Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies
University of Helsinki

# Emergent Bilingual Constructions

## *Finnish-Estonian Codeswitching in Interaction*

Maria Frick

Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by due permission of the

Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki

in auditorium XII, on the 28th of September, 2013 at 12 o'clock.

Helsinki, 2013

Supervisors:
Ritva Laury
Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen
Anna Verschik

Pre-examiners:
Helena Halmari
Renate Pajusalu

ISBN 978-952-10-9018-9 (paperback)
ISBN 978-952-10-9019-6 (PDF)

Alfapress
Tallinn 2013

# Abstract

**Emergent Bilingual Constructions: Finnish-Estonian Codeswitching in Interaction**
Maria Frick, University of Helsinki, Finland

This study investigates codeswitching by Finns who live in Estonia. It draws from spoken and written interactional data where mainly Finnish is used, but where the participants also employ their Estonian resources. The articles in the study focus on a selection of grammatical and discourse-related phenomena, namely the formation of compound nouns, codeswitching in reported speech, conversational sequence closings, and the functions of codeswitching in social media. The introductory article provides a general overview of codeswitching in the data: patterns of forming bilingual constructions, their emergence in the flow of conversation and their consequences in interaction. The theoretical framework of the study comes from the field of interactional linguistics, drawing from conversation analysis as well as construction grammar and contact linguistics. The data consist of ca. 900 cases of Finnish-Estonian codeswitching in audio- and videorecorded conversations, email messages, and writings in social media, which were all collected in 2002–2012 from Finns who had lived in Estonia for up to 17 years at the time of recording. An internet-based survey and the researcher's field notes gave additional sociolinguistic background data.

The data show that Estonian lexical forms and meanings are employed in Finnish contexts, that the case assignment of phrasal and clausal constructions may be mixed, and that the speakers sometimes use Estonian-like word order. Two shapes are described that often attract codeswitching in one- or multi-word constructions. The first one (named *ravioli* in the study) are bilingual homophones whose form is similar, although not necessarily identical, in the two languages, but whose meaning differs. These constructions attract semantic borrowing so that they are used in their Finnish form but Estonian meaning. It is argued that especially in the case of verbs, this kind of switching can happen below the level of consciousness. The second shape (named *farfalle*) are bipartite constructions such as noun-noun compounds, existential and subject complement clauses and voicing constructions, where one of the parts specifies, modifies, characterises or demonstrates that which is identified in the other part. In them, the switch happens in between the parts, typically so that the part doing specification, characterisation, modification or demonstration is in Estonian.

Interactional linguists understand grammar to be emergent in interaction, for the needs of the on-going situation (although based on speakers' memories of past interactional situations and modification of constructions they have priorly used or heard). This view is supported by findings of sequentially motivated codeswitching in the data. Codeswitching is a heteroglossic device that speakers use for indirect evaluation, social indexing, and distancing themselves from what is said. This characteristic makes it a useful resource for stance taking in different sequences and sequential positions, including in narratives, assessment sequences and sequence closings. Codeswitching is also used for tying utterances to previous ones, and for the modification of an utterance that is repeated. Usually codeswitching helps further the participants' interactional projects, but in some cases it becomes an obstacle that results in side sequences and disalignment, disaffiliation or even teasing.

# Esipuhe. Eessõna. Acknowledgements

Harvey Sacks (1995(I): 462) on kertonut havainnostaan, että tapahtumista puhutaan usein mainitsemalla vain paikka: "So, for example, people will say 'I'm going to the bathroom,' where the place reference serves to indicate … the activity or class of activities … done there". Tämä väitöskirja syntyi siten, että kävin Virossa, Tarton yliopistossa, Frat! Fennicassa, laivalla, Helsingin yliopiston suomen kielen laitoksella, taas laivalla, töissä Tartossa, tartonsuomalaisten saunailloissa Tampere-majalla, Romaniassa, kirjastoissa, seminaareissa, konferensseissa, lentokentillä ja luentosaleissa, bussissa, junassa, Tvärminnessä, Tallinnassa, Turussa, Oulussa, Joensuussa, Jyväskylässä, Budapestissä, Berliinissä, Billnäsissä, tutkijakoulu Langnetissa, Lammilla, kursseilla, vastaanotoilla, Metsätalossa, keskusteluntutkimuksen datasessioissa, Facebookissa ja sähköpostilaatikolla, kokouksissa, kahveilla, käytävillä, kävelyillä, lounailla, lukupiireissä, työhuoneella, projektitapaamisissa, työpajoissa ja symposiumeissa. Jatkuvasti menossa, ja aina uusissa keskusteluissa on tämä työ syntynyt. Eikä se tietenkään ole yksin minun työni, vaan kaikkien tartonsuomalaisten sekä koko laajan tutkijayhteisön: kaikkien niiden ihmisten, joiden sanoista olen tähän ammentanut.

Ensimmäinen kiitokseni kuuluukin tämän työn pääpuhuhille – teille tartonsuomalaisille, jotka rohkeasti suostuitte kuvattaviksi ja nauhoitettaviksi milloin kodeissanne, milloin saunailloissanne ja muissa tapaamisissa. Teidän panoksenne ansiosta saimme vironsuomalaisten kielestä tutkimustietoa, joka tulee tallennettujen keskustelujen pohjalta karttumaan vielä tämän työn valmistuttuakin. Kiitos! Samuti tänan eestlastest osavõtjaid sekä teitä 166 vironsuomalaista, jotka osallistuitte verkkokyselyyn, ja teitä, jotka annoitte luvan käyttää sähköpostiviestejänne ja Facebook-päivityksiänne tutkimukseen!

Minulla on ollut onni saada työskennellä ympäristössä, jossa on erittäin vahvaa osaamista vuorovaikutuslingvistiikan, kielikontaktien, keskustelunanalyysin ja konstruktiokieliopin alalta. Kuinka monta tohtoria ja tohtorikoulutettavaa sitten oikein tarvitaan tekemään yksi väitöskirja? Tämän tekemiseen tarvittiin monta! Väitöskirjaprosessin alusta asti tarvittiin Ritva Laurya, joka toimi työn pääohjaajana lukien ja tukien kaikkia sen vaiheita asiantuntemuksella ja antaumuksella. Ritva oli ensimmäinen oppaani vuorovaikutuslingvistiikan ihmeelliseen maailmaan, erityisesti emergenttiin kielioppiin, projektioon ja lauseyhdistelmiin. Hän myös loi tämän(kin) työn toteutumista varten puitteet perustamassaan FiDiPro-tutkimusryhmässä *Kielioppi ja vuorovaikutus: kielellisten toimintojen kytkökset puheessa ja kirjoituksessa*, josta sain paitsi nelivuotisen rahoituksen, myös viikoittaista tieteellistä antia, joka edisti väitöskirjan syntyä. Kiitos, Ritva! Itse FiDiPro – Finland Distinguished Professor – oli tietysti Elizabeth Couper Kuhlen, who became my supervisor in the second year. Betty's thoughts on contextualisation and voicing were crucial for this work, and she was one of the people who, during these years, kept opening up new angles of approach to interaction. The careful reader will notice her influence throughout the introductory part and the latest articles. Thank you, Betty!

FiDiPro-hankkeessa meitä väitöskirjantekijöitä ehti olla useita. Marjo Savijärven ajatukset kaksikielisestä kierrätyksestä näkyvät työssäni. Marjo jatkoi työprosessini tukemista vielä väiteltyäänkin ollen aina valmis kuuntelemaan, keskustelemaan ja palauttamaan minut maan päälle milloin aineiston liian innokkaista tulkinnoista, milloin orastavasta väitöskirja-ahdistuksesta. Aina silloin tällöin hän huomasi muistuttaa, että

meritoitua voi myös meren rannalla, ja että jatko-opiskelijan kuuluu käydä jatkoilla. Vaikka aiheemme olivat erilaisia, muidenkin projektikumppanien tutkimuksissa oli yhtymäkohtia, jotka viikottaisten keskustelujen kautta muovasivat tätä työtä: mukana on ajatuksia Katariina Harjunpään tutkimasta kääntämisestä, Aino Koiviston ja Heidi Vepsäläisen tutkimusalaan kuuluvista responsiivisista partikkeleista, Anna Vatasen tuntemasta päällekkäispuhunnasta, Saija Merken tutkimista haastavista kysymyksistä sekä tietenkin referoinnista, jota Lauri Haapanenkin tarkastelee. Hanketta koordinoinut Marja Etelämäki vaikutti työhön poikkeuksellisen kriittisenä lukijana ja erityisesti muodon ja merkityksen suhteen pohtijana. Hänen ilmaan heittämänsä kysymys pienten ja suurten konstruktioiden saman- tai erilaisuudesta saa tässä työssä vain pienen himpun verran vastausta. Kaikille projektikumppaneille lämmin kiitos!

Soomelahe lõunakaldal oli selle töö juhendajaks Anna Verschik, koodivahetuse teooriate väsimatu vahendaja ja uuendaja, kes näitas oma eeskujul, et keelekontaktid väärivad jätkuvalt uurimist. Anna tutvustas mulle koodikopeerimise teooriat, mis on kaudselt mõjutanud seda tööd, ning temaga vestlesime muuhulgas diakroonilise ja sünkroonilise ning indiviidi ja sootsiumi keele kujunemise teemadel. Aitäh, Anna! Samankaltaisia kysymyksiä oli pohtinut myös Helka Riionheimo, jonka kanssa kirjoitimme yhdessä yhden tämän väitöskirjan artikkeleista – sekä vaikka mitä pöytälaatikkoon. Aineistokokoelmiemme vertailun kautta muovautui käsitys vironsuomen puhujien monilähtöisistä, emergenteistä monikielisistä repertuaareista. Kiitos yhteistyöstä, Helka! Hanna Lanton kanssa kävimme pitkiä keskusteluja koodinvaihdosta, jonka eri puoliin pääsimme perehtymään järjestämällämme kurssilla vierailleiden luennoitsijoiden ja viisaiden opiskelijoiden ansiosta. Olen saanut arvokkaita kommentteja työhöni myös muilta monikielisten käytänteiden tutkijoilta, kuten Hanna-Ilona Härmävaaralta, Leena Kolehmaiselta, Magdolna Kovácsilta, Heini Lehtoselta, Karl Pajusalulta ja Janne Saarikiveltä. Päris töö alguses oli abiks Kristiina Praakli, kes nõustas mind sotsiolingvistilise materjali kogumisel. Vastaavaa apua sain myös sosiolingvistiikan lukupiiristä, jossa Hanna Lappalainen, Kaarina Mononen ja muut lukupiiriläiset antoivat vinkkejä kyselytutkimuksen tekoon. Teille kaikille: kiitos!

Toimin Helsingin yliopiston tutkijayhteisössä myös mm. *Puhe, toiminta ja vuorovaikutus* -verkoston kautta, joissa työtäni tsemppasivat Anu Klippi, Jan Lindström, Anssi Peräkylä ja Liisa Tainio sekä jatko-opiskelijatoverit Martina Huhtamäki, Timo Kaukomaa, Kati Pajo ja Elina Weiste. Analyysitaitoni ja ymmärrykseni keskustelun säännönmukaisuuksista kehittyivät keskusteluntutkijoiden datasessiotapaamisissa, joiden osallistujat antoivat omaanikin aineistoon uusia näkökulmia. Marja-Leena Sorjonen luki työtäni Tvärminnen seminaarissa ja otti minut mukaan perustamaansa *Intersubjektiivisuus vuorovaikutuksessa* -huippuyksikköön. Kiitos kaikille datasessiolaisille, huippuksikköläisille, tutkijaseminaarilaisille sekä myös konstruktiopiiriläisille – erityisesti Maria Vilkunalle – jotka perehtyivät aineistooni ja teksteihini! Vuorikadun ja päärakennuksen huonetovereiden ja naapureiden kanssa käydyt keskustelut liittyivät kielen rakenteisiin ja merkityksiin, sosiaaliseen toimintaan tutkimusaineistoissa ja oikeassa elämässä sekä tietysti jatko-opiskelun ja tutkimuksenteon käytännön kysymyksiin. Melisa Stevanovicin kanssa pohdiskelimme erityisesti keskusteluissa esiintyvää laulua, jota koskeva artikkeli on päässyt mukaan väitöskirjaan. Kiitos hyvistä keskusteluista kuuluu kaikkien yllämainittujen henkilöiden lisäksi Markus Hamuselle, Sofie Henricsonille, Ilona Herlinille, Riitta Juvoselle, Anni Jääskeläiselle, Lari Kotilaiselle, Jaakko Leinolle, Chiara Monzonille, Tapani Möttöselle,

Jarkko Niemelle, Liisa Raevaaralle, Anu Rouhikoskelle, Maija Sartjärvelle, Kimmo Svinhufvudille, Jenni Viinikalle, Mikko Virtaselle, Tomi Visakolle ja muille työtovereille.

Työn esitarkastajina toimivat Helena Halmari ja Renate Pajusalu, jotka auttoivat muovaamaan sen lopulliseen muotoonsa. Kiitos, Helena! Suur tänu, Renate! This study would not be what it is, were it not for the anonymous referees who carefully read and helped improve the articles. Thank you! A big thanks also to Dirk Lloyd for proofreading a large part of this dissertation! During the PhD process, I had the chance to present my work in conferences, symposia and seminars, where participants gave invaluable help in the form of questions and comments. Not to mention how much I have learned from listening to presentations given by other scholars! I would especially like to thank the participants of the Social Action Formats symposium in Oulu 2011, the Kick off seminar of the Finnish Centre of Excellence in Intersubjectivity in Interaction in Helsinki 2012, the Crossling symposium and ”kinkerit” in Joensuu 2013, as well as the yearly Keskusteluntutkimuksen päivät, Sociolinguistics workshops in Tallinn and Eesti ja soome keel teise keelena seminars in Tartu and Helsinki. Langnet-tutkijakoulun järjestämät kurssit ja seminaarit tukivat työtäni erityisesti väitöskirjaprosessin alussa, jolloin pääsin myös tutustumaan ja keskustelemaan eri yliopistoissa vaikuttavien kielentutkijoiden kanssa. Työn alussa vietin lukukauden Tarton yliopistossa Tuomas Huumon kutsumana Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia rahastamisel. Kiitos! Tänan! Thank you!

Aivan lopuksi kiitos kuuluu perheelle, ystäville ja sukulaisille, jotka olette jaksaneet olla tukenani ja uskoa väitöskirjatyön mielekkyyteen!

# Contents


Abbreviations ... 8
Transcript notations ... 9
1. Introduction ... 10
1.1 Aims and scope ... 10
1.2 Data and participants ... 12
1.2.1 Data collection ... 12
1.2.2 Finns in Estonia: the community, language choices and patterns of codeswitching ... 14
2. What are bilingual constructions like? ... 18
2.1 The mix-and-match of form and meaning in bilingual constructions ... 19
2.1.1 Congruent lexicalisation ... 21
2.1.2 Semantic borrowing ... 22
2.1.3 Blend ... 22
2.1.4 Insertion ... 23
2.2 One-word constructions ... 24
2.2.1 Verbs ... 25
2.2.2 Nouns ... 28
2.2.3 Compound nouns ... 31
2.3 Clausal and clause-combining constructions ... 33
2.3.1 Existential constructions ... 33
2.3.2 Assessing predicative constructions ... 38
2.3.3 Voicing construction ... 41
2.4 Bilingual construction of a sequence type ... 43
2.5 Ravioli and farfalle in codeswitching ... 47
2.5.1 The ravioli phenomenon ... 47
2.5.2 The farfalle phenomenon ... 49
3. How does codeswitching emerge "on-line"? ... 53
3.1 On-line conversational patterns of codeswitching: skip-tying and reiterations ... 55
3.2 On-line emergent bilingual word order: the case of SVXV-clauses ... 57
3.3 On-line emergent bilingual morphosyntax: a single case analysis ... 61
3.4 On-line emergent bilingual meaning ... 63
4. What are the social consequences of codeswitching? ... 68
4.1 What is the gain from codeswitching? Conversational functions ... 68
4.2 What is the risk of codeswitching? ... 73
4.2.1 Codeswitching as an obstacle (side sequences) ... 73
4.2.2 Failing to reach a shared affective stance ... 75
5. Codeswitching and the timelines of social action ... 80
Epilogue ... 81
Appendix 1: Questionnaire ... 83
References ... 83

# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| Fin., FIN | Finnish |
| Est., EST | Estonian |
| 1SG, 1PL etc. | 1st person singular, 1st person plural etc. (verbal and nominal suffixes, personal pronouns) |
| NEG | negative |
| INF | infinitive |
| INF1 | A- /DA-infinitive (1st infinitive) |
| INF2 | E-infinitive (2nd infinitive) |
| INF3 | MA-infinitive (3rd infinitive) |
| PST | past |
| PPAS | past passive |
| PAS | passive |
| CON | conditional |
| IMP | imperative |
| PCP | participle |
| PP | past participle |
| PPP | past passive participle |
| FRQ | frequentative |
| PL | plural (nominative, if not marked otherwise) |
| GEN | genitive (~accusative *-n*) |
| PAR | partitive |
| INE | inessive |
| ILL | illative |
| ELA | elative |
| ADE | adessive |
| ALL | allative |
| ABL | ablative |
| ESS | essive |
| TRA | translative |
| COM | comitative |
| COMP | comparative |
| DIM | diminutive |
| PX | possessive suffix |
| 1NAMEM | 1st name, male |
| 1NAMEF | 1st name, female |
| CLI | clitic |
| Q | question |
| PRT | particle |
| DEM | demonstrative pronoun |
| DEM1 | 1st demonstrative (*tää* etc.) |
| DEM2 | 2nd demonstrative (*toi* etc.) |
| DEM3 | 3rd demonstrative (*se* etc.) |
| REL | relative (*joka*) |
| INDF | indefinite (*joku, jokin, joka* etc.) |
| ADJ | adjective |
| LOC | locative |
| MAN | manner |
| AUX | auxiliary verb |
| ADP | adposition |
| $^{j}$ | palatalised |
| G, B, D | voiceless or semivoiced stop (when the word can not be identified as Estonian or Finnish) |

# Transcript notations

| | |
|---|---|
| . | falling pitch |
| , | level pitch |
| ? | rising pitch |
| ↑ | shift to high pitch |
| ↓ | low speech |
| wo<u>r</u>d | stress |
| [ | overlap (start) |
| ] | overlap (end) |
| (.) | pause 0.2 s. |
| (0.4) | timed pause in seconds |
| = | a turn start immediately after the previous speaker |
| > < | fast speech |
| < > | slow speech |
| ° ° | quiet speech |
| WOrd | loud speech |
| .hhh | inhalation |
| hhh. | exhalation |
| .word | word pronounced during inhalation |
| he ~ ha | laughter |
| w(h)ord | plosive (laughter) |
| £ £ | smile voice |
| @ @ | change in tone |
| # # | creaky voice |
| (word) | doubt in transcription |
| (--) | an unheard word |
| (---) | several unheard words |
| (( )) | comments by the transcriber |
| 👊 | fist-shaking |
| ☞ | waving a finger |
| ☞☜ | pointing or waving a finger throughout |
| ♫ ♫ | singing throughout |

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Aims and scope

This study is about language use in the community of Finns who live in the city of Tartu, Estonia. These first-generation adult migrants have in their linguistic repertoire elements from Finnish and Estonian as well as other languages. The focus of the study is codeswitching between Finnish and Estonian, a language pair that has been the subject of only a few studies of bilingual language. Riionheimo (2007, 2010, 2011) and Kokko (2007) have studied the morphological convergence of Finnish and Estonian in the speech of Ingrian Finns in Estonia, Hassinen (2002) and Jokela & Paulsen (2010) Finnish-Estonian bilingual first language acquisition, Praakli (2009) codeswitching by Estonians who live in Finland, and Verschik (2012) and Härmävaara (forthcoming) Finnish-Estonian receptive multilingualism as a communication strategy. In an earlier article (Frick 2008) I investigate morphological integration by some of the Finns in Estonia who also participated in the current study.[1]

In the current study, I have chosen to use the word *codeswitching,* which is widely known and established in the research literature (although it has been given different meanings). In the following it is used as a cover term for all usage of two languages[2] in the same stretch of conversation. Some researchers feel that the term should be reserved for specific kinds of language contact phenomena: for example, for ones where the pragmatic function of the switch is evident, see, e.g. Auer 1998. Some of the questions that are dealt with here have also been studied under terms such as *code alternation, language alternation, code mixing, language mixing, code copying, language negotiation, (nonce) borrowing,* and *polylanguaging*.

The term codeswitching should not be taken literally: in this study, languages are not viewed as strictly separate "codes". Whether speakers actually experience mental switches between two separate sets of linguistic entities that can be called Finnish and Estonian is a question, to which this study cannot give a definite answer. The analysis of language use in interaction reveals that speakers' orientation towards these linguistic sets of resources seems to vary constantly, as they can move from unintentional semantic borrowing to rhetorical usage of codeswitching to metalinguistic topics even within a short stretch of conversation. This study shows – as have others with different language pairs – that whatever the cognitive nature of codeswitching may be, it can happen in several domains of language use: phonology, morphology, morphosyntax, syntax and sequential organisation; that it works

[1] Smaller studies on codeswitching by Finns in Estonia include Klaas (1999), Kataja and Klaas (2003), Frick (2003) and the bachelor's theses by Kataja (2001) and Eenmaa (2008). An on-going PhD project by Härmävaara deals with receptive multilingualism in Finnish-Estonian mixed peer groups.

[2] Distinguishing between two languages may become problematic on at least the following occasions: 1) when the two monolingual varieties are alike (e.g. because they are closely related), 2) when the speakers have habitualised bilingual practices such as loanwords, or 3) when the two categories are not locally relevant for the participants (see, e.g. Auer 2007). In a qualitative study such as this, the problem can be dealt with by analysing examples in their interactional context, where participant orientations are more accessable. The question of speakers' consciousness about codeswitching is addressed in {Voicings} and in subsections 2.2.1 and 2.5.1 below.

as a part of the interpersonal communicative apparatus that also includes prosody, embodied behaviour and usage of inanimate objects; and that it is therefore through and through a social phenomenon.

Because codeswitching has such enormous scope, I have studied only a selection of individual aspects on different levels of language use. These investigations are reported in the following articles (with a short name for future reference added in curly brackets):

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. {Compounds} | Frick, Maria 2009: Suomi–viro-kaksikieliset yhdyssanat. [Finnish-Estonian bilingual compound nouns] *Folia Uralica Debreceniensia* 16. 3–23. |
| 2. {Voicings} | Frick, Maria & Helka Riionheimo (forthcoming): Bilingual voicing: A study of codeswitching in the reported speech of Finnish immigrants in Estonia. *Multilingua* 32: 5. 563–598. |
| 3. {Closings} | Frick, Maria 2013: Singing and codeswitching in sequence closings. *Pragmatics* 23: 2. 243–273. |
| 4. {Facebook} | Frick, Maria 2010: Suomi–viro-koodinvaihto Facebookissa. [Finnish-Estonian codeswitching on Facebook]. *Lähivõrdlusi. Lähivertailuja* 20. 49–67. |

In this introductory article, I will draw conclusions from these substudies. Section 1.2 introduces the data and the community of Finns in Estonia and places the current study in a more macro-level sociolinguistic framework. Section 2 deals with some of the constructions where codeswitching occurs, and addresses questions regarding the nature of grammar and especially what can be called bilingual constructions. Sections 3 and 4 focus on the temporal unfolding of language in interaction: Section 3 on the emergence of bilingual constructions from an on-line interactional perspective and Section 4 on the social consequences of codeswitching in the conversational flow. This investigation can thus be placed at the cross-roads of several currently existing fields of linguistic enquiry: Section 1.2.2 draws from sociolinguistic research traditions, while Section 2 touches topics that have been dealt with in what is known as construction grammar, and the work as whole, and particularly Sections 3 and 4 can be said to represent interactional linguistics.

While many fields within linguistics have a relatively narrow view of grammar as an autonomous, rather stable morphosyntactic system that can be studied as such, the field of interactional linguistics (see, e.g. Ono & Thompson 1995; Ochs et al. eds. 1996; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2001; Ford et al. 2002; Fox et al. 2012) has widened this view. In the view adopted here, grammar is not limited to the morphosyntactics of clauses, but includes regularities of language use within phonetics, prosody, clause combining and conversational patterns.[3] Furthermore, grammar is understood to emerge from interaction. The term *emergence* was first used in linguistics by Hopper (1987, 1998 and 2011). In his view, the systematics that we understand as grammar are a result of individuals dealing with recurrent social situations and drawing from their memory of similar situations in the past. Hopper's term *sedimentation* is illustrative of the fact that although many constructions seem relatively

[3] The term *conversational pattern,* as used by e.g. Koivisto (2012), refers to regularities in conversational structures that do not necessarily form a sequence. A *sequence*, as defined by Schegloff (2007), is a stretch of conversation built around an adjacency pair that performs the main pair of actions in that sequence. When talking of *sequential patterns of codeswitching* I refer to how codeswitching is used in a particular sequence type (such as sequence closing sequences or request sequences).

fixed, and can be used for centuries and by large groups of speakers, grammar is never entirely rigid or permanent, but can and does change.

Many linguistic enquiries find interest primarily in that which is well sedimented (conventionalised), but the focus of this study is different. Many of the bilingual constructions reported here are ephemeral or occur only a few times in the data. They are thus examples of how the sediments of language start to crack when speakers acquire a new linguistic repertoire. The participants renew their language by adding Estonian elements to their Finnish speech, and the mechanisms for doing this become more varied as the language contact becomes more intensive during the person's life in Estonia (see Section 1.2.2). The emergence process of bilingual constructions is seen when linguistic constructions are viewed as temporal entities that consist of parts that follow each other and that have different roles because of that (This is discussed in Section 2). Another manifestation of emergence is seen in the bilingual formation of turns that is motivated[4] by the preceding course of interaction (Section 3). As language is seen as a through-and-through social phenomenon, all linguistic phenomena have social consequences (i.e. that which emerges from their usage); those of codeswitching will be discussed in Section 4.

## 1.2 Data and participants

The aim of this section is to introduce the participants in the study and to shed light on the principles governing data collection. More information about the data collection and participants is given in the articles. It must be noted that the examples and discussions below have to do with Finns who have lived in Estonia for up to 17 years mainly for study- and work-related reasons, and some of whom had already moved back to Finland by the time of recording. Since one of the articles in the dissertation ({Voicings}) is written jointly with Helka Riionheimo, it includes recorded interview data from another group of speakers: Ingrian Finns, who moved to Estonia in the 1930s and 1940s. The collection of these data is introduced in {Voicings} (pages 568–569). The Ingrian Finns did not participate in the remaining three substudies, and the findings presented in them and this introductory article do not necessarily apply to their language. The morphology of the Ingrian Finns' speech has been described by Riionheimo (2007, 2010, 2011) and Kokko (2007). Riionheimo and Frick (forthcoming) compare morphosyntax in the language of the two speaker groups.

### 1.2.1 Data collection

The primary data used in this study consist of video- and audiorecorded everyday conversations, email messages and writings in social media. Participants have given written consent for these data to be used for research. The data were collected with the methodological objectives of ethnomethodological conversation analysis in mind (see, e.g. Sacks 1995, Tainio, ed. 1995).

[4] The term *motivation* is used in this study as one that "lies between predictability and arbitrariness" (cf. Goldberg 1995: 69). It is descriptive of a "based-on" relationship, where a construction inherits some of the characteristics of another construction (ibid: 70). Motivation can be seen as the immanent force of emergence, which works in the trinity of the speakers' cognition, the interaction of here-and-now and the social context.

The first and foremost principle during data collection was that of naturalness: the recordings were only made in situations that could have occurred without the recordings. The aim was to capture a variety of the everyday situations that Finns in Estonia take part in, and consequently I made recordings in people's homes, among friends in cafeterias and at student association meetings and informal gatherings in academic and cultural institutions. This produced a total of 40 hours of recordings, but not all of them were usable for the study of conversation. On some occasions there were too few (i.e. one) or too many (up to 25) participants present, and on some occasions the people present were not engaged in talking. Furthermore, recordings where the main language of communication was Estonian (and not Finnish) were not studied. Seven recordings and a total of ca. 15 hours of audio and video-recorded data proved to be the most useful ones for the purposes of this study. In these conversations, there are two to seven participants, who are mostly Finns who live or have lived in Estonia. A total of ca. 200 cases of Finnish-Estonian codeswitching were found in the spoken data.

Approximately 1000 email messages were collected from a Finnish student association's mailing lists and another 1000 from a mailing list of a small group of medical students. The first collection gave ca. 150 and the latter ca. 400 cases of Finnish-Estonian codeswitching. The latter mailing list enabled a longitudinal study of language use of the same speakers during a period of three years (Frick 2008), which serves as a source of background information for this study. In addition, ca. 50 cases of Finnish-Estonian codeswitching were collected from private electronic messages. One of the advantages of email data is that the participants are not aware of the data collection at the moment of writing (The messages were donated for study purposes only later). There are also bilingual language phenomena that can only occur in written data, such as the use of an Estonian plural (nominative) marker <d> instead of the Finnish one <t>, a distinction which is not audible in the participants' speech.

Written data were also collected from Facebook posts. This collection gave ca. 100 cases of Finnish-Estonian codeswitching. Facebook is a semi-public social media, where the friends people have chosen in their network can comment on their posts. {Facebook} was written as a discussion-opener on the topic of multilingual language use in this kind of new media. The examination of these data showed that the research methods established for studying codeswitching in conversation were partly applicable to social media, because the chains formed by Facebook posts and their comments bear a resemblance to sequences and turns in a multi-party conversation.

The study benefited from the researcher being a member of the community studied, and I made some field notes during the period of data collection (2002–2012). The field notes of face-to-face conversations supported many of the findings, but they were not used as actual research data. The knowledge I had of some the participants' background proved useful, and more systematic information about the sociolinguistic background and language choices of Finns in Estonia was collected on a web-based questionnaire in 2010. Some of this information is discussed further in the following section.

### 1.2.2 Finns in Estonia: the community, language choices and patterns of codeswitching

An exceptional[5] period, when all migration from Finland to Estonia stopped for a period of ca. 45 years, began after Estonia came under Soviet rule in 1944 (see, e.g. Grünthal, 1998, 2009). Ethnic (Ingrian) Finns continued to move to Estonia from other parts of the Soviet Union, but they were quickly assimilated into the local society and switched to using Estonian or Russian even in the most private domains (see, e.g., Riionheimo and Kivisalu 1994). The breakdown of the Soviet regime in the late 1980s and early 1990s made it possible for Finnish citizens to move to Estonia, and the number of study- and work-related migrants began to grow.

In 2010, a questionnaire (Appendix1) was filled in by 166[6] Finns living in Estonia (aged 19–75; 106 women and 57 men[7]), many of whom had also participated in my recordings of face-to-face and electronic conversations. Most of the survey respondents were students (N= 91) and/or working (N=73). The majority of them (N=99) had lived in Estonia for less than five years; 39 respondents for 5 to 10 years; and 28 respondents for more than 10 years. More precisely, the participants in the study had moved to Estonia in the years 1989–2010. In the beginning of this period, Estonia had begun to break free of Soviet rule, but was still a relatively closed country to foreigners. The Finns who moved to Estonia in the 21st century, on the other hand, were able to join young but active communities (in the cities of Tartu and Tallinn) that had established Finnish students' unions, schools and congregations. What is common to all the participants in this study is that they all socialise with both Finns and Estonians in their daily life, and that they have contacts in both countries.

A domain analysis, Graph 1 (cf. Fishman 2000) based on the questionnaire (Appendix 1) shows that the majority of the participants always or mostly use Finnish in the family domain and when writing private or internet diaries and notes. Estonian is preferred in service and administrative encounters by a large majority of respondents and in hobbies by half of them. One in five always or mostly uses Estonian with their spouses[8]. Mixed domains where the majority uses both Estonian and Finnish, or other languages, include the media, work /university, and encounters with friends. Many name English as one of the languages they use in these domains, and some respondents in Tallinn also prefer to use English in

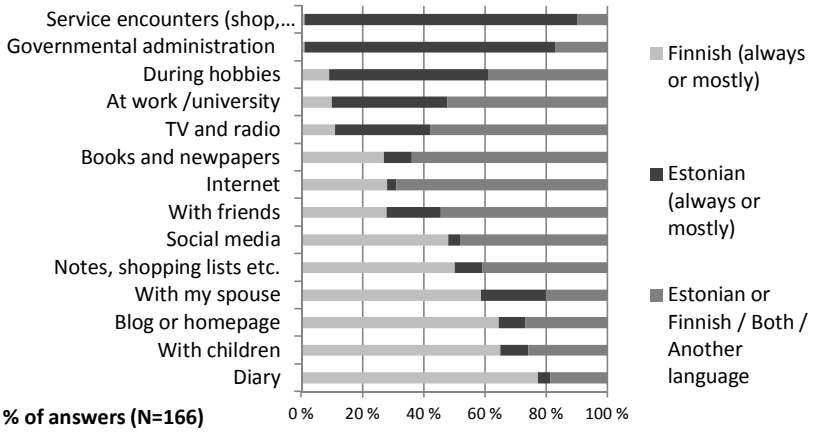
[5] The inhabitants of the areas that are now known as Finland and Estonia have held contact throughout history through trade as well as migration from one to the other side of the Gulf of Finland, leaving traces in place names as well as in some of the coastal dialects (see, e.g. Mägiste 1952; Must 1987; Grünthal 1998; 2009; Pitkänen 1992; Söderman 1996; Korkiasaari 2008). In spite of the contact, by the time literary Finnish and Estonian were established in the 16th century, the two languages had become clearly distinct. Reasons for Finnish migration to Estonia varied throughout the centuries. While peasant migrants in the 16th century as well as Finnish soldiers of the Swedish army in the 17th century are believed to have settled there permanently, academic migrants of the 19th century until 1939 tended to return to Finland (see Korkiasaari, op. cit.; Klatt 1988, Sepp 1997).

[6] Finns form a relatively small minority in Estonia (according to the 2011 census (www.stat.ee/rel2011) 0,1% of the overall population are Finnish nationals, 0,2% name Finnish as their mother tongue and 0,6% claim to be ethnic Finns or Ingrian Finns). The number of survey respondents is roughly one-tenth of the 1520 Finnish nationals living in Estonia. Because the questionnaire was mainly distributed in electronic form through Estonian Finns' mailing lists, the respondents are more than average likely to be active members of the Finnish community.

[7] Three participants did not mention their gender.

[8] 36 of the 118 respondents who had a spouse claimed to speak (always, mostly) Estonian or both Estonian and Finnish with them. 32 of the spouses' mother tongue was Estonian.

public domains.[9] In private domains, the usage of a third language is partly explained by the fact that some respondents were Swedish-speaking Finns (N=8), spoke another first language (N=3), or had a spouse whose mother tongue was neither Finnish nor Estonian (N=8).




Graph 1 - Domains of language use

The results of the survey indicate that although one in four respondents has received no formal education of Estonian, and another third has studied Estonian for less than three months most Finns quickly reach a level of proficiency in Estonian that allows them to use the language in some domains[10]. Only a few respondents have become Estonian dominant in all domains, and the vast majority keep up some form of daily usage of Finnish while living in Estonia. The current situation is thus very different from the one during the Soviet period, when Ingrian Finns living in Estonia seldom used Finnish even in private domains (e.g. Riionheimo 2011; Riionheimo & Frick, forthcoming).

When reading the results, one must keep in mind that the participants of the survey were only asked to consider the language choices they make when in Estonia. During the prior six months, they had, however, spent an average of one month in Finland – some of them spending holidays or weekends there, and some living in Finland for half the week. This means that the above domain analysis cannot be used to make conclusions about language maintenance in the community (cf. Fishman 2000, Gal 1979:97–129).[11] This is typical of

[9] Extensive use of English as a lingua franca is also reported in Härmävaara's (forthcoming) study of a Finnish-Estonian mixed peer group, where 23 out of 63 respondents use English exclusively and another 33 sometimes when communicating with their friends of the other nationality.

[10] The self-described level of language skills of the people who have no formal linguistic education in Estonian varies from "very poor" to "almost perfect". Kaivapalu and Muikku-Werner (2010) have shown that the structural and lexical similarities of the two languages help Finns who have no prior knowledge of Estonian to partially understand the language (see also Härmävaara, forthcoming).

[11] The domain analysis could, however, contribute to the discussion about the linguistic situation in Estonia, but it is not in the scope of this study to pursue this line of analysis any further. To mention just one point of comparison (which is only approximate because of differences in the data collection), according to Vihalemm (2008) 62% of the Russian-speaking minority in Estonia always or mostly uses Russian at work, and 20% switch between Estonian and Russian. Compared to the roughly respective numbers 10% and 53% in Graph 1 (The last number also contains those who use a third language, English), the preliminary conclusion can be made that a larger proportion of Finns than Russians always or mainly uses Estonian at work or studies. The difference (37% vs. 18%) does not, however, seem very large considering the overall demographics; Russians, being a large minority that forms 25%

urban migration in the 21st century: The increased frequency of travel and new types of media can help language maintenance even in situations that in the past decades could have led to unstable bilingualism and assimilation (Matras 2009: 50). Furthermore, the current political regime no longer forces Finns to hide their ethnic identity, so that compared to the Ingrian Finns who migrated to Estonia in the Soviet period, the recent Finnish migrants are much less likely to go through linguistic assimilation and first language attrition (Riionheimo & Frick, forthcoming).

When asked questions about codeswitching and language change (e.g. "Do you sometimes mix Estonian and Finnish during the same speech situation?" and "Have you noticed any effect living in Estonia has had on your Finnish?"), both positive and negative answers were given both by people who spend a lot of time in Finland and by those who only make occasional short visits there, by people who have lived in Estonia for a short period or for several years, and by those who use Estonian in many domains or only a few. Qualitatively, examples of bilingual language use reported by survey respondents were in line with what was found in the data, and they are used in the following subsection, where I discuss some aspects of codeswitching that can be associated with certain groups of speakers. I have grouped these in what I call "stages" (although this term is not to be taken literally). Establishing a sociolinguistic pattern of codeswitching in the community is not among the main objectives of this study, which is why these results are only preliminary.

The data and analysis so far do not allow claims to be made regarding any absolute constraints on language use in the community of Finns in Estonia. Neither can the stages presented here be said to be strictly hierarchical in the sense that they could give an exact prediction regarding any single speaker's language use. They are meant to describe some aspects of the data studied here, and whether they apply to other data is an empirical question yet to be unanswered.

**Stage 1 -** When Finns move to Estonia, they usually do not know the language. At first, English or Finnish are used in service encounters and Estonian is only seen and heard, not spoken. The first Estonian words used include the greeting *tere,* and the words *palun* 'please', *aitäh* 'thank you' and *tänan* 'thank you', which are sometimes also used with other Finns. Finnish students in Tallinn report that at service encounters they greet in Estonian and ask if the other person speaks English. According to Verschik (2012), Finnish tourists probably also rely on reading Estonian signs and understanding cognates. Typically, the first stage passes quickly, as the Finns who live in Estonia start learning the language and using it more (although some residents of Tallinn remain at this stage for years).

**Stage 2 -** At this stage, when speaking or writing to other Finns in Estonia, the speakers sometimes use Estonian nouns and verbs, which they typically inflect in Finnish (see Frick 2008). Estonian word stems are often modified to a Finnish-like form, by using a vowel stem the nominative case: *probleem**i*** (cf. Est. *probleem* 'problem'). Among the first words used are place names, food items and study- or work-related words. Cognates are used deliberately as puns. Estonian is used more and more in service encounters, and students – especially in Tartu – use Estonian in their studies. They report switching to Finnish as a

---

of the population, can be expected to be able to use their L1 more than the Finns. Another comparison could be made to the "mirror" situation of the current study, Estonians in Finland. According to Praakli (2012), ca. 22% of them always or often use Estonian at work. The percentage is thus over twice as large as the respective one for Finns in Estonia. Also the percentage of Estonians in Finland is larger (0,6% in 2012) than that of Finns in Estonia.

communicative strategy when they cannot make themselves understood in Estonian. Some Finns who have lived in Estonia for less than a year also report having to search for words in Finnish, because an Estonian word comes to mind first.

**Stage 3 -** At some point, speakers in otherwise Finnish conversations start to use Estonian elements that are also inflected in Estonian. Such morphological non-integration is reported by speakers who have lived in Estonia for a little more than a year, but occasionally it occurs even earlier (see Frick 2008). It has been suggested (ibid.) that the motivation for morphologically non-integrated codeswitching might lie in the use of codeswitching as a contextualisation cue (cf. Gumperz 1982) in e.g. reported speech or when marking irony. At this stage, speakers start using longer (clausal) Estonian passages for contextualisation purposes. Some Finns who have lived in Estonia for more than a year report having been told they have an Estonian accent or a "funny rhythm" in their Finnish speech. At this stage they start using Estonian morphosyntactic constructions, which differ structurally from Finnish (e.g. (ADE) *on vaja* PAR '(someone) need(s) Obj.' and ALL *meeldib* NOM 'someone like(s) Subj.', see Section 2.1.4). Usage of Estonian-like word order in Finnish is reported by speakers who have only lived in Estonia for a couple of years, but who use Estonian at home. It is probable that this stage is only reached by speakers who speak Estonian in their everyday life in more than just simple service encounters.

**Stage 4 -** After living in Estonia for several years, speakers report confusion of word order, accidental semantic borrowing and not being able to distinguish whether a word is Finnish or Estonian. This is also seen in some of the data extracts discussed in the following (especially in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.5.1). Some people report unwanted Estonian influence in word inflection, consonant gradation and case selection. Others claim that it is easier to discuss certain topics in Estonian than Finnish. Some Finns who have lived in Estonia for more than ten years claim that they mostly think in Estonian. Nevertheless, the Finnish of the participants who participated in the recordings shows only occasional Estonian influence.

The timelines given in the above description of the "stages" of codeswitching are based on the earliest observations of the given phenomena. There are, however, speakers who, after living in Estonia for nearly ten years, claim that living there has not affected their mother tongue. Also the recordings show that some speakers converse for hours without codeswitching to Estonian. A more detailed investigation of individual differences between speakers falls beyond the scope of this study and therefore remains a task for future research. A hypothesis can, however, be formulated that those speakers who use more Estonian in more private domains are more likely to move the next stage of codeswitching.

The stages given above also reflect the origin of the data extracts discussed in the articles and in the following sections. Some of the examples of morphologically integrated lexical switches are from speakers who have lived in Estonia for only a few months, while the examples where codeswitching is used for contextualisation and those of Estonian-like word order are from speakers who have lived there at least a couple of years. Participants who have lived in Estonia for more than five years have contributed also with examples of semantic borrowing that seems unintentional. Nevertheless, the types of codeswitching acquired at an earlier stage do not disappear as others are added to the speakers' repertoires. The following section will discuss structural aspects of Finnish-Estonian codeswitching in more detail.

# 2. What are bilingual constructions like?

When describing language, it is convenient to have a term that covers all form-meaning pairings such as morphemes, phrase and clause types as well as idiomatic expressions, and that is flexible enough to cover phenomena that do not "fit" the categories and rules used in the structuralist-generativist tradition. A growing number of linguists find that linguistic information is organised in the form of *constructions* (see, e.g. Ono & Thompson 1995, Östman & Fried, eds 2004; Auer & Pfänder 2011) .[12] Conversation analysts have used this term from the early decades on when referring to the grammatical units that turn constructional units comprise (see, e.g. Sacks et al. 1974: 702, 720–721). Construction grammarians have suggested that the whole cognitive basis of all language use exists in the form of constructions (Östman 2007).

Although when discussing constructions, we use articles *a* or *the,* they need not be countable. Rather, constructions can be seen as a web of generalisations we make about language use, about practices that are very different in nature, that overlap and are tightly connected with each other, and that are in constant flux (cf. Ono & Thompson 1995). Attempts have been made to make theoretical generalisations about the typology of this network, of the relations between constructions (see, e.g. Goldberg 1995, Leino 2003: 83–89), but the current investigation will remain on a more empirical level relying on observations made of the current data in comparison to what we know about Finnish and Estonian grammar.

The question may be asked: What are the smallest and largest possible form-meaning pairings, i.e. constructions? Grammatical morphemes certainly are constructions (ibid.: 4), so that, for example, the construction [Plural marker][13] is realised as *i, j, ie, ide, itte or t* in Finnish and *de/te, i, d* in Estonian.[14] But can prosodic features or codeswitching be conventionalised enough to have a meaning that is recognisable to members of a community (e.g. as a ?[Whining tone] or as ?[Mimicking of Estonians])? In certain forms and certain situations they probably can (see, e.g. Haakana & Visapää 2005 and Ogden 2010 on conventionalised prosody), but as is discussed in {Voicings}, the meaning of such contextualisation cues (cf. Gumperz 1982) is relatively more varied and context dependent.

At the other end – regarding large units – Östman (2005, 2007) proposes that discourse patterns (text-types or genres) are also constructions, and that the sequentiality of

[12] The word *tarind* 'construction' has been widely used for (morpho)syntactic constructions in older descriptions of Estonian (e.g. EKG, EKK), but the term seldom gets defined (see, however, Penjam and Pajusalu 2006: 150, for whom *tarind* has a broader meaning than *konstruktsioon*). In the Finnish tradition, the word *rakenne* translates as both 'construction' and 'structure', and is commonly used without definition. According to ISK the term *muotti,* lit. 'mould' refers to the structural shape or frame of a linguistic expression (e.g. in derivation, argument structure, or clause types), whereas *konstruktio* is said to be a mould or other type of multi-unit *rakenne.* These descriptions are more focused on the morphosyntactic form of constructions and less on their meaning aspects.

[13] Square brackets are used to mark constructions. This marking is not done systematically, because it would be hard or impossible to identify all constructions mentioned in the text, and because it would make the text more difficult to read.

[14] When talking of Finnish and Estonian elements, I will use the standard orthography of the respective language. On occasion, this might lead to confusion, as, for example, the Estonian <*d*> marks a voiceless alveolar or post-dental stop that for many speakers is identical to the Finnish voiceless dental stop <*t*> (cf. Ariste 1953: 35-36, ISK §4) . Because of this, the plural nominative case is marked with (roughly) the same sound in both spoken varieties, but with a different letter in written varieties.

turns be included in the construction grammatical description (see also Lindström, forthcoming). Following these thoughts, I will briefly explore the similarities that sequence types – as presented by Schegloff 2007 – might have with constructions. This is illustrated with the example of so-called sequence closing sequences in 2.4. Sequences differ from constructions in that they are, by definition, co-constructed by different speakers taking turns in interaction. Although it is possible for clausal constructions also to be co-constructed (see Section 2.3.1), it is not the typical case, but the production of a sequence is always the result of two (or more) speakers collaborating. The fact that sequences can be described in terms similar to single speaker constructions serves as an example of the interactive nature of human language. When producing a sequence, the participants act according to certain interactional conventions: call them practices, patterns, grammar, or rules as you like. Speakers utter turns that on one hand are made up of smaller constructions and that on the other hand make up the sequence.

In the description below, the assumption is made that the meaning of a construction is context-dependent to the extent that its usage environment should always be accounted for as a part of the meaning of that construction (cf. e.g. Östman 2007; Lindström 2007: 9 and forthcoming; Wide 2009). Wide (2009:131–132) and Lindström (forthcoming) introduce the attribute *sequential position* or *sequentiality,* respectively, that can be used to characterise the sequential position of turns in interaction. I will use a more general attribute *position,* which is applicable to constructions of different sizes. Thus, in my description, the position of each construction is relative to its "size" and the context of the "next in size" – e.g. morpheme in a word, word in a phrase, phrase in a clause or turn, turn in a sequence etc. – and the larger context a construction is typically used in becomes evident from the description of those larger constructions. This links to what will be further elaborated on in Section 3: the emergence of bilingual constructions in interaction.

As do many works within construction grammar and other traditions of linguistics, this enquiry begins on a strictly synchronic level: time is stopped and occurrences of bilingual constructions are analysed in relative isolation. What will become more and more evident towards the end of Section 2 is the role time plays in the unfolding of constructions. The "left" and "right" of many constructions are essentially different, because it is the role of the "left" to project the "right" and the role of the "right" to add on to what has been said on the "left". It is on this temporally constrained meaning opposition within a construction that codeswitching often finds its motivation. The aim in Section 2.1 is to describe briefly the different ways in which codeswitching happens in the data. Sections 2.2–2.4 give an overview of some of the bilingual constructions studied in the articles and the Finnish and Estonian constructions that are behind them. They thus contribute to the discussion about linguistic categories that attract codeswitching (cf. e.g. Johanson 2002: 286, 309–310; Verschik 2008: 100; Praakli 2009, Matras 2009: 149–165). In 2.5, generalisations are made concerning two structural aspects that appear to make many constructions attractive to codeswitching.

## 2.1 The mix-and-match of form and meaning in bilingual constructions

My study of the Finnish-Estonian data shows that there are four basic ways in which constructions can be bilingual: 1) when a construction that is shared by the two languages is fitted with morphs from the two languages; 2) when the lexical and/or morphosyntactic form

of a construction is from one language, but semantic characteristics from another; 3) when the morphosyntactic form of a construction is a bilingual blend; and 4) when a construction that is only typical of one language is fitted with morphs from the other or both languages. Because I have only investigated conversations where mostly Finnish is spoken, the "direction" of interest here is that from Estonian (L2) to Finnish (L1), see Figure 1.

| | **Meaning** | **(Morphosyntactic) Form** | **(Morphological) Realisation** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1) Congruent lexicalisation** | Finnish = Estonian | Finnish = Estonian | Finnish & Estonian |
| **2) Semantic borrowing** | Estonian | Finnish | Finnish |
| **3) Blend** | Finnish & Estonian | Finnish & Estonian | Finnish |
| **4) Insertion (Est. to Fin.)** | Finnish = Estonian | Finnish | (Finnish &) Estonian |
| **Insertion (Fin. to Est.)** | Finnish = Estonian | Estonian | Finnish |

Figure 1 – Types of Finnish-Estonian bilingual constructions

The assumption made in point 1) in Figure 1, that constructions can be shared by two languages, challenges the monolingual bias in the majority of construction grammatical work, where constructions are considered to belong to *a* language (J. Leino, personal communication 2.10.2012, cf. Auer 2007). Finnish and Estonian share constructions because of their common history as related languages and their belonging to the same linguistic area, which has resulted both in their contact with each other and with structurally similar languages – mainly that of Finnish with Swedish and Estonian with German (see, e.g. Grünthal 1998, 2003: 160–162; Metslang 2009).

Constructions that are often the same or very similar in Finnish and Estonian include inflected nouns and verbs, compounds, predicative (i.e. subject complement or predicate nominal[15]) clauses, existential clauses and voicing (i.e. reported speech) constructions (see sections 2.2–2.3). Nevertheless, even when underlying structures are similar, the speakers' lexical choices almost always make the actual speech products identifiable as either Finnish or Estonian. Furthermore, some of the extracts discussed in Sections 3 and 4 show how participants can assign a value (e.g. "Estonian") to a linguistic element during the course of a conversation. This means that while "Estonian" and "Finnish" (or any other languages, for that matter) are not typologically completely distinct entities, they are, most of the time, existing categories, about which the participants are rather conscious. Although the fact that this study deals with the cases in which these distinctions get blurred may create the illusion of constant negotiation between the two varieties, the majority of turns in the data are non-negotiably monolingual.

With this in mind, we can, in the next subsections, return to the four major types of bilingual constructions that were introduced in Table 1.

[15] In the Finnic tradition the term *predicative* (*predikatiivi,* Fin.; *predikatiiv, öeldistäide,* Est.) is used of subject complements. See Section 2.3.1 for further discussion.

### 2.1.1 Congruent lexicalisation

When the two languages have a semantically and morphosyntactically **shared construction whose lexical realisation is different,** codeswitching can occur by simply fitting it with lexemes and grammatical morphemes from two different languages. This kind of codeswitching is similar to *congruent lexicalisation* in Muysken's (2000) terms[16] with the corrective that in Finnish-Estonian codeswitching not only words but also grammatical affixes can be used from either language. This is possible because allomorphs are usually slightly different in Finnish and Estonian, but most morphological categories are shared. Henceforth, (if not stated otherwise) when speaking of Estonian or Finnish *morphemes,* I refer to the form they are realised in – the allomorphs – in that particular language. In extract (1) *ülesande-i-d* 'assignments' is made up of Estonian morphemes but is used in a clausal construction that has the same morphological categories in Finnish and Estonian (including a complement in the partitive plural case). Extract (1) is from an email message on a students' mailing list (see Frick 2008). The monolingual translations[17] in this and the following extracts have been compiled by me. Estonian morphemes are underlined in the gloss line and bilingual homophones (the plural marker) marked with dotted underlining. The morphemes that are not underlined in the gloss line are Finnish ones.

(1)

| 'But if anyone finds any assignments' | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **bilingual** | **Jos** | **joku** | **kuitenkin** | **löytä** | **ä** | **jotain** | **ülesande** | **i** | **d** |
| cf. Fin | Jos | joku | kuitenkin | löytä | ä | jotain | tehtäv | i | ä |
| cf. Est | Kui | keegi | siiski | leia | b | mingeid | ülesande | i | d |
| **gloss** | **if** | **anyone** | **still** | **find** | **3SG** | **some.PAR** | **assigment** | PL | **PAR** |
| cf. Fin | if | anyone | still | find | 3SG | some.PAR | assigment | PL | PAR |
| cf. Est | if | anyone | still | find | 3SG | some.PAR | assigment | PL | PAR |

If we adopt the view from construction grammar that a construction is a semanto-syntactic abstraction, a cognitive mould that is realised as a *construct* when fitted with lexical items, the second, third and fourth row in (1) should be called constructs, and the construction would be represented by the uppermost row, where an English translation represents the meaning of the construction, and the glosses that represent its morphosyntactic form. Since these are identical in Finnish and Estonian, the strict construction grammatical view would be that in cases of congruent lexicalisation, the construction itself is not bilingual. The line between a construct and construction is, however, vague, firstly because some constructions

[16] Muysken differentiates between three types of codeswitching (code-mixing in his terms): congruent lexicalisation, insertion (see Section 2.1.4 below), and alternation, which involves switching between "structures from languages"(op. cit., 3). Muysken's theory poses the clause as the main unit or 'structure' in a language, and for him, the difference between insertion and alternation is that of clause-internal vs. inter-clausal codeswitching. For the current study, such a premise would be problematic, because, as will be discussed below, codeswitching in constructions that consist of one word or many, or a clause or many, is strikingly similar both regarding their bilingual formation and their usage in interaction.

[17] Many different translations can be formed of an utterance, and the aim here – as well as in the examples to follow – is to provide the reader with one possible monolingual rough equivalent of the target utterance. The translations I have chosen are idiomatic, yet morpho-syntactically as close to the bilingual original as possible.

(e.g. lexemes and idiomatic expressions) are phonetically determined (cf. Goldberg 1995: 7), and secondly, a distinction between construct and construction becomes irrelevant when the construction is highly abstract, as in the case of [noun] – to the extent that it has no clear semantic properties of its own (the semantics therefore only being semantics of each separate construct). This is one of the two reasons why I will not try to separate the linguistic matter/tokens from pattern/type by using the term construct in the following. The second reason is that, although I agree that cognitive abstractions of language must exist, there is no other way for the analyst to access these abstractions than through observations of language use (cf. Linell 2009: 108). Others have gone even further by referring with the term *construction* only to the speech level and "not the level of grammatical knowledge" (Auer & Pfänder 2011: 8–10).

### 2.1.2 Semantic borrowing

**Shared form, different meanings.** In many cases, only the semantic aspects of a construction are taken from another language. This happens most often with *bilingual homophones* – cognates and other constructs that sound similar in the two languages but may have different meanings. Thus, when a Tartu Finn writes *helistämällähän tavoittaa,* she means 'you can reach me by telephoning' < Est. *helista-* 'telephone (verb)' and not 'you can reach me by jingling' which is what the word would mean in monolingual[18] Finnish[19]. Semantic codeswitching as a part of bilingual constructing is discussed in {Compounds} (see also Section 2.2.3 below). Semantic borrowing of bilingual homophones is discussed further in Section 2.5.1.

### 2.1.3 Blend

**Different constructions – use both.** In some cases (see Section 3.2) the speakers use, in an otherwise Finnish sentence, Estonian-like word order. These cases can be viewed as blends of a Finnish and Estonian clausal construction. There are not many cases in the data where the form of a bilingual construction would be novel in this strict sense, but one such example, namely an existential construction [NP_INE on kirjassa X] 'it says X on' is discussed in Section 2.3.1: *mitä askissa on kirjassa* 'what it says on the pack'. In this case Finnish and Estonian have different constructions for expressing a meaning, and the bilingual formation is a blend of the two. Although blends are not common in the data at hand, many older Ingrian Finnish immigrants have reached a stage where they are (see Riionheimo 2011; Riionheimo & Frick, forthcoming). These cases are not entirely in accord with the so-called equivalence constraint (Poplack 1980), which states that the switching boundary between fragments occurs between two constituents that are ordered in the same way in both languages.

[18] In the context of this study, I mean by monolingual Finnish the linguistic resources of those speakers who do not know Estonian (and vice versa, by monolingual Estonian varieties spoken by people who do not know Finnish). The term should not be taken literally, because there is no such thing as a uniform monolingual variety of these languages.
[19] Cf. *soittamallahan tavoittaa* 'you can reach me by telephoning' in monolingual Finnish

### 2.1.4 Insertion

**Different constructions – use one.** A fourth possibility is that the morphological or morphosyntactic form of the construction follows just one of the languages, but morphemes are taken (also) from the other. This is called *insertion* in Muysken's (2000) terms. Muysken proposes that there is more congruent lexicalisation (cf. point 1 above) than insertion in closely related languages, because a large number of the structures are shared. Finnish and Estonian do, however, have a number of differences in, for example, derivation, non-finite verbal marking, case selection, word order etc., which results in insertional switching. Extract (2) illustrates this with a clause in which the respective Estonian construction would use a different non-finite verbal category as well as a different case marking. The extract is from an email message to a students' mailing list.

(2)

| 'Where should (one /I /you /we…) read the avitaminoses for pathoanatomy?' | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **bilingual** | mi | stä | pitä | ä | luke | e | patoanatomia | an | noi | **avitaminoosi** | **d** |
| cf. Fin | mi | stä | pitä | ä | luke | e | patoanatomia | an | noi | avitaminoosi | t |
| cf. Est | ku | st | pea | b | luge | ma | patoanatoomia | ks | neid | avitaminoos | e |
| **gloss** | Q- | ELA | must | 3SG | read | 1INF | pathoanatomy | ILL | DEM_PL_NOM | **avitaminosis** | **PL_NOM** |
| cf. Fin | Q- | ELA | must | 3SG | read | 1INF | pathoanatomy | ILL | DEM_PL_NOM | avitaminosis | PL_NOM |
| cf. Est | Q- | ELA | must | 3SG | read | 3INF | pathoanatomy | TRA | DEM_PL_PAR | avitaminosis | PL_PAR |

A comparison of Finnish and Estonian constructions shows that the verb *pitä-* (Fin.) */ pida-* (Est.) 'must' takes a complement in the first (*-A / -dA*) infinitive in Finnish, but third (*-mA*) infinitive in Estonian, and that the verb *luke- / luge-* 'read' can take a nominative complement in Finnish but requires the partitive in Estonian (also the elative case is possible in both languages). Even though in *avitaminoosid* the nominative marker *-d* is spelled as in Estonian, the clause in (2) follows the Finnish morphosyntactic pattern.

The opposite happens when an Estonian morphosyntactic construction is used together with Finnish lexemes. This is discussed in Section 3.2 below, with examples of word order. The discussions show that differences between Estonian and Finnish word order are not absolute, but rather such that a word order that is rare or not quite suitable for a particular purpose in one of the languages, is common and expectable in the other (see also Huumo 1993). Another example of the usage of a morphosyntactic construction that is not impossible but rare[20] in Finnish and very common in Estonian is the clausal construction [NP_ALL *meeldib* X] 'NP likes X' in (3), where also the finite verb is in Estonian. (3) is an extract from an email message written on a Finnish students' mailing list, where there has been previous discussion about ordering a course t-shirt and possible texts that could be printed on it.

(3)

**Original:** **Translation (Estonian underlined):**

[20] In support for my intuition on the commonness and colloquiality of the different constructions used to express '(I) like', searches were made for them on an internet search engine. Although the results are only suggestive, they are indicative of a strong preference for elative-constructions (99% of the searched liking-constructions) in Finnish, and for nominative-constructions in Estonian.

| | |
|---|---|
| Tere Anna[21] :)<br>Haluan paidan ja sun idea meeldib yhä<br>sen suhteen (...kahjustab sinu tervist jne.)<br>Mä tulen uskollisena rühmakaaslasenasi sinne<br>ens viikon valikuun, oon laittanu ylös(…) | Hi Anna :)<br>I want a shirt and I still like your idea<br>about it (…damages your health etc).<br>As your loyal groupmate I will come to<br>the elective next week, I've written<br>down(…) |

The bilingual construction in (3) is the following (3a):

(3a)

| 'still like your idea' | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **bilingual** | **su** | **-n** | **idea** | **meeldi** | **-b** | **yhä** | | | | |
| cf. Fin | | | | tykkää | -n | yhä | su | -n | idea | sta |
| cf. Est | su | | idee | meeldi | -b | ikka | | | | |
| **gloss** | **2SG** | **-GEN** | **idea** | **please** | **-3SG** | **still** | | | | |
| cf. Fin | | | | please | -1SG | still | 2SG | -GEN | idea | -ELA |
| cf. Est | 2SG.GEN | | idea | please | -3SG | still | | | | |

The clause *sun idea meeldib yhä sen suhteen* '(I) still like your idea about it' contains a lexical switch to Estonian that is the finite verb of the sentence, which motivates the word order and case selection of the NPs (or vice versa: it is also possible that it is the word order and case selection that motivates picking an Estonian verb). A typical way to say '(I) like your idea' in Finnish would be with an elative-construction *tykkää-n su-n idea-sta* (like-1SG 2SG-GEN idea-ELA) and while a construction similar to the Estonian one *su-n idea miellyttä-ä* (2SG-GEN idea please-3SG) is possible also in Finnish, it is rare and literary in style. Regardless of the rarity of this Finnish construction [NOM *miellyttää* (PAR)] its existence may still facilitate switching to the similar Estonian construction. In the emails of this particular group of students *meeldib* is relatively popular, being the most common verb with five occurences within a total of 300 intrasentential switches to Estonian during their first three years of living in Estonia. This suggests that even at a very early stage of language contact, people are able and willing to use morphosyntactic constructions that are different from those in their mother tongue.

Having now looked at how Finnish and Estonian are used bilingually in constructions in general, we can now move on to viewing examples of some constructions in more detail.

## 2.2 One-word constructions

In this and the following sections, I present an overview and discuss some of the bilingual constructions found in the data as well as their monolingual counterparts. Although the seven constructions selected here are ones that have attracted a lot of codeswitching in the data, they are by far not the only ones that do so. I will start with one-word constructions in Section 2.2, then move on to clausal and clause-combining constructions in 2.3, and then to a

[21] All names of people in the data have been changed.

sequence type in 2.4. The constructions discussed here are ones that are morphosyntactically and semantically very similar in Finnish and Estonian, and for the most part, the bilingual constructs thus represent congruent lexicalisation or semantic borrowing.

The accounts in this and the following subsections are also meant to serve as an introduction to (monolingual) Finnish and Estonian grammar – they rely on a selection of contemporary grammatical descriptions – but the main focus is on how each construction is realised bilingually in the data. Each section starts with a table that shows some formal, positional and meaning aspects of the construction at hand, as well as a few constructs. The bilingual constructs are from the data, while the monolingual ones are their possible counterparts (translated by me). As in the previous sections, all constructs are glossed so that Estonian morphemes are underlined and bilingual homophones marked with a dotted underlining. Finnish morphemes are glossed with no underlining. If the gloss or translation differs, it is given for all constructs, and otherwise only for the bilingual one.

### 2.2.1 Verbs

The first construction to be discussed is that of verbs (Table 1). I have chosen to present [verb stem] as the target construction, because the number of Finnish and Estonian derivational and inflectional forms is very large and the categories overlap only partially. Some of the inflected forms are listed here as positions for using verb stems. The example constructs are given in their inflected form.

| **Name:** | verb stem | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Form:** | vowel stem ("weak" and "strong"), consonant stem | | |
| **Position:** | [V_FINITE], [V_INF1], [V_INF2], [V_INF3], [V_PCP], [V_PP], [V_PPP]... | | |
| **Meaning:** | Expresses activity or change, states, mental states or changes, and modality. (ISK) | | |
| **cf. Extract** | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| **Constructs, Finnish:** | kuljeskele-e | esiinty-y | arvaa-t<br>'you guess' |
| **Constructs, Estonian:** | hulgu-b | esine-b | arva-d<br>'you think' |
| **Constructs, bilingual:** | hulkku-u roam-3SG<br>'roams' | esine-e occur-3SG<br>'occurs' | arvaa-t<br>'you think' |

Table 1

Hakulinen et al. (2004, = ISK) give a definition of the meaning of verbs: They "express activity or change, states, mental states or changes, and modality" (see also Pajusalu 2009: 64–77). The existence of a distinct semantic category of verbs has been questioned (e.g. Goldberg 1995:27, cf. Hopper & Thompson 1983), and some might argue that Finnish and Estonian verbs could be regarded as a purely morphosyntactic category rather than a construction. There are many accounts of Finnish and Estonian verb morphology (see, e.g. ISK §444–520, EKG §36–65, 128–132, 167–252, and for a contrastive accout Remes 2009). Verb stems are used somewhat differently in Finnish and Estonian, and adjustments are sometimes made in codeswitching. In (4) the speaker uses an Estonian verb stem *hulg/ku-* 'roam', which does not exist in monolingual Finnish, but adjusts the consonant gradation to fit the Finnish pattern: The 3rd person singular form in Finnish requires a strong stem

(*hulkku*-, cf. weak in Estonian: *hulgu*- [hulGu-]).[22] Extract (4) is from a conversation between a couple at home, looking out the window and discussing dogs they see outside.

