

Greg Watson

**Sveitsi's ja Tenoris:  
Code-Switching and Borrowing in the English of  
First Generation, Non-Fluent Bilingual Finnish-  
Australians<sup>1</sup>**

**1. Introduction**

This article has two aims. Firstly, to apply and critique Lauttamus' (1990) communication strategy model for bilingual contact situations, and secondly, through the use of this model, to analyse certain aspects of the spoken English of first generation, non-fluent, bilingual Finnish Australians. I shall first present the model in question and its underlying theory before then presenting the methodology and results. I then offer a discussion based on those results. In general, they tend to support Lauttamus' claim that there is a continuum between code-changes and borrowing in the speech of non-fluent bilinguals.

**2. Theoretical background**

Ni Shúilleabháin (1986) succinctly touches upon the dilemma faced by scholars interested in contact linguistics:

Bilinguals can conduct three kinds of linguistic activity: they can select one of their two languages, they can switch from one

---

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Professors Pekka Hirvonen, (University of Joensuu, Finland) and Timo Lauttamus (University of Oulu, Finland) and two anonymous reviewers for their invaluable advice regarding earlier drafts of this article.

language to another, or they can mix their two languages. In the first two of these situations, one grammar and one grammar only operates at a time. The problem is what happens in the third situation (Ni Shuilleabháin 1986: 153).

I shall show, in the discussion section, that this third option, the mixing of two or more grammars, raises some challenging psycholinguistic quandaries. Yet, there is very little agreement even on the second category, switching: a field of enquiry that has undergone a great deal of renewed attention recently (cf. Auer 1998). How does one recognise a switch, define a switch and account for such switching? Certain scholars, (Bentahila and Davies 1983; Joshi 1985; Myers-Scotton 1993b; and Muysken 1995; Poplack 1980, and Poplack *et al* 1987;) approach this phenomena from a structural point of view, usually addressing the switching from a syntactic approach within the framework of a particular grammatical theory. Others (Gardner-Chloros 1991; Heller 1995; Myers-Scotton 1993a; and Poplack 1988) examine switching from a sociolinguistic perspective. Yet others are concerned with the interface between these two approaches by investigating notions of identity and power negotiation in bilingual conversations (cf. Jørgensen 1998; Rampton 1988; Sebba and Wootton 1998; and Stroud 1998).

This article will apply Lauttamus' (1990) *holistic* approach to the phenomena of code-changes and borrowing. His model suggests that code-switching and borrowing should only be described from a holistic framework which incorporates structural, psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic functional factors. I believe it is valid to approach contact situations from such a holistic viewpoint because to only study language contact from a singular approach may result in a limited analysis. Although I present the model in full, owing to restrictions of time and space, this article will concentrate on the structural aspects of this model. Future work will explore Lauttamus' (1990; 1991) thoughts, and those of others, on communication strategies, that is, it will offer potential

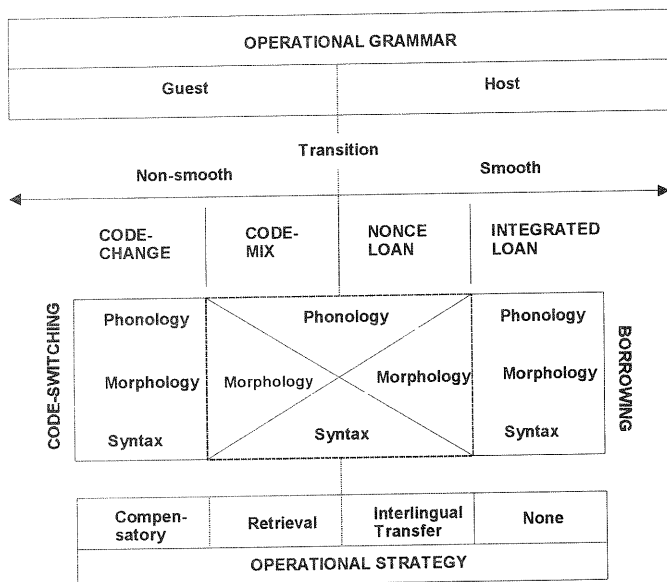
interpretations for the functional and communicative logic which may underlie the structural realisations presented here.

