in many languages. On the other hand, the participant disapproves of the position of power that the English language is in both on the global scale and in Finland.

(28) Knowing different languages is an advantage

“Kielten osaaminen on rikkaus, mutta nykyisen englannin kielen ylivallan soisin horjuvan.”

“Knowing different languages is an advantage, but I wish the current supremacy of English would falter.”

As we can see in Example (28), as well as various other examples discussed above, the issue of code-switching is complex and strikes a chord with many of the participants. This complexity has to do with a variety of aspects, but the differing resources that people have for participating in this kind of communication and the emotionally loaded meanings people associate with their native language are undeniably among them.

5.2 The Effect of Reporting to Code-Switch

The only background variable that seems to have a marked connection in any way to the total attitude scores is the participants' answer to the question *Do you mix Finnish and English in your own speech?* The participants who report to code-switch have the mean total attitude score of 16.68, while the average for those who report to not code-switch is 12.42. The mean total attitude score of all participants is 14.72. If we look at the qualitative examples presented in Section 4.2, it becomes clear that many of the negatively charged ones, like examples number (1), (15), and (22) are answers by participants who claim to not code-switch in their own speech. Reporting to code-switch was connected to more positive attitudes toward code-switching in my BA thesis, too. In that study, the participants were Finnish students who were decades younger than the participants of the present study. Despite all this, it is important to remember that people are not always aware of their own code-switching.

Additionally, one cannot simply assume based on these results that people who admit to code-switching automatically have positive attitudes: as always, the reality is more complicated than that. The ways in which the participants who report to code-switch reflect on their own code-switching are discussed in Section 4.2.3, and one of the themed categories, and hence one of the most prominent themes that came up in the answers, is “Aiming for ‘clean’ Finnish but resorting to code-switching”. In this category, the participants view their code-switching as accidental or a failure of some kind and try to avoid it as best they can. In addition to verbally describing their attitudes toward their own code-switching as far from favorable, most of their total attitude scores are quite low, too.

5.3 The Effect of Age

As discussed in Section 2.6, age has been found to be a significant factor affecting attitudes toward code-switching in some previous studies, even if the exact nature of the effect has varied from one study to another. Based on previous research I hypothesized that my participants, who are over the age of 50, would have more negative than positive attitudes toward Finnish-English code-switching. This hypothesis turned out to be accurate, although the mean total attitude score of the participants is very close to the neutral middle of the scale. Age is also mentioned by several participants as a factor affecting their attitudes in the negative direction (see Section 4.2.5). While the participant in Example (24), which is discussed more specifically above, approaches the influence of age primarily from the point of view of what kind of language attitudes were common and taught to students in schools when she was young, Example (29) looks at the issue from a different but equally interesting perspective. This participant seems to associate older age with confidence to be his authentic self instead of pretending to be something else. It is implied that code-switching would be an act of pretending to be something that one is not, perhaps attempting to impress other people.

(29) No need to pretend

“Oma ikä, riittävän hyvä suomen kielen taito. Ei tarvetta esittää muuta kuin on.”

“My age, a good enough command of the Finnish language. No need to pretend to be anything other than what I am.”

Analyzing examples number (24) and (29) sheds light on the diverse ways in which age can have an effect on attitudes toward code-switching. The flip side of older age being perceived as connected to more negative attitudes toward code-switching is the association of youth and adolescents with code-switching, which is discussed in Section 4.2.1. The concepts of youthfulness and trendiness are also often more or less grouped together, so the answers that paint a picture of code-switching as “cool and trendy” could also be considered to reflect the meanings associated with

age. Furthermore, even though the age range of the participants is fairly extensive, from 50 to 76 years old, there does not seem to be any significant differentiation in attitudes within this group of participants that would be dependent on age.

5.4 Work and Education

Work and education appear one of the most prevalent themes in all of the open-ended answers: many of the participants contemplate their views on code-switching with respect to this particular sphere of life. Out of the examples discussed so far in this paper, work- or education-related thoughts are expressed in numbers (2), (7), (14), (19), (24), and (26). Work and studies obviously take up a large portion of time in the lives of most people in our society, but I find myself wondering if the high education level of the participants could have something to do with why these aspects of life are so commonly talked about in the data. Particularly, the fields and lines of work that are most often mentioned by the participants, namely the academic world and the fields of IT and business, are associated with higher education. These fields are also associated with international cooperation and English specialist terminology so it makes sense that people would have thoughts and opinions about code-switching in relation to working life in these sectors.