(4)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 01 | Timo: | Nii noi ei o niinku (mitää) villei sinänsä. |
| | | Yeah they're not like wild or anything |
| 02 | Tapio: | No ei mutta ↓mua inhottaa |
| | | PRT NEG but 1SG:PAR disgust:3SG |
| | | kyllä se ku ne, |
| | | PRT DEM3 that 3PL |
| | | Well no, but I'm disgusted by them |
| 03 | | (0.8) |
| → | | Hulkkuu tossa. |
| | | roam:3SG DEM2:INE |
| | | roaming there. |

Integration of consonant gradation patterns has been reported by several studies of Finnish-Estonian language contact (see Hassinen 2002, Kaivapalu 2005[23], Riionheimo 2007). In addition to this, the switch in line 04 is integrated to Finnish by a Finnish suffix (lengthening of the stem vowel). Also the lack of agreement with the plural subject is a Finnish feature. This kind of integrated codeswitching of verbs has been called *indirect insertion* by Matras (2009: 176, cf. Muysken 2000: 184). Matras (op.cit. 176–183) argues that it is a tendency to integrate borrowed verbs phonologically or morphologically rather than to borrow conjugational patterns.

The long pause preceding the switch is probably indicative of processing and possibly an initial search for a Finnish word. The speaker, Tapio, has lived in Estonia for more than ten years, but he engages in codeswitching very rarely, and his preference for monolingual Finnish would explain the integration. Namely, it has been argued that verbs are often integrated because of so called *predicate anchoring* (Matras 2009: 182–183): that the predicates symbolise the speaker's choice of language even when in bilingual mode. There are examples in the data that support this theory more clearly – see (5). Extract (5) is from an email message, in which a student reports exam questions to her course mates. Similar examples of reporting exam questions are analysed in {Voicings} and by Frick (2008).

(5)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mis | on | normoblasti-d, | milloin | esine-e | perifeerse-s vere-s? |
| Q | be.3SG | normoblast-PL | Q | occur-3SG | peripheral-INE blood-INE |

'What are normoblasts and when do they occur in peripheral blood?'

[22] The character G marks a semivoiced short stop (cf. Uralic Phonetic Alphabet). Finnish and Estonian stops can be placed on the following continuum from short voiced to long /double voiceless: <g> Fin. | <g> Est. | <k> Fin. | <k> Est. | <kk> Fin. | <kk> Est. (and the same for <b> / <p> and <d> / <t>. Both languages use "weak" and "strong" stems: pairings of a shorter/voiced and longer/voiceless stop occur in different positions of the paradigm. The paradigms are different in the two languages, which is why the 3rd person singular of consonant graded words is often much "stronger" in Finnish than in Estonian (see, e.g. Remes 2009 for a detailed account).

[23] Hassinen (2002) and Kaivapalu (2005) approach the question as a problem of language acquisition. This is justifiable especially in Kaivapalu's case where the data is drawn from language testing situations. The speaker in (4), Tapio, has a high command of Estonian and would be able to produce a form that resembles monolingual Estonian, if he chose to do so.

In (5) an Estonian verb is used in a similar way as in the previous example: It is integrated with a Finnish suffix and lacks agreement with the plural subject. The word is, however, without consonant gradation and can therefore be used without modification of the stem. In contrast to (4), the writer of (5) does not attempt to produce monolingual Finnish, but is in a bilingual mode, switching between Finnish, Estonian and homophonous morphemes. In this context, the integration of the verb could be said to demonstrate predicate anchoring.

Sometimes only a meaning aspect is taken from the other language, as was mentioned (in 2.1.2) about the usage of *helistä-* 'to telephone' pro 'jingle' (cf. Estonian *helista-* 'to telephone'). Bilingually homophonous verbs that sound the same but have slightly different meanings can sometimes create misunderstandings. Respondents to the questionnaire report accidental usage, in monolingual settings, of, for example, the Finnish verb *pyörty-* 'to faint' in the meaning 'to turn to', as in Estonian *pöördu-*.[24] In (6) the homophonous verb stem is *arva-,* which means 'think (be of the opinion)' in Estonian and 'guess' in Finnish. (6) is a discussion between two friends who are working as a committee that selects the nominee for a book price.

(6)

```
01 Kaarlo: =mä laittasin tälle.  ((pointing to a name))
           I'd give it to him/her
02 Sari:   °Mh-m.°
           Uhm.
03         (1.6)
→ Kaarlo: Mitä arvaaD,
           Q    think:2SG
           What do you think?
05         (1.0)
06 Sari:   Mm-m.
           Uhum.
07         (8.0)  ((Kaarlo starts writing a dedication in the price book.))
```

In line 04 Kaarlo uses the verb stem *arva-* in its Estonian meaning 'think ~ be of the opinion', thus forming a question that would not make sense in monolingual Finnish. The second person singular suffix is also homophonous, but the conjugated form has a lengthening of the stem vowel which is only typical of Finnish. Sari's response (in line 06) is slightly delayed, which may result from processing the bilingual utterance. The speaker in (6), Kaarlo, often engages in reflecting on his own language use; he claims to keep his speech monolingual and not to engage in codeswitching. His monitoring of language use is seen in self-corrections and when he corrects others' bilingual speech. It is therefore probable that his usage of *arvaat* in the Estonian meaning happens below the level of consciousness (see Gumperz 1982: 61), resembling the accidental semantic borrowings reported by several informants. This finding supports the idea that both languages are present even when a bilingual speaks monolingually (see Kroll et al. 2008).

More evidence that verbs are especially sensitive to involuntary semantic borrowing is found in fiction. In the autobiographical novel *Hepoa Tallinnaan,* the author

[24] One of the most striking accounts was that of a Finnish doctor who had conducted her studies in Estonia but now works in Finland. She reported telling a stroke patient's son that his father may faint in the emergency room (pyörtyä ensiapuun), when meaning to say that he may seek advice from there (cf. Est. pöörduda 'turn to').

Marjo Näkki writes about life as a journalist in the Baltics. The book is targeted at a Finnish reader who does not know Estonian, and its many codeswitchings to Estonian are always translated to Finnish. There is one exception to this (on page 265) where the verb *asenta-* is used in its Estonian meaning 'substitute' instead of the Finnish 'install' (7). The usage of this verb with a human referent as the subject must seem odd and incomprehensible to the monolingual reader.

(7)

| **Original:** | **Translation:** |
|---|---|
| Itse asiassa korruptionvastaisen viraston omiakin työntekijöitä oli tuomittu rikoksista, sillä he olivat puolestaan ohjailleet viraston takavarikoimia lahjusrahoja omiin taskuihinsa. Sen takia viraston johtaja oli saanut lähteä. Nyt häntä **asensi** Alvis, joka ei maanitteluistani huolimatta suostunut istahtamaan pääjohtajan tuoliin kuvia varten. | Even some employees of the anti-corruption office had been convicted for having pocketed some of the arrested bribe money. The director had been removed from office. He was **substituted** (Fin. 'installed') by Alvis, who didn't, despite my persuation, dare sit on the director's chair for photographs. |

In (7) the bilingual homophone *asenDa-* (Est. 'to substitute', Fin. 'to install') is used in its Estonian meaning, but the form is nevertheless the Finnish *asensi* – the simple past tense would be *asendas* in Estonian. This kind of bilingual usage reflects the nature of constructions being such a combination of form and meaning that bilingual speakers may draw from both sides of their repertoire (see a continuation of this discussion in 2.5.1). What seems to be the tendency for verbs is that if the verb stem is a bilingual homophone, it can be conjugated in a way that matches the surrounding text, but still draw its meaning from the other language (see also Riionheimo 2007: 161). Extracts (6) and especially (7) show that this kind of usage of homophonic verbs is often an involuntary slip of the tongue.

In sum, Estonian verbs in the data are usually (but not always, cf. Extract (3)) integrated into the Finnish language base by adjusting the stem and using Finnish suffixes. Sometimes, in the case of cognates that have different meanings, an Estonian meaning is used with a verb that looks or sounds Finnish (see further discussion in 2.5.1). This can happen below the level of consciousness.

### 2.2.2 Nouns

This section gives a brief introduction to the category of nouns in Finnish and Estonian, as well as an account of some of the many ways the participants in the current study form and use bilingual nouns. There are fewer possible suffixes that can be used with Finnish and Estonian nouns than verbs, which is why it is easier to present nouns as a single construction together with the suffixes they take; see Table 2.

| **Name:** | noun | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Form:** | [stem]* + [derivational suffix] + [PL] + [CASE_GEN~PAR~ILL~INE…] + [PX]**<br>*Only the stem is compulsory. **There are no possessive suffixes in Estonian. | | |
| **Position:** | NP | | |
| **Meaning:** | Classifies or identifies an entity (ISK) | | |
| **cf. Extract** | (8) | (9) | (10) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Constructs, Finnish:** | *jannu-j-a* jannu-PL-PAR | *aula-ssa* 'in the foyer' | *An-sku* |
| **Constructs, Estonian:** | *jõmm-e* jõmm-PL.PAR | *aula-s* 'in the assembly hall' | *Ansa-ke* |
| **Constructs, bilingual:** | *jõmm(-)e-j-ä* jõmm-(-PL)-PL-PAR 'blokes' | *aula-ssa* aula-INE 'in the assembly hall' | *Ansa-ke* Ansa-DIM |

Table 2

Semantically, a noun is said to either classify or identify an entity (ISK, definitions). A broad semantic definition that allows almost anything to be a noun raises the question whether [Noun] is a construction or merely a morphosyntactic category that lacks semantics of its own. Hopper and Thompson (1983) suggest that the categories of noun and verb are manifested only when the discourse requires them to be: Outside discourse, forms are acategorial. In other words, the "positional" aspect of the construction is crucial: A noun is a noun only if used in a construction as an NP. Although the meaning of [Noun] is hard to define, morphosyntactically it is a relatively[25] clear category. Finnish and Estonian nouns are inflected in number and case, and the paradigms are similar for the most part, although there are many differences in the morphological realisation of the paradigms (see, e.g. ISK §78-98, EKG I: §19-35, 149-166, and for a contrastive account: Remes 2009). Finnish and Estonian noun stems can be formed through derivation (see ISK § 155-159) or compounding, which is discussed in 2.2.3.

Of the three nouns in Table 2, *jõmmejä* 'blokes' has a clearly classifying function as the head of a predicative in the spoken utterance in which it occurs (8). The fact that the word is not meant to identify any specific 'blokes' is conveyed with the indefinite pronoun *jotai* 'some' and particle *iha* 'just'. The fact that the word stem is Estonian can be motivated by the fact that it refers to Estonian men. A codeswitched word is thus semantically more specific than a monolingual one would be (cf. Backus 2001).

(8)

```
EI  korporantteja   ku  ne  oli    jotai    iha
NEG frat guy:PL:PAR PRT 3PL be:PST INDF.PAR PRT
kadulta    tulleita       jõmmejä.
street:ABL come:PP:PL:PAR bloke:PL:PAR
```

'No, they weren't frat guys, they were just some regular blokes from the street'

The *-e* in *jõmme* could be analysed in two ways. It is rather typical that the participants integrate Estonian nouns into Finnish paradigms by using the words' vowel stems in places where Estonian uses a consonant stem (e.g. nominative singulars *probleemi,* cf. Est. *probleem* – GEN *probleemi;* and *mängu,* cf. Est. *mäng* – GEN *mängu*). In the case of *jõmm,* using the Estonian stem vowel *-i* is places the word into the Finnish paradigm that is most common for foreign words – one where the stem vowel is *-i-* in singular and *-e-* in plural (cf. ISK §151). Another possible analysis is that the *-e* is an Estonian partitive plural suffix *-e,* which would

[25] Morphologically, out of the components a Finnish or Estonian noun comprises, only derivational suffixes are specific to nouns (although not all: for example, in Estonian, the diminutive suffix -ke can be used with adjectives and adverbs as well). Some of the same stems (see, e.g. ISK §173–292) as well as plural, case, and (Finnish) possessive marking occur also with words that are traditionally classified as adjectives or verbs (see, e.g. ISK §438, and §490 on the nominal characteristics of non-finite verb forms). Furthermore, all Finnish and Estonian verbs can be denominalised with -mis(e)- and other suffixes.

mean that the form *jõmmejä* carries two partitive plural suffixes. In any case, inflecting the word with Finnish suffixes makes *jõmmejä* a case of integrated codeswitching (cf. Frick 2008). Because it occurs in a construction that is morphosyntactically Finnish (In Estonian the subject complement would be in the nominative, not the partitive case), it is, in Muysken's (2000) terms, an insertion.

The noun in the next extract (9) *aulassa* 'in the assembly hall' is trickier to define semantically. It both classifies an entity as belonging to the category of 'halls' and most probably identifies it as the Assembly Hall of the University of Tartu. The word is used by a student called Pekka in an email message that is a response to another student's joking proposal to make a play about immunology. The actors would be assigned roles like macrophage, immune globulin and allergy.

(9)

repesin tossa Pekka allergia kohdassa :-) Tarvitaan enään puvustus ja sitten näytellään esitys **aulassa** :-)
'I laughed out loud at Pekka (playing the part of) allergy. Now all we need is costumes and then we act the play out in the assembly hall'

Since the word *aula* means 'foyer' or 'lobby' in Finnish and 'assembly hall' in Estonian, here it could mean either. The connotations of the words *puvustus* 'costumes' and *näytellä* 'to play-act' are, however, those of a professional play in a theatre or other solemn surroundings. It is therefore probable that the word is to be understood as a proper name of specifically the one assembly hall most residents of Tartu know as *aula.* This can thus be either taken as an example of how sometimes only the semantics of a construction is taken from Estonian, or as usage of an Estonian place name that just happens to also be a word in Finnish. In the latter case, (9) is just like (8) – an integrated switch used in congruent lexicalisation.

The third example, *Ansake,* is a clear case of a proper noun that is used to identify a person. It is used as a signature in an email message (10).

(10)

| **Original:** | **Translation (Estonian underlined):** |
|---|---|
| Meeldetuletus vil!lien listan lukijoille. Ja mikäli halajat majoitusta Tampere-majassa (etkä ole Nora tai Sepi:), ota minuun yhteyttä asap! **Ansake** | Reminder to the readers of the alumni list. And if you want to have accomodation in Tampere Maja (and you are not Nora or Sepi :), contact me asap! **Ansake** |

*Ansake* is one of the examples in the data where an Estonian diminutive suffix is used with a Finnish word (see also Riionheimo and Frick, forthcoming). In a strict sense, this is not codeswitching, because proper names do not belong to any language. The phenomenon is reported here, because it is the only case in which the participants in the study use Estonian grammatical suffixes with other than Estonian words.

The suffix *-ke* exists in Finnish, but is not very productive and would not be used with proper nouns. In Estonian, this suffix, *-ke(ne)* is very productive and is also used with proper nouns. What is different about this example, however, is its pragmatics. In monolingual Estonian *-ke(ne)* or other diminutive suffixes are usually not used with one's

own name when signing e-mails[26], but in the Finnish-Estonian data there are two people who use it in their own signature. This usage is similar to some Finnish diminutive suffixes, such as *-sku, -ska, -nu,* and *-de,* that Finns use to create nicknames for themselves as well as others (Ainiala et al. 2008: 250, cf. Sartjärvi in preparation).[27] Therefore this could also be said to be a Finnish construction fitted with a proper noun and an Estonian suffix. The Finnish usage of Estonian *-ke(ne)* is an example of how a language contact situation can result in a borrowed morpheme having a wider meaning than in the donor language: This suffix is used productively as in Estonian (with all kinds of nouns) and even more – also with reference to oneself in email signatures.

In sum, there is a tendency (not a rule) that it is common for Estonian nouns to be used in the data when referring to something Estonian. Codeswitching can thus specify the meaning of the word to the category of 'something related to Estonia'. As was discussed in Section 2, nouns are sometimes integrated to the Finnish language base morphologically and sometimes not (for a further discussion, see Frick 2008). Integration is more common in the speakers who have recently moved to Estonia. Regarding Estonian grammatical morphemes, some Finns in Estonia use the Estonian diminutive suffixes with their own Finnish names, but other than that, Estonian suffixes are not used with Finnish words.

### 2.2.3 Compound nouns

Compound nouns are a subcategory of nouns. This section focuses on the largest group of compounds in Finnish and Estonian, endocentric compound nouns which consist of two parts (a modifier and a head) that are both nouns (Table 3).

| **Name:** | Endocentric compound noun | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Form:** | [N 'modifier'] + [N 'head'] | | |
| **Position:** | NP | | |
| **Meaning:** | Classifies or identifies an entity (ISK) | | |
| **Constructs, Finnish:** | muutto+touhu-t | munuais+kirja-n<br>kidney+book-GEN | vero+ilmoitukse-en<br>cf. *tulo* 'income', *deklaraatio* 'declaration' |
| **Constructs, Estonian:** | kolimis+sagina-d | neeru+raamatu<br>kidney.GEN+book.GEN | tulu+deklaratsioon-i |
| **Constructs, bilingual** | kolimis+touhu-t<br>moving+bustle-PL | neeru+kirja-n<br>kidney.GEN+book-GEN | tulu+deklaraatio-on<br>income.(NOM/)GEN+declaration-ILL |

Table 3

In Finnish and Estonian noun-noun compounds the head always follows the modifier. There are few absolute restrictions to the form of the modifier although the tendency is that case marking and other suffixes are only added to the head (ISK §408–420). In Finnish the modifier is most often in the nominative singular (*muutto* 'moving'), but in Estonian the genitive stem (*neeru* 'kidney.GEN') is predominant (There is no separate genitive marker in

[26] It is, of course, possible that these people have picked up the usage from some specific Estonian context where diminutive suffixes are used, such as Internet chat-rooms (Verschik, personal communication 9.9.2012).

[27] The usage of Finnish suffixes often calls for a reduction or modification of the stem (e.g. Ansa + -sku -> Ansku), which may contribute to the preference for the Estonian -ke: a nickname with no stem reduction is more transparent and the writer thus more easily identifiable, which may be important in a semi-institutional email message such as one to a student association's mailing list.

Estonian as there is in Finnish). In both languages, verbal modifiers are nominalised (e.g. *koli-mis-* 'moving, Est.') and casus componens forms are used also with some nouns (*munuais-* 'kidney, Fin.'). (See Kasik 2010 for a contrastive account.)

There are other types of compounds in Finnish and Estonian, but the 40 bilingual ones analysed in {Compounds} are all of the endocentric N+N type. Other than that the modifier somehow modifies the head, the semantic relation of the two parts is not restricted when the modifier is in the nominative case (or the genitive in Estonian). Most novel compounds fall into this class in monolingual Finnish (ISK §409), which explains its popularity among bilingual compounds. In {Compounds} the bilingual formation of [Endocentric compound nouns] is shown to happen by either fitting two monolingual parts together, by using a bilingual homophone and a monolingual part, or by drawing from the other-language meaning of a bilingual homophone. Compounds offer the speakers a way to incorporate an Estonian lexeme into a mould that also contains a Finnish noun and is therefore even more integrated to the language base than a single noun that is inflected with Finnish suffixes. Studies of Estonian-Russian compounds (Verschik 2004, 2008) and Finnish-Estonian compounds by Estonians who live in Finland (Praakli 2009) show two tendencies that are partly supported in {Compounds}: firstly, that bilingual [Endocentric compound nouns] are used for culturally specific referents, and secondly, that it is common for the modifier to be taken from the L2 while the head tends to follow the base language of the conversation (see also Muysken 2000, Treffers-Daller 2005). This is the overall tendency in my data too, although there are several exceptions to both these claims.

It is noted in {Compounds} that nominal compounding seems to be more common in my Finnish-Estonian data than in other language pairs that have been studied earlier. This can be explained by the fact that N+N compounding is a very common practice in both Finnish and Estonian. Kasik (2010) suggests that the semantic relation of the head and modifier can be looser in Finnish than in Estonian. This would result in greater productivity in Finnish compounding and explain the larger number of bilingual compounds found in my data than that of Praakli (op.cit.).

A negative correlation is found in {Compounds} between the usage of bilingual homophones and the novelty of monolingual counterparts of the bilingual compounds: Homophones are typically present in bilingual compounds that are based on established monolingual ones. This is explained in {Compounds} by the fact that more novel compounds are created in informal conversations between friends, where there is a lot of shared knowledge and reference to semantically specific items that are known to the participants. For example, the word *neeru+kirja* ('kidney' Est. + 'book' Fin.) is used of a specific textbook on the kidney that the writer and recipients of the email message are all reading for an exam. Informal situations are also a favourable environment for creative and innovative language use in general, as opposed to more formal situations where people keep to the 'official' words and those that sound official because of their phonetic resemblance (homophony) to the original ones (e.g. *deklaraatio*). Furthermore, if there is already an established monolingual compound, speakers may be more reluctant to form a bilingual novelty for the same referent – unless there is homophony that reserves the chracteristics of the monolingual word. In the case of ad hoc compounds, the speakers have no ready (monolingual) models to rely on and are more free to choose non-homophonic words as well.

One reason why bilingual compounds are common in bilingual data may lie in their emergent nature: ad hoc compounds "arise from their context" (ISK §399, Kasik 2010:

11). Since compounds are a format which welcomes innovation and creates novelties, it is a natural place for bilingual novelties as well.[28] Compounding is flexible and there is a lot of variation in what speakers and writers (monolingual as well as bilingual) conceive as compounds vs. two separate words. This variability may be another aspect that makes the category attractive to codeswitching – language contact theories have drawn a connection between variation and contact-induced language change: categories that are in flux variation-wise are also prone to attract borrowings (see, e.g. Sankoff 2001).

In sum, the participants often use bilingual compounding for creating innovative ad hoc words, but it is also the pattern in some of the more established words in the community. It is more common for the head to be Finnish and the modifier in Estonian, which may have to do with the semantic specificity of the modifiers (see Section 2.5.2 for further discussion). In words that are used monolingually outside the community, bilingual compounds are mostly only used if there is a homophonic component, but in ad hoc compounds, bilingual homophony does not play such a role.

## 2.3 Clausal and clause-combining constructions

In this section Finnish-Estonian codeswitching is discussed through the introduction of three clausal constructions. I will discuss two copula constructions: [Existentials] (in Section 2.3.1) and [Assessing predicative constructions] (2.3.2), and a clause-combining construction that is used for voicing (2.3.3). Examples are given of each construction: bilingual constructs from the data and their monolingual translations.

### 2.3.1 Existential constructions

In the grammatical description of Finnish (e.g. ISK), and also Estonian (EKG § 476), it is common to talk of "clause types". These are morphosyntactic formats that specify case selection, congruence and word order, and that are often associated with specific meaning or usage. This description works especially well with clauses such as Finnish (e.g. ISK §893–894, §923, §1400) and Estonian (EKG §504) existential constructions that are hard to describe in terms of argument structure (ISK §864, cf. Siro 1964: 49–54). [Existentials] start with a locative expression that is followed by a verb and a second NP (also called the e-NP or e-subject) in the post-verbal position (Table 4).

| **Name:** | Existential | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Form:** | [NP_LOC] + [V_3SG~PL]* + [NP_NOM~PAR]<br>*The verb is prototypically *on* 'is'(ISK §893, EKG §504) | | |
| **Position:** | ?[29] | | |
| **Meaning:** | - A predication about a locative space by reporting its content (Huumo 1996: 297).<br>- Characterises the locative space by establishing a relationship between it and a new referent (Helasvuo 2001:100).<br>- Introduces new referents that usually do not become topics (Helasvuo 2001: 100, ISK §894, Helasvuo & Huumo 2010: 177). | | |
| **cf. Extract** | (11) | (12) | (13) |

[28] This possible connection was pointed out to me by I. Herlin (personal communication 17.2.2012).
[29] There are no studies that I know of concerning the positioning of [Existentials] in spoken or written texts, and it thus remains a question for future research.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Constructs, Finnish:** | tääl on avioliitto<br>DEM1.LOC be.3SG marriage | jos on AV-katkos | aski-ssa luke-e<br>pack-INE read-3SG |
| **Constructs, Estonian:** | siin on abielu<br>DEM.LOC be.3SG marriage | kui on AV-blokaad | paki-l on kirja-s<br>pack-ADE be.3SG writing-INE |
| **Constructs, bilingual** | tääl on abielu<br>DEM1.LOC be.3SG marriage<br>'here it is marriage' | jos on AV-blokaad<br>if be.3SG AV-block<br>'if there's an AV-block' | aski-ssa on kirja-ssa<br>pack-INE be.3SG writing-INE<br>'it says on the pack' |

Table 4

Finnish and Estonian existential clauses share their main characteristics although there are some different tendencies in, e.g. the usage of plural verbs and the case marking of the last NP (cf. Erelt & Metslang 2006: 256–260). In conversational data, Finnish existential constructions have been studied by Helasvuo (2001: 97–103). Their sequential positioning has not yet been described in much detail, but their meaning/function is said to be to characterise a space or possessor by relating it to new referents that do not usually become new topics (ibid.). In (11) [Existentials], [Assessing predicative constructions] (cf. 2.3.2) and free NPs (Helasvuo 2001: 105–131) are used to introduce new referents that characterise Estonia, the Estonian language, people or an Estonian way of thinking. The topic is metalinguistic which results in using Estonian words in an otherwise Finnish language base. The participants create a contrast by using two existential clauses *suomes on…* 'in Finland~Finnish it's…' and *tääl on* 'here it is…'. (11) is also analysed in {Closings} as Extracts (2) and (4). These [Existentials] are produced in a context where the speaker called Mikko has just closed the previous sequence by saying, in Estonian: *abikaasa töö on olla abiline* 'It is a wife's job to help', drawing attention to the fact that the Estonian word for 'spouse' contains the stem 'help'. The ironic tone of this Estonian utterance hints that the new metalinguistic topic has to do with more than just language: It is a criticism of the Estonian way of thinking (cf. {Voicings}).[30]

(11)

```
01 Mikko:   £aga <abikaasa>, (0.6) ☞
            but  wife.GEN
02          tÖö on ju olla ☞ -ab(h)iline.£
            job is PRT be:INF helper
            but a wife's job is to help
03 Liisa:   £jaajah.£
            yes.yes
            yeah
04 Liisa:   sehä onki   kato just sillee ku  me
            DEM3:CLI BE.3SG:CLI PRT PRT DEM3.MAN PRT 1PL
            naureettii ku,
            laugh:PPAS PRT
            we were laughing about just that
05 Mikko:   ni.
            PRT
            uh-huh
→ Liisa:    .hh suomes          on     avioliitto,
            Finland/Finnish:INE BE.3SG marriage
            in Finland/Finnish there's  (the word) avioliitto (marriage)
```

[30] The speakers in this extract use the word abikaasa 'spouse' in the meaning 'wife' and associate it with the chauvinistic thinking of Estonians.

```
07 MIkko:  nii. ((gaze to Liisa))
                  PRT
           uh-huh
08 Liisa:  elikä  se   on     niinku liitto,
           so:CLI DEM3 BE.3SG PRT    union
           so it's like a union
09 Mikko:  ((nodding)) nii nii.
           yeah yeah
→ Liisa:   ni  tääl          on      abielu.
           PRT DEM1.LOC:ADE  BE.3SG  marriage
           and here it's abielu (marriage < abi 'help' + elu  'life')
11         (.)
12 Liisa:  El[ikä taval-
           so-CLI in.a.w-
           so in a w-
13 Mikko:  £[abielu.£
           abielu (marriage)
14 Liisa:  [nii (et)
           so that
15 Mikko:  [ja auttamis,
           and a helping-
16 Liisa:  aa aivan.=
           exactly
17 Mikko:  £=abikaasa,£
           abikaasa (spouse)
18 Liisa:  aivan.
           exactly
19 Liisa:  aivan.=
           exactly
20 Mikko:  =siis ☞j- jo- [(£jos t- jos tää)£ ☜            ]
           PRT              if    if  DEM1
           so if this
21 Liisa:                [siis tää  on     just sovinistien ]
                          so   DEM1 BE.SG3 PRT  chauvinist-plGEN
22         maa     [>j(h)ust tää  maa    (näin) kuule<.
           country   PRT     DEM1 country PRT   PRT
           so this is just the country for chauvinists, this country you know
23 Mikko:          [nii(h).((pulls hand in front of his mouth and touches his face))
                    PRT
           'yeah'
```

What draws our attention in (11) is that the whole sequence in lines 06–23, except for the very first introductory utterance, is built with no other verbs except *on*, which is used twice in [Existentials] (lines 06 and 10) and twice in [Predicative constructions] (lines 08 and 21; cf. 2.3.2). The new referent introduced with an [Existential] in line 10 is repeated in line 13. The free NPs in lines 13, 15 and 17 serve the same function as the [Existentials] – creating a relationship between a space 'here' and new referents that are marriage-related Estonian words associated with 'helping'. This is consistent with Helasvuo's (2001: 126–130) findings that free NPs are used to highlight a referent that is a member of a larger group already under discussion. They form a list that could, in my mind, be analysed as a co-constructed subject[31] of the [Existential] that Liisa has initiated in line 10. In this sense, the [Existential] in Extract (11) is not only a clausal construction, but also a sequential one. In the course of interaction,

[31] The subjecthood of the final NP of an [Existential] is discussed by, e.g Helasvuo, (2001); Hakulinen et al. (2004 = ISK, §922–923), Erelt and Metslang (2006); Helasvuo and Huumo (2010).

Mikko offers new members to the [Existential] and Liisa accepts them, the final form of the construction thus being emergent in the conversational flow (cf. Section 3).

There are also [Existentials] in the data where no locative NP is mentioned, not even in the preceding text (cf. ISK §899 – *ilmiölause* 'phenomen clause'; Helasvuo & Huumo 2010: 183–184). These utterances function as telling what could be roughly translated as 'there is' or 'at issue is'. When students of medicine report exam questions or talk about diagnoses and treatment, they sometimes use such a construction, thus avoiding taking a stance on whether the diagnosis is someone's possession (something a patient 'has') or something that just exists somewhere for the physician to work on. This way the patient is less present in the discourse than he/she would be in a possessive construction. Extract (12) is from an email message. The writer has got some old exam questions and is telling her course mates about them. Similar to the previous extract, an Estonian lexeme (*AV-blokaad*) is used in the post-verbal NP of an existential clause.

(12)

| **Original:** | **Translation (Estonian underlined):** |
|---|---|
| Tosiaan sit kokeessa ei ollut ihan samat kysymykset mutta kannattaa katsoa läpi niin että tietää vähän minkälaisia ne on. Aika vaikeita oli mun mielestä, tai ainakin pitää lukea aika tarkasti koska ne voi kysyä nt minkälainen EKG on jos on AV-blokaad.<br>Esim. Milline järgnevatest tähistaks EKG pinnal vasaku või parema sydamekoja laienemist? | And they weren't the exact same questions in the exam, but it's worth reading them through so you get an idea what they're like. I think they were quite difficult, or at least you have to read carefully because they might ask e.g. what the EKG is like **if (you) have an AV-block**.<br>Ex. Which of the following would mark dilatation of the left atrium? |

Findings by Clyne (2003: 162) and Praakli (2009: 110) among others suggest that bilingual homophones 'trigger' codeswitching. The pattern of codeswitching in both (11) and (12) is such that the verb *on* acts as a bridge that binds a Finnish locative expression and Estonian NP or NPs. It is impossible to say whether its homophony actually functions as a mental trigger for codeswitching or whether it is just a coincidence that the boundary element happens to be a bilingual homophone (see further discussion in Section 2.5.2). The predominant pattern in both written (23 out of 28) and spoken (10 out of 10) bilingual [Existentials] is such that an Estonian NP is used to characterise a Finnish locative NP, but it would be simplistic to claim that these switches are merely triggered by the homophonic verb. A more likely motivation is that the post-verbal NPs often refer to objects and phenomena that are specific to the speaker's life in Estonia, such as the Estonian language or studies that are conducted in Estonian as in Extracts (11) and (12).

The last example, *askissa on kirjassa* 'it says on the pack', in Table 4, Extract (13) is exceptional, because Finnish does not allow the verb *on* to be used in the existential in question, but Estonian does. Estonian, on the other hand, would not use an inessive case when referring to writing on a pack. Therefore, following a similar codeswitching pattern as is seen in other [Existentials], the construction becomes a blend of two different constructions. The extract is from the Facebook page of a woman called Jenni, who has lived in Estonia for nearly 10 years, moved back to Finland, and continues to use Estonian actively

with her friends. Jenni has posted (in Finnish) her opinion about a new tobacco law in Finland, and her friend Tiina has engaged in commenting it (also in Finnish). In a rather long comment chain, which is not reproduced here, Tiina has asked, whether cigarette prices will rise because of the new law. Jenni's turn (13) is a response to this question.

(13)

| **Original:** | **Translation:** |
|---|---|
| 01 Jenni Juronen: Ei ole ollut siitä tietoa,<br>02 mutta nythän tupakan myyminen on jo<br>03 luvanvaraista ja siitä pitää pulittaa<br>04 melko summa (taisi olla vuodessa jotain<br>05 vähän alle 200 euron), eli pakkohan se<br>06 on kysyä asiakkaaltakin enemmän kuin<br>07 **mitä askissa kirjassa on**. Tekisivät<br>08 jonkun monopolin, niinkuin Alko, vaikka,<br>09 ettei tarvitsisi setviä tässä suossa. | Jenni Juronen: I haven't heard, but selling cigarettes is already subject to licence and it costs quite a lot (around 200 euros a year, if I remember correctly), so you have to charge the customer more than **what it says on the pack**. They should make a mono-poly, like Alko, for instance, so we wouldn't have to plough through all this. |

In her turn Jenni states that because of expensive licences, restaurants have to ask for a higher price than indicated on the package. In line 07 she uses an existential that is lexically and morphologically Finnish, but that does not make sense if understood monolingually. Comparison to monolingual Finnish and Estonian constructions (13a) shows that the beginning of the construction *mitä askissa* is similar to the Finnish one, and the end *on kirjassa* to the Estonian one. The end result is a new construction that is a combination of the two. This novel construction is realised as a construct that includes bilingual homophones and a Finnish inessive case suffix that integrates it to the base language of the conversation. In monolingual Finnish *kirjassa* – which would mean 'in the/a book' – would not make sense in this clause, but its Estonian homophone *kirjas* 'written' would. Monolingual Estonian on the other hand would not use the inessive case when referring to writing on a pack, but the adessive case *paki-l* or a postposition *paki peal*.

(13a)

| Existential construction: 'what it says on the pack' | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **bilingual** | **mitä** | **aski** | **ssa** | **kirja** | **ssa** | **on** |
| cf. Fin | mitä | aski | ssa | | | lukee |
| cf. Est | mis | paki | l | kirja | s | on |
| **gloss** | **Q** | **pack** | **INE** | **writing(?)** | **INE** | **be.3SG** |
| cf. Fin | Q | pack | INE | | | read:3SG |
| cf. Est | Q | pack | ADE | writing (?) | INE | be.3SG |

The Finnish elements used in (13) are bilingual homophones to the respective Estonian ones, and even the inessive suffix is close to the Estonian one. It is possible that the writer does not realise that the construction is not used in monolingual Finnish. Although this construction is in a responsive turn, there is nothing in the preceding text that might influence the way this particular bilingual construction is formed. Another thing is that the participants don't make the bilingual construction relevant in the following talk even though the monolingual recipient cannot have understood it the way the writer intended (which could also explain the

fact she does not write more about the matter: Jenni takes the next turn herself and the topic of prices is not returned to).

This section has introduced three [Existentials] that differ in many ways from the prototypical cases described in the literature. The first one was extended into a sequential form by two conversants. The second one was one where no locative NP was used, and the third one introduced a new construction that was a Finnish-Estonian blend. The codeswitching pattern used in these [Existentials] is such that the beginning of the construction is in Finnish, then the verb *on* (which is a bilingual homophone) is followed by an Estonian NP that characterises the locative or possessive entity. This pattern is typical, but there are also cases in the data where the locative NP is in Estonian and the subject NP in Finnish. The same applies for the [Assessing predicative constructions] discussed in the following section: it is more typical for the post-verbal NP than the clause-initial NP to be in Estonian.

In sum, [Existentials] are used to introduce new referents that characterise a place or possessor. It is more typical for the clause-initial locative expression to be uttered in Finnish (if uttered at all) and the more specific characterising phrase in Estonian. The Estonian NPs used in the data often have a loose relation to Estonia, being, for example, study related words (cf. Section 2.2.2). The last extract discussed above was an exceptional case of a morphosyntactic blend of Finnish and Estonian [Existentials].

### 2.3.2 Assessing predicative constructions

In their study regarding conversational units, Ford, Fox and Thompson (forthcoming) give subject complement clauses as an example of how a description of the clausal form of an utterance is not enough to capture the features that are relevant in interaction. Instead, they propose that linguists pay more attention to the actions performed by participants (ibid). In the following, both the form and the meaning are used to define a construction, and here the meaning is equivalent to action. Table 5 presents what I have called the [Assessing predicative construction]. It is a type of predicative[32] (i.e. subject complement) clause whose meaning is evaluative.

| **Name:** | Assessing predicative construction | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Form:** | [NP] + [V_COP] + [AP~NP_NOM~PAR*]<br>*In Estonian comitative and abessive cases are also possible (EKK: SÜ46). | | |
| **Position:** | Assessment activity, Sequence closing sequence and other evaluative sequence types | | |
| **Meaning:** | Assessment (of the referent of the clause-initial subject NP) | | |
| **cf. Extract** | (14) | (15) | (16) |
| **Constructs, Finnish:** | Joo se sydänkirja on hyvä | No toi onki tommosen niinku kömpelön näkönen<br>clumsy:GEN looking | Risto on katto katto katto katto katto katto katto katto katto katto aaargghhhhh... |
| **Constructs, Estonian:** | Jah see sydameraamat on hea | Noh see ongi sellise nagu kohmaka olekuga[33]<br>clumsy:GEN appearance:COM | Risto on katus katus katus katus katus katus katus katus katus katus aaargghhhhh... |

[32] In the Finnic tradition the term predicative (Fin. predikatiivi; Est. predikatiiv, öeldistäide) is used for what is known as subject complements in the English tradition.

[33] More idiomatic translations could be made with the verb *paistma*, e.g. *noh see paistabki selline nagu kohmakas* (PRT DEM look:3SG:CLI DEM PRT clumsy), or with the phrasal verb *välja nägema*, e.g. *noh ta näebki selline nagu kohmakas välja* (PRT DEM see:3SG:CLI DEM PRT clumsy out).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Constructs, bilingual** | Joo se syddän kirja on hea<br>Yes the heart book is good | No toi onki tommosen<br>PRT DEM be.SG3:CLI DEM:GEN<br>niinku kohmakkaan näkönen<br>PRT clumsy:GEN looking<br>'Well he is kinda clumsy looking' | Risto on katus katto taket<br>jumts dach krov stogas tetto<br>roof teto aaargghhhhh... |

Table 5

In Finnish and Estonian grammar predicatives are defined as APs or NPs that characterise another NP (typically the subject) by naming its characteristics or class (ISK §943-958, EKK: Süntaks, sissejuhatus). They are typically preceded by the verb *olla,* which agrees with the subject NP. Predicatives can be used to make assessments, but also for giving definitions or naming objects (ISK §945). Whenever speakers use a predicative clause, they take an epistemic stance claiming knowledge and authority to characterise the object (cf. Heritage & Raymond 2005). Often an evaluative stance is also taken, and whether or not a predicative clause is interpreted as an assessment or not has to do with the semantic properties of the predicative (e.g. *fantastic* is more likely to be an Assessing adjective than *blue*), but also with sequential and contextual characteristics of the turn (Ford et al, op.cit.). Assessments are used in, for example, sequence closings (see {Closings}, and Section 2.4 below), and evaluative sequences, in which several people engage in assessing the same thing (see, e.g. Goodwin & Goodwin 1992, who introduce the term *assessment activity*). Assessments can also accompany other actions, such as the granting of requests (see {Facebook}).

Just as not all predicatives are assessing, not all assessments are predicatives. An evaluative stance can also be displayed with adverbials or adpositional phrases (as in *Naine on pliits- pliia ja rusika vahel* 'A woman is between the stove and a fist' = extract (18) in 2.3.3, which is also discussed in {Closings}), verbs (as in *Paavo Pasila rõõmustab / iloitsee* 'Paavo Pasila rejoices (Est.) / rejoices (Fin.)', which is discussed in {Facebook}), with existentials or free NPs, or by using adjective attributes in NPs within a clause. Thus, the overlapping category which I have here called the [Assessing predicative construction] is one in which the form of a predicative clause is used to perform the action of assessment. When referring only to the post-verbal AP or NP, I use the term [Assessing predicative].

The first example in Table 5, Extract (14), shows how an Estonian [Assessing predicative] is used in a clause where all other lexemes are Finnish. This is the prototypical kind of AP-predicative clause in both Finnish and Estonian. In it, morphological integration is not possible, because the word would be in the nominative singular (with no morphological case marking) in both monolingual varieties. (14) is from an email message. The same assessing adjective 'good' is used twice. The first one, *hea,* is in Estonian, and the one in the expression that follows, *hyvä,* in Finnish.[34]

(14)

Joo se syddän kirja on hea, hyvä Anna.
yes DEM3 heart book be.3SG good good [name]
Yes, the heart book is good, well done Anna.

The second extract is one where a construction that has more Finnish morphosyntactic characteristics incorporates an Estonian adjective. In (15) one of the speakers, Oona, assesses

[34] (14) also contains an example of a compound noun that the writer perceives as two separate words (cf. discussion in 2.2.3 and in {Compounds}) – the standard spelling would be sydänkirja.

a football player in a game she and her friend Marja are watching on TV. The women have just earlier assessed the player as *epämiellyttävä* 'unpleasant' and *hidas mutta kankee* 'slow but stiff' and compared him with a Finnish hockey player. Marja is now in the middle of a lengthy telling about the way this Finnish player moves.

(15)

```
31 Marja:  @Talvine just aina kiemurtelee (siel) sillai et
32         sen [vauhti   ] ei pysähdy tällai@=
           Talvinen always wriggles around so that his speed wouldn't stop like
this
33 Oona:       [@°mh mh°@]
34 Oona:   =°mt he°
35 Marja:  [@Koska sit sen (aina) niin kauan kestää saada
36         uudelleen sitä vauhtii@.]
           Because it would take so long for him to speed up again
37 Oona:   [((Grabs her glass and drinks))    ]
38 Marja:  ha ha [ha .haa
→ Oona:          [No toi  onki       tommosen     niinku
                 PRT DEM2 be.3SG:CLI DEM2.ADJ:GEN PRT
40         (.)
→          kohmakkaan näkönen.
           clumsy:GEN looking
           He (the player on TV) is clumsy looking.
42         (.)
43 Marja:  Mm-m.
           Uhm.
44         (1.0)
```

The turns in lines 39–43 can be analysed as a sequence closing sequence (see Section 2.4). Oona's assessment summarises the topic of clumsy sportsmen. It is tied to the previous text and marked as agreeing with it with the clitic particle *-ki* and prefaced with a *no* that marks the turn's independence (cf. Vepsäläinen, in preparation) relative to the immediately preceding assessments (of the hockey player) that Oona does not participate in producing. The speaker uses an Estonian adjective *kohmakas* but integrates it by using a Finnish-like strong stem consonant, a long *a* and a Finnish genitive suffix. It is used in an Assessing construction [AP_GEN + *näköinen*] which is also typically Finnish. There are elements of word search: *tommosen niinku* and a pause, that indicate that the speaker is looking for a good word to characterise the player (cf. e.g. Helasvuo et al. 2004, Kurhila 2006: 91-151). She ends up finding the best word from the 'Estonian side' of her bilingual repertoire.

The third example (16) is from {Facebook}. It shows how an NP that normally would not be considered to be evaluative or affective can be used in an assessment. Using the word 'roof' in the predicative to characterise himself, and repeating it in Estonian, Finnish and eight other languages, Risto – whose Facebook friends know he's currently organising the renovation of his roof – expresses the immensity of his on-going roof-project and the effect it has in his life. He finishes his post off with a negatively-laden emotive particle *argh* that he extends ortographically and with three dots, thus highlighting its affectivity.

(16)

Risto on katus katto taket jumts dach krov stogas tetto roof teto aaargghhhhh...

Risto's usage of the predicative clause may have to do with a style of writing Facebook posts using the copula *on*. This style has its roots in the early days, before the time (16) was posted in the social network, when the system used to automatically provide the writer's name followed by *is* (or *on* if using it in Finnish or Estonian). Another motivation for using a copula construction is that it is often used for reporting speech and thought (Haakana 2007: 172-175), in storytellings, for example, when the speaker-protagonist reports his or her own affective evaluations (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991). It is therefore a good candidate for expressing the writer's assessment of his inner state. The next subsection focuses on more constructions that are used for reported speech and thought.

To sum up the discussion in this subsection: [Assessing predicative constructions] are subject complement clauses used for assessment. It is most probably their function that makes them attractive to codeswitching, and it is more typical for the subject of the clause to be in Finnish and the Assessing predicative in Estonian than vice versa (see further discussion in 2.5.2).

### 2.3.3 Voicing construction

This section relates closely, and can be read as an introduction to the article {Voicings}. It is a discussion about a construction that is used for voicing, that is, for (direct) reported speech or thought. This construction typically consists of two parts – the quotative (i.e. the reporting utterance) and the voicing – that are connected with particles.

| **Name:** | Voicing construction | |
|---|---|---|
| **Form:** | [reporting utterance] + [particles]* + [voicing]<br>*The particles typically include *et(tä)*. | |
| **Position:** | In tellings (ISK §1485), assessment activity etc. | |
| **Meaning:** | - Demonstrates others' or the speaker's own prior speech, writing or thought, or general hearsay. Voicing does not require that a prior text actually exists – it is a convention that marks a part of the text as if it originated from elsewhere. One can also voice something that was not said, that will be said, or that could have been said. (ISK §1457) | |
| **cf. Extract** | (17) | (18) |
| **Constructs, Finnish:** | Se on sanonu meiän kurssilla et alle kakskytviisvuotiaat naiset ei oo päätöskykyisiä. | näin, siis oikeesti, naine on hellan ja nyrkin välissä |
| **Constructs, Estonian:** | Ta on öeldnud meie kursusel et alla kahekümneviie aastased naised ei ole otsusevõimelised. | nii, tähendab päriselt, naine on pliidi ja rusika vahel. |
| **Constructs, bilingual** | Se on sanonu meiän kurssilla et alle kakskytviisvuotiaat naiseD ei ole otsusevõimaliseD.<br>'He has said in our course that women under 25 are not competent' | £näin£ ◖ siis (.) oik(h)eesti, ◖◖◖ ↓£naine on <◖ pliits- (.)◖pliia> ja:◖ >ja rusika vahel.£<] hh.<br>'I mean really, the woman is between a stove and a fist' |

Table 6

ISK (Hakulinen et al. 2004, §483), which instead of 'construction' uses the term *muotti* 'mould, cast' recognises what they call a *reporting mould* (referointimuotti), which is defined as a type of *communicative mould* (kommunikaatiomuotti). According to ISK (ibid.), the reporting in this 'mould' may be direct speech, an *että*-clause, a subordinate interrogative or a

*referative structure/construction* (referatiivirakenne), which consists of a genitive subject and a non-finite form. In the mould according to ISK, the recipient of the alleged original utterance is marked with an allative or ablative case (ibid.). In actual conversational Finnish the recipient is, however, not always mentioned, and often the same construction is used to express reported thought, which has no original recipient at all. Another characteristic of Finnish voicings is that it is often impossible to distinguish between direct and indirect speech if there are no deictic markers and because the particle *että* is almost always used for both (see {Voicings}). The analysis in {Voicings} focuses on cases that show at least some deictic shift, thus being situated at the "direct" end of the direct-indirect continuum of reported speech (see, e.g. Kuiri 1984: 246). An extensive account of reported speech in Finnish is given in ISK (§1457–1497).

The next extract, which is from {Voicings} and is repeated here as Extract (17) is a show-piece case of a [Voicing construction] where there is a reporting clause followed by an *et* and a voicing. In it an Estonian [Assessing predicative] is used at the end of a [Voicing construction] that starts in Finnish and is homophonic in the middle (as indicated with dotted underlining of the gloss). It is argued in {Voicings} that codeswitching is used for double evaluation in voiced assessments: The speaker implicitly assesses the utterance she is voicing as not her own, as something she doesn't agree with and dislikes.

(17)

```
07 Raili:  Se  on  sanonu meiän   kurssilla  et
           3SG AUX say:PP 1PL:GEN course:ADE that
           He has said to our class that
08         alle  kakskytviisvuotiaat     naiseD,
           under twenty_five:year_old:PL woman:PL
           women below 25
09         (.)
10         ei ole    otsusevõimalised.
           NEG be    competent: PL
           are not competent to make decisions
```

The next extract (18) is an example where no reporting clause is present, and where the speaker can benefit from the ambiguity of the authorship of the utterance in order to exercise subtle criticism of the society. Like the previous extract, this too is a voiced assessment used to voice an attitude from which the current speaker distances himself.

(18)

```
21 Mikko:  £näin£ ↾ ((shakes fist in the air))
           DEM1.MAN
           like this
22 Liisa:  ((raises her cup)) he he he.
23 Mikko:  siis (.) oik(h)eesti ↾↾↾,
           so       really
           so really
24         (.)
25 Mikko:  ↓£naine on [<↾ pliits- (.)↾pliia> ja:↾ >ja rusika  vahel.£>
           woman   is stev-         stave  and   and fist.GEN between
           A woman's between the fist and the stove
26                      [((Liisa drinks from her cup))
27 Mikko:  niihän se oikeest (o),
           so-CLI SG3 really BE.3SG
```

that's how it is really
28 Liisa: ((lowers her cup)) pliidi.
stove.GEN
stove

(18) is analysed in {Closings} as an attempt to close a longer sequence (cf. 2.4). The voicing is created by an interplay of gestures, change of tone and codeswitching. It is framed by a demonstrative, a fist-beating gesture and an adverbial phrase – nothing like ISK's (§483) reporting 'mould' (A said to B). The fact that this voicing is positioned in a sequence of assessment activity, where the participants take turns assessing Estonian society, together with the codeswitching, makes it clear to the recipient that Mikko is using a generic Estonian voice to mimic the masculine, chauvinistic attitudes he conceives as Estonian (see further discussion in {Closings}.

Because of their dialogic nature, voicings are a very specific group of clause combinations. They perform an act of switching from the current speaker's voice to an utterance that is attributed to someone else. Although actually uttered by just one speaker, voicings are done as if the turn were given to another speaker. In this way, voicings are pseudo-sequential in nature. A different kind of blurring of the line between clausal and sequential was seen in Section 2.3.1, where an [Existential] was co-constructed. The next section discusses an actual sequence type that is genuinely and by definition dialogic.

## 2.4 Bilingual construction of a sequence type

In this section I will introduce the sequence type that is the topic of {Closings}: [Sequence Closing Sequences]. The notion of sequence type comes from Schegloff (2007), who presents an account (possibly exhaustive) of the sequential organisation of (monolingual English) conversation. As far as I know, codeswitching has not been associated with specific sequence types earlier, but it has been reported to be used for the structuring of conversational activities such as speakers' movement to evaluation (see Halmari 1993, 2004). Evaluation is performed also in many [Sequence closing sequences], as well as in other sequential patterns that attract codeswitching in the current data, such as storytelling and assessment activities, which were touched upon in the previous sections. More discussion of conversational patterns will follow in Section 3, and especially 3.1, where the focus is on the temporal unfolding of sequences and the impact it has on codeswitching.

Sequence closing sequences (Table 7) resemble constructions in that they have a meaning, a form and a position that are recognisable to participants. Their building blocks are other, smaller constructions: utterances that may consist of full clauses (e.g. [Assessing predicative constructions] or single morphemes, such as the particle *mm-m* 'uhm'.

| **Name:** | Sequence closing sequence |
|---|---|
| **Form:** | A small sequence within a longer sequence (Schegloff 2007: 186-187). The prototype consists of three turns (ibid.):<br>1. Initial turn, which proposes possible closing. Some of its forms are: assessments, idiomatic or aphoristic formulations of the upshot or outcome of the sequence (see Drew and Holt 1998) and jokes which trade on, or are symbiotic with the sequence or topic. Many of these represent a stance taken toward that which may be ending.<br>2. The recipient may collaborate in closing down the sequence/topic, or withhold or even resist compliance. |

| | |
|---|---|
| | 3. A non-collaborative response can abort the sequence closing sequence. However, if the recipient has aligned with the initiating speaker, he or she may produce a final closing token and start a new sequence or topic. |
| **Position:** | In the end of a prolonged, often problematic sequence |
| **Meaning:** | Closes a sequence/topic, evaluating or summing it up. |
| **cf. Extract** | (19) |
| **Construct, Finnish:** | A: No toi onki tommosen niinku kömpelön näkönen.<br>B: Mm-m. |
| **Construct, Estonian:** | A: No see ongi kuidagi kohmaka olekuga.<br>B: Mm-h. |
| **Construct, bilingual** | 39 Oona: No toi onki tommosen niinku<br>PRT DEM2 be.3SG:CLI DEM2.ADJ:GEN PRT<br>41 kohmakkaan näkönen.<br>clumsy:GEN looking<br>He (the player on TV) is kind of clumsy looking.<br>43 Marja: Mm-m.<br>Uhm. |

Table 7

Sequence closing sequences have been named[35] and described by Schegloff (2007: 186–187), and they are discussed by Drew and Holt (1998), as well as in {Closings}. Because of their concurring form-function-position patterning they could well be called constructions. If smaller constructions that are, for example, clausal or phrasal in nature are built from even smaller constructions of words and morphosyntactic patterns that relate to them, it is only natural that the constituents of larger constructions are clausal or phrasal. Although there are no absolute lexical or morphosyntactic constants in [Sequence closing sequences], their first turns are alike in that they make an evaluative summary of the preceding sequence.

Sequence- and text-types are meaningful patterns of language use. The pattern in [Sequence closing sequences] is such that the recipient recognises the first turn as an initiation of closure and collaborates with a relevant second turn, after which the sequence can be brought to an end with an optional third turn by the first speaker. Because of the interactional nature of sequences, it is of course possible that the second speaker resists the closure offered, and the sequence is prolonged. In such cases, as is discussed in {Closings} the sequence may be closed later with another [Sequence closing sequence].

Just as the natural locus (position) of clausal and phrasal constructions is sequential (e.g. the [Sequence closing sequence] is a common position for [Assessing predicative constructions]), there are also natural loci for sequence types. A [Sequence closing sequence] is by Schegloff's definition part of a longer sequence.[36] The construct given in Table 7 is from Extract (15), where there is an assessment from the speaker called Oona followed by an agreement token by her friend Marja. A longer passage of the conversation is presented here as (19). The two women are watching a football match, when Marja iniates an evaluative telling about one of the players.

(19)

[35] Schegloff uses the term *dedicated sequence closing sequence.*

[36] Other examples of sequence types that are positionally invariant can be found in many conversational routines, such as beginnings of telephone conversations, service encounters, other institutional settings, etc. (see Schegloff 2007).

```
01 TV:     (---) ja Pankeri(lt)
           And from Panker
02 Oona:   Panker on epämiellyttävä(--)
           Panker is unpleasant
03 Marja:  Miks(i) Pankeri(lta).
           Why from Panker
04 Marja:  Ai (j-) Panker tais ollaki se mitä Essi sanoki et ne,
           Oh I think Panker was the one whom Essi said that
05 Marja:  just sen @veljen [kans ne aina puhu et se on hidas
           with her brother they used to say that he was slow
06         mutta kankee just s(h)emmone he he]
           but stiff like that
07 Oona:                       [@ ((smiles))   ]
08 Oona:   @Nii [just@
           I see
09 Marja:       [Se (oli >varmaa se oli just ku o (sellain) et
10         se on ku<) Mäkine.
           He was like I think they said he was like Mäkinen
11 Marja:  Eiku mites onks se,
           No I mean is he
12         (.)
13 Marja:  Mikä se on se Suome °jouk-°
           Who's the one in the Finnish tea-
14 Marja:  Eiku Talvine
           I mean Talvinen
15 Marja:  Just Talvine se kuulostaaki siltä
           Exactly Talvinen sounds like that
16 Marja:  Talvine on just hidas mutta kankee just siä kentäl
           Talvinen is slow but stiff there on the field
17 Oona:   Onko
           Is he
18 Marja:  O he he
           He is
19 Marja:  On se ainaki taas tällai luistelee ja
20         >sit se just< .hh=
           He is at least he skates like this and
21 Oona:   Onks se ni [(vanha vai)
           Is he so old or
22 Marja:             [Essi ain kuvaa just s- joo.
           Essi describes him like- Yes.
23 Marja:  Se (>lan<) just
           (He's played) like
24         (.)
25         joku tyyliin sadas tuhannes joku.
           One hundred thousand'th something
26 Oona:   Mäng [(vai)
           Games (EST) or
27 Marja:       [Maajoukkue. Mängu joo.
           National. Games (EST) yeah.
28 Marja:  Ja tota ni nii niin niin (sit se aina ninku)
29         kuvailee sitä et se aina et se pitää semmost
30         vauhtii ylt yllä et,
           And ehm and and then she always like describes him that he keeps up
           his speed that
31 Marja:  @Talvine just aina kiemurtelee (siel) sillai et
32         sen [vauhti   ] ei pysähdy tällai@=
           Talvinen always wriggles around so that his speed wouldn't stop like this
33 Oona:       [@°mh mh°@]
```

```
34 Oona:   =°mt he°
35 Marja:  [@Koska sit sen (aina) niin kauan kestää saada
36         uudelleen sitä vauhtii@.              ]
           Because it would take so long for him to speed up again
37 Oona:   [((Grabs her glass and takes a drink))                ]
38 Marja:  ha ha [ha .haa
39 Oona:   No toi  onki        tommosen     niinku
           PRT DEM2 be.3SG:CLI DEM2.ADJ:GEN PRT
40         (.)
41         kohmakkaan näkönen.
           clumsy:GEN looking
           He is clumsy looking.
42         (.)
43 Marja:  Mm-m.
           Uhm.
44         (1.0)
45 Oona:   Eikä se oo tehny Bundesliigas (.) yhtää yhtää
46         tommost,
           And in Bundesliga he hasn't made any, any kind of…
47 Marja:  Bundesliiga viel olemas
           Does Bundesliga still exist
```

In (19) the two women first assess a player they see on TV. Marja contributes with a telling about a hockey player who is clumsy like this player. The sequence is prolonged by Oona's questions and Marja's responses to them. After Marja has finished the telling and evaluated it with laughter, Oona's assessment in lines 39–41 initiates a sequence closing sequence that is produced as a part of this longer sequence. As is typical of some sequence closing sequences (see Schegloff 2007: 186), the turn 'closes a circle' by returning to the beginning of the longer sequence (assessing the looks of the football player on television).

The amount of codeswitching varies in the [Sequence closing sequences] in the data. The one in (19) is bilingual only because of one Estonian lexeme (*kohmakas* 'clumsy') in the [Assessing predicative] that initiates the sequence. The [Sequence closing sequence] is thus almost monolingual and less heteroglossic than the examples given in {Closings}. The initial turn (lines 39–41) of this [Sequence closing sequence] can be compared to a second assessment, because Oona assesses the same person Marja has assessed (in lines 05–06). Second assessments are often formulated as independent relative to the first assessment, which allows the utterer of the second assessment to show some authority on the matter (cf. Heritage & Raymond 2005). Using her bilingual resources allows Oona to take a stance that is similar to Marja's earlier assessment (that the player is *hidas mutta kankee* 'slow but stiff', lines 05–06) but to use her own words. By avoiding merely agreeing with or recycling Marja's words Oona takes an independent stance on the matter of the sportsman's clumsiness and positions herself as a knowing participant. By using the words *toi* and *näkönen* she also indicates the source of her knowledge – that she is seeing the player on the television.

In other cases, analysed in {Closings}, there is codeswitching of longer passages and even full [Sequence closing sequences]. Although no pattern can be detected from these data as to how these constructions are bilingual, [Sequence closing sequences] do appear to attract codeswitching. The argument made in {Closings} is that the heteroglossic nature of codeswitching is similar to that of figurative expressions (cf. Drew and Holt 1998) and singings that are found in the initial turns of [Sequence closing sequences], and that this

heteroglossia distances speaker(s) from the on-going interactional activity or topic and thus facilitates the transition to a new activity.

## 2.5 Ravioli and farfalle in codeswitching

In the previous sections, seven constructions were introduced that attract codeswitching. It was also discussed that some constructions are shared by the two languages, but some differ through (lexical or morphosyntactic) form, some by meaning, and that codeswitching can ensue by bilingual usage of lexical forms, morphosyntactic patterns, or the meaning aspect of constructions. Next, I will report some observations on how the shape[37] of constructions seems to motivate the way they are formed bilingually. It needs to be pointed out, however, that although these observations are data driven, they do not explain all the codeswitching in the data, nor can they be formulated as strict rules but rather only as patterns that possibly facilitate codeswitching. The first point that will be made concerns semantic borrowing and especially bilingual homophones. The second matter has to do with bilingual usage of constructions that are naturally bipartite. I will borrow terminology from Italian cuisine and call these two types *ravioli* and *farfalle* switching respectively.

### 2.5.1 The ravioli phenomenon

The ravioli phenomenon is possible with all constructions that are bilingual homophones whose form is the same or similar in two languages but whose meaning is different. [38] We can think of a construction's form as the pasta dough of a raviolo and the meaning as the filling, so that in the case of bilingual homophones it is not possible to say from the 'outside' form what the construction is filled with – whether it is the meaning from language A or B that is meant. Cases of such usage were seen in examples (6) where the verb *arvata* was used in its Estonian meaning 'to think' (cf. Fin. 'guess') and (7), where *asentaa* meant 'to substitute' (cf. Fin. 'install') as well as (9), where the word *aula* was used to refer to an assembly hall (cf. Fin. 'foyer'). Another example that could be analysed as a raviolo is (10), where a diminutive suffix *-ke* was used in a manner that was closer to the typical Estonian usage. The phenomenon is thus not restricted to lexical items but can happen with grammatical morphemes as well, and it can be found in idiomatic expressions such as in *on kirjassa* 'is written' (cf. Fin. 'is in a/the book') in (13).

As can be seen from these examples and others like them, meaning is easily 'transferred' even if the forms are slightly different in the two languages and when lexical stems are integrated to the surrounding language by Finnish suffixes (see also Riionheimo

[37] I use the term *shape* here to designate the way the whole form-meaning constellation of a construction is built up (as opposed to form by which I mean the lexical and morphosyntactic features of a construction that are used to convey a meaning).

[38] Haugen (1950: 220) reserves the term *homophone* for words whose form is similar but whose meaning is different, and uses *analogue* for ones with the same meaning. In later research (e.g. Clyne 2003, Verschik 2004, Praakli 2009) both groups have been called *bilingual homophones*. This is reasonable when a strict line cannot be drawn between the two – as in a study of related languages that share a large amount of cognates whose form is similar or identical but whose meaning has evolved in slightly different directions during the past centuries. My usage of the term raviolo is close to Haugen's definition of a homophone.

2007: 161).[39] The ravioli phenomenon is frequent in the Tartu Finnish data, where semantic borrowing happens predominantly with bilingual homophones. The same is true for Estonian spoken in Finland as reported by Praakli (2009: 147-156). What is different is that in her data ravioli-codeswitching is especially frequent in phrasal verbs such as *tulla esille* (Fin.) ~ *esile* (Est.) 'come up', *olla kiinni* (Fin.) ~ *kinni* (Est.) 'depend', *pitää yllä* (Fin.) ~ *pidada üleval* (Est.) 'maintain' and *käydä läpi* (Fin.) ~ *käia läbi* (Est.) 'go through', whose Finnish meaning is, according to Praakli (op.cit. 151), broader than the Estonian one. This and the fact that these verbs are polysemic and not transparent are what Praakli finds to be the reasons behind their attractivity for codeswitching (op.cit. 150–151). In my data, borrowing of phrasal verbs is not that frequent.[40]

Language contact theories often explain lexical borrowing as the speakers' attempt to fill structural gaps and to achieve more expressive means[41] (e.g. Matras 2009: 149). This hypothesis cannot be applied to the borrowing of phrasal verbs between Estonian and Finnish first-generation immigrants. Phrasal verbs are more common in Estonian than in Finnish (see, e.g. Metslang 2011: 251).[42] One might therefore expect it to be more common to borrow them from the richer language, Estonian, to Finnish than vice versa. This would result in a wider variety of constructions in the speaker's repertoire that could possibly be used for semantically more specific expression. The infrequency of borrowing phrasal verbs from Estonian to Finnish could have something to do with the fact that the ravioli phenomenon prevails in the codeswitching of verbs.

Riionheimo (2007: 161) gives two possible explanations for the ravioli phenomenon: Finnish speakers either borrow an Estonian verb and adjust it according to their mother tongue, or they extend the meaning of a Finnish verb according to Estonian. The forms of the phrasal verbs in Praakli's bilingual data exist also in Estonian, and it is therefore easy for the speakers merely to extend their semantics to match Finnish (op.cit. 150, cf. Matras 2009: 246–248). The speakers in my data do not do the same with the many phrasal verb constructions that exist only in one language (Estonian) – they would have to borrow the form as well as the meaning. The relative frequency of borrowing phrasal verbs from Finnish to Estonian rather than vice versa is thus also evidence that of the two mental processes Riionheimo (ibid.) mentions, semantic extension is easier and more favoured by the speakers than borrowing full constructions (form + meaning). What the speakers get when applying semantic extension are verbs whose meaning is less specific than that in their L1. It looks like the speakers' need for a more specific expression of verbal meaning is not strong enough for them to go through the trouble of borrowing both form and meaning of phrasal verbs.

The meaning of bilingual ravioli-constructions is always more vague than that of switches that concern also the form of the construction – you never know from looking at ravioli exactly what the filling (the meaning) is. It seems that speakers are more tolerant of this kind of vagueness in verbs than in nouns. Praakli's research (2009: 160) shows that

[39] Semantic borrowing of a ravioli word has also been noted by Ala-Risku (forthcoming) in a novel by A. Camilleri, who uses the Italian word *spiere* in the meaning of Sicilian *spieri* 'to ask' (cf. Italian 'to spy').
[40] Borrowing of phrasal verbs is more common in the speech of old Ingrian Finnish immigrants to Estonia (cf. Riionheimo and Kivisalu 1994), who have, under intensive language contact of ca. 50 years experienced first language attrition. Praakli's data are better compared with those from my recordings, because they are from young or middle-aged speakers who have lived in Finland for less than two decades.
[41] The gap-filling-theory cannot explain all contact phenomena (Matras 2009: 138).
[42] Kolehmainen (2005), however, finds that the number of Finnish phrasal verbs is actually larger than has been claimed in prior studies.

nouns do not attract semantic borrowing from Finnish to Estonian as much as verbs do, and the same is true for the other direction of borrowing seen in the current data. While many of the ravioli-verbs in both Praakli's and my data are used in an "unmarked" manner that suggests the speaker's not wanting to draw attention to the word or not even being conscious of using them, ravioli-nouns are often framed with, for example, word search markers (cf. Praakli 2009: 162-163). Ravioli nouns are often culturally specific words, such as *aula* 'assembly hall' in (9), which was used as a proper noun (cf. ibid.). Speakers can also make relevant the vagueness or polysemy of ravioli-words and use their bilingual meaning potential for the benefit of the ongoing interaction. Examples of this are discussed further in Section 3.4. But before moving on to the interactional use of bilingual constructions, let us have a look at another characteristic of constructions that attracts codeswitching.