### 3. Methodology

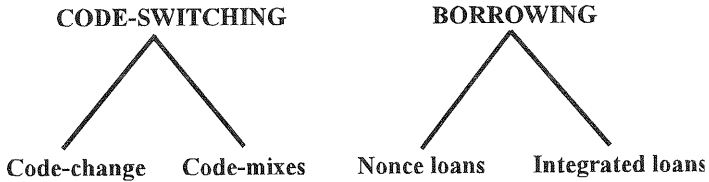
#### 3.1 The model

Figures 1 and 2 display Lauttamus' model. His primary underlying premise is that code-switching and borrowing should be regarded as points on a gradient, running from code-changes to fully integrated loans, and that they should not be regarded as independent processes. Code-changes (non-smooth transitions) represent examples of code-switching at one end of the continuum and borrowing, at the other end of the spectrum, is represented by fully integrated loans. Some scholars may balk at the idea that code-switching is positioned at the non-smooth end of the continuum because the speech of bilinguals code-switching can be regarded as very smooth. This may be so in a situation when a bilingual is speaking to another fellow bilingual, but it is rarely the case in a non-native speaker (NNS) - native speaker (NS) contact situation, particularly where the NS has no or very little knowledge of the NNS's language, and, or, vice versa. Any use of switching in this environment equals communicative interference, hence a non-smooth interaction. The operational grammar of a code-change would be the *guest* grammar. That is, in the case of the spoken Australian English of my Finnish Australian informants, Finnish, and the operational grammar for an instance of borrowing would be the *host* grammar, which would be Australian English. This article is predominantly concerned with the English spoken by Finnish Australians, that is, it is a study of contact between a *source language* (SL) (Finnish) and a *recipient language* (RL) (Australian English). Hence, from this point on I shall use this terminology, first introduced by Van Coetsem (1988), when referring to this contact situation:

*Guest language* Source language (SL) (Finnish)  
*Host language* Recipient language (RL) (English)



**Figure 1.** Lauttamus's (1990) model for the description of code-switching and borrowing in an interlanguage framework.



**Figure 2.** Representation of Lauttamus' (1990) underlying premise: a code-switching/borrowing continuum.

The following offers working definitions for the terminology at hand. One should be able to clearly distinguish between instances of code-change, code-mix, nonce loans and integrated loans to fully appreciate this model.

### CODE-CHANGES

Unambiguous code-changes are “multi-word fragments which are lexically, syntactically and morphologically” (Poplack *et al* 1987:38) source language material in the recipient language. It is characteristic of code-changes that the SL (Finnish) grammar and lexicon are operational on the switched items (cf. Pietilä 1989: 194-197; Lauttamus 1990: 6-9; 32-36). (Lauttamus 1998). Extracts (1) and (2) exemplify instances of code-changes.

From a functional perspective code changes are used as “unambiguous communication strategies” (Lauttamus 1990: 39). They are “overt code-switches, viz. appeals for assistance.” (Lauttamus 1990: 39) and the immediate surrounding discourse often shows appeals for assistance.

- (1) But most of the Australians they did what I said, they did, they don't care, Australians they don't care, somebody say the work, they do the work and they don't care, but Italians, they all, they do their own way. They think, Au..., Australians they stupid, **pahastiha sitä sanottiin mutta nii** they not, they not, they nice, but they more uh free [thinking] than what's, what's are the, many [others]. You know, the easy going. (FAEC 1A3)<sup>2</sup>
- (2) And then I, I work on the summer time but winter time wasn't that much work on uh, had to do the something and < > on Finland, **Keikyä, nii, me ollan käsityön tekijöitä, mentiin, joka, joka talossa tehdään käsitöitä.** (FAEC 1A3)

## CODE MIXES

The operational grammar, particularly the morphology, of a code mix is the SL grammar. The “majority of code-mixes are single-word items” (Lauttamus 1990:39). The SL word is not typically grammatically fully integrated into the RL and usually (if not a discourse particle) the transition is non-smooth. That is, it has not been smoothly incorporated into the surrounding discourse. The morphology is SL. Most SL discourse markers and slips of the tongue are recognised as mixes.

- (3) But uh, + yeah, dinner + and uh, most of the time it's really Finnish style + meal + uh, anything, most of Finnish style and most of uh, **Karjalan** style ((LAUGHS)). (FAEC 1A4)
- (4) And we eat it when it's hot and uh, we can eat it in [cold] too, but sometime we + heat it ..., it in oven, then **voi** eat later. (FAEC 1A3)

---

<sup>2</sup> Unless stated otherwise, all extracts are taken from the Finnish Australian English Corpus (FAEC). For example, FAEC 1A3 = first generation informant (1A) number three (3) from the FAEC. See appendix 1 for explanation of the transcription symbols. Refer to Watson (1996) for further details on the FAEC.

## NONCE LOANS

The operational grammar of a nonce loan (see Poplack *et al* 1987: 52) is the morpho-syntactic RL grammar. Nonce loans are “characterised by smooth transitions from English into Finnish and demonstrate a high degree of morphological and syntactic integration into the host language discourse.” (Lauttamus 1990: 43) The phonology, however, can be either SL or RL. Often the nonce loan is an instance of lexical borrowing from the SL, but it is in the form of the common case, or base form, (with respect to English) of the RL operational grammar.

