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“Hei tää legit vaa seisoo ja oottaa tääl, I got him hooked” –
Finnish-English code-switching in Finnish vlogs

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Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan suomi-englanti-koodinvaihtoa kahden suomalaisen vloggaajan vlogeissa ja erityisesti sitä, minkälaista koodinvaihtoa vlogeissa esiintyy. Koodinvaihdolla tarkoitetaan kahden tai useamman kielen käyttöä yhden virkkeen tai keskustelun aikana (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 4). Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on myös vertailla vloggaajien koodinvaihdon käyttöä tilastollisen analyysin keinoin sekä löytää mahdollisia koodinvaihdossa toistuvia teemoja. Koodinvaihdon käyttöä vlogeissa tutkittiin seuraavien tutkimuskysymysten avulla:

- 1.) Miten vloggaajien koodinvaihto jakautuu kielen eri yksiköiden kesken?
- 2.) Onko vloggaajien koodinvaihdossa toistuvia teemoja?
- 3.) Onko vloggaajien koodinvaihdon välillä tilastollisesti merkittäviä eroja?

Vlogeja katsottiin tutkimusta varten yhteensä noin 7 tuntia ja 45 minuuttia. Näistä videoista löydettiin yhteensä 312 koodinvaihtotapausta, joista noin puolet koostui lauseista/lausekkeista ja virkkeistä, ja puolet yksittäisistä sanoista. Sanaluokat, joita käytettiin koodinvaihdossa aktiivisimmin, olivat substantiivit, adjektiivit ja adverbit, kun taas konjunktioita, numeraaleja ja pronomineja käytettiin koodinvaihdossa vähiten. Sen sijaan yksittäisiä verbejä, prepositioita, tai determinantteja, kuten artikkeleita, ei oltu käytetty vloggaajien koodinvaihdossa.

Vloggaajien koodinvaihdon väliltä löytyi myös joitakin tilastollisesti merkitseviä eroja. Yksittäisten sanojen koodinvaihdon välillä ei löytynyt tällaisia eroja muissa sanaluokissa kuin substantiiveissa, joiden käytössä vloggaajien välinen ero oli tilastollisesti erittäin merkitsevä. Vloggaajien väliltä ei löytynyt tilastollisesti merkitseviä eroja myöskään lauseiden/lausekkeiden tai virkkeiden käytössä, mutta kun kaikkia useamman kuin yhden sanan koodinvaihtotapauksia vertailtiin vloggaajien välillä, oli heidän välinen eronsa tilastollisesti erittäin merkitsevä. Lisäksi tutkittujen vlogien kokonaissanamääriä ja koodinvaihtotapausten sanamääriä verrattaessa löydettiin tutkittavien väliltä tilastollisesti erittäin merkitsevä ero, josta kävi ilmi, että informantti B käytti koodinvaihtoa enemmän kuin informantti A.

Edellä mainittujen tulosten lisäksi vloggaajien koodinvaihdosta löydettiin myös toistuvia teemoja. Monet tutkimuksen korpuksesta löytyneet englanninkieliset substantiivit liittyivät esimerkiksi YouTubeen ja sen erilaisiin ilmiöihin, tyyliin ja ulkonäköön sekä internetin erilaisiin ilmiöihin. Adjektiivien käytössä taas toistuivat muun muassa slangisanat. Toistuvia teemoja havaittiin myös vloggaajien lauseiden/lausekkeiden käytössä: vloggaajat käyttivät englanninkielisiä lauseita/lausekkeitä esimerkiksi humoristisena keinona. Sen sijaan englanninkielisiä virkkeitä vloggaajat käyttivät muun muassa asettuakseen pelihahmon rooliin sekä vlogien katsojien osallistamiseen.

Tämä tutkimus on osittain linjassa aikaisempien koodinvaihtoa käsittelevien tutkimusten kanssa, mutta eroavaisuuksiakin löytyi: esimerkiksi Tucin (2003: 46) ja Berk-Seligsonin (1986: 325) tutkimuksissa substantiivit olivat yleisin koodinvaihtoon käytetty kielen yksikkö, kun taas tässä tutkielmassa lausekkeet/lauseet olivat tässä roolissa, muodostaen noin 40% kaikista koodinvaihtotapauksista. Lisäksi aiempiin tutkimuksiin verrattuna ero kahden yleisimmin koodinvaihdetun sanaluokan, substantiivien ja adjektiivien, välillä oli huomattavan pieni: substantiivit olivat vertailluissa tutkimuksissa selvästi suosituimpia muihin sanaluokkiin verrattuna.

Tutkimus antaa uuden näkökulman niin koodinvaihdon kuin YouTubeenkin tutkimukseen, ja valottaa sitä, millaisia eri funktioita englannin kielellä on nykypäivän Suomessa.

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This thesis studies the use of Finnish-English code-switching between two Finnish vloggers and especially the types of code-switching that appear in the vlogs. Code-switching refers to a phenomenon that is used to describe the use of two or more languages or dialects in one conversation or sentence by bilingual people (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 4). The aims of this thesis include the comparison of the code-switching of the two informants with the use of statistical analysis as well as investigating whether any recurring themes surface from the data. The use of code-switching in vlogs is studied with the use of the following research questions:

- 1.) How do the code-switches of the vloggers distribute according to linguistic form?
- 2.) Are there recurring themes in the vloggers' use of code-switching?
- 3.) Are there statistically significant differences in the ways the vloggers use code-switching?

A total of approximately 7 hours and 45 minutes worth of vlogs were watched for the thesis, from which a total of 312 instances of code-switching were found. The instances of code-switching that were discovered from the data were divided into two halves, of which one half comprised of clauses/phrases and sentences, and the other of single-word switches. The word classes with most discovered instances were nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, whilst the least code-switched word classes were conjunctions, numerals, and pronouns. Furthermore, no single-word instances of verbs, pronouns, or determiners were found from the data.

The statistical analysis conducted on the code-switching discovered there to be some differences between the vloggers. The results showed that there were no statistically significant differences in the vloggers' use of single words, except for nouns, in which the statistical difference between the informants was highly significant. Furthermore, no statistically significant differences were discovered in the vloggers' use of phrases/clauses, or sentences, but when all instances of code-switching that were not single-word switches were compared between the two vloggers, there was a highly significant statistical difference. Finally, when comparing the total word count of the vloggers to all code-switched words in the data, a highly significant statistical difference was discovered between the informants, and revealed that informant B used code-switching more than informant A.

Additionally, reoccurring themes were discovered in the data. The English nouns used by the vloggers referred to, for instance, YouTube and its different phenomena, style and looks, and internet phenomena, whilst some of the adjectives produced by the vloggers could be linked to, for instance, slang usage. Furthermore, the phrases used by the vloggers were utilized to, for instance, create humorous effects, whereas the sentences produced by the informants served several functions, such as positioning oneself as a gaming character.

The results of the present thesis are somewhat in line with some of the former studies conducted on code-switching, but differences were also discovered. One of the details that distinguishes the present study from the prior studies is the relatively small margin between the two most commonly switched word classes, nouns and adjectives: the dominance of nouns was far more notable in other studies compared to the results of this thesis. Furthermore, as opposed to, for instance, the studies by Tuc (2003: 46) and Berk-Seligson (1986: 325), where nouns were the most switched constituents, phrases/clauses were the most switched linguistic form in the present thesis, consisting some 40% of the data of the study.

The present study provides a new perspective on the studies of both code-switching and YouTube, and sheds light on the numerous functions the English language serves in modern day Finland.

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1. Introduction

The topic of the present study is Finnish-English code-switching in Finnish vlogs, and the goal of the study is to canvass what kind(s) of code-switching appear in the vlogs. Code-switching is a term used to describe the use of two or more languages or dialects in one conversation or sentence by bilingual people (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 4) as illustrated in the following example (1) by a Finnish vlogger, who will be referred to as informant A. Throughout this thesis, the original excerpts derived from the vlogs are presented in bold with the English translation following on the next line.

- (1) **kato vaikka joku kybergootti et wau niinku letkut päässä tosi groundbreaking**
take a look at some cyber goth for example like wow like hoses on your head so
groundbreaking

In this example, informant A, one of the two Finnish vloggers studied in this thesis, uses two languages, Finnish and English, in the same sentence, to convey to her viewers that even if people try to act that they do not follow the masses, the things that they do to avoid this often result in doing something which is very common in some smaller, marginalized framework. Thus, according to informant A, if you are a cybergoth with hoses on your head, you might not follow the masses, meaning the general popular culture, but you are also not exceptional amongst other cyber goths. In the sentence, informant A uses the word *groundbreaking* in a sarcastic sense, conveying that it is the opposite of groundbreaking to act in that way if one is a cyber goth.

English has become an important language internationally, and its influence is growing by the day. Hence, the effects of the language's global power can nowadays also be seen in countries which have never been, for instance, under colonial rule. This is also the case with Finland, where English is spoken and understood widely, and learned via education, but also acquired through different media platforms, such as TV and the entertainment industry (Leppänen et al.

2009: 79, 81; Leppänen 2007: 150). Thus, English is gradually becoming an increasingly important language especially for young Finns (Leppänen et al. 2009: 49).

According to Auer, the interest towards code-switching has steadily increased since the early 1980s because of, for instance, the effects of globalization and thus the spreading of different languages, including English (1998: 1; Milroy and Muysken 1995: 1-2, 7). Although English has no uniform position in Finland, its ever-increasing role in the Finnish youth language is indisputable due to its dominance in, for instance, gaming, media, and in certain hobbies such as skateboarding or hip-hop music (Leppänen 2007: 149-150; Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 356). In skateboarding, for instance, English plays a central role when describing the names of the different tricks, but the language is also connected to skateboarding as a lifestyle (Toriseva 2008: 170-171). The following example of code-switching is derived from a Finnish skateboarding magazine called Dekki (Toriseva 2008: 179).

(2) **Meitsi lähtee himaan. Huvipuisto my ass. Huijausta sanon minä.**

I'm going home. Amusement park my ass. A scam is what it is.

In the example above, the writer is describing a disappointing experience, and the English phrase is used to further highlight that disappointment (Toriseva 2008: 179). According to Toriseva (ibid), the disappointment is, in a sense, brought to a climax by the act of code-switching.

Since English is gradually finding its way to the Finnish language also through channels other than specific hobbies, the use of Finnish-English code-switching can nowadays be studied within various groups such as Finnish vloggers, people who upload videos in first-person and about personal matters and everyday life to social media platforms such as YouTube (Leppänen et al. 2009: 121-122; Hobbs 2017: 171; Frobenius 2011: 815; Bakioğlu 2016: 6). Not only are they role models and popular celebrities, but also one of the few public figures who use colloquial language in their communication and whose way of speaking is not, for the most part, scripted or censored by media companies (Giles 2018: 108; Frobenius 2011: 815). Therefore, it could be argued that vloggers function as trendsetters for spoken language use. Furthermore, since it has

become more common for young Finns to name vloggers and other social media stars among their most popular celebrities, and since vloggers have demonstrated their potential as influential figures, they can, arguably, even shape the way young people speak (STT-YLE 2017; Giles 2018: 108).

This master's thesis aims to study the ways in which Finnish vloggers use Finnish-English code-switching in their YouTube videos, and especially how the instances of code-switching are distributed between different word classes and on the clause and sentence levels. Compared to other studies conducted on code-switching, the type of data used in the present study has been used relatively little, at least for now. Thus, this study strives to broaden the studies of code-switching conducted on YouTube videos to vloggers, some of whom have become extremely popular public figures, especially among young people (McLean 2015: 14; Giles 2018: 108; STT-YLE 2017).

The present thesis attempts to answer to the following research questions:

- 1.) How do the code-switches of the vloggers distribute according to linguistic form?
- 2.) Are there recurring themes in the vloggers' use of code-switching?
- 3.) Are there statistically significant differences in the ways the two vloggers use code-switching?

The selection of research question one was largely influenced by the fact that the code-switching found in the data manifested in several linguistic forms: from word-level to clause and sentence-level switching. Word-level switching denotes to switching of singular linguistic items, whereas clause-level switching refers to switches that include several words, and sentence-level switching indicates switching between sentences, as illustrated in (3) to (5) (Áfarli and Jin 2014: 155; Tuc 2003: 50; Poplack 1980: 615).

(3) **mä päätin siivota mun huoneen koska tää on yks iso mess**

I decided to clean my room because it is one big mess

(4) **kuten sanottua niin mä haen sellasta mid-century modern fiilistä**

like I said I'm going for these kind of mid-century modern vibes

(5) **Be a modest lady! Kukkuluruu:**

Be a modest lady! Peek-a-boo:

The examples from (3) to (5) illustrate code-switching on word-level, clause-level, and sentence-level. In (3) one can see an example of word-level code-switching: a singular English word, *mess*, can be found amongst the matrix language, which is Finnish. In the sentence illustrated in (4), one can see an example of clause-level switching, as the English phrase *mid-century modern* can be found amongst the matrix language, Finnish. Finally, in (5), one can see an illustration of sentence-level switching, as informant A produces a fully English sentence in otherwise Finnish speech.