### 2.5.2 The farfalle phenomenon

The discussion in Section 2.2.3 led to the conclusion that because compounding is a common way of creating novelties by joining two elements together in monolingual speech (cf. ISK §399), compounds are also fertile ground for bilingual innovations. In the case of [Endocentric compound nouns] the first noun acts as a modifier or determiner of the second one, so that in the flow of speech the speaker first utters the part that specifies the referent and then the part that identifies it as belonging to a class. The two nouns are typically spelled, pronounced and inflected as one word, and there is usually no morphological connector between them. The bipartite unity of compounds can be depicted as a *farfalla* 'butterfly' shape (Figure 2).

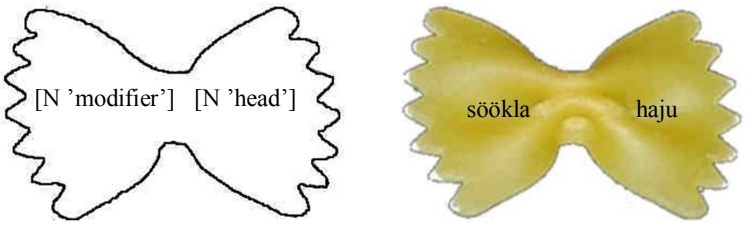



Figure 2 - [Endocentric compound noun]

Between the two 'wings' of the farfalla construction there is a switch of functions, which is the act the speaker is implementing. For example, when uttering the word *sööklahaju* 'smell of a canteen' in (20),[43] the speakers first specify the referent as having to do with canteens – and specifically Estonian canteens (which we deduce from the choice of language in *söökla*) – and then move on to identify the referent as belonging to the class of 'smells'. As in the majority of bilingual [Endocentric compound nouns], the modifier, which has the job of specification to do, is in Estonian, and the head in Finnish, which is the main language of the conversation.

[43] The usage of Estonian *söökla* 'canteen' (20) is analysed in {Compounds} as contributing to the assessment activity (cf. Goodwin & Goodwin 1992) in which the participants have been engaged. They have assessed *söökla*s in a rather negative tone, after which Jonna contributes with a telling of having encountered *sööklahaju* in her apartment building in Finland when her "probably non-Finnish" (her wording) neighbours cook.

(20)

```
01 Sari:   Ja  siäkö      on      sööklahaju vai.
           And DEM3.LOC.Q be.3SG canteen+smell Q
           And there you have the smell of a canteen?
02 Jonna: Siellä        on      sööklahaju     ku
           DEM3.LOC.ADE be.3SG canteen+smell when
03         joku tekee    ruokaa.
           INDF make:3SG food:PAR.
           There is the smell of a canteen when someone is cooking.
```

The function of joining two linguistic items is by no means limited to compound lexemes, but is present also in many clausal and clause-combining constructions. In [Existential] and [Assessing predicative constructions] the verb (copula) acts as the 'body of the butterfly' or 'knot of the bow tie', tying the two NPs together (Figures 3 and 4). Semantically these two constructions are similar, in that the latter part characterises the first (see Sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2). The utterance in (20) is an example of an [Existential] (used twice here in slightly different forms). In the jagged edges of the right-hand Figure 3, are the discourse particles *ja* 'and' and *vai* 'or' that are anaphoric and cataphoric devices to "bracket units of talk" (cf. Schiffrin 1987: 31). For the sake of clarity, they and the question particle *-ko* are left out of the figure on the left, which thus represent the minimal form of the construction, matching both existentials in lines 01 and 02–03 of (20).

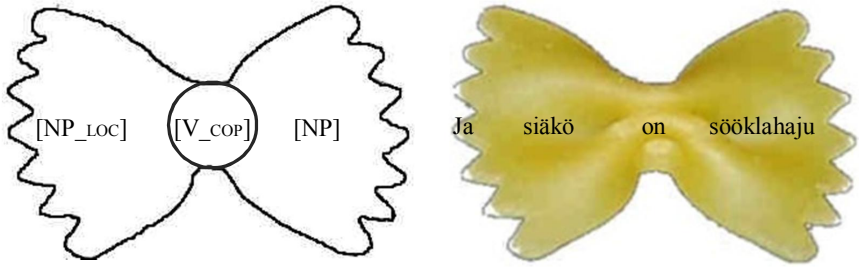



Figure 3 - [Existential]

The example of an [Assessing predicative construction] in Figure 4 *Alle kakskytviisvuotiaat naiseD ei ole otsusevõimaliseD* 'women under 25 are not competent (to make decisions)' is taken from Extract (17) in Section 2.3.3.

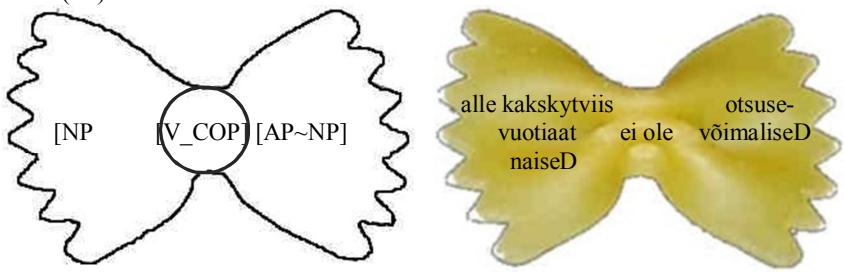



Figure 4 - [Assessing predicative construction]

The copula *on* is a bilingual homophone that is often identical in Finnish and Estonian. It is therefore a potential facilitator (or even trigger, cf. Clyne 2003: 162) of codeswitching.

Homophones are natural bridges between stretches of talk in two languages. Another thing that facilitates switching is the different function the two wings of the construction have. As in [Endocentric compounds] and [Existentials], it is typical that the part codeswitched to Estonian is the one that does the characterising or specification – only here it is uttered in the latter part of the construction. It is usually not the 'what' but the 'how' or 'what kind' that speakers want to mark with codeswitching. This can happen for different reasons, which can be discussed under the headings of semantic specifity (cf. Backus 2001) and heteroglossia (cf. Bakhtin 1982), as discussed in the articles of this study.

When using an [Existential] or [Assessing predicative construction], the speaker starts by making reference ('pointing') to the object, person or place that is talked about (in the examples in Figure 3 and Figure 4 this is done with a pronoun *se ~ siellä*). The copula marks a shift of direction when the speaker moves from the act of pointing to that of characterisation. In [Voicing constructions] a change of footing (cf. Goffman 1981) happens when the speaker reaches the word *et(tä) ~ jot(ta)*, which is almost always present in both Finnish and Estonian voicings (cf. Laury and Seppänen 2008, Keevallik 2008). The example in Figure 5 is from {Voicings} and is partly repeated below as (21).




Figure 5 - [Voicing construction]

(21)

04 Mun virolainen koulukaveri laitto mulle linkin,
1SG:GEN Estonian schoolmate put.PST 1SG:ALL link:GEN
My Estonian schoolmate sent me a link
06 hommikulehestä[44] sillee että .hh että,
[name of newspaper]:ELA DEM3.MAN PRT PRT
from Hommikuleht, that
07 (.)
08 See [soome ajakirjanik on
DEM Finnish reporter be.SG3
this Finnish journalist is
10 ikka päris [loll.
PRT quite stupid
quite stupid

Figure 5 shows how the codeswitching in (21) follows the farfalle shape of a [Voicing construction]. The particles and pause in lines 06 and 07 mark the point where the speaker switches to the voicing of her friend. The codeswitching to Estonian is done exactly with the alleged words of the Estonian speaker, and the rest of the utterance is in Finnish. The fact that codeswitching does not always follow the boundaries of voicing can be explained by the fact

[44] The name of the newspaper has been changed.

that constructions are not two-dimensional. They are layered so that each larger construction contains smaller ones. So, for example, when voicing an assessment, the speaker can choose to use codeswitching within the second 'wing' of the [Voicing constuction] as in (21), or the [Assessing predicative construction] as shown in Figure 6. The example in Figure 6 is from Extract (17), see also Figure 4. In it the copula *ei ole* 'are not' is a bilingual homophone and the [Assessing predicative] *otsusevõimalised* 'competent to make decisions' is in Estonian.

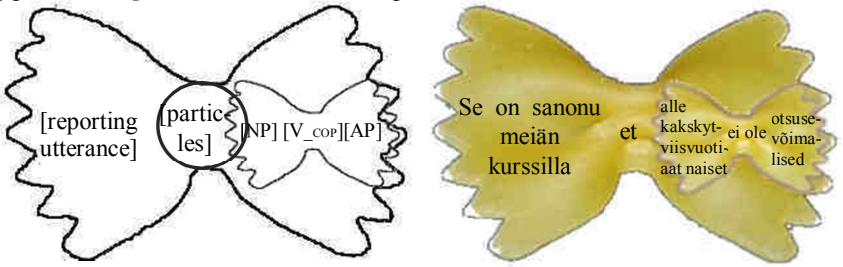



Figure 6 - Layering of an [Assesive predicative] clause and [Voicing construction]

If Figure 6 were to be made more exact, a third farfalla could be pictured on the right wing – of the compound adjective *otsuse+võimaliseD* ('decision' + 'competent' = 'competent to make decisions'. In a similar manner, the bilingual [Endocentric compound] *sööklahaju* was layered onto the [Existential] in (20), and Figure 3 could thus also have been depicted as a layered farfalla. The layered depiction of constructions shows how speakers switch from one linguistic act to another several times during the production of an utterance; for example, when advancing from framing a voicing to voicing, from naming a referent to assessing it etc. All of these switching points (the bodies of the butterflies or knots of bow-ties) are spots for shifting the direction of the utterance and thus well motivated loci for codeswitching.

The farfalle shown here are examples of constructions that include a switch between two linguistic acts – typically that between introducing a referent (e.g. an object, person, place or event) and characterising or modifying it. This appears to be a shared characteristic of at least compounds, some (if not all) copula constructions, voicings – and many other constructions as well.[45] Other than this similarity, the current study has no answers regarding the mental connections between different farfalle. One finding can, however, be briefly mentioned here, and it is the one by Ehmer (2011) reported by Auer and Pfänder (2011:13–14) of a compound [*cosa de* [Quote]] in Argentinian Spanish. This construction is used for voicing, and it emerges on the analogy of a more conventionalised [N *de* N] compound (ibid.). The fact that speakers can blend two seemingly very different farfalle-constructions – N+N-compounds and voicing constructions – suggests a connection between them, perhaps a similarity in mental representations or processing.

In the next section, the dynamics of codeswitching are discussed and some constructions are shown to be realised bilingually in the interactional flow of speech.

[45] Even the patterning of a sequence that ends in a sequence closing sequence could be depicted as a farfalla: A change of footing happens when the participants move from the activities of the main sequence to that of closing it down with a summary or evaluation.

# 3. How does codeswitching emerge "on-line"?

According to the research tradition of interactional linguistics, grammar is shaped by interaction (see, e.g. Fox 2007). The idea that speech unfolds in time, creating moments when a certain form is used was called on-line syntax by Auer (2009a, see also Auer & Pfänder, eds 2011). Auer's idea is that grammar (by which he means morphosyntax and especially syntax) is *projected* in much the same way as turns in conversation are sequentially projected by preceding turns: "By projection I mean the fact that an individual action or part of it foreshadows another. In order to understand what is projected, interactants need some kind of knowledge about how actions … typically … follow each other in time" (Auer 2005). Each uttered construction creates participants' expectations of what might follow (ibid, Figure 7). In these spots, in the flow of interaction, grammar emerges, filling a preceding projection (Figure 8) – and creating new ones for that which is to follow (ibid.). Hopper (1987, 1998 and 2011), discusses the on-line emergence of grammar in interaction as well as the more diachronic side of grammar as emergent from the speakers' memory of past interactional situations that are (in his terms) *sedimented* into what we know as grammar (see also Auer & Pfänder 2011; Figure 9).

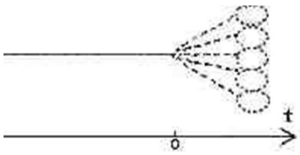



Figure **7**: Projection

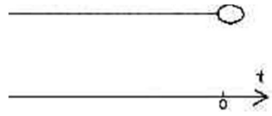



Figure **8**: Emergence

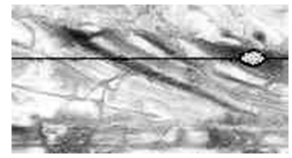


Figure **9**: Sedimentation

Hopper's (op.cit) theory stresses the fact that regardless of projections and sedimentations, grammar is not something that predetermines languages use, nor is it fixed or stable. From the on-line perspective, this means that "speakers do not create utterances by matching them in advance of the utterance to an a priori schema, but rather improvise at each point as the discourse unfolds" (Hopper 2011). From the diachronic point of view, this means that "Grammar never exists as such, but is always coming into being. There is, in other words, no 'grammar' but only 'grammaticalisation'" (Hopper 1987: 148). Hopper acknowledges the existence of a "relatively stable and uniform" grammaticality, but finds that any attempt to limit the domain of grammar just to the relatively stable phenomena is arbitrary (ibid).

Thus, for example, codeswitching sometimes occurs in spots where it is more or less foreshadowed by preceding talk. If speakers are used to sometimes using codeswitching in a certain sequential environment, they can expect that it is used again in similar contexts.[46] As the discussions in the previous sections have shown, this applies on the level of sequences as well as within turns: [Sequence closing sequences], [Voicing constructions] and [Assessing predicatives] are examples of constructions that attract relatively frequent

[46] Although a sequential approach is taken here, it does not mean that other factors cannot motivate codeswitching. Auer (1984a) distinguished between 'participant related' and 'discourse related' codeswitching, but the two can be intertwined; for example, in Mondada's (2007) study a surgeon coordinates his simultanious actions by addressing his assistant in French and other colleagues in English (and in Section 3.3 an extract will be discussed where participant-related switching is employed to coordinate the course of a game). Since most of the current data are from conversations between Finns only, there is not much participant-related switching.

codeswitching and ones where, therefore, codeswitching can be foreshadowed. More generally, if a somehow Estonian context has already been created, codeswitching to Estonian can be expected. Estonian contexts can be created by speakers who voice Estonians or discuss topics related to the society or language. It is also possible that certain bilingual homophones (such as the copula *on* and the reported speech marking connector *et*) open up contexts where Estonian is at least weakly foreshadowed.[47] In the current data, codeswitching is relatively infrequent, but studies in language contacts show that in other communities patterns of codeswitching are more sedimented and thus more strongly projected in interaction.

Besides projection, another phenomenon that often creates contexts for on-line emergent grammar is that of *recycling* (Anward 2005, Laury 2005, Savijärvi & Seppänen 2010, Savijärvi 2011: 167–230). In interaction, people reuse constructions that have been introduced in preceding utterances, modify them slightly, and thus build on what has already been said. Not all recyclings are projected, in the strict sense, by previous turns, but they nevertheless shape grammar in interaction, and form a natural habitat for emergent constructions. Earlier studies have shown that lexical recycling can result in intrasentential codeswitching (e.g. Halmari 1998; Savijärvi 2011, 170–175), and this has also been found to happen in the current data (see, e.g. Ex. 5 in {Compounds}, in which the writer picks a ravioli word from an Estonian email message and uses it in a Finnish form but with Estonian meaning in her own message).

Much of the previous work on emergent grammar has focused on phenomena that are syntactic or morphosyntactic in nature (see, e.g. articles in Auer & Pfänder, eds. 2011). As shown by Auer (2009b), syntactic projections within a turn are, however, much like the sequential projections between turns. If we include conversational patterns in the description of grammar, we can also call them on-line grammar. Take, for example, [Sequence closing sequences] (see {Closings}, Section 2.4), which occur when there has been a prolonged sequence or topic. They are the joint work of participants who decide to do a little extra instead of just abandoning a topic. Very often this decision has to do with the nature of the preceding sequence, which usually is prolonged because of some trouble: disalignment or disaffiliation (cf. Stivers 2008, Stivers et al. 2011: 20–22 on alignment and affiliation). When speakers initiate [Sequence closing sequences] with a codeswitched utterance, the motivations for them doing so have at least three sources: possible projections from the preceding sequence, the speakers' sedimented knowledge of how a construction type [Sequence closing sequence] usually works, and their knowledge or innovation with respect to how, by using codeswitching, one might achieve the goal of closing the previous activity (see {Closings}).

[47] Two things must be noted here. First, that in the current data, the projections for codeswitching even in these spots must be relatively weak, because the participants mostly use monolingual Finnish. And second, that projection does not explain all cases of codeswitching. Auer's (2009b) theory of on-line syntax does leave room for less projectable elements and innovations since, firstly, he states that not all projections are as strong as others, so that there can be more or less variation in the possible projectees; and secondly, speakers always have the possibility to change the course of action and not fulfill projections. This explains why codeswitching is sometimes used in unexpected contexts: Although the speakers are accustomed to monolingual projections, they can choose to draw from other-language resources too. This is, in fact, characteristic of the data in whole, it being drawn from first-generation speakers for whom codeswitching to Estonian is a relatively newly acquired habit. As is discussed in {Voicings}, codeswitching by old immigrants is somewhat different from this.

In the following subsection – 3.1 – some on-line emergent conversational patterns of code-switching are discussed, while in 3.2 and 3.3 the on-line emergence of turn-internal bilingual forms – word order and morphosyntax, respectively – is in focus. These discussions show how a preceding Estonian utterance may motivate a later turn to become bilingual. The discussion shows how codeswitching occurs in recycled items, but does not rule out other possible manifestations of bilingual on-line syntax. In subsection 3.4, the notion of on-line emergence is extended to meaning, and the discussion focuses on how constructions that are first used monolingually get a bilingual interpretation in the turns that follow.

## 3.1 On-line conversational patterns of codeswitching: skip-tying and reiterations

Although I do not know of any prior research that would employ the notion of on-line emergence in the study of bilingual language use, some of the early studies of bilingual conversations do give examples of how codeswitching responds to the participants' interactional needs in an on-going sequence. The simplest of on-line phenomena is that of adjacency pairs (cf. Sacks 1995(I):718–719, Schegloff & Sacks 1973): a first pair part that performs a certain type of action – say a request or an informing – projects a certain kind of responsive turn from the recipient; for example, a compliance with, or rejection of a request, or a news-receipt as a response to an informing (cf. Sacks 1987; Couper-Kuhlen 2010; Levinson 2012; Fox et al. eds, forthcoming). It was pointed out by Auer (1995: 130) that there is a tendency for utterances to follow the language choice of a preceding turn when they have been strongly projected by it (such as in the case of adjacency pairs). In my data, there are both cases that follow this tendency as well as ones that do not. Nevertheless, language choice can be used as a device for what Sacks called *skip-tying* (cf. Sacks 1995(I): 733–734): when a following turn (for example, a second pair part or a specifying question) is not uttered immediately after the first turn it relates to, speakers often mark it in a way that shows this relation. This is necessary in the case of delays, if there are turns in between the two pair parts. In multi-party conversations, skip-tying has to do with managing the participation framework as well: with it, the speaker shows whom the turn is addressed to. An example of this is shown in {Facebook}, as Extract (6), which is repeated here as Extract (22).

Facebook status lines and comment chains that follow them resemble face-to-face conversations in many ways: The participants are in the same conversational space and produce utterances on-line. Codeswitching can happen within utterances and also between them, when different participants use different languages, or when a single participant uses many languages. In (22) Ville, who is a native Finnish speaker but has lived in Estonia, writes a status line that forms a request (lines 1–2). The turn is in Estonian, but it gets responses in both Estonian and Finnish. All participants except Lisbet are native Finnish speakers.

(22)

| **Original:** | **Translation (Estonian underlined):** |
|---|---|
| **1 Ville Vaara** sooviks teada head | **1 Ville Vaara** would like to know a good |
| internet-kauplust kust saaks eesti musa | Internet shop where you could order |

| | |
|---|---|
| ja dvd:sid Soome tellitud... Teab keegi äkki? :) | Estonian music and dvd's to Finland… Anyone happen to know? :) |
| 2 **Marika Mustonen**: http://www.lasering.ee/ No, en tiedä onko hyvä... | 2 **Marika Mustonen**: http://www.lasering.ee/ Well, I don't know if it's good… |
| 3 **Ville Vaara**: Kiitsa :) | 3 **Ville Vaara:** Thanks :) |
| **4 Tuija Teräs**: millist muusikat?? | **4 Tuija Teräs:** what kind of music?? |
| 5 **Lisbet Liim**: ^Head muusikat! ;) | 5 **Lisbet Liim:** ^Good music! ;) |
| 6 **Tuija Teräs**: http://www.cdmarket.fi/fi/shop/cdaudio/index/Qzk5OQ== | 6 **Tuija Teräs**: http://www.cdmarket.fi/fi/shop/cdaudio/index/Qzk5OQ== |
| 7 **Ville Vaara**: Igasugust :) Rohkem praegu meeldiks dvd:sid tellida. Just nimelt mõtlen, kas film "Disko ja tuumasõda" (2009) on juba dvd-formaadis väljastatud. | 7 **Ville Vaara:** All kinds :) Right now I'd mostly like to order dvd's. Namely, I'm thinking if the film Disco and Atomic War (2009) is out in dvd format yet. |
| 8 **Tuija Teräs**: Tarkoitat siis tätä http://www.leffatykki.com/elokuva/disko-ja-tuumasC3B5da | 8 **Tuija Teräs:** So you mean this one http://www.leffatykki.com/elokuva/disko-ja-tuumasC3B5da |
| 9 **Ville Vaara**: Juuri tuota :) | 9 **Ville Vaara:** Exactly that one :) |

Several adjacency pairs can be found in (22). The first first pair part is Ville's request in turn 1, which Marika complies with by sending a link. She also mitigates her act by saying she's not sure if the link is good. She uses Finnish, which is probably the language these two people usually converse in. There is no need for skip-tying the responsive turn by using the language of the first turn, because they are adjacent. Responding to a first pair part in a different language has been associated with dispreferred second pair-parts (Androutsopoulos 2007); it is a similar cue to the recipient as are pauses and other hesitations (cf. e.g. Pomerantz 1984a). This could be the case in line 2: Marika's claim of not knowing if the link she has sent is good makes her turn a less preferred response to the request than sending one that she knows is good. Her turn projects an acknowledgement which Ville gives in the third turn. His 'thanks' is a preferred response that follows the language choice of its first pair part.

After these two Finnish turns, another Estonian one follows – Tuija's request for information: 'what kind of music' (in line 4). The question requests a specification of Ville's first turn, and is produced in the same language. Estonian is not the ordinary language of communication between Tuija and Ville, and here it is used for the purpose of skip-tying. Both responses to this question are tied to it by their language choice (lines 5 and 7). Ville continues by saying that he is mostly interested in DVDs and one film in particular. Tuija, having found the film on the Internet, posts a link and asks whether that is the one Ville means (line 8). Tuija's turn in line 8 comes right after the turn it relates to, which is why she does not need to tie it by using Estonian this time. In summary, Extract (22) shows how participants' language choices are influenced by sequential factors: Same-language second pair parts and repair initiators are used for skip-tying, while those that immediately follow the first pair part need not be in the same language.

Another group of cases among some early reportings of codeswitching that can be regarded examples of on-line grammar are Gal's (1979: 112), Gumperz' (1982: 78–79) and Auer's (1984b) observations about reiterations of a first-pair-part if the recipient does not answer. For example, bilingual parents may first utter a directive in one language, and if the child does not respond to it, utter it again in another language.

In terms of on-line grammar, first the directive turn projects a response, then the non-deliverance of this projection projects (among other possibilities) a reiteration of the

directive by the first speaker. Reiteration was listed by Gumperz (1982: 78-79) as one of the conversational functions of codeswitching, and later Auer (1995:120) argued that reiterations are (a group) of "conversational structures"[48] in which codeswitching serves different functions (i.e. meanings) such as putting emphasis on demands or requests, clarification or attracting attention. What makes these patterns on-line emergent is the fact that they are used only in specific, interactionally occasioned loci; if the children in Gal's or Gumperz' examples were to respond to the first request there would be no need for a codeswitched reiteration.

Since Gal reported several occurrences of codeswitching in similar sequential loci, we can say that for that particular community, this bilingual construction has become more or less sedimented (see Auer 1984b: 93). Nevertheless, sedimentation is not a prerequisite of on-line grammar: There are also ephemeral[49] constructions, innovations that occur only once or for the first time. This is the case for many of the Finnish-Estonian bilingual constructions in the data discussed here: some of them occur only once in the data, and others do not seem to form a recurrent usage pattern (yet), but do point to a possible very early stage of sedimentation for some speakers. One such phenomenon is the Estonian influence on word order that is seen occasionally in the data and that has been reported by speakers. Examples of this are discussed in the following Section (3.2), where extracts have been chosen so that they represent cases where bilingual word order is clearly an on-line phenomenon; that is, one that emerges and is motivated by something that preceded it in its close vicinity during the conversational flow.

## 3.2 On-line emergent bilingual word order: the case of SVXV-clauses

In (23) two women are watching television, but the picture is grainy. Oona proposes[50] they try to fix it (lines 01–03), but Marja rejects this by announcing, in lines 04–05, that she has already tried. When Oona does not respond, Marja first gives an affiliative assessment of the picture (by recycling the [Assessing predicative] *huono* 'bad' Oona had used in line 02) and then, in lines 09–10, reiterates the announcement about having already tried to fix the picture. The lines without glossing are all spoken in Finnish. (23) is an example of how, in a reiteration, the first utterance can influence the second one's word order.

(23) Re-iteration

```
01 Oona:   Pitäskö,
           Should we
02         Onks toi vähän huono toi kuva nyt.
           Is the picture a bit bad now
03         Parempi [ollu aikassemmin. ]
           It was better earlier.
04 Marja:  [.hh (>No  halusin<)]   mä (.) püüdsin     sitä
                  PRT want:PST:1SG 1SG    try:PST:1SG 3SG:PAR
```

[48] Auer's argumentation here is but a step away from calling such conversational patterns that include codeswitching *bilingual constructions* (cf. discussion in Section 2)

[49] Ephemeral phenomena have also been found in English data by Ford (personal communication 7.6.2012) and Fox.

[50] Because of the zero-person form in *pitäskö* (should-ø-Q), the turn can be interpreted as a proposal of fixing the antenna or a request for Marja to do it.

```
05          laittaa mut ei  se  tullu hh.
            put:INF but NEG 3SG come:PP
            I wanted, I tried to put it, but it didn't get (better).
06          (1.0)
07          Se on aina noi kauhukuvat o vähän huonoi.
            It's always those horror pictures are a bit bad.
08          (2.5)
→           Mä  yritin      sitä    vaihtaa    ei  se
            1SG try:PST:1SG 3SG:PAR change:INF NEG 3SG
10          vaihtunu  paremmaks.
            change:PP better:COMP:TRA
            I tried to change it, but it didn't change for the better.
11          (0.6)
12          Tä o vähän (tämmönen) rakeine.
            It's a bit grainy.
13 Oona:    Mm.
            Uhm
```

Extract (23) shows how a speaker reiterates a turn which is responsive – that is, it does not act as a first pair part like the reiterated turns in Gal's (1979), Gumperz' (1982: 78–79) and Auer's (1984b) data – but which still projects a response from the other participant (the first speaker). The turn that gets reiterated is the one in lines 04–05: a reporting that responds to the first speaker's proposal or request, and it projects some kind of acknowledgement token from the person who made the proposal /request.[51] The reiteration in (23) thus serves a similar function to that described in the literature – when she does not get an adequate response, the speaker repeats her turn in a slightly altered form to pursue a response (cf. Pomerantz 1984b).

Extract (23) does not follow the same pattern of codeswitched reiterations that has most often been reported in the literature, where the codeswitching happens in the reiteration. Instead, the speaker here codeswitches the first time she makes the announcement (in line 04)[52], but uses the base language of the conversation the second time (lines 09–10). More precisely, there is an Estonian lexical element in the first utterance and not in the second, where only the word order is Estonian. This means that the function of codeswitching is not the one mentioned in earlier studies – to add emphasis to a reiteration. Rather, having switched back to the base language, the speaker can recycle her own utterance and alter its form without changing the meaning.

The utterances in line 04–05 and 09–10 in (23) include a finite verb 'to try' that usually gets an infinitive complement in both Estonian and Finnish. What is typical of Estonian but not Finnish in these sentences is that an NP complement of the infinitive, in this case *sitä* 'it' (cf. Estonian cognate *seda*) is uttered before the infinitive (cf. e.g. Huumo 1993, Ehala 2001, Vilkuna 2000: 276). Estonian influence on the Finnish word order in this construction was reported already by Klaas in 1999, but her study did not include an analysis of the interactional context where it was used. In (23), the Estonian-like word order in lines 04–05 is probably motivated by the usage of an Estonian verb, but the same word order is

[51] To my knowledge, this sequence type (1. proposal - 2. disaligning announcement - (3. acknowledgment)) has not been studied in Finnish, and it is therefore impossible to say how strong the projection for the 3rd turn is. In (23) the first speaker does not interpret the 2nd turn as needing acknowledgement, but the second speaker does.

[52] The codeswitching in line 04 may be motivated by the dispreference of the turn, the fact that the speaker opposes Oona's proposal instead of, for example, getting up and readjusting the antenna (cf. discussion in 3.1).

recycled in the reiteration (lines 09–10), which contains only Finnish lexemes. The Estonian influence in the word order of the otherwise Finnish utterance is on-line emergent and interactionally conditioned; had Oona given a response to Marja's first utterance, the reiteration that brought along the recycling of Estonian word order would most probably not have taken place.

Another example of word order that 'breaks' the finite verb – infinitive chain is (24). This extract exemplifies two kinds of on-line emergence: 1) that the word order of an utterance can be motivated by the utterances that precede it; and 2) that codeswitching to an Estonian lexical item can emerge on-line after the word order of the turn has already become Estonian. This single-word switch is in line 05, where an adverbial in Estonian is marked by underlined glosses in the transcript. The extract is from the same conversation as the previous one. The two women have been talking about the German team having scored so many points that it doesn't matter if they don't win the ongoing game. After watching and commenting the game for 2 min (not shown here), the speaker called Oona gives a summary assessment of this earlier topic by stating the consequences of the team's good scores (in line 02), which the recipient Marja acknowledges. After a pause, Marja gives a second assessment (in line 05, which is the target turn of the following analysis). After Oona has acknowledged this, the topic is closed.

(24)

```
01          (6.0)
02 Oona:    Eli saksan       o  helppo pelata.
            thus Germany:GEN be easy  play:INF
            So it's easy for Germany to play
03 Marja:   Mhm
            Yeah
04 TV:      [---]aga vahele      jõuab       esimesena Rhymes.
                 but between:ALL make it:3SG first:ESS Rhymes-
            ..but Rhymes cuts in first
→ Marja:    Nii ne voi paljo muretumalt pelata.
            PRT 3PL can lot  relaxed:COMP:ABL play:INF
            So they can play much more relaxedly.
06 Oona:    Mm-m.
            Uhm
```

The word order in line 05 can be motivated by at least three factors:

- the possibility of such a word order in a Finnish clause;
- the typical word order in Estonian; and
- the word order of the preceding clauses.

The utterance in line 05 is rather Finnish-like, not only because of the Finnish lexemes but because of the lack of agreement of the verb with the plural subject, which is not typical of Estonian (cf. Est. *või-vad* can-3PL). In Finnish, the neutral word order for the end of the clausal construction would, however, be similar to the English one: The infinitive would follow the modal verb and precede the adverbials – *Nii ne **voi pelata** paljo huolettomammin* (cf. Huumo 1993: 125–129, ISK §496, 498). Adverbials can be placed between the two verbs in Finnish, but this is common only of adverbials that are understood to modify the whole clause, not just the infinitive.This is not the case in (24), because the adverbial *paljo muretumalt* 'much more relaxedly' clearly modifies the infinitive *pelata* 'play'. The word order where infinitive-modifying adverbials follow the modal verb but precede the infinitive

is common in Estonian: *Jaa nad **võivad** palju muretumalt **mängida*** (see Huumo op.cit., Ehala 2001, and examples in Penjam 2008: 124ff).[53]

The word order of the construction in the preceding Finnish utterance by Oona *Eli Saksan on helppo pelata* (line 02) also serves as a model for an infinitive-final word order. It is a different kind of construction (cf. ISK §1583), where the expected place for the infinitive is in the end. This sets the assessing adverbial of the utterance in line 05 in the same position as the assessing adjective of the utterance in line 02 – preceding the infinitive *pelata* 'play' in both sentences. Although the adverbial *paljo muretumalt* and the adjective *helppo* are different parts of speech, their meaning in these utterances is rather similar and they are both used to assess the way the German team can play. In between the two women's turns there is also an Estonian clause (from the TV) with reversed word order. The comparison of line 05 with the preceding turns is shown in Table 8.

| | X | V | **ADJ / ADV** | INF ~ NP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| line 02 | *Saksan* | *on* | ***helppo*** | *pelata* |
| line 04 | *Vahele* | *jõuab* | ***esimesena*** | *Rhymes* |
| line 05 | *Ne* | *voi* | ***paljo muretumalt*** | *pelata* |

Table 8. Word order

Another point of interest regarding (24) is how codeswitching of an Estonian lexical item emerges after the turn has taken an Estonian-like word order. Having uttered the word *paljo* instead of an infinitive after the modal verb, the speaker has opened up a syntactic context that is more typical of Estonian. She would have the option to repair it, to fix the construction to monolingual Finnish, but she chooses to utter a word in the language of the newly created context. The last word of the utterance is again in Finnish, in which the conversation continues. The codeswitching to a single Estonian lexeme can be interpreted as the speaker's recognition of a newly created Estonian context: It indicates that the speaker identifies the word order as something Estonian.

The above examples show the advantages of investigating grammar in its sequential environment: It gives access to bilingual phenomena that are recognised by the speakers on some level (e.g. as 'weird word order') but that are not conventionalised. Word order in sentences that have a finite and non-finite verbal component has not been studied much in either monolingual Finnish or Estonian – perhaps because it is something that is not bound by rigid rules (see, however, Huumo 1993: 125–129 for a contrastive study). For an interactional linguistic approach this is not a problem, and when it comes to bilingual interaction, this flexible syntactic spot seems to attract co-play between Finnish and Estonian. Sequential analysis also enables us not only to compare linguistic conventions of Finnish and Estonian and speculate on the possible influence of Estonian in the word order of otherwise

[53] The infinitive can be analysed as a complement (object) of the verb *voida* (Fin) */võima* (Est) 'can' (e.g. Leino 1991: 109-112 and EKGII:§625, §666), and as a 'chain' predicate together with it (e.g. ISK § 497; and Vilkuna 2000: 276ff, EKGII §625, 673). In Vilkuna's (op.cit.) description of Finnish chain predicates, each word is followed by its complements. In recent Estonian research Penjam (2008: 124–130) also uses the notion of a verb chain, although her examples show that in most cases (27 out of 35) the modal verb is **not** immediately followed by the infinitive (but an adverbial, the subject or a complement of the infinitive are placed between them). Regardless of the terminology used, the prototypical word order of Estonian modal constructions clearly differs from that of Finnish.

Finnish utterances, but to pin down the exact interactional contexts that motivate this influence.

### 3.3 On-line emergent bilingual morphosyntax: a single case analysis

One of the Estonian Finnish recordings shows a case of how bilingual morphosyntax can be an on-line emergent phenomenon. In (25) the speaker's choice of a postposition may be influenced by her own preceding Estonian turn. Extract (25) is from an audiorecording of a game of Trivial Pursuit, where there are two Estonian participants present whose knowledge of Finnish is limited to understanding only a few phrases and words. Changes in the participation framework are indicated by codeswitching. The first lines by Oona and Marja, who are on one team in the game, are addressed to all the participants, and switching to Finnish in line 08 marks a discussion between the two team members, who are not yet ready to give their final answer (participant-related codeswitching is further discussed in Section 4). The trivia asked is what the Finnish word *pentteri* 'cuddy' means.

(25)

```
01 Oona:   Mul     on     kaks sellist (.) nagu,
           1SG:ADE be.3SG two  DEM.ADJ:PAR PRT
           I have two like
02 Marja:  Varianti        või.
           alternative.PAR Q
           Alternatives?
03         Vastuse    varianti.
           answer.GEN alternative.PAR
           Alternative answers
04 Oona:   EII mitte (--) vaid mille-ga see võib
           NEG NEG        but  REL:COM DEM can:3SG
05         seotud   olla.
           relate:PP be:INF
           No, not (--) but what it can be related to.
06 Marja:  Okei (.) no,
           PRT     PRT
           Okey, well
07 ?       he he he
08 Oona:   Pentteri on     (natuke) n- n- mikä  vois    olla
           cuddy    be.3SG (little)       Q_NOM can:CON be:INF
→          niinku purjehtimisen kanssa joku lai[(va juttu),
           PRT    sailing:GEN   with   INDF ship    thing
           A cuddy is a bit (like) what could be (related) to sailing, some ship thing.
10 Marja:                                          [Joo kuulostaa
11         ihan (--)
           Yes it sounds exactly…
```

Oona utters in her Estonian turn in line 04 a phrase *millega see võib seotud olla* 'what it can be related to'. The Estonian phrasal verb *seotud olla* takes a complement in the comitative case, marked with the suffix *-ga.* This is not a case ending in Finnish, but it has a cognate: *kanssa* 'with', and the historical relation between these two morphemes is quite evident (see, e.g. Kokko 2007: 184–191). The word (or stem) that precedes both the Finnish postposition and the Estonian suffix is always in the genitive case. In line 09 Oona starts a Finnish phrase that recycles elements from her earlier turn but with a specification of her candidate answer:

*purjehtimisen kanssa* 'with sailing'. The subject of the sentence is in the nominative case *mikä* and the only verbs in her utterance are *vois olla* 'could be' (line 08) – two bilingual homophones that were also used in the Estonian expression *võib seotud olla* 'can be related' (lines 04-05). (25a) shows a comparison of Oona's innovative construction to monolingual Estonian and Finnish constructions.

(25a)

| 'what/that could be (related) to sailing' | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **bilingual** | **mikä** | **vois** | **olla** | **purjehtimisen** | **kanssa** | |
| cf. Est | mis | võiks | olla | purjetamise | -ga | seotud |
| cf. Fin1 | mikä | vois | liittyä | purjehtimise | -en | |
| cf. Fin2 | millä | vois | olla | purjehtimisen | kanssa | tekemistä |
| **gloss** | **Q_NOM** | **can:CON** | **be:INF** | **sailing:GEN** | **with** | |
| cf. Est | Q_NOM | can:CON | be:INF | sailing.GEN | COM | related |
| cf. Fin1 | Q_NOM | can:CON | relate:3SG | sailing | ILL | |
| cf. Fin2 | Q-ADE | can:CON | be:INF | sailing | with | tekemistä |

In Finnish 'being related to something' could be expressed with the synthetic verb *liittyy* that takes a complement in the illative case (i.e. the postposition *kanssa* would not be used). Another possibility would be to use a construction where the first NP would be in the adessive case (instead of the nominative *mikä*). It can be concluded that this part of the morphosyntax in Oona's utterance is probably motivated by her own earlier Estonian turn.[54]

In recent contact linguistic studies about *multiple causation* (see, e.g. Riionheimo 2007, 2011), bilingual varieties are compared to two or more monolingual ones, and the focus is on the interplay of language internal and cross-linguistic influences that lie behind the bilingual variety. Even if data is drawn from conversations, the studies typically focus on the bilingual mind as the locus of grammar and/or the community as the source of linguistic variation. The part which hasn't been addressed in these studies is the local, interactionally situated processes in which language evolves. This seems to be a problem in a large number of the studies of language contact and codeswitching–the analysis seldom goes beyond clause-internal structures. It is, however, generally acknowledged that changes in language are motivated by the interactional situations people engage in. By systematic analysis of the interaction we can get to the bottom of how this happens. This is what was shown in the sections above: The emergence of bilingual utterances can be motivated by both the L1 and L2 grammar that is present in its immediate context.

[54] It is of course possible that the speaker has some other construction in mind, for example, *mikä voi olla purjehtimisen kanssa käytössä* ('what would be used with sailing'), but it would not be the expression of choice in this context.

## 3.4 On-line emergent bilingual meaning

In recent literature, discussions have been raised about the meaning aspects of codeswitching; for example, Backus and Verschik (2012) argue that prior studies have concentrated too much on the formal characteristics of bilingual phenomena, and that meaning, by which they mean both semantic and pragmatic aspects, rather than form, can explain common tendencies in codeswitching. {Voicings} and {Facebook} respond to the need of research in this field by addressing the problematics of the semantic /pragmatic functions of codeswitching in conversation and, more specifically, the nature of contextualisation (see also Section 4). {Compounds} discusses the role semantic specificity, bilingual homophony and frequency of use play in the formation of bilingual innovations (see also Section 2.2.3; Backus & Verschik, op.cit.).

In this section, I propose yet another viewpoint: an investigation of how bilingual meanings emerge as participants in a conversation use the different meaning potentials of a bilingual homophone. In (26) the speaker called Oona draws on an Estonian meaning for a word she has first used in Finnish. The two women are watching a game of football. They are holding a poster chart where Marja has marked some of the scores of the World Cup games. Oona discovers that Marja has written them in the wrong place on the chart and points to the right spot. Marja offers to rewrite them, and Oona explains to her how the scores should be marked. The extract is in Finnish, except for line 15.

(26) (white-light)

```
01 Oona:   Miksä tohon (ei) laita niitä
           Why aren't you writing them here?
02         Tähän ne tulee
           This is where you put them.
03         Marja: Ai mihin ne tulee
           Oh where do you put them?
04 Oona:   Tohon (noi)
           Here.
05 Oona:   Sit tohon    tulee    skoorit
06         just et [ketkä ketkä (°--°).
           And here you mark the scores, like who, who (--).
           ((Oona is holding the chart and pointing to a place on it.))
07 Marja:          [Ahaa.
           I see.
08 Marja:  Ai anna mä kirjotan uudestaa.
           Let me write them again.
           ((Oona hands the chart to Marja, who starts studying it))
09 Oona:   Ne on- Ja kirjota (sillee) tikkukirjamilla [(--)
           They are-. And write them with capital letters.
10 Marja:                                              [Okei.
           Alright.
11         Mä (.) luulin et ne kirjotetaan noi,
           I thought that was the way you mark them.
12 Marja:  Em eii [(eikä hei)
           Ehm no, no
13 Oona:          [(Eiku siihe)   val- valkosee [tietenki.
                    PRT  DEM3:ILL whi- white:ILL of_course
           No, in the white area of course.
14 Marja:                                        [Nii just just
```

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | I see, exactly. |
| 15 | Oona: | **valguse** £kätte£. |
| | | light.GEN ADP:ILL |
| | | In the light. |
| 16 | | (1.0) ((Oona drinks, Marja writes on the chart.)) |
| 17 | Marja: | Aa ni. |
| | | I see. |
| 18 | | (3.0) |
| 19 | | Jee ai nii just (toi mä en) huomannu ollenka. |
| | | Oh that's right, exactly, I didn't notice that. |
| 20 | Oona: | (Ellu)n pitäs ottaa sit vähän sitä vinettoo. |
| | | Ellu should take some wine then. |

In the beginning of the exchange (26) Oona shows Marja where to mark the names of the teams and their game scores, and she also issues a directive on the kind of handwriting Marja should use. Marja's turns *ahaa, okei,* and *nii just just* are news receipts that show that she acknowledges Oona's epistemic and deontic authority on the matter and is agreeing to do as Oona proposes, but her turn in line 12 indicates that Marja can't quite figure out the logic of the chart.She also admits to having marked the scores in the wrong place and gives accounts that explain why she did so (lines 11 and 19, cf. Koivisto, in preparation, on *ai niin* prefaced accounts). Responding to Marja's search for the right spot, Oona's turn in line 13 starts with the particle *eiku,* which marks it as a repair (see Haakana & Kurhila 2009). With *tietenki* 'of course' she also marks 'writing in the white area' as something self-evident, something Marja should have known. Oona's taking a stance on such matters can be regarded as face-threatening to the recipient–as if Oona was questioning Marja's intellectual abilities (cf. Heritage & Raymond 2005).

Immediately after producing the face-threatening turn, Oona does three things: she turns away from the recipient, starts reaching for her glass, and utters two words in Estonian. The Estonian phrase she uses draws from the homophony of Finnish *valkosee* 'to the white (one)' and Estonian *valguse*[55] 'light'. This ravioli word is used to evoke a second meaning of 'in the light'- one that is unfit to the given context and could therefore be considered funny. The speaker herself smiles when uttering it, which together with her bodily behaviour is consistent with what people do when constructing laughables (cf. Ford & Fox 2010), but there is no audible reaction from the recipient that would indicate that she too found it humorous (Marja's face is behind the graph sheet and thus not visible to the camera). It appears that Oona's use of codeswitching can be an attempt to lighten up her otherwise blunt utterance, to distance herself (as discussed on {Voicings} and {Closings}) from the stance already taken (a distancing also seen in her movement away from the physical space of the interaction to the activity of drinking).

Although the codeswitching does not end in laughter or other interpretations of humour, the utterance in line 15 of (26) could fall under the category of "puns, language play, shift of key" that Auer (1995:120) lists as one of the common loci for codeswitching. In the next extract (27) the speaker explicitly marks his telling as something funny. A ravioli is used also in this extract. In Finnish the word *tipi* is associated with birds (chicks) and used in an expression that imitates birds singing: *tipi-tii*. In Estonian *tibi* is used pejoratively of young women. The four participants are playing dice and one of the players (Sari) has just thrown a

[55] Note the voiceless pronunciation of <g> in Estonian as well as the non-distinction between short and long vowels in unstressed syllables.

very good score. Everyone (except maybe Raili) reacts or comments on this – Teppo by reciting words of an old Finnish song (see Eurovision 1962), which Tuija continues.

(27) (chirp – chick)

```
01          (1.0) ((Sari throws the dice))
02 Teppo:   [Jaaha.
            I see
03 Tuija?:  [(Tuliko).
            Did I get it
04 Tuija?:  Siinäpä se.
            That's it
05 Teppo:   Se oli siinä [sit.
            That was it then.
06 Tuija:                [Se oli sit siinä joo.
            That was it yes.
07          [((Raili throws the dice))
08 Teppo:   [Tipitii tipitipitipitii kevät ON.
            Chirpy-chirp, chirpy, chirpy, chirpy-chirp, spring it is
09          (0.8)
10 Tuija:   Vallaton.
            what a bliss.
11 Raili:   Mitäs mu-
            What do I-
12 Teppo:   Tipitii
            Chirpy chirp.
13 Raili:   Mul ei oo kolmosii eihä.((to Teppo))
            I don't have threes, do I?
14 Teppo:   Tietkö (toi ku) mä on nauranu aina sitä [ku,
            You know I've always laughed that when
15 Tuija:                                           [Tii tii.
            Chir-chir
16 Teppo:   Laulaa (.) päässää  ku   kävelee  tua      kadul
            sing:3SG   head:3SG when walk:3SG DEM2.LOC street:ADE
            I/you[56] sing in my/your head when I/you walk on the street
17          ♬tipitii t(h)ipitipit(h)ipitii♬ he he
            Chirpy-chirp, chirpy, chirpy, chirpy-chirp
18 ?        He he he
19 Teppo:   Ku niitä k(h)ävelee v(h)astaa he he
            When they walk past
20 Sari?:   Ha ha ha
21 Tuija:   Ha hah [ha ha
22 Raili:          [Kyllä se on hauskaa.
            That is funny.
23 Teppo:   £On se ei sille vaa v(h)oi m(h)itää.£
            It is. You just can't help it.
24 Tuija:   i hi [hi
25 Raili:        [Mut laita (.) nii-i (.) sä voit laulaa niille=
            But put- Yes. You can sing to them.
26 Tuija:   =Tibukene.
            Chicky-chick (EST)
27 Raili:   Helou.
            Hello
28          ((The door opens and someone comes in))
```

[56] The speaker uses a generic 3SG verb form which can be used to mark personal ('1st person') experience in Finnish in a way that generalises it (Laitinen 1995).

Sari's turn in the game, where she throws the dice three times, is comparable to a sequence in conversation. It is problematic, because as nice as the good score is for Sari, it means that the others are at risk of losing the game. Long and problematic sequences are the context where [Sequence closing sequences] typically emerge. We also know from {Closings} that singings are used in initiating sequence closing sequences. Here we see that the same is done with a quotation from a song in Teppo's turn in line 08. The others react to this (except Raili). It is quite common that a sequence closing sequence gives rise to a new topic; in (27) this is a telling by Teppo. Teppo explicitly frames his telling as a laughable: that he sings *tipitii-tipitipitii* when walking on the street, whenever 'they' walk past (lines 16-17). In his telling, Teppo does not specify whom he means by them who walk by (in line 19). It is left for the recipients to grasp that *tipi,* which in the Finnish song is merely an onomatopoetic sound a bird makes, in fact refers to a very specific kind of chick in Estonian. This (joke left unsaid) is received as funny, and the joke is elaborated on (the extract is further discussed in Section 4.2.2). Finally, Tuija's Estonian turn (in line 26) makes it explicit that the participants are, in fact, thinking of women, and in Estonian. This extract is further analysed in 4.2.2.

Extract (27) is similar to the previous one in that it shows how something can at first be used monolingually, but then, on-line, the second meaning – from the other language – comes in when someone makes the association. Furthermore, this is a case of reported thought, where the speaker claims to have made the association earlier. When Teppo talks about singing *tipitii-tipitipitii* in his head, he uses a generic third person verb and noun forms that, together with the word *aina* 'always' give the impression of habituality and generality. Assuming that what Teppo is telling is true, this can be regarded as evidence that this bilingual construction has begun a process of sedimentation for this one speaker. If looked at diachronically, grammar exists as people's memories of past interactional situations and is, according to Hopper (1987, 1998, 2011; see also Auer & Pfänder 2011), sedimented, but not fixed permanently. By now sharing his earlier bilingual thought, Teppo makes this construction accessible to others in the community, so that they, in turn, can remember it and sing the song *tipitii-tipitipitipitii* when seeing *tibi*s.

The singing of *tipitii* in reference to a certain kind of women is a very specific kind of construction, one that is neither very frequently used nor typical as to what we usually consider to be part of grammar, but it nevertheless adds to our knowledge about emergence and sedimentation. The initial 'interaction', in which the construction first emerged took place – in Teppo's wording – *päässään* 'in one's (i.e. 'my') head', when he observed his surroundings, the people in it, without actually interacting with them. He associated the Finnish form of the song refrain *tipitiitipitipitii* with a meaning he drew from his Estonian resources, and assigned it the function of assessing a certain type of person: 'a chick'.

As told by Teppo, the first use of this new (bilingual) form-meaning pairing happened in a situation that was not interactional in the sense we typically understand 'interaction' (i.e. talk between two or more people), but one where the role of the others was merely that of an assessible object; the only person who could respond to Teppo's using the construction was himself – which he also reports by saying *oon aina nauranu* 'I've always laughed'. Furthermore, the construction apparently became habitualised and sedimented in his own cognition before he actually started sharing it with others. The sharing in both the above examples is, however, interactionally occasioned: The raviolo-nature of the words *valkoseen* and *tipi* is drawn upon after problematic sequences, in places where participants

commonly resort to heteroglossic means to deal with the situation (see {Closings}). In sum, the above discussions have shown how emergence in language is cognitively based yet interactionally occasioned.

The discussion in Section 3 began with the introduction to Hopper's theory of emergence of grammar and the theories of projection and recycling in later literature. As was shown here, these phenomena are sometimes visible in bilingual data, where not only codeswitched turns are sequentially occasioned, but where turn-internal bilingual grammar can be motivated by the preceding conversational context and where lexical meaning that starts out monolingual can be made bilingual for the purposes of the on-going conversation. The next section will summarise the benefits of codeswitching in interaction.

# 4. What are the social consequences of codeswitching?

In the previous sections, the on-line emergence of bilingual constructions was discussed. In the following, the focus is on what emerges as a result of using bilingual constructions – their social consequences. When studying interaction, the 'meaning' of an utterance can be detected from 'that which follows'. It is for the purpose of achieving something from or giving something to the other participants in interaction that one performs linguistic actions, and the participants' interpretations are therefore ingredients of linguistic meaning. This does not mean that the meaning of individual elements – such as codeswitching – of an utterance would always be made explicitly relevant in the following turns (see discussion in {Voicings}). The main actions carried out by turns are the ones participants primarily attend to: Questions get answered, requests granted, and stories assessed regardless of the codeswitching they may or may not contain.

Occasionally it does, however, happen that the speaker him- or herself, or one of the other participants, shows an orientation to codeswitching that the researcher can pin down. Such instances are discussed in all the articles of this study, and subsection 4.1 below will provide a summary discussion on this meaning (i.e. function) of codeswitching. In 4.2, cases are discussed where participants either implicitly or explicitly negotiate the form or meaning of a bilingual construction that has been used in the preceding text. Conclusions are drawn about the two forces governing bilingual speech: the added value of using bilingual innovations in interaction on one hand, and the social pressure from the community on the speakers (to use a certain kind of language) on the other.

## 4.1 What is the gain from codeswitching? Conversational functions

Systematic research of codeswitching in conversation began in the 1970s when, for example, Blom and Gumperz (1972) studied codeswitching in Norway, and (potentially universal) patterns of conversational codeswitching were postulated by Gumperz (1982: 75–84). Since then, numerous case studies have dealt with the question of how codeswitching is used as a contextualisation cue; Finnish and Estonian codeswitching in conversation have been studied by Halmari 1993 and 2004, Halmari and Smith 1994, Kovács 2001 and Piirainen-Marsh 2008 (Finnish-English), Leisiö 1996 and 1998 and Mononen 2013 (Finnish-Russian), Lappalainen 2004 (Finnish standard – colloquial variety), Saari 2006 and Henricson (forthcoming) (Finnish-Swedish), Zabrodskaja 2006a and 2006b (Russian-Estonian), Praakli 2007 and 2009 (Estonian-Finnish), and Lehtonen 2009 (Finnish-different immigrant languages) among others.

Most of these studies make use of the charasteristics postulated by Gumperz (op.cit.) and Auer (1995) of conversational functions of codeswitching, and find that the functions include *quotations* (~ reported speech), *addressee specification* (~ change of participant constellation), *interjections, reiteration, message qualification* (~ parentheses or side comments), *personalisation vs. objectivisation* (~ change of activity type: mode- or role shift), *puns* (i.e. language-play, shift of key) and /or *topicalisation.* Lappalainen (ibid.) employs Goffman's (1981) notion of *change of footing* as a common denominator for different functional loci in which codeswitching is used to mark a change in speaker roles. The same notion is found useful in the discussion above and some of the articles of this study.

*Switches between linguistic acts* can also be marked with codeswitching, as is discussed with regard to farfalle constructions in Section 2.5.2 above.

What, then, are the participants' interpretations of codeswitching in the current data, and what does codeswitching help achieve in interaction? The mechanisms by which the meaning of codeswitching can be pinned down are discussed in {Voicings}. One of the important analytical tools is the abundance of contextualisation cues – bundles of cues in significant spots in conversation (Auer 1995: 124). When codeswitching is used with other cues that have a more conventionalised meaning, the switch is easier to interpret (ibid.). In the case of interaction where the response is not immediate – e.g. in email messages – this device becomes especially convenient (for the writer, recipient and analyst alike). Frick (2008) shows an extract in which the writer uses parentheses together with codeswitching to mark **side comments**. Another conventionalised contextualisation cue in written language is the use of quotation marks to indicate (direct) **reported speech**. This is done in the following extract from a message to a students' association mailing list (28), where the writer reports a conversation she has had with her neighbour.

(28) Voicing

| **Original:** | **Translation (Estonian underlined):** |
|---|---|
| 1. Mutta: tyyppi kävi sitten meille ilkeä | 1. But: this character came out with a vicious |
| 2. hymy kasvoillaan (?) karehtien | 2. smile playing on her face (?) and |
| 3. ilmoittamaan, että heti kun kuuluu | 3. stated that if she hears any |
| 4. mökää, niin hän kutsuu poliisit paikalle. | 4. noise, she'll call the police. |
| 5. Pyynnöt siitä, että ensin ilmoitettaisiin | 5. Our pleas that she'd tell us first were |
| 6. meille, olivat turhia, sillä tyyppi hoki vain | 6. in vain, because she just said her thing |
| 7. omaa asiaansa (à la "kõigepealt kutsun | 7. again and again (á la "first I will call the |
| 8. politsei välja ja pärast räägime"). Eli | 8. police and then we speak"). So |
| 9. jännitys tiivistyy siinä vaiheessa, että jos | 9. things will get exciting if |
| 10 Sundis tekee valituksen Jaansonille, niin | 10. Sundis[57] makes a complaint to Jaanson, |
| 11 että pysyykö omanikud sanojensa | 11. then will the owners stand behind their |
| 12 takana, eli viimeisessä vuokrasopimus- | 12. words, since in the last tenancy |
| 13 tapaamisessa he kyllä vakuuttelivat, | 13. agreement meeting they reassured us |
| 14 että heille on ihan ükskõik, | 14. that it's all the same to them if we |
| 15 pidutsetaanko me siellä vai ei. | 15. party there or not. |

In lines 7–8 the writer uses quotation marks, parentheses and a switch to Estonian to indicate direct reported speech (voicing) of the neighbour. She also uses *à la* to indicate that this voicing is typification, not necessarily the neighbour's exact words. A common but contested assumption is that codeswitching in quotations is always done with the objective to authenticate the original text, to repeat it exactly as it was, in the original language (see, e.g. Gal 1989: 109, Günthner 1999: 694, Clark & Gerrig 1990: 774, 783–785; and for counter-examples: Gumperz 1982: 82, Álvarez-Cáccamo 1996, Leisiö 1998 and {Voicings}). Quite to the contrary, it is shown by Frick (2008) that when the speaker intends for the quote to be authentic and exact, she may need to make this explicit by saying ' (this is a) direct quote'. While using the original language of the first exchange may play a role in the voiced presentation, in (28) the writer herself marks the reporting as not being exact.

[57] Sundis is a nickname which the students use for their neighbour. It is derived from the Estonian word *sundüürnik* 'forced tenant' with a Finnish suffix *-is.*

In a second voicing, in lines 13–15 the writer chooses to use a less direct reporting, using only single Estonian words to bring in the landlord's voice. Why mark the neighbour's voice with excessive contextualisation cues (parentheses, quotation marks and the codeswitching of the whole utterance) and even shift the deictic center by using the first person, if the intention is not to repeat the neighbour's exact words? This example is similar to some of those discussed in {Voicings} and {Closings}, where the speaker uses voicing to **take a stance** towards that which is voiced; the same kind of contextualisation work one does with the tone of voice in mimicking (see, e.g. Bakhtin 1982 [1934]: 339, 364; Goffman 1974: 537; Álvarez-Cáccamo 1996: 37–38; Couper-Kuhlen 1996; Drew 1998, Günthner 1999 and further discussions in {Voicings}, {Closings}). In Extract (20) above and Ex. 6 and Ex. 8 in {Compounds} speakers take a stance by using a single Estonian component in a N + N compound *söökla+haju* (canteen, Est.) + smell, Fin.) 'smell of a canteen' and *tibi+lauma* (chick, Est. + bunch, Fin.) 'bunch of chicks'.

Like the second voicing in line 14 of (28), the examples discussed in {Compounds} (Ex. 5) and {Voicings} (Ex. 11) show how single-word codeswitchings can be used to **create intertextuality** and to show **changes in speaker roles** (what Gumperz called personalisation vs. objectification) when switching from voicing a text someone else has authored to using one's own words. Other kinds of changes in speaker roles and **activity boundaries** that can be marked with codeswitching include switching from describing something to assessing it (see Ex. 7 in {Facebook}) and movement from a telling to making an invitation (see Ex. 5 in {Facebook}) as well as other changes of footing in voicings or sequence closings. In some cases codeswitching is used in expressions that are **affective** (see {Facebook}) or **ironic** (see Ex. 5c in Frick 2008). Ravioli constructions are especially common in **puns** (see discussion in Section 3.4 above), and their funniness is often indexed by the participants' laughter. In {Closings} it is pointed out that the motivation for codeswitching in [Sequence closing sequences] lies in its heteroglossic nature, which all of the above-mentioned functions reflect. Codeswitching allows speakers to distance themselves from the on-going interactional activity and thus achieve closing of even problematic sequences. It is therefore frequently found in **transitions** from one activity to another.

Another aspect of heteroglossia is discussed in {Voicings}, {Closings}, and above in Section 2.3.3: Participants sometimes voice Estonians in Estonian and make generalisations of negative characteristics that are typical of Estonians. This is possible because sometimes codeswitching carries a **social index** of 'something Estonian'. Social indexicality is present as a meaning potential of all the words that are specific to the culture or to the country (see {Compounds}) and it can be made relevant and its scope can be negotiated during the course of interaction (as discussed in {Voicings} and {Closings})[58]. A new usage of codeswitching that draws from its social indexicality is that of **indicating one's whereabouts** in Facebook posts. For example, when using an Estonian word for 'home' in the utterance *oma kodu kullan kallis* 'home sweet home' the writer indicates that he is at home and that the home is Estonian (This also becomes evident in his further mentioning that he has been away from Tartu; see (Ex. 2) in {Facebook}).

[58] The finding that social indices of linguistic variables emerge through participants' interpretations in interactional situations was already stressed by Gumperz (1982: 202). (Myers-)Scotton's (e.g. 1983, 2000) "markedness" theory on social indexicality of codeswitching (or rather: language choice) has been criticised for presenting social indices as predetermined and omnipresent instead of as interactionally emergent and negotiable (see, e.g. Li Wei 1998; the term *emergent* here is applied by me).

As the early studies suggested, codeswitching is also used for **managing the participation framework**. A case of adressee specification was seen in Extract (25), where the speaker used Finnish during a board game to indicate that the talk was intended mainly for another Finn. In social media, a post is sometimes repeated in two or more languages to make it accessable for different recipient groups (see discussion in {Facebook}). These cases of reiteration are close to **interactional translations** (Wilton 2009; Harjunpää, in preparation), in that the same message is presented in another language in order to make it accessible to a speaker of that language. Interactional translation is a heteroglossic device that in many aspects resembles reported speech, but in addition it has the specific function of including unknowing participants into the participation framework (i.e. **brokering**).[59] Interactional translation is also seen in the following face-to-face conversation taking place in Finland, among two Estonians and four Finns who have lived in Estonia (29). In this extract one of the participants, Sari, summarises the topic of an on-going exchange to Estonians Rita and Riina, who do not speak Finnish (in lines 12, 13, 15, 18 and 19). The friends are talking about Laila's celiac disease, and Jenni has just told about the types of beer that celiac patients can drink.

(29) Brokering

```
01          (1.0)
02 Jenni:   On myös tota noin,
            There are also ehm (FIN)
04          (.)
05          kahta hulluu kukkoo=
            two types of Hullu Kukko (name of beer) (FIN)
06 Sari:    =Joo.
            Yea (FIN)
07          (0.6)
08 Laila:   Mitä?
            What? (FIN)
09 Jenni:   Tummaa ja. Vaaleeta hulluu kukkoo.
            The dark and the light Hullu Kukko (FIN)
10          (.)
11          (Ja) siin tummas on ne [(---)
            And in the dark one the (---) (FIN)
→ Sari:                            [Et   mingi
                                    that INDF
→           üks nendest    õlledest (.) [kõlbab
            one DEM:PL:ELA beer:PL:ELA   be_good_for:3SG
            That one of these beers is good (EST)
14 Jenni:                                [(Etsä tienny.)
            Didn't you know? (FIN)
→ Sari:     tsöliaa[kiah]aige[tele.
            celiac+sick:PL:ALL
            for people with celiac disease (EST)
16 Rita?:          [M-m.]    [
            Uhm.
17 Laila:                    [No en.
            Well no (FIN)
```

[59] The specifics of doing translations in everyday face-to-face conversations are currently being studied by Harjunpää. How translation techniques differ from monolingual brokerings (e.g. when a new participant enters a conversation) is an empirical question that remains to be answered.

```
18 Sari:   Mul ei olnud meeles et
19         Lai[lal on   [(--)
           I didn't remember that Laila had (--) (EST)
20 Riina:     [Mõnikord [(---)
           Sometimes (---) (EST)
21 Nora:                 [Joo. -HEi.
           Yeah, hey, (FIN)
22         Mä [itseasias tiedän tost Kukost sen takii
           I actually know about this Kukko because (FIN)
23 Rita:      [Aa.
           I see.
24 Nora:   koska [mun öö,
           Because a ehm (FIN)
25 Sari:         [Se oli Laitilan
           It was Laitila's (FIN)
26 Nora:   Joo.
           Yeah (FIN)
27 Nora:   Mun kaverin öö entinen [mies (---)
           The ex-husband of a friend of mine (---) (FIN)
28 Rita:                          [Oota mis nad m- mis
           s on (joala) vä-
           What are they, what, is it joala...(EST)
29 Jenni?: [Vaalea (olut).
           Vaalea 'light' beer (FIN)
30 Nora:   [(---)
31 Sari:   ei (tsöliaakia)
           No (celiac disease) (EST)
32 Rita:   M-hm.
           Uhm.
```

In the event from which (29) is extracted, participants repeatedly split in two simultaneous conversations: one in Estonian and the other in Finnish. This kind of schisming (cf. Egbert 1997) can be seen in the non-terminal overlaps (cf. Vatanen, in preparation) when Sari starts a translation in line 12, as well as when Jenni and Laila continue their Finnish exchange in overlap with Sari's turn (lines 14 and 17). After receiving the translation, the Estonians Riina and Rita orient towards it, which is seen in the acknowledgement tokens in lines 16 and 23 as well as continuation on the topic in line(s) 28 and possibly also 20. The translation thus helps contextualise the topic as a shared one, and a joint activity is achieved in that all six participants engage in talking on the same topic.[60]

In sum, the various interactional functions of codeswitching can be described as the speaker's change of footing in order to contextualise what is said, which is possible because of the heteroglossic nature of codeswitching. Thanks to this, codeswitching can serve the interactants' needs on different kinds of conversational occasions and help further the interaction. It can, however, occur that codeswitching creates obstacle-like moments that are

[60] Although the participants start talking about the same topic, the conversation splits again into two simultaneous exchanges when Nora continues with a telling in Finnish about her own experience with gluten-free beer, which Sari, Jenni and Laila attend to. When Rita starts to ask questions related to the earlier sequence (in line 28), Jenni and Sari switch orientation and participate in this Estonian exchange, while Nora continues to tell her story to Laila. In conclusion: after receiving the translation, the Estonians are still behind in acquiring all the new information others have had access to. While the knowing participants can move on to other talk, the recipients of the translation continue to orient to what the others had been talking about earlier.

not used for furthering the flow of interaction, but for hindering it. This is discussed in the following section.

