

"JA MIKÄS PAKANA TOI INNOVAATIO O"

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The role of English in the Finnish countryside,
as seen by three generations

Master's thesis

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English
April 2010

HUMANISTINEN TIEDEKUNTA
KIELTEN LAITOS

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“JA MIKÄS PAKANA TOI INNOVAATIO O” -

The role of English in the Finnish countryside, as seen by three generations

Pro gradu -tutkielma

Englannin kieli

Huhtikuu 2010

106 sivua + 1 liite

Tämän tutkielman tavoitteena on lisätä ymmärrystä englannin kielen vaikutuksesta Suomen maaseudulla asuvien ihmisten elämään. Tutkielma pyrkii havainnollistamaan englannin kieleen kohdistuvia näkemyksiä, mielipiteitä ja asenteita kolmen eri sukupolven kautta, ja samalla tutkimaan, miten englannin kielen kasvava tarve ja näkyminen on huomattu ja otettu vastaan maaseudulla; vai onko asiaan ylipäätään kiinnitetty huomiota.

Englannin kielestä, sen levinneisyydestä ja vaikutuksista muihin kieliin ja kulttuureihin on tehty laajalti tutkimuksia, mutta Suomessa tutkimus on ollut melko rajallista viimeaikoihin asti. Tämän tutkielman innoituksena, ja osana toteutusta, onkin osaksi toiminut Englannin kielen vaihtelun, kontaktien ja muutoksen huippututkimusyksikön (Varieng) ja Tilastokeskuksen yhteistyönä toteutettu kansallinen kyselytutkimus, joka kartoitti suomalaisten kokemuksia, mielipiteitä ja asenteita englannin kielestä.

Tutkielman tutkimusmateriaali kerättiin ryhmä- ja puolistrukturoidulla haastattelulla. Haastateltavina oli kuusi henkilöä, joista vanhinta sukupolvea edusti 90-vuotias pariskunta, keskimmäistä sukupolvea edustivat 57-vuotias nainen ja 58-vuotias mies, ja nuorinta sukupolvea edustivat 27-vuotias nainen ja 28-vuotias mies. Kaikki haastateltavat asuvat ja ovat asuneet maaseudulla suurimman osan elämästään. Tutkielmassa käytettiin kvalitatiivisina tutkimusmetodeina sisältö- ja diskurssianalyysia, joiden avulla haastatteluita tutkittiin kahdesta näkökulmasta: mitä tutkittavat sanoivat ja miten he mielipiteensä ilmaisivat. Tutkimustulokset paljastivat, että tutkittavat olivat huomanneet englannin kielen vahvan aseman niin Suomessa kuin muuallakin maailmassa ja suurimmaksi osaksi tämä nähtiin positiivisena asiana, vaikka pieni huoli suomenkielenkin tulevaisuudesta nousi esiin. Maaseudun ja kaupunkien välillä huomattiin eroja englannin kielen tarpeellisuudessa ja näkyvyydessä. Suurimmat erot sukupolvien välillä kohdistuivat kuitenkin englannin kielen taitoihin ja taitojen puutteesta johtuvaan mahdolliseen marginalisoitumiseen nykypäivän tuoreimmasta kehityksestä ja uutisista.

Asiasanat: English in Finland, globalization, marginalization, countryside, focus group, content analysis and discourse analysis

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1. INTRODUCTION

The use of the English language has grown rapidly around the world during the last few decades. Linguists and especially sociolinguists have been interested in this development, but also people around the world have become interested about the continuing spread of English, and the possible benefits and detriments it might bring along. Therefore, the spread of English has caused some lively debates and discussions about the future of other languages. The attitudes towards the English language could roughly be divided in two: those who believe that English is a killer language spreading around the world destroying minority languages and hence national identities as well, and those who believe that English is a necessary tool for international and global communication.

The English language has gone through dramatical changes since the Old English and it has been shaped by other languages. Nevertheless, it has been successful enough to reach the point it is at the moment. English has quite a powerful role in the world, but what will happen in the future? Will English succeed in holding its position as a world language? English is seen as a language of globalisation, technology and business, and therefore second and foreign language speakers of English are outnumbering those who have it as a first language. Furthermore, it could be said that English is no longer in possession of the speakers of the United Kingdom and the United States.

English has gained ground in Finland, too. English is encountered in many areas of life and it is difficult or even impossible to avoid its influence. Finnish people hear English on TV and radio and they see it on the Internet and advertisements, for example. Furthermore, English has become more popular in different fields and domains within Finnish society. Therefore, it is important to find out about the opinions and views that the Finnish people have about the English language and its current position in Finland, and in the whole world, as well. The present study aims

at getting some answers to questions concerning English in Finland. People who live in different areas of Finland probably encounter English differently, and it might be possible for these people to also have different opinions about English, therefore the study focuses only on people living in the Finnish countryside. The study tries to examine how these people see English and what kind of opinions they have formed about the English language, if any. Furthermore, interest is also in finding out whether English has any importance in the lives of these people, who live in the country, or do they feel indifferent about it.

The reason behind studying this particular group – people living in the countryside - is that it will be interesting to investigate whether these people feel as being marginalized or excluded as a consequence of the rapid development and spread of English. Furthermore, too little attention is paid to what is happening in the rural areas of Finland. Continuing urbanization is changing the population and age structure in the Finnish countryside, and hence the information from rural areas is worth studying, too. Even though, there are only six participants in the present study, they, nevertheless, provide interesting information and insights to the issues concerning English. These six people represent three different generations, thus enabling comparison between these generations and their views. Recently published survey about English in Finland - made by The Centre of Excellence for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English, VARIENG, together with Statistics Finland (2010) - provide interesting information and results concerning how Finnish people encounter English and how do they feel about it. The results reveal that English is considered rather visible, useful and important in Finland, however, some significant differences in opinions occur between different ages and places of residence. (More detailed results of the survey are presented in section 3.4.) The interviews of the present study offer more detailed information about similar issues based on age and place of residence, and therefore also deepen the results obtained from the survey.

Because the English language is, at least in some way, part of many people's lives, it is important to investigate the relationship that different people have with English. The spread and importance of English have been under close inspection in many studies around the world. However, in Finland such studies have been quite limited until recently, and therefore the present study is trying to contribute to this area of research. On the one hand, this study tries to analyze the relationship between globalization and an individual, and what kind of influence does the status of English as a global language have on an individual. On the other hand, the study also tries to examine a bigger picture of English in Finland in relation to the whole world.

After this introductory chapter, the following two parts of the study introduce the English language in the world and in Finland. The history of the English language is introduced briefly, and this is followed by insights into how English has spread around the world becoming a global language, reaching Finland as well. Also the language background of Finland is introduced shortly, and the influence of English in Finland is discussed, followed by previous research and the national survey results. The third part, chapter four, of the study includes the objectives and methodological framework, introducing the participants, the methods for data collection and the methods of analysis: content analysis and discourse analysis. Chapter five presents the findings of the study and it is divided into two parts according to the noticeable age difference between the oldest participants and the other participants. The findings are discussed in chapter six, which is followed by a conclusion, where the results of the whole study are compiled together and suggestions for further research are made.

2. ENGLISH IN THE WORLD

English is a popular language around the world as it has speakers almost all over the globe. However, Chinese speakers are still outnumbering English speakers, but globally thinking, English is the most widely spread language. By no means is English the first language ever to achieve such a wide-reaching and important status. Latin used to have such a status, too. About 2000 years ago Latin was spread around the Mediterranean countries by the Roman Empire and was acquired as the language of speech and written work, as well as the language of administration. Latin continued as the language of administration and church until the Middle Ages and from there on it slowly started to lose its position as it changed and evolved to create other languages, today known as French and Spanish, among other Romanic languages (Encyclopedia Britannica 2009a). For a long time Latin was the lingua franca of Western Europe. The difference between Latin and English is that it has been possible for English to have spread wider than what Latin was able to, because of the modern technology and easier mobility of people, for example. Dewey (2007: 333) points out three aspects why the case of English is deviant from previous international languages: the degree of dispersion of English geographically, the different areas and domains in which English is used, and the extensive variety of speakers from different cultures who use English. In comparison with English, Latin was not as widely spread, and it slowly died because of changes and language contact. English is facing changes as well, and therefore its future is difficult to predict.

2.1. Brief history of English

The history of the English language has been colorful. Through the Old, Middle and Early Modern periods English has evolved and changed. Whereas England is usually seen as the place of origin of English, Mesthrie's

(2006: 382) view of England as “one of the many stopping places” of English is quite apt in the sense that the beginning of English was in the Germanic-speaking regions of continental Europe, and since then it has been spread further due to colonization, trading and immigration and it is now used widely around the world. Mesthrie (2006: 382) does not, however, deny that England has been, and is, the most important stopping place. The term “stopping place” does seem a bit understated when considering the importance of England in the development of English. Place of growth and development would give a more realistic picture of the significance of England in the history of the English language. Moreover, it is England where English took the form we are familiar with today and, therefore, England may well be called as the birthplace of English.

English could be described as a hybrid language as it has changed and evolved through many different language contacts over the centuries (Graddol 2000). As a result of this language contact and the flexibility of English, the English language has reached its current position as a world language. However, a language itself cannot spread around the world, for it is the users of the language who play an important role. According to Crystal (2003), it needs a strong power-base and powerful people for a language to succeed and reach a global status. The reason behind English’s success lies in the history of the country where the language was born. The history of Britain tells a story of powerful people. The English language has been shaped by other languages, such as Latin, Scandinavian languages and Norman French (Graddol 2000). English has borrowed plenty of words from these languages and yet it has not lost its status, but it has grown and spread. One of the most important factors behind the spread of English is the colonial expansion of Britain. The English language was taken from its birthplace to settlements around the world, and hence it became a language of powerful nations, United States being the most influential one (Graddol 2000). In the 19th century the British Empire had stretched its power

so that English was the 'language on which the sun never sets' (Graddol 2000).

Language contact has been an important part of the history and the spread of English. Mesthrie and Leap (2005: 248-249) explain language contact as a subfield of sociolinguistics that is concerned with changes and outcomes in a language of a certain speech community when in contact with another language. Language contact takes place when two different speech communities are in close contact with each other, but do not share the same language. However, according to Mesthrie and Leap (2005:148), language contact is more often initiated by the spread of languages, which have power and prestige, and it takes place through powerful means of invasion and colonization. This is a familiar story for the spread of English, but also for other colonial languages, such as French. McArthur (2003: 54-58) also discusses the relevance of politics, war, economics and opportunity in the spread and dominance of languages. The influence of the United States has been noticeable in the growth and spread of the English language. Phillipson (2003) talks about Americanization to refer to the dominance of the United States as a world economic and political power. Furthermore, Phillipson (1992) argues how the spread of the English language is also spreading the American values and ways of life.

To study the development of English, as well as other linguistic phenomena, sociolinguistic studies are important as they investigate the relationship between language and society and how the language reflects current society and state of affairs. Due to these studies there is a growing concern about the future of many languages. The spread and popularity of English have been acknowledged in many countries and cultures around the world, and this raises the question about the survival of small languages, such as Finnish among many others. According to Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003), there is ongoing discussion about the future of Finnish as English is gaining ground in Finland in certain domains. They continue that it has been acknowledged how English is already displacing Swedish in some areas of

life, for example in Nordic cooperation and communication between large international companies. In Finland English can be seen and heard almost everywhere. Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003) give examples where one can come across English: the mass media, youth culture, science and education, Finnish company names and job advertisements. Therefore, some people are worried about the amount of English in Finland. Also concern about other small languages in the world is growing. However, the opinions concerning the spread, power and prestige of English are controversial. On the one hand, there are people who are 'celebrationists' for the English language and who believe that English should be the triumphant language used all over the world (e.g. Crystal 1997). They believe that one common language for everybody would make global understanding possible and this could lead to a more peaceful and conflict free world. 'Alarmists', on the other hand, see English as a 'killer language' (e.g. Phillipson 1992). They think that the English language is destroying other languages and, therefore, whole cultures as well.

It is easy to see how the English language has spread over the world through language contact getting the reputation of a 'killer language', but what is often forgotten is that English, too, is subject to change. English is changing all the time and its rapid development as a world language has caused new varieties and forms to be born. When we talk or write about 'The English language', it is not clear what exactly is meant by it. 'The English language' as a term with the definite article seems quite controversial when thinking about the current situation of English around the world. The definite article in front of the word English suggests that there is only one form of English in the world. For the majority of people 'the English language' probably means British or American English. These two are already different varieties of English. Furthermore, there is Australian English, Indian English, African English, European English and all the different mixtures of English and some other languages that form varieties called pidgins and creoles. McArthur (2003: 55-56) uses the term 'English

language complex', henceforth ELC, to describe the many different varieties and forms of English in the world, because, in his view, plain English is not enough. The idea of ELC is useful as 'the English language' must be perceived and understood more broadly now than ever before. Adopting the idea of ELC, Mesthrie (2006: 382-383) lists 12 different varieties of English: metropolitan standard varieties (e.g. London, New York), colonial standard varieties (e.g. Australia, South Africa), regional L1 dialects (e.g. Southern US English), social L1 dialects (e.g. Cockney in England), pidgin Englishes (e.g. in West Africa), creole Englishes (e.g. in Jamaica), ESL (English as a second language in e.g. Nigeria), EFL (English as a foreign language in e.g. Finland), immigrant Englishes (migration to English-dominant countries producing immigrant forms of English), language-shift Englishes (English replacing primary language of a community), jargon Englishes (English with individual variation and instability) and hybrid Englishes (English that occur in code-mixing; mixture of two languages).

The list above gives some notion of the complexity of English. Thus the survival and success of English as it is seen today lies in its ability to be flexible. Graddol (2000) describes English as a hybrid language, meaning that English has been open to the influence of other languages and it has been shaped by other languages and yet it has successfully evolved, grown and spread around the world. The English language has changed over time and continues to do so in the mouths and hands of its users. The hybridity of English, the colonial past of Britain and the rise of the United States as a world economic power have had a substantial influence on the growth of English as a global language. However, the question is no longer only about what will happen to other languages, but also about what will happen to English or Englishes.

2.2. Speakers of English

English has gained ground all over the world. The number of native speakers is, however, becoming smaller whereas the number of users of English as a second or foreign language is continuously increasing. There are approximately 400 million speakers of English as a first language (L1) in the world, and an estimated number of those using English as a second language (L2) is 430 million (Crystal 2003: 67-68). It thus appears that English is the most popular and widely used language in the world. The future, however, seems interesting and to quote Graddol (2000: 10): "Native speakers may feel the language 'belongs' to them, but it will be those who speak English as a second or foreign language who will determine its world future".

English speakers are traditionally divided according to the role English has in their lives (Crystal 2003). The first group includes people who speak English as their first language, henceforth L1. They are also referred to as English as a native language speakers (ENL). People who belong to multilingual communities and have studied English because it is the official language of their community's administration and education are referred to as English as a second language speakers, L2 from here on. The third group of people is called speakers of English as a foreign language, EFL from here on. Within this group there are people who mainly use English for international communication and for whom English is a foreign language (Crystal 2003). With this division in mind, Finnish people would belong to the third group because English does not have any official status in Finland, but it is widely used in certain domains and taught at school. See discussion in section 3.3.

Another division made between the speakers of English was introduced already in 1980's, when Braj Kachru presented his view of the different English speakers divided according to their location in the world. He divided the speakers of English into three circles, which are demonstrated in figure 1 below. The inner circle represents ENL speakers,

the outer circle consists of those who speak English as L2 and the expanding circle includes the increasing number of English speakers, people learning EFL.

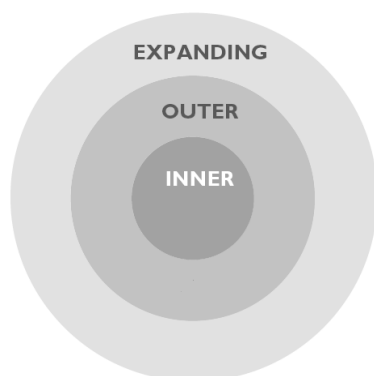


Figure 1. The three circles of English (Kachru as quoted in Graddol 2000: 10)

Kachru's model of the different English speakers has been widely used to describe the division of English speakers around the world. This model was introduced over two decades ago, which inevitably means that linguistic structures have changed. According to Graddol (2006), Kachru's model is outdated as the division of speakers to ENL users, L2 users and EFL users is no longer so simple. The meaning of a L2 speaker is more complex nowadays as the number of English speakers has increased in many countries. Take the position of English in Finland, for example. Finland is officially a bilingual country, with Swedish as the L2 for the majority of people. However, one could argue that Finns have better competence in EFL than in Swedish and, therefore, the original explanation of L2 is not so clear-cut. According to Tripathi (1998), the difference and categorization between EFL and L2 is, in fact, somewhat problematic, because instead of the official L2 it is English that is learnt and used as the main foreign language in many countries, e.g. Ethiopia and Finland. Tripathi (1998) also explains that English is quite often used not only to serve the need to communicate internationally but also intra-nationally. Therefore many people have better knowledge and skills in English than in their L2. However, it is not only L2 and EFL that are difficult to explain and make a clear distinction between, but also the term native speaker has become more and more vague, especially when considering the

English language. According to Graddol (2006: 114-116), the prestige and authority that native speakers of English used to have are slowly losing their meaning. Graddol (2006: 114-116) talks about the 'native speaker problem', which means that while the native English speakers and teachers used to be appreciated for their quality and standard of language use, these qualities are now turning against them. In today's world, where there are many forms of English, the standard variety might be seen as hindrance for learning English for purely communicative purposes to function internationally. Because English is an international language of communication many learners of English are only interested in learning the language itself and not any cultural values the language could bring with it (Graddol 2006: 114-116). Hence it is easier for non-native speakers to use English as a lingua franca to communicate with each other and not to have to worry about the standards and correctness of their language use.

Beside the 'native speaker problem' also a question about the ownership of English has risen as the number of speakers around the world has rapidly increased. It is thus evident that English is changing and the traditional owners or custodians of English are no longer able to look after and control the language (Graddol as quoted in Paradowski 2008). Paradowski (2008: 92-93) writes that many countries want to make sure that their citizens have attended a number of English lessons when they finish elementary school. With this rate it is nowhere near possible to make sure what kind of English these people learn. Because English is so widely used around the world and as a lingua franca in many situations, it is difficult to say who really owns the language. In many senses, it could be said that "... all users of English can claim ownership of the language" (Holliday 2008: 119).

To apply the current situation of the spread and competence in English, Kachru himself has revised and updated his model and it is now more based on the proficiency of English. In this model the inner circle speakers are those with high proficiency in the language, and the further we

move away from the inner circle the lower the proficiency. The speakers are now divided according to their proficiency in English and not according to their location or whether they are bilinguals or not (Kachru as quoted in Graddol 2006).