From a functional perspective

The transition is smooth, and no hesitation phenomena can be detected. By and large, items such as these can be analysed as part of the speaker's interlanguage vocabulary, on a halfway point between a code-mix and a fully established loan. From a functional point of view, nonce loans are best characterised in terms of the strategy called interlingual transfer. (Lauttamus 1990: 43-44)

Although some nonce loans cannot be deemed as smoothly integrated, the presence of RL grammar determines it to be a nonce, rather than a mix.

- (5) Well, today, I speak uh, I'd say, 80 **prosent** Finnish, 20 **prosent** English. (FAEC 1A17). ((IF THIS WERE A CODE-MIX THIS SHOULD BE *PROSENTTIA – PARTITIIVI*))
- (6) **fiili**, you know, the Finnish, what the Finnish, what the Finnish people eat, the **fiili**? (FAEC 1A16) ((*FIILI = VIILI*))
- (7) Ja concert what, with was only the last Friday, that's uh, Pavarotti and uh, [Feliciano], you know, those, uh three [famous] **tenoris** concert. (FAEC 1A16)
- (8) Ette working those, uh, now, how you [called] the place? [Embassy], you know. The **Sveitsi's** embassy. (FAEC1A16)

## INTEGRATED LOANS

The operational grammar of an integrated loan is RL. These loans are “fully established, not only morphosyntactically but also phonologically and lexically, in the RL, so that the item in question may also be accepted by the community as a whole.” (Lauttamus 1998:10). See also Poplack *et al* (1987: 52). They are very unlikely to occur in a Finnish (SL) > English (RL) contact situation. They are more likely to occur in a maintenance situation, that is, Finnish (SL) > Finnish (RL), with borrowed items from English.

The following extracts have been taken from Lauttamus (1999), because there are no instances of integrated loans in the FAEC. Note, the RL in these examples is Finnish: (case endings are indicated by bold type, and integrated loans are in italics)

- (10) You know, niinku *ränttiä* [PART], muute' me viistoista *taalaa* [PART] maksamma *kuuränttyä* [PART].  
(You know, like *rent*, by the way we fifteen dollars pay monthly rent.)
- (11) Ja sitte tuo, joka oli *petiruumana* [ESS] tuolla no, sitte ku Rälfi tuli vanhemmaksi me laitimme sille *petiruuman* [ACC], se oli *kitsinä* [ESS] ennen.  
(And then that which was the *bedroom* there, well then when Ralph became older we made him a bedroom, it used to be the *kitchen*.)

### 3.2 Methodological procedure

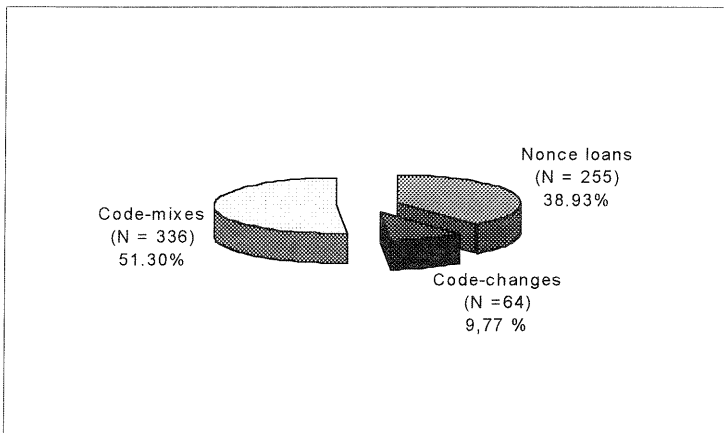
Lauttamus' model was applied to the Finnish Australian English Corpus (FAEC), which contains a total of 120 recorded interviews. Of these there are 60 1As (first generation Finns), 30 1Bs (children of that first generation) and 30 2NDs (second generation Finns born in Australia). All 60 first generation interviews have been fully transcribed and digitised. Both sexes are equally represented in this generational group. Refer to Watson (1996) for a detailed description of the FAEC.



As this article is concerned with the English spoken by first generation Finnish emigrants living in Australia, Lauttamus' model was applied to the 1A interviews only. Each interview consists of approximately 6, 000 words. Hence, the total, approximate size of the corpus being examined here is 360 000 words. A computer search of this corpus isolated all instances of Finnish. Any instances of Finnish that may have been inadvertently initiated or prompted by the interviewer were disregarded. I also disregarded other cases where the speakers referred to proper nouns for which there are no English equivalents. For example, the following refers to a type of Finnish folk dance:

- (12) And quite a few of them haven't been there before so they want to learn little of **Jenkka** and these Finnish dances before we go.  
(FAEC 1A53)

The remaining instances were then sorted according to Lauttamus' classifications. Every sample was cross-checked by a Finnish assistant.