## 4.2 What is the risk of codeswitching?

Conversation analysts have maintained that in a typical conversation the participants orient towards advancing their interactional projects, and that the participants' aim is to be aligned as to how the conversation proceeds as well as affiliative to each other's affects in the course of it (see, e.g. Garfinkel 1967: 38–41, Jefferson et al. 1987, Ochs & Schieffelin 1989, Schegloff 2007, Stivers 2008). The discussions above have shown that codeswitching can be used as a device to help advance interactional projects as well as one to create moments of emotive sharedness between participants. For example, in the case of interactional translations (see Section 4.1), the participants get to share access to the topic of conversation, which would be inaccessible to those not knowing one of the languages used. In other cases, codeswitching can be used to advance joint projects such as an assessment activity (as discussed in Section 2.3.3), and it can be followed by laughter, which is a sign of the participants' sharing an affective stance (cf. e.g. Jefferson et al. 1987, Stivers 2008: 32–33, and Ochs 1996 and Goodwin 2007 for the term *affective stance*).

The next aim is to discuss cases where there is a disruption either in the advancement of the conversation or the sharedness within it – that is, where codeswitching, instead of furthering the interactional aims of the on-going sequence, hinders them. The first part of the discussion (4.2.1) focuses on cases where codeswitching creates a side sequence and thus delays or stops the main sequence from advancing. The second part (4.2.2) is also about side sequences that emerge after codeswitching, but concerns specifically ones in which the participants' stances towards codeswitching differ.

### 4.2.1 Codeswitching as an obstacle (side sequences)

In {Closings} and in Section 2.4 above, it was said that not all initiations of a [Sequence closing sequence] succeed in getting the others to co-complete the construction, but instead, sequences are often expanded further. One such case was (18) above, where the speaker, when initiating a Sequence closing sequence, produces a word search (cf. e.g. Kurhila 2006: 90–151) and does not succeed in finding the appropriate word stem (*pliidi* 'stove') in Estonian. This creates an *insert expansion* (Schegloff 2007: 97–114) in the form of a repair sequence, and the completion of the first initiated activity of closing up the sequence is postponed. Insert expansions and other small sequences that postpone the on-going main activity are called *side sequences* by Jefferson (1972).[61] Other repair sequences in the data include ones where codeswitching to Estonian is repaired with a Finnish word by the second speaker. Not all side sequences are, however, typical repairs. In (30) the side sequence that delays the completion of the on-going sequential project is initiated by Jenni's use of a bilingual expression *jokal puolel* 'everywhere', which she then repeats several times and laughs at, inviting the others to laugh at it too (cf. Jefferson, op.cit. 299–303). This stretch of conversation is in Finnish, except for the bilingual construction 'everywhere' (lines 11, 13, 15

[61] I use the term *side sequence* here, because Schegloff's definition of *insert expansion* rules out side sequences that are iniated by the first speaker (2007: 98).

and 17). This extract takes place shortly after the one in (29), and the participants are still discussing gluten-free beer.

(30) Side sequence

```
01 Jenni:   Laitilan,
            (beginning of the name of the brewery Laitilan Wirvoitusjuomatehdas)
02          (0.6)
03 Rita?:   °Ja nad teevad°
            And they do (it). (Est.)
04          wirvoitusjuoma,
05          teh[das.
06 Laila:   Ai niin se sama (oikeesti).
            Oh yes the same one.
07 ?:       Joo.
            Yes.
08 Nora:    Joo ne on (niit [ku) Laitila tekee.
            Yea they're the ones Laitila makes.
09 ?_                       [(--)
10 Jenni:   Kylhän  niit        on     ni,
            PRT:CLI DEM3:PL:PAR be.3SG PRT
            They have them
11          jokal    puolel,
            INDF:ADE side:ADE
            everywhere
12 Nora:    [joo
            PRT
            Yes
13 Jenni:   [jokal   puolel,
            INDF:ADE side:ADE
            Everywhere
14          (1.4)
15 Jenni:   £Jokal puolel£ he he
            INDF:ADE side:ADE
            Everywhere
16 ?:       °he he he°
17 Nora:    Igal puolel       £jokal   puolel£
            INDF:ADE side:ADE INDF:ADE side:ADE
            Everywhere everywhere
18 ?:       he he
19 Sari?:   .hh nii(n o)
            Yes
20          (.)
21 Laila:   Se on hyvä tietää.
            That's good to know.
```

Jenni's turn starting in line 10 is an informing of the fact that gluten-free beer is sold 'everywhere'. This fact should be of special interest to Laila, who is on a gluten-free diet, but she does not acknowledge the informing until line 21. In between, a side sequence has taken place that creates a laughable out of the bilingual construction Jenni uses. This construction is a version of the expression 'everywhere' which is shown in (30a). The Finnish and Estonian constructions both consist of a pronoun *joka ~ iga* 'every' followed by the noun *puoli ~ pool* 'side'. The constructions differ in that Estonian places the adessive case ending in the first part of the construction, and Finnish in the second. In Jenni's version, both parts are inflected.

(30a)

| 'everywhere', lines 11, 13, 15 and 17 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **bilingual** | **joka** | **l** | **puole** | **l** |
| cf. Fin | joka | | puole | l |
| cf. Est | iga | l | pool | |
| **gloss** | **every** | **ADE** | **side** | **ADE** |
| cf. Fin | every.NOM | | side | ADE |
| cf. Est | every | ADE | side.NOM | |

The recipients Nora (line 12), Sari (line 19) and Laila (line 20) orient towards the on-going interactional project of informing Laila about the gluten-free beer, but after Jenni repeats her bilingual construction and laughs, the others laugh at it too. Nora also smilingly recycles the construction (in line 17) by replacing the Finnish pronoun *joka* with the Estonian one, thus creating another bilingual construction (30b) that also deals with Jenni's construction metalinguistically, and repeats Jenni's construction in the same turn.

(30b)

| 'everywhere', line 17 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **bilingual** | **iga** | **l** | **puole** | **l** |
| cf. Fin | joka | | puole | l |
| cf. Est | iga | l | pool | |
| **gloss** | **every** | **ADE** | **side** | **ADE** |
| cf. Fin | every.NOM | | side | ADE |
| cf. Est | every | ADE | side.NOM | |

After this metalinguistic side sequence, the conversation returns to its original frame concerning gluten free beer. In this extract, the codeswitching leads to a splitting of the participants' orientations between continuing the original agenda (of discussing beer) and the metalinguistic one initiated by the bilingual construction. Because, however, the side sequence is initiated by the same person who produced the bilingual utterance, the consequences are not as disruptive as they would be in the case of other-initiated repair (cf. Schegloff et al. 1977). In the next section, such instances are discussed, where the participants' differing stances towards codeswitching lead to disaffiliative behaviour.

### 4.2.2 Failing to reach a shared affective stance

The discussion in the previous sections showed that codeswitching often helps advance the participants' joint interactional projects, and that it is sometimes followed by a shared moment of laughter or other joint affiliative action (see also {Closings}). There are, however, cases in which the participants are not affiliative (cf. Stivers 2008) to each other after codeswitching. This is the case in [Sequence closing sequences] that fail (see {Closings}). Furthermore, it is sometimes the case that some participants engage in joint laughter, thus sharing an affective stance, but one or more participants do not join in. Looking back at Extract (27) – in which the singing of a ravioli-construction *tipitii* was used as a bilingual puzzle when a speaker called Teppo told how he sings the song in his head when he

encounters women he identifies as *tibi*s 'chicks' – we notice that the orientation of one of the recipients, Raili, differs from the others. The end of the extract is repeated here as Extract (31).

(31)

```
20 Sari?:  Ha ha ha
21 Tuija:  Ha hah [ha ha
22 Raili:         [Kyllä se on hauskaa.
                  That is funny.
23 Teppo:  £On se ei sille vaa v(h)oi m(h)itää.£
                  It is. You just can't help it.
24 Tuija:  i hi [hi
```

It appears that Raili is staying serious throughout the telling sequence[62] in Extract (27). Towards the end (line 22) she assesses Teppo's joke as funny, but her serious tone suggests a contradiction – that there is irony or even a challenge in her assessment. The actions Teppo is telling about are, after all, very chauvinistic and perhaps not very respectful towards the women he 'sings at' in his head. Another possible reason for Raili's annoyance is that she had asked Teppo a question related to the ongoing game, but instead of answering, Teppo had started telling a joke. Teppo responds to Raili's assessment with *on se* 'it is', which according to Hakulinen and Sorjonen (2009: 138–143), "asserts agreement and is also a claim of epistemic authority by the utterer". He thus shows that his perspective is different from Raili's (cf. ibid.) and positions himself as the party who has the best knowledge of what should be considered funny. Furthermore, he gives an account 'you just can't help it', which he produces with a smile and laughter particles. The laughter can be interpreted so that although Teppo recognises the need to account for his behaviour, he distances himself from the full social responsibility by insisting on the funny side of the story. This negotiation over the funniness of a bilingual pun and other similar instances in the data (where the usage of a bilingual construction results in challenges or repairs by the recipients) show that using codeswitching as a contextualisation device does not always work in the direction that the first speaker intended.

Codeswitching may also result in downright teasing. Teasing is a conversational activity that is directed towards a co-present participant's conversational transgressions, and it is typically marked with exaggerations and laughter (see, e.g. Drew 1987, Keltner et al. 2001, Haakana 1995, Tainio 2001, Lehtimaja 2006, Lilja 2010: 235–265, and {Closings}). Bilingual constructions can be made laughable, as happened in Extracts (30) and (26)/(31). These two extracts were not, however, cases of teasing, because the person who produced the codeswitching him- or herself was the one who made it laughable. In Extract (32) a speaker called Kaarlo is teased for pronouncing a Finnish name *Anssi*[63] in a palatalised way that is considered Estonian: [Anss$^{j}$i]. After this extract, a telling follows about how Estonians only understand certain Finnish names when you palatalise them; this makes it apparent that for these speakers the palatalised pronunciation represents Estonian.[64] The palatalisations aside,

[62] Only an audio recording exists of this part of the conversation, which is why this claim is uncertain.
[63] The names in this extract have been changed, but they preserve the phonological characteristics relevant for the analysis.
[64] Palatalisation also occurs in some eastern dialects of Finnish, but these participants are not speakers of those dialects.

this extract is in Finnish. The four participants of (32) are jurying a language examination. Immediately before this extract Kaarlo has announced that he will go talk to some of the other jurors, and Sari starts a presequence projecting a request for him to ask them something.

(32) Teasing

```
01 Sari:    HEIi no tietäskö noi kuka niitte kans keskusteli,
            I wonder if they'd know- Who talked with them
02          Sinäkö.
            Did you?
03          (.)
04 Hannu:   <Ee.>=
            No
→ Kaarlo:   =E↑Ei   ku  Anssʲi    jaa,
            NEG.3SG PRT 1NAME(FIN) and
            No. Anssʲi did and
06 Hannu:   Ans£sssʲi£
            1NAMEM(FIN)
07 Sari:    Ansʲsʲi     jaa,
            1NAME(FIN) and
            (.)
            [jaa,
            and
08 Ninni:   [°he he°
09 Hannu:   [Ans-
            (.)
10 Sari:    £Ninʲnʲi.£
            1NAME(FIN)
11 Ninni:   he he
12 Kaarlo:  Ei ollu Ninni=
            Ninni didn't.
13 Ninni:   =Ko- mut tiäk[sä
            But you know
14 Sari:                 [£Toine Ninnʲi£=
            The other Ninnʲi
15 Ninni:   =Tiäksä ku sanoo noi ni
            You know when you say it like that
16 Hannu:   [Salʲlʲi   Salʲlʲinen.
            2NAME(FIN) 2NAME(FIN)
17 Ninni:   [Mä aina ku taksi joudu joskus
18          soittamaa [ne kysyy nimeä,
            I always when I sometimes have to call a cab, they ask for your name
19 Sari:              [M.
20 Ninni:   Mä en ikinä sano e- nimeä niinku Ninni.
            I never pronounce my name Ninni
21          >Mä vaa sanon aina< NInnʲi.
            I always just say Ninnʲi.
22 Ninni:   Sit ne ymmärtää.
            Then they understand.
            ((12 lines omitted))
35 Sari:    Niin keskustelijoilta vois        kysyä
            PRT  debater:PL:ABL   can:CON.3SG ask:INF Q there
            So we could ask the debaters
36          et  oisko    siä      joku joka (---).
            PRT is:CON:Q DEM3.LOC INDF REL
            if there is someone who ---.
```

The sequence starts when Sari starts to make a request (lines 01–02) that Kaarlo ask other jurors in another room something about an oral examination they had given (The actual request does not come until in lines 35–36). She expands the prerequest by asking who had given the oral exam, and whether Hannu had been one of them. Hannu answers 'no' and Kaarlo takes a turn, answering both parts of the question (in line 05). In his turn he palatalises one of the juror's names, which Hannu immediately mimics in a more exaggerated fashion. Sari and Hannu continue by adding other palatalised names to the list and Ninni laughs. Kaarlo takes a different affective stance than the others: He does not join in on the 'game' of listing palatalised names, nor does he laugh. It can therefore be said that the sequence is one where the others have teamed up to tease him. This teasing makes up a lengthy side sequence that interrupts other ongoing activities. It will take another 30 seconds before Sari gets to complete her request (not shown here), and Kaarlo never gets to finish the responsive turn he started in line 05.

It is not very common for Finns in Estonia to tease each other about codeswitching, and reasons can be sought for why it happens here. Sociolinguistic explanations can be found in the fact that the participants are all students of linguistics, and that the situation is one in which they are engaged in judging other people's linguistic competence: This might motivate them to judge each other's performance as well. Lilja (2010: 250–251) has also found that teasing about linguistic errors is a way for the participants to socialise a new member to a group – it teaches about communication both as it comes to linguistic correctness and as it comes to the habit of teasing that the group has.

A more interactional explanation can be based on the fact that the sequence following Sari's question is a very competitive one regarding both epistemic stance and turn taking. Asking a question is an action that opens up a space for negotiations on expertise, which can lead to affect-laden turns and differing affective stances (cf. Merke 2012). The competitiveness is first seen in the turn by Kaarlo in line 05, which will soon turn out to be the target of the others' teasing. It is produced with a prosodically prominent start (loud voice and a high rise in the middle of the word *ei* 'no (he didn't)'). With this turn, Kaarlo gets the floor and also the chance to show his knowledge of the matter before the others do.

Since Hannu's participation (or non-participation) in giving the oral examination is something that he has prior knowledge of, he is the natural candidate for having epistemic authority and the right to talk about it (cf. Sacks 1995(II): 423, Heritage & Raymond 2005). This is the stance he himself takes, when he produces his negative answer in line 04. Kaarlo, when repeating the information Hannu has already given, intrudes on Hannu's field of knowledge. Kaarlo immediately continues with a turn that repairs Sari's assumption about Hannu's role in the exam and – by beginning to list the names of the people who gave the exam – provides evidence that Hannu wasn't among them, and also shows Kaarlo's own better knowledge of the matter at hand.[65]

Hannu joins the competitive turn-taking mode by starting his turn in line 06 before Kaarlo has had a chance to finish listing all the examiners' names. The exaggerated palatalisation of Hannu's turn is a sign of disaffiliatory mimicry (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 1996, Goffman 1974: 539). Drew (1987) has pointed out that teasing is typically done as a reaction to some misconduct in interaction by the object of the teasing, which, in the case at hand, would be Kaarlo's responding to a question directed to Hannu.

[65] The *ei ku* Kaarlo uses can be interpreted as one repair particle (cf. Haakana & Kurhila 2009) or as two words (*ei* 'no' + account preface *ku,* cf. Raevaara 2009).

Sari affiliates with Hannu when producing another palatalised name, *Nin*$^{j}$*ni*, in line 10. Kaarlo, however, orients towards the previously established activity frame and interprets this as a candidate answer to Sari's own question, which he repairs in line 12. Kaarlo's differing orientation is seen in his serious tone and in the fact that he does not use the same palatalised pronunciation as Sari. In lines 11 and 16 respectively, Ninni and Hannu's orientations are to the activity of laughing and creating laughables, while Sari returns partly to the frame Kaarlo is in, to repair his assertion in line 14. Another part of her orientation is still towards the teasing, as she speaks in a smily voice and palatalises the name *Nin*$^{j}$*ni* in this turn too. Ninni starts to initiate a telling in lines 13 and 15, and succeeds in doing so in line 17.

The analysis of extract (32) shows that the use of bilingual constructions can be made teasable (The same happened on a smaller scale in the preceding extract as well). This does not mean, however, that codeswitching *per se* is the kind of conversational transgression that attracts teasing. In this extract Hannu's initiation of a teasing happens immediately after the object of the teasing, Kaarlo, has made a strong assertion about something that was asked of Hannu and in which Hannu should have epistemic authority. And, furthermore, he has done so in a prosodically prominent fashion and almost in overlap after Hannu had the chance to produce only a one-syllable turn (which, granted, could be interpreted as syntactically and prosodically finished). The conversational transgression Kaarlo is teased *about* is thus not the same one he is teased *because of*. In conclusion, codeswitching gives the participants in a conversation material for performing disaffiliative actions and taking differing affective stances that can take the guise of being directed at codeswitching when, in fact, they are motivated by other things.

The aim of Section 4 was to cast light on the social consequences of codeswitching, and it started out by discussing what has been referred to as the "pragmatic functions" of codeswitching in earlier literature. The findings in this study supported and expanded on earlier ones with the conclusion that codeswitching is used in multiple contexts as a heteroglossic device to mark changes of footing and as a way to organise the participation framework. A new finding was that in social media it can also be used to indicate one's whereabouts. What has been discussed much less in prior literature is the negative consequences of codeswitching: That it can result in side sequences of, for instance, other-correction, and that participants may take differing stances towards codeswitching, which gives them grounds for dissaffiliative actions, even teasing.

# 5. Codeswitching and the timelines of social action

In this study I have examined Finnish-Estonian codeswitching in a wide spectrum of temporal manifestations of social action. The range of constructions that were named *farfalle* (because of their bipartite structure) include one-word compound nouns as well as different clausal constructions – e.g. the [Existential] and [Assessing predicative construction] – and clause-combining ones – e.g. the [Voicing construction]. These constructions, despite the differences in their temporal size, all include a switch in the linguistic acts the speakers are performing and a possible change of their footing, such as a shift from naming to characterising or a switch in the alleged authorship of a text. Larger patterns discussed above were the ones that were sequential in nature: [Sequence closing sequences] and reiterations of different kinds. The line between clausal constructions and sequential patterns is fuzzy, as was seen in the discussions about co-constructed [Existentials] as well as [Voicing constructions] that are performed as if there were a second speaker contributing to the turn.

Codeswitching is a heteroglossic device that carries voices across time. Recycling lexemes and morphosyntactic constructions across a sequence of conversation is sometimes seen to include codeswitching. Such recyclings, like translations, figurative expressions, songs and reported speech are all members of the same heteroglossic toolkit from the family of voicings, which can be used to contextualise a change of footing. Their difference is, among other things, the temporal distance across which they work (either within a single sequence, a longer stretch of conversation, between different conversations or through the long period of shared cultural knowledge within the community network).

Needless to say, the time talked about here is not just time. It includes the memory of all the social actions, the words, people, places and objects – even the smells – people experience. These meanings can be carried by single words, such that, for example, when using the bilingual word *sööklahaju* (roughly: 'the smell of an Estonian canteen in the 1990s') the group of people who have shared similar experiences can share an understanding of that meaning. Codeswitching can be used to specify those meanings: Who is being voiced, which country are you in right now, who are you talking to.

In a broad sense, the most important meaning participants in a conversation need to share an understanding of is the question of "What are we doing?" This includes not only the understanding of about what, where and to whom we are talking, but also the temporal construction of sequences: when to drop one activity and move on to the next conversational project. Codeswitching is used to mark such ends and new beginnings: It is found in the initiations of [Sequence closing sequences] as well as in greetings and farewells.

During the temporal unfolding of people's lifetimes, the usage of codeswitching typically changes. For Finns in Estonia, significant changes can be noted even during the first months and years (Frick 2008). When gathering more and more experiences in both Estonian and bilingual Estonian-Finnish language usage, people who started with single-word morphologically integrated switches and occasional Estonian salutations add more and more non-integrated elements and heteroglossic usage of codeswitching in their repertoire. Also, switches that occur below the level of consciousness emerge in the language of many – these include semantic borrowings, especially those of what I've called *ravioli* verbs.

Ravioli constructions, which are usually cognates, bring us to the final aspect of the temporality of language – one that was tacitly present throughout this study (although not

discussed) – namely the historical evolution of language. Ravioli, as well as many of the morphosyntactic constructions are similar in the two languages, because Finnish and Estonian share a common ancestry – yet different because of the separate history of several hundreds of years, during which they nevertheless remained in friendly contact. It is thanks to history that Finnish and Estonian are similar enough, and their speakers' attitudes positive enough, to encourage bilingual language use. And finally, it is to the future historical developments of language and other social relations that their language use contributes.

# Epilogue

This study has dealt with some morphological, lexical, morphosyntactic and sequential features of Finnish-Estonian codeswitching, but it leaves much to be (dis)covered by future research. There is still no research (that I know of) concerning the phonological characteristics of the speech by Finns in Estonia, and (apart from the analysis of one metalinguistic passage on the topic of palatalisation and some discussion about the morphophonological integration of word stems) the current study has not even attempted to fill this gap. Such an attempt would require collecting new data, because my recordings are naturalistic in character and their sound quality leaves much to be desired. The quality of the recordings would be passable for morphologic analysis, yet I found the written data to be more reliable in this aspect and based my study of morphological integration (see Frick 2008) on a collection of email messages. Future studies could perhaps address the same research questions using face-to-face conversational data, and take up new topics concerning the variation of stems and suffixes in codeswitching.

Regarding lexical categories, the current study has focused on nouns and verbs, and the usage of adjectives in predicative clauses, but only sporadic observations have been made about the usage of for instance adverbials. In future research a wider qualitative or quantitave approach could be taken on the usage of different parts of speech. They could be studied from a lexico-semantic viewpoint, but not forgetting the role interactional context has in creating meaning. This study proposed that so-called ravioli words may have a major role in codeswitching especially between closely related languages, but the question needs to be explored further. It was also proposed that semantic borrowing in ravioli words – especially verbs – may be done by speakers either consciously or accidentally, but the current study lacked the means for a systematic investigation of this question.

A few occurrences of morphosyntactic blending and insertions of Estonian constructions were found in the data. The usage of Estonian verbs, such as *meeldima* 'to like' goes hand-in-hand with patterns of case selection that are new to the Finnish language. This phenomenon is still rare compared to Riionheimo's data from old Ingrian Finns in Estonia, and a renewed data collection after some years would reveal whether morphosyntactic convergence will begin to take root also in the current immigrant population. What can already be seen in the current data is the occasional Estonian influence in the participants' word order. Future studies could pursue the research of on-line emergent word order and possibly other syntactic phenomena.

We already knew from earlier research that codeswitching is common in evaluative contexts, and this study showed how codeswitched voicings participate in

constructing an assessment activity. The study also showed that codeswitching is used in a specific sequence type that is used for closing sequences and topics. Are there possibly other sequence types that attract codeswitching? A more elaborate sequential analysis on a larger data base would probably give more answers to this question. Talk-related phenomena such as codeswitching are used together with other interactional means: gaze, facial expressions, gestures, body posture, movement and handling objects. In the current study, multimodal analysis was done rather sporadically, but it would be a worthwhile endeavour to investigate systematically any possible co-occurences of codeswitching with embodied acts.

And lastly, the current study has done no more than peek at the social conduct of Finns in Estonia, and the viewpoint taken was mainly that of grammar in interaction. Since this study concentrated on how the participants use Estonian elements when Finnish is the base language – and not vice versa, we still know very little of how Estonian spoken by Finns is affected by Finnish. The community and its language use remain understudied not only as regards codeswitching, but from a wider sociolinguistic angle as well. The questionnaire collected for the current study reveals that these people form a modern migrant community that is in many ways characteristic of our century: They are multilingual, travel a lot, and use all the media that have become available in the past decades. This, combined with the extraordinary history of language contact between Finnish and Estonian, makes the Estonian Finnish community an invaluable target for future contact linguistic research.

# Appendix 1: Questionnaire

**Kysely Virossa asuville suomalaisille**
Tämä kysely on osa Helsingin yliopistossa tehtävää tutkimusta, jossa kerätään tietoa Virossa asuvista suomalaisista ja erityisesti heidän kielenkäytöstään. Vastaukset ovat anonyymeja eikä vastauksia liitetä kehenkään henkilökohtaisesti. Voit halutessasi kertoa sähköpostiosoitteesi - sitä ei julkaista. Vastaajien kesken arvotaan pieni palkinto. Vastaamiseen kuluu aikaa noin 15 minuuttia. Kunkin kysymyksen jälkeen on kenttä jossa voit tarkentaa vastauksiasi. Myös nämä tarkentavat kirjoitukset ovat tutkimuksen kannalta arvokkaita. Koska vastaavaa aikaisempaa tutkimustietoa Virossa asuvista suomalaisista ei ole, toivon että mahdollisimman moni vastaa tähän kyselyyn. Lähetäthän kyselyn eteenpäin myös tutuillesi! Annan mielelläni lisätietoja tutkimuksesta (puh +358-449987454 tai +372-56910906). Tutkimukseen liittyviä artikkeleita ja esitelmiä voit lukea kotisivultani www.web.zone.ee/frick. /Mai Frick

**Asuminen Virossa**
Asun
- Tallinnassa
- Tartossa
- Muualla Virossa, missä?

Muutin Viroon vuonna…
Paitsi nykyisessä kotipaikassani, olen asunut Virossa myös
- Tallinnassa
- Tartossa
- Muualla Virossa, missä?
- En ole asunut muualla Virossa

Miksi muutit Viroon?
halu oppia kieltä tai parantaa kielitaitoa
opiskelun takia
töiden takia
seurustelu, parisuhde tai avioliitto
taloudelliset edut, "parempi elämä"
seikkailunhalu, uudet kokemukset
muu syy

Lisätietoja (Voit kertoa tarkemmin esimerkiksi siitä, miksi asut Virossa.)
Viimeisen puolen vuoden aikana olen käynyt Suomessa
… kerran tai kaksi
… 3-4 kertaa
… 5-10 kertaa
… yli 10 kertaa
en ole käynyt

Viimeisen puolen vuoden aikana olen ollut Virossa n. … kuukautta ja Suomessa n. … kuukautta. (Laske kaikki matkat yhteen, jos niitä on useampia).
Lisätietoja. (Voit kertoa esim. kuinka usein matkustat Suomeen ja kuinka pitkiä aikoja vietät siellä.)

**Kielenkäytön osa-alueet**
Muistele kielenkäyttöäsi viimeisen kuukauden aikana, kun olet ollut Virossa. Missä tilanteissa ja kuinka usein käytät viroa ja suomea? Valitse lähinnä oikeaa oleva vastaus.

| *1. puhuminen ja keskustelu* ***Puhun…*** | *aina suomea* | *yleensä suomea* | *joskus suomea ja joskus viroa* | *joskus viroa ja suomea sekaisin samassa puhetilanteessa* | *yleensä viroa* | *aina viroa* | *yleensä jotain muuta kieltä, mitä?* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Puhun puolison kanssa | | | | | | | |
| Puhun lasten kanssa | | | | | | | |
| Puhun muiden perheenjäsenten kanssa | | | | | | | |
| Puhun ystävien tai sukulaisten kanssa vapaa-aikana | | | | | | | |
| Työ- tai opiskelupaikalla puhun | | | | | | | |
| Harrastuksissa puhun | | | | | | | |
| Virastoissa ja laitoksissa (posti, pankki, poliisilaitos) puhun | | | | | | | |
| Palvelutilanteissa (kaupoissa, torilla, kampaajalla jne.) puhun | | | | | | | |
| muualla, missä? | | | | | | | |
| *2. kuuntelu* ***Kuuntelen…*** | | | | | | | |
| TV, radio, elokuvat yms. | | | | | | | |
| Musiikin kuuntelu | | | | | | | |
| Luennot, puheet, saarnat yms. | | | | | | | |
| muu, mikä? | | | | | | | |
| *3. kirjoittaminen ja sähköinen viestintä* ***Kirjoitan…*** | | | | | | | |
| Sähköposti, kirjeet, MSN yms. | | | | | | | |
| Päiväkirja tai blogi | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Työhön ja opiskeluun liittyvät referaatit, raportit yms. kirjoitukset | | | | | | | |
| Muistilaput, ostoslistat yms. | | | | | | | |
| Muu, mikä? | | | | | | | |
| *4. lukeminen* ***Luen…*** | | | | | | | |
| internet | | | | | | | |
| kirjat ja lehdet | | | | | | | |
| muu, mikä? | | | | | | | |

Lisätietoja:
Voit kertoa tarkemmin siitä, mitä kieliä käytät a) perheenjäsenten kanssa, b) työssä tai opiskelupaikassa, c) julkisissa tilanteissa, ja miksi.
Käytätkö joskus suomea ja viroa sekaisin saman keskustelun aikana?
Pyritkö aina käyttämään vain yhtä kieltä kussakin puhetilanteessa?
Oletko huomannut, että viro olisi vaikuttanut suomen kieleesi? Miten?
Puhutko viroa myös joskus, kun olet Suomessa? Missä ja kenen kanssa?
Oletko opiskellut viroa kielikursseilla?
alle 3 kk
3 kk - 1 vuoden
yli 1 vuoden
En ole.
Miten arvioisit viron kielen taitosi?
Pyritkö puhumaan mahdollisimman aksentitonta viroa?
Mitä muuta kieleen liittyvää tulee mieleesi?

**Verkostot**
Jos olet naimisissa tai avoliitossa, mikä on puolisosi äidinkieli?
- suomi
- viro
- muu, mikä?

Lisätietoja
Ajattele kolmea itsellesi läheisintä ihmistä (ei perheenjäseniä). Onko heistä
kaikki kolme suomalaisia
kaksi suomalaista
yksi suomalainen
ei yhtään suomalaista
Minkä maalaisia muut ovat?
Lisätietoja
Oletko tekemisissä muiden paikkakunnallasi (Virossa) asuvien suomalaisten kanssa esim. työn tai harrastusten kautta? Miten (kerro omin sanoin):
Kuinka monta paikkakunnallasi asuvaa suomalaista tunnet tai tiedät (nimeltä tai kasvoilta)?
Lisätietoja

**Taustatiedot**
Ikä:
Sukupuoli: N / M
Siviilisääty
naimisissa /rekisteröidyssä parisuhteessa /avoliitossa
naimaton / eronnut / leski
Onko sinulla lapsia? Minkä ikäisiä?
…ei
…kyllä …-vuotiaita

Ammatti: Olen…
… työssä
… opiskelen
… eläkkeellä
… työtön
… lasten kanssa kotona
Koulutus:
perus/kansa/keski
lukio
alempi /ammattikorkeakoulutus
ylempi korkeakoulutus
Äidinkieli ja kotimurre /-murteet: Muu kielitaito:

**Yhteystiedot**
Voinko ottaa sinuun yhteyttä, jos jokin vastaus kaipaa tarkennusta?
…kyllä … sähköpostiosoitteeni on / …et
Jos olet ollut mukana tutkimuksen muissa osissa (osallistumalla nauhoituksiin tai antamalla sähköpostiviestejäsi tai muuta aineistoa tutkimusta varten), saako nämä vastauksesi yhdistää ko. aineistoon? Jos suostut, tarvitsen nimesi (sitä ei julkaista):
Entä saanko tarkastella Facebook-profiiliasi tutkimustarkoituksessa (nimiä ei julkaista)?
- Kyllä. Nimeni/profiilini osoite on: / Et. (Valitse tämä myös, jos et ole Facebookissa)

Haluatko osallistua muistoesineen arvontaan? …kyllä … sähköpostiosoitteeni on… / …en
**Kiitos vastauksista!**

# References


Ainiala, Terhi, Minna Saarelma & Paula Sjöblom 2008: *Nimistöntutkimuksen perusteet.* Helsinki : Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Ala-Risku, Riikka (forthcoming): Plurilinguismo nella narrativa italiana contemporanea. Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki, Department of Modern Languages.

Álvarez-Cáccamo, Celso 1996: The power of reflexive language(s). Code displacement in reported speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 25, 33–59.

Androutsopoulos, Jannis 2007: Language choice and code-switching in German-based diasporic web forums. In Brenda Danet & Susan C. Herring (eds): *The Multilingual Internet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 340–361.

Anward, Jan 2005: Lexeme Recycled. How Categories Emerge From Interaction. *Logos and Language* 2, 31–46.

Ariste, Paul 1953: *Eesti keele foneetika*. Eesti riiklik kirjastus.

Auer, Peter 1984a: *Bilingual Conversation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Auer, Peter 1984b: On the meaning of conversational code-switching. In Peter Auer (ed.) *Interpretive sociolinguistics*. Tübingen: Narr. 87–112.

Auer, Peter 1995: The Pragmatics of Code-switching. In Lesley Milroy & Pieter Muysken (eds): *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 115–135.

Auer, Peter 1998: From Code-switching via Language Mixing to Fused Lects: Toward a Dynamic Typology of Bilingual Speech. *Interaction and Linguistic Structures* 6, 1–28.

Auer, Peter 2005: Projection in interaction and projection in grammar. *Text* 25, 7–36.

Auer, Peter 2007: Monolingual bias in bilingualism research – or: why bilingual talk is (still) a challenge for linguistics. In Monica Heller (ed.): *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*. Houndmills: Palgrave. 319–339.

Auer, Peter 2009a: On-line syntax: Thoughts on the temporality of spoken language. *Language Sciences* 31, 1–13.

Auer, Peter 2009b: Projection and minimalistic syntax in interaction. *Discourse Processes* 46, 180–205.

Auer, Peter & Stefan Pfänder (eds) 2011: *Constructions: Emergent and Emerging*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Auer, Peter & Stefan Pfänder 2011: Constructions: Emergent or emerging. In Peter Auer & Stefan Pfänder (eds): *Constructions: Emergent and Emerging*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 1–21.

Backus, Ad 2001: The role of semantic specificity in insertional codeswitching: evidence from Dutch Turkish. In Rodolfo Jacobson (ed.): *Codeswitching Worldwide II*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 125–154.

Backus, Ad & Anna Verschik 2012: Copiability of (bound) morphology. In Lars Johanson & Martine Robbeets (eds): *Copies Versus Cognates in Bound Morphology*. Leiden: Brill. 123–149.

Bakhtin, Mikhail Mikhailovich 1982 [1934]: Discourse in the novel. In: *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 259–422.

Blom, Jan-Petter & John J. Gumperz 1972: Social meaning in linguistic structure: code-switching in Norway. In John J. Gumperz & Dell H. Hymes (eds): *Directions in Sociolinguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 407–434.

Clark, Herbert H. & Richard J. Gerrig 1990: Quotations as demonstrations. *Language* 66: 764–805.

Clyne, Michael 2003: *Dynamics of Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth 1996: The prosody of repetition: On quoting and mimicry. In Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen & Margret Selting (eds): *Prosody in Conversation*: *Interactional Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 366–405.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth 2010: Recognizing actions in interaction. LAGB workshop Interactional foundations for language. University of Leeds 1.9.2010 [Presented 6.10.2010 at the University of Helsinki].

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth & Margret Selting 2001: Introducing interactional linguistics. In Margret Selting & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds): *Studies in Interactional Linguistics*. New York: John Benjamins. 1–22.

Drew, Paul 1987: Po-faced receipts of teases. *Linguistics* 25, 219–253.

Drew, Paul 1998: Complaints about transgressions and misconduct. *Research on Language and Social interaction* 31, 295–325.

Drew, Paul & Elizabeth Holt 1998: Figures of speech: Figurative expressions and the management of topic transition in conversation. *Language in Society* 27, 495–522.

Eenmaa, Helena 2008: Eesti mõjud Tartu soomlaste emakeeles võrrelduna vastavate tulemustega aastast 2001. Bachelor's thesis. University of Tallinn, Institute of Estonian Language and Culture.

Egbert, Maria 1997: Schisming: The collaborative transformation from a single conversation to multiple conversations. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 30, 1–51.

Ehala, Martin 2001: Eesti keele baassõnajärjest. In Reet Kasik (ed.) *Keele kannul. Pühendusteos Mati Erelti 60. sünnipäevaks.* Tartu: Tartu Ülikool. 24–41.

Ehmer, Oliver 2011: *Imagination und Animation. Die Herstellung mentaler Räume durch animierte Rede*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

EKG I = Erelt, Mati, Reet Kasik, Helle Metslang, Henno Rajandi, Kristiina Ross, Henn Saari, Kaja Tael & Silvi Vare 1995: *Eesti keele grammatika I. Morfoloogia. Sõnamoodustus.* Tallinn: Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia Eesti Keele Instituut.

EKG II = Erelt, Mati, Reet Kasik, Helle Metslang, Henno Rajandi, Kristiina Ross, Henn Saari, Kaja Tael & Silvi Vare 1993: *Eesti keele grammatika II. Süntaks. Lisa: Kiri.* Tallinn: Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut.

EKK = Erelt, Mati, Tiiu Erelt & Kristiina Ross 1997: *Eesti keele käsiraamat*. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus. http://julia.eki.ee/books/ekkr/.

Erelt, Mati & Helle Metslang 2006: Estonian clause patterns - from Finno-Ugric to Standard Average European. *Linguistica Uralica* XLII:4, 254–266.

Eurovision 1962 - Finland. http://youtu.be/EBdQO2RtCKA. Visited 8.9.2012.

Fishman, Joshua A. 2000 [1965]: Who speaks what language to whom and when? In Li Wei (ed.): *The Bilingualism Reader*. London: Routledge. 84–98.

Ford, Cecilia E. & Barbara A. Fox 2010: Multiple practices for constructing laughables. In Dagmar Barth, Elisabeth Reber & Margret Selting (eds): *Prosody in Interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 339–368.

Ford, Cecilia E., Barbara A. Fox & Sandra A. Thompson 2002: Social interaction and grammar. In Michael Tomasello (ed.): *The New Psychology of Language, vol II*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc. 119–143.

Ford, Cecilia E., Barbara A. Fox & Sandra A. Thompson (forthcoming): Units or Action Trajectories?: The language of grammatical categories and the language of social action. Prepared for Beatrice Szczepek Reed & Geoffrey Raymond (eds): Units of Talk – Units of Action.

Fox, Barbara 2007: Principles shaping grammatical practices. *Discourse Studies* 8, 299–318.

Fox, Barbara E., Sandra A. Thompson & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds, forthcoming): *Grammar and everyday talk: Building responsive actions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fox, Barbara A., Sandra A. Thompson, Cecilia E. Ford & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen 2012: Conversation Analysis in Linguistics. In Tanya Stivers & Jack Sidnell (eds): *Handbook of Conversation Analysis*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. 724–740.

Frick, Maria 2003: *Kaksikielistä rääkkimistä - Koodinvaihdosta tartonsuomalaisten sähköposti- ja kasvokkaiskeskustelussa*. Master's thesis. University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish Language. http://web.zone.ee/frick/frick_gradu.pdf.

Frick, Maria 2008: Morphological integration of Estonian lexical elements in a Finnish language base. *Journal of Linguistic and Intercultural Education* 1/2008. 81–95.

Fried, Miriam & Jan-Ola Östman 2004: A thumbnail sketch of construction grammar. In Jan-Ola Östman & Miriam Fried (eds): *Construction Grammar in a Cross-Language Perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 11–86.

Gal, Susan 1979: *Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic Press.

Garfinkel, Harold 1967: *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. London: Prentice-Hall International.

Goffman, Erving 1974: *Frame Analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. New York: Harper and Row.

Goffman, Erving 1981: *Forms of talk*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Goldberg, Adele E. 1995: *Constructions: a Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Goodwin, Charles & Marjorie H. Goodwin. 1992: Assessments and the construction of context. In Alessandro Duranti & Charles Goodwin (eds): *Rethinking context: language as an interactive phenomenon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 147–190.

Goodwin, Charles 2007: Participation, stance, and affect in the organization of activities. *Discourse and Society* 18: 53–73.

Grünthal, Riho 1998: Suomalais-virolaisia meriyhteyksiä ja seprakaupan kielellisiä sivutuotteita. In Riho Grünthal & Johanna Laakso (eds): *Oekeeta asijoo. Commentationes Fenno-ugricae in honorem Seppo Suhonen sexagenarii 16.V.1998*. Helsinki: Finno-Ugrian Society. 106-120.

Grünthal, Riho 2003: *Finnic adpositions and cases in change*. Helsinki: Finno-Ugrian Society.

Grünthal, Riho 2009: Suomen kielen vaikutus viron kieleen. In Jyrki Kalliokoski, Lari Kotilainen ja Päivi Pahta (eds): *Kielet kohtaavat*. Helsinki : Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 231–263.

Gumperz, John J. 1982: *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Günthner, Susanne 1999: Polyphony and the 'layering of voices' in reported dialogues: An analysis of the use of prosodic devices in everyday reported speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 31, 685–708.

Haakana, Markku 1995: Vitsi keskustelussa. Kontekstualisointi, tunnistaminen ja sekventiaalisuus. *Virittäjä* 99, 359–378.

Haakana, Markku 2007: Reported thought in complaint stories. In Elizabeth Holt and Rebecca Clift, eds., Reporting Talk: Reported speech in interaction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 155–178.

Haakana, Markku & Salla Kurhila 2009: Other-correction in everyday interaction: some comparative aspects. In Markku Haakana, Minna Laakso & Jan Lindström (eds): *Talk in interaction – comparative dimensions*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Haakana, Markku & Laura Visapää 2005: Tuttu tv:stä: Fakta homman äänet keskustelun keinona. In: Markku Haakana & Jyrki Kalliokoski (eds): *Referointi ja moniäänisyys*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 429–469.

Hakulinen, Auli & Marja-Leena Sorjonen 2009: Designing utterances for action: verb repeat responses to assessments. In Markku Haakana, Minna Laakso & Jan Lindström (eds)*: Talk in Interaction. Comparative Dimensions.* Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. 124–151.

Halmari, Helena 1993: Code-Switching as an Evaluative Device in Bilingual Discourse. *Issues in Applied Linguistics* 4, 91–118.

Halmari, Helena 1998: Functional differences between Finnish-English and English-Finnish intrasentential codeswitching: is there an explanation? In Timo Haukioja (ed): Papers from the 16th Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics. Turku : Turun yliopisto. 153–165.

Halmari, Helena 2004: Codeswitching patterns and developing discourse competence in L2. In Diana Boxer & Andrew D. Cohen (eds): *Studying Speaking to Inform Second Language Learning*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. 115–146.

Halmari, Helena & Wendy Smith 1994: Code-switching and register shift: Evidence from Finnish-English child bilingual conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 21, 427–445.

Harjunpää, Katariina (in preparation): Syntactic resources for bilingual mediating: Translation in everyday conversation. Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies.

Härmävaara, Hanna-Ilona (forthcoming): Facilitating Mutual Understanding in Everyday Interaction between Finns and Estonians. *Journal of Multilingualism,* special issue on receptive multilingualism. Jan D. ten Thije (ed.).

Hassinen, Sirje 2002: Simultaaninen kaksikielisyys. Läheiset sukukielet viro ja suomi rinnakkain. Oulu: Oulun yliopisto.

Haugen, Einar 1950: The analysis of linguistic borrowing. *Language* 26, 210–231.

Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa 2001: *Syntax in the making. The emergence of syntactic units in Finnish conversation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa & Tuomas Huumo 2010: Mikä subjekti on? *Virittäjä* 114, 165–195.

Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa, Minna Laakso & Marja-Leena Sorjonen 2004: Searching for words: Syntactic and sequential construction of word search in conversations of Finnish speakers with aphasia. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 37, 1–37.

Henricson, Sofie (forthcoming): Svenska i finsk miljö. En analys av interaktion, grammatik och flerspråkighet i samtal på s.k. svenska språköar i Finland. Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies.

Heritage, John & Geoffrey Raymond 2005: The terms of agreement: indexing epistemic authority and subordination in assessment sequences. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68, 15–38.

Hopper Paul J. 1987: Emergent Grammar. *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. 139-157.

Hopper, Paul J. 1998: Emergent grammar. In Michael Tomasello (ed.): *The new psychology of language.* Mahwah: Erlbaum. 155–175.

Hopper, Paul J. 2011: Emergent grammar and temporality in interactional linguistics. In Peter Auer & Stefan Pfänder (eds): *Constructions: Emergent and Emerging*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 22–43.

Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson 1983: The iconicity of the universal categories 'noun' and 'verb'. In John Haiman (ed.): *Iconicity in Language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 151–183.

Huumo, Tuomas 1993: Suomen ja viron kontrastiivista sanajärjestysvertailua. In Valma Yli-Vakkuri (ed.): *Tutkielmia syntaksin ja pragmasyntaksin alalta. Studia comparativa linguarum orbis Maris Baltici 1*. Turku: University of Turku. 97-158.

Huumo, Tuomas 1996: Bound Spaces and the Semantic Interpretation of Existentials. *Linguistics* 34, 295–328.

ISK = Hakulinen, Auli, Maria Vilkuna, Riitta Korhonen, Vesa Koivisto, Tarja Riitta Heinonen & Irja Alho 2004: *Iso suomen kielioppi*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Jefferson, Gail 1972: Side sequences. In David Sudnow (ed.): *Studies in Social Interaction*. New York: Free Press. 294–338.

Jefferson, Gail, Harvey Sacks & Emanuel A. Schegloff 1987: Notes on laughter in the pursuit of intimacy. In Graham Button & John R. E. Lee (eds.): *Talk and social Organisation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. 152–205.

Johanson, Lars 2002: Contact induced change in a code-copying framework. In Mari C. Jones & Edith Esch (eds): *Language Change. The Interplay of Internal, External and Extra-Linguistic Factors*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 285–313.

Jokela, Hanna & Geda Paulsen 2010: Võtke minust eesmärki. Monikielinen lapsi rakenteita yhdistämässä. *Lähivõrdlusi. Lähivertailuja* 19, 61–75.

Kaivapalu, Annekatrin 2005: *Lähdekieli kielenoppimisen apuna*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto.

Kaivapalu, Annekatrin & Pirkko Muikku-Werner 2010: Reseptiivinen monikielisyys: miten suomenkielinen oppija ymmärtää viroa äidinkielensä pohjalta? *Lähivőrdlusi. Lähivertailuja* 19, 68–97.

Kasik, Reet 2010: Tähelepanekuid soome ja eesti liitnimisõnadest. *Lähivõrdlusi. Lähivertailuja* 19, 9–21.

Kataja, Annukka 2001: Koodivahetus Tartu soomlaste keeles. Bachelor's thesis. University of Tartu, Department of Estonian as a foreign language.

Kataja, Annukka & Birute Klaas 2003: Elämisluvalla lopettajaisiin. Viron suomalaisopiskelijoiden suomen kielestä. In Hannele Jönsson-Korhola, Anna-Riitta Lindgren (eds): *Monena suomi maailmalla. Suomalaisperäisiä kielivähemmistöjä*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 300–309.

Keevallik, Leelo 2008: Conjunction and sequenced actions. The Estonian complementizer and evidential particle *et*. In Ritva Laury (ed.): *Crosslinguistic studies of clause combining: the multifunctionality of conjunctions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 125–152

Keltner, Dacher, Lisa Capps, Ann M. Kring, Randall C. Young & Erin A. Heerey 2001: Just teasing. *Psychological Bulletin* 127, 229–248.

Klaas, Birute 1999: Viron vaikutuksia Tarton yliopistossa opiskelevien suomalaisten äidinkielessä. In Reet Kasik & Leena Huima: *75 vuotta viroa Helsingin yliopistossa. Viron kielen ja kulttuurin opettaminen Suomessa -seminaari 23.11.1998*. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston suomen kielen laitos. 132–146.

Klatt, Carl-Heinz 1988: "Tartolaiset eli Tartossa vuosina 1859–1939 opiskelleet suomalaiset eläinlääketieteen opiskelijat. *Suomen eläinlääkärilehti* 94, 617–621.

Koivisto, Aino 2012: Discourse patterns for turn-final conjunctions. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 44, 1254–1272.

Koivisto, Aino (in preparation): On the preference of remembering: the Finnish particle cluster ai niin ('oh that's right') as a third position news receipt.

Kokko, Ossi 2007: *Inkerinsuomen pirstaleisuus. Eräiden sijojen kehitys murteen yksilöllistymisen kuvastajana.* Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto.

Kolehmainen, Leena 2005: Präfix- und Partikelverben im deutsch-finnischen Kontrast. Helsinki: Universität Helsinki.

Korkiasaari, Jouni 2008: Viro. In Krister Björklund & Olavi Koivukangas (eds): *Suomalaiset Euroopassa*. Turku: Siirtolaisinstituutti. 93–116

Kovács, Magdolna 2001: *Code-Switching and Language Shift in Australian Finnish in Comparison with Australian Hungarian.* Åbo: Åbo Akademis Förlag.

Kroll, Judith F., Susan C Bobb, Maya Misra & Taomei Guo 2008: Language selection in bilingual speech: Evidence for inhibitory processes. *Acta Psychologica* 128, 416–130.

Kuiri, Kaija 1984: *Referointi Kainuun ja Pohjois-Karjalan murteissa.* Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Kurhila, Salla 2006: *Second language interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Laitinen, Lea 1995: Nollapersoona. *Virittäjä* 99, 337–358.

Lappalainen, Hanna 2004: *Variaatio ja sen funktiot. Erään sosiaalisen verkoston jäsenten kielellisen variaation ja vuorovaikutuksen tarkastelua*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Laury, Ritva 2005: Dialogic syntax and the emergence of topics in interaction. Traveaux Neuchâtelois Linguistiques 41, 165–189.

Laury, Ritva & Eeva-Leena Seppänen 2008: Clause combining, interaction, evidentiality, participation structure, and the conjunction-particle continuum: the Finnish että. In Laury, Ritva (ed.): *Crosslinguistic Studies of Clause Combining: The Multifunctionality of Conjunctions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lehtimaja, Inkeri 2006: Oppilaiden välinen kiusoittelu luokkahuonekeskustelussa. In Salla Kurhila & Anne Mäntynen (eds): *Tunnetta mukana. Kirjoituksia Jyrki Kalliokosken 50-vuotispäivän kunniaksi.* Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto. 55–73.

Lehtonen, Heini 2009: Maahanmuuttajataustaisten helsinkiläisnuorten monikielisyyden ilmiöitä. In Jyrki Kalliokoski, Lari Kotilainen and Päivi Pahta (eds): *Kielet Kohtaavat.* Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden seura. 161-190.

Leino, Jaakko 2003: *A*ntaa sen muuttua: suomen kielen permissiivirakenne ja sen kehitys. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Leino, Pentti 1991: Suomen objektin ongelmia. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.

Leisiö, Larisa 1996: Kaksikielinen keskustelu: pragmaattinen lähestymistapa. In Minna-Riitta Luukka, Aila Mielikäinen & Paula Kalaja (eds): *Kielten kuulossa: kielitieteen päivät Jyväskylässä 5. ja 6.5.1995.* Jyväskylä : Korkeakoulujen kielikeskus. 225–235.

Leisiö, Larisa 1998: Code-Switching in Reported Speech. In Jef Verschueren (ed.): *Pragmatics in 1998: Selected papers from the 6th International Pragmatics Conference, Vol. 2*. Antwerp: International Pragmatics Association. 349–362.

Levinson, Stephen C. 2012: Action formation and ascription. In Tanya Stivers & Jack Sidnell (eds): *Handbook of Conversation Analysis*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell. 103–130.

Li Wei 1998: The 'Why' and 'How' questions in the analysis of conversational code-switching. In Peter Auer (ed.): *Code-Switching in Conversation. Language, interaction and identity.* London: Routledge. 156–176.

Lilja, Niina 2010: *Ongelmista oppimiseen. Toisen aloittamat korjausjaksot kakkoskielisessä keskustelussa.* Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities 146. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto.

Lindström, Jan 2007: *Grammatik i samtal – samtal i grammatik.* Uppsala: Uppsala universitet. http://www.nordiska.uu.se/digitalAssets/66/66142_lindstrom.pdf. Visited 22.9.2012.

Lindström, Jan (forthcoming): On the place of turn and sequence in grammar. Verb-first clausal constructions in Swedish talk-in-interaction. *Pragmatics,* special issue on approaches to grammar for interactional linguistics. Ritva Laury, Marja Etelämäki & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds).

Linell, Per 2009: Grammatical constructions in dialogue. In Alexander Bergs & Gabriele Diewald (eds): *Context and constructions.* Amsterdam: Benjamins. 97–110.

Mägiste, Julius 1952: Suomalaisesta siirtoasutuksesta Viron pohjoisrannikolla ja Hiidenmaalla. *Virittäjä* 56, 311–321.

Matras, Yaron 2009: *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Merke, Saija 2012: Kielen opiskelu ja tunteet: Affekti jäsentämässä opiskelijoiden aloittamia kysymyssekvenssejä vieraan kielen oppitunneilla. *Virittäjä* 116, 198–225.

Metslang, Helle 2009: Estonian grammar between Finnic and SAE: some comparisons. *Language Typology and Universals* 62, 49–71.

Metslang, Helle 2011: Some grammatical innovations in the development of Estonian and Finnish: forced grammaticalization. *Linguistica Uralica* 47, 241–256.

Mondada, Lorenza 2007: Bilingualism and the analysis of talk at work: Code-switching as a resource for the organization of action and interaction. In Heller, Monica (ed.): *Bilingualism. A Social Approach*. Houndmills: Palgrave. 297–318.

Mononen, Kaarina 2013: *Inkerinsuomalaisten suomen kielen käyttö Pietarissa ja sen lähialueilla.* Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto.

Must, Mari 1987: *Kirderannikumurre*. Tallinn: Valgus.

Muysken, Pieter 2000: *Bilingual speech: A typology of code-mixing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Myers-Scotton, Carol (2000 [C.M. Scotton 1988]) Code-switching as indexical of social negotiations. In Li Wei (ed.): *The Bilingualism Reader*. Routledge: London.127–153.

Ochs, Elinor 1996: Linguistic resources for socializing humanity. In John J. Gumperz & Stephen C. Levinson (eds): *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 407–437.

Ochs, Elinor A., Emanuel Schegloff & and Sandra A. Thompson (eds) 1996: *Interaction and Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, Elinor & Bambi Schieffelin 1989: Language has a heart. *Text* 9, 7–25.

Ogden, Richard 2010: Prosodic constructions in making complaints. In Dagmar Barth-Weingarten, Elisabeth Reber & Margret Selting (eds): *Prosody in Interaction*. Amsterdam, Benjamins. 81–104.

Ono, Tsuyoshi & Sandra A. Thompson 1995: What can Conversation tell us about Syntax? In Philip Davis (ed.), *Alternative Linguistics: Descriptive and Theoretical Modes. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 213–271.

Östman, Jan-Ola 2005: Construction Discourse. A prolegomenon. In Jan-Ola Östman and Mirjam Fried (eds.): *Construction Grammars: Cognitive grounding and theoretical extensions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 121–144.

Östman, Jan-Ola 2007: On formalizing 'context' or, why complexity does not equal impossibility. In Juhani Härmä, Eva Havu, Mervi Heikkula, Meri Larjavaara, Mari Lehtinen, Ulla Tuomarla (eds): *Actes du XXIXéme Colloque International de Linguistique Fonctionelle.* Helsinki: Département des langues romanes de l'Université de Helsinki.

Östman & Miriam Fried (eds) 2004: *Construction Grammar in a Cross-Language Perspective*. Ansterdam: John Benjamins.

Pajusalu, Renate 2009: *Sõna ja tähendus*.Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus.

Penjam, Pille 2008: *Eesti kirjakeele da- ja ma-infinitiiviga konstruktsioonid*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli kirjastus.

Penjam, Pille & Renate Pajusalu 2006: Konstruktsioonigrammatika. In Ilona Tragel & Haldur Õim (eds): *Teoreetiline keeleteadus Eestis II.* Tartu: Tartu Ülikool. 141–155.

Piirainen-Marsh, Arja 2008: Koodinvaihto kontekstivihjeenä videopelitilanteissa. In Sirpa Leppänen, Tarja Nikula & Leila Kääntä (eds): *Kolmas kotimainen. Lähikuvia englannin käytöstä Suomessa*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 136–168.

Pitkänen, Ritva Liisa 1992: Turunmaan saariston suomalais-virolainen asutus. Kyösti Julku (ed.): Suomen varhaishistoria. Rovaniemi: Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys. 397–403.

Pomerantz, Anita 1984a: Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In: J. Maxwell Atkinson & John Heritage (eds): *Structures of Social Interaction. Studies in Conversation Analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 57–101.

Pomerantz, Anita 1984b: Pursuing a response. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds): *Structures of Social Action. Cambridge.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 152-163.

Poplack, Shana 2007 [1980]: Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en espanol: toward a typology of code-switching. In Li Wei (ed.): *The Bilingualism Reader.* London: Routledge. 213–243.

Praakli, Kristiina 2007: Mõnda eesti-soome koodivahetuse funktsioonidest ja nende tõlgendamisvõimalustest. In Raili Pool (ed.): *Emakeel ja teised keeled V: Tartu Ülikool; 17.-18.11.2005*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool. 151–163.

Praakli, Kristiina 2009: *Esimese põlvkonna Soome eestlaste kakskeelne keelekasutus ja koodikopeerimine*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool.

Praakli, Kristiina 2012: Eesti keel Soomes - uuringutulemustest. Karjalan kieli ja viron kieli Suomessa. Project ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All) dissemination seminar. Helsinki 30.11.2012.

Raevaara, Liisa 2009: Nyt täytyy ostaa kun tuli vähä rahaa tosta monivedosta. Asiakkaan ja myyjän kootut selitykset. In Hanna Lappalainen & Liisa Raevaara (eds): *Kieli kioskilla. Tutkimuksia kioskiasioinnin rutiineista.* Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 231–262.

Remes, Hannu 2009: *Muodot kontrastissa: suomen ja viron vertailevaa taivutusmorfologiaa*. Oulu: Oulun yliopisto.

Riionheimo, Helka 2007: *Muutoksen monet juuret. Oman ja vieraan risteytyminen Viron inkerinsuomalaisten imperfektinmuodostuksessa.* Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Riionheimo, Helka 2010: Morfologinen limittyminen suomen ja viron kontaktissa. *Lähivõrdlusi. Lähivertailuja* 20, 218–238.

Riionheimo, Helka 2011: Complex morphologies in contact: The case of Ingrian Finns in Estonia. In Kelechukwu Ihemere (ed.): *Language Contact and Language Shift. Grammatical and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Munich: Lincom Europa Academic Publishers. 10–36.

Riionheimo, Helka & Maria Frick (forthcoming): Emergence of Finnish-Estonian bilingual constructions in two contact settings. Submitted to *Sociolinguistic Studies,* special issue on Estonian in contacts: theoretical and empirical perspetives. Anna Verschik (ed.).

Riionheimo, Helka & Krista Kivisalu 1994: *Inkeriläiskertomuksia*. Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto.

Romaine, Susanne & Deborah Lange 1991: The use of like as a marker of reported speech and thought: a case of grammaticalization in progress. *American Speech* 66, 227–279.

Saari, Mirja 2006: Stadin ruotsi: huomioita erään nuorisoryhmän koodin vaihtelusta. In Kaisu Juusela & Katariina Nisula (eds): *Helsinki kieliyhteisönä.* Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston suomen kielen ja kotimaisen kirjallisuuden laitos. 142–161.

Sacks, Harvey 1987: On the preferences for agreement and contiguity in sequences in conversation. Graham Button & John R.E. Lee (eds): *Talk and Social Organisation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. 54–69.

Sacks, Harvey 1995: *Lectures on Conversation*, *Volumes I & II*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff & Gail Jefferson 1974: A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language* 50, 696–735.

Sankoff, Gillian 2001: Linguistic outcomes of language contact. In Peter Trudgill, Jack Chambers & Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds): *Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 638–668.

Sartjärvi, Maija (in preparation): Nimimuotista nimimuottiin: *-iina*-loppuiset naistennimet ja *-iina*-johtimen merkitys. Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies.

Savijärvi, Marjo 2011: *Yhteisestä toiminnasta yhteiseen kieleen: keskustelunanalyyttinen tutkimus toisen kielen oppimisesta kielikylpypäiväkodissa.* Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto.

Savijärvi, Marjo & Eeva-Leena Seppänen 2010: Recycling the teacher's words. In Karin Junefelt & Pia Nordin (eds): *Proceedings from the Second International Interdisciplinary Conference on Perspectives and Limits of Dialogism in Mikhail Bakhtin*. Stockholm: Stockholm University. 216–225

Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007: *Sequence Organization in Interaction: A Primer in Conversation Analysis, Vol. 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. & Harvey Sacks 1973: Opening up closings. *Semiotica* 8, 289–327.

Schegloff, Emanuel A., Gail Jefferson and Harvey Sacks 1977: The Preference for Self-Correction in the Organization of Repair in Conversation, *Language* 53, 361–382.

Schiffrin, Deborah 1987: *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scotton, Carol M. 1983: The negotiation of identities in conversation: a theory of markedness and code choice. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 44, 115–36.

Sepp, Helena 1997: Soome üliõpilased Tartu Ülikoolis 1920. ja 1930. aastatel. In Helmut Priimäe, Eduard Vääri & Ken Kalling (eds): *75 aastat Eesti ülikooli Tartus*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus. 137–147.

Siro, Paavo 1964: *Suomen kielen lauseoppi*. Helsinki: Tietosanakirja OY.

Stivers, Tanya 2008: Stance, alignment, and affiliation during storytelling: When nodding is a token of affiliation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41, 31–57.

Stivers, Tanya, Lorenza Mondada & Jakob Steensig 2011: Knowledge, morality and affiliation in social interaction. In Tanya Stivers, Lorenza Mondada and Jakob Steensig (eds): *The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 3–24.

Söderman, Tiina 1996: *Lexical Characteristics of the Estonian North Eastern Coastal Dialect*. Uppsala: Uppsala University.

Tainio, Liisa 2001: Ikääntyneiden pariskuntien identiteetit. In *Puhuvan naisen paikka. Sukupuoli kulttuurisena kategoriana kielenkäytössä*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 233–244.

Tainio, Liisa (ed.) 1995: *Keskustelunanalyysin perusteet*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Treffers-Daller, Jeanine 2005: Evidence for insertional codemixing: Mixed compounds and French nominal groups in Brussels Dutch. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 9, 477–506.

Uralic Phonetic Alphabet = *Suomalais-ugrilainen tarkekirjoitus.* Antti Sovijärvi & Reino Peltola (eds, 1965). Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Vatanen, Anna (in preparation): Responding in Overlap: Turn, Action and Epistemics in Finnish and Estonian Talk in Interaction. Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies.

Vepsäläinen, Heidi (in preparation): No-partikkeli keskustelussa. Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies.

Verschik, Anna 2004: Estonian compound nouns and their equivalents in the local variety of Russian. *Scando-Slavica* 50, 93–109.

Verschik, Anna 2008: *Emerging bilingual speech - from monolingualism to code-copying*. London: Continuum.

Verschik, Anna 2012: Practising receptive multilingualism: Estonian-Finnish communication in Tallinn. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 16, 265–286.

Vihalemm, Triin 2008: *Keeleoskus ja hoiakud. Integratsiooni monitooring 2008*. Tallinn: Integratsiooni ja migratsiooni sihtasutus. http://www.meis.ee/uuringud. Visited 17.4.2010.

Vilkuna, Maria 2000: *Suomen lauseopin perusteet.* Helsinki: Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus.

Wide, Camilla 2009: Interactional Construction Grammar: contextual features of determination in dialectal Swedish. In Alexander Bergs & Gabriele Diewald (eds): *Context and constructions*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 111–142.

Wilton, Antje 2009: Interactional translation. In Kristin Bührig, Juliane House & Jan D. ten Thije (eds): *Translational Action and Intercultural Communication*. Manchester: St Jerome Publishing 80–109.

Zabrodskaja, Anastassia 2006a: Vene-eesti koodivahetuse funktsioonid Kohtla-Järve venekeelsete laste vestluses. *Eesti rakenduslingvistika ühingu aastaraamat = Estonian Papers in Applied Linguistics* 2, 231–249.

Zabrodskaja, Anastassia 2006b: Koodivahetus „kokkuleppimise" strateegiana Kohtla-Järve vene-eesti kakskeelses suhtluses. In Helen Koks & Jan Rahman (eds): *Mitmõkeelisüs ja keelevaihtus õdagumeresoomõ maiõ pääl = Mitmekeelsus ja keelevahetus Läänemeresoome piirkonnas: konvõrents Põlvan, 20.-22. rehekuu 2005*. Võru: Võro Instituut. 148–164.

DEBRECENI EGYETEM
FINNUGOR NYELVTUDOMÁNYI TANSZÉK
FOLIA URALICA DEBRECENIENSIA 16.
DEBRECEN, 2009

# Suomi–viro-kaksikieliset yhdyssanat[1]

Maria FRICK

## 1. Johdanto

Tutkielmani perustuu Virossa, Tartossa asuvien ja siellä asuneiden suomalaisten puheesta ja kirjoituksista kerättyyn aineistoon. Näille tartonsuomalaisille on omaleimaista, että he käyttävät viroa jopa keskinäisissä suomenkielisissä keskusteluissaan, joihin otetaan virosta yksittäisiä sanoja tai kokonaisia lauseita ja lausumia. Käytän termiä koodinvaihto kattoterminä kuvaamaan kaikkia tällaisia tapauksia, joissa suomenkielisen keskustelun tai tekstin joukossa käytetään viroa. Tässä käsiteltyjä ilmiöitä on kutsuttu myös lainaamiseksi (Haugen 1950, Poplack 2000: 224–226) tai koodin kopioinniksi (esim. Verschik 2004). Kyse ei kuitenkaan liene lainoista silloin, kun sanat esiintyvät harvoin, esim. vain kaksi tai kolme kertaa[2]. Joskus viro voi näkyä vain siten, että suomalaista sanaa käytetään uudessa merkityksessä – kyse on siis samasta muodostamistavasta kuin merkityslainoissa (Haugen ma., Hakulinen 1969). Tällöin merkitys on otettu samankuuloiselta virolaiselta sanalta, joita kutsun kaksikielisiksi homofoneiksi (Clyne 2003: 164–165).