Furthermore, the use of these research questions is making it possible to know more about the ways in which Finnish vloggers use Finnish-English code-switching in their videos and to gain more information about the way English is used among Finnish in a medium that is popular especially among young people: according to a survey conducted by Statistics Finland in 2017, 97% of Finns between the ages of 10–14 and 15–19 had watched YouTube videos or other types of internet videos, whereas the median for all age groups, up to 75-year-olds and older, was 69% (Kohvakka and Saarenmaa 2019). Additionally, the percentages of the aforementioned young age groups were the highest among all the age groups when it came to that particular item in the survey (ibid).

2. Code-switching

Code-switching refers to several types of combinations of two or more languages in numerous bilingual groups, or the alternation of “two or more ‘codes’ within one conversational episode” (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 4; Auer 1998: 1). According to Auer, there are two types of code-switching: discourse-related code-switching and participant-related code-switching (1999: 310). Discourse-related code-switching refers to the kind of code-switching where it is used as a tool of contextualization in the situation, whereas participant-related code-switching portrays the speaker’s “language preferences and competences” (ibid).

The following example illustrates a case of discourse-related code-switching, whereas an example of participant-related code-switching can be found on page 7. The following extract (6) has been derived from a YouTube video which features a vlogger who will be referred to as M and her friend, also a vlogger, who will be referred to as S. The video deals with themes of sexuality, and the two women talk about how individuals who express their sexuality, especially women, are often treated as people who have less value and a lack of boundaries. Additionally, M and S discuss how, according to their experiences, some people think that if someone expresses their sexuality, it is ‘acceptable’ to, for example, send erotic and vulgar pictures to them. Following the Jefferson transcription system for conversational analysis, the pound symbol in the following example denotes a smiley voice, whereas the square brackets indicate that the two lines are occurring simultaneously (Jefferson 2004: 30–31). Furthermore, the double parentheses signal a description of the speech situation (ibid: 31). Also, the line written in upper case denotes that the line in question is louder in comparison to the surrounding dialogue or sounds, whilst a dash signifies a cut-off (27, 30).

(6)

S **se ei silti ikinä tarkota sitä et sie hal- (.) niinku**

it still never means that you wan- (.) like

M **[£NOT ASKING FOR IT£**

M [((wags her finger to the camera))

S **£näimpä£**

£exactly£

The change of language from M in the extract was then followed by a slight change in the subject after S's agreement. Thus, it could be argued that M's use of code-switching functioned as a summarizing and encapsulating conclusion of the women's previous statements.

Furthermore, there are numerous reasons for code-switching, but on a functional level, code-switching is used to indicate a meaning beyond the initial purpose of the words (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 4). Some scholars also believe that the discourse context can bear significance to the use of code-switching (Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros 1998: 29). On the other hand, Li Wei (1998: 161) suggests that it is the language change itself that is significant and works as a message for other participants of the conversation as to how the speaker wishes their meaning to be understood in the situation. An illustration of this can be perceived in example (7), which has been derived from Li Wei (1998: 160). The lines in bold are the speakers' original lines, whereas the lines in ordinary type are the English translations of the Cantonese lines above them.

(7)

A **...he's bor[ing**

B **[mm**

A **I don't know (.) don't like him**

(2.0)

→A **Ah ngaw jau yau di mafaan gelak**

I'll have some trouble

B **Dimgaai a?**

Why?

A **Yesterday right...**

Example (7) illustrates two bilingual teenage girls talking about school in A's bedroom. On the first line, A is referring to a teacher, stating that he's boring, to which B responds with a back

channel¹. A then continues by saying that she does not like the teacher, which is followed by a pause. Reacting to the silence, A switches to Cantonese, apparently to draw B's attention back to the conversation (Li Wei 1998: 160–161). After eliciting a reaction, also in Cantonese, A switches back to English. Thus, A's decision to switch from English to Cantonese could be seen as signaling a pre-sequence, or “turns which are built to prefigure the specific kind of activity that they potentially precede” (161). According to Li Wei (ibid), the code-switching illustrated in this example functions in creating a contrast, reactivating a conversation which would otherwise be “in danger of being abandoned”.

Furthermore, a typology of the different code-switching patterns has been introduced by Muysken (2000). He suggests that the strategies of code-switching can be divided into three different types: alternation, congruent lexicalization, and insertion (ibid: 122). In the case of alternation, the two mixed languages are relatively separate, whereas in congruent lexicalization the languages “share a common grammatical structure that can be filled with lexical elements from either language” (ibid: 96; Bullock and Toribio 2009: 3). Finally, insertion indicates that a constituent of often a phrase or a word is embedded to an A-B-A structure, meaning that the part of the speech that is code-switched is surrounded by the matrix language (Bullock and Toribio 2009: 3).

The following example of code-switching is from a YouTube video of a Finnish lifestyle vlogger who is in her early twenties, and will be referred to as M.

- (8) **hits hard (0.5) mua ärsyttää et mä joudun nyt käyttää näit englanninkielisii
sanoi mut siis sillee et iskee aika kovaa**
hits hard (0.5) it frustrates me that I have to use these English words but like it hits
pretty hard

¹The term ‘back channel’ refers to a phenomenon in which the listeners in a conversation indicate to the speaker that they are listening through the use of verbal and nonverbal signals, such as nodding or the sound “mmh” (Heinz 2003: 1114).

This extract can be seen as an illustration of Auer's participant-related code-switching for it cannot be perceived as a tool of contextualization, which would be a sign of discourse-related code-switching (1999: 310). Additionally, since M is technically having a monologue and speaking to nobody in particular, it could be argued that her language use in the extract is a relatively pure representation of at least her personal language preferences, which is, as mentioned above, one part of the definition of participant-related code-switching (ibid). M's use of code-switching could also be perceived as an example of alternation in Muysken's typology, for the code-switching in this example is quite separate from the matrix language (2000: 96).

In the video, M explains how she has undergone some difficult times and that reminiscing her past relationship 'hits hard'. Interestingly, after using an English expression to convey her upset, she continues by saying that using English in this context somehow frustrates or annoys her and, consequently, she translates the English expression directly into Finnish, and thus ends up repeating herself. Hence, code-switching can also be seen as, in a sense, an unwanted part of one's own speech, and as something one is, at times, 'forced' to use when one cannot think of a fitting expression in one's own mother language.

2.1 Attitudes towards code-switching in Finland

Code-switching and the use of English alongside Finnish is widely accepted and, according to the *National Survey of English Language in Finland*, Finns have, in general, a fairly neutral stance towards English (Leppänen et al. 2009: 76). The survey investigated the way Finns use English, their attitudes towards it, as well as their view on what the future of English in Finland will look like (ibid: Abstract). Furthermore, the positive attitudes of Finns towards the English language are further strengthened by the dominance of the language in, especially, internet and social media (Pyykkö 2017: 32).

However, in the same way that some types of speech are less acceptable in certain contexts in monolingual speech, the use code-switching can also be stigmatized in some contexts (Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros 1998: 13). Finnish-English code-switching has been, indeed, stigmatized, and this has been studied, for example, by Leppänen and Pahta in their study of the way English

was portrayed negatively in the editorials and letters to the editor of the Finnish newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* between 1995 and 2007 (2012: 142). The metaphors by which English was described as in the texts were categorized according to the kind of threat the language was posing (148–149). English was portrayed as, for instance, “a violent actor” and “morally wrong,” and English used by Finns as “bad, contaminated” and even “vulgar” (ibid: 151–152). These kinds of opinions, among others, confirm what Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros describe as the “nonstandard nature” of code-switching (1998: 14), which can be argued to be the case of Finnish-English code-switching in many, although not all, contexts.

Furthermore, a study which compared a selection of newspapers from the Nordic countries from the year 2000, the results of a survey, as well as oral tests conducted on people from the Nordic countries discovered that Finnish, alongside Icelandic, showed most consistent purism, or “resistance to foreign influence”, on all levels – morphological, spelling, phonetic, and lexical – in comparison to other Nordic countries (Sandøy 2014: 228, 235–236). However, this could be explained, at least in part, by the fact that purism can be seen as being related to whether a nation has had to fight for their political sovereignty which then manifests in their willingness to express their national identity, which can also be seen to be the case with Finland (ibid: 229). However, despite the aforementioned results, the conscious attitudes of Finns towards English are still positive (ibid: 241). Hence, Finns’ attitudes towards English seem biseptate: on one hand, it is a *lingua franca* dominant particularly on the internet and other media, towards which especially young Finns have positive attitudes on. On the other hand, however, it is a powerful language that can be seen as a threat to the vitality of a smaller language, that is Finnish.

2.2 Theoretical approaches to code-switching

Several scholars have presented their own ideas and theories about the approaches from which code-switching should be studied. According to Bullock and Toribio (2009: 14, 16), the approaches of code-switching can be divided into three categories: the psycholinguistic, the structural, and the sociolinguistic approach, with the latter being perceived as the most diverse of the three due to its inclusion of several non-linguistic factors. The sociolinguistic approaches to code-switching can be further divided to the studies on micro-level and macro-level, with the

micro-level denoting the studies on a person's motive to use code-switching. Examples of studies on the micro-level include Auer's (1988) study on Italian children in Germany and Piirainen-Marsh's (2008) study on Finnish children using code-switching while playing video games.

By recording the subjects' speech in its natural setting, Auer's (1988: 187, 196, 198) study discovered that the kids alternated between Italian and German on several occasions and that they had several different motives to code-switch, including personal preference for one language over the other in certain contexts as well as, for instance, a topic change. Furthermore, Piirainen-Marsh (2008: 137) investigated the way English and Finnish alternate in the players' speech and especially the way English is utilized in the interactional functions as part of the gaming event. Macro-level, then, includes studies of code-switching as communal behavior (Bullock and Toribio 2009: 16), such as Swigart's (1992) study on the language communities in Dakar, or, for instance, Li Wei's (1994) study on a Chinese community in Britain.

According to Hinrichs (2006: 28), the three most influential scholars in the sociolinguistic branch of code-switching are John J. Gumperz, Peter Auer, and Carol Myers-Scotton. Additionally, Yaron Matras' (2009) work on language contact will also be included in the present study. Since this thesis mainly focuses on the sociolinguistic aspects of code-switching, the contributions of the aforementioned scholars will be next discussed in more detail.

Perhaps one of the most influential works on the sociolinguistic strand of code-switching in the last 50 years, Auer's *Bilingual Conversation* (1984: 5), suggests that code-switching should be approached from the perspective of conversation analysis (CA), a "sociological research methodology" which has become the primary methodology for the study of social interaction (Drew and Heritage 2006: XXI). Furthermore, it is a field of study that investigates the "norms, practices and competences" that are at the heart of social interaction (ibid: XXII). According to Auer, the fact that all language choices are "preceded and followed by the choice of the same or other language [is] the cornerstone of the explanation of the meaning of code-switching" (ibid). Additionally, as Li Wei states, the conversational analytic approach seeks to expose the below-the-surface procedures by which the participants of a conversation individually interpret different language choices (1998: 169). Thus, conversational analysis approach attempts to

answer the question of how code-switching is used to convey meaning in different situations (ibid). The following example (9) will be examined using a conversational analytic approach.

- (9) **kannattaa ottaa iso koko jos haluu tällasen oversized lookin**
 you should take a big size if you want this kind of an oversized look

In the above example, informant B is advising their viewers to choose a big size of a T-shirt they have designed in case the viewers wish to achieve the currently popular oversized look (Pieri 2021). This instance could be seen as an indication of how fashion and trends are nowadays picked up and discovered on the internet, especially social media, instead from the pages of fashion magazines, catalogues, or from the windows of department stores (Cole and Deihl 2015: 420). Hence, the language surrounding fashion is therefore often acquired directly from the *lingua franca* of the internet, English (Diez-Arroyo 2015: 54; Leggio 2020: 531). The use of the word *oversized* can also be explained by the ease and quickness of its production as well as the fact that the Finnish equivalents “ylimittainen”, meaning “oversized”, or the phrase “liian suuri” which literally translates to “too big” are, arguably, either awkward in colloquial language or too long to produce compared to the English counterpart.

Another influential theory, one which deviates considerably from the conversational analysis, is the ‘markedness’ theory, advocated especially by Myers-Scotton (1993). The model seeks to explain the speakers’ socio-psychological motivations when using code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993: 75). Additionally, the theory explains that speakers ‘know’ that all participants have similar expectations about a conversation (ibid). In the markedness model, code choices are perceived as “indexing rights-and-obligations sets”, or RO sets, in a “given interaction type” (ibid: 84). The, unmarked, RO sets are derived from the “situational features” that are central in the community for that type of interaction (ibid).