2.3 English and globalization

English and globalization can easily be linked together. English has been acquired as the language of communication, and to quote House (2003: 559), it is “a useful instrument for making oneself understood in international encounters”. While globalization is already a familiar term to most people, and maybe Americanization, too, the term Englishization is a more recent term and maybe less known outside the area of sociolinguistics. The terms Americanization and Englishization could be seen as monsters, not only in their lexical forms, but also in the sense of what they represent. The debate on whether the two terms above are detrimental to other languages and cultures is ongoing among scholars and among other people as well. According to Chew (1999: 44), a survey has been done which shows that the ears of the Mickey Mouse are the world’s most recognized icon. This example sheds some light on the matter of Americanization. According to Phillipson (2001), English is the dominant language of international politics and commerce, and the role of English is strengthened by powerful bodies such as the World Trade Organization, the United Nations and the European Union, to name a few. Phillipson (2001:187) refers to Americanization by using the word ‘McDonaldisation’ when describing economical structures and the process of globalization. However, Phillipson (1992) is more concerned with languages and their survival as English is being pushed by economical and political forces from the U.S. Also Skutnabb-Kangas (2001), shares great concern about the future of other languages and about linguistic diversity. She believes that many languages are dying and disappearing because of what is called ‘linguistic genocide’ (see Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

According to her (2001: 201), languages are being murdered in a fast rate and, first and foremost, the media and educational systems are to be blamed for that. Skutnabb-Kangas (2001) is also concerned about national identities, which might be lost with the languages. She stresses the importance of language as the core value of identities and emphasizes the right to use and develop one's own language (2001). English is, therefore, seen as the biggest threat to linguistic diversity, because it is spread through the media and commerce, and also language policies in education promote the importance of English globally (ibid.).

2.3.1 Defining globalization

Giving a clear definition of globalization is difficult because the term is used broadly and it involves many areas of life and it is present all over the world. Oxford advanced learner's dictionary (2000) defines 'global' as "covering or affecting the whole world" and 'globalization' is defined with an example of "the globalization of world trade". Encyclopedia Britannica (2009b) on-line divides globalization into cultural and economical globalization.

Globalization as a whole is explained as follows in an on-line article:

Globalization is a phenomenon involving the integration of economies, cultures, governmental policies, and political movements around the world. Internationalization is nothing new. Many of the large empires and religious movements represented forms of globalization. Trade and investment between countries have promoted interdependence of the world's economies for centuries. What is now called globalization, however, represents an exponential acceleration of the integration process.
(<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1518186/Globalization-Why-All-the-Fuss>, n.d.)

From the explanation given above one can realize that even though the term 'globalization' is rather new, the process that it describes has been going on for decades. It is thus the acceleration of this integration process that has given globalization its current meaning. The definitions, and probably the

way many people understand globalization, could be interpreted as the process of the world getting smaller and more unified. However, the above definitions lack the role of communication, which is an important factor in globalization. The importance of worldwide communication and thus the role of English have been acknowledged and are widely studied in the field of sociolinguistics. While Mesthrie and Leap (2005) and McArthur (2003) talk about the spread of English and increasing globalization taking place through powerful means of invasion, politics and war, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1999: 23) believe that a higher level of globalization has been reached in the area of communication than in “politics, economics or military affairs”. According to Chew (1999: 43), English is the principle language of worldwide communication and, furthermore, it is the language of academic journals, the media, books, sports and entertainment.

Even though globalization is no longer a new term, it is a useful one when describing the reasons behind the status of English in the world today. According to Graddol (2006), globalization and the growing use of English are the cause and effect of each other.

We are rapidly shifting to a completely new social, economic and political order and with it a new world order in languages. English is proving to be a key part of this process. On the one hand, the availability of English as a global language is accelerating globalisation. On the other, globalisation is accelerating the use of English. (Graddol 2006:22)

Globalization is one of the biggest forces behind the spread of English in today's world. The need for international communication has grown as new ways of communicating have been introduced, the Internet being one example. According to Chew (1999: 45), communication technologies have advanced so that the world has come to be one small global village, where people are no longer isolated from the rest of the world. Through outsourcing and multinational companies, as well as other international contacts, globalization has speeded up and the world has become smaller. Since the process of globalization has been so rapid, there is a possible threat that some people are not able to follow this development. Thus the

possibility of marginalization from some spheres of life might become a reality for those who are not in contact with English and modern technology, for example people who live in remote areas in the countryside. One such possible group of people is the elderly, who neither have the need nor the want or even possibilities to get into contact with English. The issue of marginalization of the elderly is also investigated in the present study. What is meant by marginalization here is not complete withdrawal from society, but not being able to participate or fully understand some aspects or spheres of life. According to Young (2000), marginalization can be seen as a form of oppression, which at its worst can expel a whole class of people from social interaction and lead to eradication. At the present study marginalization is seen more as a severe form of exclusion than form of oppression. However, Young's definition of marginalization might become valid in the future if English continues growing its importance as a global language.

2.3.2 English as a global language

According to Crystal (2003: 3), a language can achieve a global status when it is recognized in every country and it has built a special role. Crystal (2003: 3-4) continues that this special role means many different things and it is not enough for a language to have many native speakers to become a global language. To reach a global status a language must have a certain role within communities where it is not the L1 (Crystal 2003). These roles mean that, for example, a language can be made an official language of a country, in which case the language becomes the L2 of that country (Crystal 2003:4). In Finland Swedish has that role, as it is the second official language of the country and, therefore, education and services must be provided in Swedish as well. Another way for a language to reach a global status is through education. A country can prioritize their foreign language teaching so that, for example, a certain language - with no official status - becomes the language which is most likely taught to children who begin their school (Crystal 2003: 4). This is

the case in many countries, including Finland. "English is now the language most widely taught as a foreign language – in over 100 countries" (Crystal 2003: 5).

Phillipson (2003) writes about how globalization and Americanization are big forces that may affect the future of languages in the world, but especially in Europe. He believes that the language policy in the EU might be heading to the direction of monolingualism (2003: 4). Phillipson (2003) is concerned about 'The Great English divide', which might cause inequalities between those who have English skills and those who do not have the skills. According to Preisler (2003), people can be divided into two groups depending on their level of proficiency in English, and these groups are referred to as 'haves' and 'have-nots'. This division was made according to results of a study conducted in Denmark by Preisler (2003). Preisler (2003) describes 'haves' as those who can easily use English and who have high proficiency in that language. The majority of Danes consider being quite fluent in English. 'Have-nots', on the contrary, are those who lack skills and knowledge of English. With this division in mind, even though the EU is committed to respect linguistic diversity, the direction has been towards the use of English only and, therefore, the situation of English as a lingua franca may result as disadvantage or marginalization of the 'have-nots' (Phillipson 2003).

Even a new form of English, called Euro-English, has been developed to refer to English that is used as a lingua franca in the EU area. Euro-English is yet another variety of English in the world and it is spreading at the heart of Europe. Modiano (2001: 13-19) describes Euro-English as having simpler structure and expressions taken from other European languages. He continues that Euro-English would establish an L2 position in Europe if the European variety of English was standardized and made the official language in the EU. Seidlhofer (2001: 13-19) writes that if Euro-English was to become an official language it should be described systematically, which would allow the language to be taught at schools with

appropriate grammar and dictionary. She continues that an effort is already put to gather information on Euro-English, and the compilation of a corpus of Euro-English is going on at the University of Vienna. There lies a possibility that English taught at schools in Europe will some day be the variety of Euro-English.

In spite of the many negative and even angry opinions towards English, it is not seen as a threat everywhere. There are countries that take English as a good, useful and important resource. According to Graddol (2006), many countries, especially in Asia, are striving to achieve better competence in English. As the English language has become a more global language, many countries are changing the position from EFL to ESL. Some countries are even aiming to become bilingual. Countries with a colonial past, such as India, want to improve their English skills to make better international contacts using English as a lingua franca (Graddol 2006). Outsourcing is a good example why some countries put effort to learning English. Many western countries move their industries or production lines to China or India where work force and labor costs are cheaper. Therefore, the Chinese and Indians want to have a good competence in English because that way they have better chances to get work and earn their living.

Through globalization English has gained ground in Finland, too. English is taking over certain domains such as business, popular culture and information technology, and within these domains English is used as a lingua franca (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 3). Therefore, English also has a special role as a lingua franca. Lingua franca means that people from different backgrounds, who do not share a common language, decide what language to use for communication, with no one being a native speaker of that language. This lingua franca situation is quite common around the world, as well as in Finland, for example, when doing business with other countries. It is usually English that is chosen as the mutual language across cultures.

3. ENGLISH IN FINLAND

If Europe is heading towards English-only future then what will happen in Finland alone? There has not been much research done in the area of English in Finland until recently. A national survey made by The Centre of Excellence for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English, VARIENG, together with Statistics Finland will offer new information about English in Finland. The survey and some of its findings will be introduced in section 3.4 because the present study makes use of some of the issues in the survey.

The future position of English in Finland is unknown and it will be difficult to predict. As already mentioned above, some degree of domain loss can be seen in the areas of business, information technology, entertainment and popular culture, but also in science and education. However, when seeking information on the language situation or more specifically on language policy in Finland, it is not English that 'rocks the boat'. An Internet search about language policy in Finland reveals that in the first page, after Wikipedia and few other sites explaining language policy in Finland, is Pakkoruotsi.net (compulsory Swedish). This could, perhaps, be interpreted as Finns being more concerned with the future of Swedish in Finland than future of English. This is an interesting observation and it tells something about what really concerns and arouses opinions among Finns. It thus seems that the compulsory Swedish is still the hotter subject of discussions than the increasing use of English.

3.1 Linguistic background of Finland

The history of Finnish is nothing near as far-reaching as the history of English. In comparison, the development of written Finnish is briefly introduced here. The written version of Finnish dates back about 500 years and the first written work was the Abckiria (ABC-book) by Mikael Agricola

in 1543. Before this, Finnish had been written for some educational purposes of Christianity, but hardly any texts have remained. The time of Agricola and his followers is named as the era of 'old literary Finnish' and it ends in the beginning of the 19th century. The 'early modern' period of Finnish is from 1820 to 1870 and time after that is characterized as the 'modern Finnish'. (Kotus 2008.)

From the perspective of English, Finland started to get interested in the English language around the middle of the 20th century. The spread of English in Finland started to accelerate in the 1960's when Finland began to relate itself more with the Western world and adopted Anglo-American ways of life. By doing this, Finland shifted away from the culture and values of the former rulers of Russia and Sweden (Leppänen and Nikula 2007). A study conducted by Fonzari (1999: 39-48) in Estonia offers similar information about Estonia's more recent development towards the Western cultures. Fonzari examined the spread and status of English in Estonia through people's attitudes, acceptance and motivation to learn it. The objectives of that study were to map out the language background and desire to learn foreign languages and to investigate the knowledge of English, perceptions and acceptance of and attitudes towards it. This study showed that people in Estonia wanted to learn English because they were striving to be part of the Western world, and English was accepted and used as a reaction against the former Russian power, language and culture (Fonzari 1999: 39-48). In this sense the English language and also the American values were seen as the keys to a more open and free life.

In many respects Finnish or Swedish are no longer enough in Finland, when trying to offer different services or otherwise take part in or follow international encounters. The need for English has grown also because the number of immigrants and foreign people living in Finland has increased quite rapidly. In 1990 there were altogether 26,255 foreign inhabitants in Finland, whereas in the year 2008 there were 143,256 (Statistics Finland 2009). The number is over five times bigger than 18 years ago. These numbers show

that Finland has become more and more multilingual and, therefore, the need for a common language has grown. Usually English serves this purpose, however, it is important to remember that not all immigrants have skills in English, let alone Finnish or Swedish.

Finland is officially a bilingual country with Finnish and Swedish as the two official languages. 90,95% of the people have Finnish as their mother tongue and 5,44% have Swedish (Statistics Finland 2009). When looking at the numbers of foreign citizens in Finland, the biggest group is the Russians. In 2008 there were 26,909 Russians, 22,604 Estonians and 8,439 Swedish citizens in Finland (Statistics Finland 2009). These nationalities represent the three biggest groups of foreign citizens in Finland, and all of them are from neighboring countries. However, today when the mobility across the world is easy, the number of foreign immigrants, tourists and workers is probably getting higher than ever before. The chance to run into foreign customers or tourists in cities of Finland is very likely, whereas the situation in rural areas is probably quite the opposite. In this sense one might easily think that people who live in the countryside are less likely to, physically, come into contact with English. Hence, the focus of the present study is in the countryside and the views of those who have spent most of their lives in the country.

3.2 Language education in Finland

The importance of the English language is a subject of many discussions and debates. In section 2.3 some arguments against the dominance of English have been introduced, and some scholars believe that policies concerning language education can have tremendous possibilities to either encourage or discourage linguistic diversity (see, e.g., Skutnabb-Kangas 2001, Phillipson 2001). In this section the core of the language policy of Finland is presented, and also some of the policies concerning language education in Finland and in the whole European Union.

The old language law that was prescribed in 1922 involved the Finnish citizens' rights to use Finnish and Swedish when taking care of their own affairs with the authorities (Sajavaara 2004). According to Sajavaara (2004), the authorities that were referred to in the law included court of justice, and other officials working for the state and municipalities. The language law did not involve any other interaction between people, for example, cashiers in stores or services in privately owned companies. The linguistic rights covered only written communication, because in the 1920's the need for spoken language was not of any concern (ibid.). The new language law that took effect in 2004 did not grant any new rights to anyone. However, one of the aims of the law has been to guarantee the language rights to be carried out in practice (ibid.). According to the new language law, Finland is trying to protect the linguistic rights of those who speak either Finnish or Swedish as their mother tongue (ibid.). The bilingual future of Finland is thus protected to a certain degree.

Huttunen and Takala (2004) write about the European Council's actions for improving language education in the EU. Already in 1962 European Council founded a body of cultural cooperation, which started to work on emphasizing human rights also in the field of language education as a part of more common goals of educational policies. The goals of this body were addressed as language policy, which try to, firstly, enhance the free movement of people and thoughts in Europe by providing with linguistic facilities for communication between people; secondly, the language policy aims at making language learning more democratic by developing better curricula to meet the needs of the students; and thirdly, there is a goal to build a framework (Common European Framework) that allows international cooperation in organizing language teaching. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, CEF henceforth, was introduced in 1996. The aim of the CEF has been to give the basis for mutual language teaching, learning and assessment throughout the EU. In Finland the standards of assessment and some principles in teaching, for example

gathering a language portfolio, have been applied in language education and curricula. (Huttunen and Takala 2004.)

The European Council has worked to improve and unify language education. In paper, at least, some goals have been set to make language learning possible for everyone, and to make people realize the importance and value of different languages, and also to understand that knowledge of the culture is an important part of language learning (Huttunen and Takala 2004). However, as discussed earlier when addressing the 'native speaker problem', the cultural knowledge is not always wanted as part of the language teaching, especially when studying a language - in many cases English - for purely communicative needs. Nevertheless, it is important that different languages across Europe are taken into account when talking about the importance of different languages. Furthermore, the idea of the language portfolio is to collect and make one's own personal file about one's language skills, which also encourages learning various languages. The European Council has set good ideals and principles to preserve and maintain the importance of all European languages, and these principles are, or should be, used when planning national language policies. In Finland language education policies are not only national matters, but also these different international strategies, agreements and frameworks have impact on how the language education should be planned and executed (Sajavaara et al. 2007).

The reality in schools might be different than what the different plans and principles are aiming for. The attitudes towards different languages can be seen from the way children and youngsters choose the languages they want to study. In Finland English is favored in a sense that children usually start learning English when they are in the 3rd grade, around the age of 10. Some start even earlier. English is often the first foreign language to be taught to children at school. This is not the case for everyone, but the majority of pupils choose English over other possible languages offered (Opetushallitus 2006). A1 language, which is the first compulsory

foreign language for pupils, is usually English. In the year 2004, 57,420 out of 63,922 third-graders chose English as their A1 language. Finnish came second with 3,464 pupils and German was the third popular choice with 987 pupils. Swedish was in the fourth place with 786 pupils. English is quite popular also when choosing the first elective language A2, but also German is quite popular. When moving to the upper level of a comprehensive school the same pattern continues: English is the most popular choice for A1 language, and within boys also as A2 language. However, girls chose German before English as their A2 language. B1 language (first foreign language with short syllabus) for majority of pupils is Swedish, as it is compulsory. German is the most popular choice for B2 language among boys, whereas girls prefer French slightly more. In high school A1 and B1 are compulsory languages. For the majority of students English is the A1 language and Swedish is the B1 language. For elective languages German is the most popular among students and French becomes second, being more popular among girls. (Opetushallitus 2006.)

The evidence above shows that English is considered important, but also German and French are popular as elective languages. For many students English and Swedish are the two compulsory languages in high school, and therefore this compulsory Swedish has been a subject of intense debates. By having compulsory languages in curricula prevents, what Skutnabb-Kangas (2001) refers to as, language murder. Because there has been concern about language death of minority languages - the case of Swedish in Finland - therefore Skutnabb-Kangas' (2001) opinion about language education playing a crucial role in preserving linguistic diversity is justified. However, the direction has probably been towards the thought of English being the only foreign language needed, and due to that way of thinking the appreciation for other languages might be decreasing.

3.3 English in the everyday lives of Finns

To situate Finland into Kachru's newer model, it is in the expanding circle even though proficiency in English is continuously improving. Children begin to learn English at the age of 10 and some even earlier. The amount of input in English is vast as the majority of TV programs, music on the radio and sites and communication on the Internet are in English. Furthermore, increased traveling and migration have raised multiculturalism and the need for a mutual language of communication. People have adopted English as a lingua franca and, therefore, it is considered a useful language which one needs when traveling abroad or when working with international contacts.

As mentioned earlier, Finnish is experiencing domain loss in the areas of business, media, education, technology and science. While the use of English is growing on those domains it is also possibly growing the gap between well educated and less educated (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 8). The growing use of English is also probably widening the gap between young people, who have received language education, and old people, who have not. Again here one could refer to the 'haves' and 'have-nots' (Preisler 2003). According to Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 11), there is a growing concern about the possible 'linguistic divide' which might lead to the inequality or even marginalization of some people. To get more information about the issue of English in Finland, Leppänen and Nikula (2007) refer to several studies on the uses of English in the present day Finnish society focusing on the domains of media, education and business. The studies indicated that even though people have different opinions about English in Finland, there are, however, some trends to be found concerning the purposes for which English is used. In the domains of media and business it is almost self-evident that English is chosen as the means of communication, for example, when interviewing foreign people for TV or when interacting in international business. English is thus used as a lingua franca because it quite often is the only shared language. In many cases it is pure necessity and

practicality that drive people to use English. However, in Brazil, for example, English is highly valued among business life (see section 3.4), but also in Finland English skills are considered as an asset for being able to function internationally. This is probably one reason why English has come out from regular language teaching classes into other classes as well. CLIL (content and language integrated learning) has become more popular because it combines student's language abilities with the subject being taught. In CLIL classrooms it is possible for students to be more daring to take part in discussions because the subject teacher may not have as good language skills as the students, and this might help lessening the affective filter, such as stress, being expected to learn the language correctly, and so on. It is somewhat apparent that English has expanded and is expanding on the three domains discussed here. Leppänen and Nikula (2007) also explain that English will most likely keep growing its importance in Finland because it is already part of many socially and economically influential domains. In the following quotation Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 45-46) describe well the spreading and the functions of English in Finland:

“...the spread of English is not to be seen as one-directional process of English taking over Finnish society, but rather as a process in which English is taken up and made use of by Finns in a variety of ways, in order to serve their own purposes.”