Koodinvaihtoa voi tarkastella sosiolingvistisestä, pragmaattisesta ja kieliopillisesta näkökulmasta. Tässä artikkelissa käsitellään pääasiassa morfologiaa – tarkemmin ottaen sananmuodostusta – ottamatta systemaattisesti kantaa koodinvaihdon pragmaattisiin funktioihin[3] taikka sen sosiolingvistisiin implikaatioihin. Kielen osa-alueita on kuitenkin mahdoton erotella toisistaan: käyttötilanne ja keskustelun tai tekstin rakenne vaikuttavat koodinvaihdon esiintymiseen. Tästä syystä analysoin tarkemmin paria pidempää esimerkkiä.

[1] Kiitän Magdolna Kovácsia, Ritva Laurya, Janne Saarikiveä, Anna Verschikiä ja Helsingin yliopiston tutkijaseminaarilaisia arvokkaista huomioista artikkelikäsikirjoituksen eri vaiheissa. Kiitos myös Petteri Laihoselle tarkkanäköisestä toimitustyöstä.

[2] Koodinvaihdon käsitteestä ja sen tutkimuskirjallisuudessa esiintyvistä synonyymeista (kuten koodinsekoitus, koodinmuutos, koodien/kielten vuorottelu, koodin kopiointi) sekä koodinvaihdon ja lainan eroista ks. esim. Kovács 2009: 24.

[3] Suomenkielisen yleisesityksen koodinvaihdon tutkimuksesta antaa Kovács (ma). Tartonsuomalaisten koodinvaihdon pragmatiikasta Praakli (2007) ja Frick (2003, 2008).

Tämän tarkastelun keskipisteessä ovat kaksikieliset yhdyssanat, eli sellaiset yhdyssanat, joiden toinen osa on suomea ja toinen viroa, esim. *südasoppa* 'sydänsoppa'. Monet esimerkkisanat perustuvat kaksikieliseen homofoniaan, eli ovat muodoltaan suomenkielisiä, muistuttavat jotakin virolaista sanaa ja saavat merkityksensä virosta: esim. *reisisanasto* 'matkailusanasto' (vrt. viron *reisisõnastik*). Kuvailen kaksikielisten yhdyssanojen muodostustapoja ja pohdin mahdollisia syitä niiden käyttöön. Viimeisessä luvussa tarkastelen yhteyttä kaksikielisen homofonian ja yhdyssanojen vakiintuneisuuden välillä.

Kaksikieliset yhdyssanat eivät ole kovin yleisiä, mutteivät toisaalta äärimmäisen harvinaisiakaan. Niitä löytyi noin 40[4] eri sanaa aineistosta, joka koostuu viidestä noin tunnin mittaisesta nauhoitetusta arkikeskustelusta, noin tuhannesta sähköpostiviestistä ja pikaviestikeskustelusta sekä osallistuvan havainnoinnin kautta syntyneistä päiväkirjamerkinnöistä. Lisäksi olen ottanut muutaman esimerkin muista Tartossa 1990-luvulla opiskelleiden suomalaisten kieltä käsittelevistä kirjoituksista (Klaas 1999, Kataja 2001, Kataja ja Klaas 2003). Vertailen tuloksia Suomessa asuvien virolaisten kielestä löydettyihin esimerkkeihin (Praakli 2009) sekä vironvenäläisten yhdyssanoista tehtyyn tutkimukseen (Verschik 2004, 2005, 2008)[5]. Koska Tartossa asuvat suomalaiset eivät ole laajalti tunnettu tutkimuskohde, kuvailen aluksi tätä yhteisöä ja heidän kielenkäyttöään yleisemmin.

## 2. Tarton suomalaiset ja heidän kielenkäyttönsä

Tartto on Etelä-Virossa sijaitseva yliopistokaupunki, jossa on noin 100 000 asukasta, ja kyseessä on Viron toiseksi suurin kaupunki. Kaupungissa asuvien suomalaisten määrä vaihtelee laskentatavasta riippuen muutamasta sadasta noin tuhanteen.

Käsittelen sellaisten suomalaisten kielenkäyttöä, jotka ovat muuttaneet Viroon 1990- ja 2000-luvuilla. Suurin osa esimerkeistä on peräisin opiskelijoilta, mutta joukossa on myös Tartossa lähinnä kulttuuri- tai opetusalalla

[4] Aineisto on suurehko verrattuna Ad Backusin hollanninturkin korpukseen, jossa kaksikielisiä yhdyssubstantiiveja on vain 4 kpl (2003: 23) tai Treffers-Dallerin (2005) brysseliläisaineistoon, jossa on 22 kaksikielistä yhdyssubstantiivia.

[5] Kuten tämäkin artikkeli, molemmat Virossa tehdyt tutkimukset käsittelevät pääasiassa yhdyssubstantiiveja. Muuten kaksikielisten yhdyssanojen tutkimus on enemmän keskittynyt verbeihin (esim. Muysken 2000: 19–30, Edwards–Gardner-Chloros 2004). Kaksikielisiä yhdyssubstantiiveja on kuitenkin raportoitu esiintyvän useissa kielipareissa, esim. englanti–saksa (Clyne 1967 Muyskenin 2000: 150 mukaan), turkki–saksa (Backus 2003: 104–106), uzbekki–venäjä (Mardanov 1983 Johansonin 2002 mukaan), englanti–espanja (esim. Morin 2006: 171) ja hollanti–ranska (Treffers-Daller 2005).

työskentelevien suomalaisten puhetta. Mukana on myös esimerkkejä sellaisilta puhujilta, jotka ovat muuttaneet Virosta takaisin Suomeen – viron vaikutus heidän kielenkäyttöönsä näkyy nimittäin vielä paluumuuton jälkeenkin. Puhujien kielenkäytössä ja koodinvaihdossa voi huomata eroja, jotka riippuvat heidän taustastaan tai Virossa asutusta ajasta (ks. Frick 2008). Kaksikielisten yhdyssanojen muodostukseen tämä ei kuitenkaan näytä heijastuvan.

Tartonsuomalaisten keskinäisissä suomenkielisissä keskusteluissa tapahtuu lauseensisäistä ja lauseiden välistä koodinvaihtoa, eli siihen otetaan virosta yksittäisiä sanoja tai kokonaisia lauseita ja lausumia. Joskus viro voi näkyä vain siten, että suomalaista sanaa käytetään merkityksessä, joka on otettu samankuuloiselta virolaiselta sanalta. Tällaisia tapauksia kutsun kaksikielisiksi homofoneiksi (Clyne 2003: 164–165). Sukulaissanojen ja muun kaksikielisen homofonian takia kahden kielen yksiselitteinen erottaminen ei ole mahdollista. Kaksikieliset puhujat liikkuvatkin sujuvasti kielten välimaastossa ja ottavat keskustelussa käyttöön kaksikielisen moodin, joka avautuu vain muille kaksikielisille.

Periaatteessa koodinvaihto voi tapahtua lausuman tai lauseen missä tahansa kohdassa. Aineistossani yleisintä on sellainen koodinvaihto, jossa yksittäinen vironkielinen sana – yleisimmin substantiivi – upotetaan suomenkieliseen lauseeseen. Tällöin sanaa voidaan taivuttaa joko suomeksi, mikä on yleisintä, tai viroksi (Frick 2008). Esimerkissä 1 vironkielisiä sanoja taivutetaan suomalaisilla päätteillä, eli ne ovat morfologisesti integroituneita[6]. Esimerkissä ensimmäisen vuoden eläinlääketieteen opiskelijat aloittavat MSN-keskustelun, jonka aiheina ovat anatomian koe ja preparointiharjoitukset.

[6] Jotkut tutkijat, esim. Poplack, tekevät eron koodinvaihdon ja sporadisen lainan *(nonce borrowing)* välillä sillä perusteella, onko sana morfologisesti, äänteellisesti ja/tai syntaktisesti integroitunut keskustelun pääkieleen. Tämä teoria on kuitenkin saanut osaksi laajaa kritiikkiä, jota on perusteltu mm. juuri suomalaisella ja virolaisella aineistolla (esim. Halmari 1997: 16–19, Leisiö 2001: 207–209, Verschik 2002). Myös lainasanoja tutkinut Haugen käytti kaksikielisistä yhdyssanoista nimitystä *loan* tai *borrowing.* Muysken (2000: 150–151) luokittelee kaksikieliset yhdyssubstantiivit lainoihin *(lexical borrowing)*. Itse käytän koodinvaihtoa yläkäsitteenä, joka kattaa kaikki tässä käsiteltävät esimerkit. Lainoina voi mielestäni pitää vain usein toistuvia sanoja, jotka näyttävät vakiintuneet yhteisön kielenkäyttöön.

***Esimerkki 1***

| | |
|---|---|
| 1[7] Henni sanoo: | ters .. |
| 2 Henni sanoo: | joko on hästi opittu kaikki muskelit .. |
| 3 Jonsku sanoo: | ei iha veel kun niitä on liiga palju |
| 4 Henni sanoo: | joojoo, nää viisosaset meinaa vähän tökkiä. ootko menossa vielä pe kattomaan niitä? |
| 5 Jonsku sanoo: | en usko kun alotetaan prepareerimine jo ke |
| 6 Jonsku sanoo: | niitä ei varmaan saa yksin availla |
| 7 Henni sanoo: | nii että suurella uskolla ja voimalla jää nää läpikukkumiset historiaan .. ei sillä että sulle niitä tulis :P |
| 8 Henni sanoo: | eikö se nahkuri meinannut että saa tehdä joka viikko seuraavaan vahearvestukseen asti.. |

Esimerkissä 1 on lasku- ja tulkintatavasta riippuen jopa 8 koodinvaihdoksi luokiteltavaa tapausta. Vuoron 1 tervehdys *ters* voi olla mukaelma viron sanasta *tere*. Erikielisillä tervehdyksillä leikittely onkin yleistä myös suomalaisissa chat-keskusteluissa (Kotilainen 2002). Vuorossa 3 on vaihdettu kolme taipumatonta adverbiaalia: *veel* 'vielä' ja *liiga palju* 'liian paljon'.

Esimerkki 1 on siitä tyypillinen Tartossa opiskeleville suomalaisille, että siinä monet vironkieliset sanat liittyvät opintoihin. Kun opiskellaan viroksi, sellaiset käsitteet, kuten *prepareerimine* 'preparointi' (vuoro 5), *läpikukkumiset* < vir. *läbikukkumised* 'reputukset' (7) ja *vahearvestus* 'välitentti' (8) ovat tutumpia viroksi: ne kuvaavat ilmiöitä, jotka ovat puhujille olemassa lähinnä vironkielisessä kontekstissa. Viron käyttö on mahdollista, koska käsitteet kuuluvat siihen maailmaan, joka on puhujien yhteinen. Täten koodinvaihdon avulla rakennetaan yhteenkuuluvuutta ja vironsuomalaista identiteettiä. Sana *prepareerimine* esiintyy perusmuodossa, mutta *läpikukkumise**t*** ja *vahearvestukse**en*** on taivutettu suomalaisella päätteellä. Molemmat sanat on mukautettu suomeen myös vartaloltaan: *läp**p**ikukkumiset* on kirjoitettu <p>:llä ja *vahearvestus* saa suomenmukaisen vartalon *(-us : -ukse-*). Myös rakenne [illatiivi + *asti*] on suomea: virossa sitä vastaisi *-ni*-päätteinen terminatiivi *vahearvestuseni.*

[7] Nimet on muutettu kaikissa esimerkeissä. Vuorojen alku "Henni sanoo" on pikaviestimen automaattisesti lisäämä. Olen numeroinut vuorot ja alleviivannut vironkieliset tai virosta vaikutteita saaneet sanat.

### 3. Yhdyssanojen koodinvaihto

Koodinvaihdon typologiaa voi tarkastella paitsi taivutusmorfologian kannalta myös siitä näkökulmasta, miten kaksi kieltä kohtaavat usemmasta osasta koostuvissa konstruktioissa, kuten yhdyssanoissa. Yhdyssana määritellään suomen ja viron kieliopeissa samoin: se on kahden sanan yhtymä, joka hahmotetaan yhtenä sanana, ja joka myös kirjoitetaan yhteen (ISK §398–§403, EKK: SM4). Suurin osa tässä käsiteltävistä yhdyssanoista on substantiiveja ja ns. määritysyhdyssanoja, jotka koostuvat määriteosasta ja edusosasta. Vaikka määriteosa voi olla eri sijamuodoissa, suomessa se on yleisimmin nominatiivissa (ISK §409), kun taas virossa genetiivikin on yleinen (EKK: SM29). Määriteosa voi olla myös ns. yhdysosamuoto, kuten suomen sanassa ***kirjoittamis****taito* (ISK §400) ja viron ***lugemis****oskus* ’lukutaito’ (*lugemis* < *lugemine* ’lukeminen’) (EKK: SM29).

Edellisen luvun esimerkin 1 yhdyssanat *vahearvestus* ja *läpikukkumiset* eroavat siinä, että *vahearvestus* koostuu kahdesta sellaisesta vironkielisestä osasta, jotka kuulostaisivat suomeksi aivan erilaiselta: *vahe* ’väli’ ja *arvestus* ’tentti’. Tämä yhdyssana ei avautuisi yksikieliselle suomenpuhujalle. *Läpikukkumiset* sen sijaan näyttää ulkoisesti suomenkieliseltä yhdyssanalta. Sanan *läpi* merkitys on sama kuin virossa (vain kirjoitusasu eroaa), mutta *kukkumisella* suomeksi on aivan eri merkitys kuin viroksi: viron *kukkumine* ’putoaminen’. Kyseessä on siis kaksikielinen homofoni. Kun virossa ”läpi putoaminen” tarkoittaa reputusta, ei vastaava konstruktio toimi suomeksi edes käännettynä. Yksikielinen suomalainen voi sanan kuullessaan kenties kuvitella sellaisen käen, joka kukkumalla pääsee puun läpi kuin tikka. Viroon muuttavat suomalaiset saattavatkin aluksi suosia sellaisia virolaisia sanoja, jotka kuulostavat suomeksi hassuilta (Kataja–Klaas 2003: 305).

Kuten esimerkistä 1 kävi ilmi, yhdyssanat altistuvat koodinvaihdolle siinä missä muutkin sanat. Suomenkieliseen puheeseen tai tekstiin otetaan virolaisia yhdyssanoja eri sanaluokista, mutta ylivoimaisesti suurin ryhmä ovat substantiivit (esim. *perearst* ’perhelääkäri’*, ühiselamu* ’asuntola’*, kodutöö* ’kotitehtävä’*, õllebingo* ’olutbingo’). Virosta otetaan käyttöön myös numeraaleja (*kakskümmend* ’kaksikymmentä’*, üksainus* ’yksi ainoa’), adjektiiveja (*tagasihoidlik* ’vaatimaton’) ja adverbeja (*põhimõtteliselt* ’periaatteessa’). Jotkut virolaiset kahden tai useamman sanan kiinteät yhdistelmät eivät perinteisen määritelmän (esim. EKK) mukaan ole yhdyssanoja: genetiivimäärite + substantiivi (*südame sisekesta põletik* ’sydämen sisäkalvon tulehdus’*, ülikooli peahoone* ’yliopiston päärakennus’), verbaalirakenteet (*läbi kukkunud* ’reputtanut’*, võib-olla* ’voi olla’) idiomaattiset ilmaukset ja fraasit (*vabandus vastuvõetud* ’saat anteeksi’, *hoia pöialt* ’pidä peukkuja’). Jotkut näistä konst-

ruktioista ovat kuitenkin suomeksi käännettyinä yhdyssanoja (*konfidentsiaalsuse leping* 'salassapitosopimus', *tere tulemast* 'tervetuloa', *suur aitäh* 'suurkiitos', *üheti mõistetavalt* 'yksiselitteisesti'). Rajanveto yhdyssanojen ja muiden kaksiosaisten konstruktioiden välillä ei siis ole yksiselitteistä varsinkaan, kun kyseessä on kaksikielinen aineisto. Siitä, ettei yhdyssanan kategoria ole selvärajainen myöskään kielenkäyttäjille, kielii sekin, että aineistossa esiintyy useita erikseen kirjoitettuja yhdyssanoja.

Yhdyssanat ovat siitä omalaatuisia, että kaksikielisessä puheessa niiden eri osat voivat olla erikielisiä. Tällaisista yhdyssanoista on käytetty nimityksiä *loanblends* (Haugen 1950: 219) ja *mixed compounds* (Muysken 2000). Kaksikielisiä yhdyssanoja on tutkinut vironvenäjän osalta Anna Verschik (2004, 2008: 125–129), joka kutsuu niitä Lars Johansonin koodinkopiointimallin mukaisesti sekakopioiksi – *mixed copies*. Samaa teoreettista viitekehystä käyttää Kristiina Praakli (2009: 140–143) tarkastellessaan Suomessa asuvien virolaisten kaksikielisiä yhdyssanoja. Praaklin esimerkit suomenvirolaisten yhdyssanoista ovat rakenteeltaan samankaltaisia kuin tartonsuomalaisten muodostamat, mutta eroja näkyy aihepiireissä, joihin sanat liittyvät: esim. *verokaart* 'verokortti' ja *kerhohoone* 'kerhohuone' kuvaavat käsitteitä, joihin puhujat ovat ilmeisesti tutustuneet Suomessa (mp).

Ad Backus (2001) on esittänyt teorian, jonka mukaan tarkoitteeltaan spesifit ja kohdekulttuuriin tyypillisesti liittyvät sanat altistuvat koodinvaihdolle helpoiten. Sanojen semanttinen spesifiys, kulttuurisidonnaisuus, vaikuttaa myös virolais–venäläisten yhdyssanojen käyttöön: vironvenäläiset tuntevat mm. markkinatalouden käsitteet paremmin vironkielisenä ja käyttävät siksi siihen liittyviä yhdyssanoja kokonaan tai osittain vironkielisinä (Verschik 2008: 125–126). Nämä sanat ovat käyttäjilleen kuin kulttuurilainoja, jotka on otettu käyttöön uusien käsitteiden myötä (ks. mm. Haspelmath 2008: 47–48).

### 3.1. Kaksikieliset yhdyssanat ja homofonia

Myös Virossa asuvien suomalaisten kielessä on kulttuurilainoja, jotka on otettu käyttöön Virossa tutuksi tulleen ilmiön myötä. Tällainen on esimerkiksi osakuntaelämään liittyvä sana *värienkantaja,* joka merkitsee osakunnan täysjäsentä, eli henkilöä, joka on fuksiaikansa päätteeksi saanut osakunnan ”värit” (vir. *värvid*): nauhan ja osakuntalakin. Sanan taustalla on viron sana *värvikandja.* Viron sana *kandma* nimittäin merkitsee sekä 'kantamista' että esim. vaatteiden tai tässä tapauksessa osakuntanauhan ja -lakin 'pitoa'. Sana *värienkantaja* on siis muodostettu virolaisen yhdyssanan perusteella ottamatta huomioon sitä, että suomeksi vaatteita, hattuja ja nauhoja ”pidetään”

eikä ”kanneta”. Sana *värienkantaja* on vakiintuneessa käytössä Tarton suomalaisessa osakunnassa, ja se esiintyy aineistossa kymmeniä kertoja.

Osakunnan ulkopuolellakin suomalaiset kohtaavat Viroon muuttaessaan asioita, jotka eivät ole entuudestaan tuttuja tai ainakaan jokapäiväisiä. Tällaisia ovat esimerkkien 2, 3 ja 4 yhdyssanat, jotka liittyvät elämään ja asumiseen Virossa. Esimerkkien 2, 3 ja 4 kaksikieliset yhdyssanat ovat enemmän tai vähemmän kulttuurispesifejä: *kommunaalimaks* ’~yhtiövastike/huoltovastike’ on maksutyyppi, jota ei Suomessa tunneta lainkaan. ’Oleskelulupa’ on puolestaan sana, joka on olemassa ja jonka tartonsuomalaiset varmasti tuntevat suomeksikin, mutta joka ei ole liittynyt heidän arkeensa ennen Viroon muuttoa. ’Johdantokursseja’ tartonsuomalaiset lienevät kohdanneet Suomessakin, mutta kun on puhe Tartossa käytävistä kursseista, sana luodaan uudelleen viron mallia käyttäen. Esimerkki 2 on tartonsuomalaisten sähköpostilistalle lähetetystä viestistä. Esimerkit 3 ja 4 puolestaan ovat peräisin osallistuvaan havainnointiin perustuvista päiväkirjamerkinnöistä (Klaas 1999).

***Esimerkki 2***

Tähän asti vuokra on ollut kommunaalimaksujen kera 2000 eek/kk,mahd nostavat ad 3000 eek joulukuun alusta (vir. *kommunaalmaksud* ’~yhtiövastike’).

***Esimerkki 3***

Kävin eilen hakemassa elämislupaani (vir. *elamisluba* ’oleskelulupa’).

***Esimerkki 4***

No se sisäänjohdatuskurssi alkaa huomenna (vir. *sissejuhatuskursus* ’johdantokurssi’).

Esimerkkien 2, 3 ja 4 yhdyssanat on muodostettu niin, että vironkielisen yhdyssanan osat on korvattu vastaavilla suomenkielisillä sanoilla. Esimerkin 4 *sisäänjohdatuskurssi* muistuttaa käännöslainaa: sen kolme vironkielistä osaa on käännetty suomeksi: *sisse* ’sisään’ + *juhatus* ’johdatus’ + *kursus* ’kurssi’. Muut esimerkit kuitenkin osoittavat, ettei sanoja ole varsinaisesti käännetty suomeksi, vaan on käytetty sukulaissanoja tai samankuuloisia kansainvälisiä sanoja: viron *elamislupa* olisi sananmukaisesti käännettynä ”asumislupa”, eikä suomessa harvinainen sana *kommunaali*kaan tarkoita samaa kuin viron *kommunaal-* (ks. taulukko 1). Mekanismi on siis sama kuin merkityslainojen muodostamisessa sillä rajoituksella, että tartonsuomalaiset käyttävät kaksikielisiä homofoneja. Onkin todettu, että sukulaissanat ja kaksikieli-

set homofonit[8] helpottavat koodinvaihtoa (Clyne 2003: 164–165) ja että vaikuttavat kaksikielisten yhdyssanojen muodostamiseen myös mm. vironvenäjässä (Verschik 2004, 2005).

Kaksikieliseen homofoniaan tukeutuen on muodostettu sähköpostiviestistä otetun esimerkin 5 sana *yhteisyritys*. Viron sana *üritus* merkitsee 'tapahtumaa'. Viestin kirjoittaja ottaa osaa keskusteluun, joka koskee virolaisen osakunnan lähettämää ehdotusta järjestää jokin yhteinen tapahtuma. Virolaiset väittävät suomalaisten ehdottaneen yhteistoimintaa, mutta kukaan ei tunnu muistavan keskustelua:

***Esimerkki 5***

> Heissan! Enpa osaa puolestani muuta sanoa kuin etta tekemista on varmaankin jossain keskustelutilanteessa esiintyneesta lausahduksesta, jossa toisena osapuolena on ollut Astorian[9] edustaja. En osaa tuosta viestista muuta paatella... Voin siis olla hyvinkin itse "syyllinen". Kysymys kai lahinna on, sovimmeko yhteisyrityksesta? ;) anneli[10]

Esimerkin 5 sähköpostiviesti on reaktio vironkieliseen viestiin, jossa käytetään sanaa *ühisüritus* 'yhteistapahtuma'. Tässä tapauksessa koodinvaihto toimiikin intertekstuaalisena keinona: sillä osoitetaan yhteys virolaiseen viestiin. Sana esiintyy lauseessa, jossa kirjoittaja muistuttaa lukijoita alkuperäisestä keskustelunaiheesta, siitä mistä "on kysymys". Koodinvaihto vahvistaa muistutuksen tehoa, sillä sen avulla Anneli saa sanomansa taakse myös ensimmäisen viestin virolaisen kirjoittajan äänen. Tämä pragmaattinen motivaatio sanan *yhteisyritys* käytölle on yksi syy, miksi sitä eikä vastaavia sanoja ei tule pitää (merkitys)lainana vaan nimenomaan koodinvaihtona. Toinen syy on se, ettei sana ole yleisesti käytössä vaan esiintyy vain kerran.

Taulukossa 1 on esitetty yhteenvedonomaisesti esimerkkejä siitä, miten sukulaissanoja ja muita kaksikielisiä homofoneja käytetään yhdyssanojen luomiseen. Näiden sanojen molemmat osat muistuttavat äänteellisesti sekä suomalaisia että virolaisia sanoja. Sanojen merkitys, tyyli tai käyttötaajuus saattaa olla erilainen:

---

[8] Haugen (1950: 220) erottaa kaksikieliset analogit homofoneista, jotka ovat vain äänteellisesti samankaltaisia, mutta eroavat merkitykseltään. Itse käytän Clynen tavoin käsitettä kaksikielinen homofoni merkitsemään sekä niitä sukulaissanoja ja kansainvälisiä sanoja, joiden merkitys on suomessa ja virossa sama, että niitä, joiden merkitys on eri. Aineisto osoittaa, etteivät homofonien merkityserot estä tartonsuomalaisia käyttämästä niitä yhdyssanoissa.

[9] Esimerkeissä esiintyvät virolaisosakuntien ja henkilöiden nimet on muutettu.

[10] Kirjoittajalla ei ilmeisesti ole käytössään ä- ja ö-kirjaimilla varustettua näppäimistöä.

– vir. *hoone* 'rakennus' – vrt. suom. *huone* (eri merkitys);
– vir. *pidu* 'bileet' – vrt. suom. *pidot* (eri tyyli);
– vir. *meditsiin* 'lääketiede' – vrt. suom. *medisiini* (eri käyttötaajuus).

Taulukon 1 kohdassa a on lueteltu sanoja, joiden äänne- tai kirjoitusasu on täysin suomenmukainen, ja kohdassa b sellaisia sanoja, joiden alku- tai loppuosa on vironmukainen. Vasemmanpuoleisessa sarakkeessa on sana siinä muodossa, jossa se esiintyy aineistossa.

***Taulukko 1***
Sukulaissanat ja muut kaksikieliset homofonit yhdyssananmuodostuksessa

| **Tartonsuomalainen esiintymä** | **Perusmuoto** | **Vironkielinen vastine** | **Merkitys** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **a) foneettisesti / ortografisesti suomeen mukautetut** | | | |
| kommunaalimaksujen | kommunaali+maksu[11] | kommunaal+maks | ~ yhtiövastike |
| elämislupaani[12] | elämis+lupa | elamisluba | oleskelulupa |
| sisäänjohdatuskurssi | sisään+johdatus+kurssi | sisse+juhatus+kursus | johdantokurssi |
| yhteisyrityksesta | yhteis+yritys | ühis+üritus | yhteistapahtuma |
| fasaadiremonttia | fasaadi+remontti | fassaadi+remont | julkisivuremontti |
| tähtiaika[13] | tähti+aika | täht+aeg | määräaika |
| päähuone | pää+huone | pea+hoone | päärakennus |
| reisisanasto | reisi+sanasto | reisi+sõnastik | matkailusanasto |
| **b) osittain suomeen mukautetut** | | | |
| tuludeklaraatioon | tulu+deklaraatio | tulu+deklaratsioon | veroilmoitus (vrt. sm. tulo) |
| õppekaavan | õppe+kaava | õppe+kava | opinto-ohjelma |
| valentininpäevan | valentinin+päeva | valentini+päev | ystävänpäivä |
| meditsiiniteoriaan | meditsiini+teoria | meditsiini+teooria | lääketieteen teoria (vrt. sm. medisiini) |
| südasoppa | süda+soppa | südame+supp | sydänsoppa |
| latinopidut | latino+pidut | latiino+pidu | latinobileet |
| pesumasiina | pesu+masiina | pesu+masin | pesukone |

Englanti–saksa ja hollanti–ranska kaksikielisiä yhdyssanoja analysoineet Muysken (2000: 150) ja Treffers-Daller (2005: 496) ovat laskeneet, että yhdyssanojen edusosa on useimmin keskustelun pääkielen mukainen, mikä

[11] Yhdyssanojen osat on eroteltu +-merkillä.
[12] Sanat elämislupa ja sisäänjohdatuskurssi ovat Klaasin (1999) aineistosta.
[13] Sanat *päähuone* ja *tähtiaika* ovat Katajan (2001) aineistosta.

tässä aineistossa merkitsisi suomea. Taulukon 1 yhdyssananosien osalta on kuitenkin mahdotonta erottaa, ovatko ne suomea vai viroa (sen sijaan seuraavassa luvussa, taulukossa 2, on lueteltu sellaisia yhdyssanoja, joiden osat ovat selvemmin jomman kumman kielisiä). Kun vertaa taulukon 1 toista ja kolmatta saraketta, huomaa, että merkitykseltään virolaisista yhdyssananosista ovat suomenmukaisia joko molemmat (kohta a) tai toinen (kohta b).Viron *hoone* sijalla on *huone,* viron *deklaratsioon*in sijalla *deklaraatio* jne. Sanojen merkitys pysyy kuitenkin vironkielisenä, kun mm. sanalla *reisi* tarkoitetaan ’matkustusta’, *huonee*lla ’rakennusta’ ja *kaava*lla ’ohjelmaa’.

Taulukon 1 kohdassa b vironmukaisia ovat sekä määriteosana toimivat *õppe* ja *süda* että edusosana *päev*. Viimeksi mainittu saa suomenmukaisen genetiivin päätteen, mutta vartalovokaali on *a* kuten virossa: *päevan.* Sanan *latinopidut* edusosa on virolainen *pidu*, joka saa suomen monikon päätteen. Mallina on ilmeisesti suomen monikkosanaperhe *juhlat, bileet, pidot* jne. Virossa sana *pidu* ei ole monikollinen, mutta sen monikkomuoto olisi *peod.* Olisi liian yksinkertaistavaa väittää, että yhdyssanat on muodostettu ”muuttamalla” virolainen yhdyssana suomalaisemmaksi. Ennemminkin näyttää siltä, että kaksikieliset kielenkäyttäjät ammentavat rakennusaineita molemmista kielistä ja luovat niiden pohjalta uusia sanoja ja rakenteita.

Vaikka taulukossa 1 kohdassa a esitellyt yhdyssanat näyttävät muodoltaan suomenkielisiltä, niiden useimpien merkitys auennee yksikielisille suomenpuhujille yhtä vähän kuin esimerkin 1 sana *läpikukkumiset.* Tämä herättää kysymyksen siitä, mikä on kaksikielisen kielimuodon asema ja merkitys puhujille ja laajemmin koko yhteisölle. Kun kaksikieliset puhujat käyttävät edelläkuvatulla tavalla luotuja sanoja, joiden merkitys aukeaa vain molempien kielten puhujille, voidaan sanoa, että kaksikielinen kielimuoto on enemmän kuin kahden kielen summa. Aihetta pohtii myös Verschik, joka käsittelee yhdyssanoja esimerkkinä vironvenäjän konvergenssista eli lähentymisestä viroa kohti (Verschik 2004: 106). Verschikin esimerkeissä vironvenäläiset luovat yhdyssanoja, joiden toinen tai molemmat osat ovat sellaisia kansainvälisiä sanoja, jotka kuulostavat virossa ja venäjässä lähestulkoon samalta (ma. 105–106). Homofonia siis helpottaa kaksikielisten yhdyssanojen syntyä, kuten Einar Haugen havainnoi amerikannorjan perusteella (1950: 219).

### 3.2. Yhdyssanojen muodostus ilman homofoniaa

Vironsuomalaisten yhdyssananmuodostus näyttää rikkaammalta kuin vironvenäläisten. He nimittäin luovat myös sellaisia yhdyssanoja, jotka eivät perustu kahden kielen sanojen samankuuloisuuteen (ks. esimerkit 6–9 ja taulukko 2). Tätä ei kuitenkaan välttämättä voi tulkita niin, että Virossa puhutun

suomen konvergenssi olisi suurempaa kuin vironvenäjän. Ensinnäkin, tässä käsitelty sananmuodostuskeino, yhdyssanat, on virossa yleisempi kuin venäjässä (Verschik 2004: 94) ja suomessa jopa yleisempi kuin virossa (Metslang 1994: 204). Lisäksi suomen ja viron yhdistymistä helpottaa sukulaissanojen runsaus sekä todennäköisesti sekin, että kielet ovat morfologisesti samankaltaisia[14]. Kelpasivathan esimerkkien 1–5 vironsuomalaisten yhdyssanojen alkuosien *s*-vartalot virosta suomeen otettaviksi ilman vartalovokaalin lisäystä: esim. *elä**mis**-* (< vir. *ela**mis**-*), *-johda**tus**-* (< vir. *-juha**tus**-*) ja *yhte**is**-* (< vir. *üh**is**-*). Viron vokaaliloppuiset genetiivit muistuttavat typologialtaan suomen nominatiiveja, minkä tuloksena on paljon samankaltaisia yhdyssanoja suomessa ja virossa (esim. *sein**a**+kell* 'seinä+kello'). Taulukossa 1 lueteltujen sanojen määriteosissa olikin useita sellaisia viron genetiivimuotoja, joiden *i*-vartalo muistuttaa suomen nominatiivia: *kommunaali, reisi, meditsiini.*

Myös Praaklin (2009: 141–142) tutkimat suomenvirolaiset muodostavat yhdyssanoja yleensä juuri yhteisiin sanoihin perustuen: *lähipiir* 'lähipiiri', *ajokeeld* 'ajokielto', *verokaart* 'verokortti', *avoliit* 'avoliitto'. Näiden osista vain sanalla *vero* ei ole samankuuloista vastinetta virossa. Yhdyssanan voi siis muodostaa niinkin, että vain osa siitä saa tukea kaksikielisestä homofoniasta. Mainitseepa hän (mp.) myös yhdyssanan *toppajope* 'toppatakki', jonka kummallakaan osalla ei ole vastinetta toisessa kielessä (vrt. vir. *vattjope*).

Siirryn nyt yhdyssanoihin, jotka perustuvat kaksikieliseen homofoniaan vain osittain tai eivät ollenkaan. Esimerkkien 6 ja 7 sanoissa *sööklahaju* ja *neerukirja* vain suomenkielinen edusosa *(haju, kirja)* on sukulaissana, esimerkissä 8 *tibilauma*n määriteosa *tibi* muistuttaa suomen sanaa *tipu* (viroksi *tibu*) ja esimerkin 9 sanassa *kolimistouhut* ei ole lainkaan sellaisia osia, jotka olisivat yhteisiä suomelle ja virolle. Esimerkki 6 on kasvokkaiskeskustelusta, jossa puhuja kuvailee rappukäytävässään leijailevaa hajua. Esimerkki 7 on lääketieteen opiskelijan kurssitovereilleen lähettämästä sähköpostiviestistä ja esimerkit 8 ja 9 ystävysten välisistä pikaviestikeskusteluista.

[14] Myös Haugen 1950: 219 ja Muysken 2000: 151 pitävät kielten rakenteellista samankaltaisuutta syynä siihen, miksi toisaalta amerikannorjalaiset ja toisaalta australiansaksalaiset muodostavat kaksikielisiä yhdyssanoja.

***Esimerkki 6***

Siellä on sööklahaju ku joku tekee ruokaa (vir. *söökla* ’ruokala’).

***Esimerkki 7***

Mä on täydellisesti menettänyt hermoni sen neerukirjan kanssa.... (vir. *neer*, GEN *neeru* ’munuainen’).

***Esimerkki 8***

kovaääniset oli suunnattu niin, että (Eino Petersonin) välitekstit kuului vain keskelle, mutta sinne ei mahtunu — tai sitte vieressä oli äänekäs ”tibilauma” (vir. *tibi* ’tipu’).

***Esimerkki 9***

hyvin menee nää kolimistouhut .. kamat on myyty mut vieläkään ei oo nimeä paperissa :D (vir. *kolimis-* ’muutto’).

Esimerkkien 6–9 yhdyssanojen määriteosat *söökla* ’ruokala’, *neer* ’munuainen’ ja *kolimis-* ’muutto’ eivät muistuta mitään suomalaista sanaa, joka tukisi niiden käyttämistä. Esimerkin 8 *tibilauma*n määriteosa *tibi* viittaa virossa yksinomaan naiseen, kun taas saman sanapesueen sanoja *tibu* (vir.) ja *tipu* (suom.) käytetään vastaavassa merkityksessä vain harvoin. Sanan edusosalla *lauma* ei ole homofonista vastinetta virossa.

Mikä muu kuin homofonia voi helpottaa kaksikielisten yhdyssanojen muodostumista? Sana *söökla* viittaa tietynlaisiin virolaisiin ruokaloihin, joilla on ominaisuuksia, joita Suomesta ei löydy – tämä juuri onkin kyseisen keskustelun aiheena. Sanalla *tibi* puolestaan viitataan naisellisesti puheutuvaan ja käyttäytyvään nuoreen naiseen, ja sanalla voi olla halveksiva sävy. *Söökla* ja *tibi* eivät ole kulttuurilainoja sanan tiukassa merkityksessä, koska sanoilla on myös suomalaiset vastineet. Ne eivät myöskään viittaa käsitteisiin, joita puhujat olisivat saattaneet kohdata ensi kertaa Virossa, kuten aiemmin mainittu *elämislupa* ’oleskelulupa’. Niillä on silti tietty kulttuurispesifi merkitysvivahde ja niitä käytetään halveksivaankin sävyyn: *sööklas*sa haisee pahalle ja *tibi*t ovat häiritsevän äänekkäitä. Toisin sanoen valitsemalla virolaisen sanan puhuja osoittaa asennoitumistaan puheena olevaan asiaan.

Esimerkin 6 *söökla* on tarkoitteeltaan rajatumpi kuin vastaava suomalainen sana olisi: sillä viitataan tiettyihin tarttolaisiin ruokaloihin, joita on vain rajallinen määrä ja jotka tunnetaan kaikki nimeltä. Myös esimerkin 7 sana *neerukirja* viitannee tiettyyn munuaisia käsittelevään kirjaan, koska sanaa edeltää tarkenne *se,* jota voi pitää määräisenä artikkelina (Laury 1996).

Homofonia, kulttuurispesifiys ja tarkoitteen määräisyys tai tunnettuus eivät kuitenkaan selitä kaikkia yhdyssananosia. Esimerkin 9 keskustelussa, jossa sana *kolimistouhut* esiintyy, ei ole mitään viitteitä siitä, että Virossa tapahtuva muutto eroaisi jollain tapaa Suomen muutoista. Kaikkia tapauksia ei voi siis selittää näin. Myöskään taulukon 2 yhdyssanat eivät kaikki ole merkitykseltään kulttuurispesifejä tai tarkoitteeltaan rajattuja – eikä niiden kaikkien käyttö selity pragmaattisilla motiiveilla. Taulukossa 2 on esitetty yhdyssanoja, joiden toinen tai kumpikaan osa ei perustu homofoniaan. Sanat on ryhmitelty sen perusteella, onko yhdyssanan määrite- tai edusosa vironkielinen ja/tai kaksikielinen homofoni. Kohdat a)–d) edustavat sellaisia yhdyssanoja, joissa toinen osa on sukulaissana tai kaksikielinen homofoni. Kohdassa e) on sanoja, jotka eivät perustu kaksikieliseen homofoniaan.

***Taulukko 2***
Yksikielisistä osista koostuvat kaksikieliset yhdyssanat

| **Tartonsuomalainen esiintymä** | **Perusmuoto** | **Vironkielinen vastine** | **Merkitys** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **a) vain virolainen määriteosa on sukulaissana tai kaksikielinen homofoni** | | | |
| juustubileistä | juustu+bileet | juustu+pidu | juustobileet |
| tibilauma | tibi+lauma | tibi+kari | mimmilauma |
| **b) vain virolainen edusosa on sukulaissana tai kaksikielinen homofoni** | | | |
| enkkuraamatusta | enkku+raamattu | ingliskeelne raamat | enkkukirja |
| **c) vain suomalainen määriteosa on sukulaissana tai kaksikielinen homofoni** | | | |
| muuriehitaja | muuri+ehitaja | müüri+ehitaja | muurinrakentaja |
| **d) vain suomalainen edusosa on sukulaissana tai kaksikielinen homofoni** | | | |
| söökla**haju** | söökla+haju | söökla+hais | ruokalahaju |
| neeru**kirjan** | neeru+kirja | neeru+raamat | munuaiskirja |
| tindi**juttui** | tindi-+juttu | tindi+asi | mustejuttu |
| keskonna**kysymykset** | keskonna+kysymys | keskkonna+küsimus | ympäristö-kysymys |
| **e) kumpikaan osa ei ole sukulaissana eikä kaksikielinen homofoni** | | | |
| kolimistouhut | kolimis+touhu | kolimis+sagin | muuttotouhu |
| bilehoogua | bile+hoog | peo+hoog | bilevauhti |
| kopsukeittoo | kopsu+keitto | kopsu+supp | keuhkokeitto |
| rebasemeininkiin | rebase+meininki | rebaste+üritus | fuksimeininki |

Suurimmassa osassa taulukon 2 sanoista on vironkielinen määriteosa ja suomenkielinen edusosa. Tämäntyyppiset sanat selittyvät useimmiten semant-

tisella spesifiydellä. Sanojen esiintymiskontekstia tarkastellessa selviää, että niiden vironkieliset määriteosat viittaavat johonkin tiettyyn spesifiin ilmiöön: puhutaan tarttolaisista ruokaloista, tietystä munuaisoppikirjasta, sanasta *tint* 'muste', jonka merkitystä joku on kysynyt, ja oppiaineesta, jota kutsutaan nimellä *keskkonna.* Kohdan c) esimerkki *muuriehitaja* puolestaan on otettu sellaisesta keskustelunkohdasta, jossa on merkkejä sanahausta: epäröintiä, tauko ja kysymys *onks se ny*. Ilmeisesti puhuja ei muista oikeaa vironkielistä sanaa *müür* (GEN *müüri*) ja korvaa sen suomenkielisellä:

***Esimerkki 10***

Tai toine o mm mm (.)on onks se ny MUuriehitaja joka sano kaikkee @mm mm mm@ (vir. *ehitaja* 'rakentaja').

Taulukon 2 kohdassa e) on lueteltu sellaisia yhdyssanoja, joiden kumpikaan osa ei ole sukulaissana eikä kaksikielinen homofoni. Tällaisetkin sanat ovat aineistossa melko yleisiä. Näiden yhdyssanojen vironkielisistä osista vain *rebase* ja mahdollisesti *kopsu* voidaan tulkita jollain tavalla kulttuurispesifeiksi sanoiksi. Jää ainakin pari sanaa, *kolimistouhut* 'muuttotouhut' ja *bilehoogua* 'bilevauhtia', jotka eivät ole motivoituneita äänteellisestä samankaltaisuudesta tai spesifistä tarkoitteesta. Näiden sanojen osat ovat selkeästi suomen- tai vironkielisiä eivätkä muistuta äänteellisesti toisen kielen sanoja. Sanojen käyttökontekstista ei nouse esille mitään, mikä osoittaisi kyseisten muuttotouhujen tai bileisiin valmistautumisen eroavan muista vastaavista tilanteista — mitään kulttuurispesifiä merkitystä ei siis vaikuta olevan. Periaatteessa on tietenkin mahdollista, että kahdenkeskisestä pikaviestikeskustelusta otetulla sanalla *kolimistouhut* on osallistujille tuttu lisämerkitys, joka ei avaudu ulkopuoliselle tutkijalle. *Bilehoogua* sen sijaan on osakunnan postituslistalle lähetetystä viestistä, jonka vastaanottajilla ei voi olettaa olevan ylimääräistä taustatietoa.

Sanan *hoog* käyttö yhdyssanassa voi olla motivoitu siten, ettei sen tarkkaa käännöstä 'vauhti' käytetä suomessa yhdyssananosana yhtä usein kuin virossa: sana *bilevauhti* löytyy Google-hakutoiminnolla vain 2 kertaa, kun taas *peohoog* esiintyy internetissä yli 500 kertaa.

Tartonsuomalaisten puheessa ja kirjoituksessa esiintyy siis melko paljon sellaisia kaksikielisiä yhdyssanoja, joiden jommallakummalla tai kummallakaan osalla ei ole äänteellistä vastinetta toisessa kielessä. Tämä on selvä ero Verschikin vironvenäläiseen aineistoon verrattuna, jossa kaikki kaksikieliset yhdyssanat perustuvat homofoniaan. Praaklin tutkimassa suomenvirolaisten aineistossa puolestaan on niin vähän kaksikielisiä yhdyssanoja, ettei määrällistä vertailua voi tehdä. Eräs syy näihin eroihin saattaa piillä tut-

kimusaineistossa: Verschikin aineisto on kerätty pääasiassa julkisista yhteyksistä: TV-ohjelmista, mainoksista, sanomalehdistä jne., ja Praaklin aineisto on pääosin peräisin puoli-institutionaalisista haastatteluista, joissa oletuksena on yksikielisen viron käyttö. Suurin osa tartonsuomalaisten aineistosta on sen sijaan peräisin arkikeskusteluista ja opiskelutovereiden välisistä pikaviesti- ja sähköpostikeskusteluista. Aineiston arkinen luonne näkyy runsaana kielellä leikittelynä ja luovana kielenkäyttönä, kun taas Verschikin ja Praaklin aineistojen muodollisissa yhteyksissä ilmeisesti pidättäydytään asiakielessä ja vakiintuneessa sanastossa. Toisilleen tutut tartonsuomalaiset puhujat myös jakavat enemmän yhteistä kokemusta ja voivat siksi käyttää tilapäisiä yhdyssanoja, jotka viittaavat vain heidän tuntemiinsa ilmiöihin.

### 3.3. Yhdyssanojen vakiintuneisuudesta

Yhdyssanat voidaan jakaa vakiintuneisiin ja tilapäisiin sen mukaan, ovatko ne sanakirjassa vai ”kumpuavatko käyttöyhteydestään” kuten ISK (§ 399) yhdyssanan määrittelee. Tarkastelin aineiston yhdyssanojen yksikielisiä (suomalaisia ja virolaisia) vastineita siltä kannalta, ovatko ne vakiintuneita, eli löytyvätkö ne sanakirjoista. Hain yhdyssanoja myös internetistä Google-hakukoneella nähdäkseni, ovatko sanat jokseenkin yleisesti tunnettuja, vaikkeivät olisi sanakirjoissa omina hakusanoinaan.

Verrattaessa esimerkkejä 6–9 *(sööklahaju, neerukirja, kolimissagin, tibilauma)* aiempiin esimerkkeihin 2–5 *(kommunaalimaksut, elämislupa, sisäänjohdatuskurssi, yhteisyritys)* huomataan, että sukulais- ja muihin samankaltaisiin sanoihin perustuvat esimerkit 2–5 olivat vakiintuneita yhdyssanoja, ja yksikielisiä elementtejä sisältävät eli kielelliseltä rakenteeltaan selkeämmin kahtia jakautuneet esimerkit 6–9 puolestaan tilapäisiä yhdyssanoja. Lähes kaikki taulukkoon 1 kootut sanat, joiden molemmat osat olivat homofoneja, vastaavat vakiintuneita yhdyssanoja, joiden yksikieliset vastineet esiintyvät sanakirjoissa tai ovat siten tunnettuja sanoja, että ne esiintyvät taajasti vaikkapa yliopistojen julkaisuissa (esim. *johdantokurssi*). Taulukossa 2 sen sijaan on vain yksi sana, jonka kummankinkieliset yksikieliset vastineet löytyvät sanakirjoista: *lauatelefon – lankapuhelin.* Jokseenkin tunnettuja ovat myös sanat *juustobileet/juustupidu, muuttotouhut/kolimissagin, muurinrakentaja, bilevauhti/peohoog* ja *mimmilauma/tibikari*, joiden jommankumman-

kielinen haku antaa Googlella satoja osumia muiden sanojen osumamäärän jäädessä molemmilla kielillä alle kymmenen[15].

Yksinkertainen ristiintaulukointi (taulukko 3) paljastaa selvän yhteyden yhdyssanan vakiintuneisuuden ja sen välillä, tukeudutaanko kaksikielisen sanan luonnissa homofoniaan. Seuraavassa on esitetty toisaalta niiden yhdyssanojen lukumäärä, joiden molemmat osat ovat kaksikielisiä homofoneja, ja toisaalta niiden, joissa vain toinen tai ei kumpikaan puoli ole homofoni, ja se, kuuluuko sanan yksikielinen vastine vakiintuneisiin, tunnetuihin vai tilapäisiin yhdyssanoihin.

***Taulukko 3***
Yhdyssanojen vakiintuneisuus ja homofoniaan tukeutuminen

| | Molemmat osat 2-kielisiä homofoneja | Osin tai ei lainkaan homofoniaa | yht. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Vakiintuneet yhdyssanat (sanakirjassa) | 13 | 1 | 14 |
| Tunnetut (Google-hakutulos >100) | 6 | 7 | 13 |
| Ainutkertaiset (Google-hakutulos <10) | 2 | 16 | 18 |
| Yhteensä | 21 | 25 | 45 |

Laajempi tutkimus eri kielipareilla ja nimenomaan arkisista kielenkäyttötilanteista kerätyllä aineistolla voisi selvittää, onko universaali tendenssi, että muodollisemmissa yhteyksissä ja vakiintuneiden yhdyssanojen osalta tukeudutaan sukulaissanoihin ja muihin kaksikielisiin homofoneihin enemmän, kun taas arkikeskustelussa luodaan tilapäisiä yhdyssanoja myös yksikielisemmistä osista. Erityisesti tilapäisten yhdyssanojen kaksikielisyyden selittäjänä voi usein nähdä myös tarkoitteen rajattuuden ja osallistujien yhteiseen tietoon perustuvan kulttuurisen tai kontekstuaalisen lisämerkityksen. Vaikka vakiintuneetkin yhdyssanat nimittäin ovat usein kulttuurispesifejä sanoja (kuten *tuludeklaratsioon* 'veroilmoitus'), ne eivät yleisen tunnettuudensa takia vaadi osallistujilta yhtä syvää tilannekohtaista tietoa kuin tilapäiset yh-

[15] Jätin huomioimatta sanan *ympäristökysymys,* koska sana *keskonnakysymys* oli aineistossa eri merkityksessä, eli viittasi tenttikysymyksiin oppiaineessa, jota kutsuttiin *keskonna*ksi.

dyssanat. Tilapäiset sanat viittaavat spesifeihin, pienen keskustelijajoukon tuntemiin asioihin, kuten kurssikirjoihin, tenttikysymyksiin, bileisiin tai tietyssä paikassa tarjottaviin erikoisiin ruokalajeihin. Tämä ei päde aivan kaikkiin sanoihin, mutta voi selittää tilastollisen tendenssin, miksi tilapäisissä yhdyssanoissa ei tukeuduta homofoniaan yhtä paljon kuin vakituisissa. Tilapäisiin yhdyssanoihin otetaan juuri sen spesifin tarkoitteen nimi, josta puhutaan; näin syntyy sellaisia sanoja kuin *neerukirja* ja *kopsukeitto*.

**4. Johtopäätökset**

Tarkastelin edellä sitä, miten Tartossa asuvat suomalaiset käyttävät viroa muodostaessaan suomenkielisessä puheessa tai kirjoituksissa käytettäviä yhdyssanoja. Suomi–viro-koodinvaihdolle altistuvat yhdyssanat ovat enimmäkseen substantiiveja, joskin kaksi kieltä kohtaavat myös yhdyssananomaisissa rakenteissa, kuten genetiiviattribuutin kanssa esiintyvissä substantiiveissa sekä verbaalirakenteissa, idiomaattisissa ilmauksissa ja fraaseissa.

Kaksikielisiksi määrittelemäni yhdyssanat on muodostettu joko siten, että sanan toinen puoli on viroa ja toinen suomea, tai niin, että suomenkielistä sanaa käytetään virolaisessa merkityksessä. Aineiston kaikki kaksikieliset yhdyssanat ovat määritysyhdyssanoihin kuuluvia substantiiveja. Kaksikielisten yhdyssanojen muodostamista helpottanee se, että viron ja suomen yhdyssanat ovat rakenteeltaan samankaltaisia: molemmissa on mm. *s*-loppuisia yhdysosamuotoja mm. *-mine(n)*-loppuisista deverbaalisubstantiiveista. Viron vokaaliloppuiset genetiivit muistuttavat usein suomen sanojen nominatiiveja, ja molempia käytetään taajaan yhdyssanojen määriteosissa.

Vakiintuneista yhdyssanoista, kuten *oleskelulupa* (vir. *elamisluba*) käytetään kaksikielisiä versioita: *elämislupa.* Toisaalta käyttöyhteydessä syntyy tilapäisiä yhdyssanoja, jotka voivat myös olla kaksikielisiä: *kopsukeitto* ’keuhkokeitto’ (vir. *kopsusupp*). Erottelin analyysissani myös vakiintuneiden ja tilapäisten yhdyssanojen välimuodon, eli sellaiset sanat, joiden yksikieliset vastineet olivat Google-haun perusteella yleisessä käytössä, vaikkei niitä sanakirjoista löydykään.

Aineistoni ei täysin tue Muyskenin (2000: 150) ja Treffers-Dallerin (2005: 496) havaintoja, joiden mukaan kaksikielisten yhdyssanojen edusosa on useimmin keskustelun pääkielen mukainen. Suomenkielisiä edusosia on enemmän kuin vironkielisiä, mutta esimerkkejä on myös päinvastaisesta (esim. *bile**hoogu**a*). Lisäksi monissa esimerkkisanoissa suomen ja viron välinen homofonia on niin vahvaa, että on mahdoton sanoa, kumpaa kieltä yhdyssananosat ovat.

Usein yhdyssanoja muodostettaessa tukeudutaan sukulaissanoihin tai muihin sanoihin, jotka kuulostavat kahdessa kielessä samalta. Tällöin ei välttämättä välitetä siitä, onko yhdyssananosien merkitys sama molemmissa kielissä – olennaista on muotojen samankaltaisuus. Esimerkiksi sanan *värienkantaja* 'osakunnan täysjäsen' takana on viron *värvikandja,* ja viron *kandma* merkitsee sekä kantamista että vaatteiden ja tässä tapauksessa osakunnan väriartikkeleiden, kuten lakin 'pitoa'. Kaksikieliseen homofoniaan tukeutuminen on huomattavasti yleisempää niissä yhdyssanoissa, joiden yksikieliset vastineet ovat vakiintuneita, kun taas tilapäisiä yhdyssanoja luodaan usein myös sellaisista osista, jotka eivät ole kaksikielisiä homofoneja.

Vertailussa suomenvirolaisten (Praakli 2009) ja vironvenäläisten (Verschik 2004, 2005, 2008) kielestä tehtyihin tutkimuksiin näyttää siltä, että tartonsuomalaiset eivät tukeudu yhtä usein homofoniaan muodostaesaan kaksikielisiä yhdyssanoja. Tämä ero voi johtua myös tutkimusaineistojen erilaisuudesta: tartonsuomalaisten aineistossa on enemmän arkisia tilanteita ja siten myös enemmän tilapäisiä yhdyssanoja.

Kaksikielisillä yhdyssanoilla kuvataan usein, muttei aina, kulttuurispesifejä käsitteitä: sellaisia ilmiöitä, jotka ovat puhujille tutumpia virolaisesta ympäristöstä. Tilapäiset yhdyssanat ovat usein myös tarkoitteeltaan spesifejä ja rajattuja: opiskelutovereiden välisessä sähköpostiviestissä voidaan puhua esimerkiksi tietystä "munuaiskirjasta", *neerukirja*sta, jonka kaikki keskusteluun osallistujat tuntevat. Joskus taustalla voi nähdä viroksi taajaan esiintyvän yhdyssanan (kuten *peohoog*), jonka suomalainen vastine *(bilevauhti)* on harvinainen, ja jonka pohjalta syntyy kaksikielinen yhdyssana *(bilehoog)*.

Kaksikielisten yhdyssanojen käyttö voi olla myös pragmaattisesti motivoitua. Niillä luodaan intertekstuaalisuutta ja vahvistetaan affektista ilmaisua. Joskus kaksikielisiä yhdyssanoja on käytetty leikittelevään sävyyn, ja yhdessä esimerkissä puhuja hakee yksikielistä vironkielistä sanaa, mutta päätyy käyttämään kaksikielistä yhdyssanaa.

## Lähteet

Backus, A. 2001: The role of semantic specificity in insertional code-switching: evidence from Dutch Turkish. In: Jacobson, R. (ed). Code-switching Worldwide II. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 125–154.

Backus, A. 2003: Units in code switching: evidence for multimorphemic elements in the lexicon. Linguistics Vol. 41, Issue 1, 83–132.

Clyne, M. 2003: Dynamics of Language Contact. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Edwards, M.–Gardner-Chloros P. 2007: Compound verbs in code-switching: Bilinguals making do? International Journal of Bilingualism Vol. 11 No. 1. 73–91.

EKK = Erelt, M.–Erelt, T.–Ross, K. 1997: Eesti keele käsiraamat. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus. http://julia.eki.ee/books/ekkr/ 1.12.2009.

Frick, M. 2003: Kaksikielistä rääkkimistä — Koodinvaihdosta tartonsuomalaisten sähköposti- ja kasvokkaiskeskustelussa. Pro-gradu -tutkielma. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston suomen kielen laitos.

Frick, M. 2008: Morphological Integration of Estonian Lexical Elements in a Finnish Language Base. Journal of Linguistic and Intercultural Education 1/2008. 81–95.

Hakulinen, L. 1969: Suomen sanaston käännöslainoja. SKS:n toimituksia 293.

Halmari, H. 1997: Government and codeswitching: Explaining American Finnish. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Haspelmath, M. 2008: "Loanword typology: Steps toward a systematic cross-linguistic study of lexical borrowability". In: Stolz, T.–Bakker, D.–Salas Palomo R. (eds). Aspects of language contact. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 43–62.

Haugen, E. 1950: The analysis of linguistic borrowing. Language 26: 210–231.

Johanson, L. 2002: Structural factors in Turkic language contacts. London: Routledge.

Kataja, A. 2001: Koodivahetus Tartu soomlaste keeles. Bakalaureusetöö. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, eesti keele (võõrkeelena) õppetool.

Kataja, A.–Klaas, B. 2003: Elämisluvalla lopettajaisiin. Viron suomalaisopiskelijoiden suomen kielestä. In: Jönsson-Korhola, H.–Lindgren, A.-R. (eds). Monena suomi maailmalla – suomalaisperäisiä kielivähemmistöjä. Tietolipas 190. SKS. 300–309.

Klaas, B. 1999: Viron vaikutuksia Tarton yliopistossa opiskelevien suomalaisten äidinkielessä. In: Kasik, R.–Huima, L. (toim.). 75 vuotta viroa Helsingin yliopistossa. Viron kielen ja kulttuurin opettaminen Suomessa — seminaari 23.11.1998. Esitelmät. Castreaniumin toimitteita 56. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto. 132–146.

Kotilainen, L. 2002: Moi taas ai äm päk. Lauseet, tilanteet ja englanti suomenkielisessä chat-keskustelussa. In: Herlin, I.–Kalliokoski, J.–Kotilainen, L.–Onikki-Rantajääskö. T. (toim). Äidinkielen merkitykset. SKS. 191–209.

Kovács, M. 2009: Koodinvaihto ja kielioppi. In: Kalliokoski, J.–Kotilainen, L.–Pahta, P. (toim). Kielet kohtaavat. Tietolipas 227. SKS. 24–49.
Laury, R. 1996: Sen kategoriasta – onko suomessa jo artikkeli? Virittäjä 100: 162–181.
Leisiö, L. 2001: Morphosyntactic Convergence and Integration in Finland Russian. Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 795. Tampere.
Metslang, H. 1994: Kielet ja kontrastit. Virittäjä: 203–226.
Morin, R. 2006: Evidence in the Spanish language press of linguistic borrowings of computer and Internet-related terms. In: Spanish in context. John Benjamins. Amsterdam. 161–179.
Muysken, P. 2000: Bilingual speech: A typology of code-mixing. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Poplack, S. 2000 [1980]: Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en espanol: toward a typology of code-switching. In: Li Wei (ed.) The Bilingualism Reader. London: Routledge. 213–243.
Praakli, K. 2007: Mõnda eesti-soome koodivahetuse funktsioonidest ja nende tõlgendamisvõimalustest. In: Pool, R. (ed). Emakeel ja teised keeled V: Tartu Ülikool 17.–18.11. 2005. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus. 151–163.
Praakli, K. 2009: Esimese põlvkonna Soome eestlaste kakskeelne keelekasutus ja koodikopeerimine. Dissertationes Philologiae Estonicae Universitatis Tartuensis 24.
Riionheimo, H. 2007: Muutoksen monet juuret. Oman ja vieraan risteytyminen Viron inkerinsuomalaisten imperfektinmuodostuksessa. SKS:n toimituksia 1107.
Treffers-Daller, J. 2005: Evidence for insertional codemixing: Mixed compounds and French nominal groups in Brussels Dutch. International Journal of Bilingualism Vol. 9, No. 3-4. 477–506.
Verschik, A. 2002: Russian-Estonian contacts and mechanisms of interference. Trames, Vol. 6, 56/51, No. 3: 245–265.
Verschik, A. 2004: Estonian compound nouns and their equivalents in the local variety of Russian. Scando-Slavica 50, 93–109.
Verschik, A. 2005: Vaadeldes konvergentsi – eesti liitsõnad ja nende vasted Eesti vene keeles. Keel ja Kirjandus 1/2005. 21–34.
Verschik, A. 2008: Emerging bilingual speech – from monolingualism to code-copying. London: Continuum.
ISK = Hakulinen, A.–Vilkuna, M.–Korhonen, R.–Koivisto, V.–Heinonen, T. R.–Alho, I. 2004: Iso suomen kielioppi. SKS. Verkkoversio. http://scripta.kotus.fi/ISK 1.12.2009.

## Finnish–Estonian bilingual compound nouns

Finnish and Estonian have similar N+N compounding systems, where the modifier is typically either in a casus componens and/or in the nominative or genetive case. In bilingual settings the structural similarity of the two languages eases the formation of bilingual mixed compounds, where one part of the compound is Estonian and the other Finnish. Bilingual homophony is more common in established compounds than in novel compounds.

This article reports an analysis of 45 bilingual compound nouns in recordings of spoken and electronic casual conversations by Finns living in Tartu, Estonia. The community consists mainly of students and slightly older academics who have lived in the country for less than 10 years. The data supports Muysken's and Treffers-Daller's observation that the head of mixed compounds tend to follow the base language of the conversation. There are however a few exeptions to this in the data. Furthermore, the bilingual homophony in Estonian-Finnish compounds is so pervasive that it is often impossible to distinguish the language of a constituent part of a compound.

Bilingual homophony in cognates and international words is thought to faciliate codeswitching and the formation of bilingual compounds. Estonian-Finnish homophones are rarely identical, but differ slightly in spelling, pronunciation and morphology. The intertwining of the two languages is seen in compounds that look Finnish at the first glance, but can only be understood through Estonian. Bilingual homophony can also be present in compounds where the modifier and head are clearly in different languages.

The lack of bilingual homophony in novel compounds can be partly explained by the semantic specificity of the words, which according to Backus is a common trait in insertional codeswitching. Non-homophony is more common in this data than in the Estonian-Russian or Finnish-Estonian bilingual compounds reported by Verschik and Praakli respectively. This could be due to the informality of the conversations in the current data, which would yield in more novel compounds of a semantically specific meaning and referent.

The usage of bilingual compounds is often pragmatically motivated – they can be used for creating intertextuality, or to take a stance or display affect. Sometimes bilingual compounds are used as linguistic puns and the data shows also one instance of a word search that results in a bilingual compound instead of a monolingual one.

MARIA FRICK

DE GRUYTER MOUTON
DOI 10.1515/multi-2013-0028 — Multilingua 2013; 32(5): 565–599

Maria Frick and Helka Riionheimo

# Bilingual voicing: A study of code-switching in the reported speech of Finnish immigrants in Estonia

**Abstract:** Through a conversation analytic investigation of Finnish–Estonian bilingual (direct) reported speech (i.e., voicing) by Finns who live in Estonia, this study shows how code-switching is used as a double contextualization device. The code-switched voicings are shaped by the on-going interactional situation, serving its needs by opening up a context where the participants can engage in activities such as assessing the voice-persona, and renewing the current speech event by imposing a context of prior texts upon it. The study shows that code-switching can be used in an interactionally meaningful way even when a) the morphosyntactic and lexical border between the two languages is not strictly salient, and b) when the participants do not orient towards the two varieties as indexical of specific social groups or values associated with them. In light of these results, the conclusion is drawn that although the two languages are clearly interrelated for the speakers, Finns in Estonia still orient towards two relatively distinct sets of linguistic features and operate with this difference as a resource in interaction. These findings are discussed in light of recent sociolinguistic theories that find the opposition of two languages in conversation often to lack any meaning for the participants.

**Keywords:** conversation analysis, contextualization, code-switching, language mixing, poly-languaging, Ingrian Finns, Finnish, Estonian

**Maria Frick:** Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies, PL3 /Fabianinkatu 33, FIN-00014 Helsingin yliopisto, Finland, e-mail: mai.frick@gmail.com
**Helka Riionheimo:** University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu campus, Finnish and cultural studies, P.O. Box 111, FIN-80101 Joensuu, Finland, e-mail: helka.riionheimo@uef.fi

# 1 Introduction[1]

Recent discussions in sociolinguistics have addressed the question of what language is, how 'a language' is a social construct, and how boundaries of languages emerge and are blurred in discourse as well as in local speech situations (see, e.g., Heller 2007; Li Wei 2007; Pennycook 2010; Blommaert & Rampton 2011; Jørgensen *et al.* 2011). This is consistent with the field of interactional linguistics, which sees grammar as a constantly evolving and interactionally negotiable set of social practices that emerges in interaction (see, e.g., Hopper 1987; Ono & Thompson 1995; Ochs, Schegloff & Thompson 1996; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2001; Ford *et al.* 2002; Auer & Pfänder 2011; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, forthcoming; Fox *et al.* 2013). The current paper contributes to these discussions with an analysis of how speakers of Finnish and Estonian, two closely related languages, benefit from the juxtaposition of the two varieties in creating interactional meaning, even when the boundaries between these languages are not discrete and when social values associated with the languages are not made relevant.