Furthermore, the different speaker motivations for code-switching can be divided into four types: code-switching can either be a “sequence of unmarked choices”, an unmarked choice, a marked choice, or an exploratory choice (Myers-Scotton 1993: 113–114). A “sequence of unmarked choices” describes a circumstance in which one or several of the “situational factors”

change during the course of the conversation, whereas code-switching itself as an unmarked choice describes a situation where the speakers, who are “bilingual peers”, alternate between two or more languages (ibid: 114, 117, 119). Code-switching as a marked choice, then, occurs when the speaker does not comply with the anticipated RO set, and as an exploratory choice when the speaker is not aware of the expected conversational code in the given situation (ibid: 131, 142). The following example (10) of code-switching can be investigated through the markedness model, in particular when considering code-switching as an unmarked choice (Myers-Scotton 1993: 114). This illustration has been derived from a YouTube video, in which two vloggers, informant A, and their guest, who will be referred to as N, talk about their makeup looks. The conversation occurs in the beginning of the video in question before the vloggers proceed into the actual topic of the video.

(10)

A **ja jos te mietitte et miten nää meikit on syntyny ni me kuvattiin (N:n) kava-khanavalle (0.2) tämmönen (0.2) get ready with us missä me niinku arvottiin meidän (0.2) luomivärit sen takia hän (0.2) ei oo niinkun (0.5) a nightmare in beige ((laughs))**

A and if you're wondering how these makeup looks came to be, we recorded this (0.2) like a (0.2) get ready with us (video) to (N's) ch- channel (0.2) where we like randomly picked our (0.2) eyeshadows which is why she's (0.2) not like (0.5) a nightmare in beige ((laughs))

N **jhoo siis (0.2) kirjaimellisesti MINÄ aina nightmare in beige ja vähän sellain (0.2) nude gaLOre**

N yes I mean (0.2) (that's) literally ME always (looking like) a nightmare in beige and kind of like (0.2) a nude gaLOre

A **[sepä**

A [indeed

N **[mut sillei tänää mä oon silleen (0.5) wicked witch from the west**

N [but like today I'm like (0.5) the wicked witch from the west

In this example, A, addressing the viewers, explains how the colors for their eyeshadow looks were randomly picked, which is why informant A is describing how N does not look, for once, like

a “nightmare in beige”, referring to her beige-colored makeup looks. N agrees, laughing, saying that she indeed often looks like a nightmare in beige, and adds the phrase “nude galore”, indicating that she uses beige in her makeup looks excessively, an addition which informant A then agrees with. Finally, N implies that since they are now wearing the randomly chosen, colorful makeup, she is referring to herself as the “wicked witch from the west”, making a reference to the character in the movie *The Wizard of Oz*. This reference is arguably based on the fact that the eyeshadow look N is wearing is mainly green, as is the complexion of the above-mentioned witch.

A and N’s conversation illustrates the way two bilingual peers can communicate. What is noticeable about the instances of code-switching in the above interaction is that all the switched items are phrases, and they all, in one way or another, are descriptive and referring to makeup. Furthermore, through the means such as sarcasm and exaggeration – for example by referring to a makeup look as a “nightmare” and N describing her usual makeup looks with the phrase “nude galore” – it could be argued that motive for the uses of code-switching in this extract is to create a humorous effect. This statement is further supported by the fact that the two are visibly amused during the exchange. Hence, when it comes to the type of switching the vloggers produce, N seems to follow the pattern which informant A initiated: using code-switching to refer to makeup whilst creating a humorous effect. The motive for using an English phrase in the final instance, produced by N, could also be explained by the fact that she is making a reference to American popular culture.

The third person whose contributions have been influential to the sociolinguistic branch of code-switching is John J. Gumperz (1982). His work on the subject also had a significant influence on the work of Peter Auer (Androutsopoulos 2013: 669). Gumperz’s contributions include the concepts of situational and metaphorical code-switching, the difference between ‘we code’ and ‘they code’, and, for instance, the classification of “[t]he conversational functions of code switching” (1982: 98, 66, 48, 75–84). Situational switching denotes the kind of code-switching a speech style or code is “regularly associated with a certain class of activities” and it “comes to signify or connote them”, meaning that an individual can adapt to a situation with the use of a specific language (ibid: 98; Grim 2008: 191). An example of this can be perceived in (11), an

exchange that has been derived from Grim (2008: 203). The letter M in the dialogue below stands for Marie, a French tutor, and B for Benjamin, a four-year-old child. The original lines are in bold, whereas the translations from French to English are in ordinary type.

(11)

M **On doit écrire 'le mouton' et 'la vache'. Où est-ce qu'ils sont 'le mouton' et 'la vache'?**

We need to write 'the sheep' and 'the cow'. Where are the 'sheep' and 'the cow'?

B **We're going to do that and we're going to do that!**

M **Mais non, pas encore! Regarde ici. Il faut écrire 'le mouton' et 'la vache'.**

No, not yet. Look here. You need to write 'the sheep' and 'the cow'.

B **La vache.**

The cow.

The above example illustrates a situation in which Marie, the tutor, tries to encourage Benjamin to write French words. In this example, when Benjamin expresses that he wants to change the course of the action, he uses English instead of French (Grim 2008: 203). Thus, repeatedly switching from French to English when wanting to “shift the direction of the interaction” fits to the definition of situational switching, which is, as mentioned above, “regularly associated with a certain class of activities” (ibid; Gumperz 1982: 98).

Metaphorical code-switching, then, requires a “shift in contextualization cues”, in topic, and in other “extralinguistic context markers that characterize the situation” (ibid: 98). An example of metaphorical switching can be arguably perceived in example (12). This extract illustrates a situation in which informant A is playing the Sims 4 PC game.

(12) **hei tää legit vaa seisoo ja oottaa tääl (0.2) I got him hooked (0.2) tällast tää kuule on**

hey this (guy's) in there legit just standing and waiting (0.2) I got him hooked (0.2)
this is what it's like

In the above excerpt, informant A explains, or narrates, to their viewers how the Grim Reaper, a familiar sight in the Sims games, has decided to stay in the house of the character informant A is currently playing as after the said character went to bed. This scene occurs after the Sim² has tried to seduce the Reaper, and since this dark figure has stayed to wait for the Sim to wake up, informant A announces, in English, that “[They] got him hooked”. Interestingly, by saying this, informant A positions themselves as the character and talks as if they were the Sim themselves, that they were the one who got the Reaper “hooked”, not the Sim. It could be argued that the use of code-switching is linked to informant A is positioning themselves as part of events of the game (compare, for instance, to Piirainen-Marsh 2008).

Furthermore, Gumperz (1982: 66) also introduced the concepts of ‘we code’ and ‘they code’. ‘We code’ is a term often used for a minority language that is associated with informal and in-group use, whereas ‘they code’ denotes the language that is used in formal, majority contexts (ibid). Gumperz (ibid: 131) also initiated the idea of code-switching as a contextualization cue, which is “any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions”. That is, the meanings of these cues are “implicit” and they are not usually uttered out of context (ibid). Thus, all participants of a conversation must be aware of the meaningfulness of the cues and react to them in the appropriate manner, or “misunderstanding[s] may occur” (131–132).

Finally, the contributions of Yaron Matras will be presented (2009). Matras’ input to the study of code-switching includes the suggestion that code-switching and borrowing are “related points on a continuum” (Matras 2009: 110). Furthermore, he introduces a set of dimensions that function as a toolkit in distinguishing between code-switches and borrowings. These dimensions include bilinguality, composition, functionality, unique referent, operationality, regularity, as well as structural integration (ibid: 111). Two of these continuums will be investigated in the following paragraphs.

The bilinguality continuum is based on the assumption that the definition of code-switching is limited to people who have at least a fairly good knowledge of two languages and can use them

² A character in The Sims game is called a Sim (Sihvonen 2011: 9).

separately, if needed. However, bilingualism can also manifest in people who only know the basics of a foreign language (Matras 2009: 111). These examples represent the opposite ends of the bilinguality continuum: on one end are the language users to whom bilingual mode is the unmarked mode of communication, and who have a native-like command of another language whereas on the other end are the monolingual speakers who cannot “activate any word forms from another code”: in this type of situation there are only borrowings and no code-switches (ibid: 111–112).

Another one of Matras’ dimensions is called the functional continuum, which can be connected to a “conversational effect”, on one hand, as well as to concept-specific, “default expressions”, on the other (ibid: 112). Code-switches often belong to the former function in which instances of code-switching are perceived conscious and triggered by contextual or situational factors and which presents an alternative “to a default formulation of the same propositional content” (ibid). Nevertheless, exceptions may also occur: bilinguals can, at times, turn to their second language for the names of institutions and specific concepts that are explicit to the communication in that specific language (ibid).

However, since conversational analysis seems to be the most suitable tool for the analysis of code-switching, regarding the research subjects for the thesis, it has been chosen as the approach for the present study.

2.3 Code-switching in relation to other forms of language alteration

Due to the lack of uniform definitions in the field, the different forms of language alteration can be easily confused with one another. Auer (1999: 1) differentiates code-switching, language mixing and fused lects by stating that they are a continuum with code-switching and fused lects being the polar opposites. According to him, code-switching is an instance where two languages are juxtaposed, and the participants can perceive the act as significant (ibid). Moreover, language mixing then refers to situations in which the use of two juxtaposed languages is meaningful in a wider sense, not merely locally. Finally, Auer (ibid: 13) describes that although neither fused lects nor language mixing are perceived as locally significant language variation, they differ from one

another in a grammatical sense: whereas language mixing may include variation, it is necessary in fused lects.

Additionally, code-switching can often be seen used as a near synonym to borrowing, for both types of language alteration signify the use of singly occurring lexical loans from another language to the recipient language (Myers-Scotton 1992: 20). Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros (1998: 21), for instance, perceive code-switching and borrowing as parts of a continuum. According to them, code-switches become loans once they are no longer marked parts of speech or text (ibid).

2.4 Prior research on informal code-switching in Finland

The studies conducted on informal code-switching in Finland have revealed that Finnish-English code-switching is used in several different contexts ranging from gaming to broadcast communication, to different degrees, as well as for numerous different functions. An example of a study which investigates Finnish-English code-switching among Finnish teenagers or young adults is Leppänen's (2007: 152) article where she investigated the mixed uses of both Finnish and English in several Finnish youth language contexts. The data of her study consists of four different types of texts: game talk, hip-hop lyrics, fan fiction, and weblogs (ibid: 153). The key findings of Leppänen's study (ibid: 166) were that the different types of texts illustrate the variety of roles and functions English had in the late 2000s Finland. Additionally, the degree of English used in the texts varied significantly, from occasional English switches to a text written nearly fully in English (ibid). English was also discovered to serve several functions, including a means to construct applicable hybrid discourse as well as a "resource for expert discourse" (ibid: 166).

Another example of a study of informal code-switching in Finland is Piirainen-Marsh's (2008) study on switching in a video game situation. She studied the way Finnish adolescents used Finnish and English while playing an English video game, and especially the way the English elements were used to serve interactional functions as part of the gaming event and its discourse (ibid: 137, 139). The results of the study showed that the functions and meanings of code-switching were closely connected to the situation's sequential structure and the context of

the interaction. Furthermore, the data revealed that as in several other types of situations where code-switching occurs, the instances of code-switching discovered in the corpus of the study often denoted some kind of a shift in interaction (ibid: 161).

Another study that investigates the uses of English in Finland and code-switching can be found in an article by Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 341), where they studied various instances of English used in Finland through examples chosen from previous studies. The studies used in the article investigated, for instance, broadcast communication in Finnish media in English, Finnish fan fictions on the internet which utilized both Finnish and English, and computer game sessions (ibid: 342–343). As the aforementioned article by Leppänen (2007), this study also utilized several different types of sources, with the data consisting of, for example, written texts, video recordings, and ethnographic data (ibid). In their study, Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 365) came to the same conclusion as Leppänen (2007: 166) did in hers: the role of English in different Finnish contexts is not unified but varies depending on the function and the form as well as the context of the language use. Furthermore, the two also state that in the data, the use of English was often linked to showing one's expertise in a particular area or membership to a certain group (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 368).

Finally, a piece of research worth mentioning – regarding studies on Finnish-English code-switching – is a study conducted by Kääntä et al. (2013). The researchers investigated the way the contestants of the Finnish Big Brother 2006, especially a delivery van driver named Kaki, learned English via social interaction (340–341). They discovered that English was utilized as a resource that enabled the participants to take part in meaningful interactions (354). Furthermore, the main findings of the study include the discovery that Kaki used a number of interactional practices, including imitation, reconstruction, and repetition to make sense of the English words novel to him (ibid). He also actively sought information and created opportunities to “become a competent participant in the conversation” (ibid). Thus, Kaki's case demonstrates that even a person who views their language competence as poor can nonetheless have “a high level of interactional competence”, which is one of the key features of “good language learners” (355).