**Figure 3.** Distribution of the occurrences of Finnish-origin material (N=655) in Australian English discourse.

#### 4. Results

Figure 3 shows the results. This data is expressed in raw figures and percentages. Overall, there were 655 instances of Finnish-origin material that could be classified as either code-changes, code-mixes or nonce loans. There were no instances of integrated loans, as was to be expected amongst first generation immigrants.

#### 5. Discussion

This section will discuss and compare the above results in greater detail. The results show that the predominant category of Finnish origin material for my Australian Finnish informants was in the form of code-mixing (51.3%), not code-changing (9.77%). This can be partly accounted for by the fact that my Finnish Australian informants have lived in far less cohesively Finnish communities (refer to Watson 1997) than, for example, their North American counterparts. That is, they have been dispersed more widely amongst the Australian community. They have not been able to successfully switch in this community, unlike their American compatriots, who as first generation immigrants lived in more cohesive Finnish societies. This would be a contributing factor to Finnish-Australians' potential self-monitoring of switching and will have influenced which communication strategies they employ.

The results showed a very high number of nonce loans (38.93%). On average, there were 10.9 cases of Finnish material per informant per interview. This, in conjunction with the high rate of code-mixing (51.3%), tends to suggest that we should agree with Lauttamus' sentiment that:

The informants clearly favour the type of code-switching which is characterised by single-word switches (mixes) rather than more complex ones. This is not unexpected if we consider that these Finnish-dominant non-fluent speakers of English do not have the sufficient bilingual competence required for the skilled code-switching behaviour of a balanced bilingual. (Lauttamus 1990: 37)

If we combine the two categories which fall under the umbrella term of code-switching (code-changes and code-mixes) we notice that 61.07% of the material is switched, that is, the operational grammar is SL. This suggests that these informants are not fluent bilinguals. However, it should be noted that the use of nonce loans does not necessarily mean that the speaker is any more competent than one who uses, for example, less nonces but more mixes.

This issue of nonce loans brings us to Lauttamus' theory of a continuum, the underlying premise being that as one shifts from code-switching to borrowing there can be a gradual shift from code-change to code-mix to nonce loan to fully integrated loans. The individual interlanguage of the speaker generally reflects that person's level of competence in the RL. A speaker who needs, or chooses, to resort to code-changes and mixes when speaking with another speaker unfamiliar with the SL consequently indicates to the listener his/her non-native level of competence in the RL, likewise, with nonce loans. A high usage of nonce loans will also indicate a certain lack of competence in the RL. However, the use of nonce loans is likely to be less obstructive to communication than code-changes and mixes. Yet, this is not so straightforward. For instance, mixes may include particular discourse markers that, although not understood by the listener, may not necessarily prove critical for the message being conveyed. Conversely, certain nonce loans may prove more obstructive. The following extracts help to highlight this point.

- (1) Uh it's the same **lääni**, Oulun lääni but it's just ah next what they call those uh, uh, what is a **pitäjä**. (FAEC 1A21)
- (2) Well, we are going to the [social] club, Finnish **keskiviikko kerho** and uh playing billiard. (FAEC 1A35)
- (3) But then it sta..., start changing next few years when they went to school. Because all their playmate course they speak, speak only English and you could hear that this is my, this is my **nukke** and something like that when they talk to friends, you know and dolly, dolly course is the **nukke**. (FAEC 1A35)

Extracts (1) to (3) are all instances of nonce loans (emboldened). In (1) a listener unfamiliar with Finnish would not be able to determine from the surrounding discourse the meaning of *lääni* (province) or *pitäjä* (county). These are instances of nonce loans because the operational grammar is clearly RL (*the same lääni; a pitäjä*). The same logic applies to (2). The listener unfamiliar with Finnish would not understand *keskiviikko kerho* (Wednesday Club). Note, that in this sentence *to the* can be understood to belong to the proper name attribute (*Finnish keskiviikko kerho*), hence the operational grammar of the sentence is English. Although the switch to this nonce is smooth, the potential for misunderstanding still stands. With (3) the same unfamiliar listener would not understand that *nukke* means doll, though he may be able to perceive this from the explanation offered in the same utterance. These instances help to show how nonce loans may not always be successful communication strategies, even though they may, theoretically, lay closer to the target RL along the continuum.

Extracts (4) to (6) are all instances of code-mixes and examples of Finnish discourse particles. Loosely, *että* means *that*; *ni* means *so*; *no* means *well* and *siis* means *thus*, or *so*. In all of these examples the mixes may distract the listener, but not to any serious extent, not to the same extent as the aforementioned nonces. Finnish *no*<sup>3</sup> is the largest potential distracter due to its false associations<sup>4</sup> with the English negative *no*.