The phenomenon this paper deals with is exemplified in (1). This utterance is from a conversation among a group of Finnish friends living in Estonia. The speaker, Raili, who is a university student, is telling about one of her professors. The conversation is in Finnish, but the conversants occasionally switch to Estonian. In this example, and others that follow later, the first line in the transcript is an orthographic presentation of what was said, and it is followed by a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss as well as an idiomatic translation (see transcription and glossing conventions at the end of the article). Finnish morphemes are left unmarked, Estonian ones are placed in bold in the first line, and those that may belong to either language (bilingual homophones) are marked with italics.

**1** We are grateful for the helpful comments by Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, Ritva Laury, Marja Etelämäki, and other members of the University of Helsinki FiDiPro project 'Grammar and interaction – linking actions in speech and writing', which has also partly funded this research. We thank the *Multilingua* reviewers for many valuable remarks and their significant effort in helping the article to find its final form. None of these people is responsible for the use to which we have put their advice. Frick is the author responsible for most of the analysis and conclusions of this paper while Riionheimo has provided the Ingrian Finnish data and their morphosyntactic analysis, and acted as a reader–commentator contributing her knowledge from the areas of contact linguistics.

(1)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7. | Raili[2]: | Se *on* sanonu meiän kurssilla *et* |
| | | 3SG AUX say:PP 1PL:GEN course:ADE that |
| 8. | | alle kakskytviisvuotiaat *naiseD,* |
| | | under twenty-five:year-old:PL woman:PL |
| | | 'He has said to our class that women below 25 |
| 9. | | (.) |
| 10. | | *Ei ole* **otsusevõimalised**. |
| | | NEG be competent: PL |
| | | are not competent to make decisions.' |

In this extract (1), the speaker tells what another person has allegedly said. We will call this *voicing*. This phenomenon is also commonly known as *reported speech*,[3] but we prefer the term voicing (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 1999), because some of the cases in our data are not voiced speech, but thoughts, attitudes, or singing. When voicing her professor, Raili starts in Finnish but switches to Estonian at the end of her utterance. We are interested in finding out why speakers sometimes do this, and what they gain from it. We will show how switching between languages serves the needs of the on-going speech situation, on the one hand, and how in some cases more than in others it is motivated by the original language of the voiced text, on the other. In addition, we will look at some of the structural aspects of switches between Finnish and Estonian in voicings. Finnish and Estonian are related languages that share a large part of their central vocabulary. What is seen in (1) is that the switch from Finnish to Estonian is not abrupt, but that there is a three word stretch *naiseD, ei ole* that could belong to either language. We will argue that this or other kinds of vague or non-salient transitions are usually not an obstacle to how the switch is used in conversation. Extract (1) will be analyzed in more detail in section 2.

## 1.1 Background

In this article, we start by using the term *code-switching* as a technical term for all switches from one language to another, whether single or multiword, inter- or intra-sentential, phonetically or morphologically integrated or non-integrated, abrupt or gradual, and we aim at finding out what kinds of meaning

**2** All names that occur in the data have been changed.

**3** The term stylization has been used of similar cases, (see Coupland 2001; Rampton 2006), but the studies of stylization focus more on the social values that are indexed by the choice of linguistic variants, while the focus of the current study is in the structure and the kind of contextualization that is seen through sequential analysis of the voiced turns.

aspects the participants assign to these switches. New terms such as *polylanguaging* (Jørgensen 2008; Møller 2008; Jørgensen *et al.* 2011), *translanguaging* (Garcia 2009; Creese & Blackledge 2010), and *metrolingualism* (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010) have been introduced in recent literature to stress the idea that speakers make use of resources associated with different languages in various and creative ways, but in the current paper the older term *code-switching* is used in roughly the same sense. Furthermore, our understanding of a *mixed language* is rather strict compared to some contemporary sociolinguistic studies[4]: we use the term *mixed language base* only for instances in which the morphosyntactic features of the two languages are intertwined in a way that shows that the speaker treats them as one set of linguistic features.

Even if contemporary reports of code-switching seem to favor accounts of mixed, trans-, or metro-language use where different 'languages' are not seen as contextually decisive (i.e., as offering interpretive cues), we find that there are situations where mixed language use can also offer contextualization cues. We will therefore not shy away from talking about code-switching between the Finnish and Estonian languages. The primary focus of the current study is on the micro-level study of language use in particular sequential contexts and the immediate social consequences of this. Information about the speakers' sociolinguistic background is used when necessary to explain their language use, but the speakers' ideologies or the language politics affecting their language choices are not discussed systematically: These would be the subject of a different study.

The current view of language in interactional linguistics and sociolinguistic frameworks is that it is a thoroughly heteroglossic device. Savijärvi & Seppänen (2010) draw a connection between Bakhtin's thoughts about the dialogicality of language and the conversation analytic theory of *double contextuality* (e.g., Heritage 1984) – that utterances are both context shaped and context renewing. This is also seen in studies of multilingual interaction that follow the conversation analytic paradigm. For example, Auer (1986) describes *contextualization* as the activation of new schemas that have their origins in the participants' prior experience. As speech unfolds in time, participants make interpretations of the acts carried out by it and anticipate the ones that will follow. The grammar of language is a set of practices that make such projections possible (cf. Auer 2005). As a turn is uttered, every morpheme creates a new context of schemas and syntactic projections.

**4** For example, Møller (2008) claims that the participants in his data treat Turkish and Danish as one set of linguistic features, although his data do not show any morphosyntactic mixing of the two (but clearly bordered alternation of monolingual clauses).

Even earlier, Gumperz had described context as a dynamic schema or 'activity (type)' that constrains the meaning of an utterance (Gumperz 1982: 130–131; see also Goffman 1974; Levinson 1978; Auer 1986). According to him, linguistic forms – including prosody and code-switching – function as *contextualization cues* with which 'speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and *how* each sentence relates to what precedes or follows' (Gumperz 1982: 131). In other words, contextualization cues participate in evoking certain *meaning potentials* (cf. Norén & Linell 2007) of the utterance. The notion of meaning potential can also be employed in describing what code-switching is used for: The meaning potential of code-switching is 'contextualization cue'; that is, code-switching has the potential of being used as a contextualization cue, and this meaning (function) can be evoked by the participants in conversation.

One of the central questions in the studies of code-switching both recently (e.g., Blommaert & Rampton 2011; Jørgensen *et al.* 2011) and previously (e.g., Auer 1998b; Maschler 1998; Gafaranga & Torras 2002) has been when and in what way the juxtaposition of what we call two languages is relevant in interaction. Some studies have suggested that code-switching can lose its significance in the context of *language mixing* where an intensive language contact situation has led to profound interplay between the two varieties. Earlier studies also claim that there are structural characteristics that determine whether code-switching can function as a contextualization cue. The claim has been that a switch can only be *salient* enough to function as a contextualization cue, if it a) is abrupt (i.e., not gradual), b) lacks phonetic and morphological integration, and c) does not involve mixed-codedness (see Auer 1995: 117; Gumperz 1982: 66–68; and Auer 1998a, 1998b, respectively). The current study shows that the issue is even more complex, and that sociolinguistic variables and structural factors alone cannot account for the usage or non-usage of code-switching in an interactionally meaningful way. A more detailed analysis of sequential contexts is needed.

Following the principles of conversation analytic research (e.g., Sacks 1992; Heritage 1984; Li Wei 2002), we have approached the question with a detailed analysis of recorded conversations and, while doing so, tried to refrain from imposing pre-existing categories on the data. Instead, we set about to examine the way speakers use linguistic features and to deduce from that the relevant meanings these features have in the on-going interaction. We have not started with the assumption that 'Finnish' and 'Estonian' are *locally significant* categories for the speakers even though they themselves often use these labels (given the possibility that these categories may be just ideological constructs, cf., e.g., Jørgensen *et al.* 2011). When, however, code-switching between two morphosyn-

tactically and lexically distinct varieties coincides with voicing, we take that as evidence of these categories' local significance (see the discussion below). Furthermore, we have not assumed that the sets of variables we call languages are necessarily *socially indexical* in the sense that they evoke associations with prior social experience or certain groups of speakers (cf. Lo 1999; Hansen *et al.* 2010; Blommaert & Rampton 2011), but set about to investigate whether this kind of indexicality was made relevant by the participants in the immediate context (see also Li Wei 2002: 172).

Code-switching in voicings (also referred to as quotations, [direct] reported speech, or stylization) has been studied by, for example, Gumperz (1982), Auer (1984: 64–67, 1995), Álvarez-Cáccamo (1996), Leisiö (1998), Gafaranga (2001, 2007), and Coupland (2001). Previous case studies on code-switching in voicings have typically focused on what the language choice tells us about its meaning, and, more precisely, whether code-switching is done into the original language of the reported situation or not. Using the language of the original text has been interpreted as authenticating the voice or evaluating it, while using a different language is seen as evidence that code-switching functions as a contextualization cue regardless of language choice. Other studies have focused on the social roles indexed by the language choice in code-switched voicings (e.g., Álvarez-Cáccamo 1996; Lappalainen 2004, 2005; Rampton 2006; Hansen *et al.* 2010).

With an updated perspective that benefits both from the renewed perspective on code-switching and recent studies of voicings in Finnish and Estonian interaction (Routarinne 2005; Laury & Seppänen 2008; Keevallik 2008) we propose to revisit code-switching in voicings. In this paper, we argue that code-switching between closely related languages, and even in a mixed language base, can still be interactionally meaningful. This is in spite of accounts that state that in cases of language mixing, the juxtaposition of the involved codes may not help contextualize utterances as easily as in a situation of more marked code-switching. This is especially the case in voicings.

## 1.2 The data

The participants in the conversations studied in this article are first-generation Finns in Estonia but with two different social and historical backgrounds: that of migration within the Soviet Union in the 1940s, on the one hand, and recent work and study-related migration on the other. Among the informants, the Ingrian Finns form a group that has a fairly unified social and linguistic background and a shared history. They are an ethnic group that has lived in the state

of Russia around St. Petersburg for centuries and maintained their language, a dialect of Finnish, until the Soviet era. The Ingrian Finnish immigrants who participated in this study were born in the 1910s and 1920s, and they ended up as refugees in the Soviet Republic of Estonia after World War II. In post-war Estonia, Ingrian Finns were a small minority with low social status, and even though they had actually been born in Russia, they were regarded as Finnish-born in the Soviet policy and were thus stigmatized as politically suspicious. For many years, the Finns lived in constant fear of deportation, trying to hide their ethnic origin and maintaining only little contact with other speakers of Finnish. In these circumstances, Estonian became the dominant language in the daily life of many Ingrian Finns, often replacing their mother tongue even in the most private domains. When the informants were interviewed in the 1990s, after 50 years of residence in Estonia, many of them used their mother tongue non-fluently and under heavy influence from Estonian (see, e.g., Riionheimo & Kivisalu 1994; Kokko *et al*. 2003; Kokko 2007; Riionheimo 2007, 2009, 2011.) The Ingrian Finnish data were collected for dialectal studies and they consist of 37 transcribed interviews conducted by a Finnish-speaking interlocutor in Estonia. The interviews were semi-structured and usually dealt with the life stories of the informants. The informants agreed to speak Finnish, but in practice many of them seemed to slip into Estonian (i.e., into their non-native version of Estonian) in spite of the interviewers' consistent use of Finnish.

In contrast to these elderly immigrants, the recent immigrants are young adults who have migrated to a modern, independent Estonia from Finland during the last two decades. In the changed social climate, these work- and study-related migrants were not stigmatized politically, socially, or culturally. For them Finnish has preserved its role in private domains (with friends and families), whereas Estonian is used mainly in public domains. The recent immigrants have continuous contact with their home country and Finnish, and international media are now available throughout Estonia. These people thus live in the linguistically 'superdiverse' globalized world that has become the object of recent sociolinguistic studies (cf. Jørgensen *et al*. 2011; Blommaert & Rampton 2011). The data collected from the recent immigrants during the first decade of the 2000s involves c. 100 Finns who had lived in Estonia for 0 to 17 years. 24 recordings were audiotaped and partly videotaped in naturally occurring everyday situations and over 2000 email messages and Facebook posts were collected.[5] In these participants' in-group conversations the base language is typically Finnish, and Estonian is normally used for short intrasentential switches

**5** The participants have given their consent for the usage of the data.

only. The participants use code-switching as a heteroglossic device for voicings, for affective and evaluative stance-taking, for initiating sequence closure, etc. (Frick 2003, 2010, forthcoming). Differences in language use by the Ingrian Finns compared to recent immigrants are further discussed by Riionheimo & Frick (under review).

For the current study, we chose to investigate a bilingual practice that is present in both datasets, namely code-switched voicings. It turned out that voicings are a context where those old immigrants who have a mixed language base switch to a more monolingual Estonian. The collection from the younger immigrants consists of 30 code-switched voicings (14 from face-to-face conversations and 16 from email messages). The Ingrian Finnish data includes c. 200 voicings, most of which contain some phonetic, morphological, syntactic, or lexical elements from both Finnish and Estonian. Because in many cases the base language of the conversations involves intertwined elements from Finnish and Estonian, it is in practice impossible to quantify cases where the voicings involve a switch from one code to the other. We have chosen extracts for this article that represent different possibilities of voicing with code-switching and allow us to consider the factors contributing to why each is done as it is. The inquiry starts with a discussion of the meaning aspects of code-switching in voicings in section 2: code-switching is seen as a double contextualization device that both serves the needs of the ongoing speech situation by invoking a voice-persona to it and follows from voicing. The social indexicality of code-switching is discussed in section 3. Finally, section 4 focuses on the structural characteristics of our collection of Finnish–Estonian bilingual voicings with regard to the 'salience' of the switches, and conclusions are drawn in section 5.

## 2 The interactional meaning of code-switching: Contextualization

Our aim in this section is to investigate how and what kind of interactional meaning the participants give voicing, what the role of code-switching is in their doing so, and whether or not we can say that in one instance or another Finnish–Estonian code-switching may have lost its interactional/local meaningfulness, as Auer (1998b) suggests may happen. It has been suggested (e.g., by Auer 1998b) that the term code-switching should be reserved for switches that the participants interpret as locally meaningful, not for other types of co-existence of two codes in a stretch of conversation, but our data do not allow us to make such a sharp binary distinction. When Auer (e.g., 1995 and 1998b) talks

about the interactional or conversational meaning of code-switching, his objective seems to be to introduce a conversation analytic view to code-switching that is different from other disciplines, where code-switching has been viewed as a psycholinguistic, grammatical, or social phenomenon. According to this conversation analytic view, the meaning of code-switching lies in its usage as a contextualization cue in, for example, voicing, addressee selection, changes of activity type or topic, etc. (cf. Gumperz 1982; Auer 1995). In this section, we discuss two ways code-switching is used as a contextualization cue in our data. The following two subsections reflect our conclusion that code-switching both invokes a voice-persona (4.1) and follows from the voicing (4.2). While both these functions are present in all cases, one is stronger than the other on some occasions and vice versa.

## 2.1 Code-switching that invokes a voice-persona[6]

Voicing is what a speaker, or writer, does when she presents something as someone else's words, or as originating from another speech situation (e.g., Bakhtin 1982 [1934]; Voloshinov 1973). By examining repair-initiations by recipients of conversational voicings, Couper-Kuhlen (1999) found three aspects that need to be conveyed by the utterer of the voicing – or negotiated between participants: 1) whether the utterance is voiced, 2) who is being voiced, and 3) what the speaker is doing with the voicing. These can therefore be said to be the three aspects that form the interactional meaning of voicing. Consider extract (2), which shows the immediate context of extract (1). The speaker doing the voicing, Raili, had lived in Estonia for c. 4 years at the time of the recording, and is conducting her studies in Estonian. In this extract, the participants, who are all Finns living in Estonia, discuss a newspaper column by one of Raili's professors:

(2)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Sari: | Tänää se hyökkäs läs[kien kimppuu. |
| | | 'Today he attacked fat people.' |
| 2. | Teppo: | [KYllä. |
| | | 'Yes.' |

6 We are indebted to the anonymous reviewer of *Multilingua* for this wording.

3. Raili: =*Jaanson*,
'Jaanson? (name)'
4. Sari: Joo
'Yeah.'
5. Teppo: Joo joo joo se *oli* vähän ikäviä tota bulimia *ja*,
'Yeah yeah yeah. He (wrote) quite bad (things) like bulimia and
6. Tollast o parempi ku *olla* ylipainoo.
such are better than being overweight.'
7. Raili: Se *on* sanonu meiän kurssilla *et*
3SG AUX say:PP 1PL:GEN course:ADE that
8. alle kakskytviisvuotiaat *naiseD*,
under twenty-five:year-old:PL woman:PL
'He said to our class that women below 25
9. (.)
10. *Ei ole* **otsusevõimalised**.
NEG be competent: PL
are not competent to make decisions.'
11. Sari: *Just* joo.
PRT PRT
'Oh sure'
12. (.)
13. Sari: ↑Sehä o s- sillee niinku e- monta vuotta
14. hirveitä homovihamielisii juttuja
'You know he's (been writing) these awful gay-hostile articles for many years'

In (2) the voicing is framed in line 07 where the antagonist is referred to with the pronoun *se*. After hearing the first word, *se*, the listeners may guess that Raili is talking about the same person the others have been complaining about, and when she mentions 'our class' they may picture the professor on a podium, in a classroom. By the time the speaker gets to the connector *et*, the recipients probably expect that a voicing will follow (cf. Routarinne 2005; Laury & Seppänen 2008; Koivisto *et al.* 2011: 76, ISK § 1487, § 1489).[7] That a voicing is going to take place and who is voiced is therefore clear even before the actual voicing begins. The third aspect – what is done with the voicing – is left for the recipients to figure out during the actual voicing.

**7** Conversation analysis has been criticized for not taking into account speakers' intentions (see Jørgensen 2008: 163). The speaker's framing of, for example, a voicing that creates certain expectations (projections) could well be interpreted as the speaker's demonstration of her intention (to perform a voicing). However, speakers are always at liberty to change the course of action, and we do not therefore know beforehand whether the speaker actually intends to perform a voicing or not. A second reason for avoiding the notion of intention in the analysis is that we cannot say what part of speech production is so automatized that it happens below the level of consciousness.

The form of the voicing in (2) is such that it cannot be called either direct or indirect reported speech. This is not uncommon in Finnish, where the connector *et(tä)* or *jot(ta)*[8] is used both in cases where a deictic shift is made evident through, for example, a change in pronouns, tense, or temporal adverbs, and in cases where it is not made evident (Kuiri 1984; Routarinne 2005: 97; Laury & Seppänen 2008: 157, 162). Since there are no morphosyntactic deictic markers or prosodic cues in (2), a code-switch to Estonian at the end of Raili's turn (line 10) is the only thing that shows that she is animating and not just describing what the professor has said. The code-switch cues a shift of the deictic center from the speaker in the here-and-now to the voice-persona. The semantic content of the utterance – the negative stance taken towards women under twenty-five – can thus be understood to belong to the voice-persona (the professor), not the current speaker (Raili). The recipient response in line 11 is similar to what Holt (2000: 444) has observed in English responses to direct reported speech: it is a reaction that conveys the recipient's stance towards what was reported.

The voicing in (2) is positioned in a sequence of assessments (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 2007) where the participants take turns in assessing the professor's writings negatively. With her turn, Raili contributes to the ongoing interactional activity of assessing. After acknowledging Raili's turn with *just joo* 'oh sure,' one of the recipients, Sari, continues by adding her own experience of the professor's public writings to the list (line 13). The fact that she does not in any way oppose Raili's turn or mark it as problematic shows that she has interpreted it as affiliating with her and the other students' negative stance towards the professor and aligning with the ongoing activity of negative assessment (cf. Stivers 2008 on alignment and affiliation). The recipients have thus identified the action of the voiced turn as an assessment (by Raili, of the professor).

It has been widely reported that voicing can be used in assessments where the current speaker is critical of the person she is voicing (see, e.g., Bakhtin 1982 [1934]: 339, 364; Goffman 1974: 537; Besnier 1993: 175; Álvarez-Cáccamo 1996: 37–38; Couper-Kuhlen 1996; Drew, 1998; Günthner 1999; Holt 2000). This effect is achieved by speakers shifting the deictic center of the utterance so that they distance themselves from the reprehensible behavior of the antagonist by animating their voice. There is nothing in the wording or the prosody of Raili's utterance that would explicitly say that she disagrees with the professor she is voicing. This effect is achieved firstly by the speaker knowing what her recipi-

**8** *Jot(ta)* is the equivalent of *et(tä)* in some eastern dialects of Finnish, including the Ingrian Finnish dialect of the older speakers in our data.

ents know about her attitudes, secondly by the placement of the utterance in a sequence of negative assessments, and thirdly by code-switching.

All in all, extract (2) is a classic example of how code-switching is used as a contextualization cue in voicings (cf. Gumperz 1982; Auer 1984: 64–67; Kalliokoski 1995; Leisiö 1998; Günthner 1999; Lappalainen 2004: 306–317; Zabrodskaja 2006; Praakli 2009: 102–105; Kyratzis 2010). It contextualizes:

(a) a change in the deictic center of the utterance; and
(b) the current speaker's critical stance towards the voice-persona.

In (2) the language of the voicing is Estonian – the language used by the voiced person in real life, which may contribute to why it is used in this voicing. Code-switching in voicings can:

(c) follow from the voicing of an Estonian original; and
(d) convey the speaker's attitude towards Estonians as a group.

The latter two aspects are discussed in sections 2.2 and 3, respectively. First, however, let us look at some further examples of what participants in a conversation gain by code-switching voicings and how they orient towards these code-switched voicings.

We saw that the recipients in (2) oriented to the voicing as doing critical assessment. Although in (2) there was an immediate reaction from a recipient to the voicing, this is not always the case. Recipients may withhold their response and let the speaker continue after a voicing (Holt 2000), but this does not mean that the participants do not orient to the voicings. When talking about participant orientation, we sometimes forget that recipients are not the only participants in a conversation. Speaker orientation can be seen in the formulation of a turn. Firstly, when a speaker formulates her utterance so that code-switching occurs at the exact points where the lexico-syntactic choices indicate boundaries of voicing, it shows that code-switching is used to mark voicing.[9] Secondly, it has been pointed out by Auer (1995: 124), that contextualization cues tend to bundle together, and that this is a good methodological tool for those studying the functions of code-switching. If, for instance, in writing, a passage is marked with quotation marks and code-switching, it is likely that it is meant as being reported (voiced). Other cues that are used together with code-switching in voiced utterances include prosodic changes in tone, intensity,

**9** See, however, Gafaranga & Torras (2002: 9), who analyze cases of code-switched voicing claiming that no participant orientation to language alternation is revealed in those instances. The difference between their findings and ours can be explained by different objectives: they seem to apply a more narrow meaning of 'orientation' in order to investigate instances of language negotiation.

pitch, or rhythm, as well as embodied practices such as facial expressions and gestures.

It is part of the nature of contextualization cues that they need not follow syntactic boundaries. In fact, Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen (1999) have found that prosodic changes can mark reported speech from a close distance, and the passage itself may or may not be marked. In addition, when code-switching is used, it suffices to switch a part of the reported passage (Leisiö 1998; Reershemius 2001; Nisula 2003). In intrasentential code-switching in a Finnish language base, it is typical for the switch to occur after the predicate verb (e.g., Halmari 1997; Kovács 2001: 122–123, 155; Frick 2003). The new information of the utterance lies in the post-verbal position, including many of the semantically specific content words as well as the assessing adjectives (ISK §1370, §891–906). In voicing, this is often the part speakers might wish to distance themselves from by assigning it to a different voice. For example, in (1)/(2), the assessing subject complement (*otsusevõimalised* 'competent to make decisions') is in Estonian. The following extract is, however, one where the code-switching coincides with the lexico-syntactic boundaries of the whole voicing.

In (3) the speaker contextualizes the whole reported passage with a switch to Estonian, which, in addition to the lexico-syntactic formulation, shows her own orientation to the voicing.[10] Extract (3) is from the same multi-party conversation at a Finnish students' game night in Tartu as (1)/(2), and the speaker is also the same. The students are playing dice and talking about a Finnish journalist whose controversial political articles had been published in an Estonian paper. Raili contributes with a story about how she first heard about the journalist:

(3)

1. Raili: Mää *kuulin* siit ekan kerran sillee *et*,
   'I first heard about her so that'
2. ((Teppo places dices in front of Raili, Raili places her left hand on the table.))
3. *Mu*n *ko͟ulu,
   'My school' ((*taps on the table with left index fingure))
4. *Mu*n *vi͟rolainen *koulukaveri laitto *mulle* *li͟nki*n,
   1SG:GEN Estonian schoolmate put.PST 1SG:ALL link:GEN
5. ((Raili picks the dice up from the table with her right hand and puts her left hand under the table.))
   'My Estonian schoolmate sent me a link ((*tap))

**10** The voicing in (3) is also contextualized with the speaker's hand movements, which are not analyzed here. An analysis of embodiments in bilingual voicings would make up a topic for a separate paper.

6. **hommikulehe**stä sillee että .hh että,
[name of newspaper]:ELA DEM3. MAN PRT PRT
from Hommikuleht, that
7. (.) ((Raili rests her left hand on the table.))
8. **See *soome ajakirjanik** *on*
DEM Finnish reporter be.SG3
this Finnish journalist is' ((*draws a line on the table with left hand))
9. **ikka päris *loll**.
PRT quite stupid
'really quite stupid.' ((*continues the drawing gesture))
10. (.)((Raili lifts her hand in the air))
11. *ja* sit siin *oli** ↑linkki,=
'And there was a link' ((*draws a line in the air))

The reporting in (3) starts with a reporting clause in Finnish and a chain of a demonstrative and particles *sillee että että* (line 6) indicating the beginning of a voicing (cf. ISK §1487, §1489). After a short pause the speaker switches to Estonian, voicing what her course mate had written to her – *see soome ajakirjanik on ikka päris loll* 'this Finnish journalist is really quite stupid.' The voicing of the coursemate is over in line 10, after which there is a moment (a pause) for the recipients to react, but none of the six people in the room makes any move, neither verbal nor physical, and the speaker continues her story in Finnish.

Voicings of a third party can be used in tellings to support the current speaker's stance: the third party is presented as 'one more person who thinks like me' – an authority (cf., e.g., Holt 1996). What code-switching does in (3) is to mark the boundaries of voicing, and together with other cues invokes a voice-persona. After Raili has mentioned that her friend is Estonian (in line 04), she can use Estonian to authenticate his or her voice. Using the language that matches the nationality of the voiced person as well as the original written message makes the voiced party more present in the reporting space[11] and Raili's report of the message more authentic (because it can appear as a copy of the original instead of a translation). This effect cannot be separated from the fact that a code-switching in the original language also follows from or is motivated by the act of voicing (see the discussion in 2.2).

The next example (4) is a voicing that is *not* done in the same language as the original text.[12] We will argue that in this case, too, code-switching not only

**11** Cf. Niemelä (2010) on the notion of reporting space.

**12** The voicing is in Estonian, but the author of the original text, Stalin, (or his administration) could not have spoken Estonian. At the time the current speaker received Stalin's message, she did not yet have any connection to Estonia.

helps invoke a voice-persona for the voicing but also follows from it. (4) is from Martta, who is one of the older Ingrian Finnish speakers. The beginning of the voicing is in Estonian, but the surrounding text is not as monolingual as in the examples discussed above. The speaker uses Estonian words and grammar along with Finnish ones. Therefore, it is more difficult to judge whether a code-switching takes place or not, but as will be further discussed in section 3, we find that there is a switch to a monolingual stretch of talk against a mixed base (cf. Gafaranga 2001; Gafaranga & Torras 2002). The speaker reports how Stalin persuaded the Ingrian Finns to return from Finland to the Soviet Union after World War II:[13]

(4)

1. Martta: .hh nel'kyment *kolmant-*,
2. nelkymen neljä*nteel* **aasta***l*,
3. (1.0)
4. .hh yheksäntee **janvari***s* **sis**,
5. .h *tuli*mme Suome*st*,
   'In the year forty thr- in forty four, we came from Finland.'
6. .hh *noh Staalin meit* ↑*mielittäis tule***ma**,
   'Well Stalin persuaded us to come.'
7. ↑*no* ei (mit tä) *mielittä***nt tä üt(t/l)is** jot
   PRT NEG INDF. NEG persuade:PP 3SG say:PST that
   'Or well he didn't actually persuade, he said that.'
8. **kes tahab vaBa↑tahtlikult kodu** *traaDa*.
   Q want:3SG voluntarily home.ILL return(?):INF
   'Who wants to return home voluntarily.'
9. .hh *no ku me* **juBa** tie*sim* **missuGune** *se Stalin oli*
10. ni **siis** *me* **juBa**,
11. **hirmuga** *tuli*mme.
    'and since we knew what Stalin was like, we came because we feared him.'

It is almost impossible to judge from (4) where Finnish ends and Estonian begins. The text preceding and following the voicing contains mixed and ambiguous forms. For example, the verb *mielittä-is* 'persuaded' would be *meelita-s* in monolingual Estonian. There is no homophonous Finnish equivalent to it,[14] but the diphthong in the first syllable may be motivated by the

**13** During World War II, most of the Ingrian Finns living in those areas surrounding St. Petersburg that were occupied by the German army were deported to the state of Finland. After the War, these people were 'invited' (in practice, forced) to move back to the Soviet Union.

**14** The Finnish word *miellyttää* 'to please, appeal,' PST *miellytti* is both semantically and morphologically far from the form Martta uses.

Finnish word *mieli* 'mind' (*meel* in Estonian). The word contains a past tense marker, *-is,* that resembles both the Finnish past marker *i* and the Estonian one, *-s*.[15] The reporting clause *tä ütlis jot* in line 7 is also bilingual. The 3sg plural personal pronoun *tä* does not exist in either monolingual language. In Estonian, the pronoun would be *ta* (a shorter form of the pronoun *tema*). The Ingrian Finns living in Estonia often use the Finnish demonstrative pronoun *tämä* as a personal pronoun. The word *tä* (with front vowel) used by Martta may be a shortened variant of *tämä,* an analogy of the Estonian variant *tema* and *ta*. The verb *ütlis* is Estonian and the conjunction *jot* Finnish.

The speaker shifts to voicing in line 8, which is indicated by the usage of present tense. The voicing is in Estonian, except for the last word *traada* (which is possibly a slip of the tongue from *saada* 'to get').[16] Against the mixed language base the voicing stands out as more monolingual, and could therefore be considered code-switching (see, e.g., Gafaranga 2007). It is not, however, as salient as the previous examples, because it merely involves a juxtaposition of a few monolingual words against a mixed language base that seems to be sporadically mixing elements from both languages. We do not, however, believe that it is a coincidence that the voicing is in Estonian. The only recipient present, the interviewer, does not react (audibly) to the passage and the speaker continues her story.

It is possible that the speaker in (4) wishes to contextualize the passage as reported, switches away from the mixed base (that she might intend to be Finnish) and uses the first available foreign language to mark a third voice and to distance herself from Stalin's words towards which she holds a negative stance. Another motivation could be that there is something in the story about the Russian invitation that triggers its being told in Estonian: that the code-switching, in fact, follows from the act of voicing. During the interviews, Martta tells the story about the invitation to return home twice and uses an almost identical wording both times. Since Estonian has been the dominant language in her daily life for the past 50 years, she is used to telling the story in Estonian, which could contribute to why the voicing is in Estonian: The memory of its earlier use motivates the (Estonian) form of the voiced utterance. This is how contextualization works in two ways: the utterance is shaped by the current

**15** Some of the Ingrian Finns, the present speaker among them, use a novel past tense marker, *-is,* that shares phonological properties with the Estonian past tense (with variants *-si* and *-s*) but that seems, however, to originate from a certain dialectal inflectional type of Finnish verbs (for details, see Riionheimo 2007: 196–200).

**16** The word *traada* does not exist in Finnish or Estonian, whereas *saada* exists in both. On another occasion when the speaker tells the same story, she uses the verb *saada*.

situation, which calls for invoking a voice persona that the speaker can distance herself from and be critical of, and it renews the current situation by imposing the prior usages of the voiced utterance on it. The latter effect is even more clear in the extracts shown in the following (section 2.2).

## 2.2 Code-switching that follows from voicing

In this section we will show how code-switching follows from voicing in the sense that the prior usage of a text in a certain language imposes the choice of this language on its re-enactment. This is especially the case with texts that are highly conventionalized – such as the lyrics of a song – and when a metalinguistic topic calls for using the exact wording of the original text. However, as was seen in the previous section, the prior usage of a text can have an effect on the language choice of any voicing.

Clark & Gerrig (1990) have described quotations as 'demonstrations' (see also Gafaranga 2007 for an application of their theory on bilingual data). According to them, demonstrations are partial and selective; that is, only part of the demonstration depicts the original, and only selective aspects of the original are depicted. This means that the demonstrations are never an exact copy of the original. In (3) the speaker demonstrated a part of the electronic message with speech and a drawing gesture that depicted the text, using selected traits of the original: the Estonian language, the linear shape of the link, and possibly the wording of the message. In the next extract (5), the original singing is demonstrated by loud speech. The language of the voicing is the same as the original text. The speaker in (5), Elisabet, is one of those older generation Ingrian Finns who have maintained a good command of their first language. Preceding (5), the speaker has been singing and talking about Finnish songs she knows. She then tells the interviewer about an Estonian song, *On kallis mulle kodupaik* 'My home is dear to me,' and starts talking about her recent visit to her childhood home in the formerly Finnish-speaking (and now predominantly Russian) area in Russia:

(5)

1. **käisi***n* siel,
   'I went there,
2. .hh *ee no* mis meijän koti ol'.
   where our home used to be
3. .h *ja* meenhä nyt *lähen* sinne,
   'and I go, I'm going there

4. *ja istun ja laulan* niin KO̲VAST SITÄ JOT,
   and sit:1SG and sing:1SG so loud:MAN DEM3:PAR that
   and I'm sitting and singing it so loud that
5. *ON KA̲LLIS MULLE* **KODUPAIK** *NII* **HE̲Ä** *ON OLLA*. **SIIN**.
   be.3SG dear 1SG: ALL home so good be.3SG be:INF DEM.INE
   my home is so dear to me, it is so good to be here.'
6. (.)
7. .hh *ja* se mis *oli* meim **maja** *ja* kaik,
   'And there was our house and everything.'

The speaker frames the voicing with a reporting clause in line 4 – *istun ja laulan nii kovast jot* 'I'm sitting and singing it so loud that' – where she has already moved to the time frame of the upcoming voicing by switching to the present tense. The intensity of her voice starts rising in the middle of line 4, and she voices the song in line 5 by reciting it in a loud voice, which is iconic of the loud singing she talks about. She also maintains the original language of the song – Estonian. Voicing a song is different from voicing someone's words or thoughts (cf. Stevanovic & Frick, under review). A song is an established text that is known to many people, and it may be used in conversation the same way figurative expressions are used (Frick, forthcoming). The words of a song are fixed, and people have memorized them. If a speaker were to recontextualize a song in a different language, she would have to translate the text. This is, of course, also true for voiced speech. Code displacement requires translation, but a person voicing ordinary speech may do the translating while she is working through her memory and trying to fetch the original text. Translating a song is also a more demanding task if one attempts to maintain the metric characteristics or wording of the song. A text that has only been uttered once runs a greater risk of being recontextualized in a different wording, because the person does not remember it exactly, but the words of a song are remembered exactly, in the original language. In the case of (5), the original language is Estonian (although it was sung by an Ingrian Finn in Ingria). It is for these reasons that the song would have a strong tendency to be in Estonian every time it is sung or recited.

As when reciting the words of a song, code-switching is often a necessary choice when language is the topic of conversation. Consider (6) where the speaker, Laura, voices the speech of her boss, an Estonian factory manager (lines 5–10). Laura, who is one of the elderly Ingrian Finns residing in Estonia since the 1940s, has been asked by the interviewer if she had any trouble with the Estonian language when she moved there. Her story in (6) is a metalinguistic one – an example of how she did not understand what was said to her in Estonian:

(6)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Laura: | jonkun *asja*n minä, |
| 2. | | ee ompelin *ja* sitten# |
| | | ‘I sewed something and then |
| 3. | | johtaja *tuli* sinne. |
| | | manager come:PST DEM3.LOC.ILL |
| | | the manager came there.’ |
| 4. | | (.) |
| 5. | | .hh ↑*aha*. |
| | | PRT |
| | | ‘well’ |
| 6. | | *et* nytten *on* *valmis*, |
| | | that now be.3SG ready |
| | | ‘That now it’s ready.’ |
| 7. | | (.) |
| 8. | | *et e#ee#,* |
| | | that |
| | | ‘that’ |
| 9. | | *nyt#.* |
| | | now |
| | | ‘now’ |
| 10. | | *ON* **vaja triikiDä**. |
| | | be.3SG need iron:INF |
| | | ‘it needs to be ironed.’ |
| 11. | | .h minä ##, |
| 12. | | *istun*, |
| | | ‘I sit (there).’ |
| 13. | | (.) |
| 14. | | MInä en £tietä mitä s(h)e [he£, |
| | | ‘I don’t know what it’ |
| 15. | Int: | [*mhm* |
| | | ‘Uhhuh’ |

The voiced character, Laura’s boss, is given a turn that is spread across five intonation units and flecked with the particle *et* which indicates voicing. Other than the *et*’s, the deictic center of this turn is found in the boss speaking to Laura in a factory decades ago. The beginning of the voicing in (6) in lines 6–9 consists of Finnish–Estonian cognates, with the exception of the word *nytten* that is in Finnish. The punch line of Laura’s story comes in line 10 and the language switches to Estonian. Although the word *on* is a cognate, it is used in the construction *on vaja* ‘needs,’ which only exists in Estonian (but is commonly borrowed by Finns who live in Estonia (see Riionheimo & Frick, under review). Then follows the most important word in Laura’s story – *triikida* ‘to iron’ – the word she did not first understand in Estonian, and the word her current story is about. Laura starts to explain or elaborate on her story (line

14), which opens a negotiation about the meaning of it. Before she gets to tell what she did not understand, or know what to do, etc., the interviewer overlaps with a minimal *mhm* which makes Laura abandon the completion of her account. For the participants this negotiation implicitly shows that the interviewer has understood the point of Laura's story. Would she have understood it if Laura had not switched to Estonian?

Different embodied and prosodic contextualization cues or explicit wording about who was being voiced accompanied the four code-switched voicings discussed above. The framings also included additional information about the place or other circumstances of the original event. It was therefore clear that a voicing was being performed, as well as who was voiced. The reasons for the voicing were, however, not shown as they were in example (2), where the voicing was doing assessment. In (6) the narrative is an answer to the interviewer's question about language problems, and this sequential context also serves as a cue as to why there is a voicing, but since there is no response from the recipient, the first speaker finds that the cue has not been enough and elaborates her story until she gets a response. The examples in the data show how the speakers select some elements of the original text (e.g., the choice of language, intensity, etc.) to depict in voicings. Other elements are left out or modified so that, for example, singing was demonstrated with speech and an email message by drawing a line on the table with a forefinger. The abundance of contextualization cues makes it easy to deduce that code-switching is also used as one (cf. Auer 1995: 124).

In (4) the language of the switch was not that of the original text, but one in which the speaker is most probably used to telling the story. This tells us that voicing is not always just about voicing one speech event, but re-enacting all past interactional events where that particular utterance has played a role. It can be the speaker's unique construction for the current event (see, e.g., Günthner 1999; Tannen 2007) or a slightly modified repetition of something more or less conventionalized (a song or a story told many times). In many cases, it has traits of both. Code-switching is in the first case the speaker's tool to show her stance towards the voiced person or authenticating a third voice to support her stance, and in the second case a necessity that follows from the usage of that particular utterance (which is also the case in metalinguistic speech).

In the case of our two data sets, the former means (code-switching to invoke a voice-persona) is more typical of the younger speakers, who often use it to mark a negative stance towards something or someone Estonian. The data from the older Ingrian Finnish speakers contains more of the latter type of voicing (where code-switching follows from the habit of saying a particular utterance

in Estonian). There are, however, cases of both types in both speaker groups and, as shown above, the two cannot be totally separated from each other. We find that the difference between in the data sets mainly has to do with the Estonian language being dominant in the older speakers' everyday lives, but that it may also have to do with their not wanting to show a negative stance towards Estonia(ns) either because they do not have one or because of the interview situation. The fact that code-switching to Estonian can be used to mark a negative stance towards Estonia(ns) is discussed briefly in the following section, which deals with the relation of code-switching and the social indexicality of language.

## 3 Is code-switching tied to the social values a language carries?

Prior studies of code-switched voicings have found that the speakers treat the varieties in question as socially indexical, that is, the varieties are associated with a certain group of speakers towards whom the current speaker takes an evaluative stance when using that particular variety (cf., e.g., Álvarez-Cáccamo 1996; Lo 1999; Rampton 2006; Gafaranga 2007: 168–169; Jørgensen 2008: 170–172; Hansen *et al.* 2010). Blommaert & Rampton (2011) point out that 'in order to achieve effects like this in the absence of explicit statements about group interests, there has to be at least some overlap in the interpretive frameworks that participants bring to bear in their construal of a switch.' This is in line with Gumperz' idea of conversational code-switching (see, e.g., Gumperz 1982: 82–84). In fact, the social indexicality of language choice is often rather conventionalized and tied to larger discourses of, for example, 'language and nationhood' (see Álvarez-Cáccamo 1996).

When, however, Auer (e.g., 1984) and his followers talk about code-switching as a contextualization cue, they stress that it must be distinguished from this sociolinguistic side of code-switching (see also Li Wei 2002). Thus, according to them, the mere fact that a switch happens is a cue for the participants to reorient themselves to a contextual shift. How is it for the Finnish immigrants in Estonia, who have not posited themselves in a 'larger discourse of language and nationhood' – do they share interpretive frameworks that would make usage of Estonian indexical of a particular kind of evaluative stance the speaker takes?

In the data from the older immigrants there are no instances, and in the data from younger immigrants there are only a few instances where using an Estonian voice is interpreted as conveying the speaker's stance towards values

that the participants find typically Estonian (e.g., chauvinistic; see Frick, forthcoming). On most occasions, this is not the case. We find, however, that code-switching has both the meaning potential of a contextualization cue, and the potential to evoke socio-cultural meanings associated with the language varieties. These two cannot be artificially separated, because participants' interpretations of 'Estonian' values can emerge in interaction when someone makes the association. In (1) code-switching was used by the speaker to distance herself from the words uttered by the professor, whom she wanted to assess critically. We also saw that participants oriented to the voicing as doing critical assessment. Let us now have a look at how the conversation continues (7):

(7)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7. | Raili: | Se *on* sanonu meiän kurssilla *et* |
| 8. | | alle kakskytviisvuotiaat *naiseD*, |
| | | 'He once said to our class that women below 25 |
| 9. | | (.) |
| 10. | | *ei ole* **otsusevõimalised**. |
| | | are not competent (to make decisions).' |
| 11. | Sari: | *Just* joo. |
| | | 'Oh sure.' |
| 12. | | (.) |
| 13. | Sari: | ↑Sehä o s- sillee niinku e- monta vuotta |
| 14. | | hirveitä homovihamielisii juttuja |
| 15. | | *ja* sillee. |
| | | 'You know for many years he's (been writing) these awful gay-hostile articles and stuff.' |
| → 16. | Raili: | Tervetuloa Viroo. |
| | | 'Welcome to Estonia.' |

The speaker, Raili, who had lived in Estonia for four years at the time of the recording, indicates in her turn in line 16 – 'Welcome to Estonia' – that she perceives her professor's behavior or attitudes as something typically Estonian. Thus, as the conversation unfolds, just two turns following the code-switching, the activity of critical assessments is directed not just to one Estonian person but the full society. This is a possible indication that for Raili the code-switched utterance carries social connotations of the Estonian language (but it could also be that the idea of these social values emerges later in the sequence, during Sari's turn). We can conclude that these connotations are present or emerge from interaction and may or may not be made relevant by the participants. In light of the data it seems that the participants, although living in the same community, do not always share the same values or the same 'interpretive frameworks' that are a prerequisite to sharing such indexical meanings (cf. Blommaert & Rampton 2011).

In the data from the older immigrants, switches to Estonian are not used in a way that would show the speaker's stance towards something they find typically Estonian, but their occasional switches to Russian or German sometimes are. Why, then, does the speaker in (4) not use a switch to Russian that (a) would be more salient against a mixed Estonian–Finnish language base, (b) would match the 'original' language Stalin must have used, and (c) could be used to mark a critical stance towards the Russian dictator in much the same way the younger speakers use Estonian when contextualizing their professors or other Estonians they are critical of? There may be many reasons for not using Russian, such as the speakers' assumption that the interviewers do not know the language, political correctness, etc. The usage of Estonian by the older speakers even when contextualizing Russians (and Finns and Germans) can be explained by Estonian being a natural resource, even a dominant language for them, and thus more easily retrievable. Furthermore, they have more prior experience of talking about the same events in Estonian than in Finnish. These speakers have been a part of Estonian society, living 'as Estonians' for several decades, and might therefore not even have critical attitudes towards them. Thus, when using Estonian in voicings, they do not orient towards the sociocultural values the language might index. They use switches to Estonian as contextualization cues, but not as cues that are socially indexical.

## 4 The structural requirement of code-switching: Salience

A much-discussed question regarding conversational code-switching is whether there are structural characteristics that are common to either those switches that are interactionally meaningful or those that are not so meaningful (see, e.g., Auer 1995: 117; Gumperz 1982: 66–68; and Auer 1998a, 1998b, respectively). The studies suggest that in order for the switch to be *salient* enough to function as a contextualization cue, it cannot be a) gradual, b) phonetically and morphologically integrated, or c) mixed-coded, but needs to occur abruptly between two clearly distinct codes. Although some of our findings support these ideas, we find that in many cases structural salience in a strict sense is not required for the speakers to achieve a contextualization function with code-switching.

The question of *graduality* is especially relevant for code-switching between different varieties of the same language as well as between language pairs like Estonian and Finnish that share many lexical and structural characteristics: Many of the code-switchings in our data, too, are gradual. According to Auer

(1995: 117), 'gradual transitions from one code to another' do not work the same way as abrupt switches. In the case of Finnish and Estonian, the code-switches often involve bilingual homophones (diamorphs) in the transition from Finnish to Estonian so that it is not easy to determine an exact point in time where the switch occurs. Homophones tend to act as bridges between Estonian and Finnish, thus possibly facilitating the switch (cf. Clyne 2003: 164; Sarhimaa 1999). It is therefore an advantage for Finnish–Estonian code-switchers that many of the elements occurring at natural syntactic boundaries, such as the copula *olla* and connector *et*, are cognates. This is the case with example (1)/(2), repeated here as (8), where the words *naiseD*, *ei*, and *ole* are bilingual homophones, as are the words *on* and *kallis* in (5), repeated here as (9) and *on valmis*, *et*, *nyt* and *on* in (6), repeated here as (10). Recall that bilingual homophones are marked with italics:

(8)

8. kakskytviisvuotiaat *naiseD*,
   twenty-five year-old:PL woman:PL
   'He once said to our class that women below 25
9. *ei* *ole* **otsusevõimalised**.
   NEG be competent: PL
   are not competent (to make decisions).'

(9)

4. *ja* *istun* *ja* *laulan* niin KO͟VAST SITÄ JOT,
   and sit:1SG and sing:1SG so loud:MAN DEM3:PAR that
   'and I'm sitting and singing it so loud that'
5. *ON* *KA͟LLIS* *MULLE* **KODUPAIK** *NII* **HE͟Ä**
   be.3SG dear 1SG:ALL home so good
   'my home is so dear to me, so good'
6. *ON* *OLLA* **SIIN**.
   be.3SG be:INF DEM.INE
   'it is so good to be here'

(10)

3. johtaja *tuli* sinne.
   manager come:PST DEM3.LOC.ILL
   'The manager came there.'
5.–6. ↑*aha*. *et* nytten *on* *valmis*,
   PRT that now be.3SG ready
   'well that now it's ready'
8.–10. *et e#ee#*, *nyt#*. *ON* **vaja** **triikiDä**
   that now be.3SG need iron:INF
   'That now it needs to be ironed.'

The gradual shift does not, however, seem to affect the interactional value of the switches,[17] as could be seen in section 2 where the above examples were analyzed in a larger context.

Gumperz (1982: 66–68) claims that switches that are phonetically or morphologically *integrated* to the base language cannot signal a sufficient change in the language system in order to serve a contextualizing purpose. Claims about the need for phonological salience are problematic, because many speakers in our data make no distinction between Finnish and Estonian phonology, which does not prevent them from code-switching. In some cases a switch can be noticed, as in (8) where two cognates *ei ole* 'are not' are palatalized, as in Estonian. While Gumperz' strong claim in the form of a negation is problematic and contrary to some findings (see, e.g., Auer 1998b: 5), our data support this claim to the extent that the switches in voicing tend to have inflectional morphology from the embedded rather than the base language (Frick 2008). There are, however, exceptions to this, too, as shown in (11) where some of the Estonian words from the exam questions are inflected with Finnish suffixes (*kesk-konna-**n**, varianti-**ssa**,* and *bioloogis-**i**-**lle** ohutegure-**i**-**lle***). Extract (11) is from an email message written by a Finn who at the time of writing had lived in Estonia for less than three years and was studying medicine in Estonian. She and her Finnish coursemates had the habit of sharing exam questions on their mailing list. Recall that Estonian morphemes are in bold and regular font at the end of a bolded word thus reflects a Finnish grammatical morpheme being used with an Estonian stem:

(11) Extract from the original email message:

1. Tehtiin *Susa*n kanssa tänään tän viikon
   do:PPAS NAME:GEN with today DEM1:GEN week:GEN
   'Today we did this week's
2. **keskkonna**nkoe mun **varianti**ssa kysyttiin
   environmental:GEN exam SG1:GEN my version:INE ask:PPAS
   environmental exam with Susa. In my version there was
3. jotain vastaavaa:
   INDF.PAR like:PAR
   'something like:
   ...
5. ... **jah**/*ei*-kysymykset: Missä seuraavissa
   yes/no-question:PL Q:INE following:PL:INE
   'yes/no questions: Which of the following'

**17** See also similar results by Lappalainen (2004) on code-switching between Finnish colloquial and formal varieties and Sarhimaa (1999: 192) on Karelian–Russian code-switching.

6. ammateissa voi altistua **bioloogi**sille
occupation:PL:INE can expose:INF biological:PL:ALL
occupations are susceptible to biological
7. **ohutegurei**lle (sivu 1), vaihtoehtoina *oli*
risk-factor:PL:ALL (page 1) choice:PL:ESS be.PST
risks (page 1),choices were
8. ainaki **kalandus**, **sanitaaritöötajad**, *puu-*
at-least fishing sanitary-worker:PL wood
at least fishing, sanitary workers, wood
9. /metsäihmiset, **teleoperaattori töötajad**
forest-person:PL teleoperating.GEN worker:PL
/forest people, teleoperators.'

The beginning of the voicing in (11) is indicated with reporting clauses and colons in lines 3 and 5. Although the writer of this message, like other authors of similar messages, does not seem to use suffixes from the two languages in a very systematic way, semantic specificity (Backus 2001) explains the usage of Estonian word stems in this type of discourse. The extensive use of Estonian reflects the intertextuality of the message. The Estonian stems include the name of the course, *keskkonna-* 'environmental (health),' the naming for the exam slip as *variant* **'**version**'** (line 2) and the choices given in the exam: *jah/ei* **'**yes/no**'** (line 5), *bioloogi- ohutegur-* **'**biological risk**'** (line 6–7), **'**fishing**'**, etc. (line 8). These study-related terms are semantically specific words that originate from an exam situation and are recontextualized in the email message.[18] This particular group of students often uses the mailing list to report exam questions. It may well be that as this activity is being conventionalized as a genre, the code-switching pattern is becoming conventionalized. This would explain why the writers do not need to switch between Finnish and Estonian grammar when voicing the exam questions. (11) shows that in some cases, morphologically integrated code-switching can be used as a contextualization cue. The distinction between the two languages becomes clear from the lexicon alone.

**18** In lines 8–9 the writer of (11) switches back to Finnish. Why does the writer use the words 'fishing,' 'sanitary workers,' and 'telephone operators' in Estonian but 'wood/forest people' in Finnish? The author seems to know all the other occupations listed in Estonian, except for the 'wood/forest people' – a wording that would hardly be used of an occupation in any institutional text, such as an exam paper. The original text might have used a term *puidu- ja metsatööstus* 'woodworking and forest industry' or the like, and by switching to Finnish the author of the reported text can indicate that she does not remember the exact term used in the exam and is using her own words. Estonian lexical elements can thus express authenticity of the writer's reporting of a prior text 'exactly as it was' (cf., e.g., Clark & Gerrig 1990; Leisiö 1998) and Finnish is a cue for the recipients to interpret that part as the text as the current writer's voice (that is, not the authentic wording of the original exam paper).

Another salience-related question is the problem of *mixed-codedness*. It has been argued by Auer (1998b: 6) that when frequent switching occurs between two languages – i.e., 'language mixing' in his terms – the switches no longer contextualize linguistic activities. In another paper (1998a: 20), Auer claims that the transition towards a mixed code happens when code-switching loses its salience against a base that is mixed. In his words, in language mixing 'languages may be juxtaposed, but they need not be' and the juxtaposition of two languages is not 'locally meaningful' (1998b: 13). In our data, it is difficult to find an example of code-switching where both the Finnish and Estonian passages comply with monolingual norms to the smallest detail; there are usually at least some Finnish traits in the Estonian or Estonian traits in the Finnish passages surrounding the switches in the speech of even the most balanced bilinguals. A high amount of convergence – though seldom systematic – of phonological, orthographic, morphological, syntactic, or semantic features is found in the data from the oldest participants (Riionheimo & Frick, under review). Based on the earlier claims regarding the need for high salience in code-switching, one would expect to find the young speakers using code-switching as a contextualization cue, but not the old Ingrian Finns, who speak more convergent varieties of Finnish/Estonian. This is, however, not the case, and the sequential analysis revealed use of code-switching as a contextualization cue even with speakers whose Finnish language seemed grammatically and lexically quite converged with Estonian.

# 5 Conclusions

Our analysis reveals two aspects of the role of code-switching in voicings. Firstly, code-switching can invoke a voice-persona by marking a change in footing (cf. Goffman 1981; Goodwin 2007) as the speaker moves from the real-life speech here and now to animating something she frames as happening in a different conversational space. When using the language of the original text, speakers can authenticate their voicing by making it appear to be a copy of the original (instead of a translation). This function is absent in cases of so-called code replacement where the language of the voicing is different from that of the original text. Secondly, we found that code-switching can follow from the act of voicing, because a voiced utterance may carry in itself the linguistic form of a prior text. This becomes especially clear in voicings of established texts, such as song lyrics, which are memorized and used in a strictly conventionalized form in a certain language, and in metalinguistic voicings where language is the topic of conversation. The two aspects of code-switched voicings are

examples of double contextualization. Invoking a voice-persona to voicings serves the ongoing speech event by helping to create a voicing space and bringing in a third persona to this space. This serves as a context where the participants can, for example, evaluate the third persona or use his or her alleged stance as support for one's own stance. The second aspect – that code-switching follows from voicing – shows how all prior usages of a particular text impose themselves on the speech event here and now, thus forcing the current text to be interpreted in the context of the prior ones.

In contrast to recent sociolinguistic theories that claim that code-switching in conversation should not be regarded as evidence of the participants' orientation to the two languages as separate entities (see, e.g., Møller 2008), we find that speakers' usage of code-switching in an interactionally meaningful way when contextualizing (for example) voicings is evidence of their orientation towards two separate linguistic entities. This means that their choices are not random, but motivated and meaningful. Furthermore, this kind of interactional meaning can be construed even if (a) the morphosyntactic and lexical salience of the switch is reduced (due to a gradual shift from one language to another, morphological integration, or a mixed language base), and (b) the two varieties are in most cases not socially indexical, i.e., associated with values that the participants would consider to be typically Estonian. However, we argue that social indexes can be emergent in interaction (when one of the participants makes such an association), and the usage of code-switching as a contextualization cue can therefore not be strictly separated from its (potential) function as a social index.

# Appendices

## Transcription conventions, symbols and abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| . | falling pitch |
| , | level pitch |
| ? | rising pitch |
| ↑ | shift to high pitch |
| now | stress |
| [ | overlap (start) |
| ] | overlap (end) |
| (.) | pause 0.2 s. |
| (0.4) | pause in seconds |
| = | a turn start immediately after the previous speaker |
| °° | quiet speech |

| | |
|---|---|
| AHA | loud speech |
| .hhh | inhalation |
| he he | laughter |
| w(h)ord | plosive (laughter) |
| £ £ | smile voice |
| # # | creaky voice |
| ↓ | low speech |
| (word) | doubt in transcription |
| (–) | a word unheard |
| (––) | several unhearable words |
| (( )) | comments by the transcriber |

## Phonetics

| | |
|---|---|
| ' | palatalised |
| D, B, G | voiceless or semivoiced consonants (used when the word cannot be identified as Estonian or Finnish) |

## Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| 1SG, 1PL etc. | 1st person singular, 1st person plural etc. (verbal and nominal suffixes, personal pronouns) |

## Verbal morphemes

| | |
|---|---|
| NEG | negative |
| INF | infinitive |
| PST | past |
| PPAS | past passive |
| PAS | passive |
| PP | past participle |
| PPP | past passive participle |

## Nominal morphemes

| | |
|---|---|
| PL | plural (nominative, if not marked otherwise) |
| GEN | genitive (~accusative *-n*) |
| PAR | partitive |

| | |
|---|---|
| INE | inessive |
| ILL | illative |
| ELA | elative |
| ADE | adessive |
| ALL | allative |
| ESS | essive |
| TRA | translative |

### Parts of speech

| | |
|---|---|
| NAME | name |
| CLI | clitic |
| Q | question |
| PRT | particle |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| DEM1 | 1st demonstrative (*tää* etc) |
| DEM3 | 3rd demonstrative (*se* etc) |
| INDF | indefinite |
| LOC | locative |
| MAN | manner |
| AUX | auxiliary verb |

## Bionotes

*Maria Frick* is completing a PhD at the University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies, where she works in the FiDi-Pro project 'Grammar and interaction: The linking of actions in speech and writing' and the Finnish Centre of Excellence in Research on Intersubjectivity in Interaction. Her current research interests include code-switching and bilingual syntax in interaction.

*Helka Riionheimo* is a university lecturer of the Finnish language at the University of Eastern Finland. She received her PhD at the University of Joensuu, Finland, in 2007 with a dissertation that addressed the contact of Ingrian Finnish and Estonian from a broad theoretical perspective. She led a post-doctoral project 'Complexity in Contact: the maintenance of morphophonology in Baltic Finnic contacts,' funded by the Academy of Finland, 2010–2013, and is now in charge of the project 'CROSSLING: Language Contacts at the Crossroads of Disciplines,' funded by the Kone Foundation, 2011–2014. Her current research areas are language contacts (especially contacts between Finnic languages), attrition, Finnish dialects, morphological complexity, and dialect syntax.

# References

Álvarez-Cáccamo, Celso. 1996. The power of reflexive language(s): Code displacement in reported speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 25(1). 33–59.

Auer, Peter. 1984. *Bilingual conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Auer, Peter. 1986. Kontextualisierung. *Studium Linguistik* 20. 22–47.

Auer, Peter. 1995. The pragmatics of code-switching. In Lesley Milroy & Pieter Muysken (eds.), *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching,* 115–135. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Auer, Peter. 1998a. Introduction. Bilingual conversation revisited. In Peter Auer (ed.), *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*, 1–24. London: Routledge.

Auer, Peter. 1998b. From code-switching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *Interaction and Linguistic Structures* 6. http://www.inlist.uni-bayreuth.de/issues/6/index.htm (accessed 7 May 2012).

Auer, Peter. 2005. Projection in interaction and projection in grammar. *Text* 25(19). 7–36.

Auer, Peter & Stefan Pfänder (eds). 2011. *Constructions: Emergent and emerging*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Backus, Ad. 2001. The role of semantic specificity in insertional code-switching: Evidence from Dutch Turkish. In Rodolfo Jacobson (ed.), *Code-switching Worldwide II,* 125–154. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bakhtin, Mikhail Mikhailovich. 1982 [1934]. Discourse in the novel. In *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*, 259–422. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Besnier, Niko. 1993. Reported speech and affect on Nukulaelae atoll. In Jane H. Hill & Judith T. Irvine (eds.), *Responsibility and evidence in oral discourse*, 161–181. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, Jan & Ben Rampton. 2011. Language and superdiversity. *Diversities* 13(2). www.unesco. org/shs/diversities/vol13/issue2/art1. Retreived 6 Oct 2012.

Clark, Herbert H. & Richard J. Gerrig. 1990. Quotations as demonstrations. *Language* 66. 764–805.

Clyne, Michael. 2003. *Dynamics of language contact.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 1996. The prosody of repetition: On quoting and mimicry. In Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen & Margret Selting (eds.), *Prosody in conversation: Interactional studies*, 366–405. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 1999. Coherent voicing: On prosody in conversational reported speech. In Wolfram Bublitz & Uta Lenk (eds.), *Coherence in spoken and written discourse: How to create it and how to describe it,* 11–32. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2007. Assessing and accounting. In Elizabeth Holt & Rebecca Clift (eds.), *Reporting talk: Reported speech in interaction*, 81–119. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth & Margaret Selting 2001: Introducing interactional linguistics. In Margret Selting & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Studies in interactional linguistics*. John Benjamins: New York. 1–22.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth & Margret Selting. i.p. *Interactional linguistics: An introduction to language in social interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coupland, Nikolas. 2001. Dialect stylization in radio talk. *Language in Society* 30(3). 345–375.

Creese, A., & A. Blackledge. 2010. Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal* 94. 103–115.

Drew, Paul. 1998. Complaints about transgressions and misconduct. *Research on Language and Social interaction* 31(3/4). 295–325.

Ford, Cecilia, Barbara Fox & Sandra Thompson. 2002. Social interaction and grammar. In M. Tomasello (ed.), *The new psychology of language, Vol II*, 119–143. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc.

Fox, Barbara A., Sandra A. Thompson, Cecilia E. Ford & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2013. Conversation analysis in linguistics. In Tanya Stivers & Jack Sidnell (eds.), *Handbook of conversation analysis*, 726–740. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Frick, Maria. forthcoming. Singing and code-switching in sequence closings. *Pragmatics* 23(2). 179–209.

Frick, Maria. 2003. Kaksikielistä rääkkimistä: Koodinvaihdosta tartonsuomalaisten sähköposti- ja kasvokkaiskeskustelussa. ['Code-switching in face-to-face conversations of Tartu Finns']. Helsinki: University of Helsinki MA thesis.

Frick, Maria. 2008. Morphological integration of Estonian lexical elements in a Finnish language base. *Journal of Linguistic and Intercultural Education* 1. 81–95.

Frick, Maria. 2010. Suomi–viro-koodinvaihto Facebookissa. ['Finnish–Estonian code-switching in Facebook']. *Lähivõrdlusi. Lähivertailuja* 20. 49–67.

Gafaranga, Joseph. 2001. Direct speech reporting and code-switching in bilingual conversation: Kinyarwanda–French language alternation. *Actas Do i Simposio Internacional Sobre o Bilinguismo*, 515–527.

Garafanga, Joseph & Maria-Carme Torras. 2002. Interactional otherness: Towards a redefinition of code-switching. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 6. 1–22.

García, Ofelia 2009. *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Oxford: Wiley.

Goffman, Erving. 1974. *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. New York: Harper and Row.

Goffman, Erving. 1981. *Forms of talk*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Goodwin, Charles. 2007. Interactive footing. In Elizabeth Holt & Rebecca Clift (eds.), *Reporting talk: Reported speech in interaction*, 16–46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, John J. 1982. *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Gumperz, John J. 1992. Contextualization and understanding. In Alessandro Duranti & Charles Goodwin (eds.), *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon*, 230–252. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Günthner, Susanne. 1999. Polyphony and the 'layering of voices' in reported dialogues: An analysis of the use of prosodic devices in everyday reported speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 31. 685–708.

Halmari, Helena. 1997. *Government and code-switching: Explaining American Finnish*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hansen, Alan D., Luke Moissinac, Cristal Renteria & Eliana Razo. 2010. 'Ay ay vienen estos Juareños': On the positioning of selves through code switching by second generation immigrant college students. In Deborah Schiffrin, Anna De Fina & Anastasia Nylund (eds.), *Telling stories: Language, narrative, and social life,* 57–68. Georgetown University Press.

Heller, Monica (ed., 2007) *Bilingualism: A social approach.* Houndmills: Palgrave.