2.5 The speech community

The concept of speech community, or SpCom, was also found to be a useful addition for the present study, for Finnish vloggers could be argued to form a speech community who share a set of linguistic norms. An essential theory in empirical linguistics, the concept of speech community has been referred to as the crossroads where several integral problems of sociolinguistics method and theory meet (Patrick 2004: 573). Although SpCom is an essential concept for those who study, for instance, language change, researchers have not come into a conclusion of the full definition of the concept in regard to sociolinguistics (ibid). From very generic groups, such as women, to very small ones, like the people of a single jury, to geographically limited areas, such as Philadelphia, it has been used to describe several different kinds of groups and entities (Patrick 2004: 574).

As said, several scholars have presented their own definitions for SpCom, but according to Patrick (ibid: 575), these definitions have often failed to include reference to previous studies, and the studies written on the subject are often the reflections of the scholars' personal interests. However, Gumperz' bipartite definition, which includes elements that Labov and Hymes, both influential scholars on the subject, agree with, has been widely accepted by sociolinguists as a comprehensive definition of SpCom (Patrick 2004: 580). According to Gumperz, SpCom is "any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage" (1968: 381). He also stated that since the speech varieties that are used in a SpCom share common norms, they create a system (ibid: 382).

3. English in Finland

The position of the English language in Finland has changed dramatically since it first became part of the curriculum in Finnish secondary schools pre-1950s (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 17). Between 1960s and 1980s, English was a language that was mainly used with foreigners, and it was perceived as an either useless or uninteresting language by both Finnish comprehensive school and high school students in the early 1970s (Leppänen et al. 2009: 15; Takala 1998: 75). Additionally, the English skills of Finnish adolescents were relatively weak in comparison to other countries (Takala 1998: 77).

However, through a number of factors, such as globalization, urbanization, and the outcome of successful language education, English has reached an important status in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2009: 15). This can be perceived, for instance, in the current language policies of the country: English is the most popular A1 language in Finland, for 90.1 percent of Finnish third graders began studying it as their first foreign language in 2018 (SUKOL 2022). Nevertheless, the popularity and presence of English is not merely restricted to the educational context: it is also a language that especially young Finns use, and are exposed to, increasingly on their free time (Leppänen et al. 2009: 17). Thus, English can be, for instance, perceived being used in everyday conversations between two Finns, whose first language is Finnish (Leppänen et al. 2009: 15). English is also a dominant language in the popular culture, and, as mentioned in subsection 2.1, its presence and dominance in, especially, internet, have reinforced positive attitudes towards the language (Pyykkö 2017: 32). According to Pyykkö (2017: 20), English knowledge is also a prerequisite for succeeding in a global world.

However, the dominance of English has also illustrated its downside: its position as *lingua franca* has narrowed the language skills of Finns as they study and speak fewer foreign languages than before (Pyykkö 2017: 19, 28). Furthermore, a statement published by the Finnish Language Board in 2018 declared that the position of Finnish language in the Finnish society is beginning to be threatened. According to the language board, this is due to, for instance, the fact that receiving customer service in Finnish language in a Finnish company can no longer be taken for granted, as well as the overall narrowing of the areas of use of the Finnish language (The Finnish

Language Board 2018). The statement even goes on to suggest that soon a decision has to be made on whether we as Finns want to hold on to our mother language or are we ready to let it go for another language – supposedly English (ibid).

3.1 YouTube

The empirical evidence presented in this thesis comes from two Finnish vloggers, who upload their videos on YouTube: a video sharing platform whose content is provided by its users. Indicative of the scope of the site is that in 2021, YouTube had approximately 1.86 billion viewers worldwide (Statista 2021b). While initially designed to function as a type of an archive of personal videos, as the website's original slogan, 'Your Digital Video Repository' (Burgess and Green 2009: 4), suggests, YouTube rapidly transformed into a platform that serves several purposes: it is a social medium, "a broadcast platform", and "a high-volume website" (ibid: 5). It simultaneously works as a platform of mass communication as well as a site of intimate and personal interaction (Helasvuo et al. 2014: 10). After its launch in 2005, the network has, in less than two decades, become an enormous mass medium with a wide global audience (Burgess and Green 2009: 1; Giles 2018: 109).

YouTube was created in 2005 by three former PayPal employees in a garage in Silicon Valley but was sold to Google already in 2006 (Burgess and Green 2009: 1; van Dijck 2013: 110). In the early days of the platform, one of the company's main objectives was to challenge the dominance of the so-called lean-back TV with their "lean-forward interactive engagement" (van Dijck 2013: 110). However, when the site began to fill with material from the more traditional media outlets, including television, it soon became evident that instead of fighting it, both YouTube and the media outlets, whose material was added to the site, had to adapt to the situation by collaborating with one another (ibid: 110–111, 118, 127). This arrangement led to a situation where the more traditional media companies began expanding their repertoire by beginning to utilize YouTube as an additional platform for their content (ibid: 116). This was achieved by the companies creating their own channels and uploading their material to the site by themselves (ibid). Thus, a number of media companies were able to benefit from the situation and consequently broadened their reach to include the users of YouTube.

When it comes to the user activity on the site, it has been discovered that most YouTube users are merely consuming the content on the site rather than producing it: according to a study conducted in 2011, only about 20 percent of YouTube users are active content producers, and 20 percent of them provide 73 percent of the total content on the site (Ding et al. 2011: 361). According to van Dijck (2013: 115–116), this calls into question the image of YouTube as a site of active user participation and indicates that the use of YouTube relies on user consumption, after all.

Furthermore, an important notion when talking about YouTube is the fact that it is simply a platform: YouTube does not produce its own content nor is it in the video business (Burgess and Green 2009: 4). The material for YouTube is, as mentioned, created and uploaded by its users, both professionals and amateurs (ibid). This kind of bottom-up structure of YouTube differentiates it from the more traditional forms of media, which provide, control, and censor the content they publish (Giles 2018: 109). However, YouTube also functions as a top-down distributor of popular culture by distributing content from the more traditional medias (Burgess and Green 2009: 6). Thus, even though YouTube does not provide any of the site's material or decide what its users watch, the content that the viewers see, and are exposed to, is heavily influenced by algorithms and search engines (van Dijck 2013: 113). These algorithms guide the viewers to content with the use of referral systems, rankings, and different search functions (ibid).

As mentioned, the users of YouTube are in charge of the material that is uploaded to the site, but also of the other activity occurring on the platform (Burgess and Green 2009: 4; van Dijck 2013: 115). In addition to uploading videos, the users of YouTube can like, share, and comment on them, except for those videos where the commenting has been turned off (van Dijck 2013: 115; Burgess and Green 2009: 2, 5; The YouTube Team 2019). In order to upload videos or participate in the other activities on the platform, one needs to have a channel on the site, which can then be subscribed by other users (YouTube Help 2021; YouTube Help 2022). According to Pires et al. (2021: 1175), the invention of channels was one of the most influential evolutionary steps for YouTube. Their existence allowed the users to compile their videos in one location, essentially creating a personal video archive, as was the intention of YouTube's creators in the

early days of the platform (Burgess and Green 2009: 4). Therefore, as stated by Giles (2018: 109), despite not being the core purpose of the website anymore, it was also one of the reasons that has enabled the emergence of YouTube stars.

Another factor that has contributed to the rise of YouTube celebrities is arguably the monetization of the platform. Although the use of YouTube has primarily been free for its users, the company has, almost since its beginning, monetized the site and provided ways for its users to generate revenue from their content. In 2007, the website introduced ads and made it possible for some of the popular video creators to monetize their content, and in 2012, the program was expanded, allowing any user to profit from advertising in their individual videos (Lange 2019: 3–4). Furthermore, since ads on the site were arguably becoming increasingly intrusive, YouTube started to market its users a feature called YouTube Red, which comprised of several benefits such as enabling viewers to enjoy videos ad-free and access to original content from several YouTube stars (ibid: 229–230). In 2018, after significant critique from users, the company rebranded the service as YouTube Premium, and altered it in a way that it then included ad-free videos, original material, the right to download videos from the site, and “an ability to listen to music in the background” (Lange 2019: 231). The changes on the platform and the features were being implemented at such a fast pace that it made the site’s users confused about the new releases and what they included (ibid). The website also introduced a service called YouTube Music, which resembled music streaming services such as Spotify (Lange 2019: 231). The platform has also expanded its repertoire to other streaming services: YouTube TV provides its users the access to over 85 channels of live TV and on demand video (YouTube TV 2021). Thus, Google’s response to the rising popularity of streaming services illustrates the company’s ambition to fight for its position in the increasingly competitive market.

An example of a study conducted on YouTube videos is an article by Shifman (2011: 187) in which he studied a total of 30 YouTube videos which he described as ‘memetic’ – or which encourage YouTube users to active engagement “by way of creative derivatives”. By studying the data consisting of the aforementioned 30 videos, he discovered that although a seemingly heterogeneous array of clips, they nevertheless shared some common attributes. All in all, Shifman discovered there to be a total of six recurring features in the videos: the ordinariness of

the people, humor, repetitiveness, flawed masculinity, simplicity, and whimsical content (ibid: 192). According to Shifman (2011: 187), all of these attributes indicate the video as “incomplete or flawed”, which then inspired “further creative dialogue”.

3.2 Vlogging and vloggers

Vlogging, or video blogging, is a type of video media genre found on the internet, and closely connected to the rising popularity of YouTube (Hobbs 2017: 171). The definition of a vlog is flexible but has been most often utilized to denote a type of videos in first-person style where the user discusses about everyday things in their life and/or expresses their opinions on various subjects (Jensen et al. 2022: 289; ibid; Frobenius 2011: 815; Bakioğlu 2016: 6). Furthermore, vlogging is considered to be a means of self-expression for the vlogger and it is often tied to their personal spaces (Berryman and Kavka 2017: 311). The first vlogs, or video blogs, emerged in the beginning of the millennium, and were initially published in connection with traditional blog texts (Frobenius 2011: 814; Okdie and Rempala 2018: 399). As the more traditional blogs, vlogs are also mostly published on a regular basis (Okdie and Rempala 2018: 399).

In a vlog, the vlogger often speaks directly to the camera in a conversational style and shares their ideas, opinions, and personal matters to their viewers, creating an illusion of a “parasocial relationship” between them and the vlogger (Hobbs 2017: 171; Pihlaja 2014: 2–3). The illusion is arguably reinforced by the vlogger encouraging the audience to communicate by, for instance, asking the viewers to “[P]lease comment, rate and subscribe” (Frobenius 2014: 60). Also, although vlogs are often spoken in monologue, they differ substantially from other types of texts spoken in the first-person style (Frobenius 2011: 815). As opposed to more conventionalized types of monologues, such as lectures or sermons, vlogs mostly lack a script and temporal limitations (ibid: 815–816). They also present a genre of media that is less formal and lacks rigid conventions or rules, which results in casual and spontaneous content and therefore colloquial speech, which can include, for instance, jokes and “taboo language” (ibid: 816).

In addition to being considered types of monologues, vlogs can also be perceived as an autobiographical medium and video genre (Maguire 2015: 74). Furthermore, vlogging can be

considered an example of a life narrative, an inclusive term that incorporates all forms of self-referential phenomena and one that is utilized to refer to autobiographical acts (Smith and Watson 2010: 4). Vlogs can be seen as autobiographical acts for they are both directed to an audience and involved in the questions of identity (ibid: 63).

Additionally, the way vlogs are created has changed along with the technological advances in filming (Pihlaja 2018: 254). Whereas the first vlogs were usually filmed with webcams, which enabled video-making and their publishing for ordinary people, the development of compact cameras and smartphone cameras allowed vloggers to leave their desks and film the material for their videos without being tied to one space (ibid). Thus, not being confined to their computers has allowed vloggers to expand the array of possible filming locations while simultaneously diversifying the content in their videos (ibid). Therefore, nowadays vlogs could be described as a “collection of moments edited together to present a narrative” (Pihlaja 2018: 263). These developments have also arguably enabled the emergence of new vlog genres, including travel vlogs, videos made by tourists that often represent the vlogger’s travelling experience, and significant changes to already existing genres, such as daily vlogs³ (Xu et al. 2021: 1).