This quotation points out that Finns themselves have taken English as part of their lives and use it for own purposes. Thus, English should not be seen only as a language that comes and conquers, but also as a language that brings certain benefits with it. The benefits have probably been realized, because the use of English has grown so rapidly. Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 3-15) even address the question of whether English is turning from EFL to L2 in Finland, as that direction in other Nordic countries has become visible. Finnish people encounter English in their everyday lives. Especially in youth culture English has a strong position as most of the pop music and electronic games are in English. English has even entered the youth language, where a shift from Finnish to English is quite common

(Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 5). This shift from one language to another, which is called code switching, is not only common in youth culture but within professionals from different areas of expertise, IT jargon probably being the best example (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 5). English words have become part of many people's everyday vocabulary, soon probably raising the question of where the Finnish language ends and English starts. The growing importance and spread of English have had their impact on Swedish, as English is considered more useful than Swedish in many areas of life.

Even though compulsory Swedish might still be the hot topic in Finland, discussion is going on about the situation of English, too. The division of opinions for and against English in Finland is not a unique situation but it is an acknowledged factor in many other countries as well. The fear of English taking over languages and national identities has caused some countries to take action to preserve their own languages as untouched as possible, France probably being the most notorious for its battle against English loan words with its language law that was passed in 1994 (Graddol 2006: 116-117). Some of these laws ban the use of other languages than the national language in public spheres, such as education and advertising (Graddol 2006: 116-117). How can these extreme measures be effective when there is no one watching over the everyday use of spoken language? Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 11) also identify these conflicting attitudes and opinions among Finns, but there has not been much research over this issue until recently. The next section provides information about those attitudes and opinions Finns have towards English.

3.4 Previous research and national survey on English in Finland

Before introducing the national survey made in Finland, other related surveys are discussed and examined briefly. The surveys presented here deal with similar issues as the present study, and are therefore worthy of

discussion. A survey made in Brazil is somewhat similar to the present study, as it investigates the role of English in Brazil and in Brazilians' lives. The other study is done in Uzbekistan, and it is much like Fonzari's study made in Estonia (see section 3.1). In this study the use, importance, and growth of English after the Soviet era are examined and reflected through different surveys made in Uzbekistan.

The survey conducted in Brazil by Patricia Friedrich investigated the attitudes of Brazilian students towards English and learning English. Friedrich (2000: 216) focused on the following three questions: "(1) status of English as an international language; (2) role of English in Brazil; and (3) role of English in the life of learners". What makes Friedrich's survey interesting is that similar questions are also investigated in the present study. The findings of the survey revealed that all the respondents, who were mostly between the age of 18-40, agreed that English is an international language of communication. Furthermore, most of the participants believed that the better the skills in English the better the job opportunities. English was also associated with higher status, which meant having or getting a more successful career leading to wealthier life. The survey demonstrates how the English language is, in fact, believed to be linked with success in working life (Friedrich 2000: 215-223). It thus seems that English is highly valued among Brazilian students and that English skills are believed to bring along success and money.

Hasanova (2007) has studied how the English language has grown its status and importance in Uzbekistan since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. During the Soviet era foreign languages were taught at schools, for example English lessons started usually on the 5th grade at the age of 11 or 12. There were about three to four foreign language lessons per week in Russian medium schools, whereas the number of lessons was smaller in non-Russian medium schools, where one had to become proficient in Russian before starting to learn any other foreign language. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian quite rapidly lost its power and

prestige and was taken over by local and foreign languages. When the local languages gained back their status as official languages, also English was strengthening its position as the most widely learnt foreign language. Much the same way as Estonia and Finland wanted to adopt Western ways of life so did Uzbekistan, and many other Soviet republics that became independent. Now Hasanova divides the users of English in Uzbekistan into three categories: professional, ambitious youth and pop music fans.

Professionals include men and women who are 22 years of age or older, and who have rather high degrees in education. These people are fluent in written and in spoken English and are in contact with English daily through their work or studies. Ambitious youth are eager to learn English and take private lessons to improve their written and spoken skills. These people seek opportunities to use and practice English, as they want the opportunities to achieve graduate or postgraduate degrees. Pop music fans are males and females in their late teens, who are interested in international popular music, including mostly American pop music. These young people are seen in bars and night clubs in bigger Uzbek cities dancing and singing along American rock and pop music which cannot be heard in or obtained from bazaars.

The latest research concerning English in Finland was published quite recently. The research was a national survey, for which the data was collected in 2007 in form of a questionnaire that was sent to 3000 randomly selected Finnish people. The study was made by The Centre of Excellence for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English, VARIENG, together with Statistics Finland. This survey is the first to measure Finnish people's perceptions of, attitudes to and opinions about English in Finland on such a large scale. The survey is meaningful to the present study as well, because some of the issues investigated are based on the survey, and therefore comparisons between the findings can be made.

The national survey measured views about English in Finland from five different aspects: English in one's life, studies and skills in English, the use of English, English alongside the mother tongue and the future of

English in Finland. A series of questions followed each aspect and the answers were analyzed quantitatively to give exact numbers and percentages of how the participants and their different variables had influenced the outcomes. The variables in the survey were age, gender, education and place of living. In the present study attention is paid particularly to age and place of living. Therefore, the results of the survey presented here are those that are meaningful to the present study, in other words, results that are significant with age and place of residence (city versus countryside).

According to the survey (Leppänen et al. 2009), age and education seem to play an important role when talking about the importance of English in one's life. Also people who live in the cities consider English more important than those who live in the countryside. When participants were asked what languages they see and hear in their environment, Finnish and Swedish excluded, the most common language was English. 80% of the respondents mentioned English, and Russian came second with 48%. 11% of respondents claimed that they do not see or hear foreign languages at all. Within this group there were many elderly people who live in the countryside. Many of these people were also less educated. The differences between age groups were the most significant. The two youngest age groups, 15-24 and 25-44, come across languages in their environment more than the older age groups. According to the survey, this might be due to the fact that the younger generations have studied languages and therefore are more language conscious. Furthermore, traveling was more common within the youngest age group than the others. The comparison between different areas revealed that foreign languages were seen and heard more in the cities than in the countryside.

The meaning of English in the respondents' lives was measured by questions dealing with encounters with English and attitudes toward English. Also the personal importance of English in one's life was dealt in this section. The importance was measured with a 5-point scale from *not at all important* to *very important*. Almost 60% of the respondents considered

English *quite important*. To younger respondents English was clearly more important than for older ones. Nearly 80% of the youngest generation regarded English at least as *quite important*. In contrast to that slightly over 60% of the oldest generation considered English as *not very important* or *not at all important*. Again the territorial differences were noticeable. In big cities (over 50 000 inhabitants) 73% regarded English as *very* or *quite important*. In the countryside the percentage was only 36.

The respondents were asked to name places where they encounter English. 14 different places were given to choose from. The list included places related to everyday life and work (e.g. workplace, shops, home, vehicles etc.) The respondents were asked to inform whether they see or hear English in these places. The three most common places where English was seen or heard were street scene of cities (79%), shops and stores (73%), and restaurants and cafés (70%). These percentages reveal that, for the most parts, English is perceived in city landscapes and in commercial contexts. Big cities were the most likely places to come across English, whereas towns and countryside did not have much difference. Also, the English language was least recognized in the countryside, where 9% of the people did not recognize English. In big cities the percentage was under 2.

The importance of English in different contexts and for different people was measured with a 5-point scale from *I fully agree* to *I fully disagree*. There were 15 arguments for which the respondents had to answer. The majority of the respondents, 97%, agreed with the argument *young people have to know English* and also 80% agreed with *people of working age have to know English*. However, the argument of *elderly people have to know English* received totally different numbers. Only 23% of the respondents agreed with the argument. These percentages show how age and the knowledge of English are closely related. People believe that the young and the working age people have to be able to use English. Such high percentages could indicate that the young and working age people are expected to have English skills and also

to need those skills, whereas the elderly are not so likely to need English in their lives.

Arguments about the usefulness of English revealed that Swedish is not considered as useful as English. 82% of the respondents agreed with *English is more useful than Swedish*. This result could also reveal something about the attitudes people have towards Swedish in Finland. The mother tongue, however, was considered to be more useful than English, by 81% of the respondents. Even though English is seen quite important in Finland and when traveling (69% agreed with *one must know English when abroad*), it is not seen as a threat to domestic languages or to Finnish culture. Only under fifth of the respondents considered the spread of English as a threat. It is also interesting how over half of the respondents believed that the influence of English to Finnish is positive and enriching. Therefore, the trust in national languages and culture seems to be very strong. However, when the answers are examined from different age groups the variation and differences between answers are statistically significant in almost every argument. For most of the arguments, the differences can be divided between the two youngest and the two oldest age groups. The most noticeable difference was in the argument *English skills are too highly valued*. From the two older age groups, 45-64 and 65-79-year-olds, 48% agreed with the argument, but from the two youngest age groups, 15-24 and 25-44-year-olds, only 21% agreed. Another argument that divided opinions was *Finns must know English when traveling abroad*. 80% of the respondents who were under 45 years agreed with the argument, and 60% of those who were older than 45.

There were noticeable differences between the attitudes of the older and the younger respondents. According to the results, the older generations seemed to take a more negative view of English, whereas younger people had more positive views. The older people did not see English as very important or as a positive phenomenon. Younger people, however, considered English very important and they believed that everyone

should be able to use English, no matter what age. Also differences between big cities and the rest of Finland were evident. Inhabitants of big cities believed that it is important for working age people to know English and other foreign languages, too. They also thought that whole society should function in English as well. In the countryside people more often believed that English is too highly valued. There was one argument for which the people living in the countryside and in big cities answered similarly: *All Finnish companies should offer service also in English*. Otherwise the pattern was inhabitants of big cities versus the rest of Finland, including countryside and cities and towns under 50 000 inhabitants.

The last issue of interest for the present study is the future of English in Finland. The respondents were asked to think whether *English could be one of the official languages of Finland in 20 years time*. To this argument 55% of the respondents answered *very or quite unlikely*, and 35% answered *very or quite likely*. There were also other arguments concerning the status of English in Finland in 20 years time (2027). For example, 90% of the respondents either *fully agreed* or *somewhat agreed* with the argument *Meaning of English has increased*. Only about 6% agreed with *Meaning of English has decreased*. These figures show that the majority of people believe that English will continue growing its status and importance. There was also a question about whether the respondents believed that English could be used more than Finnish in some sectors of society in 20 years. The answers were divided quite evenly: 37% answered *yes* and 41% *no*. When people, who had answered “yes”, were asked to choose such sectors from a list the three most common sectors were: business and economics, science, and Finnish pop and rock music. Furthermore, the respondents were to consider whether it is possible for Finns to be left out of some things in the future if they do not have skills in English. 65% of the respondents answered *yes* and the rest of the answers were divided quite evenly between *no* and *I cannot say*. When taking a closer look at the answers, 72% of the 25-44-year-olds answered *yes* to the argument above and, therefore, that age group stood out from the

others. In the other end there was the age group of 65-79, who answered *yes* more rarely (55%). Also people who live in the cities were more likely to believe that one could be left out on some issues in the future than people living in the countryside.

The survey revealed many interesting points about how the Finns perceive English and what are their attitudes towards it. Most of the respondents believe that the meaning of English will grow in the future, however, English is still not seen as a threat and many believe that in Finland Finnish is more important than English. However, English is seen more important in Finland than Swedish. Most of the differences in the answers were between big cities and the rest of Finland, or countryside. Also different generations offered some differences in some of the issues. For example, the importance of English in one's life was one of the issues where the difference between the older and the younger generations was noticeable. Also the difference between cities and countryside was very obvious within this question. Keeping these results in mind, the present study will deepen the general picture as it will look into similar issues, make comparisons and perhaps bring out new findings and details as well.

4. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The motivation for this study arises from personal interest in sociolinguistics and people living in rural areas. This study is aiming at combining these two areas of interest. I am interested in sociolinguistics because I find the different phenomena behind language use, spread and popularity worth examining. Secondly, the spread of English has been rapid and, therefore, I want to find out whether it has reached the Finnish countryside so that people have formed opinions about it, or whether English is related to urban way of life. I also want to investigate whether this development has led to marginalization of people living in rural areas. Do some of these people feel like being left out from this development? Thirdly, the findings of the national survey are interesting and, therefore, they will provide reference material for the present study, enabling the comparison between a specific group of people. Thus, the present study will deepen the general results as it focuses on a certain group of people. Hopefully, this comparison will offer new information and shed some light on the matter studied. Furthermore, as I have grown up in the countryside, and probably will work there as an English teacher in the future, I am interested in mapping out how people in the countryside perceive English and its status in Finland, and in the world.

The main objective of this study is to find out what kinds of opinions and attitudes the people in my focus group have towards the English language in Finland and the English language in general. Another objective is to find out what kind of role English plays in these people's lives. I want to study how English is seen from the point of view of people living in the Finnish countryside. As the survey results indicated differences between young and old and people living in the cities versus countryside, therefore I am also interested in examining whether there are any similarities or differences in opinions between different generations and between cities and countryside. I find the difference in age relevant to the study because the

older participants have not studied English at school, whereas the younger have. Therefore, their language learning backgrounds, as well as the place of residence, might affect the way they perceive and view the English language. As the research of English in Finland is quite new and the number of studies made is relatively small, I believe that my study will offer some new information in that area.

4.1 Research questions

The present study is built around four main themes: contacts and encounters with English, the use of English, the importance of English on the whole and in the participants' lives, and the future of English in Finland and in the world. The present study was inspired by and is based on the results of the research of The Centre of Excellence for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English, VARIENG, and Statistics Finland. The study is about English in Finland, and more specifically about the views and experiences people have about English. A survey was sent to 3000 randomly selected people around Finland to shed light on the issue of English in Finland. The idea of the present study is similar, but the emphasis is on a specific group of people and, therefore, the study aims to find more detailed information about opinions, attitudes and experiences of this particular group about English in Finland. The themes and some of the questions in this study have been adopted from the national survey.

Based on the four themes of contact, use, importance and future of English, which were introduced above, four research questions were outlined:

1. Do people living in the countryside encounter English? Where? What kinds of contacts they have, or have had, with English, if any?
2. Do they use English and in what kinds of situations, or do they need it at all?

3. What do they think is the importance of English on the whole, and in their lives? Are there differences in importance between cities and the countryside?
4. What do they think about the future of English in the world and in Finland? Is there a possibility of marginalization for Finnish people who do not have any skills in English?

4.2 Collection of data

The idea of the present study is to look into a specific group of people and their opinions and views about English in Finland. Therefore, the present study complements the national survey results and provides more in depth information about some of the areas investigated in the survey. Because a certain group of people was chosen to participate in the study it provided the chance for focus group interview. Even though the present study only includes six participants their opinions might reflect those of others with same backgrounds, and according to Myers (2004), the opinions of one individual are important as they may represent the opinions of many others. This way focus group interview proved to be a rather functional procedure to collect qualitative and versatile data.

4.2.1 Focus group

The participants for the present study were chosen according to their age, gender and place of residence. The place of residence here meant that the participants lived and had lived in the countryside for the most part of their lives. The term countryside is here understood as an area with scattered settlements. According to Statistics Finland (aluetyypit ja alueet, 2009), areas of scattered settlements and population centers with 200 – 499 inhabitants are

defined as countryside. Keeping this definition in mind, it is safe to say that all the participants shared the same basis of living in the countryside in the southwest of Finland.

The participants chosen for the present study can also be referred to as the focus group of the study. According to Holstein and Gubrium (1995: 70), a focus group should consist of 5 to 10 participants who discuss a certain topic under the guidance of the interviewer. The focus group of the study included six people representing three different generations. These six people, however, had to be divided into two groups due to a noticeable age difference between the participants. The reason for interviewing the oldest people separately was that, due to their very old age, there would have been problems in the discussions with others because they had impaired hearing. Furthermore, a slightly different approach was taken when interviewing the oldest participants because of their old age and different language learning background from the others. The youngest participants were a 27-year-old woman, called Kaisa, and a 28-year-old man, called Juuso. The parents of the previously mentioned represented the next generation: 57-year-old woman, Maarit, and 58-year-old man, Heikki. Thus, there were mother and daughter and father and son around the same table discussing and sharing their views and opinions with each other. The oldest participants in the study, Liisa and Harri, were 91 years old. These two elderly people were a married couple with a long history of living in the countryside. All the names introduced here and used in the analysis are pseudonyms.

4.2.2 Focus group interview

The method for collecting data was rather obvious after deciding about the qualitative nature of the study. The most natural choice for executing the data collection was an interview, and in this case focus group interview. According to Patton (2002: 4), interviews offer qualitative data that gives

more profound responses about the feelings, experiences, perceptions, opinions and knowledge that people have. This was exactly what was wanted from the interview. Furthermore, Dörnyei (2007: 144-145) explains how focus group interview is an efficient way to collect versatile data. He continues that the group members are sharing but also challenging each other's views and, therefore, producing deep and insightful discussions and data (2007: 144). The reason for choosing focus group interview was that it was hoped that the participants would discuss certain topic and to produce as versatile data as possible. Another reason for describing the interview as focus group interview was the role of the interviewer, or moderator. According to Dörnyei (2007: 145), a more relevant and useful name for the focus group interviewer is 'moderator'. The role of the moderator is to facilitate discussion, and work as the leader of the group and make sure that all the participants have a chance to take the floor (2007: 145). As already mentioned in section 4.2.1, the focus group had to be divided into two because of the age difference of the participants. This division meant that the guidelines for the focus group interview had to be adjusted to apply for group of four people and for two people.

The first interview included the four youngest participants who gathered in my house on the 1st of February, 2008. This interview followed the set guidelines for focus group interview as the participants discussed with each other and the role of the moderator was merely to make sure that everyone had the chance to take the floor and help keeping the discussion going. The second interview took place on March 18, 2008, when I went to visit the old couple in their home. This interview was more like a semi-structured interview than focus group interview because there was a need for the interviewer to ask specific questions and encourage the participants to talk. This, however, was expected because two participants cannot be assumed to function as a group.