5.5 Media and Culture

Another theme that the participants have a lot to say about is media and culture, particularly the entertainment industry. The answers touching upon this subject can be divided roughly into neutral or slightly positive views and negative views that criticize cultural imperialism. Examples number (9) and (13) reflect the former, whereas Example (16) reflects the latter. A more extreme instance of a participant criticizing the cultural imperialism that is evident in widespread English-language culture is presented in Example (30): this participant suggests that people code-switch because Finland is being Americanized through media and because they are ashamed of Finnish culture. In my interpretation, the Finnish term “mediarummutus” has very negative connotations, which sharpens the tone of this answer.

(30) The Americanization of Finland

“Suomen amerikkalaistumisesta mediarummutuksen vuoksi ja häpeästä omaa kulttuuria kohtaan.”

“ Because of the media inducing the Americanization of Finland and being ashamed of one’s own culture.”

All in all, the participants seem to subscribe to the belief that because people hear and see English in media, code-switching becomes more common in an inconspicuous manner as English vocabulary sort of trickles down to the linguistic repertoires of Finnish people.

5.6 Language Proficiency

Language proficiency is another issue that comes up in the data a great deal. As discussed in Section 4.2.5, many participants ascribe their attitudes toward code-switching, at least partly, to their language skills or lack thereof. People who do not speak English well or at all are either not able to mix English into their speech or do not feel comfortable code-switching, that is, it does not feel natural for them to use English vocabulary as a resource in conversation. Example (31) shows one participant's reflection on what aspects affect her attitudes toward code-switching. This participant feels that she is not proficient enough in English to code-switch naturally and with ease: that code-switching would only result in less eloquent expression. She also expresses the belief that she is not alone with this, that many others have a similar relationship with Finnish-English code-switching.

(31) I don't want to make my language and expression superficial

“Koska en itse osaa syvällisesti englantia, ja uskon, että kaltaisiani on monia, en halua pinnallistaa kielenkäyttöäni, ilmaisua ja köyhdyttää yleensäkin suomen kieltä...”

“Because I don't have a thorough knowledge of English myself and believe that there are many others like me, I don't want to make my language and expression superficial or impoverish the Finnish language in general...”

Some participants give priority to the principle that code-switching is acceptable only if all parties can understand. This view, which is illustrated in examples number (23) and (27) and centers around the idea that no one should be excluded from a discussion for not understanding code-switches, is in my opinion a valid point to make since being understood is without doubt essential to the general purpose of communication. It should come as no surprise that people who have trouble understanding English might find English code-switches annoying. However, I did not initially expect that this should be such a prominent issue in the answers.

Another interesting nuance that can be seen in some participants' answers having to do with the issue of proficiency is that code-switching is seen as unnecessary and, consequently, it is thought there has to be some sort of morally questionable ulterior motive behind it. In other words, some participants seem to think that people code-switch to brag about their language skills and to affirm their superiority compared to their interlocutors who are not proficient in English. A case in point of this train of thought is provided in Example (32). This participant, who does not speak English or any other foreign language, believes that people who code-switch pretend to forget Finnish words so that others would think they are cool, or want to draw attention to the fact that they know English while others do not, implying that a good command of English would somehow make them a better person.

It is clear that the participant is both critical of code-switching as a practice and implying that people who code-switch are arrogant and disrespectful.

(32) Pretending to have forgotten the Finnish equivalent expressions

“...Tai "on siistiä" esittää olevansa unohtanut suomenkielisiä vastineita sanonnoille ja voi olla myös hienoa esittää osaavansa kieltä, jota vastapuoli ei osaa yhtään.”

“...Or it ‘is cool’ to pretend to have forgotten the Finnish equivalent expressions and also to pretend to know a language that the interlocutor does not know at all.”

Finally, even though the majority of the answers that take a stand on language proficiency discuss knowledge of English, some participants express their thoughts about proficiency in Finnish in relation to code-switching. These participants seem to think of code-switching as a way to conceal deficiencies in Finnish skills, which, according to some of them, is fine if Finnish is not the first language of the person who code-switches but if that is not the case, it is to be condemned.

5.7 Respecting and Protecting the Finnish Language

Beliefs centering around respecting and protecting the Finnish language are formulated by several participants, as examples number (14), (21), (22), (26), and (31) demonstrate. This theme seems to be emotionally loaded for the participants: they have a strong personal bond with and great respect for their native language. Some of the participants equate the Finnish language with Finnish culture more generally. For example, one participant states that “we live in Finland, so we speak Finnish”. For many participants, these ideas are connected to the belief that English is a threat to Finnish, and hence people should fight against the spread of English to preserve “the beautiful Finnish language with all its dialects”, as one participant puts it. Example (33) is one participant’s characterization of a person who code-switches. In addition to mentioning code-switching being a trend and using English at work, this participant states that code-switching might stem from not undervaluing the Finnish language. In my interpretation, describing the lack of respect for Finnish as something that a person who code-switches suffers from carries a tone of negative evaluation.