Heritage, John. 1984. *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polite Press.
Holt, Elizabeth. 1996. Reporting on talk: The use of direct reported speech in conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 29(3). 219–245.
Holt, Elizabeth. 2000. Reporting and reacting: Concurrent responses to reported speech. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 33(4). 425–454.
Hopper, Paul. 1987. Emergent grammar. *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (1987)*. 139–157.
ISK = Hakulinen, Auli, Maria Vilkuna, Riitta Korhonen, Vesa Koivisto, Tarja Riitta Heinonen & Irja Alho. 2004. *Iso suomen kielioppi*. ['Comphrehensive grammar of Finnish']. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
Jaspers, Jürgen. 2011. Talking like a 'zerolingual': Ambiguous linguistic caricatures at an urban secondary school. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43. 1264–1278.
Jørgensen, J. Normann. 2008. Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 5(3). 161–176.
Jørgensen J. Normann, Martha S. Karrebæk, Lian M. Madsen & Janus S. Møller. 2011. Polylanguaging in superdiversity. *Diversities* 13(2). www.unesco.org/shs/diversities/vol13/issue2/art2, Retrieved 6.10. 2012.
Kalliokoski, Jyrki. 1995. *Koodinvaihto ja keskustelun moniäänisyys*. ['Code-switching and polyphony in conversation']. *Virittäjä* 100. 2–24.
Keevallik, Leelo. 2008. Conjunction and sequenced actions: The Estonian complementizer and evidential particle *et*. In Ritva Laury (ed.), *Crosslinguistic studies of clause combining: The multifunctionality of conjunctions*, 125–152. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Klewitz, Gabriele & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 1999. Quote – unquote? The role of prosody in the contextualization of reported speech sequences. *Pragmatics* 9(4). 459–485.
Koivisto, Aino, Ritva Laury & Eeva-Leena Seppänen. 2011. Syntactic and actional characteristics of Finnish *että*-clauses. In Ritva Laury & Ryoko Suzuki (eds.), *Subordination in conversation,* 69–102. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Kokko, Ossi, Ilkka Savijärvi & Muusa Savijärvi (eds). 2003. *Ennev vanhasii. Pohjois- ja Keski-Inkerin kieltä ja kohtaloita* ['Language and destinies from North and Middle Ingria']. *Studia Carelica Humanistica* 18.
Kokko, Ossi. 2007. *Inkerinsuomen pirstaleisuus. Eräiden sijojen kehitys murteen yksilöllistymisen kuvastajana*. ['Scattered Ingrian Finnish. The development of selected cases as reflectors of the invidualization of a dialect']. *University of Joensuu Publications in the Humanities* 48. Joensuu: University of Joensuu.
Kovács, Magdolna. 2001. *Code-switching and language shift in Australian Finnish in comparison with Australian Hungarian*. Åbo: Åbo Akademis Förlag.
Kuiri, Kaija. 1984. *Referointi Kainuun ja Pohjois-Karjalan murteissa* ['Reported speech in the Kainuu and North-Carelian dialects of Finnish']. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
Kyratzis, Amy. 2010. Latina girls' peer play interactions in a bilingual Spanish–English U.S. preschool: Heteroglossia, frame-shifting, and language ideology. *Pragmatics* 20(4). 557–586.
Lappalainen, Hanna. 2004. *Variaatio ja sen funktiot. Erään sosiaalisen verkoston jäsenten kielellisen variaation ja vuorovaikutuksen tarkastelua* ['Variation and its functions: The analysis of linguistic variation and interaction among members of a social network']. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Lappalainen, Hanna. 2005. Referointi ja variaatio [‘Reported speech and variation’]. In Markku Haakana & Jyrki Kalliokoski (eds.), *Referointi ja moniäänisyys,* 150–186.Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Laury, Ritva & Eeva-Leena Seppänen. 2008. Clause combining, interaction, evidentiality, participation structure, and the conjunction-particle continuum: The Finnish *että*. In Ritva Laury (ed.), *Crosslinguistic studies of clause combining: the multifunctionality of conjunctions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Leisiö, Larisa. 1998. Code-switching in reported speech. In Jef Verschueren (ed.), *Pragmatics in 1998: Selected papers from the 6th International Pragmatics Conference, Vol. 2*, 349–362. Antwerp: International Pragmatics Association.

Levinson, Stephen C. 1978. Activity types and language. *Linguistics* 17. 365–399.

Levinson, Stephen C. 2013. Action formation and ascription. In Tanya Stivers & Jack Sidnell (eds.), *Handbook of conversation analysis*, 103–130. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Li Wei. 2002. ‘What do you want me to say?’ On the Conversation Analysis approach to bilingual interaction. *Language in Society* 31. 159–180.

Li Wei. 2007. Introduction to Part One. In *The Bilingualism Reader*, 27–30. London: Routledge.

Lo, Adrienne. 1999. Code-switching, speech community membership, and the construction of ethnic identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3(4). 461–479.

Maschler, Yael. 1998. On the transition from code switching to a mixed code. In Peter Auer (ed.), *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*, 125–130. London: Routledge.

Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Møller, Janus S. 2008. Polylingual performance among Turkish-Danes in late-modern Copenhagen. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 5(3). 217–236.

Niemelä, Maarit. 2010. The reporting space in conversational storytelling: Orchestrating all semiotic channels for taking a stance. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42. 3258–3270.

Nisula, Katariina. 2003. Vanhoja tuttuja ja yhteisiä vieraita. Havaintoja erään eteläpohjalaisen paikallisradio-ohjelman kielellisestä variaatiosta. [‘Linguistic variation in an Ostrobothnian radio show’]. In Lea Laitinen, Hanna Lappalainen, Päivi Markkola & Johanna Vaattovaara (eds.), *Muotojen mieli – kirjoituksia morfologiasta ja variaatiosta,* 13–44. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston suomen kielen laitos.

Norén, Kerstin & Per Linell. 2007. Meaning potentials and the interaction between lexis and contexts: An empirical substantiation. *Pragmatics* 17(3). 387–416.

Ochs, Elinor A., Emanuel Schegloff & Sandra A. Thompson (eds). 1996. *Interaction and grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ono, Tsuyoshi & Sandra A. Thompson 1995: What can conversation tell us about syntax? In Philip Davis (ed.), *Alternative linguistics: Descriptive and theoretical modes*, 213–271. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Otsuji, Emi & Alistair Pennycook. 2010. Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 7(3). 240–254.

Pennycook, Alistair D. 2010. *Language as a local practice*. London: Routledge.

Praakli, Kristiina. 2009. Esimese põlvkonna Soome eestlaste kakskeelne keelekasutus ja koodikopeerimine. [‘Bilingual language use by first generation Estonians in Finland and Code-Copying’]. Tartu: University of Tartu dissertation.

Rampton, Ben. 2006. *Language in late modernity: Interaction in an urban school*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reershemius, Gertrud. 2001. 'Token code-switching' and language alternation in narrative discourse: A functional-pragmatic approach. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 5. 175–194.

Riionheimo, Helka. 2007. *Muutoksen monet juuret. Oman ja vieraan risteytyminen Viron inkerinsuomalaisten imperfektinmuodostuksessa* ['The multiple roots of change. Mixing native and borrowed influence in the past tense formation by Ingrian Finns in Estonia']. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Riionheimo, Helka. 2009. Interference and attrition in inflectional morphology: A theoretical perspective. In Esa Penttilä & Heli Paulasto (eds.), *Language contacts meet English dialects: Studies in honour of Markku Filppula*, 83–104. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Riionheimo, Helka. 2011. Complex morphologies in contact: the case of Ingrian Finns in Estonia. In Kelechukwu Ihemere (ed.), *Language contact and language shift: Grammatical and sociolinguistic Perspectives*, 10–36. München: LINCOM.

Riionheimo, Helka & Krista Kivisalu. 1994. *Inkeriläiskertomuksia*. Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto.

Riionheimo, Helka & Maria Frick. under review. Emergence of Finnish–Estonian bilingual constructions in two contact settings. Submitted for review in *Sociolinguistic Studies*.

Routarinne, Sara. 2005. Keskustelupuheen johtolauseiden kielioppia ['The grammar of quotatives in Finnish conversational speech']. In Markku Haakana & Jyrki Kalliokoski (eds.), *Referointi ja moniäänisyys,* 83–113. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on conversation. Volumes I and II.* Gail Jefferson (ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Sarhimaa, Anneli. 1999. *Syntactic transfer, contact-induced change, and the evolution of bilingual codes*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Savijärvi, Marjo & Eeva-Leena Seppänen. 2010. Recycling the teacher's words: How children acquire a second language in an immersion kindergarten. In Karin Junefelt & Pia Nordin (eds.), *Proceedings from the Second International Interdisciplinary Conference on Perspectives and Limits of Dialogism in Mikhail Bakhtin. Stockholm University, Sweden, June 3–5, 2009*, 216–225. www.nordiska.su.se/ bakhtin2009. Retrieved 1. 6. 2011.

Stevanovic, Melisa & Maria Frick. under review. Singing in conversation. Submitted for review in *Social Semiotics*.

Stivers, Tanya. 2008. Stance, alignment, and affiliation during storytelling: When nodding is a token of affiliation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41(1). 31–57.

Tannen, Deborah. 2007. *Talking voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Volosinov, Valentin Nikolaevich. 1973. *Marxism and the philosophy of language.* New York: Seminar Press.

Zabrodskaja, Anastassia. 2006. Vene-eesti koodivahetuse funktsioonid Kohtla-Järve venekeelsete laste vestluses. ['Functions of Russian–Estonian conversational code-switching by schoolchildren in Kohtla-Järve']. *Eesti rakenduslingvistika ühingu aastaraamat* 2, 231–249. Tallinn: Estonian Association for Applied Linguistics.

Pragmatics 23:2.243-273 (2013)
International Pragmatics Association

# SINGING AND CODESWITCHING IN SEQUENCE CLOSINGS

Maria Frick

**Abstract**

Turns in interaction that initiate closure of expanded sequences are often summaries, accounts and assessments of the preceding talk. Sometimes these turns are produced by means that can be described as heteroglossic. This paper investigates singing and codeswitching in sequence closures, as well as other accompanying contextualisation cues such as prosodic changes and gestures. The heteroglossic character of these contextualised turns is a means for the speakers to distance themselves from the actions of their turns, and from the ongoing sequential activities. For the recipients this gives a possibility to make interpretations of non-seriousness. The sequences can then be closed with joint affiliative action such as laughter. In cases where the sequences have been expanded because of problems in interaction, singing and codeswitching relieve the tension between participants. On occasion, they also give rise to new topics. This paper is written in a conversation analytic framework, on data collected from everyday face-to-face interaction among Finns living in Estonia.

**Keywords:** Conversation analysis; Contextualisation cues; Code-switching; Singing in interaction; Teasing; Topic-shift; Conflict in interaction; Finnish; Estonian.

## 1. Introduction

A growing number of conversation studies in the past decades have found interest in the "extralinguistic" side of human interaction. While it is debatable whether a line can be drawn between what is "linguistic" and "extralinguistic", there is no doubt that phenomena such as prosody or gestures and facial expressions form an inseparable part of face-to-face-conversation. The research into **how** things are said include studies of figurative expressions (Drew & Holt 1998) and codeswitching, that is: Switching between different languages (e.g. Auer (ed.) 1998). The study at hand contributes to the research on codeswitching in interaction. It also opens discussion on the topic of singing as a conversational activity. The main issue here is the investigation of how singing and codeswitching are used as contextualisation cues (Gumperz 1982) in conjunction with other such cues.

The data is drawn from videotaped everyday face-to-face interaction among Finnish families and friends living in Estonia. In the approximately 30 hours of conversation, there are approximately 20 instances of singing and two hundred code switches. This paper focuses on instances of conversational singing and codeswitching that occur in the closings of expanded sequences (cf. Schegloff 2007). The point of interest here is how these sequences come to an end, and what the role of singing and codeswitching in their closings is. Earlier research has found idiomatic and aphoristic

formulations, jokes and the like to be common in sequence closures (ibid.: 186; Drew & Holt 1998). These phenomena, like singing and codeswitching, represent heteroglossic language usage, which may be the reason why participants can use them to easily detach themselves from the preceding conversational activities. While this paper draws light on how this happens, it is not in its scope to wholly explain sequence closures, singing or codeswitching - let alone heteroglossia. This is no more than an account of some occurrences of these phenomena, one that aims at enhancing our understanding of the possibilities of everyday interaction.

Section 2 of the article presents an analysis of "dedicated sequence closing sequences", as named by Schegloff (2007), moving from ones where singing occurs, in 2.1, to ones with codeswitching, in 2.2 and then, in 2.3, to instances where attempts to initiate closure with singing or codeswitching fail at first. Section 3 draws conclusions regarding the role of contextualisation and heteroglossia in sequence closures, while section 4 focuses on how interactional discord and conflicts can get solved when sequence closure involves singing or codeswitching.

## 2. Dedicated sequence closing sequences

A sequence in interaction consists of a base, that is, an adjacency pair that forms the main action pair of the sequence, and possible expansions before, in between or after the base (Schegloff 2007). Sequences tend to be ended by the participants performing closing actions that are recognisable as such (Schegloff & Sacks 1973). Sometimes a whole other sequence is dedicated to closing a sequence. Schegloff (2007: 186-187) describes what he calls dedicated sequence closing sequences as "little sequences used to close long sequences or topics". According to him (ibid.) they take various forms, but in their basic form they consist of three turns:

> 1. Initial turn, which proposes possible closing. Some of its forms are: Assessments, idiomatic or aphoristic formulations of the upshot or outcome of the sequence (see Drew and Holt 1998) and jokes which trade on, or are symbiotic with the sequence or topic. Many of these represent a stance taken toward that which may be ending.
> 2. The recipient may collaborate in closing down the sequence/topic, or withhold or even resist compliance.
> 3. A non-collaborative response can abort the sequence closing sequence. However, if the recipient has aligned with the initiating speaker, he or she may produce a final closing token and start a new sequence or topic.

Sequence closing sequences typically occur after longer sequences, such as ones that have been expanded (ibid.). Let's say a participant performs a request, but the other participant doesn't grant it and continues by explaining why he or she did not grant the request (or a third person takes a turn explaining it on behalf of the second participant). This is the kind of expansion that happens in Extracts (1) and (2) in sections 2.1 and 2.2. Another possible expansion type is a pre-expansion preceding a request such as the one in (3) in 2.3. In (4), the sequence is expanded first by assessment activity and then by a repair sequence. In all of these relatively long sequences one or more dedicated sequence closing sequences are used, containing either singing or codeswitching. In the

transcripts, sequence closing sequences are marked with boxes and the turns that initiate them with boldface.

### 2.1. *Closure initiated by singing*

In (1) a line from a popular Christmas song is sung by one of the participants. This singing constitutes a turn in the ongoing conversation. It takes place after an episode of storytelling[1] that ends in mutual teasing by the storyteller and a recipient, followed by a request for affiliation from the storyteller to another recipient. When the requestee doesn't give the requested affiliation, another participant accounts for it: 'One can't defend someone/something like that'. The account (cf. Scott & Lyman 1968; Antaki 1994) is followed by singing of the children's song: 'We are all mother's little piglets'. This results in affiliative action from all the participants, and the sequence is brought to an end with topic change.

The excerpt comes from a conversation among four friends in their late twenties /early thirties who are sitting in the living room of one of the participants, Liisa (Figure 1). The video recording has been going on for a little more than an hour. Mikko is sitting on the floor in front of the couch where Maija sits rubbing his shoulders. Two other friends, Liisa and Sari (who is not visible to the camera), are sitting nearby. The conversation is in Finnish, but takes place in Estonia, where the participants are studying[2].

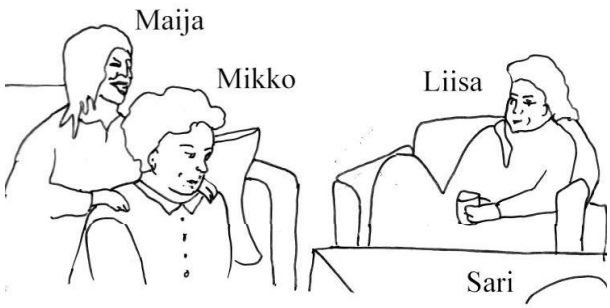



**Figure 1**

Extract (1) is from a complaint story told by Mikko, with contributions from Maija, about how they had had to cook in Liisa's apartment while Liisa was in the bedroom talking to her boyfriend Seppo on the phone. Mikko suggests that Liisa had been having phone sex when he and Maija were in the kitchen. The story is first presented as news,

[1] I use the term "storytelling", as suggested by Jefferson (1978), to denote a fragment of conversation that includes the "entry" into the story, the story itself and the "exit" from it.

[2] To be exact: The participants have lived in Estonia for the past six to seven years, but have preserved close contacts with Finland, for example by working there. Maija has just moved back to Finland a few months earlier, and is now visiting her old friends in Estonia. Liisa has also lived in Estonia earlier, as a child, then moved to Finland and back to Estonia as an adult.

which makes Sari the main recipient of it - she is the only one who hadn't been present in the event. Sari is silent during the whole storytelling. Liisa on the other hand takes occasional turns challenging what Mikko and Maija are claiming. The storytellers complain about Liisa's actions, but they do so in a non-serious mood. The story contains laughter and exaggerations - elements that have been found in earlier studies of teasing (e.g. Drew 1987; Keltner et al. 2001; Haakana 1995; Tainio 2001; Lehtimaja 2006)[3]. Liisa's responses are typical of a person being teased: She laughs and shows she has understood the joke, but defends herself against the charges (Drew, ibid.). The beginning of the story, 67 lines, is not shown here.

**(1) Porsaita äidin oomme kaikki[4] (sg410[5])**

((Maija is rubbing Mikko's back throughout the extract, except lines 90-92 ))

```
68 Mikko:  kummasti  ku   mää tulin,
           strangely when 1SG come-PST-1SG
           'strangely, when I came'
69 ?:      .hh
70 Mikko:  muutaman  sanan    sanomaan     Sepon    kanssa nii s-,
           a.few-GEN word-GEN say-INF3-ILL NAME-GEN with   PRT
           'to say a few words to Seppo, then'
71         peito     alla  ja,
           cover.GEN under and
           'under the cover and'
72         kädet   peiton    alla  ja  sit  kauheen,
           hand-PL cover-GEN under and then awfully
73         punasena naama siä   mmmm? ((raises lower lip))
           red-ESS  face  there
74         [↑@no ni@  ((nasal, raises lower lip))
           PRT   PRT
           '(she had) her hands under the covers and (her) face was awfully red'
75 Liisa:  [he he,
76 Liisa:  ☞£ty(h)yhyhmä.£☜((points at Mikko))
           stupid
           'stupid'
77 Maija?: he he.
78 Liisa:  sä oot     oikeest £t(h)yhmä,£=
```

[3] Edwards (2005: 13) associates the occurrence of laughter in complaints with indirect (3rd person) complaints, but laughter is also very common in the direct (co-present) complaints of the conversation at hand. One way to define (at least one type of) a tease, could be to say that is a co-present complaint marked with laughter.

[4] In the transcription each intonation unit is shown on a separate line. Some new symbols are introduced here: ♫ (note) for 'singing'; ☞ (finger pointing right) for 'finger waving'; ☞☜ (fingers pointing right and left) for 'finger waving or pointing throughout'; and ✊ (black fist) for fist shaking. Under each transcript line there is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss line, and idiomatic translations are given on a third line. Gaze, facial expressions and body movements are indicated selectively in double brackets. Note that prosody and laughter are marked only on the first transcription line, and that the idiomatic translations can only give a rough approximation of the meanings. The participants have given written consent for the transcripts to be used in research related publications. Their names have been changed.

[5] The data are stored in the conversation archive of the University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies, under signum numbers indicated after the title of each extract.

```
          2SG be-2SG really  stupid
79        =£(sä  oot)   nii likane (mies/mielik(h)u[vitus).£
             2SG be-2SG so  dirty   man/imagination
          'you're really stupid, you are/have  such a dirty (man /imagination)
80 ?:                                                    [[he he °he°
81 Mikko: ja  realisti.
          and realist
          'and a realist'
82 Liisa: he he eh he
83        (0.6) ((Maija shakes her head))
84 ?:     mt.
85 Liisa: £ei ei [°ei ei°£((shaking her head))
          NEG NEG NEG NEG
          'no no no no'
86 Maija:       [£joo joo.£
                  PRT PRT
          'yes yes'
87        (2.0) ((TV sounds, Liisa drinks coffee))
88 Liisa: °mhe mhe°
89 Mikko: puolusta m(h)ua he he,
          defend   1SG-PAR
          'defend me'
90 Maija  [hehe ((stops massaging and sits back))
91 Mikko: [Sa(h)ri PUO(h)lusta m(h)ua.
          Sari     defend      1SG-PAR
          'defend me, Sari'
92        (2.0) ((Maija starts massaging again))
93 Mikko: °he he he°
94 Liisa: mt. ei tommost      voi.
             NEG DEM2.ADJ-PAR can
          'you can't (defend) someone/something like that'
95 Maija: toi  tota,
          DEM2 PRT
          'that, well uhm'
```

```
96 Liisa: ♫°porsaita    äidin      oomme [kaikki°♫  ((singing))
          piglet-PL-PAR mother-GEN  be-1PL all
          'we are all mother's little piglets'
97 Sari?:                                    [(°kaikki /röh röh°)
98 Mikko: [£kr kr£
99 Maija: [RÖH Röh ((leaning forward, close to the back of Mikko's head, gaze to
          Mikko. Liisa starts smiling))
          oink oink
100       (.)  ((Maija leans back))
101Maija: [RÖH Röh ((leaning forward, close to the back of Mikko's head, gaze to Liisa))
          oink oink
102?      [(röh röh)
103Mikko: ((piggy-nose gesture))
104Liisa: >he he [he<
105Mikko:       [£krh krh krh£ ((snorts))
```

```
106Maija: £Liisa hei.£
          Liisa  PRT
          'hey, Liisa'
107       £mennääks laulaa.£
          go-PAS-Q sing.INF
```

```
108         (.)
109         fkaraokee.f
            karaoke-PAR
            'let's go sing karaoke'
```

Mutual teasing between Mikko, Liisa and Maija has been going on in the course of the storytelling, and also earlier in the conversation. This teasing doesn't only have to do with conversational transgressions like teases in Drew's (1987) data, but also with transgressions in earlier or ongoing conduct. For example, the speakers have told exaggerated stories of inappropriate things the others have done in the past. They have made joking remarks about what the others are doing and negative assessments of each other. Nevertheless, as Drew points out: "In the tease, abnormal or somehow deviant category or activity is attributed to the recipient". Here, the speakers engage in such teasing activity, where one tease follows another for long stretches of talk. In lines 68-74 Mikko adds to the story a vividly animated description of how Liisa had looked when he had entered her bedroom. Liisa receives Mikko's narrative with laughter and then points at Mikko, assessing him in turn: 'Stupid, you are/have such a dirty (man/imagination)'. Mikko gives a second assessment 'and a realist', implying his enactment of the phone call event was truthful.

The sequence then shows signs of closure: Quiet laughter, particles[6] and headshakes, and a pause. Sari, who hasn't said a word during the whole storytelling[7], still remains silent. Her silence contrasts with the affective, animated mode of the others' interaction (on cues for affectivity in conversational storytelling, see Selting 2010). Not responding to a story directed to one can be regarded as a non-affiliative, dispreferred action (Jefferson 1978: 229). Since teasing is related to the closeness of the participants (Drew 1987), Sari's refraining from it can have to do with the fact that she is not an equally close friend with the others. In other words, she lacks the experience the others have, and cannot feel as strongly about Mikko's or Liisa's character. This kind of "feeling differential" can result in a story recipient avoiding explicit responses (Couper-Kuhlen, personal communication). Sari is also the person recording the conversation, which might affect the participation framework. While the others have teamed up (cf. Kangasharju 1998 and 2002; Heinemann 2009) in the mutual teasing (Mikko and Maija against Liisa in this particular stretch of conversation), Sari's silence is a way to avoid picking sides.

Sari is being made accountable for her silence by Mikko, who requests her to

[6] The Finnish negation particle *ei* (ISK §1625) is repeated four times here: *ei ei ei ei*. I am not aware of any studies of this kind of usage of the word, but in my experience it would be used, often as just a double *ei ei,* in the closing of storytelling, by the recipient, meaning something like 'that is so unbelievably funny ~ terrible', 'that is so not true' or 'this is not happening'. It marks a transition from joking to a serious mode (Schegloff 2001). A turn initial *ei* can also be found on other kinds of interactional boundaries when moving from one activity to another: *ei mut hei nyt lähetään* 'PRT PRT PRT let's get going now' (Laury & Etelämäki p.c.). The affective valence of the turn on line 85 has to be interpreted from prosodic cues and facial expression. Here Liisa is smiling, indicating a positive affect. If Liisa would be negating Mikko's previous turn '(I am) a realist', she would probably use a finite form of *ei*, for example *et oo* 'no you're not'. Maija replies with *joo joo* 'yes yes' as if repairing or opposing Liisa's negative assessment.

[7] Sari's face and body are hidden from the camera, so it is impossible to describe the non-verbal feedback she gives during the conversation.

"defend" him (lines 89 and 91). According to Curl and Drew (2008), when making requests for action, people orient towards their entitlement to make the request on one hand, and towards contingencies associated with the requestee's ability to grant the requested action on the other. A request in the imperative mood, such as Mikko's request here, does not implicate contingencies or "effort" from the requestee (ISK §1661; Curl and Drew ibid.). Furthermore, there are no signs implicating lack of entitlement in Mikko's request. It is not accompanied by an account, and apart from the laughter, there is no such mitigation as, according to Schegloff (2007: 83), is "regularly found" in requests. In the context of Sari's dispreferred silence, Mikko shows full entitlement to ask for her contribution. Sari does not respond, that is, she doesn't grant Mikko's request. By doing so, she is again performing a dispreferred action (Schegloff 2007: 59; ISK §1216). It is Liisa, who then gives an account for why Sari had not granted the request (line 94).

In (1) we see the end of a long storytelling sequence, a request sequence and closings for both of these. This sequence in lines 96-105 closes all activity related to the request and storytelling that precede it. The situation is more complicated than the basic format described by Schegloff. There are four participants in the conversation, who all have to agree on closings. Liisa initiates the first sequence closure with an assessment in lines 78-79, Mikko produces a second assessment in line 81, the sequence closes after some minimal exchange and a pause, but Mikko initiates an expansion with a request. Another sequence closing sequence is then initiated by Liisa in line 96 with the singing of *Porsaita äidin oomme kaikki* 'We are all mother's little piglets'.[8]

Just before Liisa's singing, Maija has started a turn (line 95), one that seems like an initiation of a new topic with a demonstrative pronoun (cf. Laury 1997: 146; Etelämäki & Jaakola 2009). She does not finish her turn, but gives room for Liisa's singing. Liisa, being the previous speaker (before Maija), continues with a second turn, the singing, which thus blocks a possible topic change. That is, Liisa treats the ongoing topic as unfinished and continues it. But how are "mother's piglets" a continuation of the previous talk? To understand this, we need some contextual information. First, calling people pigs is a common insult in Finnish. Second, there is a semantic connection of pigs to the word 'dirty' in Liisa's earlier assessment of Mikko: 'You have such a dirty imagination'. And, third, 45 minutes earlier, Mikko has identified himself as a pig by producing grunt-like snorts and a piggy-nose gesture[9] identical to the one he is about to produce now (in lines 98, 103 and 105, figure 2).

[8] Liisa sings with a quiet voice, except for the first syllable, which is louder. The reactions from Maija and Mikko are much louder in volume. This is not quite consistent with the regular usage of sequence closing sequences, where the successive turns tend to be produced with declining volume and pitch (Schegloff 2007: 187; Couper-Kuhlen 2004, cf. also lines 78-86 in (1)).

[9] The gesture is inspired by an Estonian TV-show, Vremja, that the participants imitate earlier in the conversation. The characters in the show have the tips of their noses pinned up, like in Mikko's gesture. The show does not however make reference to pigs - this is probably Mikko's own association.



**Figure 2:** Mikko in line 103

Actionwise, Liisa's singing turn is an elaboration of her earlier 'one cannot (defend) something/someone like that'. It explains what she has meant by *tommosta*: Something or someone piglike. The turn is an assessment. But Liisa is no longer assessing only Mikko - she doesn't change the wording of the song. Perhaps it is the 1st person plural in the song, that "we" are "all" piglets, that invites the other participants to join in a common oinking (lines 97/98-105). Mikko produces grunting snorts, while Maija reacts twice with a rhythmical *röh röh* 'oink oink'. Mikko then pulls the tip of his nose up (Figure 2), Liisa laughs and Mikko oinks again[10]. This affiliative joint activity is minimal in the sense that it does not call for continuation. In this aspect, it is similar to laughing together (cf. Jefferson et al 1987: 169-170; Haakana 1999: 109-132) - an activity which shows "rapport and consensus" (Adelswärd 1989). With this joint enactment of pigs, the participants distance themselves from the serious context of dispreferred actions.

The singing gives rise to a new topic, when Maija suggests going to sing karaoke. Jefferson (1984) notes that after complaint sequences, participants tend to choose topics that are not related to the complainable matter. This is true here too. While karaoke as a topic is related to singing, it has nothing to do with the two problems in the preceding talk: Liisa's telephone call and Sari's not participating in the conversation. In fact, the latter problem gets solved as Sari engages in the talk about karaoke.

### 2.2. *Closure initiated by codeswitching*

Blom and Gumperz (1972) were probably the first to study codeswitching in recorded conversational data and report its usage in topic shifts[11]. Codeswitching in topic shifts is most often reported to happen so that a new topic is started in a new language. A relatively recent account is provided by Lappalainen (2004: 296-303), whose data show Finnish speakers shifting from a colloquial to a standard variety when making topic

[10] It is unclear from the tape, whether Liisa and Sari participate in the reactions following the singing. There is audible sound on lines 97 and 102. Sari's face is not shown, but Liisa is smiling and moving her lips slightly.

[11] See also McClure 1977: 24; Gal 1979: 117; Gumperz 1982; Auer 1995; Goyvaerts & Zembele 1992: 76; Zentella 1997: 93-94; Kovács 2001: 121-122; Li Wei 2002: 167-169; Zabrodskaja 2005: 84-86; Saari 2009: 221-222 etc.

summaries and other closing initiations.

The participants in (1) are Finns living in Estonia, and the main language of the conversation is Finnish. The next example (2) shows how these same speakers use codeswitching to Estonian. The turn that initiates sequence closure is Mikko's *aga abikaasa töö on ju olla abiline* 'but a wife's job is to be a helper' in lines 21-22[12]. The stretch of conversation in (2) is similar to (1) in that it too goes from teasing to a request that is rejected, and then to a justification of the rejection. Maija and Sari have left the room and gone to the adjoining kitchen. Just preceding (2), the four friends have joked around the idea that Mikko and Maija could get married. This has been done in a loud voice from one room to another - Liisa and Mikko are now alone in the room with the camera.

**(2) Aga abikaasa töö on ju olla abiline (sg410)**

```
02 ?:      £.hhh hh£
03         (.) ((speaking sounds from the TV))
04 Liisa:  hjehe hehe.
05         £m(h)itä sä siäl          latt(h)ialla ist(h)ut,£
           Q       2SG DEM3.LOC-ADE floor-ADE    sit-2SG
           'why are you sitting on the floor'
06         £.hh ei  sua     k(h)u[kaan hiero.£            ]
                NEG 2SG-PAR no.one     massage
           'no-one's giving you a massage'
07 Mikko:                          [((turns his head left, towards the kitchen, and back))]
08 Liisa:  hehe he he °he°.
09 Mikko:  .hh P[ERenaine.
               housewife
           'housewife'
10 Mikko:        [((turns his head towards the kitchen))
11 Liisa:  (°älä   huu[da°)
           NEG.IMP shout
           'don't shout'
12 Mikko:             [↓TUle siia kohe.=
                        come here immediately
           'come here right away'
13         =((head back and gaze to Liisa))
14 Liisa:  anna toisten     £j(h)utella  h(h)etki£.
           let  other-PL.GEN talk-INF1   moment
           'let them talk for a moment'
15         (.)   ((Mikko turns his head and gaze down and purses his lips))
16 Liisa:  (hekhehe) h(h)uutele s(h)iin ((hiccup)).h
                     call       DEM3.INE
           '(and don't) call her'
17         (.) ((speaking sounds from the kitchen))
18 Mikko:   °£perenaineef£, [He he.°
              housewife
           'housewife'
19 Liisa:                   [He he he hi hi hi.
```

[12] The morphemes uttered in Estonian are underlined on the gloss and translation lines. In turns that contain codeswitching, words that can be either Finnish or Estonian are underlined with a broken line. Where there is metalinguistic talk (about the meanings of words), these words are given in the original language also on the translation line.

```
20          (.) ((Mikko's gaze to Liisa))
21 Mikko:   £aga <abikaasa>, (0.6) ☞
            but  wife.GEN
22          tÖö on ju olla ☞ -ab(h)iline.£
            job is PRT be-INF1 helper
            'but a wife's job is to help'
23 Liisa:   £jaajah.£
            yes.yes
            'yeah'
24          (.) ((Mikko's gaze forward, to the TV))
25 Liisa:   sehä     onki      kato just sillee  ku  me  naureettii ku,
            DEM3-CLI be.SG3-CLI PRT PRT DEM3.MAN PRT 1PL laugh-PPAS PRT
            'we were laughing about just that'
26 Mikko:   ni.
            PRT
            'uh-huh'
27 Liisa:   Suomes              on     avioliitto,
            Finland/Finnish-INE be.3SG marriage
            'in Finland/Finnish we have  avioliitto (marriage)'
```

Liisa starts a new sequence (lines 5-6), laughing about Mikko sitting on the floor. The first part of Liisa's turn (line 5) doesn't start with the question word *miksi* 'why', but with *mitä* 'what' (as in the English 'what are you doing sitting on the floor for'). This type of a question is often seen as reproachful or deprecating, it implicates a negative assertion 'you shouldn't be doing that' (ISK §1706, 1688), and according to ISK (§1706) they can, but need not be answered. It is true that Liisa's turn does not necessarily call for a literal answer of the kind that requests for information do. It does, however, call for a certain kind of recipient action. Liisa's turn is an action that Sacks (1995, II: 115-119) has named a challenge, that is, 'a request for an explanation or justification' (see also Koshik 2003; Keevallik 2011). Challenges can also be seen as a type of co-present complaint, because the challenger reproaches the recipient for his actions. Liisa's turn implicates that Mikko has no reason to sit on the floor, now that Maija has left the room and is not rubbing his shoulders anymore, and calls for an explanation or justification of that. Mikko's response is to start calling Maija. Getting his masseuse back would justify his sitting on the floor, which would nullify the grounds for Liisa's challenge/complaint.

Throughout the conversation Mikko has called Maija *perenaine,* an Estonian word that can be translated 'hostess', 'housewife' or 'landlady'[13]. This is the word he uses now. Mikko's summons for Maija is done in Estonian, with a falling pitch in line 9 and a low voice in line 12 and in an imperative mood that is reinforced with a temporal qualifier: *Perenaine, tule siia kohe!* 'Housewife, come here right away!'. In contrast to his previous turns, these ones are not marked with laughter. This stopping of laughter, prosodic changes, lexical and grammatical choices and codeswitching indicate a change in the speaker's footing, i.e. they act as contextualisation cues. These are indications that Mikko is not speaking in his own previous voice, but has assumed a role (cf. Goffman

[13] The data doesn't reveal the origin of this nickname. Maija is not the hostess of the evening; the gathering takes place at Liisa's home. Neither is she a landlady or a housewife in real life.

1981: 144; Gumperz 1982: 34; Lappalainen 2004: 303-306). He is now speaking with the voice of someone who gives serious, low-pitch orders to Maija. One of the local interpretations of Mikko's turn, indicated by Liisa's reaction by laughter that appears in the end of her next turn, is that he is in fact not being serious in his seriousness. Another interpretation can be made on the grounds of the speaker's language choice (Estonian) possibly having some meaning potential for the interactants.

Liisa then makes a three-part request for Mikko to stop calling (lines 11, 14 and 16). The Finnish word *toinen* 'other', when used in complaints, can signal the speaker's identifying with the "other" (ISK §767) or, in this case, defending the "other", choosing their side. Liisa's turns in lines 5 and 16 contain a modifier 'there': *Siellä, siinä* that can be used in reproaches (cf. ISK §1706). Liisa's turn in line 16 starts as a serious one, but is filled with so much laughter towards the end that one cannot make out her first word. The laughter reopens the joking mood; Liisa, while scolding Mikko, indicates with laughter that she has understood that Mikko is joking. Mikko reacts with a fake(?) indicator of being hurt: He lowers his head and shoulders, looks down and makes a "sad face" (Grant 1969: 528) by turning down the corners of his mouth. Mikko does this simultaneously with the third part of Liisa's turn (line 16), just after signs of laughter start showing in Liisa's speech. While Mikko shows being hurt by the serious first part of Liisa's request, Liisa modifies her turn further by filling it with laughter. Liisa's laughter is thus not only a reaction to Mikko's earlier turn, but also to his body posture and facial expression. Liisa does not seem to regard Mikko as being seriously hurt - laughter would not be a preferred reaction to that - but has interpreted Mikko's action as a joke. Mikko repeats his summons *perenaine* (line 18), but now with a soft, whispery voice, smiling and ending his turn in laughter. The change in his tone is a concession to Liisa's request 'not to shout', but the turn defies the request 'not to call'. Liisa joins the laughter, and Mikko then proceeds to the closing of the sequence with *aga abikaasa töö on olla abiline* 'but a wife's job is to be a helper'.

Mikko's turn in lines 21-22 is in Estonian. It is an account, a justification for the speaker's earlier action that another participant had complained about - his summons for Maija, *perenaine.* Mikko makes a generalised claim that a wife's job is to be a helper. Taken in the context of the preceding topic, a joke about Mikko and Maija getting married, the 'wife' in this turn would refer to Maija. The claim that a wife should help, is based on the word 'spouse', *abikaasa,* in Estonian containing the word 'help', *abi*. It is a pun: Both the word for 'spouse' *abikaasa* and 'helper' *abiline,* in Estonian, start with *abi* 'help'[14]. The turn is produced in an emphatic style (cf. Selting 1994) with a prominent stress on every content word. This makes the turn sound like Mikko is "stating his last word" on the matter. Mikko points his forefinger towards Liisa and waves his hand and whole body in the rhythm of his speech giving it a beat (McNeill 1992: 169) that emphasises the words *abikaasa* 'wife's' *töö* 'job' and *abiline* 'helper'. There is a pause between the two words of the subject NP that, besides emphasis, could also indicate processing; selecting wording for the turn (word-searches are found in

[14] Although folk ethymologies commonly associate the words *abielu* 'marriage' and *abikaasa* 'spouse' with the word *abi* 'help', it is probable that these words are etymologically of the same root as the Finnish *avio* 'marriage',the meaning of which is traced back to 'open' or 'public' (Mägiste 1949).

some of Drew and Holt's (1998) examples of idiomatic expressions in the same sequential position).

Mikko's codeswitched pun 'a wife's job is to be a helper' fits Schegloff's description of the first pair part to a dedicated sequence closing sequence (2007: 186) as it sums up the preceding talk. Though the turn is created by Mikko here and now, it is formulated as if it were a saying - similar to those that can be found in sequence closings (Drew & Holt 1998; Schegloff ibid.). This is done with the particle *ju* that marks the turn as common information, something that 'everybody knows' (EKSS).

The second pair part is found in line 23, where Liisa shows agreement *jaajah* 'yes'[15]. As Drew and Holt (ibid.) point out, the recipients to such closing initiations tend to keep their agreement tokens minimal, thus orienting towards a closure by avoiding any further elaboration of the topic. Liisa's turn is in Estonian. Following the language choice of the previous turn is a further indicator of cohesion and agreement (as compared to codeswitching that would create a contrast). After *jaajah* Liisa moves to a new topic in Finnish: She starts comparing the Finnish and Estonian words for 'marriage'.

### 2.3 *When sequence closure fails*

Sometimes even sequence closing sequences get expanded. This happens, according to Schegloff (2007: 187), when the recipient continues to talk on the sequence/topic whose closure had otherwise been made relevant, or when a second pair part shows something other than "agreement/alignment" with the previous turn. The next three extracts exemplify this. In (3) the sequence is expanded by one of the recipients, who continues the assessment activity for several turns. The sequence closing sequence in (4), on the other hand, is expanded with a repair sequence, and the one in (5), when the recipient responds with silence.

In (3), an assessment with codeswitching (line 22) does not end the sequence, but one that is sung does (lines 28-29). The extract in (3) is recorded during a Finnish students' game and sauna evening in Estonia, where six people are sitting around the table, four of them (Teppo, Raili, Tuija and Sari) playing dice and the other two holding a parallel discussion. A non-participating person is standing nearby. When a new person (Jarkko) enters the room, Sari greets him and starts talking about the ongoing recording. She asks Jarkko a question that turns out to be a prerequest: Does it bother him that there is a recorder in the room. Jarkko replies that it doesn't bother him, but that he is not going to stay long. This part of the sequence is not shown in (3).

**(3) Suuri ja mahtava Helsinki (sg424)**

```
16 Sari:   jossei sua     haittaa ni  paaksä    nimen    tohon(noi).
           if+neg 2SG-PAR bother PRT put-Q+2SG name-ACC DEM2-ILL+PRT
           'If it doesn't bother you, could you sign that' ((pointing))
17         (0.4)((Jarkko walks around the table, Teppo follows him with his gaze)).
18 Jarkko: joo.
           yeah
           'Yeah'
```

[15] See Kasterpalu 2005 on Estonian agreement tokens.

19 Sari: et [sitte tietää,
so then know-3SG
'So that we'll know'

**20 Teppo: [se o oikeen toi,**((looking at Jarkko))
3SG be actually DEM2
21 (.)
**22 suuresta mualimasta tuolta HElsingi Üli£koolista£ .hh**
big world DEM2-ABL Helsinki university-ELA
'She's actually (come) from the big world, from the University of Helsinki.'
23 Tuija: he he ((Sari throws the dice, Jarkko starts signing))
24 Teppo?: .he .he [.he
25 Raili: [(se on pikkasen) suuri se
DEM3 be.3SG little-GEN big DEM3
[Helsinki.
Helsinki
'It's a little big, that Helsinki'
26 Tuija?: [(vitsi ku mä näin eile [sellase)
PRT PRT 1SG see-PST-1SG yesterday DEM3.ADJ.GEN
'Oh, yesterday I saw one of these'
27 Raili: [suuri ja mahtava Helsinki.
big and sublime Helsinki
'Great and sublime Helsinki'
(.) ((Risto and Sepi stop talking and turn to look at Raili and Teppo))

**28 Teppo: ♬suuri ja [mahtava Helsingiitto. ♬**
big and sublime Helsink(i)_(u)nion
'Great and sublime Helsinki-union' ((Singing in the melody of the Soviet anthem))
**29 Raili: ♬ [mahtava Helsinki. ♬**
sublime Helsinki
'Sublime Helsinki' ((Singing in the melody of the Soviet anthem))
30 Teppo: he [he he
31 Tuija: [hi hi

32 Raili: ni mut mä [ajatteli et sen
PRT but 1SG think-PST that DEM3-GEN
33 [liiton ois voinu jättää pois.
union-GEN AUX-COND can-PP leave-INF out
'Yeah but I thought that you could leave out the union'
34 Sari: [(Mitä mult puuttuu,)
what 1SG-ABL lack-3SG
'What do I need?'
35 Sari: suorat [puuttuu.
straight-PL lack-3SG
'I need the straights'
36 Tuija: [suorat.
straight-PL
'the straights'

Sari makes a request for Jarkko to sign a consent form (line 16). She accounts for the request both before (line 16) and after (line 19) the request: 'If you don't mind' and 'so we know'. The latter utterance is left syntactically unfinished (lacking an object). Jarkko agrees to sign the form (lines 17-18) and does so (line 23ff). All in all, the request sequence is quite long and not unproblematic. There is a presequence and accounts by

the requester, and a partial rejection by the requestee of the prerequest: 'I don't mind, **but** I won't be staying long'. Sari might also assume that Jarkko has seen a first request: A paper on the door asking all people present to sign a consent form, and she therefore orients towards a possible rejection from Jarkko. Jarkko, however, starts granting the request by walking around the table to where the consent form lies (Figure 3).

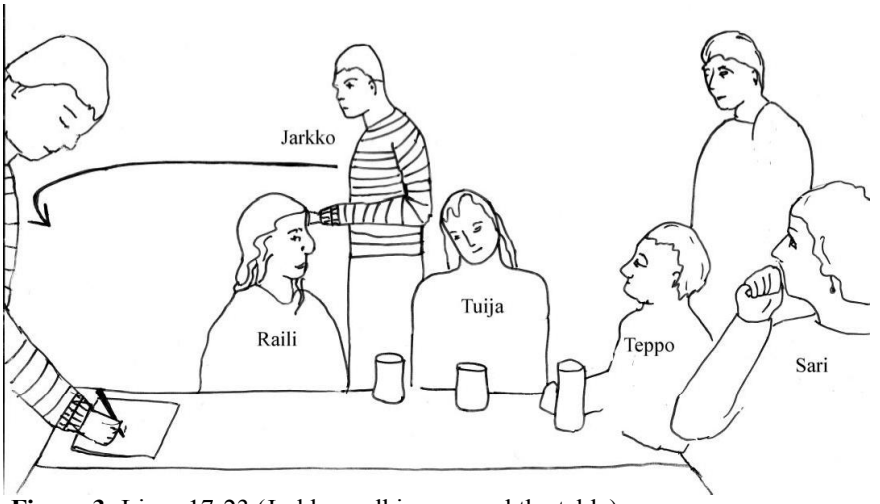



**Figure 3**: Lines 17-23 (Jarkko walking around the table)

It becomes evident that for Teppo and Raili, who have been silent onlookers to the request sequence, the topic needs further treatment and closure beyond mere granting of the request. This is done in a somewhat humorous mode, contrasting with the seriousness of the request sequence. While producing his turn in lines 20 and 22, Teppo follows Jarkko with his gaze. This turn is an informing of something Sari has left unsaid, and it thus contributes to the request sequence. It is also an assessment of Helsinki and the University of Helsinki. It goes back to where the request sequence had started, Sari telling about the recording. Returning to the start is something that initiating turns of sequence closing sequences sometimes do according to Schegloff (2007: 186). The turn contains an idiomatic expression 'from the wide world' using a dialectal form of the word *mualima* 'world', and an Estonian word *ülikool* 'university'[16]. The word *Helsinki* is pronounced with emphasis, and the turn ends in a smile and three laughter particles produced with inbreath (line 24).

Teppo's assertion is met with laughter from Tuija and Teppo (lines 23 and 24). This can indicate non-seriousness: Both participants treat Teppo's turn as ironical. Laughing together is connected to closing down longer topics (Haakana 1999: 118-123).

[16] A variety of terms could be used to describe different kinds of occurrences of two languages in one stretch of conversation. I use the term codeswitching as a cover term for both longer switches as in (2) and (4), and the one-word switch in (3). The Estonian word (*Helsingi*) *ülikooli-sta* in (3) is inflected with a Finnish suffix, and would be called a "(nonce) borrowing" by e.g. Poplack (2000 [1980]: 224-226) and Gumperz (1982: 66), "codeswitching" by Myers-Scotton (1992) and Halmari (1993), "insertion" by Muysken (2000), a "global lexical copy" by Johanson (1999) etc. The inflection of Finnish-Estonian switches is discussed in Frick 2008.

Raili does not however treat the topic as closed, but instead, she makes a second assessment about Helsinki being big. This assessment can be analysed as a second turn to a sequence closing sequence. It being in agreement with the first one, the sequence should be ready to close (cf. Schegloff 2007:187). Tuija treats it so and overlaps with Raili's right dislocation, attempting to start a new topic by starting to tell about something she has seen (line 26[17]). But Raili overlaps with Tuija and rephrases her assessment using an expression *suuri ja mahtava* 'great and sublime', which is recognisable as part of the Finnish lyrics of the Soviet anthem. At this point, the floor is open for the duration of a micropause: Tuija does not pursue the topic she started; Risto and Sepi stop the parallel conversation they have been holding for a while and turn to look at Raili and Teppo. Teppo sings the first line of the Soviet anthem, replacing the word Soviet with Helsinki: 'Great and sublime Helsinki union'. Raili joins in the singing of: 'Sublime Helsinki'.

In (3) the sequence closing sequence is expanded by reiterations of the initial assessment, not only in a second assessment turn, but several. The last of these turns is done by singing. The participants in (3) are not aligning as to when exactly the sequence is supposed to end. Tuija attempts to start a new topic already in line 26, but the others agree to end the sequence only when joint laughter (lines 30-31) follows a singing together (lines 28-29). A similar pattern was shown in (1), where Maija attempted a new topic (line 95), but Liisa continued the ongoing assessment activity by singing, which resulted in topic change after some joint minimal affiliative action (laughing and pig-enaction). In (3) the topic changes when Raili comments on her singing (line 32), and again when Sari poses a question about the ongoing game.

Extract (3) showed how a dedicated sequence closing sequence that contained codeswitching was not enough to end an activity that had pulled the participants' attention away from the game they were playing, and how one containing singing was. The next extract, (4) on the other hand, shows how the participants make several closing attempts with codeswitching. Example (4) includes a series of assessments that are produced using a combination of verbal and nonverbal action, that is, speech, gestures and codeswitching from Finnish to both Estonian and English. The participants are affiliative, but not aligned as to the organisation of the sequence: They fight for the floor. The sequence also gets expanded by a repair initiated by a word search. Extract (4) is the continuation of (2).

**(4) Naine on pliits- pliia ja rusika vahel (sg410)**

```
00 Liisa:  sehä     onki       kato just sillee ku me naureettii ku,
           DEM3-CLI BE.3SG-CLI PRT PRT DEM3.MAN PRT 1PL laugh-PPAS PRT
           'we were laughing about just that'
01 Mikko:  ni.
           PRT
           'uh-huh'
02 Liisa:  .hh suomes on avioliitto,
           Finland/Finnish-INE BE.3SG marriage
           'in Finland/Finnish there's (the word) avioliitto (marriage)'
03 MIkko:  nii. ((gaze to Liisa))
```

[17] The turn on line 26 is hard to hear from the tape, so it is possible that the speaker is not Tuija, and that these are not the exact words she uses.

```
          PRT
          'uh-huh'
04 Liisa: elikä  se   on niinku liitto,
          so-CLI DEM3 BE.3SG PRT union
          'so it's like a union'
05 Mikko: ((nodding)) nii nii.
                      PRT PRT
          'yeah yeah'
06 Liisa: ni tääl          on     abielu.
          PRT DEM1.LOC-ADE BE.3SG marriage
          'and here it's abielu (marriage < abi 'help' + elu 'life')'
07        (.)
08 Liisa: El[ikä taval-
          so-CLI in.a.w-
          'so in a w-'
09 Mikko: £[abielu.£
          'abielu (marriage)'
10 Liisa: [nii (et)
          PRT PRT
          'so that'
11 Mikko:  [ja auttamis,
          and helping-
          'and a helping-'
12 Liisa: aa aivan.=
          'exactly'
13 Mikko: £=abikaasa,£
          'abikaasa (spouse)'
14 Liisa: aivan.
          'exactly'
15 Liisa: aivan.=
          'exactly'
16 Mikko: =siis ☞ j- jo- [(£jos t- jos tää)£ ☜                ]
          PRT               if      if  DEM1
          'so if this'
17 Liisa:                 [siis tää  on just    sovinistien
                           so   DEM1 BE.SG3 PRT chauvinist-plGEN
          maa ]
          country
18        [>j(h)ust tää maa (näin) kuule<.
          PRT       DEM1 country PRT PRT
          'so this is just the country for chauvinists, this country you know'
19 Mikko: [nii(h).((pulls hand in front of his mouth and touches his face))
          PRT
          'yeah'
20 Liisa: he he he.
21 Mikko: £näin£ ↟ ((shakes fist in the air))
          DEM1.MAN
          'like this'
22 Liisa: ((raises her cup)) he he he.
23 Mikko: siis (.) oik(h)eesti ↟↟↟,
          so       really
          'so really'
24 (.)
25 Mikko: ↓£naine on [<↟pliits- (.)↟pliia> ja:↟ >ja rusika vahel.£>]
          woman   is stev-         stave  and   and fist.GEN between
          'A woman's between the  fist and the stove'
```

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 26 | | [((Liisa drinks from her cup)) |
| 27 | Mikko: | niihän se oikeest (o),<br>so-CLI SG3 really BE.3SG<br>'that's how it is really' |
| 28 | Liisa: | ((lowers her cup)) pliidi.<br>stove.GEN<br>'stove' |
| 29 | Mikko: | pliidi.<br>stove.GEN<br>'stove' |
| 30 | Mikko: | joo. ((pouts lips and tilts his head))<br>'yes' |
| 31 | Liisa: | joo.<br>'yes' |
| 32 | Liisa: | sama se.<br>same 3SG<br>'whatever' |
| 33 | Mikko: | (joo)<br>'yes' |
| 34 | | (.) |
| **35** | **Liisa:** | **tule:- t(h)ule- he he.**<br>**fire- fire-** |
| **36** | **Liisa:** | **tulessa anyway.**<br>**fire-INE *anyway***<br>**'on fire anyway'** |
| 37 | Mikko: | he he hh. I'm on fire he he. |
| 38 | Mikko: | .hh et,<br>PRT<br>'so' |
| 39 | Mikko: | Milvihä oli iha he he järkyttyny siitä e(h)ile.<br>name-CLI 3SG.PST PRT shocked DEM3-ELA yesterday<br>'Milvi was quite shocked about it yesterday' |

When Liisa brings up the different words for marriage, Mikko's responding with *ni, nii,* and *nii nii* shows affiliation and an orientation towards something that follows (cf. Sorjonen 2001: 131-166). What follows is that Mikko starts a turn 'so i- if this' waving his finger at Liisa (line 16), but Liisa overlaps with him, producing an assessment. Liisa's turn is a conclusion of what has been said earlier: The word for 'marriage' in Estonian reflects what she calls "chauvinism" in the country. Mikko agrees (line 19) in overlap with Liisa's increment. Lines 18-19 could well make up a dedicated sequence closing sequence, but Mikko expands on it by making a second assessment, which consists of three turns: 1) *'like* this' and a gesture, shaking his fist (line 21); 2) *siis oikeesti* 'so really' and three fist shakes; and 3) a figure of speech in Estonian: 'A woman is between a stove and a fist' (line 25). These make up an assessment that is affiliating with what Liisa has just said (cf. Pomerantz 1984; Stivers 2008; Couper-Kuhlen 2012). Mikko's figure of speech does, however, not close the sequence. There is a word search in it, where Mikko looks for the word 'stove' in Estonian. This initiates a repair that expands the sequence (lines 29-36). Only after managing the repair is the sequence brought to an end, this time with a figure of speech in English (line 37). A new topic is

introduced, one that does not seem to be related to any prior talk: Mikko and Liisa start talking about a friend they had met the day before.

Extract (4) is discussed further in the next section which focuses on the heteroglossic characteristic of singing and codeswitching that may have to do with why these phenomena occur in the closings of expanded sequences and what is achieved by them. The next section also touches the question of social indexing.

## 3. On contextualisation, heteroglossia and social indexing

Songs used in conversation are recontextualised texts (Englebretson 2010; cf. Schegloff 2005). As the above extracts show, lines from for example a Christmas song or an anthem can be used in everyday speech situations. The context of an everyday conversational activity is not where these songs are typically heard, and they are used in a relatively unexpected way to serve the interactional needs in a conversational setting. The songs can be sung in their original wording as in (1), or their words can be modified to better fit the current speech situation as in (3), where *Helsingiitto* 'Helsinki Union' is sung instead of *Neuvostoliitto* 'Soviet Union'.

The usage of songs in the conversations discussed above is somewhat different from the singing of pop-music by schoolchildren that Rampton (2006) has investigated. In his data, the children's choices of songs are indexical of their social roles and their taste in music. In the everyday conversations under investigation here, this is not very evident. The speakers in (1) do not position themselves as Christmas-loving people, nor are the speakers in (3) showing any specific relation to the Soviet Union. They do make use of text (a melody) that is not their own, but recognisable as something foreign to the speech situation. This is why these recontextualised songs can be compared to reported speech. The authorship of the songs is however not made relevant in the conversations: The participants have no way of recognising whose voice the speaker is using. These songs are common texts, available to use by the speakers and recognisable, but they are not authored by anyone in particular. In this sense they resemble sayings and other figurative expressions studied by Drew & Holt (1998). Bakhtin's (1982) notion of heteroglossia is useful for describing what is done with figurative expressions or the songs in (1) and (3), as well as the codeswitching in (2) and (4).

The heteroglossia of the songs in (1) and (3) as well as figurative expressions is a little different from that indicated by codeswitching, because the latter does not use a prior text. There is however evidence in recorded data (not shown here) that people sometimes sing turns of conversation not by using known songs, but in words and melodies of their own, made up there and then. This kind of singing is close to such heteroglossic speech (that can be marked with codeswitching) where no known text is being recontextualised. Namely the kind where speakers signal a change in footing, that is: Their "alignment, set, stance, posture or projected self" (see Goffman 1981).

Changes in footing such as in reported speech can be marked with prosodic cues (e.g. Voloshinov 1973; Goffman ibid.; Gumperz 1982 and 1992; Couper-Kuhlen & Klewitz 1999; Couper-Kuhlen 1999; Günthner 1999) , embodiment (McNeill 1992: 169; Niemelä 2010) or codeswitching as in the data discussed here (cf. e.g. Goffman ibid.; Gumperz 1982; Auer 1995; Kalliokoski 1995; Leisiö 1998; Lo 1999; Lappalainen

2004). These changes in the production mode function as contextualisation cues that, in Gumperz's (1992: 232) words "serve to highlight, foreground or make salient" parts of the text. Contextualisation cues are any verbal or nonverbal signs that help speakers hint at, or clarify, and listeners evoke the cultural background and social expectations necessary to interpret speech (Duranti & Goodwin 1992: 229).

A turn in (2), Mikko's assertion *Abikaasa töö on ju olla abiline* 'A wife's job is to be a helper', makes up a pun in Estonian, one that could not be done in any other language. There are however other factors, in addition to "making it sound good", that probably contribute to Mikko's using Estonian in this turn. Throughout the day, Mikko has been calling Maija *perenaine* 'housewife'. Also his strict summons for her was in Estonian. Just seconds earlier the participants had joked that Mikko and Maija could get married. Mikko seems now to be playing the role of a demanding husband, and is using Estonian as a contextualisation cue. Is he perhaps playing the role of someone he sees as typically Estonian?

In her study of Hungarian-German bilinguals in Austria, Gal (1979) observed that codeswitching to German was used as a culmination of disagreement and angry arguments, as "a last word that was not outdone" (ibid 117). She concludes that for the speakers, German is a language of prestige, urban sophistication and authority. Many later researchers seem to agree that the meaning of codeswitching cannot be reduced to any inherent social meanings that the choice of language would index in any given interactional situation (e.g. Gumperz 1982: 66; Álvarez-Cáccamo 1990; Auer 1995, 1998: 2-3; Li 2002). This becomes clear also from the data at hand - switches to Estonian do not necessarily signal the speakers' attitudes or social connotations assigned to the languages. Still, a look into the conversation shown in extracts (2) and (4) reveals the participants' understanding of the connection between language and social roles. In (4), Liisa and Mikko compare the Estonian and Finnish words 'marriage': *Abielu* and *avioliitto* respectively. Liisa stresses the fact that the Finnish word has the word *liitto* 'union' in it, while the Estonian word has literally to do with 'helping'. Mikko and Liisa co-construct a list of words, and Liisa then concludes that 'this is a country for chauvinists'.

In (4), Mikko's assessment (lines 21-27) is made up of a heteroglossic multimodal construction and a codeswitched figure of speech. A fist shake is a somewhat conventionalised gesture with a recognisable meaning that has been lexicalised as *heristää nyrkkiä* 'shake one's fist (at someone)' in Finnish. Mikko frames it with a proadverbial *näin* 'like this'[18]. When doing this, he is not shaking his fist **at** Liisa, but is telling her **about** fist shaking. Or rather, about someone shaking a fist. As the construction follows Mikko's *nii* 'yes', he seems to be elaborating on Liisa's assessment of Estonia being a chauvinistic country: 'Yes, like this +fist shake'. It is thus the Estonians, in Mikko's performance, doing the fist shaking. He is doing, in Clark and Gerrig's (1990) words "a demonstration" of someone else's fist shaking - or of someone's negative attitude that is symbolised by a fist shake. The fist is also indexical of the saying Mikko is about to produce: 'A woman is between the stove and the fist'.

The figure of speech in (4) is produced with a smile voice, a low onset and first slowing and then accelerating the tempo. It contains a word search and three rhythmical

[18] See Jääskeläinen 24.5.2007 on constructions [*näin* + gesture].

fist shakes. These fist shakes are beats, which according to McNeill highlight certain words in the speech, signalling "that the word they accompany is part of some other context than the one that it is immediately presented in" (1992: 169). The prosody and gesture are contextualisation cues that support the heteroglossia of the recontextualised text. Another cue is codeswitching. Mikko chooses to produce the saying in Estonian, despite the fact that it would probably be more easily available for him in Finnish. The saying is not known in Estonian (though quite widespread in Finnish). The turn also shows Mikko searching for the right word for 'stove' in Estonian and not finding it. This suggests that there is a socio-pragmatic reason for Mikko to go through the trouble of using Estonian in this turn: He is speaking with an Estonian voice. This usage of Estonian is at the same time evaluative of what Mikko perceives as typically Estonian. He is reporting thoughts and attitudes that he himself is critical of (cf. e.g. Álvarez-Cáccamo 1996; Leisiö 1998).[19]

Heteroglossia distances the speaker from what is being said (Bakhtin 1982; Gumperz 1982: 34; Besnier 1990: 426; Kalliokoski 1995; Günthner 1999). He is no longer the sole principal (Goffman 1981) of his words and can thus not be held completely responsible for what is being said. This disengagement of the speaker from the primary action of his turn (for example a justification) might play a role in why singing and codeswitching elicit affiliative responses even when there is interactional discord in the ongoing stretch of conversation. The next section focuses on the resolving of such dissonance.

## 4. Resolving interactional discord

The speakers in (1)-(4) are not totally aligned regarding the sequential activity, that is, when and how to close the sequence and topic. They show disagreement on the propositions made, but the disagreeing arguments are mitigated by signs of humour and irony. In the end, the speakers all seem to agree that Mikko has a dirty imagination (1), that there's no reason for him to sit on the floor if no one is rubbing his shoulders (2), that Helsinki and the university there are not really that big (3), and that Estonia is a chauvinistic country (4). After one or more post-expansions, the sequences come to an end. While in (3) the sequence fails to end with codeswitching (line 22), but ends with singing (lines 28-29), the one in (4) is brought to an end with several code switches to different languages.

When looking at the extracts presented in this paper, we can imagine a situation where there would have been a topic change earlier. Let's say that in (1) Maija's attempt to start a new topic would have succeeded and the sequence would have ended after *Ei tommost voi* 'One cannot (defend) someone/something like that' (line 94). Or that in (3) the speakers would have gone with Tuija's attempted topic shift, and the sequence would have ended after the ironical *Se on pikkasen suuri se Helsinki* 'It's a little big, that Helsinki'. Why didn't the other participants go along with a new topic - why did they, instead, decide to prolong the preceding topic with a sequence closing sequence?

[19] On reported speech and indirect evaluation see also Voloshinov 1973; Couper-Kuhlen & Klewitz 1999; Couper-Kuhlen 1999; Günthner 1999.

If the sequences had ended earlier, dissonance would have been left in the air in both (1) and (3) - about whether or not Mikko's actions were defensible, and about whether or not Helsinki was really considered big. But the sequences get expanded by other participants, who end up singing (or codeswitching) after which the sequences can end. After studying figurative expressions at sequence closure, Drew and Holt (1998: 521) suggest that "The matter of securing the other's agreement, affiliation, or sympathy may be of some interactional moment…" The idea that singing and codeswitching are used as a resource for resolving interactional conflict is supported by what we see following them, that is, the "supportive interchange" (Vuchinich 1990: 130; cf. Goffman 1971) in the form of repeated particles and laughter by the participants. By laughing together - or grunting, in (1) - the speakers show that they have achieved affiliation, a shared positive emotive stance.

The data given above have shown how singing and codeswitching are used in closing expanded sequences that include signs of dispreference. In extracts (1)-(2) requests are not granted, in (3) the requester marks the request as accountable, and (4) is expanded by a repair sequence. Regardless of these problematic actions, the overall spirit in these sequences is positive. This is achieved by the participants quickly attending to the dispreferred actions and guiding the interaction towards joint affiliative activities. Where there are co-present complaints, they are of the teasing kind: Ones treated with laughter. The dissonance created by the dispreferred actions in (1) - (4) never lasts for very long.

As an example of how a more lengthy conflict is managed by interactants, consider (5). The base of (5) is a request (line 41) that is not immediately granted. The extract is taken from a quarrel, where the participants make co-present complaints and respond to them with counter-complaints. The tone of the conversation is serious. The participants show heightened emotive involvement (Selting 1994) by raising their voice, using extreme and idiomatic formulations as well as third/zero person reference to the recipient and a voiced animation of the other participant in a 'whining' tone (cf. e.g. Ochs & Schieffelin 1989; Couper-Kuhlen 1999; Goodwin & Goodwin 2000; Hakulinen & Laitinen 2008; Heinemann 2009; Selting 2010; Laitinen 1995; Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 110). The beginning of the quarrel is not shown here.

Extract (5) is from the 6th hour of a 10-hour recording in a couple's home on a Saturday. Tapio is finishing up cooking and Timo talking about going to the store. Tapio complains about him leaving when it's dinnertime. The young men both complain about how the other "always" acts in such situations. After a lengthy pause, Tapio makes a request:

**(5) Sillä se on oikeus ja kohtuus (sg414)**

```
40          (11.0)
41 Tapio:   Tuot      mulleki,
            bring-2SG 1SG-ALL-CLI
            'You'll bring (something) for me too'
42          (.)
43 Tapio:   Kaikkee         hyvää.
            Everything-PAR good-PAR
            'All kinds of good things'
44          (0.8)
```

45 Timo: Kuten?
'Such_as'
46 (2.5)
47 Tapio: Kaljaa.
'Beer'
48 Timo: Mt.
49 Timo: Sä JOit jo.
2SG drink-PST-2SG already
'You had some already'
50 (2.0)
51 Timo: Mä tuon sulle yhen ↑vähemmän,
1SG bring 2SG-ALL one-GEN less
'I'll bring you one less'
52 (.)
53 Timo: Sä oot ottanu yhen enemmän.
2SG AUX-2SG take-PP one-GEN more
'You've had one more'
54 (3.0)
**55 Timo: ♬Sillä se on oikeus ja kohtuus.♬**
Because DEM3 be.3SG right and just
'Because it's right and just' ((singing))
56 (3.0)
57 Tapio: ♬See-e [on oikeus ja koh[tuuuus.♬
DEM3 be.3SG right and just
'It is right and just' ((singing, waving his finger))
58 Timo: [(hihi) [°(hihihi)°
59 Timo: (hi[hi)
60 Tapio: [Eikä (sitä) enää ees lauleta tollee
neg-CLI (DEM3-PAR) anymore even sing-PAS DEM2.MAN
61 ku (--)nkirkossa vaa.
except (--)_church-INE only
'And they don't even sing it like that anymore except in the (name) church '

Tapio's request for Timo to bring him some "good stuff" from the store (lines 41-43) can be seen as his assent to Timo going to the store, a concession saying 'it's alright for you to go, if I too benefit from it'. Tapio's request is made in a blunt indicative mood, the English equivalent of which could be 'You'll bring…!' Instead of accepting the request, which would be considered a preferred response, Timo initiates a repair (line 45) asking what Tapio would like him to bring, and Tapio asks for beer. Timo still doesn't agree, but instead, starts arguing why he shouldn't do the requested action: Tapio had had some beer already (line 49). Tapio doesn't take a turn.