- (4) Um, they start to talk about the [migrant thingk] and they thought so **että** they go to Canada (um) but then at the

---

<sup>3</sup> These particles are occasionally referred to as "recycled turn beginnings", "pre-starts", or "pre-placed appositionals".

<sup>4</sup> Odlin (1989: 78) claims that transfer amongst cognate vocabulary can have pitfalls in the form of *faux amis*. With Finnish *no* we have a case in point, where the English speaking listener is likely to misinterpret the meaning of the Finnish utterance.

moment **ni** Canada did not take no migrants and so they thought so ooh, lets, why don't, let's go to the Australia (yeah) it's nice and warm there, (yeah, yeah) mmm. (FAEC 1A1)

- (5) (What would you have for breakfast?)  
**No**, well, winter time it's porridge, oatmeal porridge. (FAEC 1A7)
- (6) I love to + write in English. **Siis** because I been think these days in English. (FAEC 1A41)

The above extracts (1 to 3) have been used to emphasise the fact that nonce loans may not always be categorically easier for the unfamiliar listener to absorb than mixes. However, these examples act more as exceptions to the rule. On the whole, mixes, with their predominantly SL grammar, are more challenging to the listener than nonce loans. The extracts below help to establish this point. In (7), (8) and (9) we can see that the listener would need to have some knowledge of Finnish to comprehend the utterances. Even with (9) where the speaker is trying to explain the concept of simultaneous interpretation (*you... turn that language*) he does not succeed and resorts to Finnish to try to put his point across. In these mixes, the use of Finnish clearly interferes with communication (for the listener at least), more so than the discourse particles discussed in extracts (4), (5) and (6) do.

- (7) Finnish food mainly, pea soup **hernesoppaa**, uh **kaalilaatikkoa**, **kaalikeittoa**, **lihakeittoa**, all sorts of different uh **sipulipihvia** uh **kalalaatikkoa** uh ++ uh then sometimes bit of, yeah chicken at the time when I left Finland, that wasn't popular, but I do, I do, I [bake] chicken in the [oven] and, or do chicken wings, things like that. (FAEC 1A11)

- (8) Yeah. But that's the main meal. And I usually cook, sometimes soups, but, but these normal, **kaalikääryleet, lihapullat<sup>5</sup>, any Finnish food. Yeah. (FAEC 1A23)**
- (9) **(Oh translator, you mean translator?)**  
**No, no ah +++ like here to..today. If you not talking English you might <turn, how you call it, turn, turn> that language £ tulkki, tööpä.**  
 (Oh you, mean \$ somebody was translating for you.)  
 Yes. (FAEC 1A51)

The fact that there is variance in the ease with which code mixes and nonce loans can be understood by the listener adds credence to the claim that these categories exist along a continuum; that the distinction between these two categories, and for that matter the other categories, is not absolute. If the difference between the two was absolute there may not be such a case for this continuum. The following samples help to establish the blurred distinction that sometimes exists between these categories and consequently support the claim that there is a continuum between code-switching and borrowing.

- (10) (a) (Aha, so tell me about one of the best movies, well tell me about a recent documentary you have seen. What was it talking about?)  
 Ah, like now every, every Saturday **on tämä, on tuo**, what what's this fellow name [running] around in Australia and ah, an ah, he [show fishing]..... (FAEC 1A51)
- (b) (English, please.)  
 Siis minkäläistä lihaa?

---

<sup>5</sup> The operational grammar here can be questioned. If this sentence were in Finnish, we would require the partitive plural instead of the English nominative plural as used in the above sample (kaalikääryleet - kaalikääryleita, lihapullat - lihapullia). The Finnish plural mark has been borrowed, but the operational grammar is English. I would like to thank one of my anonymous readers for this observation.

(Yes.)

**Kanaa.**

(But speak in English.)

Oh, [chicken] and [lamp], pork and ah, veal and ah, what is this < >? (FAEC 1A55)

Samples (10a) and (10b) have been classified as instances of code-changes, rather than mixes. However, these decisions do seem to have been rather arbitrary. For example, in (10a) the string **on tämä, on tuo** does satisfy the definition of code-changes presented in the methodology section, it is a multi-word fragment which is lexically, semantically and morphologically SL material in the RL, yet, these expressions could also be interpreted as Finnish discourse particles denoting hesitation (on tämä = (is) this; on tuo = (is) that), which would be an appropriate interpretation in relation to the surrounding discourse which is non-smooth. So, this sample could also be interpreted as a code-mix. Sample (10b) is also problematic. Quite clearly **Siis minkäläistä lihaa?** (So, what kind of meat?) is a code-change, but what of **Kanaa** (chicken)? Should this be classified as a mix or a code-change? Owing to the lack of contextual surrounding discourse the decision is awkward. In this instance, the fact that I twice needed to prompt the speaker to use English influenced me to categorise this sample as a code-change. In both these samples the distinction between code-change and code-mix is *fuzzy*.