Due to the vlog being a video genre defined by those who make them and which therefore varies in form, it lacks fixed and rigid conventions (Pihlaja 2018: 255; Frobenius 2011: 815–816). When it comes to the structure of a vlog, it seems that modern vlogs often do not, for example, follow the traditional story arc which consists of a beginning, then some rising action which leads to the climax, and then the ending (Freytag and MacEwan 1908: 114–115). Due to the notoriously short attention span of Gen Z, the primary target audience of vlogs, the vlog needs to pique the viewer’s interest at the very beginning of the video so that the viewer will continue watching instead of shifting their attention to something else (Bergh and Behrer 2016: 214; Frobenius 2011: 817). An example of a means to manipulate the structure of a vlog, by video editing, has been provided by Pihlaja (2018), who studied the vlogger Casey Neistat and

³ Initially a term used for vlogs that were being published on a daily basis, the new definition of daily vlog refers to a type of video where the vlogger records their daily life with their camera following them everywhere they go (Codreanu and Combe 2019: 157; Pihlaja 2018: 254). Hence, the term is nowadays more related to daily life rather than daily video uploads.

especially his way of addressing his audience in his videos. Pihlaja (ibid: 260) discovered that the moments of audience inclusion were often placed at strategically significant points in the video, denoting that not only is Neistat aware of the effect addressing has on the structuring of the narrative, but he also edits his videos accordingly. Thus, the acknowledgement of the audience by providing explanations of “what is happening and giving context for what has just been shown and what will come” is one of the means that can play an important role in creating the structure of a vlog (ibid). Furthermore, juxtaposing private and public plays a particularly important part in creating the illusion of intimacy between the vlogger and their viewers (ibid). However, constructing an air of intimacy by addressing the audience is not exclusive or novel to vlogs, for similar strategies have been utilized in, at least, reality tv shows (Moseley 2000: 308).

According to Burgess and Green (2009: 53), vlogging can also be connected to ‘confessional culture’, a broader term used to describe the space in media given to mundane people, allowing them to publicly share even the most intimate details about their lives (Aldridge 2001: 92; Matthews 2007: 439). Confessional style has also been perceived as a fundamental communication tactic in vlogging (Burgess and Green 2009: 28). Originally used to describe a form of tabloidization, or sensational texts manifested in talk shows and tabloid newspapers, vlogging and vlogs have arguably risen to the core of current confessional culture due to their potential to raise ordinary people and their everyday experiences to the center of social media platforms (Aldridge 2001: 92; Burgess and Green 2009: 53; Berryman and Kavka 2017: 311). According to Aldridge (2001: 92), confessional culture can also be perceived as a phenomenon questioning the traditional divide between “the private, domestic, feminine world of emotion and the public, masculine, rational world of men”.

The people behind vlogs, also known as vloggers, are often young, seemingly ‘ordinary’ people, who often lack a special talent, and could thus be considered as illustrating the so-called “demotic turn” (Turner 2010: 2, 12–13). According to Turner (2010: 2), the term is used to describe the phenomenon of the increased presence of authentic and ordinary people in the media, which started already in the beginning of the 21st century. Although vloggers are known for their authenticity, some scholars believe that it is a part of performance, not an inherent characteristic a person possesses (Moseley 2000: 313–314). Also, some scholars argue that being

authentic in the case of celebrities means giving the impression of 'a normal person' so that the audience can relate to them (Dyer 1998: 43; Giles 2018: 133).

Hence, compared to what started out as television creating its own stars through game shows and reality tv shows, and which then led then to ordinary people, like webcam girls, gaining stardom on their own on the internet, the current status of internet celebrities looks significantly different (Giles 2018: 60–69; Senft 2008: 1). The rise of ordinary people in the media has resulted in a situation where a YouTube star was included in Time magazine's list of "100 most influential people" and where YouTubers are being listed as the most popular celebrities among teenagers and young adults (Giles 2018: 108; Turner 2010: 12–13). However, their popularity does not extend to the entire population: although younger audiences are very familiar with YouTube stars, older generations have mostly remained unaware of their presence (Giles 2018: 108).

As stated by Giles (2018: 111–112), there have, so far, been two generations of YouTube celebrities. The first generation of YouTube stars can be recognized from the amateurism of their videos, their authenticity, as well as the lack of clear plans or expectations of fame (ibid: 110–111). The realness or authenticity in these videos was part of the rising video genre that would later be called *vlog* (ibid: 111). A channel worth mentioning in the evolution of *vlog*, and arguably of YouTube, is that of Lonelygirl15, which has been considered the channel that unveiled YouTube's potential as a platform for "cultural production worthy of commercial attention" (Bakioğlu 2016: 184). Later revealed as a hoax orchestrated by an amateur production team, Lonelygirl15 recounted the story of 'Bree', a 16-year-old girl who vlogged about the ordinary life of a teenager but also about her parents being kidnapped by a cult (Giles 2018: 111). Before the revelation of 'Bree's' inauthenticity, Lonelygirl15's videos gained substantial audiences and a reasonable following base and also visualized the potential of vlogs as "a mode of storytelling" (Bakioğlu 2016: 184–185, 189).

The second generation of YouTube stars can be identified from the visual appearance of their channels as well as the content and execution of their videos (Giles 2018: 112). The rise of YouTube stars was also boosted by the "commercialization of amateur content" on the platform, and, importantly, due to YouTube's policy change in 2012 that enabled anyone to profit from

individual videos (Burgess and Green 2009: 23; Lange 2019: 4). This shift towards commercialization could be argued to be a part of the more extensive “institutionalization of social commerce”, a growing tendency of social media to influence the behavior and choices of consumers (Pham 2015: 16).

Furthermore, many second-generation YouTubers have started to use “signature sign-ons and sign-offs and key phrases [that] help to construct narrative unity, thematic cohesion, and shared language that can be readily deployed by fan bases” (Betancourt 2016: 199). Another distinctive characteristic of the modern YouTuber is the thumbnail, which presents the video with an eye-catching picture, usually of the vlogger, and an interesting, often attention-grabbing, title (Giles 2018: 112).

Since video titles have an important role in attracting viewers to watch the vlog, some YouTubers resort to the use of so-called ‘click baits’: titles which have been made more appealing to make potential viewers click on them (Blom and Hansen 2015: 87). Click baits in vlogging could be argued to work on the same principles as in journalism: both genres utilize similar strategies, such as sensationalism, the use of capitalization, and gossip-like language, including themes akin to sex and romance, and the use of adjectives with emotional connotations, for instance, “weird” (Molek-Kozakowska 2013: 173; Schaffer 1995: 28). The use of a click bait in a vlog title can, arguably, be perceived in the following example:

(13) **GOOGLASIN ITSENI | liian järkyttävää**
 I GOOGLED MYSELF | too shocking

As noted by Schaffer (1995: 28), the use of emotion-conveying adjectives is one of the features of click bait titles, as can be perceived from the example above, where the word *shocking* functions as a fitting example of such a word. Furthermore, click bait titles are often written in capital letters, which applies to the first half of the title in question (ibid). Therefore, both parts of the divided title utilize strategies characteristic of click baits.

When it comes to the video uploading practices of the vloggers, many of the contemporary YouTube stars initially gain fame through videos of a specific genre but later expand their repertoire when their subscriber count has increased to a high enough level (Giles 2018: 112). Also, the tendency to produce comedy videos is a characteristic shared by many YouTubers regardless of their background (ibid).

Furthermore, the audience plays a significant role in allowing internet celebrities to reach fame, essentially providing them with an alternative way to the limelight in comparison to the more traditional celebrities (Jenkins 2006: 3; Gamson 2011: 1067). Once vloggers begin to gain more followers, and therefore more exposure and publicity, their potential as a celebrity is recognized and they start to earn money from advertising revenues and, for instance, paid collaborations, arguably mostly due to their popularity as a content creator on the internet (Hutchinson 2021: 35). Thus, a shift to influencers and content creators, who are then transformed into public figures, can also be perceived in the most popular YouTubers (Giles 2018: 156–158).

A person who can be perceived as an example of this phenomenon is arguably the Finnish internet celebrity Veronica Verho, also known by her YouTube username *mariieveronica*, who, according to a survey conducted by Taloustutkimus for the YouTube event Tubecon, was named as one of the most influential celebrities among young Finns in 2017 (STT-YLE 2017). After being recognized as a successful YouTuber, she was provided with a number of opportunities on other platforms: first in radio, then in the Finnish TV format called *Posse*, and most recently as the host of the Finnish version of the dating reality TV series *Love Island* (NRJ 2017; Nissinen 2020; Vatka 2021). The latter show features ordinary young singles, also known as “Islanders”, who move into an isolated villa for approximately eight weeks, seeking to find love and to win a money prize (Samson 2020: 120–121; Brophy 2019). The most recent, third season of the Finnish version of the show is arguably a powerful indication of the demotic turn for both the competitors as well as the host of the series are known for their ordinariness (Turner 2010: 2, 12).

Additionally, what makes Verho’s role in the series especially interesting is that the first two seasons of the Finnish version were hosted by a former Miss Finland, Shirly Karvinen, who was then replaced by Verho in the third season (Vatka 2021). Thus, the fact that a more traditional

type of celebrity, a beauty queen, was superseded by a person who rose to fame on the internet could be perceived as an indication of what kind of effects the demotic turn has on celebrity culture and on what kinds of people are given visibility in the media (Turner 2010: 2, 12).

The vlogger can also be observed as a face of neoliberalism, an ideology which describes social circumstances where it is possible for anyone to become “a successful entrepreneur, can find and express their authentic self, or can be empowered by the seemingly endless possibilities in digital spaces, and yet where the divide between rich and poor continues to grow” (Banet-Weiser 2012: 17). The vlogger portrays themselves as a construction of authenticity, which relies on “mundanity, sympathy, and transparency” (Bevan 2017: 768). These types of portrayals of self on different social platforms are crucial in constructing the image of “neoliberal digital entrepreneurship” (ibid).

However, as other social media platforms continue strengthening their positions and attracting new users, they consequently challenge YouTube’s position as one of the most popular sites on the internet. The photo sharing platform Instagram, for instance, offers its users not only the possibility to share photos, but also, for instance, videos and stories (Leaver et al. 2020: 111). Also, the video application TikTok has become incredibly popular, especially among young people between the ages of 8 to 19 and has even bypassed YouTube in the average viewing time on Android phones in Great Britain in 2020 and in the US in 2021 (De Leyn et al. 2021: 1; Statista 2021a; App Annie 2021). The ever-intensifying competition between different platforms has led both Instagram and YouTube to respond to the rising popularity of TikTok: Instagram with its Reels feature, and YouTube with a format called YouTube Shorts. Both features enable the users to create short videos by allowing them to, for instance, add sounds to their videos or to edit them using the provided tools, essentially giving anyone “the chance to become a creator” (Instagram 2020; YouTube 2021). Unlike TikTok, neither Reels nor Shorts function as their own independent apps, but instead as integrated features of Instagram and YouTube (Shah 2021).

Additionally, Instagram stories have also become a popular way for influencers to upload photos and short videos which disappear after 24 hours but can still be made visible later with a feature called highlights, which allows the stories to be viewed even after they have disappeared

(Bainotti et al. 2021: 3659, 3658; Instagram 2021). This feature has, in turn, been borrowed from the instant messaging app Snapchat, which launched its Stories feature already in 2013 (Snapchat 2013). Therefore, while platforms such as Instagram are expanding the variety of tools offered on their apps, providing internet celebrities and influencers several different options for posting content on the app, they are doing it by means which makes the site still to look like a social media platform: YouTube, however, has expanded its features in a way that has caused it to resemble a streaming service instead of a social medium. Thus, although YouTube still controls the market when measured in time spent on social and entertainment apps worldwide, at least on Android phones, the focus, especially on mobile apps, seems to have shifted towards both the consumption of shorter videos (App Annie 2021).

An example of a study conducted using data collected from vlogs is the study by Snelson (2013). In this study, Snelson investigated a total of 120 school-related vlogs to study the characteristics of the vlogs and the vloggers, the context and content of the vlogs, the culture, as well as the motivation behind school-related vlogging (ibid: 321, 327, 330–331, 333–334). It was discovered that the vloggers were often young people who recorded their vlogs in a number of settings, including at home and in classrooms (ibid: 336). Furthermore, the vlogs often discussed the vloggers' school experiences and often shared a common set of words for communicating with their audience (ibid: 336). Additionally, the motives for vlogging about school ranged from doing it for fun, to boosting one's confidence, and a desire to improve one's oral skills (ibid: 336).

4. Data and methodology

The present thesis studies the use of Finnish-English code-switching by two Finnish vloggers. The vloggers studied in this thesis were chosen as the subjects for the study based on the fact that they are both primarily lifestyle vloggers but also had relatively long histories in vlogging, which ensured there to be enough material to collect the data from. Both vloggers are from the capital area of Finland, and they have an age difference of approximately 10 years, with one of them being born in the early nineties while the other in the early 2000s. Both speak Finnish as their first language and have studied English at a high-school level, at the highest. To protect the privacy of the vloggers, they will be anonymized and no identifiable information of them will be revealed in the study. The vlogger born in early 1990s will be referred to as informant A, whereas the vlogger born in the early 2000s will be referred to as informant B. Basic information of the two vloggers is also illustrated in the following Table 1.