(33) Suffering from a case of undervaluing the Finnish language

“Henkilö, jolle muotisanat tarttuvat herkästi mieleen, tai vaikka työkielenä on englantia tai vaivaa suomenkielen aliarvostus.”

“A person who adopts buzzwords easily, or has English as their working language, or suffers from a case of undervaluing the Finnish language.”

Contrastingly, some participants state that while they express their respect for Finnish and recognize that the influence of English is becoming more and more noticeable, they are not at all worried about whether Finnish can survive in these conditions. This kind of outlook, which is illustrated in Example (34), has the same starting point of valuing Finnish culture and the Finnish language but the conclusions that are reached are more or less the opposite.

(34) Finnish is a strong and magnificent language and I'm not worried about its future

“Suomen kieli on vahva hieno kieli, enkä pelkää sen puolesta. Uskon, että tulemme aina säilyttämään kielen avulla myös kansalliset erityispiirteemme. Se ei silti sulje pois avoimuutta uusiakin vaikutteita kohtaan. Kieli on mielestäni myös yksi henkinen temmellyskenttä, jossa jokainen voi kuvastaa värikkäästi itseään ja nauttia sen ulottuvuuksista.”

“Finnish is a strong and magnificent language and I'm not worried about its future. I believe that by means of the language, we will always preserve our national characteristics. Still, openness to new influences is not ruled out. I also think that language is a mental playground where everyone can express themselves colorfully and enjoy its dimensions.”

Instead of perceiving English as a threat to Finnish or in the process of replacing it, it is seen as a resource that complements Finnish. After all, during the course of history, Finnish has been in close contact with other languages as well, most importantly Swedish and Russian, and is still vital and has a stable official status today. In the words of another participant: “we did manage to hold our own against mixing Swedish words [with Finnish] too.” This example shows that strong identification with one's mother tongue is not necessarily an indicator of a negative attitude toward code-switching.

5.8 Most Positive and Negative Attitudes

This subsection looks into the views of the participants with the most positive attitudes and the three participants with the most negative attitudes. The first one of the pair with the highest total attitude scores is a 50-year-old woman who has upper secondary level education, has lived in the United States, and reports to code-switch in her own speech. It could be speculated that being one of the youngest participants in this study and having lived abroad in an English-speaking country might contribute to the positivity of her attitudes, but the participant herself does not bring up these aspects of her background as possibly affecting her views on code-switching. However, she does mention that code-switching comes naturally to her and that she is used to absorbing information in English. She also expresses the belief that people mix Finnish and English because English rules in the Western world. As we can see in Example (35), she does not associate code-switching with any particular features or stereotypes: anyone who happens to be familiar with English might code-switch. She

answers the question *What kind of a person would you imagine might mix Finnish and English?* in the following way:

(35) One of the participants with the highest total attitude score

“Kuka tahansa, jolle englannin kieli on tuttu tai puhuttu kieli.”

“Anyone who is familiar with English or speaks the language.”

Even though this participant scores the highest on the numerical attitude scale, the thoughts she expresses in the open-ended answers are quite neutral and presented in a matter-of-fact way rather than explicitly positive. The other person with the highest score, expresses much more positive attitudes in the open-ended answers. Example (34) is extracted from her answers. She is also female and reports to code-switch, but she is six years older, has not lived abroad, and has a master’s degree. She sees code-switching as “one spice in our rich linguistic tradition” and describes the typical person to code-switch as someone who likes to explore different languages and works in a multinational company.

In conclusion, it is interesting how the opinions and beliefs this pair expresses in the open-ended answers are very different from each other, especially in the extent to which they reflect positive attitudes toward code-switching. Therefore, it is clear that the numerical attitude score by itself does not capture the nature of the participants’ attitudes in all their complexity and nuances.

The three participants with the lowest total attitude score (a 54-year-old woman, a 54-year-old man, and a 60-year-old man) all report to not code-switch in their own speech and have a degree from higher education. Two of them have not lived abroad, whereas one has lived in three countries in addition to Finland (France, Norway, and Senegal) for a total of seven and a half years. In the open-ended answers, all of them express beliefs that are indicative of negative attitudes toward code-switching. Their views also seem to be similar to each other. As for the question of what kind of people they imagine would codeswitch, one of them mentions celebrities who do not have any specific talents or accomplishments. This characterization, which in my opinion is very disapproving since celebrities who are “famous for being famous” tend to be ridiculed and disdained by the general public, is presented in Example (36).