Before the actual interview, all the participants answered a short questionnaire (see Appendix), the purpose of which was to get useful

background information about them. The questionnaire also helped the participants to get ready and organize themselves for the interview. The questionnaire was the same for all the participants. The questions in the questionnaire were taken from the questionnaire that was used in the survey study by the Centre of Excellence, VARIENG (Leppänen et al. 2009). Also other questions that were relevant to the present study were taken from the questionnaire and used in the interviews.

4.3 Methods of analysis

Due to the qualitative nature of the study the methods of analysis were chosen accordingly. However, before introducing the methods of analysis it is worth examining how qualitative research is understood and used in the present study. According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002: 7), qualitative research as a term can be seen as an umbrella under which there are a number of different kinds of qualitative research. Therefore, the term qualitative research is somewhat problematic to use by itself. Using the division made by Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002), the present study falls under the American tradition of qualitative research and more precisely under sociology and sociolinguistics. Whereas sociology is interested in the social behavior and structures of people and groups, sociolinguistics is more specifically interested in the phenomena between languages and people (Tuomi and Sarajärvi, 2002). The American tradition best describes the present study because of the loose relationship between the methodological foundation and practical implementation. In other words, the methodological solutions are justified according to the research practices, such as the meaning and the goals of the research and also available equipment and resources (Tuomi and Sajajärvi 2002). Other things that make the present study qualitative are the methods of collecting data, the quantity of the data and the methods of analysis. According to Bryman (as cited in Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002), the difference between qualitative and

quantitative research is in the method of collecting data. Data collection might be one of the differences between qualitative and quantitative research; one could, however, argue that it is not enough to make such a division. Therefore, the quantity of data and, most importantly, the methods of analysis are introduced when characterizing the present study as a qualitative study.

4.3.1 Content analysis

Content analysis is one of the most frequently used methods of analysis in qualitative research, along with discourse analysis. The present study combines these two methods in order to analyze the data from two different aspects: what has been said and how it has been said. Content analysis focuses on what has been said and, therefore, it is the main form of analysis in the present study. However, in order to get more profound and in depth information from the interviews discourse analysis is also used (more about discourse analysis in section 4.3.2).

Content analysis is a form of analysis that deals with large units of texts to form more condensed units of the same text. According to Weber (1985: 10), "content analytic procedures operate directly upon text or transcripts of human communications." Weber (1985) explains that the main idea of content analysis is to find patterns and similarities in a text and form content categories based on those similarities. However, Weber's idea of content analysis lies on quantitative research where the occurrence of words or phrases is counted to form the categories. Krippendorff (1982), however, defines content analysis as a research method that produces valid and reliable conclusions from research data to the context the data has been collected. Krippendorff's view offers a more qualitative perspective to content analysis, which is closer to the intentions of the present study, where inferences have to be made from the data, bearing in mind the context in

which the data was collected. Nonetheless, the analysis in the present study makes use of both: finding patterns and making categories, but not based on counted frequencies of word use, but categories based on the similarities of opinions and reactions the participants have and, therefore, also making inferences of what has been said in the interviews.

Content analysis in the present study has been carried out by using four phases, which are part of the analytical process of content analysis. These four steps are explained by Dörnyei (2007: 246-257) and they are applied in the study and introduced in the following.

The first phase of the content analysis was transcribing the data. The audio taped interviews were transcribed following the transcription conventions introduced by Holstein and Gubrium (1995). Everything that was said and heard from the recordings were written down and documented. Even though the transcribing process was somewhat time-consuming, it provided the opportunity for entering the second phase of the analyzing process: "pre-coding and coding". Pre-coding and coding involve the actual starting point of the analysis where the transcriptions are read over and over and the overall sense of the text is understood. After this it was possible to start drawing meaningful inferences and begin coding. These pre-coding stages, however, reflect and shape our thoughts about the data and, therefore, influence the actual coding process. The coding process in the present study did not involve actual codes, because no computer programs were used for the analysis, instead categories were used under which related pieces of texts were gathered to form several areas of interest related to the research questions. The third phase of the analysis was "growing ideas", writing memos and other useful information about the interview and interviewees. Writing memos turned out to be a good way to continue the analyzing process after initial categorizing. Memo writing helped to gather more information under the categories and go further with the analysis of what was said in the interviews. The third phase of growing ideas lead already to some conclusions, which were part of the fourth and final phase of

“interpreting and drawing conclusions”. In the final stage interpretations were made from the written memos and categories, although, some interpretations might have been made at earlier stage, but the conclusions were drawn from them at this point. Conclusions are the so-called final product made from the whole analyzing process, and they offer the outcomes and “results” of the work done.

The idea of the content analysis in the present study is to bring out the opinions and views of the participants who took part in the study. While content analysis is merely used for gathering information of what has been said during the interview about the issues of interest in the study at hand, discourse analysis serves a slightly different purpose. The function of discourse analysis in this study is discussed in the following section.

4.3.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is more interested in how things are said than what is said. In other words, discourse analysis looks deeper into the language and its functions. According to Paltridge (2006), discourse analysis focuses on patterns of language in different contexts in which the language is used. Furthermore, discourse analysis is used for analyzing texts, which can be either written or spoken and convey social and cultural meanings. Hence, discourse analysis goes beyond the text or the words because it examines the relationship between language and the social and cultural context it is being used (Paltridge 2006). Thus, discourse analysis brings out information that has not been brought out by content analysis and, therefore, gives more profound knowledge of the text being studied.

The present study can be seen as study of sociolinguistics because its main focus is on the relationship between people and language. According to Stubbs (1987), sociolinguistics has to be partly based on how people talk and interact with each other in different settings. He continues

that everyday conversational interactions and different discourses between people help constructing and sustaining the social 'roles' of people (1987: 7-8). These 'roles' are shaped by the opinions and attitudes a person has and, therefore, the present study is interested in the underlying attitudes and opinions the participants have about issues concerning English in Finland. Discourse analysis thus makes it possible to look into the underlying attitudes and opinions the participants possess and express in different ways through talk and other audible cues. Since the data is transcribed from spoken discourse and only exists in audio taped form, there are no visible cues that could be used in the analysis. The analysis is, therefore, only based on recorded audio recordings and their transcriptions.

The discourse in the present study shows how the participants present their opinions on given topics. According to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009), discourses have the ability to construct identities, build understanding of ourselves, others and of the relationships between people. Language is also considered to be the interpreter and supporter of one's identity and, moreover, language offers a vast range of words, tones and constructions to choose from when in different situations (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2009). As already mentioned above, discourse is more than just language and words. According to Paltridge (2006: 11), discourse is also gestures, facial expressions, the way we dress, act and interact. All these and our attitudes, thoughts, feelings and beliefs affect the social identity we display to others (Paltridge 2006:11). Paltridge (2006) writes about 'socially situated identities', which means that all the factors listed above creates the identity we present to others. The present study makes use of this and applies discourse analysis to find out participants' attitudes, thoughts and feelings that might be embedded in their opinions and language use.

Discourse analysis in the present study focuses on the way participants talk and what kind of reactions they have in different situations. According to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009), language is used differently in different situations and, therefore, language use is always context related.

Hence, laughter, tones of voice and pauses are all part of the analysis because they all bear important information with them. All these reactions and other audible cues are taken into account when carrying out the analysis. These cues reveal interesting facts and even hidden attitudes and thoughts for others to see and make assumptions of their own. Hence, discourse analysis here is mostly picking out those cues that might be relevant or reveal something about the speaker. However, there is one important factor that has to be kept in mind while working on the analysis, and that is subjectivity. Even though the idea of the study is to present objective results, it is not entirely possible because the interpretations and analysis are made by one investigator. There is also the possibility of false interpretations because the cues given by the participants might be wrongly understood. Nevertheless, the aim is to present the analysis as objectively as possible, but also weighing other possible interpretations and making further questions. The use of both content and discourse analysis are to produce more meaningful and reliable results.

5. THREE GENERATIONS' OPINIONS ON AND ENCOUNTERS WITH ENGLISH IN THE FINNISH COUNTRYSIDE

This analysis section deals with different aspects of the role of English in Finland through the views and opinions of three generations. The informants of the present study discussed their encounters with English and shared their views about the language. The analysis section is divided into two parts. The first part (5.1) is the analysis of the oldest generation and the second part (5.2) is the analysis of the two younger generations. The reason behind this division is that the oldest generation was interviewed separately, because the interview itself was slightly different from that of the younger generations. The two younger generations, however, took part in the same interview.

The interview and the analysis of the oldest generation gives useful information and helps to understand what the elderly are currently experiencing in Finland when trying to keep up with the way of the world. The increasing use of English in different areas of life has had some influence on the lives of the older people and this analysis tries to find out and investigate those influences. Furthermore, the opinions and views of these old people will offer a possibility to have a glimpse of what it means to function and manage one's life having hardly any skills in English. The English language is reality and part of many people's lives in today's world, even in Finland. In contrast to that, there are many old people who have never used English in their lives. Therefore, it is worth examining what these people, who have never received any formal education in English, think about the current situation of English in Finland, and in the world.

Furthermore, it will be interesting to investigate how they see themselves in relation to English and in relation to increasing multilingualism in general.

The analysis on the two younger generations (section 3.2) provides slightly different perspectives on the English language in Finland compared to the oldest generation. The youngest informants have studied English at school, whereas their parents, the older informants, have had

much less contact with English. Keeping this in mind, the analysis brings up rather interesting points about the differences between these two generations. Furthermore, some unexpected issues arise in the discussions and reveal some attitudes toward a certain – less unexpected - language. The younger generations' views and opinions give a good contrast to the oldest generation's views. However, there are some similarities between the views of the three generations and, therefore, the analysis section will deal with these similarities that occur between the oldest generation and the two younger generations. Also the younger generations' own opinions and thoughts about English in Finland and in their lives are presented.

5.1 The oldest generation

The analysis on the oldest couple, Liisa and Harri, offers interesting and useful information concerning the influence of the English language on their lives. The information is interesting because one could say that the 90-year-old couple is surprisingly aware of the current situation regarding the spread of English. The reason why the information is useful is because it can shed some light on the issue of how the elderly people in Finland deal with English and manage their lives without having skills in it. The old couple in the present study seem to be aware of the current issues concerning English. They understand that it is a language, which is spread around the world, in other words, a world language, as they called it. They also think that everyone should be able to use English in today's world. This couple, having no formal language learning background, explains how they do not need English and that they can manage everything using only Finnish. Furthermore, they do not feel being left out of anything because of having no skills in English. However, some controversial evidence arises from the analysis. Based on this evidence one could argue that this old couple has, in fact, been marginalized from some spheres of life. On the one hand, the couple is very aware of the importance and the spread of English, but on the

other hand, they do not feel that the English language is very important in their lives.

There are four main categories or themes that arise from the analysis. These themes are awareness of the English language, contacts with English, undervaluing one's own capabilities and exclusion. These themes will be the focus of the analysis and they will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

5.1.1 Awareness of the English language

The first thing that clearly stands out in the analysis is the informants' awareness of the position of English. The old couple, especially Liisa, is almost surprisingly aware of the situation of the English language in the world. The fact that Liisa names English as the world language gives some evidence of how up-to-date these people are, even though they have not travelled abroad for the past three decades. Extract 1 below shows how aware this couple is and what most likely is behind this awareness.

Extract 1

- Haastattelija: no nii lähdetää liikeelle . elikä ensimmäiseks mää ihan kysyisin teiltä että mitä teille ensimmäisenä tulee mieleen englannin kielestä . mitä ajatuksia se herättää tai . mitä tulee mieleen
(3)
- Liisa: no se semmonen ensiks että että se se on ninkon maailman kieli ja sitä täytyy joka ainoon osata . mutta kun ihminen on ollu kerran laiska ni se ei o viittiny sitä opetella vaikka olis ollu jo monta vuatta tilasuus kun televisiosta on oppinu aika paljon
- Interviewer: Ok let's get going . so first I would ask you that what is the first thing that comes to your mind about the English language . what thoughts does it raise . or what comes to your mind
(3)
- Liisa: Well the first thing is that that it's like a world language and that everyone should be able to use it . but when a person has been so lazy that she hasn't cared to learn it even though there has been the chance for it for many years but I have learnt quite a lot from TV

As shown in extract 1 above, Liisa gives her opinions and thoughts about the English language. After a small pause of thinking, Liisa seemed to have quite a clear opinion about English. She thinks that English is the world language and that everybody should be able to use it. By saying “everybody should be able to use it” could indicate that there is an external compulsion to have English skills. One could argue that what Liisa tells sounds almost like there is some unidentified force pushing people to use English, and if they cannot use English it will be difficult to function in this world. She continues with an undervaluing tone how she has been too lazy to start studying English, even though she would have had the time and plenty of opportunities to do it. However, she mentions that she has learnt quite a lot from watching TV and feels somewhat pleased that TV has provided some opportunities for learning.

From what Liisa has told, one could conclude that besides being very aware of the position of English, Liisa seems a bit apologetic for being too lazy to study English. She thinks that everybody should have English skills; or rather she has noticed the external compulsion that drives people to need those skills. Liisa probably does not include herself into those people who need to have English skills because she explains later how they can manage their lives well without English.

Another example of the awareness of English is given in extract 2 below. Again Liisa is the one who gives her comments on the question concerning the visibility and spread of English in different areas of life.

Extract 2

Haastattelija: ootteko te ylipäättään kiinnittäny huomioo että toi englannin kieli että näkyykö sitä . kuinka paljon . tuleeks teille lehtiä tai jotain / ootteko te
 Liisa: / no meitille tulee aika huanosti lehtiä että . mitä joskus ostetaan tualta noi iltasanomat ja tommoset että niissä ny paremmin paremmin näkkee mutta mutta sano kyllä siitä tiatosia ollaan että englannin kieli . valtaa alaa ei siinä mikkään auta kun kun se tulee ninkon yleiseks kiäleks mielellänsä eikös toi tiatokonekin o nykyänsä nykyänsä paljon semmonen että siältä löytyy niitä englanninkielisiä sanoja

- Interviewer: have you overall noticed that the English language that do you see it . how much . do you get any magazines or something / have you
- Liisa: / well we don't really get magazines . just something that we buy sometimes like Iltasanomat and such and in those you see but but we are very aware that the English language . is gaining ground and nothing can be done about it because it's becoming a common language isn't the computer nowadays such a thing where you can find those English words

Extract 2 shows how much English the couple sees and notices around them, for example in magazines. Liisa explains that they do not subscribe to any magazines, but she continues that English can be seen in some tabloids they sometimes buy. She also puts a strong emphasis on how they are very aware that the English language is gaining ground and how it is becoming a common language. The way Liisa says "we are very aware that the English language is gaining ground and nothing can be done about it" again implies that there are some external forces that drive the English language further and around the world. Furthermore, she mentions the computer and inquiringly suggests that it is a device where one can find those English words. Knowing this couple and their background, it is worth mentioning that they do not have a computer nor have they ever used one. This fact demonstrates how attentively they follow the world around them.

In extract 3 the couple ponders how the English language has evolved and increased in Finland during their lives. Yet again Liisa is more anxious in giving her views and showing her awareness of the matter.

Extract 3

- Haastattelija: ni että ootteko te huomannu nyt tässä ajan saatossa et se englanti on siältä lisääntyny hyvinki paljon ku tähän ette oo koulussakaan sitä lukenu että
- Liisa: ei ei ei koulusa luettu luettu mutta mutta sen huomaa kaikisa kun . me ny ei nin paljoo ennää liikuta mutta mutta esi esimerkiks niihin törmää kaikisa jos mennee [lähin kaupunki] nin siälä on aina aina noita sanoja essiintyy kaikkia ja . ja jatkuvasti niihin törmää
- Interviewer: so have you noticed now as the time has passed that English has increased a lot because you didn't study it at school

Liisa: no no no we didn't study study it at school but but you notice it everywhere when . we don't move a lot anymore but but for for example you run into them in everyplace if you go to [the nearest town] and there is always always those words come up and . and all the time you bump into them

Extract 3 shows how alertly the couple pay attention to their surroundings, as Liisa explains that even though they do not move around as much as before they still have noticed how the use of English has increased. From what Liisa is telling one could conclude that it is difficult not to run into English even when living in the countryside. Liisa uses quite a physical expression when describing the visibility of English: "all the time you bump into them [English words]". The use of "bumping into" suggests that seeing English words is involuntary and thus it cannot be avoided. She also mentions that you run into English words everywhere and gives the nearest town as an example. Even though Liisa tells how you run into English all the time and in everyplace, she still did not mention any specific places or locations, for example, where in the nearest town she has seen English. The reason behind this could be the lack of English skills and not being able to recognize the words and their connections to the places they occur. Nevertheless, it is quite evident that the couple has encountered English and they have become very aware of its existence and spread.

5.1.2 Contacts with English

This section of the analysis deals with the contacts the couple has, and has had, with English in their everyday lives. In the background questionnaire the couple tells how they used to travel every year, but after they retired 30 years ago they also stopped making trips. Their contacts with English are quite limited as they mainly travelled to Sweden and Norway by their own car. However, this gives evidence that the couple is aware of other languages and cultures. Furthermore, they mention that it would have been useful to know some English when they were travelling. Some of the English words

and terms they know are also presented in this section, as well as their opinions and thoughts about the difference between the need of English skills in cities and in the countryside.

In extract 4 below the couple thinks about where they have seen or noticed different languages and what languages especially. Again Liisa takes a more active role, but also Harri participates with laughter. The extract below gives some idea of the contacts the couple has and has had with languages.

Extract 4

- Haastattelija: ((naurua)) kyllä ihan hyvä juttu . totanin (2) mitäs öö kuinka hyvin te ootte kiinnittäny huamioo tällai ympäristöön tässä kotona tai kodin ulkopuolella että mihin kiäliin te törmäätte ylipäätään just ku te
- Liisa: ei ei meikälainen törmää täsä minkään minkään kieleen kieliin se on se on se on englanti ainoo sitten johon johon voi törmätä . kun kun kyllä kyllä täälä ennen vanhaan (2) tuli tuli semmosia kun kun sano sanottiin että ajettiin körökytyillä kotio ameriikasta nin ne osas muutaman jees sanan sitten sannoo /((naurua))
- Harri: / ((naurua))
- Interviewer: ((laughter)) yes that was good . so (2) what umm how well have you noticed your surroundings here at home or outside your home so that what languages do you overall bump into when you
- Liisa: no no I don't bump into any any language languages here it's a it's a it's English the only one that that can be bumped into . but but back in the old days (2) there came came such people trundling along from America who could say a few yes words / ((laughter))
- Harri: / ((laughter))

The above extract gives a good example of how the couple feels about their current situation of not being able to go very far from their home. Liisa expresses rather clearly the fact that they do not run into any languages because of staying at home or close to home. However, she does continue that English would be the most likely language to be bumped into. She reminisces how “back in the old days” (around 1930s) it was possible to run into English even close to their home, because some people came back from America and they were able to speak some English, or “a few yes words” as Liisa puts it and starts laughing. Harri laughs at this too, which probably

indicates that what Liisa had told is somewhat funny. At the turn of the 20th century some people moved from Finland to America in hope for a better and wealthier life. However, some of them had to come back home, as things did not go the way they hoped. The way Liisa tells how the people “trundled along” back to Finland could mean that these people somehow failed in America and had to come back, and therefore they were looked down upon in those days. The people who came back from America were most likely able to say more than a few “yes words”, however, the ability to speak some English was not probably valued among others back then. The people who came back probably wanted to show off with their language skills but were, in fact, laughed at because they had to return home and there were not much further use with English skills. The laughter and choice of words that Liisa uses shows somewhat disparaging attitude towards the people who left Finland and came back later.