Table 1. Basic information of the vloggers studied in the thesis

Vlogger	Informant A	Informant B
Basic information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Born in 1992 • Started vlogging in their early twenties • Produces primarily lifestyle-related content • High-school level education • From the capital area of Finland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Born in 2002 • Started vlogging at a very young age • Produces primarily lifestyle-related content • High-school level education • From the capital area of Finland

The vloggers chosen as the subjects of this thesis were not selected randomly, for their suitability for the study was known to the researcher in advance. However, if a similar study was to be repeated on vloggers of a specific country or vloggers speaking a specific language, the most advisable tactic would arguably be to search either for “the most popular [insert language] YouTubers/vloggers” or “the most popular YouTubers/vloggers in [insert country]”. The reasoning behind choosing a popular YouTuber is that they would most likely have a high

number of videos on their channel, which would therefore ensure there to be enough material for the study to be conducted.

The data for the thesis has been collected manually from the YouTube videos of two Finnish vloggers. Each instance of code-switching from the videos was written down, as well as the surrounding sentence where the instance appeared to have a better idea of the exact context of code-switching afterwards. The time of the video when the instance of code-switching appeared was also written down to make going back to the instance easier later. Since there were no subtitles available for the videos that were used in this study, unlike in some other YouTube videos, each video had to be listened carefully and slowed down to make sense of the fast speech of the vloggers. The selection of the videos was, for most part, randomized. However, since the monologue-type speech characteristic for vlogs is the main focus of this study, the number of videos where either of the vloggers had guests, with whom they would likely have a conversation with for the most part of the video, was reduced to a minimum. Videos of both vloggers were watched for approximately the same amount of time while simultaneously ensuring that a sufficient number of code-switches had been derived from the videos. After the videos had been watched and the instances written down along with the contexts they appeared in, the instances were categorized. More specifically, the single-word instances were grouped based on their word class while the phrases and clauses were grouped as one category as were the sentences. The corpus was then analyzed to see whether any patterns or reoccurring themes stand out in the data.

In order to acquire an estimation of the total word count of the vlogs studied for the present thesis, the word counts of five one-minute clips from five videos were counted from each of the vloggers. This decision was made based on the fact that the total length of the studied videos was nearly 8 hours which proved to be too laborious considering the scope of the thesis and the fact that the information about the word count was merely required for a small part of the thesis. From the word counts of these five-minute compilations, a rough estimate of the total word counts of both informants could be calculated. The information about the word counts was required to compare the total word count of the vloggers to the number of English words they produced to create profiles of the vloggers' use of code-switching in order to execute statistical

analysis. The word count for the five-minute compilation for informant A was 766 words, whereas the comparable number for informant B was 720 words. However, it should be acknowledged that the word counts are merely approximate since the word counts of the one-minute clips varied significantly based on the genre of a vlog from which the clip was derived: whereas the average word count for informant B ranged between 170 and 180 words in three of the clips, two clips, which were both from daily vlogs, both included 95 words each. However, in informant A's videos, more variation could be found: the word counts in their one-minute clips ranged between 130 and 180 words. Furthermore, the statistical analyses in this study are conducted with the use of chi-squared analysis.

A total of 312 instances of code-switching were gathered from 41 videos altogether, with the combined length of the videos being approximately 7 hours, 45 minutes, and 15 seconds. The videos analyzed in this study were published between 2013 and 2021. The instances of code-switching that have been included in this thesis have all been taken from spoken language, and written instances of code-switching related to the videos, such as words in the video titles, have been therefore excluded from the study. The instances of code-switching occurred in a wide range of situations and contexts: from the working day of a YouTuber to commentaries on style, and the way young people have a lot of pressure to look good and dress fashionably, to a video where one of the vloggers talks about their thoughts on some prevailing issues, but also about how things are going on in their personal life, in a way that is almost reminiscent of stream of consciousness type of speech.

4.1 Ethical considerations

Since the videos studied in this thesis are public and available for everyone who wishes to see them, the consent of the vloggers, whether they want to be a part of this study, has not been asked, since it is not required in order to execute this study. However, despite the fact that the videos of the vloggers are public knowledge, they have still been anonymized for the present study to protect their privacy. Furthermore, this thesis follows the Finnish national guidelines "on the ethical principles of research in the humanities" by The Finnish National Board on Research Integrity TENK (2019: 47).

Following the aforementioned guidelines, this thesis respects the “dignity and autonomy of human research participants” (ibid: 50). The present study also complies with the rights established by the Finnish Constitution, which includes the right to personal liberty and integrity, the right to life, freedom of expression, and, for instance, “the right to privacy” (ibid). Moreover, this research respects “material and immaterial cultural heritage”, and it has not caused any damage, harm, or significant risks to the research subjects (ibid). Additionally, this thesis complies with the general guidelines for “the responsible conduct of research” by the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity TENK (2013: 31–32).

5. Results

The results of the thesis are presented based on the findings of the research questions. Thus, section 5 and its subsections will be presented on the basis of linguistic form and are thus divided into word classes, phrases/clauses, and sentences. The word class with most switched instances is presented first and the one with least instances last: this type of layout draws from an earlier study conducted on code-switching (Tuc 2003: 46). After this, sections on the use of code-switched phrases as well as sentences by the informants will be presented. Each subsection also includes the findings from research questions two and three: the possible statistical differences between the informants as well as the possible presence of reoccurring themes in the data.

5.1 The overall distribution of code-switches into different linguistic forms

As presented in Table 2., the data is divided into, approximately, equal halves, of which one is comprised of single-word switches, and the other is composed of phrases and clauses as well as sentences; phrases and clauses comprising nearly 40% of the entire corpus whereas sentences constituted some 11% of the data. Nouns were the most frequently switched words, with almost 21% of all the switches being instances of single-word nouns. Adjectives were a close second with 63 instances, making up 20.19% of the entire corpus, followed by adverbs with 15 instances. In the fourth place are interjections, which compose some 3% of the corpus. The three word classes with the least instances in the corpus were conjunctions, numerals and pronouns: each word class with one instance found from the data. There were no single-word instances of verbs, prepositions or determiners in the data.

Table 2. The code-switches by linguistic form

Linguistic form	Number	Percentage
Nouns	65	20.83%
Adjectives	63	20.19%
Adverbs	15	4.81%
Interjections	11	3.52%
Conjunctions	1	0.32%
Numeral(s)	1	0.32%
Pronoun(s)	1	0.32%
Phrases/clauses	120	38.46%
Sentences	35	11.22%
Total	312	100%

A statistical analysis was conducted to discover the possible statistically significant differences in the overall code-switching profiles of the vloggers. As mentioned in chapter 4, the word counts of five one-minute clips of each of the vloggers were counted in order to gain an estimation of the total word counts of the videos studied for this thesis. The word count for the five-minute compilation for informant A was 766 words, whereas the comparable number for informant B was 720 words. Based on these numbers, the approximate total word counts for informants A and B were 39.066 words and 30.240 words, respectively.

There was no statistically significant⁴ difference in the overall profiles of the vloggers' use of code-switching ($\chi^2=14.363$, $p=0.073$, $df=8$). However, when comparing the total word counts of the code-switches to the total word counts of the vloggers, it was discovered that there was a highly significant statistical difference between the two informants, and that of the two vloggers it was informant B who used code-switching more frequently in their speech ($\chi^2=8.732$, $p=0.003$, $df=1$).

⁴ All statistical analyses are conducted with chi-squared analysis, in which $p \leq 0.05$ is significant, $p \leq 0.01$ is highly significant, and $p \leq 0.001$ is very highly significant.

5.2 Nouns

Nouns were the most commonly switched words in the corpus, as over one-fifth of all the produced switches were nouns. This result is somewhat in line with earlier studies conducted on code-switching, where nouns have been the word class with the most instances found in the data (see, for instance, Tuc 2003, Berk-Seligson 1986). However, the results of the present thesis differ from the aforementioned studies in the sense that in those studies, the percentages of nouns in the corpora have been very high compared to other constituents, whereas in the present thesis, the number of nouns surpasses adjectives by a very small margin of two instances.

Interestingly, the result was not the same for both of the vloggers: whilst nouns were the most switched word class for informant A, adjectives were the most switched words for informant B. However, the combined number of switched nouns of both informants led to nouns being the word class with the most instances in the data. There was a highly significant difference in the way the two vloggers used nouns ($\chi^2=6.789$, $p=0.0092$, $df=1$).

Proper nouns, for example *black lives matter*⁵, and words derived from proper nouns were excluded from the paper: this decision was derived from a previous study (Tuc 2003: 46). Additionally, following Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros (1998: 21), the more commonly used code-switches, which could be argued to have become loans, have been excluded from the study. Examples of these words include *cool*, and, for instance, *feikki* (fake). An example of the use of a code-switched noun is illustrated in (14).

- (14) **mä muuten kerran menin catfishin kanssa treffeille tai siis mä tiesin etukäteen et se on catfish**
by the way I once went on a date with a catfish I mean I knew beforehand that [the person] is a catfish

⁵ 'Black lives matter', in this context, signifies the name of the civil rights movement (Abbamonte 2018: ix).

As can be seen from (14), English words, in this case *catfish*, were used by the vloggers both in an inflected form and in an uninflected form, even in the same sentence. In this particular context, the word *catfish* does not mean a real fish, but a person who makes a fake profile on social media and pretends to be someone they are not (Lovelock 2017: 204). There is no equivalent word of the term in Finnish, even though the literal translation *kissakala* can be sometimes seen used to convey the same meaning. Additionally, even though the phenomenon is not merely restricted to American context, it is likely that the term has been adapted from the popular MTV series *Catfish: The TV Show* which also aired in Finland and presumably did its part in bringing the term to popular use.

Furthermore, as can be perceived from Table 3. and Figure 1., the switched nouns of the two vloggers related to, for instance, YouTube and its various phenomena, style and looks, and Internet phenomena. When categorizing the nouns used by the informants, the presented three categories were the ones which had the highest number of words in them. The other nouns in the data were related to, for instance, popular culture, food and drinks, and current world events.

Table 3. The semantic categories of the switched nouns with examples

Semantic category	Examples
YouTube and its phenomena	<i>haul, influencer, update, disclaimer, intro, outro, rec</i>
Style, looks, make-up	<i>camp⁶, thigh gap, microblading, matte liner, outfit, concealer, contour</i>
Internet phenomena	<i>catfish, screenshot, selfie, stan, clickbaitti, tagi, influencer</i>

⁶ In this context, 'camp' refers to an aesthetic, which is described as "parodic, ironic, over-the-top, and often nostalgic sensibility" (Shugart and Waggoner 2008: 1).

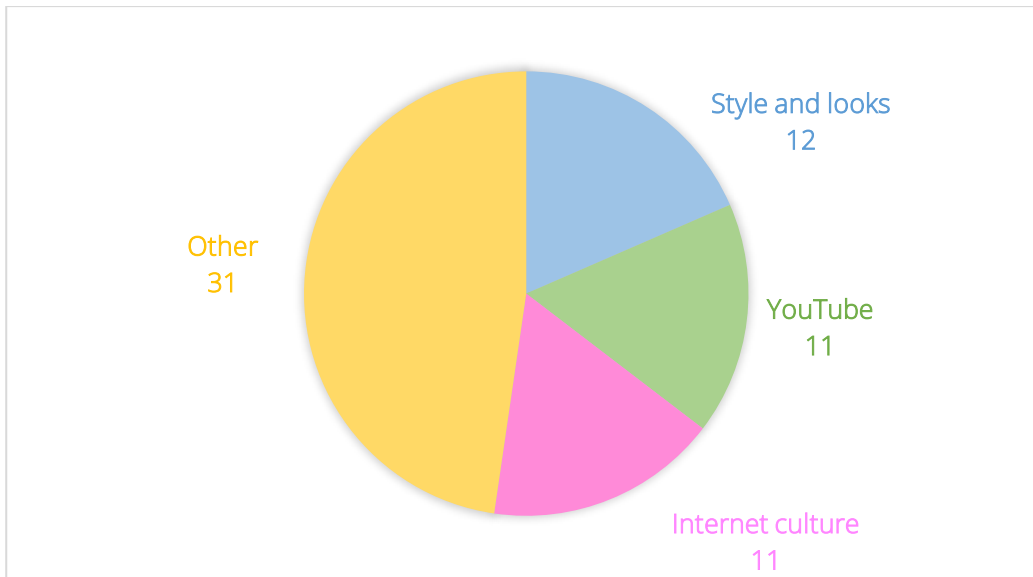


Figure 1. The division of the nouns into main themes

As can be seen from Table 3., the code-switched nouns used by the informants are closely connected to their personal life and interests. Also, having YouTube and its phenomena as one of the categories with most instances displays how the English-speaking vloggers have paved the way with vlogs and were the ones who created the concepts such as daily vlogs and hauls, but also visualizes the amount of metalanguage vlogs contain.