- (11) (a) Not, not really, if he, som..., sometimes **on** around then maybe he watch it, I don't know if he < >. (FAEC 1A6)
- (b) And...To, to run, you know and and then **maila** the uh < > how you call it, I don't know, baseball bat, it's shorter. The ball is smaller. (FAEC 1A11)
- (c) (Where's that?)  
This is on ah, **Karjala**. (FAEC 1A12)
- (d) (Now, to what level did you study in Finland?)  
Just normal uh, I don't know, **kansalaiskoulu**, I don't know what's that in English. (FAEC 1A14)

(e) So I was going to go back to um, and they accepted me in Tampere University so I was going to study English. An uh, I suppose at education, I can't remember, I had another subject, it must have been education, because I already had my first bit of, uh, now I'm getting difficult because I'm not good at translating. um, **kasvatusoppi**, is that, what's that? (FAEC 1A19)

(f) That's very close to the Salo, uh, Turu, Turu, oh, what's its name, **Turun** and **Porin lääni**. (FAEC 1A60)

The above mentioned fuzziness becomes even more apparent with samples (11a-f). All these samples have been classified as code-mixes. However, the distinction, in this case between mixes and nonce loans, is not so apparent. In (11a) the Finnish BE verb (*on* = *is*) is clearly a mix. It cannot really be classified as a nonce because the operational grammar is RL, but it has been so smoothly incorporated into the surrounding discourse that it *suggests* that it could be a nonce. A listener familiar with Finnish may not even notice this code-mix. It would most likely go unmarked within the Finnish Australian community. This seems to be evidence of a continuum. Sample (11b) also presents some questions. **Maila** is the Finnish noun for baseball bat. The surrounding discourse here is typical of appeals for assistance and it is non-smooth, for example the required definite article is missing. On this basis this sample has been categorised as a code-mix. However, this could also be interpreted as a nonce because it fits the fact that there is lexical borrowing from the SL, but this is in the common case or base form of the RL grammar. Sample (11c) is also unclear. Typically the answer should be **Karjalassa** (In Karjala), but here we see RL grammar being used. This suggests that this should be classified as a nonce, but the surrounding discourse is decidedly non-smooth (This is on...) and we see hesitation (ah). For this reason I labelled this a code-mix, but the distinction between a mix and a nonce, in this sample, is decidedly blurred. Samples (11d & e) are representative of the most common dilemma faced when making these classifications. Both use the



nominative case of the word in question, the base form in Finnish. This nominative form could just as equally have been used if the utterance had been entirely in Finnish, or then it would be equally correct to have used the base form with the English equivalent (for example, *kansalaiskoulu* = elementary school; *kasvatusoppi* = pedagogy). As a result, it is difficult to determine whether these samples should be regarded as mixes or nonces. Whether the word in question has been smoothly or non-smoothly incorporated into the surrounding discourse usually determined the classification. However, this is clearly an arbitrary procedure. In sample (11f) the informant uses both RL and SL grammar within the same Finnish utterance. The use of the English conjunction would suggest that this needs to be classified as a nonce, but the use of the Finnish genitive (*Turun* and *Porin* lääni = the province of Turku and Pori) suggests that this is a mix. This, coupled with the non-smooth surrounding discourse influenced my decision to categorise this sample as a code-mix. Even so, this is a clear case of where the two categories overlap each other and consequently support the argument for there being a continuum.

- (12) (a) And it's..., it just goes on and on and uh, and who last got the, [the] cards in their hand, he's **paskahousu**. (FAEC 1A23)
- (b) And...I don't know what the names in English, spades, and hearts, maybe, uh, I don't know what **ruutu** is and what's uh, **risti** is, I don't know them. (FAEC 1A24)
- (c) But if they got similar system in, like say, example Finland. They got a distric uh head **maaherra** and **pomestar**...which is the like uh major ((HE MEANS MAYOR)) in city, and suburbs like we got the councils. I think so is working well. (FAEC 1A31)
- (d) Yeah, big farm, but ++ oh, driving horse and + what I say? Take that then th...summer time that the small work at farm take that women to work, I don't know. At winter time

go to, do you know that **tukki** business? ((LAUGHS))  
(FAEC 1A37)

(e) Not at, we don't, the only < > we belong to a group  
that calls **päiväpiiri**. That's a group that... (FAEC 1A46)

(f) and what I did, I grabbed the thing, on my hand, and I  
start to running and uh, I fell over the **kynnys**, you know  
**kynnys**, uh, in Finland, you know, in bottom of the flo..., uh  
door. (FAEC 1A50)