It is interesting to notice how TV is not mentioned at all at this point, even though Liisa has told earlier how she has learnt some English from watching TV. One could assume that it is the TV which is the most common place to see and hear English, however, Liisa and Harri did not bring up TV in this context. Thus, one could ask what do they mean when they say they do not “bump into any languages”. According to what Liisa tells in extract 4, it seems as if bumping into languages means bumping into people who speak foreign languages. Following this assumption it would mean that bumping into languages does indeed mean bumping into foreign people and therefore, perhaps, Liisa does not consider TV as something to be bumped into because it is in the same place and available all the time.

Liisa and Harri have had contacts with foreign languages, as in the background questionnaire they told how they used to travel outside Finland once a year. During their travels bumping into foreign languages has certainly meant bumping into foreign people, and this could be the reason why TV was forgotten when thinking about running into languages. An example of running into English is shown in extract 5. The couple is thinking

about situations where they would have needed languages, and especially English. Again Liisa is taking a more active role and starts reminiscing their trip to Norway.

Extract 5

- Haastattelija: no tota onko teillä ollu semmosia tilanteita joskus ihan nuaruudessa että olisitte tarvinnu englantia
(3)
- Liisa: juu ((veikeästi)) / ((naurua))
- Harri: / ((naurua))
- Liisa: olis monta kertaa . ker kerran kerrankin kon olimme reissulla tuala . norjasa menimme syämään (2) minä kun en ossaa syärä ilman leipää nin se oli sukkelaa kun tuatiin kalaa pöytään vaan sitä oli vaikka kuija paljon jottain turskaa mitä hän oli lautanen täynnä ja eikä leipää missään nin nin siitä saakka minä minä oon mutten mää nyt tällä hetkellä muista muista millai millai se oli se mutta siitä saakka mää oon leipää osannu tilata
- Interviewer: so have you had any situations even when you were younger that you would have needed English
(3)
- Liisa: yes ((jovially)) / ((laughter))
- Harri: / ((laughter))
- Liisa: many times . once once when we were on a trip in . Norway we went for a dinner (2) and because I can't eat without bread so it was peculiar when they brought fish to our table and there was lots of it some kind of cod or something the plate was full of it and no bread anywhere so so from that moment on I I have been but I can't remember how how did it go now but from that moment on I have been able to order bread

Looking at extract 5, it becomes rather obvious that there have been many times when Liisa and Harri would have needed some English skills. Liisa says in a jovial manner that there have been many times when they would have needed English and starts to laugh, and Harri joins the laughter as well. This reaction implies that the couple really have some experience in what Liisa is talking about. The laughter possibly means that they share some funny memories from their trips. The way Liisa answers and tells about their trip to Norway indicates that it has been something unforgettable. Liisa feels somewhat proud of learning how to order bread and butter in English and emphasises how she still remembers it. Another inference that can be made from Liisa's answer is that the lack of English skills has never stopped this couple from making trips outside Finland.

After thinking about their contacts with English in their past, the couple moves on to talk about their current life. In extract 6 below the couple stresses the fact that they do not go very far from their home anymore, and therefore they do not run into foreign languages.

Extract 6

- Haastattelija: juu se on hyvä kyllä . no tuleeko nykypäivänä enää semmosia tilanteita sitte vastaan
 Liisa: no ei /ei tu kon emme lähre minkään ennää tästä kauppaan aja
 Harri: / eei ei reissata ennää
 Liisa: tästä kauppaan ajamme nin / ei siinä törmää minkään
 Harri: /ni ei ((naurua))
 Haastattelija: nin aika vähän on ulkomaalaisia kuitenkin täällä pienellä
 Harri: on ei nin täällä kettään o semmosta
- Interviewer: yes that's good . well do you face such situations these days
 Liisa: well no / no because we don't go anywhere anymore from here to the store
 Harri: / no no we don't travel anymore
 Liisa: from here to the store we drive / so you don't bump into anything
 Harri: / yes no ((laughing))
 Interviewer: yes there are only few foreigners here in a small [village]
 Harri: yes there aren't any such here

In extract 6 Liisa explains how they only drive from their home to the store and that is why they do not bump into anything. The word choice of “you don't bump into anything” gives a slightly frustrating feeling. Perhaps Liisa wishes that they could bump into even something on their way to the store. The fact that the couple is no longer able to go anywhere further on their own probably causes some frustration. Also Harri emphasizes that because they do not travel anymore they do not run into languages either. Furthermore, Harri agrees that there are not any foreigners in the small village they live in and that is another reason why they do not face foreign languages. Again here running into foreign languages is considered the same as running into foreign people.

Based on the previous extract, one could conclude that it is difficult to meet foreign people when living in the countryside. One could ask then what does this old couple think about the language situation in

cities, and how do they perceive the difference between cities and the countryside. In extract 7 below, Liisa is summing up whether it is more important for a person living in a city to know English than for a person living in the countryside.

Extract 7

- Haastattelija: no mitä luulette sitten että onko eroja maaseudun ja kaupungin välillä että tarvitaanko tarviiko kaupungissa asuvan osata englantia enemmän tai paremmin kun sit täällä maalla asuvan
- Liisa: > kyllä tarttee . kyllä tarttee < . ei ei tu toimeen ennää kun ensikskin nin siälä törmää paljo enempi öö vieraskielisiin ihmisiin nin että ossaa jottain sanoo
- Interviewer: so what do you think are there any differences between countryside and cities that do people living in cities need to know English better than people living here in the countryside
- Liisa: > yes they do . they do < . you can't can't manage anymore because for one thing you bump into foreign people more so then you can say something

Liisa quite firmly believes that English skills are needed more in cities than in the countryside. At first she starts with a quiet voice as if not being sure of her opinion, but then continues in a more certain tone. She explains that one faces more foreign people in cities and thus it is good to be able to say something to them. She also says “you can't manage anymore [without English skills]” which sounds rather serious, as if one really needs to know English to be able to cope and handle life in cities. What can be read between the lines in extract 7 is that Liisa probably is fairly content that they live in the countryside, because there they can manage their lives well without any English skills.

It is rather self-evident that the most contact that this couple has with English is through TV. Even though the couple does not consider TV as a contact to other languages, because they often mention foreign people when thinking about contacts with different languages. The following extract shows an example of what the couple has learnt from watching and listening

TV. Extract 8 gives a rather amusing sample of what has been caught from different English language TV shows.

Extract 8

Haastattelija: no totanin onko tualta teeveestä tarttunu jotain englannin kielisiä sanoja
mitä te osaatte tai termejä / onko jotain mitä mitä osaatte tai tiedätte

Liisa: / ((hyminää, hiljaista naurua)) (2) ai lav juu

Harri: ((naurua))

Interviewer: so are there any English words or terms that you have learnt from TV
/ are there any that you know

Liisa: / ((humming, quiet laughter)) (2) I love you

Harri: ((laughing))

After some hesitation and quiet laughter Liisa has the courage to say “I love you”. Harri starts laughing after this, which demonstrates that this expression is familiar to him, too. This example shows that both Liisa and Harri listen to the speech and not only follow the subtitles when watching TV, although, Harri tells at some point that he rather reads the subtitles than listens to the speech when watching foreign TV shows. However, the term “I love you” seems to be familiar to both of them.

5.1.3 Undervaluing one’s own capabilities

It was noticeable how often the couple talked about themselves or about their knowledge in condescending manner. They felt insecure even when talking about their own opinions and were somewhat apologetic at times. One could sense the couple feeling themselves too old to have anything important or useful to say. The following extracts give examples of how the couple undervalues their capabilities and knowledge.

Extract 9 below gives a good example of how directly the couple expresses what they believe to be the lack of their knowledge. Liisa gives her opinions, which are relevant to the issue at hand, but she still thinks that what she is saying is not useful or good.

Extract 9

- Haastattelija: no tota mitä miältä ootte onko englannin kieli . teidän mielestä tärkeää että tarvitaanko sitä suomessa . englannin kielen taitoo
(2)
- Liisa: ((huokaus)) ei sitä muuten tarvita kun kylä täällä suamalla pärjää mutta . mutta sano . kun eikös eikös ruppee matkailijoita tulleen nin kylä se hyvä olis kon tosa ossais neuvoo tiätä että ä älä ny älä nyt ton ojan ylitte että hyppää hyppää ((naurua)) seuraavasa paikasa vasta
- Haastattelija: aiva
(2)
- Liisa: nin sano ei siihen muuta täällä törmää kun se on eri eri asia sitten . jos tullee . viaraskielinen vastaa nin miten se sitten haluaa esitellä sitä
- Haastattelija: nii aiva
(5)
- Liisa: > juu kyllä kyllä se on kuule kuule sano huanoo meiti</ ((naurua)) meitin tiatomme
- Harri: / ((naurua))
- Interviewer: so what do you think is the English language . in your opinion is it important do you need it in Finland . English skills
(2)
- Liisa: ((sigh)) no you don't need it because you can manage here in Finnish but . but aren't there more travellers coming so it would be good to be able to give some directions to them so you could tell them that don't cross over that ditch jump jump ((laughter)) over the next one
- Interviewer: yes
(2)
- Liisa: so you know you don't bump into it otherwise because it is a different thing . if there comes . foreign language speaker across your way so how it wants to introduce/show it
- Interviewer: right yes
- Liisa: >yes you know you know our knowledge is quite bad</ ((laughter)) our knowledge
- Harri: / ((laughter))

The fact that Liisa starts talking after a small pause and with a sigh could imply that she had difficulties to answer this particular question about the importance of English in Finland. She talks about the increasing number of travellers and how it would be good to know some English to be able to give directions. The long pauses may indicate that this issue was somewhat difficult for Liisa and Harri to get into. Furthermore, after a longer pause Liisa starts quietly saying how their knowledge is not very good and ends up laughing, and Harri joins the laughter as well. The laughter here could either

mean that Liisa is not completely serious of what she is saying about their poor knowledge or that she feels awkward about what she is saying and eases it up by laughing. Harri's laughter probably indicates that he agrees with what Liisa has just said.

The second example of their undervaluing manner has more to do with their life altogether. In extract 10 Liisa and Harri both talk about how they have managed their lives well without any English skills, but then turn it all around by saying how they have never demanded much.

Extract 10

- Haastattelija: no tota onko teistä koskaan tuntunu siltä että olisitte jääny jostain asiasta ulkopuolelle tai paitsi sen takia että ette oo osannu englantia
(2)
- Liisa: /eei
- Harri: /en oo ainaka huomannu
- Liisa: kaikki kaikki on käyny käyny aina että mitä mitä on koittanu nin kyä se on suomenkielellä käyny ihan . mutta se että vaatimustasokin on on vähän huano ((nauraa))
- Interviewer: so have you ever felt that you have been left outside of some matter or have you missed something because you haven't had English skills
(2)
- Liisa: / no
- Harri: / not that I have noticed
- Liisa: everything everything has always worked worked out fine whatever there has been it has worked out in Finnish . but that's because our demand level is a bit low ((laughter))

Neither Liisa nor Harri feel as being left out of anything because of having no skills in English. They, however, paused for a while before saying anything, and it thus seems that they had to think about this for a couple of seconds. These couple of seconds could point out the fact that Harri and Liisa have travelled abroad and there have been situations where they would have needed English, as Liisa has mentioned earlier. However, they also say that everything has been managed well with Finnish, hence they do not feel being left out of anything, at least not in Finland. Moreover, Liisa wants to add that their requirements are low, and therefore they have not needed English. It feels as if Liisa is saying that their life has been so simple that they have not

had a demand for English. Again Liisa laughs after finishing her sentence, maybe to soften what she has said and/or to indicate that she is not completely serious about what she is saying. Nevertheless, the overall feeling one gets from Liisa's last sentence is rather undervaluing towards their way of life and themselves.

5.1.4 Exclusion

In the previous sections the couple has mentioned how they do not feel excluded or being left out of anything because of their lack of English skills. However, based on the examples shown below, one could argue that there are some aspects of life in Finland that would be difficult for Liisa and Harri to follow or to fully understand. It is thus interesting to notice how Liisa and Harri themselves do not realize that some of the most current issues are not completely understood, even though they are heard or seen daily.

Due to globalisation there are many company names that are in English even when the ownership is Finnish and the company only functions in Finland. This tendency of companies taking English names, to either become more international or trying to achieve certain prestige, is becoming a reality. Reality which might cause problems to some people trying to draw conclusions what a specific company is doing. Extract 11 shows an example of Liisa and Harri trying to determine what the named companies are specialized in.

Extract 11

- Haastattelija: sit totanin mullon taas teille täälä ((naurahdus)) tämmänen paperilappu . tässä on muutaman suomalaisen yrityksen nimiä (2) tiedätekö mitä mitä totanin . mitä nää yritykset tekee tai myy tai
- Liisa: jaa' a pap pappä tietää eikös nää metso metso kon se on metso papperi eiks se
- Harri: toi on toi on paperi / paperifirma mutta >kompuuter<
- Haastattelija: / joo' o metso paper (3)
- Liisa: ja kyl kylä mää tommosten tommosten kompuutterin kuullu oon mutten mää sitä muista mikä se o ((naurua))

- Interviewer: so now I again have here ((laugh)) a piece of paper . here are the names of a few Finnish companies (2) do you know what what . what these companies make or sell or
- Liisa: well grand grandpa knows don't these metso metso because it is metso paper so isn't it
- Harri: that is that is paper / paper firm but >computer<
- Interviewer: / yes metso paper
- (3)
- Liisa: and yes yes I have seen that that computer I have heard it but I can't remember what it is ((laughter))

Both Liisa and Harri seem to think really hard of the names they see. Liisa is giving Harri the floor, and it seems as if she believes that Harri has better knowledge of the company names. The word paper was easier to infer than the word computer, which makes the couple quiet for a few seconds as they try to mouth the word. Liisa, however, admits that she has heard and seen the word computer before, but cannot remember what it means. This phenomenon of recognizing the words but not knowing their meaning is probably quite common among the elderly. At this point Liisa and Harri do not seem to be very bothered about the fact that they do not understand the word computer, because at least Liisa is rather content that she can say to have heard and seen this word before.

Liisa and Harri were asked to identify words that originate from English, but are adapted to Finnish without translation. Some of the words presented to them have been in use for a longer time, but more recent words were *innovaatio*, *globalisaatio* and *chattaila*. These words are heard and seen daily, as they represent currently running issues and news concerning business, internationality and people's lifestyles altogether. Extract 12 demonstrates how difficult these well-adapted English words are to understand for this old couple, even though they come across them daily.

Extract 12

- Liisa: ja / (2) mikäs pakana toi innovaatio o siitton ihan kysymys nyt ollu täsä viime aikoina
- Harri: / innovaatio ((hiljaa))
- Harri: juur juur luin tosta tostakin

- Liisa: nii ja globalisaatio on samate samaten (2) mutta kunnei pa mieleensä
 ((harmittelevasti))
- Liisa: and / (2) what an earth is that innovation it has just been talked about quite
 recently
- Harri: / innovation ((quietly))
- Harri: I just just read it somewhere
- Liisa: yes and globalisation also (2) but one just won't memorize them
 ((annoyingly))

It becomes quite apparent that the words innovation and globalisation are not completely strange to Liisa and Harri because both of them explain running into these words and having read about them recently. Both of them seem to be a bit annoyed by the fact that they do not know what exactly these words mean. Especially Liisa feels somewhat disappointed at herself for not “memorizing” the words and their meanings. In other words, one could assume that Liisa is saying that it is not about the ability to remember new words, but more about the laziness that one has towards wanting to learn new words. It is rather salient that Liisa and Harri feel somewhat frustrated that they cannot quite understand and explain the words, yet they do not seem to be very upset about it. It seems as if they have come to terms with the fact that there are new words, which they will not or do not want to memorize and learn. This is probably because they do not feel the need to know these words.

During the whole interview Harri has been the quieter and less enthusiastic participant, because he said in the beginning of the interview that he has never been interested in any languages, and therefore he has remained rather silent. Liisa, on the other hand, has been very keen on talking about her interest in languages. However, when the company names were presented it was Liisa who quite rapidly made it clear that these were Harri's ‘cup of tea’. Furthermore, in extract 13 Liisa is making some interesting assumptions of the words globalisation and innovation and their possible connection to gender.

Extract 13

Liisa: globalisaatio ((hyvin hiljaa mietiskellen))
 Harri: onks toi joku semmonen ää (3) ää
 Liisa: ne on ne on paremmin ninkon miesten asioita noi innovaatio ja globalisaatio

Liisa: globalisation ((pondering very quietly))
 Harri: is that some something uhm (3) uhm
 Liisa: they are they are more like men's affairs these innovation and globalisation

In the above extract Liisa quietly ponders to herself the word globalisation and is obviously really trying to find the right meaning for the word. However, this time Harri, even though having been the more silent participant, starts talking about globalisation and tries to explain what it means, and therefore Liisa soon makes assumptions that the words globalisation and innovation must be more familiar to men and are more "men's affairs", Liisa explains. This assumption of "men's affairs" could also imply that Liisa is thinking about the time when it was mostly men who were engaged with current issues in politics or business, for example. Or maybe she still believes that these issues actually concern more men than women.

The following extract 14 gives a good example of how the words globalisation and innovation are dealt with by this couple. This extract also sheds some light on why these issues and words stay unfamiliar to these people and probably to many other elderly people, too. The same phenomenon is familiar to anyone who has ever read a book in a foreign language. One comes across with new and unknown words but does not want to look every word up in a dictionary, and therefore some of the words stay unfamiliar and are just ignored.

Extract 14

Liisa: juu nin toi globalisaatio
 Harri: niin kun ne on ne on tuola jo noi öö valtion herrat ja ministerit . ne puhuu näitä sanoja mainittee
 Haastattelija: aiva
 Harri: mutta mä en kylä tiä yhtään sanoo että mitä se .