Thus, the English terms related to YouTube which have been used by the vloggers seem to have been, for the most part, directly adopted to from English-speaking YouTubers to the vocabulary of Finnish vloggers, as well. *Daily vlog*, for instance, as mentioned earlier in the thesis, is sometimes perceived as a synonym for vlog, since the definition of vlogging, at least in its early days, meant posting videos almost every day (Codreanu and Combe 2019: 157). However, *daily vlogs* are nowadays used to refer to the popular type of vlogs in which vloggers record their daily lives in several different settings, depending on where they spend the day in question (Pihlaja 2018: 254). Another example of YouTube-related nouns produced by the vloggers is the word *haul*, a term utilized to refer to videos where a vlogger shows their viewers things they have bought, such as pieces of clothing (Jeffries 2011: 59).

However, an interesting exception to the direct adoption of English words in the context of YouTube can be found when comparing the Finnish and English names to a certain type of video

format. As mentioned before, the name for the type of video where a vlogger records their daily life is in the English-speaking world often referred to as a daily vlog or titled '(a) day in my life': however, the usual name for the similar type of video made by a Finnish vlogger is *my day*: an English term which has not been, at least not as firmly, established among the English-speaking vloggers. Thus, not only has the Finnish YouTube community decided not to embrace the original English term for this type of video, but has also established a novel English expression as the name of the video genre instead of, for instance, creating an equivalent Finnish term for the genre. What makes this phenomenon even more fascinating is the fact that these types of English names are used for videos in which the person or people do not speak English, but Finnish. This means that the novel English term for the genre cannot be explained by, for instance, a desire to gain international audiences, since those viewers would not be able to understand videos spoken entirely in Finnish.

Furthermore, as can be perceived from Figure 1., style and looks comprised a significant part of all the code-switched nouns used by the informants, as more than every sixth noun was somehow related to the aforementioned theme. As can be viewed from Table 3., many of these nouns were related to make-up, including the words *concealer* and *contour*, whose use could indicate not only the personal interests of the vloggers, but also of their intent to illustrate their expertise on said topic to their viewers (see also Leppänen and Nikula 2007).

Additionally, what strikes as a very interesting observation is the fact that many, if not most, of the switched nouns used by the informants were not items or concepts related to everyday life, per se. However, this can be seen as very logical since the words for everyday items were most likely produced in Finnish. The code-switches that were related to everyday life, such as eating and drinking, consisted, for instance, of repeated instances of *decaf-kahvi* (decaf coffee) and *detox-tee* (detox tea): the former being a beverage whose consumption is among the highest in the United States and which, thereby, is an item present in American popular culture and the latter being a type of product endorsed by English-speaking influencers on social media (Lisboa et al. 2019: 215; Carrotte et al. 2015: 1–3, 12).

5.3 Adjectives

As mentioned, adjectives were the second most commonly switched words, composing a little over 20% of the corpus. Out of the total of 63 instances, 38 were produced by informant A, whereas the remaining 25 instances were produced by informant B. The most frequently used adjective was *fine*, which was used, by both informants, a total of 11 times, and thus composed over one-sixth of all code-switched adjectives. Other frequently used adjectives include *legit*, used a total of six times, as well as *fucking* and *fresh*, which were both produced five times each. As was the case with nouns, each of the aforementioned three words were produced by either of the vloggers, not both of them. An instance of a code-switched adjective can be perceived in the following example (15).

- (15) **mä oon puhunu muuttamisest varmaan about vuoden ajan himassa ja nytku
tää tapahtu tälle (.) tää on tosi fresh koska tää tuli tosi yllättäen**
I've probably talked about moving for about a year at home and now that it
happened like this (.) it is so fresh because it came as a surprise

Example (15) depicts a moment in which informant B is talking about the way they have, temporarily, moved to an apartment after having dreamt about it for a while. They then proceed to express that the sudden, and surprising, move felt very “fresh”. In this context, the word *fresh* is used in a slang form to denote the meaning of the word “cool” (Ayto and Simpson 2008).

Furthermore, in addition to the word *fresh*, several other adjectives used frequently by the vloggers could also be linked to slang use. Examples of these words include *done*, as well as the aforementioned *legit*. The word *done*, whose dictionary definition, “arrived at or brought to an end”, could be argued also to stand even in the slang use of the word, since, in the context that it was used in the data, the word was used to convey a type of mental state in which a person is at the end of their capacity in regards to a specific matter (Merriam-Webster 2022). Additionally, the word *legit*, short for *legitimate*, was discovered in the data in the shorter, slang form of the word (Dalzell 2018: 483). Hence, the use of slang words and expressions could indicate that the English the vloggers are exposed to is likely to be mostly colloquial and would therefore also

include slang expressions. Additionally, the use of slang words and of very colloquial language, overall, underlines the notion of vlogs as a very informal and colloquial genre of media (Frobenius 2011: 815–816).

There was no statistically significant difference between the way the vloggers used adjectives ($\chi^2=1.533$, $p=0.215$, $df=1$).

5.4 Adverbs

Adverbs composed a small percentage of the corpus with a little over 4% of the data and a total of 15 instances. The data included five instances of the word *about*, used in a way that gave it the meaning of the word *roughly*, three switches of the word *anyway*, and two instances of the word *basically*. The five remaining adverbs were only used once. The following example (16) illustrates the use of a code-switched adverb by informant A.

- (16) **jossain päin koulujaki suljetaa (0.2) ei kai Suomes (0.2) anyway**
 they're even closing schools in some places (0.2) not in Finland though I think (0.2)
 anyway

This example, derived from a video published in March 2020, shortly after the first coronavirus 'lockdown' had begun in Finland, illustrates informant A discussing about the current situation of the pandemic. After having listed what types of events and public services had by that point been cancelled or closed down due to the pandemic, they finally state that even schools are being closed in some places, referring to other countries, after which they wonder whether similar measures were taking place in Finland at that moment.

Since the vlogger uses the word *anyway* to denote that they are moving on from that specific subject, the listing of services and events that have been cancelled due to the global pandemic, it could be stated that in this example code-switching functions as a type of signal that indicates a shift in topic. Furthermore, it could be argued that the case portrays the vlogger's own language preferences: all the instances of the word *anyway* were produced by informant A, whereas all

cases of the word *basically* were uttered by informant B. Hence, it could be argued that the informants' use of adverbs were strongly linked to their personal preferences.

There was no statistically significant difference in the vlogger's use of adverbs ($\chi^2=0.042$, $p=0.839$, $df=1$).

5.5 Interjections

Interjections were one of the least switched word classes with 11 instances, comprising some 3.52% of the entire data. Examples of interjections found in the data include the words *hello*, *no*, and *thanks*. Before the line presented in (17), A was explaining their desire to buy a specific type of ceiling light for their living room but was still hesitating because of technological issues and the probable high price of the lamp.

- (17) **mut sit mä sain myös tietää et se kauppa ei ees shippaa Suomeen niin tota (0.2) bye:**
but then I also found out that the shop does not even ship to Finland so um (0.2)
bye:

Interestingly, the word was not used in its conventional context, as described in Leech et al. (1982: 53): a signaling word, a greeting, but instead was used to implicate A's decision not to buy the lamp and, in a way, used as a way of 'saying goodbye' to the idea of buying that specific lamp. Therefore, this instance could be perceived as an indication of informant A's very creative use of language and code-switching. What also strikes as an interesting detail is the fact that informant A combines the English verb *ship* with a Finnish verb suffix to form the word *shippaa*. The verb, like any other similar verbs produced by the vloggers, could not be included to the present study due to them being inflected according to Finnish morphological rules and were therefore not instances of code-switching. However, this instance illustrates the multiple ways the informants made use of English words in their speech and utilized them in their personal vocabularies.

There was no statistically significant difference in the vloggers' use of interjections ($\chi^2=0.03$, $p=0.862$, $df=1$).

5.6 Conjunctions

Another word class with few occurrences were conjunctions with only one instance found in the entire data. The word discovered in the corpus was *slash*: since this word had the meaning of the word "or", or indicating that the item the informant was referring to could be used for two purposes, in this particular context, it was categorized as a conjunction. The original context where the switching of the word *slash* occurred is illustrated in the following example (18).

(18) **tämä on tällainen siivous slash remppalaatikko**
 this is a sort of cleaning slash renovation box

Example (18) presents a situation in which informant A introduces their new home to their followers after having recently moved into a new apartment. While uttering the sentence in question, the informant is giving their viewers a tour of their foyer and opens the door of what looks like a utility closet which they then describe as a "cleaning slash renovation box", denoting that the closet functions as a storage space for both cleaning supplies as well as tools.

The example above could be perceived as another instance of very informal language use, since the word *slash* to be used to denote *and/or* is seen as somewhat informal language use. However, in this particular instance, the use of the word *slash* seems very logical, since, if the corresponding Finnish word is not ruled in, it is arguably the most effortless way to convey the meaning of the construction *and/or* in spoken language.

There was no statistically significant difference in the vloggers' use of conjunctions ($\chi^2=0.002$, $p=0.959$, $df= 1$).

5.7 Numerals

Numerals comprised less than a half percent of the entire corpus with one instance, which was the word *double* produced by informant B. The code-switched word is illustrated in its original context in the following example (19).

- (19) **jes molemmat double: (0.5) ((bleep sound)) lyönti en tiiä**
 yes both double: (0.5) ((bleep sound)) punch I don't know

As can be seen in example (19), the word *double* was used in a context in which informant B was playing a video game, during which they seem to be glad to have been able to perform some type of a punch in it. The explanation added within the double parentheses, the bleep sound added to the video, suggests that informant B was cursing in the moment to which the sound has been added to in order to, presumably, to serve a similar function as bleep sounds do in, for instance, TV series: to signal a word or words that have been censored. The code-switched word was, however, pronounced stretched and hesitantly, and the informant seemed to be quite unsure when producing the word. After this, they look visibly frustrated, and after a pause and the censored part, they continue by finishing the sentence by saying "I don't know", presumably expressing their frustration by conveying indifference towards the moment of hesitation.

An interesting observation about the language use of informant B is the fact that the word or words censored in this particular example are likely to be Finnish, since they do not seem to have censored the, several, English expletives that they have used in the videos. The motive for censoring the Finnish expletives but not the English ones cannot be said for certain, but since, apparently, a relatively significant part of the vlogger's following base consists of young children, the reason for censoring the Finnish expletives could be the fact that they are perceived as particularly inappropriate language, at least compared to their English counterparts.

There was no statistically significant difference in the vloggers' use of numerals ($\chi^2=0.003$, $p=0.959$, $df= 1$).

5.8 Pronouns

A single instance of pronouns was found in the corpus, it being the word *what*. The word is presented in its original context in (20).

(20) **mä olin sillee (1.5) what**
I was like (1.5) what

Prior to producing this sentence, informant B had to guess which Christmas-related word their fellow vlogger was miming. The miming is part of a challenge which is the theme of the whole video. Although the first part of the sentence in question is in Finnish, it could be perceived to have an English origin, as well. As can be seen from the English translation of the full sentence, which would roughly translate to “I was like, what?”, one is likely to notice the familiarity of the sentence from American popular culture. Hence, not only has the informant code-switched a part of the sentence in English, they also seem to have taken inspiration for the sentence from the language. Therefore, the motive for the code-switching could arguably have derived from the English ‘origin’ of the sentence.

There was no statistically significant difference in the vloggers’ use of pronouns ($\chi^2=0.003$, $p=0.959$, $df=1$).

5.9 Phrases and clauses

As stated in the beginning of section 5, phrases, or “linguistic unit[s] at a level between the word and the clause”, and clauses, or “[a] unit of grammar which typically involves a subject–predicate [...] relationship, [and] which operates at a level lower than a sentence, but higher than a phrase” with 155 instances total, compose almost half of the entire corpus (Aarts et al. 2014). In the present study, the combinations of two or more subsequent words that could not be perceived as compound words or sentences are being treated as phrases and clauses.

The phrases used by the informants can be categorized according to, for instance, their semantic categories, such as interior design. However, many of the phrases used by the vloggers can also be categorized based on the conjectural functions they served in the speech. Since the underlying motives for most of the instances of code-switched phrases discovered in the data could not be uncovered, examples will be given of instances where the functions or motives of the code-switching could be determined.