(36) One of the participants with the lowest total attitude score

“Joku turha julkkis.”

“Someone who is famous for being famous.”

Another of these three participants provides a view with similarly negative connotations to the question *In what kind of a situation would you imagine someone might mix Finnish and English?* This participant states that he would imagine that people might code-switch when they are drunk. It is unclear to me what exactly he means with this answer, but the things people tend to do while under the influence of alcohol or other substances are often considered somewhat reprehensible or at least divergent from societal norms. It seems unlikely that he would have meant it as a positive comment. In addition, the three participants name education, upbringing, and wanting to “hold on to the Finnish identity” as aspects that they believe have affected their attitudes toward code-switching.

6. Conclusion

This thesis finds that the participants, who are Finns in the age range of 50-76 years old and for the most part highly educated, hold diverse attitudes toward Finnish-English code-switching, ranging from very negative to very positive. However, on average, their attitudes are slightly on the negative side but still predominantly neutral. The data suggests that if a participant admits to Finnish-English code-switching in their own speech, it is more likely that they have a positive attitude toward it. The data also suggests that the participants associate code-switching with young age, an internationally inclined career, trying to impress others, informal situations and joking, discussions about media and culture, and the global domination of English. It is interesting that code-switching is associated with informality but also with formal situations in high-end professions. Since the participants think that Finnish-English code-switching is a way to impress others, it is implied that English carries a sort of prestige in this context. Additionally, many of the participants find code-switching annoying, are worried about Finnish losing its vitality, and stress the importance of everyone being able to understand each other in situations where code-switching takes place.

The reliability and significance of the results is dependent largely on the demographic factors of this group of participants. The survey reached a surprisingly large amount of people, 141 people to be exact, but certain sociobiographical factors, including having a university degree and having lived abroad, seem to be overrepresented in this group of people. Thus, these participants cannot in any way be considered representative on a larger scale of Finnish people in their age group. The reasons for why exactly the survey attracted such a specific demographic can only be speculated. It might have something to do with the fact that the distribution of the survey started off from the researcher's personal circle of acquaintances, so it is possible that those people were mostly acquainted with highly educated people, who were also mostly acquainted with highly educated people. This would lead to a sort of vicious circle perpetuating the homogeneity of the participants. It is also possible that people who have a university degree and have themselves conducted some kind of a study in the past, and people who have lived in multilingual environments outside of Finland, might be more open to participate in a study than people who do not have similar personal experience. Another weakness of this thesis is that the abundance of data particularly in the qualitative part of the study might have caused the author to overlook important aspects brought up by the participants in the analysis. Still, subjectivity is always a factor in qualitative research, and it is inevitable that the researcher's interpretations play a substantial role in the course of the analysis. Despite all this, I believe that the study reveals aspects of the participants' attitudes that are of interest.

Based on the results, I presume that looking more into the attitudes that people from older generations hold toward code-switching in the form of in-person interviews would be a fruitful direction for future research, since an online survey is probably not the best way to reach them as they are often not as comfortable using the latest technological devices as younger so-called digital natives. Additionally, I found it interesting how a lot of participants refer to Finnish as a minority language and express a fear of English replacing the Finnish language in Finland. Therefore, it would be interesting to research all the reasons why people in Finland perceive English as a threat to Finnish more.

In conclusion, the results of this study entail interesting implications. Even though most of the participants are highly educated, have spent time abroad or in otherwise international environments, and live in the Capital Region or other major Finnish cities, many of them express feelings of marginalization and believe that they cannot keep up with the younger generations who are more fluent in English. If these individuals who are among the comparatively well-to-do in society feel this way, how can those in more marginalized positions (e.g. people who are over the age of 76, not as educated, less proficient in English, or have spent most of their lives in largely monolingual rural Finland) cope with prolific code-switching in media and in everyday situations? Therefore, it is understandable that many of the participants are worried about possible disadvantageous consequences of Finnish-English code-switching becoming more prevalent in Finland.

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Appendix: The Full Survey in Finnish

Yli 50-vuotiaiden henkilöiden asenteet suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittamista kohtaan

Voit osallistua kyselyyn, jos olet 50-vuotias tai vanhempi ja asut Suomessa. Kyselyn täyttämiseen menee n. 5-10 minuuttia. Kyselyyn voi vastata 1.3. asti.

*Pakollinen

Tällä kyselyllä kerätään aineistoa pro gradu -tutkielmaan Helsingin yliopiston englannin kielen ja kirjallisuuden maisteriohjelmaan. Tutkimuksen aiheena on yli 50-vuotiaiden henkilöiden suhtautuminen suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittamiseen puheessa.