Liisa: ei se se on semmosta kun sen antaa mennä toisesta korvasta sissään ja toisesta ulos
 Haastattelija: joo eikä kaikkee voi muistaa
 Harri: ei ne ne hypätään ylitte vaa ja jatketaan lukua /lukemista ((naurua))
 Liisa: / ((naurua))
 Harri: lukemista eikä kiinnitetä siihe mittään huamioo että mitä se tarkoittaa

Liisa: yes that globalisation
 Harri: yes because it is those it is those government officials and ministers . they talk about these and mention these words
 Interviewer: yes
 Harri: but I have no idea what it is .
 Liisa: no it's it's so that you let it go in one ear and out of the other
 Interviewer: yes and you can't remember everything
 Harri: no we just ignore them and keep on read /reading ((laughter))
 Liisa: / ((laughter))
 Harri: reading and pay no attention to what it means

What can be concluded from extract 14 could be crystallized into two of the utterances mentioned by Liisa and Harri: "no it's it's so that you let it go in one ear and out of the other" and "no we just ignore them and keep on read reading". These utterances quite accurately point out how the unfamiliar words are treated and the reason behind these words staying unfamiliar. It is undoubtedly sure that these words are registered at some level because Harri tells that these words are used by ministers and government officials, and the words appear in newspapers and magazines. However, as Harri says, the words are ignored and the reading continues no matter whether the word was understood or not. Again here Liisa and Harri do not really seem to mind that they do not understand the words; on the contrary, they laugh at the fact that they do not pay attention to the meanings of the words but go on reading instead. It thus looks as if Liisa and Harri do not feel that these issues are important to them and that globalisation and innovation, among other such words, do not represent anything that would concern their lives. Hence, they have not memorized these words and do not feel excluded or left out of anything.

5.1.5 Summary

The analysis above gives an idea of how this 90-year-old couple, who has no foreign language learning background, sees the world around them and how they feel about the increasing multilingualism. What was surprising was how aware these people, and especially Liisa, are about the status and importance of English in the world. They have acknowledged that English is a world language and that everyone should be able to use it, because it is somehow expected of them. These expectations and the spread of English are seen as cause of some external forces that drive people to use English. Thus, the role of English has been noticed by this couple, and they have followed the world around them quite attentively. One could assume that TV has provided the best opportunities to stay up-to-date with such information and to receive some input in English. Liisa explained that she has always been interested in languages, but has been too lazy to study any of them. Harri, on the other hand, told that he has never shared that interest, and therefore he was quite silent and felt rather indifferent about some of the issues discussed. Liisa also mentioned TV as the only source for learning even some English words and phrases, hence the phrase "I love you" seemed to be familiar to both of them.

When talking about the contacts with English the couple interpreted this as coming across with foreign people. To this couple running into English meant running into foreign people, and because of this interpretation they said they hardly ever run into foreigners. Except for "back in the old days" when some people returned from America and spoke some English. However, back then the English skills were not so highly valued, and people who came back from America were most likely to receive contemptuous remarks from those who had stayed in Finland. Liisa and Harri both explained that coming across English around where they live is very unlikely, but when they go to the nearest town they have noticed English words. Liisa even uses the term "bump into" when describing places

where they have encountered English. They also mention magazines and computer as places in which one can see English. They also emphasized how they do not move around so much anymore, because they no longer have their own car. They used to travel around Scandinavia by their own car, but the last trip was made about three decades ago. These issues revealed some frustration about the fact that they are no longer able to go everywhere freely. Another issue that turned out to be rather conspicuous was the way they quite often talked demeaningly of themselves, as if nothing they had done or said could be of any importance. They even said how their knowledge was poor about the issues discussed and probably of no use for this study. Disparaging attitude towards their knowledge and capabilities arose in other contexts as well. It almost felt like the same attitude was underlying the whole interview and at times it was made obvious and said out loud. This, however, could be partly due to the fact that they were somewhat nervous about the interview and uncertain about what was expected of them.

Liisa and Harri were asked whether they felt excluded of some things or current issues because of not having skills in English. To this Liisa and Harri both answered that they did not think so, because everything has always been managed with Finnish. It is also quite obvious that this couple follows the world through TV, newspapers and magazines they sometimes buy. Therefore, they do not believe to be excluded or left out of anything. However, some contrary information turned up as the couple was asked to recognize and explain a few English loanwords that have been adopted to Finnish. The words *globalisaatio* and *innovaatio* have been in use for a while now, and therefore it was expected for Liisa and Harri to have come across with them. This expectation proved out to be true, but Liisa and Harri did not, however, manage to explain what the above words meant. They made it clear that they have seen the words *globalisaatio* and *innovaatio* many times and that those words have been at hand often and even quite recently, but they could not quite comprehend them. They explained that when they run

into these words on TV or newspaper they just ignore them and keep on reading not really paying much attention to their meanings. This kind of reaction to unfamiliar words suggest that maybe this couple, despite of what they believe, is in fact somewhat excluded from the current issues in the world. One could raise a question of how can this couple fully understand what is going on in the world, if they cannot comprehend the key words of the news, and are likely to disregard any other unfamiliar words they run into. Nevertheless, they themselves seem to be fine with the fact that they cannot understand everything and they do not believe being excluded from anything.

5.2 The two younger generations

The analysis of the two younger generations offers some interesting and undoubtedly somewhat different views and opinions compared to the oldest generation. The four younger informants had more profound discussions and were more daring to bring up their opinions and thoughts. This, however, could be due to the fact that the topic of discussion might have been more interesting and relevant to these younger informants than to the older informants. Some of the discussions lead into unexpected outcomes and revealed the informants' attitudes toward certain issues, which will be dealt in detail in section 5.2.3. Furthermore, the informants were eager to talk about their own experiences of the use of English. The youngest informants are 27-year-old Kaisa, and 28-year-old Juuso, and the older informants are Kaisa's Mother Maarit, who is 57 years old and Juuso's father Heikki, who is 58 years old.

The analysis of the two younger generations is divided into four sections according to the themes that arise from the interview. These four themes are: similarities between the oldest and the two younger generations, gap between generations, English versus Swedish and influence of English to

Finnish. The first section in this analysis, however, deals with the similarities that occur between the oldest generation and the two younger generations.

5.2.1 Similarities between generations

The first issue that arose from the analysis was rather surprising, because it was so similar to what had come up with the oldest generation. The younger informants related running into foreign languages with running into foreign people, which was the case with the older informants as well. Extract 15 below demonstrates how even these youngest informants combine foreign languages with only foreign people. It is quite amazing that it is people that first come to mind when talking about running into foreign languages, even though one would think that foreign languages are seen and heard daily through different media. The reason behind this might be that one does not notice or pay attention to something that happens gradually or something that is very commonplace.

Extract 15

- Haastattelija: täällä maaseudulla nyt kun asustelette että mitä kieliä vieraita kieliä te kuulette ja näette niin kun elinympäristössänne yleensä jos otetaan nyt suomi ja ruotsi pois että mitkä on sellasia kieliä mihin törmäätte
- Kaisa: [kylän nimi] en oo törmänny kertaakaan mihinkään ((naurahtaan)) vieraaseen kieleen vielä
- Juuso: täällä on mun mielestä täällä on kesällä kesällä lähinnä on saksa ja englantti suurin osa englantia ja sitten kyllä toi venäjän venäjä ja näitten
- Haastattelija: no missä sää siihen täällä törmäät
- Juuso: no sekä [paikallinen bensa-asema] ((naurua)) [paikallisella bensa-asemalla] poikkeee ohikulkijoita lähinnä jazzien aikaan esimerkiks ja sitten kyllä meillä tossa sitte tuos mökki mökkihommassa tietenkin sitä kautta sitä kautta joutuu oleen
- Interviewer: so now that you live here in the countryside so what languages foreign languages do you hear and see in your environment if we won't count Finnish and Swedish so what are such languages that you bump into
- Kaisa: In [the name of the village] I haven't bumped at all into ((laughter)) any foreign language yet
- Juuso: here I think that here there are German and English mostly English in the summer but also Russia Russian and such

Interviewer: so where do you bump into them here
 Juuso: well also at [the local gas station] there are some passers-by mostly during the jazz festival for example and also we have to in our cottage cottages business we have to take contact

The informants were asked to think about what foreign languages they hear or see or run into in their environment. One could have assumed that TV, radio and Internet would have been mentioned but, on the contrary, these were not brought up at this point at all. Kaisa starts by telling how she has never bumped into any foreign language in her home village, at least not yet, whereas Juuso explains how one can run into German and Russian, but mostly English, during summer when there are some passers-by stopping to get gasoline or coffee at the local gas station. Furthermore, Juuso tells how he comes across with languages because of having rental cottages. It is thus interesting that just as Liisa and Harri considered running into foreign languages the same as running into foreign people so did the two younger generations as well.

After talking about encountering foreign languages the informants were discussing exact places where they have seen or heard English. Now that they were asked to think about the most common places, at home or outside their home, where they have come across English they started to talk about the different media. For some reason, it was not until the informants were asked to think about specific places that they realized encountering English without meeting any foreign people. Extract 16 gives an example of the two youngest participants and the other older one thinking about places where they have seen or heard English.

Extract 16

Haastattelija: mutta ylipäätään tästä nyt voi päätellä että englantia on sellanen mihin eniten törmää kuitenkin onks teillä jotain missä te ninkun y- yleensä tai kuulette ja näette englantia siis mikkä on ehkä semmosia yleisimpiä paikkoja jos ajattelette nyt ihan kotia tai kodin ulkopuolta
 Kaisa: telkkari
 Maarit: nii'in televisio
 Juuso: netti

- Haastattelija: aivan
 Kaisa: nii'in
 Juuso: netis netissä on lähestulkoon kaikki mitä me käytetään tuolla niin kylä ne suurimmaks osaks on englanninkielisiä
- Interviewer: but overall one could conclude that English is such in which one mostly runs into anyway so do you have some place where you usually or hear and see English I mean what would be the most common places if you think about your home or outside your home
- Kaisa: TV
 Maarit: yes television
 Juuso: the net
 Interviewer: sure
 Kaisa: yes
 Juuso: in the net there is almost everything we use in the net they are mostly in English

The different media that one expected the informants to mention earlier came up at this point. TV was the first to be mentioned and the Internet came second. It is interesting to notice how it is the two youngest informants, Kaisa and Juuso, who point out these two forms of the media. The fact that the two older informants, Maarit and Heikki, did not give any examples could suggest that they were still trying to think about foreign people, although Maarit quite firmly agrees with her daughter Kaisa when she mentioned the TV. This, however, could also indicate that she is now realizing that coming across English can mean something else than just foreign people. It is also worth mentioning that all these people have access to TV and Internet at home and everyone uses them at work or at home daily. Juuso, who has his own business that sells computers and other electronics, explains how everything they need from the Internet in their work is mostly in English. Nonetheless, it is certain that whoever watches TV or uses the Internet cannot help facing English at some point. Even the oldest informants Harri and Liisa acknowledged later that one hears English from TV and they hesitantly also mentioned computer as a device where one could run into English.

Another similarity between the two interviews concerns the usefulness and the importance of English. Liisa and Harri told how they can

manage their lives well without English, and the same habit of thinking could be realized among the younger informants as well. However, all the informants admit in some form that it would be good and useful to be able to understand, and especially speak, English. The difference between the informants is, however, that the youngest participants Kaisa and Juuso, and also Kaisa's mother Maarit, are able to use some English, whereas Liisa, Harri and Heikki are not. Nevertheless, they all wish to either have even some skills in English or better skills. Even though life is managed without English, it is admitted that English skills would help, for example, when travelling abroad, watching TV and surfing on the Internet. The following extract gives a funny example of the usefulness of English even at home. One could assume that English is hardly ever used in Finnish speaking homes. However, in extract 17 Kaisa explains how she sometimes speaks English with her husband so that their children would not understand what they are saying. In the example below it is the children's grandmother, Maarit, who used English to keep the children unaware of what was happening.

Extract 17

- Haastattelija: no mites teillä ihan niinku noin kotona tai työpaikalla Juuso puhukin jo työnsä kautta joutuu tekemisiin mutta entäs teillä Kaisa onks teillä
- Kaisa: kotona jos täytyy puhua sillai että lapset ei saa ymmärtää niin voidaan puhua englantia isän kans
((naurua))
- Maarit: no panic but there is a mouse
- Kaisa: äiti just sano joku päivä
- Maarit: kaks viikkoo sitte heillä oli hiiri keittiön lattialla mää en halunnu pelästyttää lapsia niin mää puhuin englanniks
((naurua))
- Interviewer: so how about at home or at work Juuso was already talking about how he needs English because of his work but what about you Kaisa do you need sometimes when we need to talk so that the children wouldn't understand
- Kaisa: then we might speak English with dad
((laughter))
- Maarit: no panic but there is a mouse
- Kaisa: mom just said the other day
- Maarit: two weeks ago they had a mouse on the kitchen floor and I didn't want to scare the children so I spoke in English
((laughter))

It would be interesting to know how common it is for parents or other people to use English in order to keep some things to themselves. In the above extract there is a rather amusing example of such situation. The grandmother Maarit explains how she used English not to scare the children when there was a mouse in the kitchen floor by saying “no panic but there is a mouse”. In this way Maarit and Kaisa were able to take care of the situation so that the children did not know what was going on. Otherwise English is not probably used very often in Finnish speaking homes or even outside home, and therefore it is, perhaps, easy to say that life is managed well without English.

There were two more issues where the oldest and the two younger generations had similar views. First, the opinions about the importance of English in cities versus the countryside, and second, the danger of marginalization. The oldest informants seemed to believe that it is more important for people to have skills in English when living in a city than people who live in the countryside. They explained that there is a greater chance to run into foreign people in cities, and therefore it is more important to know a few English words. The four younger informants brought up the same reason, but they were not as straightforward about it.

Extract 18

Juuso: mummielestä riippuu niin paljo vaan paikasta ja tilanteesta
 Kaisa: niin ja siis varmaan niinku useemmin tietenkun tarvitaan kaupungis niin kun määkän en muista koska mää tosiaan oon viimeks englantia puhunu . mutta sitten jos asuis kaupungissa nin vois olla että isommalla todennäkösydellä varmaan ehkä vois tarvitaki sitä kieltä
 Heikki: mutta täälä on sitten se että täälä ei saa apua täälä on sitte kunnei osaa kukaan kato ja naapuriin on kolmekymmentä kilometriä
 Maarit: viisainta olis vähä osata ((naurua))
 Heikki: ((naurua))

Juuso: I think it depends so much on the place and the situation
 Kaisa: yes and I guess that they need [English] more often of course in the city because even I can't remember when was the last time I spoke English . but

- maybe if you lived in a city then there would probably be bigger odds to maybe need that language
- Heikki: but here is here is so that you cannot get help here because no one knows [English] and it is thirty kilometres to the next-door neighbour
- Maarit: so it would be wise to know even some [English] ((laughter))
- Heikki: ((laughter))

In extract 18 the participants talk about whether there really is more need for English in the cities than in the countryside. Juuso believes that the need for English depends on the place and the situation, meaning that one might as well need English in the country, at least in some places. Here he probably refers to the point he brought up earlier when he mentioned that foreign passers-by stop to get gasoline from the local gas station and there the English skills would be useful. Altogether, Juuso has a slightly different perspective, as he needs English when he receives foreign guests to his rental cottages, and therefore he is more likely to need English compared to the others. In fact, Kaisa mentions how she cannot even remember the last time she has spoken English, which demonstrates that she has not come across such situations while living in the country. She, however, believes there might be “bigger odds” to need English in the cities, as she puts it. Heikki considers the matter from a slightly different perspective, as he points out that “you cannot get help here [in the countryside] because no one knows [English] and it is thirty kilometres to the next-door neighbour”. Heikki’s statement here suggests that people’s English skills are very poor around where he lives, or this statement might reflect his own lack of English skills and that he could not be able to give directions or otherwise give help in English. He also exaggerates about the distances between neighbours as if to emphasise his point. Within 30 kilometres from where Heikki lives there are a few population centres and one bigger town. Maarit quickly adds to Heikki’s statement that “it would be wise to know even some English” and laughs and Heikki joins the laughter as well. The laughter possibly indicates Heikki’s point being exaggeration, because otherwise it would mean that if

you cannot give help in English it would be 30 kilometres walk for a stranger to the next place to get some help.

In extract 19 the participants continue talking about the differences between cities and the countryside. Here they consider the various options cities have to offer in contrast to the countryside, where one has to settle for fewer possibilities.

Extract 19

- Heikki: ja englanninkielisiä esikouluja ja kaikkia on nykyään
 Kaisa: nii nii niin että siis voi ihan tosi pienestä . mutta ne on taas näitä kaupungin etuja sitte
 Heikki: ja niissä on taikka sillai tunnen sukulaisia ja tuttuja mikkä on lapset ollu siälä että kyä ne varmaan sitte osa ainakin on hyvin tullu sitten englanninkielen taitosiks niistä
 Kaisa: et se on se maaseudun ja kaupungin ero oikeestaan
 Heikki: mutta ne on kaupunkilaisia kyllä mikkä on sitte niitä mutta
 Maarit: valinnan mahdollisuuksia
 Heikki: niin siälä on niinko mahdollisuuksia
- Heikki: and nowadays English language preschools and everything
 Kaisa: yes yes so that you can start when you're really small . but those are these benefits of a city then
 Heikki: and there are or I know relatives and friends whose children have been there so they probably or some of them have acquired English skills there
 Kaisa: so that really is the difference between countryside and the city
 Heikki: but they are town residents those of who have but
 Maarit: possibilities of choice
 Heikki: yes there are like possibilities

The discussion in extract 19 revolves around the possibilities of education offered in the cities. Heikki mentions that there are English language preschools and such in the cities and Kaisa comments that one can start learning English at a very early age and says that "those are these benefits of a city" and defines these benefits being the real difference between the countryside and the city. Maarit and Heikki both conclude that there are more "possibilities of choice" in the cities than in the countryside. The possibilities mentioned here have all something to do with education. They realized how many different choices there are even for children to start

learning English, as there are English play schools, daycares and such. What is not shown in the extract above is that they also mentioned how there are, at least, adult education centres in the countryside that provide chances for learning foreign languages.

Similarities between the opinions of the younger and the oldest participants occurred also in the discussion of possible marginalization. All of the participants agreed that the lack of English skills could not cause exclusion or marginalization from the surrounding world or what was going on over the world. However, some uncertainty could be noticed in extract 20 below.

Extract 20

Haastattelija: no mitä luulette onko siinä mitään tämmästä voisko pelätä tämmästä syrjäytymistä jos ajatellaan jotain vielä vanhempia ihmisiä jotka ei oikeesti osaa englantia yhtään onko niillä täällä maaseudulla jonkin näkönen syrjäytymisvaara muusta maailmasta koska tosi paljon englantia on joka tuutista tulee ja jos ei ymmärrä hirveen paljo yhtään mitään ni voisko sitä ajatella että ois joku tämmönen

..