Samples (12 a-f) again highlight the blurred distinction that sometimes exists between code-mixes and nonces. All of these examples have been classified as nonces. Samples (12 a-e), are all cases where the Finnish word in question is in the nominative case, as they would be if they were located in Finnish discourse, so one can not be sure whether it is a nonce or not. Only because the surrounding discourse is, in these cases, smooth and clearly RL have they been labelled as nonce loans. Sample (12 f) is another case in point. **Kynnys** is *threshold* in English. Interestingly, within the same utterance this word is used twice. In the first instance it is appropriately predetermined by the required definite article, but in the second instance there is no such article. This omission is, however, arguably appropriate for colloquial spoken English (*You know, threshold, .....*), we would not very likely use an article in this construction. Hence, we again see the base form being used, as it would be in Finnish. Clearly the surrounding discourse is RL, so it has been categorised as a nonce loan.

- (13) that the surgical team is waiting and ready, if anything goes wrong they put a , put straight away in to the operation **theateri** and, we, I thi..., I think I was within 5 minutes I was underneath when ah, under the [anaesthetic]..... (FAEC 1A54)

Finally, sample (13) raises certain points for discussion. Firstly, note that the word **theateri** has been spoken here with a combined

phonology, beginning with the English [θ] but concluding with Finnish phonology, and that it is pronounced with Finnish stress. Secondly, note that the equivalent Finnish word **teatteri** (a loan word in itself) is only used in the context of staged theatre. The appropriate Finnish word here is **leikkauspöytä** (operating table), or **leikkaussali** (operating room). So, what does one label this? On the surface it may appear to be a nonce (for it to be a nonce it needs to be a Finnish word being used under RL grammatical conditions), but the Finnish word in question is actually inappropriate should it have been used in Finnish discourse. Is it then an integrated loan? If deemed so, it does not fully meet Lauttamus' criteria, it is not fully established in the RL, at least not phonologically. It is also unusual to be using an English word as an integrated loan when English is the RL. However, there is one possible explanation for this interpretation. If **theateri** is used as a loan word, perhaps even an integrated loan in the Australian Finnish of this discourse community, it would go some way to explaining its presence and the unusual phonology in the Finnish Australian English discourse,<sup>6</sup> that is, perhaps it has been "re-borrowed" back into it the Finnish Australian English spoken by my informants. At the very least, this example helps to highlight the difficulties faced when categorising these samples. This is yet another case where the distinction between the categories under discussion is blurred. In fact, this fuzziness, exemplified in the above 15 samples ((10a-b); (11a-f); (12a-f) & (13)), strongly supports Lauttamus' theory of there being a continuum between switching and borrowing.

## 6. Conclusions

One aim of this article was to critically examine Lauttamus' (1990) communication strategy model for bilingual contact situations.

---

<sup>6</sup> This case is not an isolated incident. It seems that a significant number of my informants regularly use this form of "re-borrowing". This phenomenon is currently under further investigation.

Although it is a holistic model, due to time and space this article has only examined its structural aspects, that is, the underlying premise that there is a continuum between code-switching and borrowing, that they are not discrete items. From a structural perspective, the findings presented here tend to support this claim.

A second aim was to analyse the spoken Finnish-origin material in the English of Australian Finns. Structurally, my Finnish Australian informants clearly differ in their usage of code-changes, code-mixes and nonce loans. They use 61.07% code-switching (51.3% code-changing and 9.77% code-mixing) and 38.93% borrowing (38.93% nonce loans). Based on this, one could tentatively state that their interlanguage may tend to lean more towards the SL. But this is highly tentative. From a holistic perspective there is still much to investigate before this view could be confirmed. For example, discourse phenomena such as filled pauses, repairs, determiners and the fact that the code-switching being employed may not be a singular strategy but can also be functioning as other strategies such as appeals for assistance, restructuring, or reinforcement by repetition.

My informants had a very high usage of code-mixes. On this point, I agree with the sentiment that “the results seem to confirm the view that conflicting typologies, or language distance, as is the case with Finnish and English, tend to result in code-mixing, i.e. non-smooth single word switches in particular, rather than smooth code-switching attested in bilingual communities such a New York Puerto Rican.” (Lauttamus 1990: 47).

This preliminary investigation into the English spoken by first generation, non-fluent, bilingual Australian Finns has highlighted certain language patterns, which now need to be further investigated. For instance, one needs to investigate the potential operational strategies underlying these patterns and approach this speech from a holistic perspective. Another phenomenon that has arisen during the course of this research is that of “re-borrowing”. These areas of interest are the subjects of current research.