Vastaukset ovat täysin anonyymejä, eikä yksittäistä henkilöä voi tunnistaa aineistosta. Kerättyjä tietoja käytetään vain tutkimustarkoitukseen. Tietoja käsitellään luottamuksellisesti ja tietosuojalainsäädännön mukaisesti. Kaikki tällä kyselylomakkeella kerätyt tiedot poistetaan, kun tutkimus on saatettu loppuun.

Kyselyyn vastaaminen on täysin vapaaehtoista ja voit halutessasi myös keskeyttää kyselylomakkeen täyttämisen tai peruuttaa suostumuksesi osallistua tutkimukseen missä tahansa vaiheessa, jolloin tietojasi ei käytetä tutkimuksessa.

Mikäli haluat peruuttaa suostumuksesi osallistua tutkimukseen tai sinulla herää kysymyksiä tutkimukseen liittyen, minuun voi ottaa yhteyttä sähköpostitse: ovi.laukkanen@helsinki.fi

1. *

Merkitse vain yksi soikio.

Ymmärrän oikeuteni sekä tutkimuksen ehdot ja annan luvan käyttää vastauksiani aineistona

Suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittaminen eli koodinvaihto tarkoittaa sitä, että esimerkiksi puheessa yhdistellään sanoja näistä kahdesta kielestä. Seuraavat kolme esimerkkilauseetta havainnollistavat, mistä tässä ilmiössä on kyse:

"Mikäli kyseessä on kuitenkin kutsumusammatti, niin go for it!"

"What's the problem tässä kuviossa?"

"Tämä on se karu totuus, deal with it."

Missä määrin olet samaa mieltä seuraavien viiden suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittamista koskevan väittämän kanssa?

2. Suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittaminen on merkki puutteellisesta suomen kielen taidosta. *

Merkitse vain yksi soikio.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Täysin eri mieltä	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Täysin samaa mieltä

3. Suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittaminen on ärsyttävää. *

Merkitse vain yksi soikio.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Täysin eri mieltä	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Täysin samaa mieltä

4. Suomen ja englannin kieliä sekoittamalla voi ilmentää monikulttuurista identiteettiä. *

Merkitse vain yksi soikio.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Täysin eri mieltä	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Täysin samaa mieltä

5. Suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittaminen antaa ylimielisen vaikutelman. *

Merkitse vain yksi soikio.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Täysin eri mieltä	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Täysin samaa mieltä

6. Sekoittamalla suomen ja englannin kieliä voi ilmaista itseään paremmin. *

Merkitse vain yksi soikio.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Täysin eri mieltä	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Täysin samaa mieltä

Nimetön osio

7. Minkälaisen henkilön voisit kuvitella puhuvan tällä tavalla? *

Nimetön osio

8. Minkälaisessa tilanteessa voisit kuvitella jonkun puhuvan tällä tavalla? *

Nimetön osio

9. Sekoitatko itse suomen ja englannin kieliä puheessasi? *

Merkitse vain yksi soikio.

Kyllä

En

10. Mikäli vastasit myöntävästi edelliseen kysymykseen, mitä ajattelet suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittamisesta omassa puheessasi?

Nimetön osio

11. Mistä luulet suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittamisen johtuvan? *

Nimetön osio

12. Minkä seikkojen uskot vaikuttavan siihen, miten suhtaudut suomen ja englannin kielten sekoittamiseen? *

Nimetön osio

13. Mitä muuta haluaisit sanoa tästä aiheesta?

Taustatiedot

14. Syntymävuosi: *

15. Sukupuoli: *

Merkitse vain yksi soikio.

- Mies
- Nainen
- Muu

16. Koulutustaso. Valitse korkein koulutustaso, jonka olet suorittanut: *

Merkitse vain yksi soikio.

- Perusaste
- Toinen aste
- Alempi korkeakouluaste
- Ylempi korkeakouluaste
- Tutkijakoulutusaste

17. Äidinkieli tai -kielet *

18. Puhutko muita kieliä? Mikäli puhut, valitse myös vaihtoehto "Muu" ja kirjoita siihen nämä kielet. *

Valitse kaikki sopivat vaihtoehdot.

Kyllä

En

Muu: _____

19. Synnyinpaikkakunta: *

20. Nykyinen kotipaikkakunta: *

21. Oletko asunut ulkomailla? Mikäli olet, valitse myös vaihtoehto "Muu" ja kirjoita siihen, missä ja miten kauan. * Valitse kaikki sopivat vaihtoehdot.

Kyllä

En

Muu: _____