Maarit: emmä usko että

Kaisa: emmä usko

Juuso: emmää usko

Kaisa: telkkaria pistetään vaan ninku no nii sitä pistetään silti isommalle vaikkei ((naurua)) siitä ymmärrä mittään ni telkkarin täytyy huutaa ja tekstitystä luetaan juu en tiä

Heikki: vaihdetaan kanavaa

Interviewer: so what do you think are there any or could you be afraid of marginalization if we think about those older people who really don't know any English at all is there a possibility here in the countryside for those people to be excluded from the world outside because there is so much English everywhere and if you don't understand very much of anything so could there be such [possibility]

..

Maarit: I don't think that

Kaisa: I don't think so

Juuso: I don't think so

Kaisa: TV is turned up well yes it is turned up louder even ((laughter)) though they don't understand anything but still the TV has to be loud and the subtitles are read yeah I don't know

Heikki: switch the channel

The question about possible exclusion, or even marginalization, of people without English skills was answered with a slight uncertainty. There is a small pause before anyone takes the floor, which means that everyone had to think about this for a while. Even after the pause participants answer “I don’t think so”, which means that they are not quite sure about this. They seem to think that everything is managed in Finnish and that one can always read Finnish subtitles or switch the channel on TV if English is a problem. However, it is interesting to notice that this question made the participants really think about the role of English in Finland. What comes up later on in the discussion is that the younger participants do not think that the world would go to the point, where the Finnish people would need English to manage their lives. Nevertheless, the question about possible exclusion made the participants somewhat hesitant and thoughtful.

5.2.2 Gap between generations

On a few occasions the difference in language learning backgrounds between the two youngest generations were discussed and brought up by the older informants. There were couple points in the interview where the older informants, Maarit and Heikki, talked about this difference and its influence on language skills. It was considered by the older participants that younger people are able to speak foreign languages and that it is expected of them. Maarit and Heikki also talked about how the schools give the opportunity for learning languages, in contrast to when they were going to school and languages were not taught as much, or even considered worth studying.

In Extract 21 Heikki is thinking about the younger generations’ abilities to use English. He strongly believes that English has become more important now that everyone is able to use it and because it is a language which is used in modern technology. Heikki also emphasizes that this

technology has had its influence on the importance and interest in English within young people.

Extract 21

Heikki: se on niinku vähän tämmänen uuremman sukupolven kon ne osaa sitä nyt jo kaikki
 Maarit: mmm
 Heikki: niin sehän on sitten jo paljon semmonen tärkeempi ja kaikenpuolin ninko helpompi kun ainaki vähän osaa jokainen
 Maarit: se tulee
 Kaisa: se on vähä semmone niinku oletus että nykyään pitäs osata
 Heikki: nii ja kyllä varmasti nää tietokoneet ja muut on siihen tehny että se on kiinnostanu nuorisoo paljo

Heikki: it's like like this newer generation's thing because they all can already use it
 Maarit: mmm
 Heikki: yes and then it's a lot more important and otherwise easier when everybody knows at least something
 Maarit: it comes
 Kaisa: it's like there is a kind of expectation that nowadays one should be able [to use English]
 Heikki: yes and I suppose that these computers and such have made it so that it [English] has been more interesting to youth

Heikki is telling how English skills are to do with the younger generations “because they all can already use it”. He also admits, having no foreign language competence himself, because he has never studied any English, that it is easier when everybody is able to use even some English. By saying this, he might refer to the fact that he has never been able to use English, even though he would have needed it before his son took over the cottage rental business. Kaisa adds how nowadays it is expected that one knows English. This comment is somewhat similar to what the oldest couple was saying by “everybody should be able to use it [English]”. Again here the issue of external compulsion arises and it is noticed by the youngest generation as well. It is not just the oldest people who think that one ought to know English, but this has been regarded by the youngest generation, too. First, Heikki was telling that English is younger generation's “thing” and later he continues how he believes that the modern technology has affected the interest towards English within youngsters. “Computers and such” that were

not accessible when Heikki and Maarit were young have most likely influenced the learning of English and made it more interesting as Heikki describes. One could conclude that Heikki has never been very keen on or interested in learning English, because there have not been anything that would have motivated him.

In extract 22 the discussion concerning the differences between generations continues. Here Maarit is telling her views of the English language concerning Finnish youth. Maarit approaches this issue by taking the schools into the discussion.

Extract 22

Maarit: ja kyllä kai se tilanne muuttuu väkisinkin nyt sit ihan senkin myötä että kun lapset nyt jo koulussa kol kolmannelta luokalta asti sitä englantia lukevat niin niin jonku jonkunlainen englanninkielen taito on sitten jatkossa jokaisella et kai se on tää meidän sukupolvi
 Heikki: kyllä nuarilla on jo ihan varmaan ni sillai ainaki
 Maarit: niin lähtökohdat on nii toisenlaiset

Maarit: and I think that the situation will change inevitably now because the children already start studying English from the third grade on and so so in future everybody will have some skills in English so that I guess it's this our generation
 Heikki: yes young people already have some at least
 Maarit: yes starting points are so different

In the above example Maarit is clinging to the fact that children start studying English from the third grade on and, therefore, she believes that in the future everyone will have some kind of competence in English. The choice of words that Maarit uses is rather interesting. She says how “the situation is changing inevitably”. It seems as if Maarit is saying that whereas they did not have the chance to study English, now learning English and having competence in English is “inevitable”. She also explains how it is their generation that does not have good skills in English. One could assume that besides their generation Maarit is also referring to older generations. Heikki agrees with Maarit and believes that young people already have some

of those English skills. Maarit also continues by saying how the “starting points are so different”, thus meaning that they did not have the chance to study languages compared to the current situation at schools.

5.2.3 English versus Swedish

Probably one of the most interesting issues that arose from the interview was the attitude towards Swedish. Swedish, or the attitude towards it, was not planned to be part of the discussion. However, these issues came up a couple times during the interview by the informants. The other thing that was not so surprising was that the two youngest participants were the ones who brought Swedish into the discussion and were quite clear about their opinions of Finland’s second official language.

In extract 23 one can clearly notice the attitude towards Swedish by the two youngest informants, Kaisa and Juuso. They do not seem to be too discreet with their opinions about Swedish. In the example below, Juuso is really questioning the importance of Swedish in Finland, even though it has the status of the second official language.

Extract 23

- Haastattelija: no entäs sit suomessa onko englanti jo vallottanu liikaa alaa
 Juuso: ei mutta ruotsin vois jättää pois
 Maarit: ((naurua))
 Kaisa: englantia lisää ja ruatsi pois ((naurua))
 Juuso: ei kun oikeesti niin kun ajattelee että ruotsia että kuija paljo sitä oikeesti vaikka se on täälä ninkun kakkos tai toisena äidinkielenä pakollisena nin tua kuija paljo sitä oikeesti tarvitaa
 Kaisa: mää en oo ikinä tarvinnu ainaka
- Interviewer: and so what about in Finland has English already taken over too much
 Juuso: no but one could leave out Swedish
 Maarit: ((laughter))
 Kaisa: more English and no Swedish ((laughter))
 Juuso: no but seriously when you think about it how much Swedish do you really need even though it is like the other or the second obligatory mother tongue but still how much one really needs it
 Kaisa: at least I have never needed it

As shown in extract 23 above the idea was to talk about something else or one expected something completely different. The question was whether the informants think that the English language has taken over too much in Finland. However, Juuso unexpectedly started talking about Swedish. He answered “no, but one could leave out Swedish”. It is not difficult to interpret this answer. It is quite obvious that Juuso is not very keen on Swedish. Juuso’s comment caused some amusement in Kaisa’s mother as she started to laugh. From this reaction one could assume that Maarit has some experience on this kind of attitude towards Swedish, probably because what has been the general discussion in Finland, but also because of her daughter. In fact, Kaisa quickly continued to what Juuso had said by adding “more English and no Swedish” and laughed after saying this. Here the laughter could suggest that she is not very keen on Swedish either, but also that she is not completely serious about what she had said. After this, Juuso takes a more serious tone and talks more about his thoughts about Swedish and its importance in Finland. He disputes the need for Swedish and raises a question of the real use for Swedish in Finland. Kaisa agrees with Juuso and admits that she has never needed Swedish.

Interestingly enough, Swedish was brought up in another context as well. In extract 24 the discussion was lead towards an issue concerning the future of English in Finland. Again one expected a different outcome, yet Swedish was the first thing to be mentioned, and the youngest informants were the ones who raised it into the discussion again.

Extract 24

- Haastattelija: no tota millä todennäköisyydellä englantia on yks suomen virallisista kielistä kahenkymmenen vuoden kuluttua
(2)
- Kaisa: jos se syrjäyttäis sen ruotsin ni sopis kyllä ((naurahdus))
- Juuso: sen ruotsin puolelle sopis kyllä
- Heikki: mutta sinne voi tulla jotain uusiaki siks
- Haastattelija: muita kieliä
- Heikki: ni
- Haastattelija: kuten

- (1)
 Juuso: meinaaks että venäjä vallottaa
 Heikki: hehe ei siitäkän takeita o mut tua kyyllä se
- Interviewer: so what do you think are the odds of English being one of the official languages in Finland in twenty years
 (2)
 Kaisa: well if it displaces Swedish then that would be alright ((laughter))
 Juuso: to Sweden that would be fine
 Heikki: but there can come also some new ones by then
 Interviewer: other languages
 Heikki: yes
 Interviewer: like
 (1)
 Juuso: you think that Russia will come and conquer
 Heikki: hehe there's no guarantee of that happening either but

After a brief moment of thinking, Kaisa expresses her opinion about Swedish and welcomes English to “displace Swedish”. This sentence was followed by her own laughter as if to soften and make her opinion less seriously taken. Juuso, however, gets excited about this and continues that it would be fine if Swedish were to be displaced or limited into Sweden only. At this point, also Heikki gives his opinion as to represent older generation's views. He seems to believe that there might be some “new” languages in twenty years time. By using the term “new” Heikki probably means other languages than English, as he admits after “other languages” were offered to him for clarification. Heikki seems rather convinced that there will be some other language taking over smaller languages than English. He, however, did not want to give any examples or name any specific languages, which might become official in Finland. Between the lines one could interpret that he was meaning Russian, even though he did not mention it himself. Nevertheless, he replied to his son's sarcastic comment about Russia conquering Finland as to agree with it, but he tried to be somewhat discreet. By starting his last comment with a fake laugh one could understand it as a warning that it is not something one should laugh at or take too lightly. Therefore, one could

conclude that in Heikki's opinion, Russian could be one of the official languages in Finland in twenty years.

5.2.4 Influence of English to Finnish

There were a few times when the informants were thinking about the influence of English to Finnish. They stopped for pondering whether or not it is a completely good thing that English is spreading. On the one hand, they acknowledged the fact of globalisation and Finland becoming more international. On the other hand, they weighed the different effects of English on the Finnish language and discussed the possible threats that the English language might bring about.

In the following extract the informants discussed different places and areas of life in which one can see and come across with English. Heikki was the only one who did not take part in this discussion, whereas the others were assessing the current situation of English in Finland. Extract 25 gives a good example of what can, perhaps, be a rather common way of thinking among Finns about English and the continuous process of Finland becoming more and more international.

Extract 25

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Maarit: | mutta onhan semmonen ilmiö selvästi näkyvillä että että ravintoloiden nimet ja |
| Kaisa: | ruokalistat on nykyään englanniks |
| Maarit: | liikkeiden nimet ja niin suomessakin että että se on aina se englanti niin siitähän on jonkun |
| Juuso: | joo kyllä |
| Maarit: | verran keskusteltu että että miltä se nyt alkaa näyttää |
| Haastattelija: | aiva |
| Kaisa: | niin että toisaalta se on sit semmosta hianoo ja kansainvälistä mutta (2) nii |
| Maarit: | mutta katoaako siitä sitten sitä jotakin olennaista suomalaista |
| Kaisa: | niin sit se ei oo enää suomalaista |
| Maarit: | but there is such phenomenon visible that that the names of restaurants and |
| Kaisa: | the menus are nowadays in English |
| Maarit: | names of stores and in Finland too so that that it is always English and there have been |

Juuso: yes that's right
 Maarit: some discussions going on about this and how it's starting to look
 Interviewer: yes
 Kaisa: yes and on the one hand it's like cool and international but (2) yeah
 Maarit: but will something essential to Finnish disappear by this
 Kaisa: yes then it is no longer Finnish

Maarit starts discussing what she calls "a phenomenon" of English being visible in the names of restaurants and businesses. She also continues how she has noticed that there have been some discussions going on about this tendency of English displacing Finnish and the way it is starting to look in the Finnish surroundings and street scene. Kaisa and Juuso agree with Maarit, and Kaisa starts pondering how the use of English is, on the one hand, "fancy and international", but on the other hand, she is no longer so sure about it as she suddenly gets quiet and seems somewhat pensive. Maarit finishes Kaisa's thoughtful sentence by questioning whether something essential to Finnish will disappear by this attempt to be "fancy and international". Kaisa reacts to this as discovering something new and comments that "then it is no longer Finnish". This comment could suggest that the Finnish language is seen very important and as the base for being Finnish. The above extract gives an apt example of what probably has been noticed by other Finnish people as well. One could make an inference that there presumably are people who are really worried about the direction Finland is heading with its use of English. Even these participants seem to be slightly worried about this trend; however, no one is too obsessive about it.

The participants also weighed the different threats and possibilities of the English language in Finland. They were asked to think about whether something would happen to Finnish, or could Finnish vanish altogether at some point. These issues are discussed in extract 26 below.

Extract 26

Haastattelija: no tota nin mm mimmosia uhkia tai mahdollisesti hyötyjä te näette sit siinä että tää englanti on englanti näkyy näinkin paljon suomessa pelkäättekö te että suomenkielelle tapahtuu jotain häviääkö se
 Maarit: ei kai sentään

- Juuso: ei se minkään häviä varmaan ainaka mejän aikana ((naurua))
 Maarit: se elää ja muuttuu mutta nin kai kieli tekeeki ja kuuluuki tehdä et se
 Kaisa: siis onhan se sillai just että sitten ninku on semmosta kansainvälisempää
 että
- Interviewer: so what hmm what kind of threats or perhaps possibilities can you see now
 that the English is English can be seen so much in Finland are you afraid
 that something will happen to Finnish language will it disappear
- Maarit: no it can't
- Juuso: I don't think it'll disappear anywhere not at least in our lifetime ((laughter))
- Maarit: it lives and changes but I guess that's something a language is suppose to do
- Kaisa: but it is so that that then it will be like more international

The first thing that could be concluded from the above extract is that no one seems to believe that Finnish could die away, “at least not in our lifetime” as Juuso pointed out. Interestingly, Maarit brought up the fact that Finnish will probably change over time and inquiringly added that it is normal for every language to change in the long run. Again Kaisa is the one who brings up the view of the world becoming more and more international. She believes that within the English language comes the internationality of the world and Finland, as well. The way in which Kaisa talks about this internationality seems somewhat vague, as one can see from her last sentence in the example: “but it is so that that then it will be like more international”. This could suggest that she is not very sure about what this internationality would mean in the future, other than increased use of English. The other thing worth pointing out is that nobody mentioned any threats that might evolve by the growth or spread of English.

As the discussion on the influence of English to Finnish went on, the informants started to notice more and more examples of the different areas of life where one can see the English terms and words. In extract 27 the informants discuss one such area, which has always been dominated by the English language, but where the words have been adapted to be more suitable for Finnish use, especially when it comes to pronunciation.

Extract 27

- Juuso: niin tietokonepuolella varsinkin
 Kaisa: ni siälä on tosi paljo semmosta että joko on suaraan englanninkielinen sana mikä sanotaan niin tai sitte se on semmonen suomennos
- Juuso: formatointi
 Kaisa: ni just
 Maarit: buuttaus
 Kaisa: buuttaus ja formatointi juu juu kyllä
- Juuso: yes especially when it comes to computers
 Kaisa: yes there are a lot of such where there is an English word that you say as it is or some kind of Finnish translation
- Juuso: forming
 Kaisa: yes exactly
 Maarit: booting
 Kaisa: booting and forming yes yes that's right

Juuso, Kaisa and Maarit talk about computers and the vocabulary related to them. They all acknowledge that vocabulary that has to do with computers and any related technology is often in English. The informants, however, discuss different words and how they are either taken straight from English or they have been slightly modified for it be possible to say them in "Finnish". These kinds of loanwords are common when talking about recent technology, where it has been difficult to replace or translate new technological terms into Finnish.

5.2.5 Summary

The analysis of the discussion by the two younger generations offered interesting views and opinions about English in Finland and in their lives. Even some similarities were found between the three generations about how English is perceived and how important it is considered to be. One interesting similarity was how encountering foreign languages was considered running into foreign people, as if one could not come across English until one meets foreigners. The same conclusions were made by the

oldest participants, as well. The youngest informants, however, realized later that one can run into English without running into foreign people, for example when watching TV, or surfing on the Internet and so on. It thus became apparent that English can be seen and heard almost everywhere. Other similarities between the generations were the usefulness and importance of English. English was considered an important language that one needs nowadays in many areas of life. The four younger participants also agreed that one is more likely to need English in the cities than in the countryside. They also talked about the numerous educational opportunities there are in the city compared to the countryside. The question about the possible exclusion or marginalization of people without any skills in English was answered with slight uncertainty. They believed that one could not be excluded because of having no knowledge on English, however, the younger participants seemed to be more doubtful about this than the oldest participants.

On a few occasions the older participants, Heikki and Maarit, started discussing how the importance and need for languages have changed since their school years. They talked about how languages were not considered so important and how there was not anything that would have driven them to learn English, in contrast to today's modern technology, computers and the Internet, for example. Maarit and Heikki also point out that whereas their children and younger generations have received foreign language education, they and older generations have not had such an opportunity. Therefore one could talk about a foreign language ability gap between generations, as if the younger generations in Finland are the 'haves' and older generations are the 'have-nots'.

The idea of the interview was to find out what kind of opinions, views and perhaps attitudes the participants had towards English in Finland. However, something quite interesting was brought into the discussion suddenly. The participants were asked whether English was too dominant in Finland. For this question the two youngest informants, Juuso and Kaisa,

unexpectedly answered that there is too much Swedish. According to their opinion, there should be more English and no Swedish in Finland. These opinions reflect their attitudes toward Swedish quite clearly. They also continued how they believed Swedish to be a very unnecessary language in Finland, even though it is the second official language. They justified their opinions by questioning who really needs Swedish in Finland, because they have never needed it anywhere.