In his investigation of family conversations, Vuchinich (1990) finds that one of the ways by which people terminate disputes is compromise (concession). According to him, when speakers offer a concession[20], they signal that they are ready to close the conflict, but not submit. He points out that conceding is face-threatening since it requires the speakers to alter positions they have previously taken, and to trust that it will not be used against them (ibid: 127-130). In (5) Timo makes a concessive offer: He will bring Tapio one beer less than himself (line 51). Timo's turn in line 51 is produced using an almost cheerful tone with a high rise on the last word. This contrasts clearly

[20] Here the term "concession" is used somewhat differently than in the studies of concessive patterns by Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson (2000), where request sequences are not under investigation.

with his previous, angry turn (line 49). This concessive offer is followed by the speaker's account for it: A justification stating that Tapio has had one beer more than Timo. By justifying his action, the speaker shows that he has performed a dispreferred social action on one hand, and that he is not totally responsible for it on the other (Scott & Lyman 1968). Tapio still doesn't take a turn. Timo does not treat Tapio's disengagement from the argument as an assent, but chooses to give further account for his concessing offer.

In Vuchinich's data (ibid.), an offer of concession is eventually followed by an assent that accepts the offer, though this might only happen after several conceding turns. In one of his examples a compromise closing is achieved when one of the participants makes an ironic joke[21]. Timo's turn (line 55) is produced by singing. Timo's singing in line 55 'For it is right and just' is a Finnish version of a Eucharistic prayer. It is identifiable as an account because of its initial word *sillä* 'because'[22]. The recipient, Tapio, does not, however, respond to the accounting action of Timo's turn. After a pause, he finally takes a turn, singing a different melody of the same prayer (line 57). Tapio never assents to Timo's conceding offer to bring him one beer less. Instead, he chooses not to take a turn until after Timo's singing. Tapio's usage of the clitic *-kä* 'and' and word *ees* 'even' in line 60 lead to the interpretation of Tapio's singing (line 57) as a repair of Timo's turn - it is possible that Tapio hasn't recognised the less known melody that Timo uses[23]. Repairing Timo's melody is a way for Tapio to maintain some opposition to Timo without verbally engaging in the dispute. Timo receives Tapio's singing with laughter, which is a "final closing token" (Schegloff 2007: 186). Jefferson (1984) has found that devices that lead out of troubles-telling are topically disjunctive: That is, whatever happens after troubles-telling "does not emerge from it, is not topically coherent with it, but constitutes a break from it". Tapio starts a new topic (line 61) discussing the singing of the Eucharistic prayer in church. The usage of the prayer song in church makes a good candidate for a new topic, because it is unrelated to the situation at hand, so the discussion is turned away from the dispute.

In Extract (5) *Sillä se on oikeus ja kohtuus* 'For it is right and just' is an account for the speaker's dispreferred proposal (to give his spouse one beer less from the shop). It is a singing that constitutes a turn and a social action in conversation. The same can be said of the singings and code switches in the previous extracts.

## 5. Conclusions

This article has shown that singing and codeswitching are contextualisation cues used in sequence closures. They appear in spots where interactional tension has been built up in post-expansions of troublesome sequences - ones where the speakers are not affiliating

[21] See also Norrick & Spitz 2008 on humour as a resource for conflict mitigation.

[22] *Sillä* 'because' associates with a literary style and is not widely used in colloquial Finnish. It was not found among the 182 accounts investigated by Raevaara (2009), who lists account-initial particles to include *ku(n), koska, kato (kun), että* and *niin.*

[23] Both Timo's and Tapio's melodies have been used in the Evangelic Lutheran Church of Finland, though Timo's version is less known. The words have recently been changed, which is what Tapio refers to on lines 60-61. I am indebted to Melisa Stevanovic for this information.

with each other or are not aligned as to who can take a turn and when the sequence should end. More specifically, singing and codeswitching can be seen in the initiation of closings, in turns that sum up, assess or account for the preceding talk. Singing and codeswitching, as well as figurative expressions that can be found in the same sequential position, are heteroglossic - they are recontextualised texts spoken in a voice that is not entirely the speaker's own.

Singing and codeswitching often occur together with other contextualisation cues such as gestures and changes in prosody. Despite their formulation and fitting in the sequence as any regular turn-action, the heteroglossic nature of these contextualised utterances gives the recipients room for an alternate interpretation beyond the actions proposed by the wording of these turns. This gives the recipients a chance to react by laughing or joining in other kinds of minimal affiliative action. The participants thus achieve a shared positive emotive stance, after which they can move to other activities. On occasions, they draw from the intertextual material of songs and different languages and switch to a new topic concerning those.

While the interactional locus investigated here (sequence closing sequences) is by far not the only environment where singing and codeswitching occur, it is one where their pragmatic potential gets well utilised. For the members of the Estonian Finnish community studied here, these two heteroglossic cues are powerful devices for changing the course of interaction.

**Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, Ritva Laury, Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Anna Verschik, Marja Etelämäki, Marjo Savijärvi, Aino Koivisto, Melisa Stevanovic and Anna Vatanen for their insightful comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Others, too numerous to name here, have shared their observations about the data, of which I am most grateful. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewer(s) for their useful remarks. This research was funded by the FiDiPro project ‘Grammar and interaction: The linking of actions in speech and writing’, University of Helsinki.

**Abbreviations**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1SG, 1PL etc. | 1st person singular, 1st person plural etc. (verbal and nominal suffixes, personal pronouns) |
| ABL | ablative |

| | |
|---|---|
| ACC | accusative |
| ADE | adessive |
| ADJ | adjective |
| ALL | allative |
| AUX | auxiliary verb |
| CLI | clitic |
| CON | conditional |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| DEM1 | 1st demonstrative (*tää* etc) |
| DEM2 | 2nd demonstrative (*toi* etc) |
| DEM3 | 3rd demonstrative (*se* etc) |
| ELA | elative |
| ESS | essive |
| GEN | genitive (~accusative -*n*) |
| ILL | illative |
| IMP | imperative |
| INE | inessive |
| INF | infinitive |
| INF1 | A- /DA-infinitive (1st infinitive) |
| INF3 | MA-infinitive (3rd infinitive) |
| LOC | locative |
| MAN | manner |
| NEG | negative |
| PAR | partitive |
| PAS | passive |
| PL | plural |
| PP | past participle |
| PPAS | past passive |
| PRT | particle |
| PST | past |
| Q | question |
| TRA | translative |

**Transcription marks**

| | |
|---|---|
| . | falling pitch |
| , | level pitch |
| ? | rising pitch |
| ↑ | shift to high pitch |
| h<u>e</u>ti | stress |

| | |
|---|---|
| [ | overlap (start) |
| ] | overlap (end) |
| (.) | pause 0.2 s. |
| (0.4) | timed pause in seconds |
| = | a turn start immediately after the previous speaker |
| > < | fast speech |
| < > | slow speech |
| e::i | lengthening |
| ° ° | quiet speech |
| AHA | loud speech |
| .hhh | inhalation |
| hhh. | exhalation |
| .joo | word pronounced during inhalation |
| he he | laughter |
| w(h)ord | plosive (laughter) |
| £ £ | smile voice |
| @ @ | change in tone |
| ↓ | low speech |
| (tai) | doubt in transcription |
| (--) | a word unheard |
| (---) | several unhearable words |
| (( )) | comments by the transcriber |
| { } | comments by the transcriber |
| ☝ | fist shaking |
| ☞ | waving a finger |
| ☞☜ | pointing or waving a finger throughout |
| ♫ ♫ | singing throughout |

**References**

Adelswärd, Viveka (1989) Laughter and dialogue: The social significance of laughter in institutional discourse. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 12: 107–136.

Álvarez-Cáccamo, Celso (1990) Rethinking conversational code-switching: Codes, speech varieties, and contextualization. In *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (February 16-19, 1990). General Session and Parasession on The Legacy of Grice*. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society, pp. 3-16.

Álvarez-Cáccamo, Celso (1996) The power of reflexive language(s): Code displacement in reported speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 25.1: 33-59.

Antaki, Charles (1994) *Explaining and Arguing: The Social Organization of Accounts*. London: Sage.

Auer, Peter (1995) The pragmatics of code-switching. In L. Milroy, and P. Muysken (eds.), *One Speaker, Two Languges: Cross-Disciplinary Perpectives on Code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 115-135.

Auer, Peter (1998) From code-switching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *InList* No. 6: 1-27.

Auer, Peter (ed.) (1998) *Code-switching in Conversation.* London: Routledge.

Bakhtin, Mikhail Mikhailovich (1982 [1934]) Discourse in the novel. In *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 259-422.

Besnier, Niko (1990) Language and affect. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19: 419–451.

Blom, Jan-Petter, and John J. Gumperz (1972) Social meaning in linguistic structure: Code-switching in Norway. In J.J. Gumperz, and D.H. Hymes (eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 407-434.

Clark, H.H., and R.J. Gerrig (1990) Quotations as demonstrations. *Language* 66: 764-805.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (1999) Coherent voicing: On prosody in conversational reported speech. In W. Bublitz, and U. Lenk (eds.), *Coherence in Spoken and Written Discourse: How to create it and how to describe it*. Amsterdam: Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 11-32.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (2004) Prosody and sequence organization in English conversation. In E. Couper-Kuhlen, and C.E. Ford (eds.), *Sound Patterns in Interaction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 335-376.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (2012) Exploring affiliation in the reception of conversational complaint stories. In A. Peräkylä, and M-L. Sorjonen (eds.), *Emotion in interaction*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 113-146.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth, and Gabriele Klewitz (1999) Quote – unquote? The role of prosody in the contextualization of reported speech sequences. *Pragmatics* 9.4: 459-485.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth, and Sandra A. Thompson (2000) Concessive patterns in conversation. In E. Couper-Kuhlen, and B. Kortmann (eds.), *Cause, Condition, Concession, Contrast: Cognitive and Discourse Perspectives.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 381-410.

Curl, Traci S., and Paul Drew (2008) Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*. 41.2: 129-153.

Drew, Paul (1987) Po-faced receipts of teases. *Linguistics* 25: 219-253.

Drew, Paul, and Elizabeth Holt (1998) Figures of speech: Figurative expressions and the management of topic transition in conversation. *Language in society* 27.3: 495-522.

Duranti, Alessandro, and Charles Goodwin (1992) Editors' introduction. In A. Duranti, and C. Goodwin (eds.), *Rethinking Context: Language as an interactive phenomenon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 229.

Edwards, Derek (2005) Moaning, whinging and laughing: The subjective side of complaints. *Discourse Studies* 7.1: 5-29.

EKSS = *Eesti keele seletav sõnaraamat*. Eesti keele instituut.

http://www.eki.ee/dict/ekss/

Englebretson, Robert (2010) Interactional linguistics. Lecture presented at *Langnet course*. University of Turku 2.-5.3.2010.

Etelämäki, Marja, and Minna Jaakola (2009) *Tota* ja puhetilanteen todellisuus. *Virittäjä* 113: 188-212.

Frick, Maria (2008) Morphological integration of Estonian lexical elements in a Finnish language base. *Journal of Linguistic and Intercultural Education* 1: 81-95.

Gal, Susan (1979) *Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria*. *Language, thought, and culture: Advances in the study of cognition*. New York: Academic Press.

Goffman, Erving (1971) *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. New York: Harper and Row.

Goffman, Erving (1981) *Forms of talk*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Goodwin, Marjorie Harness, and Charles Goodwin (2000) Emotion within situated activity. In A. Duranti (ed.), *Linguistic Anthropology: A reader*. Malden, MA/Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 239-257.

Goyvaerts, Didier, and Tembue Zembele (1992) Codeswitching in Bukavu. *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development* 13: 71-82.

Grant, Ewan C. (1969) Human Facial Expression. *Man, New Series* 4: 525-536.

Gumperz, John J (1982) *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,.

Gumperz, John J. (1992) Contextualisation and understanding. In A. Duranti, and C. Goodwin (eds.), *Rethinking Context: Language as an interactive phenomenon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 230-252.

Günthner, Susanne (1999) Polyphony and the 'layering of voices' in reported dialogues: An analysis of the use of prosodic devices in everyday reported speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 31: 685-708.

Haakana, Markku (1995) Vitsi keskustelussa: Kontekstualisointi, tunnistaminen ja sekventiaalisuus. *Virittäjä* 100: 359-378.

Haakana, Markku (1999) *Laughing Matters*: *A Conversation Analytical Study of Laughter in Doctor-Patient Interaction*. Helsinki: Department of Finnish Language, University of Helsinki.

Hakulinen, Auli, and Lea Laitinen (2008) Anaforinen nolla: Kielioppia ja affekteja. *Virittäjä* 112: 162-185.

Halmari, Helena (1993) Structural relations and Finnish-English code switching. *Linguistics* 31: 1043-1068.

Heinemann, Trine (2009) Participation and exclusion in third party complaints. *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 2435-2451.

ISK = Hakulinen, A., M. Vilkuna, R. Korhonen, V. Koivisto, T.R. Heinonen, and I. Alho (2004) *Iso suomen kielioppi*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
http://scripta.kotus.fi/visk

Jääskeläinen, Anni (2007) Puheen imitatiivikonstruktioita: Proadverbin ja proadjektiivin ”sitomat” imitatiivi/ele -konstruktiot puheessa. Presented at *Kielitieteen päivät*. University of Oulu 24.-25.5.2007.

Jefferson, G., H. Sacks, and E.A. Schegloff (1987) Notes on laughter in the pursuit of intimacy. In G. Button, and J.R.E. Lee (eds.), *Talk and social Organisation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp. 152-205.

Jefferson, Gail (1978) Sequential aspects of storytelling in conversation. In J. Schenkein (ed.), *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction.* New York: Academic Press, pp. 219-248.

Johanson, Lars (1999) The dynamics of code-copying in language encounters. In B. Brendemoen, E. Lanza, and E. Ryen (eds.), *Language encounters across time and space.* Oslo: Novus forlag, pp. 37-62.

Kalliokoski, Jyrki (1995) Koodinvaihto ja keskustelun moniäänisyys. *Virittäjä* 100: 2-24.

Kangasharju, Helena (1998) Alignment in disagreement: Building alliances in multiperson interaction. Manuscript version. Department of Finnish Language. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Kangasharju, Helena (2002) Alignment in disagreement: Forming oppositional alliances in committee meetings. *Journal of Pragmatics* 34: 1447–1471.

Kasterpalu, Riina (2005) Partiklid *jah*, *jaa* ning *jajaa* naaberpaari järelliikmena müügiläbirääkimistes. *Keel ja kirjandus* 11-12: 873-996.

Keevallik, Leelo (2011) Formats of challenge. International workshop: Social Action Formats: Conversational Patterns in Embodied Interaction 17-19 May 2011. University of Oulu.

Keltner, D., L. Capps, A.M. Kring, R.C. Young, and E.A. Heerey (2001) Just teasing. *Psychological Bulletin* 127: 229-248.

Koshik, Irene (2003) Wh-questions used as challenges. *Discourse Studies* 5: 51-77.

Kovács, Magdolna (2001) *Code-Switching and Language Shift in Australian Finnish in Comparison with Australian Hungarian*. Åbo: Åbo Akademis Förlag.

Laitinen, Lea (1995) Nollapersoona. *Virittäjä* 99: 337-358.

Lappalainen, Hanna (2004) *Variaatio ja sen funktiot. Erään sosiaalisen verkoston jäsenten kielellisen variaation ja vuorovaikutuksen tarkastelua*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.

Laury, Ritva (1997) *Demonstratives in interaction: The emergence of a definite article in Finnish.* Studies in discourse and grammar. Volume 7. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Laury, Ritva, and Marja Etelämäki (p.c.) Personal communication 02.05.2011.

Lehtimaja, Inkeri (2006) Oppilaiden välinen kiusoittelu luokkahuonekeskustelussa. In S. Kurhila, and A. Mäntynen (eds.), *Tunnetta mukana. Kirjoituksia Jyrki Kalliokosken 50-vuotispäivän kunniaksi.* Kieli 17. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, suomen kielen ja kotimaisen kirjallisuuden laitos, pp. 55-73.

Leisiö, Larisa (1998) Code-Switching in Reported Speech. In J. Verschueren (ed.), *Pragmatics in 1998: Selected papers from the 6th International Pragmatics Conference, Vol. 2*. Antwerp: International Pragmatics Association, pp. 349-362.

Li Wei (2002) What do you want me to say? On the Conversation Analysis approach to bilingual interaction. *Language in Society* 31: 159-180.

Lo, Adrienne (1999) Codeswitching, speech community membership, and the construction of ethnic identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3.4: 461-479.

Mägiste, Julius (1949) Eesti abielu ja soome avio. In *Apophoreta Tartuensia*. Stockholm: Eesti Teaduslik Selts.

McClure, Erika (1977) Aspects of code-switching in the discourse of bilingual Mexican-American children. Technical report No. 44. Illinois Univ., Urbana. Center for the Study of Reading. Cambridge: Bolt, Beranek and Newman, Inc., http://eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED142975.pdf retrieved 02.06.2011

McNeill, David (1992) *Hand and mind: What gestures reveal about thought*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Muysken, Pieter (2000) *Bilingual speech: A typology of code-mixing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Myers-Scotton, Carol (1992) Comparing codeswitching and borrowing. In C.M. Eastman (ed.), *Codeswitching.* Multilingual matters 89. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, pp. 19-39.

Niemelä, Maarit (2010) The reporting space in conversational storytelling: Orchestrating all semiotic channels for taking a stance. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42: 3258-3270.

Norrick, Neil R., and Alice Spitz (2008) Humor as a resource for mitigating conflict in interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 40: 1661-1686.

Ochs, Elinor, and Bambi Schieffelin (1989) Language has a heart. *Text* 9: 7-25.

Poplack, Shana (2000 [1980]) Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish *y termino en espanol*: Toward a typology of code-switching. In Li Wei (ed.), *The Bilingualism Reader.* London: Routledge, pp. 213-243.

Raevaara, Liisa (2009) Nyt täytyy ostaa kun tuli vähä rahaa tosta monivedosta. Asiakkaan ja myyjän kootut selitykset. In H. Lappalainen, and L. Raevaara (eds.), *Kieli kioskilla. Tutkimuksia kioskiasioinnin rutiineista.* Tietolipas 219. Helsinki, Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, pp. 231-262.

Rampton, Ben (2006) *Language in late modernity: Interaction in an urban school*. Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistic 22. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Saari, Mirja (2009) Kielten kohtaaminen autonomian ajan Suomessa. In J. Kalliokoski, L. Kotilainen, and P. Pahta (eds.), *Kielet Kohtaavat.* Tietolipas 227. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, pp. 212-230.

Sacks, Harvey (1995) *Lectures on Conversation. Volumes I and II.* Gail Jefferson (ed.), Oxford: Blackwell**.**

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (2001) Getting serious*:* Joke → serious 'no'. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 1947-1955.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (2005) Whistling in the dark: Notes from the other side of liminality'. *Texas Linguistic Forum* 48: 17-30.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (2007) *Sequence Organization in Interaction: A Primer in Conversation Analysis, Vol. 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, Emanuel, and Harvey Sacks (1973) Opening up closings. *Semiotica* 7: 289–327.

Scott, Marvin B., and Stanford M. Lyman (1968) Accounts. *American Sociological Review* 33: 46–62.

Selting, Margret (1994) Emphatic speech style: With special focus on the prosodic signalling of heightened emotive involvement in conversation. *Journal of pragmatics* 22: 375-408.

Selting, Margret (2010) Affectivity in conversational storytelling. An analysis of displays of anger or indignation in complaint stories. *Pragmatics* 20: 229-277.

Sorjonen, Marja-Leena (2001) *Responding in conversation: A study of response particles in Finnish*. Pragmatics & Beyond, New Series. 70. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Stivers, Tanya (2008) Stance, alignment, and affiliation during storytelling: When nodding is a token of affiliation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41.1: 31-57.

Tainio, Liisa (2001) Ikääntyneiden pariskuntien identiteetit. In *Puhuvan naisen paikka. Sukupuoli kulttuurisena kategoriana kielenkäytössä*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, pp. 233–244.

Volosinov (1973) *Marxism and the philosophy of language.* Studies in Language. New York: Seminar Press.

Vuchinich, Samuel (1990) The sequential organization of closing in verbal family conflict. In A. Grimshaw (ed.), *Conflict Talk: Sociolinguistic investigations of arguments in conversations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 118-138.

Yli-Vakkuri, Valma (1986) *Suomen kieliopillisten muotojen toissijainen käyttö*. Turku: Turun yliopisto.

Zabrodskaja, Anastassia (2005) *Vene-eesti koodivahetus Kohtla-Jarve vene emakeelega algkoolilastel*. Tallinna Ulikooli eesti filololoogia osakonna toimetised 6. Tallinn: Tallinna Ulikooli Kirjastus.

Zentella, A.C. (1997) *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Oxford: Blackwell.

*MARIA FRICK* is completing a Ph.D. at the University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies, where she works in the FiDiPro project "Grammar and interaction: The linking of actions in speech and writing".
Address: Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies, PL 3 / Fabianinkatu 33, FIN-00014 Helsingin yliopisto, Finland. E-mail: maria.frick@helsinki.fi

doi:10.5128/LV20.02

# Suomi–viro-koodinvaihto Facebookissa

MARIA FRICK
Helsingin yliopisto

**Tiivistelmä.** Sosiaaliselle medialle ovat ominaisia puolijulkiset tekstit, jotka julkaistaan käyttäjän valitsemalle verkostolle ja joita verkoston jäsenet voivat kommentoida. Tässä artikkelissa sovellan keskustelunanalyyttistä metodia kirjoitusten muodostamien ketjujen tutkimiseen. Aineistossa Virossa asuvat tai siellä asuneet suomalaiset käyttävät kirjoituksissaan koodinvaihtoa suomesta viroon muokatakseen osallistumiskehikkoa eli sitä, ketkä ovat kirjoituksen mahdollisia vastaanottajia. Koodinvaihdolla ilmaistaan myös asennonvaihdoksia eli muutoksia kirjoittajan roolissa ja näkökulmassa suhteessa sanottuun. Asennonvaihdokset voivat liittyä esimerkiksi affektisuuden ilmaisuun sekä toiminnan rajakohtiin, kuten siirtymiseen kerronnasta evaluaatioon. Osoitan myös, että koodinvaihto toimii vuorottelujäsennyksen apuna: kommenttiketjuissa jälkijäsenten kieli valitaan etujäsenen mukaan etenkin silloin, kun vuorot asettuvat kauas toisistaan. Edellä mainitut funktiot ovat samoja kuin kasvokkaiskeskusteluissa. Aineistosta ilmenee lisäksi, että sosiaalisessa mediassa kirjoittajan kulloistakin olinpaikkaa voidaan ilmaista epäsuorasti koodinvaihdon avulla.

**Avainsanat:** vuorovaikutuslingvistiikka; internet; sosiaalinen media; koodinvaihto; suomi; viro

# 1. Johdanto

## 1.1. Vuorovaikutus sosiaalisessa mediassa

Tämän artikkelin aiheena on se, miten suomea ja viroa käytetään rinnakkain sosiaalisessa mediassa. Tavoitteeni on kokeilla toisaalta sitä, miten keskustelunanalyyttinen ja vuorovaikutuslingvistinen tutkimusmetodiikka soveltuu sosiaalisen median tutkimukseen, ja toisaalta sitä, tukeeko sosiaalisesta mediasta kerätty aineisto tähänastisia teorioita kaksikielisestä vuorovaikutuksesta ja koodinvaihdosta. Tarkoitan tässä koodinvaihdolla kaikkea kahden kielen käyttöä samassa keskustelussa; kieli voi vaihtua saman kirjoittajan vuoron sisällä tai eri kirjoittajien perättäisten vuorojen välillä. Tarkastelen aineistoa keskustelutoiminnan, osallistumiskehikon ja vuorottelun kannalta ja kuvailen koodinvaihdon funktioita siinä.

Keskustelunanalyytikot tutkivat ensisijaisesti aidoista tilanteista tallennettua spontaania arkipuhetta (ks. esim. Hakulinen 1995: 15). Sähköisten viestinten kehittyessä myös vuorovaikutuksen keinot muuttuvat. 1990-luvulla alettiin tutkia sähköpostien, tekstiviestien ja chatkeskustelujen kieltä, joka on puheenomaisempaa verrattuna perinteisiin kirjeisiin. Sähköiset viestimethän ovat kirjeisiin verrattuna nopeita, eli vastaanottaja voi reagoida viestiin heti saatuaan sen. 2000-luvulla yleistyneet pikaviestikeskustelut ovatkin hyvin lähellä puhelin- tai kasvokkaiskeskustelua: oletuksena on, että vuorot vaihtuvat sujuvasti ja nopeasti, ja osallistujat pitävät katkoksia ongelmallisina. Pikaviestikeskusteluissa on "päällekkäispuhuntaa" ja korjauksiakin tehdään runsaasti aivan kuten suullisessa keskustelussa. Mielestäni onkin perusteltua laajentaa keskusteluntutkimuksen kenttää perinteisestä suullisesta vuorovaikutuksesta myös sähköiseen viestintään. Puhe on toki ensisijainen väline ihmisten välisessä vuorovaikutuksessa, mutta toisaalta moni nykyihminen käy päivittäin enemmän sähköisiä kuin kasvokkaisia keskusteluja. Lisäksi sähköisessä viestinnässä toteutuu aitouden periaate: keskustelut tallentuvat automaattisesti ilman että osanottajat tietäisivät niitä käytettävän tutkimukseen, mikä saattaisi vaikuttaa keskustelun luontevuuteen.

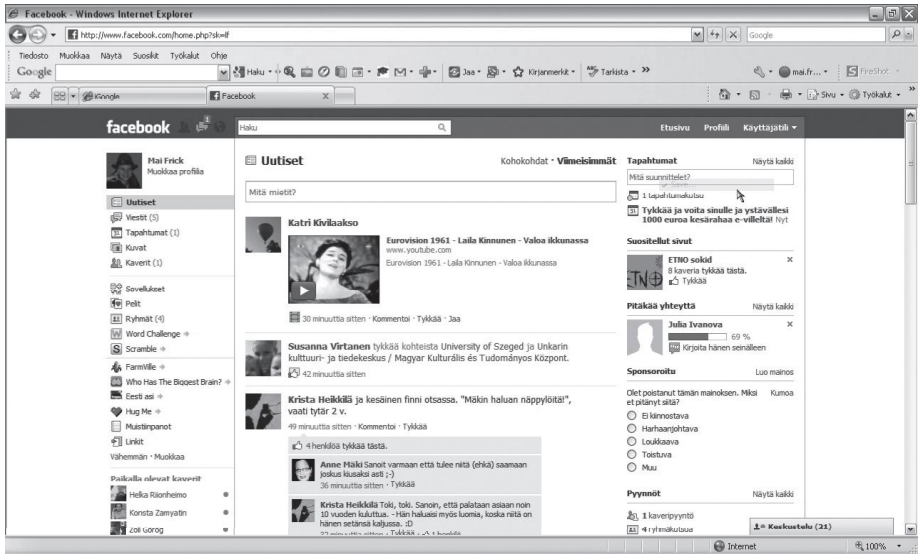
2000-luvulla tulivat suosituiksi myös nk. sosiaaliset mediat, joissa käyttäjät verkostoituvat tuttujensa kanssa ja julkaisevat valokuvia, videoita ja linkkejä, kertovat kuulumisiaan ja viestittelevät keskenään. Sosiaalisten medioiden sisällä voi myös pelata pelejä, perustaa ja liittyä eri aiheita kannattaviin ryhmiin ja julkaista tapahtumakutsuja. Tunnettuja sosiaalisia medioita ovat MySpace, Facebook ja Virossa suosittu Orkut. Eniten suomalaisia käyttäjiä on Facebookissa, jota on voinut vuodesta 2008 lähtien käyttää myös suomeksi ja viroksi. Vuonna 2004 perustetulla Facebookilla on yli 400 miljoonaa käyttäjää maailmassa (Facebook 2010a), 1,5 miljoonaa Suomessa ja n. 150 000 Virossa (Facebook 2010b), ja rekisteröityneiden käyttäjien määrä kasvaa huimaa vauhtia.

Facebookin lehdistöhuoneessa kuvataan sen olevan "ihmisten reaalimaailman sosiaalisten kontaktien digitaalinen kartta", jonka avulla ihmiset voivat "viestiä tehokkaammin ystävien, sukulaisten ja työkavereittensa kanssa" (Facebook 2010a). Facebookin sisällä on useita eri viestintäkanavia, kuten sähköpostia muistuttava postilaatikko, kahdenvälinen keskustelu- eli pikaviestitoiminto, julkisia keskustelufoorumeita, sekä käyttäjien statuskentät ja seinät. Suurin osa tämän artikkelin esimerkeistä on kerätty statuskentistä ja seiniltä, joita kuvailen tarkemmin seuraavassa luvussa. Jätän siis tarkastelusta pois toisaalta kahdenkeskiset viestit sekä toisaalta julkiset keskustelut ja keskityn niihin teksteihin, jotka näkyvät käyttäjän lähiverkostolle. Näitä puolijulkisia keskusteluja voi pitää juuri sosiaaliselle medialle tyypillisinä: niille ei löydy vastinetta perinteisestä sähköpostista tai pikaviestitoiminnoista eikä verkossa yleisistä keskustelufoorumeista. Tietääkseni sosiaalista mediaa ei ole aiemmin tutkittu koodinvaihdon kannalta. Keskustelufoorumeiden kaksikielisestä vuorovaikutuksesta sen sijaan on jonkin verran tutkimusta (esim. Axelsson ym. 2007; Androutsopoulos 2007; Oja 2008), ja sähköpostiviestejä on tutkittu myös viro–suomi-koodinvaihdon kannalta (Frick 2003; 2008).

Seuraavaksi kuvailen Facebookin tekstilajeja – statusrivejä ja kommentteja. Sen jälkeen luvussa 2 pohdin esimerkkien kautta vuorovaikutusta Facebookissa ja koodinvaihdon funktioita siinä.

## 1.2. Facebookin statusrivit ja kommentit

Kun käyttäjä avaa Facebookin etusivunsa (Kuva 1), sivun ylälaitaan ilmestyy kysymys “Mitä mietit?”. Tästä rivistä tulee statusrivi, joka ilmestyy automaattisesti käyttäjän oman nimen perään tämän profiilissa sekä kavereiden etusivuilla juoksevana virtana. Statusrivejä käytetään tyypillisesti ilmaisemaan olinpaikkaa, mikä voidaan tehdä lyhyestikin: *Pekka Patukka on Turussa* tai *Pekka Patukka illalla Turkuun.* Toinen tyypillinen aihe on kertoa, mitä on tekemässä: *Maija Mansikka kuuntelee Madonnaa.* Moni kertoo mielentilastaan: *Hannu Hattara on väsynyt.* Joku arvostelee kuuntelemaansa musiikkia tai ottaa kantaa ajankohtaisiin aiheisiin. Joku puolestaan lisää statusriveilleen linkkejä esimerkiksi verkkouutisiin. Statusriveillä pyydetään apua tai neuvoja sekä esitetään kutsuja, myyntitarjouksia ja mainoksia. Statusrivi voi olla vain yhden sanan tai hymiön mittainen, tai jopa muutaman rivin pituinen teksti, jossa yhdistyy monta eri toimintaa.




**Kuva 1.** *Facebook-käyttäjän etusivu. (www.facebook.com (20.1.2010).)*

Statusten lisäksi Facebookin käyttäjät näkevät etusivullaan kavereittensa julkaisemia linkkejä, valokuvia, videoita sekä tietoja näiden käyttämistä sovelluksista, kuten peleistä ja testeistä. Julkaisut vaihtuvat jatkuvana virtana sitä mukaa, kun joku kavereista julkaisee jotakin. Kullakin käyttäjällä on myös profiilisivu ja sillä ns. seinä, jolle hän itse tai muut voivat kirjoittaa. Myös käyttäjän omat julkaisut, kuten statusrivit, kuvat ja linkit näkyvät seinällä. Vuorovaikutusympäristönä seinä on julkisen ja yleisen välimaastossa: kaverin seinälle kirjoitettu teksti on osoitettu vain kyseiselle käyttäjälle (eikä kaikille kavereille, kuten statuskirjoitukset). Kaverit voivat lukea toistensa seiniä, mutta niille täytyy erikseen "mennä" eivätkä ne näy automaattisesti kaikille kavereille. Jos Facebookia vertaa johonkin arkiseen kasvokkaiseen eli reaalimaailman vuorovaikutustilanteeseen, kuten illanviettoon ystävien kesken, statuskenttiä voi verrata tilanteeseen, jossa kukin osallistuja vuorollaan kertoo kuulumisensa, kun taas seinäkirjoitukset ovat kahdenkeskisiä keskusteluja, jotka eivät ole kaikille läsnäolijoille suunnattuja, mutteivät salaisiakaan.

Kuten reaalimaailman arkisissa vuorovaikutustilanteissa, Facebookissakin voi syntyä monenkeskistä keskustelua. Käyttäjät voivat nimittäin kommentoida omia ja toistensa statuksia ja julkaisuja, ja joskus kommenteista syntyykin monirivisiä keskusteluita, joissa on kaksi tai useita osallistujia. Kommentit näkyvät julkaisun alla erivärisellä taustalla kirjoittajan kuvan ja nimen vieressä. Niissä, kuten kaikissa julkaisuissa, näkyy myös julkaisuaika: *37 minuuttia sitten*, *3 tuntia sitten* tai *eilen 22:15*. Etusivuilla virtaavien statusrivien kommentit ovat yleensä tuoreita, eli niissä käydään melko reaaliaikaista keskustelua. Useamman päivän ikäisiä julkaisuja kommentoidaan harvemmin, ja monet statusrivit jäävät vastausta vaille. Kaikki kirjoitukset ovat kuitenkin luonteeltaan potentiaalisia keskustelunaloituksia.

Käytän tässä artikkelissa sanaa *keskustelu* merkitsemään kaikkia sähköisiä kirjoituksia, eli myös sellaisia julkaisuja, joihin ei ole vastattu. Jos statuspäivityksiä vertaa reaalimaailman tilanteeseen, jossa joukko ihmisiä tapaa ja kukin kertoo vuorollaan kuulumisia, keskustelun voi nähdä etenevän niin, että vastaanottajat joko reagoivat kerrontaan tai eivät.

Kasvokkaistilanteessa voidaan reagoida myös sanattomasti: katseilla, nyökkäämällä tai vaikkapa hymyllä. Facebookissakin sanaton reaktio on mahdollinen: käyttäjät voivat klikata "tykkään"-linkkiä, jolloin järjestelmä tallentaa kirjoituksen alle tekstin, joka on muotoa: *Sinä, Maija Möttönen ja David Smith tykkäätte tästä.* En ole ottanut näitä sanattomia vuoroja huomioon esimerkkien analyysissa.

Statuspäivitykset eroavat kasvokkaistilanteiden keskusteluista myös siten, etteivät ne muodosta keskenään koherenttia tekstiä, kun taas kasvokkaiskeskusteluissa puhujat sitovat vuoronsa edellisiin. Facebookissa keskustelijat eivät ole samassa tilassa, jossa olisi tietty joukko keskustelijoita, vaan jokainen käyttäjä näkee oman verkostonsa kirjoitukset. Siksi tekstuaalisuutta syntyy yleensä vain kunkin statuspäivityksen ja sen kommenttiketjun sisällä, ei statuspäivitysten välillä.

## 2. Koodinvaihdon funktiot Facebookissa

Seuraavassa esittelen, millä tavoin suomi ja viro esiintyvät rinnakkain Facebookin seinillä ja statusriveillä, niitä seuraavissa kommenttiketjuissa sekä valokuvien, linkkien ja testitulosten kommenteissa. Esimerkit on poimittu Tartossa asuvien tai siellä asuneiden suomalaisten kirjoituksista, mutta kommenttien kirjoittajina on heidän sekä suomalaisia että virolaisia kavereitaan.

Ensimmäisen perusteellisen kuvauksen koodinvaihdon keskustelufunktioista kirjoitti John Gumperz (1982), ja useiden tutkijoiden eri kielipareista tekemät havainnot ovat kasvattaneet tietoa koodinvaihdon mahdollisista pragmaattisista funktioista kasvokkaiskeskustelussa (esim. Grosjean 1982; Auer 1995; Kalliokoski 1995; Li 1995). Kuvailen seuraavissa alaluvuissa sitä, mitä kielenvalinnalla ja koodinvaihdolla tehdään, eli käsittelen osallistumiskehikon muokkausta luvussa 2.1, paikan ilmaisemista luvussa 2.2, kommenttiketjujen jäsennystä 2.3 ja affektien ilmaisua luvussa 2.4. Keskusteluesimerkit eivät kuitenkaan täysin alistu luokitteluun pragmaattisen funktion mukaan, sillä funktioita voi olla useita samalla kertaa.

## 2.1. Osallistumiskehikon muokkaus

Osallistumiskehikolla tarkoitetaan keskustelutilanteessa sitä joukkoa, joka on kuulemassa ja vastaanottamassa puhetta. Käsitteen otti ensimmäisenä käyttöön sosiologi Erving Goffman (1981), jonka mukaan käsitteet "puhuja" ja "kuulija" eivät riitä kuvaamaan keskustelutilanteen monimuotoisuutta ja osallistujien erilaista ja vaihtelevaa suhdetta sanottuun. Keskustelussa osallistumiskehikko muuttuu jatkuvasti, kun eri ihmiset ovat vuorotellen äänessä ja vastaanottajina ja ottavat erilaisia rooleja, joita ilmaistaan kielellisten valintojen, katseen, ilmeiden ja eleiden avulla (Goodwin 1984).

Osallistumiskehikkoa voidaan muokata koodinvaihdon avulla: kielen valinta voi osoittaa, kenelle puhe on suunnattu (Gumperz 1982: 77), ja sillä voidaan sulkea osa kuulijoista pois vastaanottajien joukosta (Grosjean 1982: 154–155; Auer 1995: 120; Skårup 2005). Facebookin käyttäjät saattavatkin käyttää statuskirjoituksissaan kahta kieltä siksi, että heidän erimaalaiset ystävänsä ymmärtäisivät viestin. Tämän tulkinnan voi tehdä etenkin silloin, jos sama asia on toistettu kahdella kielellä, kuten esimerkin (1) *rõõmustab / iloitsee*:

(1) **Paavo Pasila**[1] rõõmustab / iloitsee:
http://www.kul.ee/index.php?news=5883

Esimerkissä (1) on kuitenkin jotain enemmän kuin pelkkä asiasisällön toisto kahdella kielellä. Siinä on nimittäin linkki, joka johtaa Pietarin Johanneksen kirkon kunnostustöistä kertovaan vironkieliseen uutiseen. On vaikea selittää, miksi Facebook-käyttäjä kirjoittaa kaksikielisen johdannon yksikieliseen uutiseen. Onko tarkoituksena houkutella yksikieliset suomalaisetkin ainakin yrittämään lukea vironkielistä uutista, vai unohtaako kirjoittaja kesken lauseen, etteivät kaikki ymmärrä viroa? Koodinvaihdon voi nähdä myös identiteetin luomisena: käyttämällä kahta kieltä kirjoittaja ilmaisee suomalais-virolaista identiteettiään (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

[1] Facebookissa kirjoittajan nimi ja kuva näkyvät automaattisesti kirjoituksen edessä. Artikkelin esimerkeissä kuvat on poistettu ja nimet muutettu.

Kyseinen kirjoittaja on minulle lähettämässään sähköpostiviestissä kertonut, että hän saattaa aloittaa viestin kirjoittamisen toisella kielellä, vaihtaa kesken kaiken vahingossa toiseen, eikä "viitsi enää korjata" kirjoittamaansa tekstiä. On siis mahdollista, ettei kirjoittaja itse näe koodinvaihdolla mitään funktiota – kaksikielisyys on hänelle neutraali kielimuoto (ks. esim. Auer 1998). Tässä esimerkissä toisto vaikuttaa kuitenkin tarkoitukselliselta, koska koodinvaihtokohta on merkitty kauttaviivalla: *rõõmustab / iloitsee*. Osallistumiskehikkoa muokkaava vaikutus kielenvalinnalla on joka tapauksessa, sillä keskusteluun kutsutaan mukaan ne henkilöt, joilla on pääsy kyseiseen kieleen (Auer 1995). Kieltä ymmärtämättömät taas jäävät keskustelun ulkopuolelle, sillä he voivat vain parhaassa tapauksessa ymmärtää jotain ekstralingvististen vihjeiden kautta.

Esimerkin (1) koodinvaihdon *rõõmustab / iloitsee* tarkoitus voi myös olla korostaa sanottua (Auer 1995). Julkaisu ei kuitenkaan ole saanut yhtään kommenttia, joten ei voi sanoa, miten vastaanottajat ovat viestin tulkinneet. Vastaanottajien tulkinta keskustelutoiminnasta, eli heidän reaktionsa sanottuun, on yksi niitä seikkoja, joihin keskusteluntutkimuksen tulkinnat pitkälti perustuvat (ks. esim. Raevaara 1995: 82–83). Esimerkin (1) kaltaisten kommentittomien statusrivien analyysissa tästä metodista ei hyödytä muuten kuin negaation kautta: vastaanottajat eivät ole katsoneet julkaisua kommentoinnin arvoiseksi. Koska Facebookissa kommentointi ei ole samalla tavalla normi kuin vastaaminen kasvokkaiskeskustelussa, ei vastaanottajien vaikenemista voi tulkita ongelman merkiksi.

Koodinvaihto voi muokata osallistumiskehikkoa myös muiden pragmaattisten funktioiden ohella, joista on puhetta seuraavissa luvuissa. Kieltä ei suinkaan aina valita puhuteltavan äidinkielen mukaan, vaan suomalaisiakin voidaan puhutella viroksi. Tällöin edellisten vuorojen kieli vaikuttaa kommenttien kielivalintaan. Onpa aineistossa sellainenkin esimerkki, jossa Virosta takaisin Suomeen muuttanut suomalainen kommentoi ystävänsä, joka myös on entinen vironsuomalainen, englanninkielistä statusta viroksi. Tällöin kielenvalinta voidaan nähdä

osoituksena yhteisestä menneisyydestä ja vironsuomalaisesta identiteetistä.

### 2.2. Kielenvalinta paikan ilmaisijana

Vironsuomalaiset ovat matkustavaista väkeä: monet heistä kulkevat Suomen ja Viron väliä viikoittain tai kuukausittain. Opiskelijat viettävät pitkät kesälomansa useimmiten Suomessa, ja monet takaisin Suomeen muuttaneet säilyttävät tiiviit yhteydet Viroon: joillakin on asunto siellä, joillakin taas ystäviä tai muita syitä viettää viikonloppuja Suomenlahden eteläpuolella. Facebook – erityisesti sen statuskenttä – on oiva paikka kertoa, missä kulloinkin ollaan. Asiaa ei aina kuitenkaan sanota suoraan, vaan sijainnin voi ilmaista pelkän kielenvalinnan avulla. Koodinvaihdolla suomesta viroon voidaankin osoittaa sekä omaa oleskelua Virossa että paikkojen ja tapahtumien sijaintia. Esimerkit (2), (3) ja (4) ovat kirjoittajien statuksia.

(2) **Hannu Hirvonen** Oma kodu kullan kallis! Kolmen viikon poissaolo Tartosta aiheuttaa ihottumaa, vatsavaivoja, lievää ärtymystä ja jopa stressiä.

(3) **Risto** löysi kuuria siivotessaan asuntonsa vanhat ovenkarmit :).

(4) **Satu Suomalainen** aloitti tänään virallisesti äitiysloman! ...käyttää sen magistritöön tekoon:)

Esimerkissä (2) kirjoittaja mainitseekin, että hänen *kodu*ksi kutsumansa koti sijaitsee Tartossa. Siellä sijaitsee myös esimerkin (3) *kuur* eli puuvaja, eikä Suomessa ja Virossa vuorotellen asuvan kirjoittajan näin ollen tarvitse erikseen mainita, missä maassa hän paraikaa on. Esimerkin (4) statusrivillä mainittua *magistritöö*-tutkielmaa puolestaan kirjoitetaan mitä ilmeisimmin virolaisessa yliopistossa.

Michael Clyne on todennut (1967; 2003: 162–178), että koodinvaihtoa esiintyy usein paikannimien läheisyydessä, eli paikannimi, joka on muun kielinen kuin ympäröivä teksti, ikään kuin laukaisee koodin-

vaihdon. Clynen mukaan koodinvaihdon laukaisevat sanat eivät kuitenkaan ole osa varsinaista koodinvaihtojaksoa, kuten paikannimi *Karksi*[2] esimerkissä (5). Myös tässä on paikan ilmaisemiseen liittyvää koodinvaihtoa, mutta toisin kuin edellisissä esimerkeissä se ulottuu koko lauseeseen:

(5) **Liisa Laitinen** Huomenna vielä työpäivä ja sitten elämäni ensimmäinen palkallinen loma (2 viikkoa) kaikkien näiden keikka- ja pätkätyövuosien jälkeen! Aika reteetä. Melkein tässä kokee olevansa jo aikuinen :) Teretulemast Karksi meid vaatama!!

Esimerkin (5) pitkä statusrivi on muuten suomenkielinen, mutta viimeisen rivin paikannimen sisältävä *Teretulemast Karksi meid vaatama!!* 'tervetuloa katsomaan meitä Karksiin' on viroksi. Tässä koodinvaihto erottaa tietyn keskustelutoiminnan toisesta, eli kirjoittaja käyttää viroa esittäessään kutsun. Kutsut ovat yksi tyypillisistä koodinvaihdon esiintymispaikoista myös tutkimissani tartonsuomalaisten sähköpostiviesteissä (Frick 2003). Tämä voi liittyä paitsi siihen, että paikannimet laukaisevat koodinvaihdon, myös ilmaisun *tere tulemast* atraktiivisuuteen – sitähän käyttävät myös monet yksikieliset suomalaiset.

### 2.3. Keskustelun jäsentäminen kommenttiketjuissa

Facebookin statusrivit, joita seuraa kommenttiketju, toimivat monella tapaa monenkeskisen kasvokkaisen keskustelun kaltaisesti. Niissä voi nähdä vieruspareja, kuten kysymys–vastaus- ja kannanotto–kannanotto-pareja. Koska osallistujia on useita, kirjoittajien on jollakin tapaa osoitettava, kenelle kommentti on suunnattu. Kyse on siis osallistumiskehikon muokkauksesta, josta oli puhetta luvussa 2.1. Koodia vaihdetaan mm. vuorojen eli kommenttien välissä, kun eri puhujat käyttävät eri kieltä. Koodinvaihto jäsentää keskustelua merkitsemällä vieruspareja ja osoittamalla, mihin edeltävään vuoroon sanottu liittyy. Kaksikielisessä keskustelussa vahvojen vierusparien, kuten kysymys–vastaus-parien ja

[2] Paikannimi on muutettu.

korjauksien tendenssi on olla samankielisiä (Auer 1995: 130). Tämä tendenssi näkyy myös Facebookin kommenttiketjuissa.

Seuraavassa esimerkissä (6) suomalainen, Virossa asunut Ville esittää statuksessaan (rivit 1–2) avunpyynnön: tietääkö kukaan hyvää verkkokauppaa, josta voisi tilata virolaista musiikkia ja dvd:itä Suomeen. Pyyntö on viroksi ja siihen tulee vastauksia sekä viroksi että suomeksi. Mielenkiintoista on, että myös vironkielisten vastausten kirjoittajat ovat Lisbetiä lukuun ottamatta suomalaisia. Kielenvalintaa ei siis aina ohjaa puhujan tai puhuteltavan äidinkieli.

(6) 1 **Ville Vaara** sooviks teada head internet-kauplust kust saaks eesti
2 musa ja dvd:sid Soome tellitud... Teab keegi äkki? :)
3 **Marika Mustonen** : http://www.lasering.ee/ No, en tiedä onko hyvä...
4 **Ville Vaara** : Kiitsa :)
5 **Tuija Teräs** : millist muusikat??
6 **Lisbet Liim** : ^Head muusikat! ;)
7 **Tuija Teräs** : http://www.cdmarket.fi/fi/shop/cdaudio/index/Qzk5OQ==
8 **Ville Vaara** : Igasugust :) Rohkem praegu meeldiks dvd:sid tellida.
9 Just nimelt mõtlen, kas film “Disko ja tuumasõda” (2009)
10 on juba dvd-formaadis väljastatud.
11 **Tuija Teräs** : Tarkoitat siis tätä http://www.leffatykki.com/elokuva/
12 disko-ja-tuumasC3B5da
13 **Ville Vaara** : Juuri tuota :)

Esimerkin (6) statusrivistä ja sen kommenteista syntyy useita vieruspareja. Ensimmäisenä etujäsenenä toimii Villen pyyntö rivillä 1. Rivillä 3 Marika vastaa siihen lähettämällä linkin ja kommentoimalla sitä *No, en tiedä onko hyvä...* Marikan reaktio osoittaa, että hän on ymmärtänyt vironkielisen pyynnön, mutta hän vaihtaa koodia suomeen, joka todennäköisesti on näiden kahden suomalaisen keskenään käyttämä kieli muutenkin. Koodia vaihdetaan sanattoman teon eli linkin lähettämisen jälkeen.

Koodinvaihdon on todettu liittyvän preferoimattomiin jälkijäseniin (Pomerantz 1984; Androutsopoulos 2007), jolloin se toimii samankaltaisena vihjeenä vastaanottajalle kuin epäröinnin merkit puheessa. Myös Marikan vuorossa on hesitaatiota, jonka voi tulkita ilmaisevan jälkijäsenen preferoimattomattomuutta: aloitus *no*-partikkelilla ja lopetus kolmeen pisteeseen. Vaikka Marika on antanut sen, mitä Ville pyysi, eli linkin verkkokauppaan, hän vähättelee vastaustaan epäröimällä, onko hänen tarjoamansa linkki välttämättä hyvä. Koivisto (2007) on esittänyt kaunokirjallisuudesta otetun esimerkin perusteella, että *no*-alkuinen ja kolmeen pisteeseen päättyvä "puolustautuva" jakso on reaktiivinen ja luo siten dialogisuutta. Esimerkissä (6) Marikan kannanotto *No, en tiedä onko hyvä...* saattelee linkkiä, joka paljaaltaan ja sanattomana voisi vaikuttaa tylyltä vastaukselta pyyntöön. Dialogisuus syntyy toisaalta siitä, että sanatonta tekoa saatellaan sanoin, ja toisaalta kannanotosta, joka asettuu tekoa vastaan ja kutsuu vastaanottajaa reagoimaan.

Marikan rivin 3 vuoro on seuraavan vierusparin etujäsen. Sen jälkijäsenenä on Villen *Kiitsa :)* rivillä 4. Villen kiitos on jälkijäsenenä preferoitu, eikä siihen liity hesitaatiota. Tämä preferoitu jälkijäsen seuraa etujäsenen kielivalintaa. Näiden parin suomenkielisen rivin jälkeen seuraa taas koodinvaihto eli vironkielinen rivi 5: *millist muusikat??* 'millaista musiikkia'. Suomalaisen Tuijan viroksi kirjoittama tarkentava kysymys kohdistuu Villen alkuperäiseen vironkieliseen pyyntöön. Tässä koodinvaihdolla on siis keskustelua jäsentävä tehtävä.

Kysymys vaatii jälkijäsenekseen vastauksen ja niitä tuleekin peräti kaksi: Lisbetin ironinen *head muusikat! ;)* 'hyvää musiikkia' rivillä 6 ja Villen *Igasugust :)* 'kaikenlaista' rivillä 8. Nämä vastaukset seuraavat etujäsenen kielivalintaa. Ville jatkaa kertomalla riveillä 8–10, että on oikeastaan juuri nyt kiinnostunut enemmän dvd:istä ja miettii, onko Disko ja tuumasõda -niminen elokuva ilmestynyt jo dvd:llä. Tuija vastaa Villen vironkieliseen vuoroon kysymällä tällä kertaa suomeksi (rivi 11): *Tarkoitat siis tätä: /linkki/*. Ville vastaa kysymykseen suomeksi (rivi 12): *juuri tuota :)*.

Miksi suomalaiset Ville ja Tuija käyttävät välillä suomea ja välillä viroa saman keskustelun aikana? Kaksikielinen puhuja ei välttämättä mieti, millä kielellä aikoo sanoa jotain. Siitä huolimatta puhujat käyttävät koodinvaihtoa jäsentämään keskustelua. Esimerkissä (6) Ville on aloittanut keskustelun viroksi (rivit 1–2), ja hän myös jatkaa sitä viroksi (rivit 8–10) lukuun ottamatta rivejä 4 (*Kiitsa*) ja 13 (*Juuri tuota*), jotka molemmat ovat lyhyitä jälkijäseniä suomenkielisiin etujäseniin. Tuija puolestaan käyttää viroa vain rivillä 5 (*Millist muusikat*) joutuessaan kohdistamaan kysymyksensä Villen kolme riviä aikaisempaan vuoroon (riveillä 1–2). Rivillä 11 Tuijan kysymys (*Tarkoitat…*) sen sijaan liittyy välittömästi edelliseen vuoroon, ja hän käyttää suomea. Etujäsenen kaukainen sijainti voi selittää myös sen, miksi Ville käyttää viroa rivillä 8 (*Igasugust*) vastatessaan Tuijan rivin 5 kysymykseen; kysymyksen ja vastauksen väliin jää nimittäin Lisbetin vastausehdokas (rivi 6) ja Tuijan lähettämä linkki (rivi 7), joiden yli vastauksen on ikään kuin hypättävä. Samankielisyys auttaa sitomaan vierusparin yhteen etäisyydestä huolimatta.

### 2.4. Affektin ilmaisu koodinvaihdon avulla

Hanna Lappalainen (2004: 303–306) on kuvannut koodinvaihtoa asennonvaihdoksen ilmaisijana. Asennolla tarkoitetaan puhujan roolia tai näkökulmaa suhteessa sanottuun (Goffman 1981: 126–128). Koodinvaihto puolestaan voi toimia kontekstivihjeenä, joka ohjaa kuulijaa huomaamaan puhujan asennonmuutoksen. Seuraavassa esimerkissä (7) suomalainen Paavo kommentoi Facebookissa olevaa valokuvaalbumiaan, johon on pannut virolaisen pojanpoikansa ottamia valokuvia. Aluksi hän kuvailee valokuvien syntyä ja kertoo sitten toisessa lauseessa omista tunteistaan, siitä, miten ylpeä isoisä hän on. Ensimmäinen lause on suomeksi, toinen viroksi.

(7) Jaak, 8v, kävi naapurin tädin syntymäpäivillä ja teki sieltä oheiset valokuvat ;-) Vanaisa on nii uhke!!!

Esimerkin (7) koodinvaihdon voi nähdä ilmaisevan asennonvaihdosta: kertoja on ensimmäisessä lauseessa tapahtumien kuvaaja, mutta muuttuu toisessa niiden tunteelliseksi arvioijaksi. Tekstin toiminta siis muuttuu kuvauksesta arvioinniksi. Ensimmäinen lause on neutraalihko kuvaus siitä, missä tilanteessa valokuvat on otettu, ja kuka ne otti. Lause on kuitenkin merkitty ;-)-hymiöllä, joka tyypillisesti merkitsee huumoria. Hymiö voi viitata kielelliseen leikittelyyn: lauseessa käytetään vironvaikutteista verbiä *teki*; kun suomeksi otetaan valokuvia, virossa niitä tehdään (‘otti valokuvat’ *tegi pildid*). Hymiö saattaa myös osoittaa siirtymän affektiseen, leikkisään moodiin.

Toisessa lauseessa kirjoittaja kertoo henkilökohtaisista tunteistaan: *vanaisa on nii uhke!!!* ‘isoisä on niin ylpeä’. Koodinvaihto liittyy siis siirtymään objektiivisesta henkilökohtaiseen (Gumperz 1982: 80–91), tässä affektilla ladattuun ääneen. Toisaalta vaihdos voidaan nähdä myös osallistumiskehikon muutoksena: ensimmäinen lause on osoitettu valokuva-albumin katsojille, toinen puolestaan kirjoittajan vironkieliselle pojanpojalle. Esimerkin voi myös tulkita siten, että vironkielisessä lauseessa kuuluu pojanpojan ääni.

Erityisen selvästi affektisuus näkyy esimerkin (8) Facebook-statuksessa, jonka kirjoittaja, Risto, on aikaisemmissakin statuksissaan tuskastellut osakseen langennutta kattoremonttia.

(8) Risto on katus katto taket jumts dach krov stogas tetto roof tető aaargghhhhh...

Esimerkin (8) kirjoittaja käyttää koodinvaihtoa ilmeisen tietoisesti hyväkseen ilmaistessaan tunnetilaansa. Statuskenttä koostuu vain kirjoittajan nimestä, jonka Facebook panee statukseen automaattisesti, sanasta *on*, joka Facebookin aiemmassa versiossa kuului automaattisesti statuksiin, sekä sanasta ‘katto’ kymmenellä eri kielellä. Loppuun on vielä lisätty affektia voimistava ja täsmentävä *aaargghhhhh*.... Ilman tätä lisäystä lukija tuskin pystyisi tulkitsemaan Riston tunnetilaa. Pelkkä toistuva koodinvaihto voi osoittaa, että kyseessä on affektinen ilmaus, mutta sitä, onko kyseessä ilo, suru vai suuttumus, koodinvaihto yksin ei kerro.

Kun kasvokkaiskeskustelussa tulkintaa ohjaillaan leksikaalisten keinojen lisäksi äänensävyjen ja ilmeiden avulla, kirjoitetussa viestinnässä voidaan hyödyntää ortografisia keinoja.

## 3. Tiivistelmä

Tarkastelin suomi–viro-koodinvaihtoa Facebookissa keskusteluntutkimuksen metodeja ja kaksikielisen vuorovaikutuksen tutkimuksen tuloksia soveltaen. Aineistona olivat Virossa asuvien tai siellä asuneiden suomalaisten Facebook-tekstit. Tässä käsitellyt esimerkit olivat peräisin ns. status- ja seinäkirjoituksista, joita kuvailin johdantoluvussa. Nämä sosiaalisen median tekstit asettuvat yksityisen ja julkisen välimaastoon: ne näkyvät käyttäjän itse määrittelemälle verkostolle. Keskustelunanalyysin menetelmiä pystyi soveltamaan niihin ketjuihin, joissa status- ja seinäkirjoitusten alle oli lisätty kommentteja. Usean käyttäjän kirjoituksista muodostuvat kommenttiketjut muistuttavat monenkeskistä kasvokkaiskeskustelua siinä, että vuorot seuraavat vierusparijäsennystä. Kasvokkaiskeskustelussa syntyvää päällekkäispuhuntaa ei kuitenkaan ole, eikä vuoronvaihtoon liity ongelmia. Usean kommentin ketjuissa kirjoittajat kuitenkin sitovat kirjoituksensa edellisiin vuoroihin esimerkiksi käyttämällä vierusparin jälkijäsenessä samaa kieltä kuin etujäsenessä. Tämä ilmiö vahvistaa kaksikielisestä kasvokkaiskeskustelusta tehtyjä havaintoja (esim. Auer 1995).

Koodinvaihtoa esiintyy toiminnan rajakohdissa, kuten siirryttäessä kertomuksesta kutsuun tai kuvailusta arviointiin. Koodinvaihdon avulla muokataan myös osallistumiskehikkoa Facebookissa samoin kuin kasvokkaiskeskustelussa: kielen valinnalla rajataan keskustelun osallistujajoukko.

Koodinvaihdolla on sosiaalisessa mediassa myös yksi tehtävä, jota sillä ei ole havaittu olevan muissa viestintäkanavissa: se kertoo kirjoittajan olinpaikasta tai puheena olevan tapahtuman paikasta. Yksi statuskentissä yleinen toimintatyyppi on sen kertominen, missä käyttäjä kulloinkin on, ja koodinvaihdon avulla tämä voidaan tehdä epäsuorasti käyttämällä

vastaavaa kieltä. Kun suomalainen kirjoittaja kertoo siivoavansa *kuuria*, virontaitoinen lukija ymmärtää, että kyseessä on puuvaja, ja arvaa, että se, kuten myös kahdessa maassa asuva kirjoittaja on juuri Virossa. Ei tietenkään ole pois suljettua, ettei suomalaisestakin ilmiöstä voisi käyttää vironkielistä nimitystä, mutta aineistoon ei tällaisia tapauksia osunut.

Koodinvaihto ilmaisee myös asennonvaihdoksia eli muutoksia puhujan tai kirjoittajan näkökulmassa tai roolissa, ja sillä merkitään siirtymää "objektiivisesta" henkilökohtaiseen ääneen. Koodinvaihto toimii siis kontekstivihjeenä (Gumperz 1982). Esimerkkien perusteella koodinvaihdon voi nähdä liittyvän affektiseen ilmaisuun, jossa se tukee affektista tulkintaa, muttei yksinään ilmaise, millaisesta affektista on kyse.

Tutkimus osoittaa toisaalta sen, että sosiaalisella medialla on paikkansa keskusteluntutkimuksen kentässä. Se sisältää tekstilajeja, joita ei muualla ole ja joita voidaan vuorovaikutteisuutensa tähden tutkia keskustelunanalyysin metodeita soveltaen. Toisaalta tutkimus näyttää, miten kaksikieliset käyttävät sosiaalisessa mediassa samoja keinoja kuin muussakin vuorovaikutuksessa, mutta soveltavat koodinvaihdon mahdollisuuksia myös sosiaalisen median mukanaan tuomiin uusiin vuorovaikutustoimintoihin. Sosiaalisen median koodinvaihto toimii kontekstivihjeenä, affektin merkitsijänä, osallistumiskehikon muokkaajana ja keskustelun jäsentäjänä kuten kasvokkaiskeskustelussakin, mutta lisäksi sitä käytetään kirjoittajan kulloisenkin olinpaikan ilmaisijana.

## Lähteet

Androutsopoulos, Jannis 2007. Language choice and code-switching in German-based diasporic web forums. – Brenda Danet, Susan C. Herring (Eds.). The Multilingual Internet: Language, Culture and Communication Online. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 340–361.

Auer, Peter 1995. The pragmatics of code-switching. – Lesley Milroy, Pieter Muysken (Eds.). One Speaker, Two Languages – Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 115–135.

Auer, Peter 1998. From code-switching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. – InLiSt 6.

Axelsson, Ann-Sofie, Åsa Abelin, Ralph Schroeder 2007. Anyone speak Swedish? Tolerance for language shifting in graphical multi-user virtual environments. – Brenda Danet, Susan Herring (Eds.). The Multilingual Internet: Language, Culture and Communication Online. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 362–381.

Clyne, Michael 2003. Dynamics of Language Contact. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511606526

Facebook 2010a. Lehdistöhuone. http://www.facebook.com/press.php (25.2.2010).

Facebook 2010b. Mainostaminen. http://www.facebook.com/ads/create (25.2.2010).

Frick, Maria 2003. Kaksikielistä rääkkimistä – Koodinvaihdosta tartonsuomalaisten sähköposti- ja kasvokkaiskeskustelussa. Pro gradu -tutkielma. Helsingin yliopiston suomen kielen laitos.

Frick, Maria 2008. Morphological integration of Estonian lexical elements in a Finnish language base. – Journal of Linguistic and Intercultural Education 1, 81–95.

Goffman, Erving 1981. Forms of Talk. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Goodwin, Charles 1984. Story structure and organization of participation. – J. Maxwell Atkinson, John Heritage (Eds.). Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 223–246.

Grosjean, Francois 1982. Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gumperz, John J. 1982. Discourse Strategies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511611834

Hakulinen, Auli 1995. Johdanto. – Liisa Tainio (Toim.). Keskustelunanalyysin perusteet. Tampere: Vastapaino, 13–17.

Kalliokoski, Jyrki 1995. Koodinvaihto ja keskustelun moniäänisyys. – Virittäjä 100 (1), 2–24.

Koivisto, Aino 2007. Kolmen pisteen vihjeet. Havaintoja kolmen pisteen käytöstä dialogissa. Dialogia dialogista 21.9.2007. Esitelmä.

Lappalainen, Hanna 2004. Variaatio ja sen funktiot. Erään sosiaalisen verkoston jäsenten kielellisen variaation ja vuorovaikutuksen tarkastelua. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 964. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Le Page, Robert Brock, Andrée Tabouret-Keller 1985. Acts of Identity. Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Li, Wei 1995. Code-switching, preference marking and politeness in bilingual cross-generational talk: Examples from a Chinese community in Britain. – Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 16 (3), 197–214.

Oja, Anni 2008. Choosing language in Internet conversations between Russians and Estonians. – Aleksander E. Kibrik (Ed.). Computational Linguistics and Intellectual Technologies. Moskva: РГГУ, 602–605.

Pomerantz, Anita 1984. Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turm shapes. – J. Maxwell Atkinson, John Heritage (Eds.). Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 57–101.

Raevaara, Liisa 1995. Vierusparit: esimerkkinä kysymys ja vastaus. – Liisa Tainio (Toim.). Keskustelunanalyysin perusteet. Tampere: Vastapaino, 75–92.

Skårup, Terkel 2005. Brokering and membership in a multilingual community of practice. – Rod Gardner, Johannes Wagner (Eds.). Second Language Conversations. London: Continuum, 40–57.

**Maria Frick**
Helsingin yliopisto
Suomen kielen, suomalais-ugrilaisten
ja pohjoismaisten kielten ja kirjallisuuksien laitos
PL 3 (Fabianinkatu 33, 5. krs.)
00014 Helsingin yliopisto, Finland
maria.frick@helsinki.fi

# Finnish-Estonian codeswitching in Facebook

MARIA FRICK
University of Helsinki

Facebook is the most popular social media in Finland with 1,5 million Finnish users in February 2010. Typical text types in social media are status lines and wall writings that are published for a selected network and that can be commented by any member of that network. In this article, conversation analysis is applied to the study of bilingual interaction in social media. Finns who live or have lived in Estonia use codeswitching to Estonian in their Facebook writings to establish a participation framework (as defined by Goffman 1981), i.e. the possible recipients of a writing. Changes in footing (ibid.) are also shown by codeswitching, when the writer's alignment or stance towards what is said changes. The changes in footing have to do with showing affect and indicating boundaries between activities for example when moving from narration to evaluation. Codeswitching supports the sequential organisation: in comment chains the language of a second pair part is chosen according to the first pair part especially when there is a distance between the adjacency pair parts. The above mentioned functions are similar in social media and face-to-face interaction. Also, in social media, the whereabouts of the writer is often indicated implicitly through language choice and codeswitching.

**Keywords:** interactional linguistics; internet; social media; code-switching; Finnish; Estonian