## Appendix

### Transcription key

Speaking at the same time	£ \$
½ sec. Pause	+
1 sec. Pause	++
2 sec. Pause	+++
Code-switching	§ #
Borrowed words	% &
Severe phonological interference	[ ]
Transcriber's comments	(( CAPITAL LETTERS))
Unclear text or segment	< >
Misread or missing word/s or segment/s	= \

### References

- Andersson, P. (1993) Finns and Americans in Sweden: Patterns of linguistic incorporation from Swedish. In Extra, G. & L. Verhoeven (eds), *Immigrant Languages in Europe*. Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters. 249-269.
- Appel, R. & P. Muysken (1987) *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Auer, P. (ed.) (1998) *Code-switching in conversation. Language, Interaction and Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Bentahila, A. & E. Davies (1983) The syntax of Arabic-French code-switching. *Lingua* 59, 301-330.
- Butler, C. (1985) *Statistics in Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gardner-Chloros, P. (1991) *Language selection and switching in Strasbourg*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Heller, M. (1995) Codeswitching and the politics of language. In Milroy, L. & P. Muysken (eds) *One speaker - two languages*. Cambridge: CUP. 158-174.
- Joshi, A.K. (1985) Processing of sentences with intrasentential codeswitching. In Dowty, D.R. et al (eds) *Natural Language Parsing*. Cambridge: CUP. 190-205.
- Jørgensen, N. (1998) Bilingual children's acquisition of code-switching for power-wielding. In Auer, P. (ed.) *Code-switching in conversation. Language, Interaction and Identity*. London: Routledge. 237-261.

- Lauttamus, T. (1990) Code-Switching and Borrowing in the English of Finnish Americans in an Interview Setting. *Studies in Languages*. No. 20, University of Joensuu, Faculty of Arts.
- Lauttamus, T. (1991) Borrowing, Code-switching, and Shift in Language Contact: Evidence From Finnish-English Bilingualism. *Studies in Languages* No. 22. University of Joensuu, Faculty of Arts. 23-53.
- Lauttamus, T. (1999) *Fuzzy switch and loan types in the languages of Finnish Americans*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Miller, R.G. Jr. (1981) *Simultaneous Statistical Inference*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Muysken, P. (1995) Code-switching and grammatical theory. In Milroy, L. & P. Muysken (eds) *One speaker - two languages*. Cambridge: CUP. 177-198.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993a) *Social Motivations of Codeswitching*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993b) *Duelling Languages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ní Shúilleabháin, B. (1986) Still at it: Irish/English interaction today. In J. Harris, D. Little & D. Singleton (eds), *Perspectives on the English Language in Ireland: Proceedings of the First Symposium on Hiberno-English*. Dublin: University of Dublin. 149-159.
- Odlin, T. (1989) *Language Transfer*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Pietilä, P. (1989) *The English of Finnish Americans with reference to social and psychological background factors and with special reference to age*. Turku: Turku University.
- Poplack, S. (1980) Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL: Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics* 18, 581-618.
- Poplack, S. (1988) Contrasting patterns of Codeswitching in two communities. In M. Heller (ed.), *Codeswitching*. Berlin: Mouton. 215-244.
- Poplack, S., S. Wheeler & A. Westwood (1987) Distinguishing language contact phenomena: Evidence from Finnish-English bilingualism. In P. Lilius and M. Saari (eds.) *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of Nordic and General Linguistics* pp. 33-56. *The Nordic Languages and Modern Linguistics* 6. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. (Also in *World Englishes* [1989] 8, pp. 390-406).
- Rampton, B. (1998) Language crossing and the redefinition of reality. In Auer, P. (ed.) *Code-switching in conversation. Language, Interaction and Identity*. London: Routledge. 290-320.
- Sebba, M. & T. Wooton (1998) We, they, and identity: Sequential vs. identity-related explanation in code-switching. In Auer, P. (ed.) *Code-switching*

- in conversation. Language, Interaction and Identity*. London: Routledge. 262-289.
- Stroud, C. (1998) Perspectives on cultural variability of discourse and some implications for code-switching. In Auer, P. (ed.) *Code-switching in conversation. Language, Interaction and Identity*. London: Routledge. 321-348.
- Van Coetsem, F. (1988) *Loan phonology and the two transfer types in language contact*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Watson, G. (1996) The Finnish-Australian English Corpus. *ICAME Journal: Computers in English Linguistics* 20, April. 41-70.
- Watson, G. (1997) Finnish emigration to Australia: A bitter-sweet decision. *Siirtolaisuus-Migration*. 1997, no. 3. 3-14.

Contact address:

Greg Watson

Foreign Languages Department

University of Joensuu

P.O. Box 111

80101 Joensuu

Finland

E-mail: [Greg.Watson@joensuu.fi](mailto:Greg.Watson@joensuu.fi)