When the discussion about the influence of English to Finnish went on, the participants started to think about what kind of places one can run into English. All the informants, except Heikki, took part in the discussion. The participants seemed to really think about how much English is, in fact, seen in Finland, especially in business and when working with computers. Maarit and Kaisa also noticed how the names and menus of restaurants are often in English. They concluded that companies want to be more international and give a more global image of their businesses. At the same time as the participants were reasoning these English names by internationality, they also noticed how this need to give an international image might lead to losing something vital to Finnish. The whole discussion made the participants somewhat pensive as they noticed how the English words have become part of the street scenes and everyday life. However, they did also acknowledge that it is normal for languages to change over time, and after consideration they did not believe that Finnish could “die away”, at least for a long time.

6. DISCUSSION

It might be difficult to try to avoid English in Finland nowadays when English is the language of many TV shows, songs, and sites on the Internet, and so on. The position of English as a world language has been noticed and the present study gives no proof to believe otherwise. The importance and status of English had been acknowledged by the six participants of the study, and their views and opinions were analysed in order to gain a better understanding of how these people perceived English in the world, in Finland and in their lives. The background and the different ages of the participants were of great importance, and the analysis was done bearing these variables in mind. The analysis offered interesting insights into how the people in this study viewed English. Some of the findings of the present study are compared and reflected here to the results of the national survey introduced earlier in section 3.4.

The oldest couple in the present study represent people who are as old as the independent Finland. This means that the old couple have seen and witnessed a great deal of changes and development in Finland alone and, therefore, their views and opinions were interesting to find out. The two younger generations provided with slightly different aspects and offered good points of comparison to the oldest generation and to the national survey. The analysis of the present study shows that age and level of education have nothing to do with the awareness of the current status of English in the world and in Finland. The old couple, Liisa and Harri, seemed to be very aware of the spread and importance of English. Liisa and Harri named English as a world language and believed that everyone should know English and be able to use it. The four younger participants had similar thoughts, and they referred to this external compulsion of needing English skills, as well. They also talked about how it is nowadays expected of young people to have skills in English. Liisa and Harri, however, did not include themselves amongst the people who should know English, because they did

not consider English important to them personally. They explained how everything in their lives could be managed in Finnish, although, they admitted that there have been times when English skills could have come in handy. The younger participants also mentioned how it would be good to know at least some English.

The interview with the oldest participants revealed something that was not expected, but proved out to be rather salient feature throughout the interview and the analysis process. This feature was the undervaluing tone the couple had towards their knowledge and even towards their way of life altogether. Liisa and Harri pointed out a few times how their life is so simple and their requirements so low that they, therefore, do not need English. They also emphasised the fact that they were no longer able to go very far from their home, which meant that their life was more restricted to one place. Furthermore, they undervalued their knowledge about the issues that were introduced in the interview and believed that their views and opinions had no value to the study at hand. The undervaluing tone could, however, be seen as a form of self-protection, because the old couple did not know what was expected of them. They might have also felt uncomfortable talking about their experiences and opinions with someone who has been studying the issues that were asked in the interview. By using a depreciative manner when talking about their opinions, they probably eased their own feelings and protected their self-images. Nevertheless, one could notice that, on the one hand, they were disappointed about their knowledge and ability to move around or even travel, but on the other hand, they had accepted these facts as part of being old and less able to do all the things they used to.

One area of interest in the study was also the possibility of marginalization. The oldest participants were asked whether they felt like being left outside of some issues because of having no skills in English. They did not think so, and explained how Finnish has always been enough. The two younger generations were asked whether they believed in the marginalization of people who do not have English skills. They did not

believe in marginalization either, but they were more pensive about their answers and seemed to think about the possibility anyway. There was also a similar question in the national survey, for which the respondents were to answer whether they believed Finns could be excluded from some issues in 20 years time if they have no English skills. As already introduced in section 3.4 the majority of the respondents believed it to be possible. In the present study the question was about the current situation and not about the future, as in the survey. Had the question been about the future maybe the answers would have been more similar, as well. Even though nobody firmly believed in marginalization, one could argue that the oldest couple, despite what they themselves believed, is in fact excluded from some of the most current issues. Both Liisa and Harri felt that they were not missing out on anything and that they could manage their life very well without the English language. However, the controversy that arose from the analysis was that even though the couple did not feel as being left out of anything, they still felt a bit awkward and embarrassed for not being able to explain what *innovaatio* and *globalisaatio* were. They have acknowledged these words and admit running into them quite often, while reading the newspaper or watching the news, yet the words have been skipped or disregarded, as the couple explained.

The words *innovaatio* and *globalisaatio* might be difficult to explain even for younger people. However, one can assume that because these words have been so well adapted to the Finnish language they, therefore, are familiar to most of the people. Moreover, the words are very often used in the different media and one can come across with these words regularly. Also Liisa and Harri had noticed how often the words occurred. They also made a connection between these words and government officials. They explained how ministers and government officials use these words. This connection that Liisa and Harri made between the words and the users of the words could indicate something about their attitude towards such words. They might think that such words are so fancy that they do not need to find out their meanings. Furthermore, this kind of attitude could be linked

with their depreciative way of describing their life and having low requirements.

The present study was also interested in the contacts the participants have, and have had, with English. The national survey studied these contacts, as well, using more detailed questions. In the present study the participants were not given any suggestions to choose their answers from, but they had to, firstly, think about whether they encounter English where they live and, secondly, in what kind of places. The most striking outcome was that all three generations associated running into English to running into foreign people. This association meant that almost all the participants said not to run into foreign people where they lived. What stroke as odd was how the participants did not mention TV, radio or computer as places where one comes across English. For some reason they linked English with foreign people, and therefore answered how they did not encounter much English, because there were so few foreigners in the countryside.

According to the survey results (Leppänen et al. 2009), people who live in bigger cities believe English to be more important than people who live in the country, and the difference was quite noticeable, too. Furthermore, the survey results showed that people who live in cities come across English by seeing and hearing it, in contrast to the countryside where less people come across English, and where there were most of the people who could not recognize English. The present study supports the results of the survey, because all the participants in the study shared the same opinion about English being more important in cities than in the countryside. Participants also discussed how one is more likely to come across English in cities than in the countryside, where one rarely meets foreign people. Moreover, everybody agreed on the importance of English, but the oldest participants did not consider English important to them personally, but important to younger people. Friedrich's survey (2000) in Brazil had similar results, as the 18-40 years old students considered English important,

especially when trying to achieve better job opportunities and wealthier life. The participants in the present study did not link English with wealthier life, but considered it important in today's world and when wanting to be "fancy and international".

A common assumption among the older participants in the present study seemed to be that Finnish youth have English skills and that they are expected to know English. The survey results (Leppänen et al. 2009) support these findings too. The majority (97%) of the respondents in the survey believed that young people have to know English. Also working age people were expected to know English (80%). But only about fifth of the respondents believed that the elderly have to know English. The oldest couple in the present study, although admitted how good it would be to have English skills, have probably never felt any pressure to learn it. The pressure and expectations have probably caused the feeling of external compulsion to have skills in English, and this might be partly the reason why so many people want to study English. Hence, the more popular and widely spread the English language becomes the more expectations there will be for people to have skills in English.

As it can be seen, knowledge of English is expected from Finnish youth and from adults as well. The people who already have skills in English and consider English as a valuable asset were those referred to as 'haves', whereas people with little or no knowledge of English were the 'have-nots', as introduced earlier in section 3.4 (Preisler 2003). Furthermore, according to the national survey results (Leppänen et al. 2009), there is one more group in Finland called the 'have-it-alls'. The 'have-it-alls' is used for describing a group of people who have taken English as part of their lives and use it regularly. The division into three different groups had to be done because there were not such a clear division between those who have and those who have not skills in English. Another type of division was made by Hasanova in Uzbekistan. In Hasanova's study (2007) the users of English were also divided into three categories: 'professional', 'ambitious youth' and 'pop

music fans'. This division was made according to the users of English and not according to the skills or knowledge of English. However, the group of 'professionals' is somewhat similar with the group of 'have-it-alls', as they all have good competence in English and they use it regularly. 'Ambitious youth' could be compared to 'haves', because in these groups there are usually young people, who have some knowledge of English, and who consider English important and worth studying. The group of 'pop music fans', however, has no counterpart in the three different groups of 'haves', because 'pop music fans' is such a specific group of people, who only use English to enjoy and to consume popular music.

The national survey indicated that the English skills in Finland can be seen as continuum, starting from people without any knowledge of English all the way to people who have taken English as part of their everyday life. Therefore, Preisler's two categories of 'haves' and 'have-nots' would not have been enough. In the present study, however, the 'haves' and 'have-nots' are enough, because the oldest participants, Harri and Liisa, represent those who have not received any formal language education and have very little knowledge of English. Also 58-year-old Heikki belongs to the group of 'have-nots', because he has not received education in English, and he has not used or taken any interest in English. The two youngest participants, Juuso and Kaisa, and also 57-year-old Maarit have some knowledge of English. Maarit has studied some English and she has also travelled and needed some English in her work as well. Juuso and Kaisa, on the other hand, have received English education through ground school to high school and vocational school, and after that in college, altogether about 13 years. However, Maarit, Kaisa and Juuso all explain how their English skills are not sufficient and how difficult it is to speak the language. They all said to have quite good reading and listening comprehension skills, but writing and especially speaking were difficult. The reason behind weak oral skills seemed to be the lack of contact with foreigners. As discussed earlier, the participants said how they never run into foreigners where they live, and

at this point one could read between the lines that because they live in the countryside one cannot exercise his or her oral skills, which leads to deterioration of those skills. Keeping these facts in mind, one could add one more group of people among the 'have-nots', 'haves' and 'have-it-alls' and that could be the 'have-somes', between the 'have-nots' and 'haves'. These 'have-somes' could be such group of people that have some knowledge of English and are able to function limitedly in English, as Maarit, Kaisa and Juuso in the present study. In the countryside people seem to have limited access to English, meaning that the different forms of media are accessible also in the country, but to actually get in contact with English is more difficult and somewhat constrained.

The participants of the present study, after realizing that English is around them in other forms than foreign people, discussed how much English one can really run into, even at home. This realization led to a question concerning the spread of English in different domains, and whether it has already taken over too much. The reaction to this question was rather surprising. The two youngest participants, Juuso and Kaisa, firmly stated how there should be even more English and less Swedish. They continued discussing the importance of Swedish in Finland and both concluded how Swedish is totally unnecessary and how they have never needed it anywhere. At first the discussion was somewhat playful, but after a while it took a more serious tone, as Juuso and Kaisa started to question the status and concrete importance of Swedish in Finland. Swedish was brought into the discussion quite unexpectedly and this revealed some of the negative attitudes, which Juuso and Kaisa share towards Swedish in Finland. The subject of compulsory Swedish has been a hot topic of discussions for quite some time, and Juuso and Kaisa belong to the generation that has already been part of the ongoing debate about the need for Swedish in Finland. In the national survey English was agreed to be more useful than Swedish by 82% of the respondents. The mother tongue, on the other hand, was claimed to be more important than English. Yet again the findings in the present study

support the results of the national survey. By the majority of people, Swedish is not seen very important or useful in Finland, even with the official status it holds.

The two older participants, Maarit and Heikki, did not take much part in the discussion explained above. The role of Swedish in Finland did not seem to arouse strong opinions among Maarit and Heikki, but it seemed to cause some amusement as they well knew what the fuss was about. After all the talk about Swedish, the participants turned back to discuss the spread of English in different domains in Finland. They soon became aware of all different places where one can come across English, for example, company names, menus in the restaurants, commercials and computer-related vocabulary, to name a few. This realization of the spread of English made the participants pensive, and they started to wonder whether this rather inconspicuous invasion of English words could, in fact, cause something vital for Finnish to disappear. Even though the participants seemed to be a little concerned about the invasion of English words into everyday lives of Finns, they were not overtly upset about this. However, they had recognized the frequency of English in Finland and shared some concern, which might be common among other Finns, too. Nevertheless, the participants neither believed English to take over Finnish completely nor considered English as a big threat. These opinions once more go together with the results of the national survey, in which only under fifth of the respondents believed English to be a threat to national languages and to Finnish culture.

7. CONCLUSION

The idea of the present study was to examine how people of different ages, who live in the countryside, perceive the English language and what kind of thoughts and opinions they have about it. The motivation for the study came from personal interest in rural areas, but also the recent national survey (Leppänen et al. 2009) and its results motivated to find out more about the phenomenon of English in Finland, and deepen the already existing results. Thus, the combination of English in Finland and people living in the countryside seemed to offer an interesting subject for a study.

The implementation of the study took a qualitative nature, as the methods for collecting data were interviews. The study aimed to get versatile, but in-depth, information on the opinions and views of English in Finland, and therefore interviews were a logical choice. The focus group of the study included six informants who represented three different generations, which made it possible to examine and compare their views and opinions. The six informants were, however, divided into two, because the oldest participants had trouble in hearing, and also their language learning backgrounds deviated substantially from the others. Therefore, they were interviewed separately. The use of interviews offered the chance to make use of two different methods of analysis: content analysis and discourse analysis. The combination of these two forms of analysis made it possible to form a more thorough picture of the phenomenon in question. However, having no previous experience in conducting and moderating interviews, it was, at times, difficult to avoid any leading questions. Therefore, some of the opinions and courses of discussions might have been affected by the lack of experience in moderating interviews. Furthermore, the data gathered in both of the interviews was very vast, and only one of the interviews would have given enough material for a comprehensive study. Thus, a more in-depth and detailed analysis and study would have been reached, if the focus had been only, for example, in the oldest couple and their interview. Also a

quantitative study, with numerous participants and a fixed questionnaire, would have given more extensive and reliable results. Nevertheless, the findings of the present study provide interesting in-depth information about the role of English in Finland and as such complement the findings of the national survey.

The English language has divided opinions for and against its status as a world language. The present study, however, presented only positive opinions and views about English, although some concern was shared about the spread of English into company names, street scenes, and so on. However, English was considered quite important, especially to young people who are already expected to have skills in English. The expectations of the knowledge of English seemed to be common within all generations. These expectations may be due to the spread, popularity and importance of English as a lingua franca around the world, but also to the fact that language education, and especially English, have become an important part of comprehensive and upper level schools. Therefore, younger people who have received this education are expected to have at least some competence in English. From this standpoint the gap between generations and knowledge of English is evident. This gap was also realized by the older participants in the interview, as they referred to the English language as the younger generations' "thing".

The study also revealed that Swedish was not considered very important in Finland and it raised some poignant remarks in the discussion. This finding did not deviate from what was found in the national survey. English has taken over Swedish in importance within Finland. The same future was not predicted to Finnish, because the mother tongue was believed to be more important than English and, therefore, English was not seen as a big threat to Finnish language or culture. However, the influence of English to Finnish has been acknowledged and it probably will raise more concern about the existence of Finnish in the future.

The difference in use, visibility and importance of English between cities and the countryside became rather obvious in the present study. The results of the national survey indicated that not only is the English language more important in cities, but also more valued and needed there. People living in rural areas might easily think that they do not need English skills, because they hardly ever meet any foreign people and all the foreign programmes on TV have subtitles. This way of thinking might be detrimental for trying to stay up-dated with the most current issues in the world. English loan words keep entering Finnish and, therefore, one might not be able to fully understand spoken language with number of English-based words. Even the phenomenon of code-switching is becoming more common, and that might be enough to confuse people with low competence in English. The present study, however, lets us believe that one can manage life in the Finnish countryside well without having skills in English.

In conclusion, the present study shows that while English is considered important, it is not seen as a necessity when living in the countryside. In many respects, English is seen as a useful tool for different situations, for example, when working, travelling or communicating internationally. Furthermore, the role and importance of Swedish in Finland is questioned, because English is seen more significant and useful for everybody. The study also indicates that there is a risk of marginalization from the most current issues in the world, if one has very little knowledge of English. Even though the existence of such a risk was not truly believed in, some evidence, however, was discovered suggesting otherwise. Nevertheless, more research is needed to find out more about the possibility of marginalization of those, who do not have skills in English and who do not even consider English important to them. Moreover, future research is also needed to get a more profound idea of how the elderly are coping with the increasing use of English, and what kind of attitudes the status of English raises in these people.

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Appendix: Background questionnaire

Taustakyselylomake

Kaikki tiedot käsitellään luottamuksellisesti, eikä kenenkään henkilötietoja julkaista.

Nimi: _____ **Syntymävuosi:** _____

Syntymäpaikkakunta: _____

Nykyinen asuinpaikkakunta: _____

Ammatti: _____

1.) Mikä alla olevista on korkein koulutusaste, jonka olette suorittanut?

- 1 __ Enintään peruskoulun ala-aste (1 - 6 luokat) tai kansakoulu
- 2 __ Peruskoulun yläaste (7 - 9 luokat) tai keskikoulu
- 3 __ Lukio, ylioppilas- tai ammatillinen tutkinto
- 4 __ Ammattikorkeakoulututkinto
- 5 __ Korkeakoulututkinto

2.) Merkitkää arvionne siitä, kuinka kauan olette opiskellut englantia yhteensä.

Opiskelulla tarkoitetaan tässä sekä ohjattua opiskelua että itseopiskelua.

- 1 __ En ole opiskellut englantia
- 2 __ Alle vuoden
- 3 __ 1-2 vuotta
- 4 __ 3-5 vuotta
- 5 __ 6-10 vuotta
- 6 __ 11-15 vuotta
- 7 __ Yli 15 vuotta

3.) Kuinka arvioisitte englannin taitoanne seuraavien vaihtoehtojen valossa?

Vastatkaa kaikkiin kohtiin a - d.

	Vaivattomasti	Suhteellisen sujuvasti	Kohtalaisesti	Vaivalloisesti	Vain yksittäisiä sanoja	En lainkaan
a) Puhun englantia						
b) Kirjoitan englantia						
c) Luen englantia						
d) Ymmärrän puhuttua englantia						

Jos vastasitte kysymyksen 3 kaikkiin kohtiin " En lainkaan" siirtykää kysymykseen 5.

4.) Millaiseksi koette englannin osaamisenne?

Vastatkaa kaikkiin kohtiin.

	Kyllä	En	En osaa sanoa
a) Koen osaavani englantia yhtä hyvin kuin sitä äidinkielenään puhuva			
b) Koen osaavani englantia paremmin kuin suomalaiset keskimäärin			
c) Koen osaavani Englantia riittävän hyvin			
d) Olen ylpeä englannin kielen taidostani			
e) Häpeän englannin kielen taitoani			
f) Haluan oppia englantia lisää			

5.) Kuinka usein käytte matkoilla (sekä loma- että työmatkat) Suomen ulkopuolella?

- 1 __ Vähintään kerran kuukaudessa
- 2 __ Muutaman kerran vuodessa
- 3 __ Muutaman kerran viidessä vuodessa
- 4 __ Harvemmin
- 5 __ En koskaan