As shown in (21), some phrases were used to, for instance, create humorous effect:

- (21) **se oli semmonen niinku Homer Simpson of the trees et sillä oli niinku ehkä
kaks sellasta kituvaa lehteä siellä päässä**
it was kind of like Homer Simpson of the trees it had maybe like two ailing leaves on
the top

In this extract, informant A is describing their houseplant, which they compare to Homer Simpson because both Homer Simpson and the houseplant have few things on top of their 'heads': for Homer Simpson, it is hair, and for the houseplant, it is leaves. This type of code-switching is another example of informant A's creative use of language but also a possible indication that because the character they are referring to is an English-speaking one, their name is American, and the cultural context from which the borrowing is made is American pop culture, these facts might have had an impact on the entire phrase, and it being switched to English.

However, one of the types of clauses, used especially by informant B, were clauses that functioned as reactions to various types of situations and which often included profanities. Thus, the data included phrases such as *oh my god*, *god damn*, and *what the fuck*. An example of a phrase like this, produced by informant B, can be perceived in example (22).

- (22) **mul ei oo ees musiikkia ja mä teen tollee what the fuck ma:n**
I don't even have music on and I'm doing that what the fuck ma:n

In the above example, informant B has edited an audio track over a video of themselves in which they explain their hair care routine step by step. In this particular instance, informant B is commenting on a moment in the video in which they are dancing in the shower, wondering out loud why they are dancing since they do not even have any music on.

A detail which draws one's attention in the above sentence is the use of the word "man" since informant B does not identify as one. This choice could be explained by the phenomenon that is present especially in colloquial language: masculine words such as *guy* and *dude* are being used to refer to all people, not only to men (Clancy 1999: 282–287; Kiesling 2004: 281).

There was no statistically significant difference between the two vloggers' use of phrases and clauses ($\chi^2=3.117$, $p=0.077$, $df= 1$). However, if the vloggers' use of both phrases and sentences were combined, that is, all instances of code-switching that were not single-word switches, there was a highly significant statistical difference between them ($\chi^2=7.372$, $p=0.006$, $df= 1$).

5.10 Sentences

In addition to the switching of single words and phrases/clauses, the vloggers also code-switched sentences, which compose slightly over 10% of the entire corpus. One of the examples of the ways the vloggers used English sentences was informant A's use of English in a gaming situation to position themselves as the game character they were playing as while playing the Sims 4 PC game. An example of a code-switched sentence can be perceived in example (23).

- (23) **täs tulee mun uus LIBERTY LEE Miss Melon Head noniin (0.2) you gonna be my new best friend**
 here comes my new LIBERTY LEE Miss Melon Head alright (0.2) you gonna be my new best friend

The above example (23) illustrates a situation in which informant A is playing as a Sim they have created, when a group of the Sim's neighbors come for an unannounced visit. Due to the different modifications the informant has downloaded to the game, which can, for instance, give

the Sims unconventional physical features, one of the neighbors has a notably large, oval head. The Sim catches informant A's attention who clearly finds this unique-looking character amusing and decides to befriend them. They then inform their viewers that the name of the Sim is Liberty Lee, and gives them a descriptive nickname: Miss Melon Head. After this, informant A declares that the character will be their "new best friend".

As tentatively illustrated in chapter 2.2, informant A talks in first person in this situation, which gives the impression that it is the vlogger themselves who is going to be Liberty Lee's best friend, not the character the informant is playing as. Thus, informant A's code-switching could be perceived as an example of a situation in which they are taking the role of the character they are playing as, and simultaneously positioning themselves as part of events of the game (see also Piirainen-Marsh 2008).

Furthermore, sentences were also used to as a means of audience inclusion in the videos. An example of using code-switching for audience inclusion is illustrated in example (24).

- (24) **no ihan ekana jos mä aion pestä mun hiukset mä meen suihkuun joten tota**
 (1) let's get naked (.) läpäl te ette tuu näkee mitää muuta ku mun olkapäät
 so at first if I'm about to wash my hair I'm going to take a shower so er (1) let's get
 naked (.) just kidding you won't see anything except for my shoulders

Example (24) has been derived from a video in which informant B explains their hair care routine to their viewers. The above extract is from the beginning of the video, meaning that the informant is only about to start the routine and does that by taking a shower, which they also inform to their viewers. They then continue by saying "let's get naked", after which they say that they were only joking and state that "you", meaning the viewers, will not see "anything" except for their shoulders.

An interesting detail in the English sentence produced by the vlogger is the use of the contraction *let's*, a shortened form of the words *let us*. Although informant B uses first person in the former, Finnish, sentence, stating that they will take a shower, alone, they decide not to

continue the use of first person in the English sentence. Instead, they choose to use the plural form supposedly to not only refer to themselves, but also to their viewers. Using the contraction *let's* and then "inviting" their viewers to take part in an action, in this case getting undressed, could be perceived as an act of inclusion to create a sense of participation in their viewers (see also Pihlaja 2018: 259). Additionally, in the following sentence, in which they convey that they are merely joking and that the audience will not see them naked, they are denoting the limits of their privacy in a genre that can sometimes get very personal and intimate. Furthermore, not only does informant B use English as a means of audience inclusion to maintain the sense of connection between them and their viewers but they are also simultaneously constructing the structure of the vlog by telling their viewers "what is happening and giving context for what has just been shown and what will come" (Pihlaja 2018: 264, 260).

There was no statistically significant difference between the two vloggers' use of sentences ($\chi^2=1.96$, $p=0.162$, $df= 1$).

6. Discussion

The goal of this study was to investigate the types of Finnish-English code-switching that occur in the videos of Finnish vloggers, the possible reoccurring themes in their code-switching, as well as the possible statistically significant differences between the vloggers' switching. As presented in the results, the most code-switched word classes for the two vloggers studied in this thesis were nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. The switched nouns referred to, for instance, YouTube and its different phenomena, style and looks, and internet phenomena, whereas some of the English adjectives used by the informants could be linked to, for instance, slang usage. In addition to single-word switches of different word classes, the vloggers also code-switched phrases, clauses, and sentences which together comprised nearly half of the entire data. The vloggers utilized phrases to, for instance, create humorous effects or to express their reactions to various situations and phenomena. Furthermore, the sentences used by the informants could be perceived to serve several functions, such as positioning oneself as a gaming character as well as a means of audience inclusion. The word classes with the least instances in the data were conjunctions, numerals, and pronouns, whereas no single-word instances of verbs, prepositions or determiners were found in the videos. The data also portrayed the way the vloggers used both language in general and code-switching very creatively.

Furthermore, the data illustrated some statistical differences in the vloggers' uses of code-switching. The results illustrated there to be no statistically significant differences in any other word classes except for nouns, in which there was a highly significant statistical difference between the vloggers. Moreover, there was no statistically significant difference in the two vloggers' use of phrases and clauses or sentences. However, if all instances of code-switching that were not single-word switches – that is phrases, clauses, and sentences – were compared between the two vloggers, there was a highly significant statistical difference. Furthermore, when comparing the overall code-switching profiles of the vloggers, it was discovered that there was no statistically significant difference between them. However, when all code-switched words in the data were compared to the total word count of the vloggers, a highly significant statistical difference was discovered between the informants, also denoting that out of the two vloggers, informant B is the one who uses code-switching more frequently. Since the results cannot be

generalized due to the small number of informants and data, it cannot be said for certain that the vloggers' age would have an impact on the results, since, as mentioned above in the thesis, informant B is approximately 10 years younger than informant A. Nevertheless, the fact that there were some highly significant statistical differences between the vloggers could be seen to have some scientific value.

The results of the present thesis are somewhat in line with some of the former studies conducted on code-switching. One of the details discovered in the data that distinguishes the present study from some of the prior studies is the relatively small margin between the most commonly switched single words, nouns, and the second most commonly switched words, adjectives: the dominance of nouns was far more notable in other studies compared to the results of this thesis. Additionally, nouns were not the most switched single words for both of the vloggers, since the word class with most switched instances for informant B was adjectives. The high percentage of adjectives stands out in the present study when comparing it to, for instance, the studies by Tuc (2003: 46) and Berk-Seligson (1986: 325): despite the different languages researched in these two studies, the percentage of code-switched adjectives in both studies was around 3–4 percent, whereas in the present thesis, adjectives comprised over 20 percent of the entire data.

Furthermore, as opposed to the aforementioned studies, phrases/clauses were the most switched linguistic form in the present study, consisting some 40% of the data of the study, whereas in the aforementioned studies, it was nouns, consisting some 50% and 40% of the data of the studies, respectively. Since the study by Tuc (2003) studied Vietnamese-English code-switching and the one by Berk-Seligson (1986) investigated code-switching between Spanish and Hebrew, it could be argued that the differences between the results of these studies and the present study could be caused by linguistic differences between the languages in question. Therefore, possible future studies of the present topic, also conducted on Finnish-English code-switching, would shed light on this matter, as well.

Additionally, as the studies mentioned earlier in this work, the results of the present thesis also discovered varying degrees of code-switching: in the data for this thesis, it varies from single

words to sentences. It could also be argued that, as in the study by Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 368), the results of this thesis also illustrated the use of code-switching as a way to express one's membership to a specific group, which, in the case of vloggers, could be considered to be the vlogging and/or the YouTube community. Furthermore, also similar to the aforementioned study (ibid), the use of some of the nouns discovered from the data in the present thesis could be perceived as the vloggers' way to convey their expertise towards the subjects they discussed while code-switching, such as style and make-up. However, what makes the comparison of this study to former studies difficult is that many of the prior studies that have been conducted on code-switching have studied different types of interactions between multiple people, whereas this thesis focused on the language produced by vloggers, who mostly speak in monologue.

The results tell not only about how English language is slowly yet surely becoming an important second language that, especially young, Finns use alongside Finnish, but also about the diversity and creativity through which English is being adopted to Finns' colloquial speech alongside the Finnish language. Furthermore, the results shed light on the current state of Finnish-English code-switching in the context of YouTube and vlogging as well as, for instance, the importance of personal preferences when it comes to the different ways individuals use code-switching.

The limitations of the study are mostly linked to the small number of research subjects and a relatively small data, which is why one cannot make generalized conclusions based on the results of the study. Thus, the instances of code-switching that were found in the data were highly depended on the videos that came to be selected as part of the present study. Another issue in the present thesis is the fact that the data consists, in practice, entirely of situations where the vloggers speak mainly to directly create content for their YouTube videos, which raises the question of how informal or formal this type of speech or text is, or how spontaneous or natural it can be perceived as, since some vloggers, at least partly, script their videos beforehand and often do at least some planning before starting to record a video.

According to Gardner-Chloros (1991), if the informants of a study know that they are being recorded, their speech behavior could be different compared to their normal everyday conversations. Although the aforementioned statement was, most likely, referring to face-to-face

conversations, it could still be argued to be applicable to all studies which include the recording of informants. However, in the case of the present study, the informants are so used to recording, and are definitely aware of it, that it is very likely that it does not affect their speech in a way it would affect some other people who are not used to being in front of a camera. Also, considering that the vloggers cannot have known beforehand that their use of code-switching would be investigated, it is possible that their use of code-switching might be somewhat even more natural than in the studies where the research subjects have known that their use of code-switching is investigated. Therefore, the informants in this study are thus very unique: they know that they are being recorded but they do not know that they are being studied.

Furthermore, the research on this topic has demonstrated the way different platforms and their popularity may fluctuate with the introduction of new platforms that challenge their position. When the writing of this thesis began in the autumn of 2019, the topic of the present thesis seemed current and relevant, and by no means outdated: in fact, it seemed that the studies on vlogging and YouTubers had only just begun. However, as mentioned earlier in the thesis, the rise of different social media sites seems to have slightly undermined the position of YouTube as a platform for influencers and therefore the status of vloggers and YouTubers.

To conclude, this master's thesis studies the use of Finnish-English code-switching by Finnish vloggers, with the data having been collected from their YouTube videos. The first research question of the present thesis examined the distribution of the code-switches of the vloggers according to linguistic form. It was discovered that the code-switches of the two vloggers divided between different word classes, phrases/clauses, and sentences and revealed that the most commonly switched word classes were nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Furthermore, the word classes with least switched instances were conjunctions, numerals, and pronouns, while no single-word cases of verbs, prepositions or determiners were found in the videos. The second research question of this thesis, then, studied the possible presence of recurring themes in the vloggers' use of code-switching. The study discovered there to be some repeating themes in the data: in the use of nouns, topics such as YouTube phenomena, style and looks, and internet phenomena were discovered multiple times. In the vloggers' use of adjectives, however, the use of slang words occurred regularly. Finally, the third and the last research question investigated

the possible statistical differences in the ways the vloggers used code-switching. Statistically significant differences were discovered between the vloggers in their use of nouns, in instances of code-switching which consisted of at least two words, and when the word counts of the vloggers' code-switching were compared to their total word counts.

Finally, the possible future studies on the subject would benefit from a larger corpus as well as more research subjects which together would ensure the applicability as well as the generalization of the results. The forthcoming studies conducted on this same topic could also make use of similar studies, executed, for instance, in other countries, to which the results could then be compared to.

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